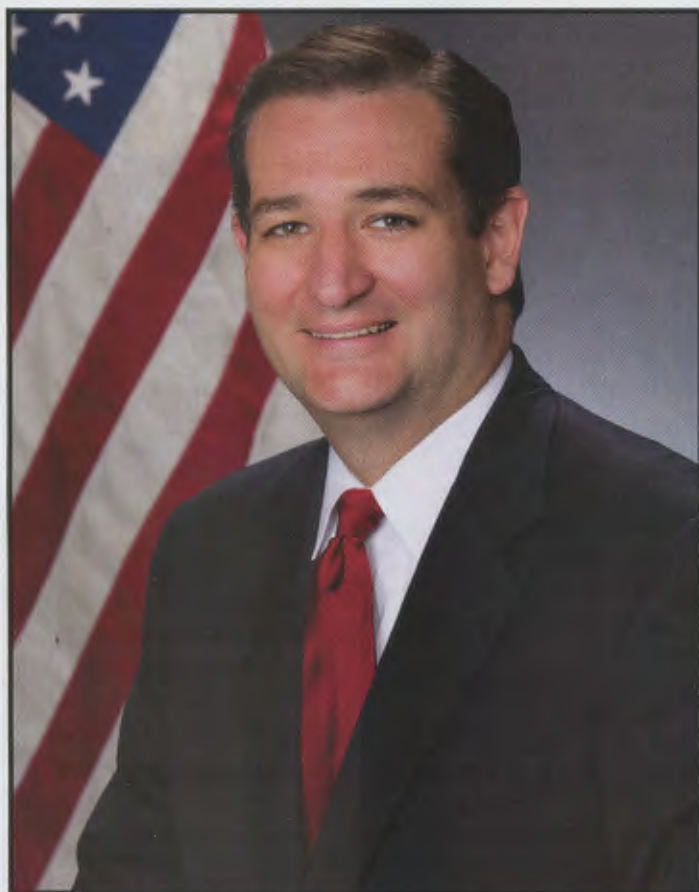


Ted Cruz



*Delighted, as always, to speak with the conservative firebrand senator from Texas, candidate for the GOP presidential nomination — and author of the must-read new book, **A Time for Truth: Reigniting the Promise of America**:*

RUSH: Senator Cruz. I really appreciate you squeezing this in.

CRUZ: Hi, Rush. It's always great to be with you.

RUSH: I want to start with your book, and particularly your optimism, as reflected in the subtitle, *Reigniting the Promise of America*. You clearly believe that America still has promise, that this promise can be reignited. Lately I've been asking my audience, and people I've run into, "Is there really a silent majority any more?" Look at all the attacks on traditional culture and standard American societal mores. There doesn't seem to be any opposition to it, Senator. You can have bakeries and photography studios put out of business. Their Constitutional right is violated, yet nobody says a

peep. Is there really a silent majority out there, waiting to explode at the next election?

CRUZ: Absolutely. I am profoundly optimistic about the future of this country. I understand, it's easy to see what is happening in our nation, to see the assaults on our liberty and the assaults on our values and to give in to despair. That's what the mainstream media wants. They want to convince you and me that they have won, and they want conservatives to "abandon hope, all ye who enter here." Yet I am absolutely convinced America remains a center-right country. We remain a country grounded in Judeo-Christian values and, as a result of the radicalism of the Obama Administration, millions of Americans are waking up — just as in 1980 when it took Jimmy Carter to give us Ronald Reagan. I believe we are seeing another Reagan revolution today, a grassroots movement from the people. And if Republicans are to win in 2016, the only way to do so is to bring back to the polls the millions of conservatives who have been staying home, the millions of evangelical Christians and the millions of Reagan Democrats, blue-collar Catholics. If we do that, if we follow Reagan's admonition to paint in bold colors instead of pale pastels, that's how we win, and that's how we reignite the promise of America.

RUSH: Let me ask you. When was the last time any of your critics, in the Senate, in the media, wherever you find a critic — who is the last critic who actually tried to engage you in discussion or debate on the substance of your ideas, rather than just try to destroy your reputation and your character and career?

CRUZ: As you know, Rush, the left and, for that matter, the Washington establishment in the Republican Party, they don't engage in substantive debate. They both follow the Saul Alinsky playbook of personal attacks and vilification. Yet I understand, as you know full well, that if they're not shooting at you, you're not doing much of anything. One of the things I talk about at great lengths in my new book, *A Time for Truth*, is what I call "the Washington cartel." It is career politicians in both Parties, Democrats and Republicans, who get in bed with lobbyists and special interests and giant corporations in Washington.

One of the reasons so many millions of conservatives have been staying home is it seems no matter which Party's in power, government always grows and grows. Our debt grows and grows. Regulations grow and grow. And our liberty continually recedes. The reason is the Washington cartel is all about money and power in Washington. It's career politicians in both Parties. The only way to turn this country around is to defeat the Washington cartel, and the only force powerful enough to do that is a grassroots army like the Reagan revolution in 1980. That's millions of courageous conservatives rising up and saying, "We want to get back to the

commonsense principles, the free market principles, the Constitutional liberties that made America great.

RUSH: Now I could say that they have. I could point to the midterm elections of 2010 and 2014. I would say that in those midterms, at any rate, the people that you're talking about showed up in droves, at least as you count midterm turnouts, and they have been totally ignored, let down by the people they elected in the Republican Party. We still have Obama trade deals. We still have the Constitution being ignored with impunity by elected officials. In those two midterms, Senator, the Democrats have lost almost a thousand seats, if you look all the way down to the local level. And yet it still seems they can shut down a bakery in Oregon and fine a couple \$135,000, put them out of business and slap a gag order on them. Look at what happened in Wisconsin with these John Doe investigations. A lot of people you're talking about think that turning up for an election is the only way they have to demonstrate their views, but even when they create landslide victories for Republicans they've been let down.

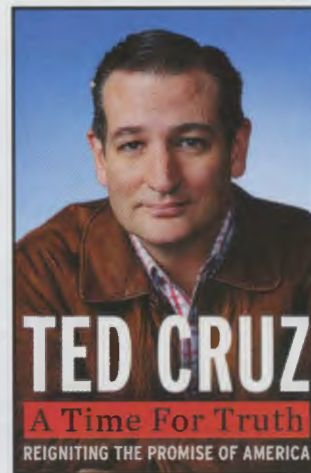
CRUZ: Rush, you're absolutely right. One of the central things I talk about in *A Time for Truth* is what happens behind closed doors at the Republican conference lunches, when our leadership is selling out the promises and commitments made to the men and women who elected us.

RUSH: You have told me that people would not believe the things that you have heard or seen that elected Republicans talk about behind the scenes. They campaign with one voice, but then in private, you said you were shocked when you got there and saw it.

CRUZ: As bad as you think it is, it is worse. The opening of the book describes what happened with the battle over the debt ceiling.

RUSH: When we discuss that reality on the ground and then go back to your optimistic belief that there is an electoral uprising waiting to happen, I don't know. There are times that I look at what's happening, and I hope you're right. I hope there is this silent majority remaining. I hope there is this willingness of people to show up and finally stand up and say they don't approve, they don't support, they don't like this kind of cultural decay that's taking place, the Washington spending and the high unemployment rate. Ninety-three million Americans not working. They're all eating, though. You don't see people mad about not being able to find a job.

CRUZ: Let me point to one manifestation of the awakening we're seeing. When we launched our campaign for President, *The New*



York Times and the mainstream media all said, "Cruz cannot win because the Washington elites despise him." I've joked, I kind of thought that was the whole point of the campaign. As we have traveled the country, we are seeing an energy and excitement and passion on the ground. We're seeing standing room only crowds in Iowa and New Hampshire and South Carolina. The local press have reported the crowds coming out for us are much larger, sometimes double the size of other candidates. We're seeing the old Reagan coalition coming together.

RUSH: By the way, you shocked a lot of people with your announcement that you've raised \$51 million. That blew some people away, too.

CRUZ: It's breathtaking. It's actually now \$52 million. The

mainstream media, *The New York Times*, said, "The Washington elites control all the money. So even if the grassroots are going to be with Cruz, the Washington elites and the lobbyists will cut off the money." Yet in just over three months we have raised, between the campaign and the super PAC, over \$52 million, with over 120,000 donors making over 175,000 contributions. They have come from all 50 states and five territories.

We have one or more donors from nearly 50 percent of the zip codes in America. Forty-eight point one percent of the zip codes have donors to our campaign, who have gone to TedCruz.org and contributed. The average contribution has been \$81. That terrifies the Washington cartel; that the American people can rise up in such numbers and say, "We're tired of our elected officials saying one thing and doing another."

The two things, Rush, I've tried to do in office have been tell the truth and do what I said I would do. Those are viewed as such radical acts in Washington. That ought to be the bare minimum we accept from everyone. We're in a time where there is a desperate

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The title is "Mendacity," because it describes how Republican leadership asked every Republican senator to affirmatively consent to lowering the threshold — to make it easier for Harry Reid and Barack Obama to add trillions of dollars in debt.

Our leadership told us we should all agree to do this because if we did, number one, it would pass, and that was the outcome we all wanted, trillions more in debt with no meaningful spending reforms. But number two, if we agreed, then the Democrats would have the votes to pass it on their own, which meant Republicans could all vote no — so we could tell our constituents that we had opposed the thing we just consented to allow happen. When I objected to that, there is nothing I have done in my entire time in the Senate that has engendered more animosity and venom and attacks from Republicans than simply standing up and saying, "I'm going to honor the commitments I made to the men and women who elected me, and giving more power to Barack Obama and Harry Reid to bankrupt our kids and grandkids is not consistent with those promises."

need, I believe, for more and more leaders to stand up and tell the truth and do what they said they would do.

RUSH: No question. You were solicitor general in Texas. You have argued successfully before the United States Supreme Court. But I'll tell you, what we saw with the Obamacare ruling, the Burwell case, is that the Chief Justice took that law and literally rewrote it, in a way that did not get 60 votes for passage. Simply rewrote the law, abridging the separation of powers. All to make that law "Constitutional," when the public doesn't like Obamacare. They don't want any part of it. There's never been majority support for it. It's just another bit of evidence that people feel powerless to do anything about that. What would you do about an out-of-control Supreme Court, which doesn't itself even seem to respect the Constitution?

CRUZ: Rush, you're exactly right. In a period of 24 hours, the Supreme Court twice, in the Obamacare decision and the marriage decision, ignored the law and committed acts of naked judicial activism. Both decisions were lawless and fundamentally illegitimate. In the Obamacare decision, a handful of unelected justices ignored federal law, rewrote the text of Obamacare in order to force that failed law on millions of Americans. As a result, millions of Americans have lost their jobs, have been forced into part-time work, have lost their doctors, their health insurance. Millions of Americans have seen their health insurance premiums skyrocket. They are paying illegal taxes that they do not owe, except for the fact that Barack Obama and the Supreme Court rewrote the law to force them to.

With respect to marriage, the justices did the same thing. Five unelected justices ignored the text of the U.S. Constitution and purported to strike down the marriage laws of all 50 states. As Justice Scalia powerfully said in dissent, those decisions were a fundamental assault on democracy. It was five unelected lawyers declaring themselves the rulers of 320 million Americans. Those decisions were wrong and illegitimate, and we need to stand against them. On the Obamacare decision, I believe that decision has transformed 2016 into a referendum on repealing Obamacare. Any 2016 Republican candidate who is not prepared to campaign every single day on repealing every word of that failed law should step aside.

RUSH: Amen. But let me tell you — I got an email from somebody at a Republican think tank trying to spread the word that it's the best thing that could have happened, because it takes Obamacare off the table. We no longer have to debate it!

It's the latest Republican issue that the Establishment is saying, "That's off the table. Let's kick the can down the road. We'll take them on, but on some other issue." We keep conceding these major victories to these people on the left, on the pretext that we can't win them anyway, and we're only harming ourselves by even trying to represent a majority of the American people. So I think you're exactly right about what that needs to be, in terms of a campaign issue in 2016 — that and immigration. You're the only guy anywhere in the media, certainly, and in electoral politics who is

not trying to hammer Donald Trump into the ground.

CRUZ: All of these are manifestations of the same thing, the Washington cartel. Following the Obamacare decision and the marriage decision, Democrats celebrated. The mainstream media celebrated. And an awful lot of Republicans in Washington celebrated. They pretended to put out positions that were critical, but privately they were popping champagne because they agree with those decisions. They were thrilled not to have to address Obamacare. They're thrilled for the Supreme Court to claim that it has resolved gay marriage, because the Washington cartel agrees with gay marriage. Our leadership recently said, "There's nothing Congress can do." Baloney. I've introduced a Constitutional amendment to protect the authority of states to define marriage as the union of one man and one woman. I've introduced legislation to strip the federal courts of jurisdiction over assaults on marriage. The Constitution gives that to Congress as an explicit check on an overreaching judiciary. I've also called for a Constitutional amendment to subject Supreme Court justices to periodic judicial retention elections.

The sad problem is, far too many Republicans, including a large percentage of the 2016 Republican field, cut and ran. They're scared of this issue. They do not want to defend marriage. They do not

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want to stand up to Obamacare. As you've rightly noted on amnesty, the Washington cartel and a significant number of the candidates for President in 2016 support amnesty, because they're listening to the big money in Washington. They're listening to Wall Street and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which view amnesty as cheap labor. Rush, the way we win is, we stand with hardworking men and women across this country who want to believe again in the promise of America. We're getting hammered by the failures of Washington and the Washington cartel. We stand against that and with the people. That's where the silent majority is.

RUSH: You would hope that's true. The last thing the Republican Party needs to be identified with is CEOs and business owners who want cheap labor. We're all about the American dream, aren't we? We're all about people working hard and becoming the best they can be and getting rewarded for it. We don't want to end up supporting people whose objective is the cheapest labor they can get, regardless of the damage to our culture and society. But it seems the Chamber of Commerce is just another institution that's been corrupted. Everybody thinks it's a Republican organization — like they used to think Wall Street is Republican. But the left has taken it over.

CRUZ: That's exactly right. The Washington cartel is about power and money, and it is about a handful of moneyed interests. Six of the ten highest-income counties in America are in and around Washington, D.C. Right now we have a culture where those with power and influence in the Obama Administration are getting fat and happy. The rich are doing great. Big business does great with

big government. And yet, as you noted, 93 million Americans aren't working right now, the lowest percentage since 1978. Median wages have stagnated for 20 years.

It's interesting. The Democratic Party donors don't hate their base. You get too many Republicans in Washington who listen to the big moneyed interests who look down on the Republican base. They look down on you and me, Rush, as a bunch of ignorant yokels who actually believe in these values. It's why people are staying home, it's why people are frustrated — because we know we're being lied to. That was the great thing about Reagan. The Reagan revolution happened, in significant part, because Reagan spoke the truth, and he didn't lecture or condescend to America. He spoke for our values because he shared those values.

I've joked that the politics of amnesty would be very, very different if you had a bunch of lawyers and bankers crossing the Rio Grande. It's the big money in the Republican Party. They're not losing their jobs, so it doesn't concern them. You take an Ohio steelworker, a Michigan autoworker, a blue-collar union member, the heart of who the Reagan Democrats are — and by the way,



Rush, the heart of my campaign support are the Reagan Democrats, the hardworking men and women who are getting hammered right now. For them amnesty, illegal immigration, isn't some abstract threat. It's a direct threat to their ability to provide for their family, for their children. That's who we need to be fighting for.

RUSH: What about the Millennials, the 18- to 34-year-olds? They have no idea who Ronald Reagan was. All they know of Reagan is probably the drivel they've been taught in school. We've got a whole generation coming up, Senator, that has never had the chance to vote for a conservative on a ballot. They don't know what one is.

CRUZ: Here is an amazing statistic, Rush. If you define as a Reaganite somebody who voted for Ronald Wilson Reagan in the primary in 1980: since 1984 we have never once had a Reaganite as the Republican nominee for President. When it comes to young people, one of the incredible things for our campaign is the energy and passion and excitement we have from young people. On Facebook and Twitter we are routinely at the top of the field.

You remember when I ran for Senate in Texas. When we launched the campaign, as I describe in the book, I was at two percent in the polls. Nobody thought we had a prayer. It was a \$50 million primary, with all the money, establishment, and infrastructure against us. We modeled our campaign after Barack Obama's 2008 primary victory against Hillary Clinton. Hillary Clinton, like my opponent in the Senate race, had all the money, infrastructure,

and the establishment with her. Obama ran a grassroots guerilla campaign that empowered young people, encircled them, and they didn't know what hit them.

I bought the Obama campaign manager's book, David Plouffe's *The Audacity to Win*. Gave it to my senior team and said, "We are going to nakedly, shamelessly emulate that." We have seen as a result this army of young people rising up, because it's their future. Young people are getting hammered by the Obama economy.

They're coming out of school with student loans up to their eyeballs, with few job opportunities. They're not getting skills. They're not starting careers. They're inheriting trillions in debt that their deadbeat parents and grandparents have given them, and they're seeing their Constitutional liberty stripped away. We need to be fighting for young people with the energy to say, "Your future tomorrow is brighter than today." That's how Republicans win.

RUSH: I've seen surveys of that group, and sadly they do have the attitudes you just described. They feel helpless, hopeless. They think they're the first generation of Americans not to do as well or better than their parents. But they're blaming the country. They're not blaming the policies of the last six years, or the last 50 if you're Democrat. They've lost faith in the country, Senator. They have not lost faith in Obama. Obama is seen as a nice guy who's really trying hard. He's got these mean Republicans trying to stop him. That's what they think. It just burns me up. This guy's the first President presiding over a lousy economy who's not tied to it in any way, at least as far as the American public is concerned.

CRUZ: A huge part of the blame for that lies with the Republicans. Margaret Thatcher famously said, "First you win the argument. Then you win the vote." We haven't won the argument. Heck, we haven't even made the argument.

RUSH: We haven't. That's exactly right.

CRUZ: And when it comes to young people, how you communicate matters. Look. One of the things you understand wonderfully is that you've got to be interesting. You've got to be funny. You've got to have some life. Would it kill Republicans to crack a joke? Actually, some of them I think it might.

RUSH: They're afraid to laugh, Senator, because of political correctness. They're afraid to laugh at any joke, much less tell one.

CRUZ: Yes. About a year ago, I traveled out to California, and the week before I arrived, these posters began appearing all over the city. They were posters of my head on a shirtless body that was ripped, covered in muscles and tattoos. A giant eagle across my chest, two six-shooters on my abs, which were a perfect eight-pack, Winston Churchill on my right bicep, which was massive, a cigarette dangling out of my mouth and above it, "The Legend: Black-listed and Loving It."

Now we had nothing to do with that. That didn't come from us. It was a local street artist who put those up, but we decided to have fun with them. We posted the image on Facebook and Twitter and said, "Saw this, but noticed an error. I wanted to make one thing

clear: I don't smoke cigarettes." People laughed. They passed it on. They shared it. Connecting with young people, you've got to have some life. Do something interesting. And then you've got to empower them. It's got to be a grassroots campaign. That's what we're seeing. That's how you get 175,000 contributions at TedCruz.org — it's a grassroots campaign from young people, from women, from Hispanics, from working men and women who are fed up with what's happening.

RUSH: The Republican field is so large that not all of the candidates can get on a stage for a debate. What's your thought on the number of people running?

CRUZ: I think it's a sign of the strength and vitality on the conservative side. You've got a lot of folks who are running because the frustration with the failed policies of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton is manifest. That being said, I think the field is going to sort down and narrow quite a bit. Every candidate will claim they're conservative, but I believe that Republican primary voters are going to ask two key questions to sort amongst all the candidates.

They will ask, number one, "When have you stood up to the Washington cartel?" Not just Democrats and Obama. It's easy for Republicans to claim they fought Democrats. "When have you

going to look to, and there is a sharp difference among the candidates. Every candidate will say he or she is conservative, and yet if you sit down and make a list of the dozen biggest fights of the last several years, and I just gave you my list, and you ask of all the candidates running on which of those issues have they stood and led in any meaningful way, I think there is a sharp difference between the campaign rhetoric of a number of candidates and the actual record of standing and fighting for conservative principles. I think primary voters are tired of talk and they want action.

RUSH: That's the thing. As you go down that list and you ask that question, Senator, there are not very many who can stand up and answer yes to every one of those, or even half of them. That list actually focuses on the problem we face on our side of the aisle. That ought to be your stump speech and your debate appearance. You just rattle that off, and you'll silence everybody.



CRUZ: I think that is why we're seeing the excitement we're seeing. It's why even though the entire Washington cartel, all of the lobbyists, are opposed to us, that we've raised, it appears, more money than any candidate in the field except for Jeb Bush. That is completely contrary to the expectations of all the mainstream media and the Washington cartel because they control the money. One of the things I describe in

"Our leadership said, 'There's nothing Congress can do' about Obamacare and gay marriage. Baloney."

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stood up to Republican leadership, to your own Party, and stood with the American people and the Constitution?" There are very few candidates in the field who can point to instances when they have done exactly that.

The second key question I believe primary voters are going to ask is, "Show me, don't tell me. If you say you oppose Obamacare, show me where you've stood up and fought it. If you say you oppose the debt ceiling, when have you stood up to fight to stop bankrupting our kids and grandkids?"

"When have you stood up and fought against Obama's unconstitutional executive amnesty? When have you stood and fought for the First Amendment for free speech and religious liberty? Where were you on Indiana? Did you stand and fight? Or did you run for the hills like so many Republicans?"

"Where were you on the Second Amendment when Barack Obama and Harry Reid came after our right to keep and bear arms? On the Fourth Amendment, when have you stood and fought to stop the NSA's illegal wiretapping and snooping? On the Tenth Amendment, when have you stood and led the fight against Common Core? Have you always opposed it, or did you initially embrace it and just flip your position when you launched a campaign for President?"

"When have you stood and fought for life, and marriage? When have you stood and fought for Israel? When have you stood against radical Islamic terrorism and against Iran acquiring nuclear weapons?"

I think that's going to be the distinction primary voters are

A Time for Truth is the way Republican leadership silences dissent. They use two tools. Number one, they cut off your money and, number two, they engage in public flogging. They plant story after story in the press, beating the living daylight out of you.

The strength we have is that our financial support doesn't depend on the special interests in Washington. It is hundreds of thousands of men and women across this country, courageous conservatives, who want to get back to the Constitution and the principles of liberty that built this country. It's the same, Rush, when the Washington cartel goes after you and they slam you. If they could call ten people in Washington and pull the plug on you, they would. But your support is based in the people and they can't control that, and that scares the living daylight out of them. That's exactly the support we're seeing in our campaign.

RUSH: Well, it does intimidate them, and I know you have the same effect on everybody. You can tell by their reaction. They'll always tell you who they fear by virtue of how they treat you. Look, I really thank you for your time. I appreciate you squeezing us in today.

CRUZ: Fantastic, Rush. ■

+ LIMBAUGH eLETTER EXTRA

EXCLUSIVE: Go to *The Limbaugh Letter* app to read a free selection from *A Time for Truth*, as well as my December 2012 interview with this brilliant senator from Texas. For more info, go to rushlimbaugh.com.