



# **CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**A Chronology of Violations of America's Democratic Principles  
by the Presidential Administration of Donald Trump**

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## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

Since the Second World War, the United States has led the world's nations to unprecedented levels of prosperity, security, and respect for human dignity. Those achievements have all reinforced one another, and they have required a continuous commitment. While still imperfect, they reflect the best overall social endeavors and outcomes that the world has ever seen. The imperfections do not merit, and they must not impel us to, a radical break from our continuing post-war vision.

Citizens for a Strong Democracy (CSD) is a group of voters dedicated to preserving America's constitutional democracy, fighting hatred and bigotry, and maintaining a secure and just international order. Our mission is to urge members of Congress to remain united in advancing those goals.

CSD is comprised of Republicans, Democrats and Independents – conservatives, centrists and progressives. It was conceived and formed directly after the presidential election in November 2016 by a small group of Americans in Southeastern Pennsylvania who for many years had devoted themselves to advancing human rights overseas, and who now saw a new need to safeguard human rights at home.

CSD seeks principally to monitor, and to address with members of Congress, the following actual and potential activities of high-level federal government officials – activities that CSD believes are abhorrent to and perilous for our nation's democracy, well-being, stability and global leadership:

#### Threatening Civil Liberties

1. Intimidating, restricting or categorically **denigrating the mainstream press**.
2. Influencing, disparaging or restricting our **independent judiciary**.
3. Restricting or discrediting the right of **peaceable assembly and protest**.
4. Denying the legitimacy of **free and fair elections**.
5. Inspiring or inciting **civil violence**.
6. Inspiring or inciting religious, racial, or gender-based **bigotry**.

#### Disdaining Empirical Truth

7. Routinely making **false statements**, exaggerations, or innuendos.
8. Disregarding the value of scientific endeavor, or selectively rejecting **established scientific data** for political purposes.

#### Behaving in an Authoritarian, Erratic, and Unsound Manner

9. **Demagogic manipulation, power seizure**. Playing to voters' fear and anger rather than a positive view of America and humanity; diverting attention from controversial activities by creating distractions elsewhere; gratuitously advancing grandiosity, nationalism, and a military and police culture; sowing paranoia and infighting within



- government staff; blaming scapegoats; planting supporters in crowds; quashing administrative dissent; avoiding personal transparency; or seizing extraordinary personal powers contrary to tradition or law.
10. **Capriciousness.** Ignoring the seriousness and complexities of presidential rhetoric and decision-making, thereby demeaning the office of the presidency, fomenting administrative chaos, jeopardizing international credibility and trust, and diminishing the reputation of America and democracy themselves.
  11. **Narcissism, delusion, paranoia.** Engaging in continuous self-praise; placing self-image and self-aggrandizement over rational governance and the interests of the nation; adhering to delusional beliefs; acting and communicating impulsively; placing relatives in positions of high authority regardless of qualifications, in part due to suspicions of others; threatening or punishing political enemies, or avenging perceived insults; engaging in sexual abuse or predation; refusing to acknowledge mistakes; engaging in extravagant personal spending with government funds; or otherwise identifying personal interests as national ones.

#### **Jeopardizing National and International Security and Ideals**

12. Inexplicably befriending, and tolerating the meddling in American governance by, **foreign authoritarian regimes.**
13. Endangering American diplomacy, alliances, national security or global stability **through rash or ill-considered behavior**, or by ignoring inputs from (or by attempting to influence the objective conclusions of) the diplomatic and national intelligence communities.
14. Withdrawing the United States from its international commitments to **military security and universal human rights**, or threatening to do so.

#### **Engaging in or Facilitating Corruption**

15. Compromising national interests for the benefit of, or failing to properly assert federal administrative authority over, the officials' business dealings, or otherwise abiding **business conflicts of interest.**
16. Engaging in **cronyism** by appointing supporters to high positions regardless of qualifications, or **crony capitalism** by assisting the businesses of political supporters.

#### **Complicity**

17. Failing to vocally condemn the **above activities as practiced by others.**

Those behaviors – which CSD has described in extensive detail in an accompanying document captioned "Specific Concerns" – are common hallmarks of dictatorial regimes overseas, both historically and currently. While America may not likely descend into dictatorship, we believe that special vigilance is required at this time to prevent a movement in that direction.

We thus urge our members of Congress not only to exercise their legislative votes in support of our country's democratic principles, and against any executive branch activities as enumerated above that contravene those principles, but to affirmatively lead their communities and their colleagues in Congress in calling out and opposing those activities.

We do not take positions on substantive policy issues on which mainstream voices may commonly disagree, such as governmental regulation, trade policies, tax policies, workers' rights, reproductive rights, gun owners' rights, health insurance, and the particulars of international diplomacy or national defense.



## **CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

### **SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*As of March 20, 2017*

Below is CSD's cumulative listing of President Donald Trump's statements and actions since the November 8, 2016 election that CSD believes violate its Statement of Principles for American democracy and national security. The numbers in the right-hand column correspond to the numerical designations of types of undemocratic behaviors set forth in the Statement of Principles, as revised to this date.

CSD does not suggest that all of the behaviors listed below are of equal concern; and some of the high level appointments noted below do or may have mitigating merits. In addition, some previous presidents from both parties likely demonstrated some of the same concerning behaviors (although not necessarily to the same degree). And Mr. Trump, or ranking members of his administration, have seemed to modify or moderate some troubling statements and actions from time to time. CSD is nevertheless disturbed by the overall patterns of behavior on the part of Mr. Trump, which separately and in the aggregate diverge from CSD's principles to a material extent.

Most of the data appearing below was drawn from the reporting by such mainstream press outlets as The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, The Washington Post, CNN and Politico.

The recitation below of false statements made by Mr. Trump is only partial. He has issued countless other falsehoods since the election, and they have been documented by the mainstream press. The Washington Post runs a cumulative listing of Mr. Trump's falsehoods since his inauguration, averaging several per day.

This document will appear highly partisan. It indeed is consistently critical of Mr. Trump, and it does not identify any counter-balancing strengths of his. But as CSD's Statement of Principles makes clear, for the most part the criticisms are not leveled at Mr. Trump's policy positions or those of his party; rather, mainly at what we believe is his alarming tendency toward reckless and authoritarian sympathies and behaviors, which we believe cannot be counter-balanced.

And finally, it is conceivable that this document contains occasional technical errors. We are not scholars or journalists – only women and men who read the news, believe in America, and have what we believe is a fair sense of both history and the present.

*Note:* CSD changed its recording format at the time of Mr. Trump's inauguration – from a thematic to a sequential presentation – so as to facilitate its own record-keeping and to simplify this document for readers, in the face of an ever greater volume of concerns arising since the inauguration.

**I. Between the Election and the Inauguration**

<u>Action</u>	<u>Type of Un-Democratic Behavior, from Statement of Principles</u>
<b><u>A. Democracy and Freedom</u></b>	
<u>Continuously and categorically discrediting the mainstream media.</u>	1
<u>Falsely tweeting that millions of votes for Hillary Clinton were fraudulent.</u>	4, 7, 11
<u>Falsely stating that Mr. Trump won the election by a "massive landslide ... in the Electoral College," and that the Democrats "suffered one of the greatest defeats in the history of politics in this country."</u>	7, 11
<u>Tweeting that Mr. Trump's "many enemies and those who have fought [him] and lost so badly just don't know what to do."</u>	7, 11
<u>Tweeting that flag-burners should be deported or imprisoned.</u> (Flag-burning is reprehensible, but it has been acknowledged as Constitutionally protected speech by the U.S Supreme Court.)	3
<u>Promoting a personality cult, through victory rallies and frequent tweets post-election but prior to inauguration..</u>	9, 11
<u>Encouraging a large contingent of bikers to attend the inauguration ceremony and (implicitly) to intimidate protesters.</u>	3, 5, 9
<u>Failing to condemn fake news on political topics, including the false conspiracy theory that led to the attack on the DC pizzeria on 12-4-16.</u>	17 (5, 7)

<u>Delivering vengeful, irrational and undignified attacks on the character and competence of individuals who had criticized Mr. Trump: Sen. Schumer, Sen. Reed, Jill Stein, Hillary Clinton, CNN's reporter Jeff Zeleny, Vanity Fair's Graydon Carter, Meryl Streep, Chuck Jones (Carrier's local steel union president), the cast of "Hamilton," and civil rights legend John Lewis.</u>	10, 11
<u>Claiming that the exposure of adviser Monica Crowley's massive plagiarism was politically motivated.</u>	7, 11
<u>Refusing to take a question from CNN's prominent reporter Jim Acosta at Mr. Trump's January 11, 2017 press conference (his first in six months), while blaming CNN for "fake news."</u>	1, 10, 11
<u>Packing that same press conference with cheering supporters.</u>	1, 9
<u>Making countless untrue statements and innuendos in that same press conference, as itemized by the Washington Post on the following day.</u>	7
<u>Asserting in that same press conference that Mr. Trump could lawfully and capably run both the country and his business at the same time if he chose to.</u>	10, 11
<u>Determining to continue to use a personal Twitter account as president to disseminate provocative and often ill-considered content.</u>	9, 10, 11
<u>Failing to denounce new waves of Islamophobic hate crimes and bomb threats to synagogues.</u>	17 (6)
<u>Publicly humiliating Al Gore and Mitt Romney, by parading them through the lobby of Trump Tower, and then apparently ignoring what they had to offer.</u>	11
<u>Conducting the post-election transition in a divisive rather than unifying manner.</u>	9, 10
<u>Casually articulating and then often modifying positions on major policy issues.</u>	10
<u>Hinting at the militarization of our civilian government, by appointing multiple career military officers to high civilian positions (including within the Cabinet and the National Security Council), considering (at least briefly), selecting most of the inaugural parade's contingents from among military-related, police and border security organizations, and contemplating the inclusion of heavy military ordinance in the inaugural parade.</u>	9

<b><u>B. Diplomacy and Security</u></b>	
<p><u>Long denying that the Russian government had attempted to influence the presidential election, until the national security briefing on that topic occurred in early January; continued denying thereafter that Russia intended to help Mr. Trump win the election; continued praising the Russian interference for exposing Democratic Party confidences; characterizing the intelligence community as antagonistic to Mr. Trump personally and as using tactics comparable to those used in Nazi Germany; originally blaming the Clinton campaign and Democrats for the allegations against Russia; falsely tweeting that the Obama administration had taken no action against Russia prior to the election; originally trusting Julian Assange's and Vladimir Putin's views over those of the FBI and CIA; insinuating that CIA director John Brennan had leaked to the press certain classified but unverified material concerning Mr. Trump's ties to Russia; and in general being willing to excoriate everyone, on anything – from our intelligence agencies to foreign allies to popular entertainers to the mainstream press – except for Vladimir Putin and Russia.</u></p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
<p><u>Instructing or permitting Michael Flynn (National Security Advisor) to secretly speak to Russia's ambassador about sanctions recently imposed by President Obama, in violation of protocol and in possible violation of the Logan Act that bars unauthorized U.S. citizens from negotiating with foreign governments with which the U.S. has disputes. (See also the February 2017 entries below regarding the subsequent revelation of Mr. Flynn's actions.)</u></p>	17 (12)
<p><u>Instructing or permitting White House Adviser Anthony Scaramucci to meet privately with a sanctioned Russian investment fund manager prior to the inauguration.</u></p>	17 (12)
<p><u>Abiding or encouraging fundamental differences with senior advisors on key international issues, such that our global strategies and operations could become disadvantaged or even dysfunctional, including in the event of an international crisis.</u></p>	9, 10, 13
<p><u>Foregoing daily CIA intelligence briefings, while categorically disparaging the CIA's integrity and capability.</u></p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 13

<u>Attempting to influence American foreign policy before being sworn in as President and without having been prepared or monitored by the State Department or other pertinent agencies, via discussions with leaders of Egypt, Taiwan and Japan, and via tweets and interviews on subjects such as Islamic terrorism, our nuclear weapons program, Israeli settlement policies, the Chinese seizure of an American drone, America's traditional "one-China" policy, North Korea's nuclear ambitions, the worth and future of NATO and the EU, Germany's refugee policy, the comparative trustworthiness of Angela Merkel and Vladimir Putin, Russian sanctions, and the strength of the dollar.</u>	9, 13, 14
<u>Tweeting that the British government should name Brexit leader Nigel Farage as Ambassador to the U.N.</u>	10, 13
<u>Abruptly firing all U.S. ambassadors before naming their replacements, including for key countries.</u>	9, 10, 11, 13
<u>Proposing to broadly purge the national intelligence agencies' respective headquarters of politically distasteful staff.</u>	9, 10, 11, 13
<u>Tweeting from an un-secure electronic device.</u>	10, 13
<u>Confusing the identities of two top EU diplomats when reporting pertinent conversations to the press.</u>	10, 13
<b>C. <u>Free Enterprise</u></b>	
<u>Strong-arming individual businesses to comply with Mr. Trump's trade agenda. (Carrier, Boeing, Lockheed-Martin, Ford, GM, Toyota, BMW.)</u>	9
<u>Inflating the number of jobs Mr. Trump had created or saved through his one-off interventions. (Sprint, Carrier, Ford.)</u>	7
<u>Proposing a weaker dollar, contrary to the presidential practice of not advocating on such matters, and with the immediate result of roiling currency markets.</u>	9, 10

<b><u>D. Ethics</u></b>	
<p data-bbox="186 268 1101 338"><u>Refusing to acknowledge and crisply resolve vast foreign and domestic business conflicts of interest.</u></p> <p data-bbox="186 380 1166 743">The conflicts include Mr. Trump having partners, lenders and investors which are closely associated with foreign governments that have sensitive relations with the U.S.; doing ongoing hotel and golf club business in countries having sensitive relations with the U.S.; selling and leasing rooms and other space in the U.S. to wealthy and well-connected individuals and enterprises from the U.S. and such countries; promoting the Trump brand by hosting foreign dignitaries at Mr. Trump's properties; implicitly and explicitly associating his company's business development activities with the power of the presidential office; and leasing a hotel building from the U.S. government in Washington, D.C.</p> <p data-bbox="186 785 1149 999">Concerns include Mr. Trump (whether during or after his presidency) bestowing political or diplomatic favors in exchange for hotel patronage , commercial payments or other transactional concessions; bestowing political or diplomatic favor so as to retain and grow client goodwill; and extracting concessions from the U.S. landlord relative to the administration of the Washington, D.C. hotel lease.</p> <p data-bbox="186 1041 1166 1255">In addition to the direct conflicts, Mr. Trump and his family can be expected to profit handsomely – for possibly decades or generations to come – from the enhancement of the Trump brand associated with the Trump presidency, and from the enormous political connections that that presidency will have generated for them. Shortly after the election, Mr. Trump boasted that "the brand is certainly a hotter brand than it was before."</p> <p data-bbox="186 1297 1149 1549">In late January, a Trump Organization executive would say that the company could open new Trump-branded hotels in up to 26 large U.S. cities, a multiple of the current five such hotels. On February 10, the New York Times would report that the Trump business is launching a new hotel brand, Scion, which it hopes will develop about 30 hotels around the U.S. All new hotels would require approvals from local governments, many of which may rely on federal aid.</p> <p data-bbox="186 1591 1166 1764">On February 6, Melania Trump would file a defamation suit claiming \$150,000,000 in damages to her own hoped-for brand (for apparel, accessories, shoes, jewelry, cosmetics, hair care, skin care and fragrance), based on the unique business opportunity that being married to the president had presented her.</p>	<p data-bbox="1279 1003 1344 1037">9, 15</p>

<u>Continuing to refuse to disclose tax returns.</u> And stating in a January 11, 2017 press conference that Mr. Trump didn't have to disclose because he had won the election -- implying (as President Nixon had done) that the president is beyond the reach of ethics and the law.	9, 15
<u>Attempting to place cabinet nominees before the Senate for approval before allowing the Office of Government Ethics to fully vet them for conflicts of interest.</u>	9, 10, 17 (15)
<u>Continuing to refuse to disclose complete and credible medical records.</u>	9
<u>Falsely tweeting that the Trump Foundation had given 100% of its funds to charities,</u> thus disregarding its documented self-dealing.	7
<b><u>E. Cronyism and Crony Capitalism.</u></b>	
<u>Rewarding ultra-wealthy individuals,</u> large campaign donors, Trump Foundation donors, family members, and other supporters with high level administrative positions, sometimes regardless of qualifications, sometimes with apparent conflicts of interest relative to their respective administrative portfolios, and sometimes (like Mr. Trump himself) with reputations for engaging in brutal business practices. <u>Prizder</u> (Labor secretary), <u>DeVos</u> (Education secretary), <u>Ricketts</u> (Deputy Commerce secretary), <u>Mnuchin</u> (Treasury secretary), <u>Ross</u> (Commerce secretary), <u>McMahon</u> (Small Business administrator), <u>Carson</u> (HUD secretary), <u>Kushner</u> (White House adviser and son-in-law), <u>Scaramucci</u> (White House adviser), others.	16
<u>Including multiple family members</u> – who shared family business interests with Mr. Trump but had no pertinent qualifications or security clearances – in high level international meetings and disclosing high level information to them.	10, 11, 15, 16
<u>Publicly promoting the retail brand of L.L. Bean</u> after receiving campaign contributions from one of its key shareholders.	16
<u>Soliciting and accepting unprecedented levels of corporate contributions</u> for the inauguration festivities, in explicit exchange for access to Mr. Trump and other administration officials.	16
<b><u>G. Through High Level Appointments</u></b>	
<b>Rashness:</b> <u>Michael Flynn</u> (National Security Advisor). Flynn is known for anti-Muslim rhetoric, spreading conspiracy theories about the Clintons, Benghazi and Sharia law, and hot-headed intemperance.	17 (6, 7, 13)



<p><b>Bigotry:</b> <u>Stephen Bannon</u> (chief strategist and senior counselor), <u>Ben Carson</u> (HUD secretary), and <u>Jeff Sessions</u> (Attorney General). Bannon officiated at Breitbart News, a racist publication; Carson repeatedly denigrated Muslims during the campaign; Sessions was once denied a federal judgeship for having made racist remarks.</p>	17 (6)
<p><b>Foreign Conflicts of Interest:</b> <u>Rex Tillerson</u> (Secretary of State), <u>Michael Flynn</u> (National Security Advisor), <u>Jared Kushner</u> (White House adviser and son-in-law). <u>Tillerson</u> was professionally friendly with Vladimir Putin and Russian oligarch Igor Sechin (Rosneft chief), and will likely remain at least psychologically, if not professionally, tied to Exxon's interests in Russia despite divesting his Exxon interests. Before and during the campaign, <u>Flynn</u> was a paid lobbyist for a firm closely allied with the Turkish government, and (it would be publicly revealed in March 2012, well after the campaign) for the Turkish government itself; also, he was paid to appear regularly on Russia Today, a state-sponsored, English-language propaganda unit, as well as at an RT celebration in Moscow. The real estate and other investments of <u>Kushner</u> and his family, and their resulting ability to access business and governmental leaders, span the globe.</p>	17 (12, 15)
<p><b>Domestic Conflicts of Interest:</b> <u>Cong. Tom Price</u>, nominee for HHS secretary, was alleged to have purchased stock in a company just days before introducing legislation that would have directly benefited it; to have received campaign money from that company's PAC after the legislation was introduced; and to have traded in the stock of dozens of companies while sponsoring or co-sponsoring legislation involving them. <u>Sonny Perdue</u>, nominee for Agriculture secretary, was the subject of numerous ethics complaints while serving as governor of Georgia, mainly regarding business conflicts of interest; and in two instances the Georgia State Ethics Commission fined him – unusual with respect to a sitting governor there.</p>	17 (15)
<p><b>Authoritarian Behavior:</b> <u>Appointing son-in-law Jared Kushner</u>, who had no relevant experience, as a senior White House advisor, arguably in violation of pertinent anti-nepotism laws.</p>	11

<p><b>Irregularities in Confirmation Processes:</b> Many top appointees contributed to the political campaigns of Senators who would conduct their confirmation hearings: <u>Sessions</u>, <u>Price</u>, <u>Pompeo</u>, <u>Mulvany</u>, <u>Coats</u>, <u>DeVos</u>, <u>McMahon</u>.</p> <p>Several others perjured themselves during sworn testimony before the confirmation committees. Secretary of State <u>Rex Tillerson</u> falsely denied that Exxon had lobbied the federal government to reject sanctions against Russia. EPA administrator <u>Scott Pruitt</u> falsely denied having used a private email account for official business while serving as Oklahoma's attorney general. Treasury secretary <u>Steven Mnuchin</u> initially hid \$100 million in real estate holdings and in a Cayman Islands tax shelter enterprise from the confirmation panel, and he spoke untruthfully about his mortgage company's practice of "robo-signing" mortgage foreclosure documents. HHS secretary <u>Tom Price</u> spoke untruthfully about his trading in the stock of a biomedical company.</p> <p>Several other nominees were found during the confirmation process to have acted illegally in the past. Labor secretary Andrew Puzder (who was later to withdraw from consideration for unrelated reasons) for hiring an undocumented household worker, and budget director Mick Mulvaney for having failed to pay nanny tax – offenses that had sunk presidential nominations in previous decades.</p> <p>Army secretary nominee <u>Vincent Viola</u> and (in February, after the inauguration) Navy secretary nominee <u>Philip Bilden</u> withdrew themselves from consideration once a serious examination of their backgrounds and conflicts of interest began.</p> <p>A February 10 New York Times article would reveal that Mr. Trump simply had foregone the usual vetting process before putting forth most or all of his nominations.</p>	10, 17 (7, 15, 16)
<p><b>Human Rights Abuse Denial:</b> <u>Rex Tillerson</u> refused to acknowledge during his confirmation hearing for Secretary of State that well-documented human rights abuses exist in Russia, Saudi Arabia and the Philippines.</p>	17 (14)
<p><b>Science Denial:</b> Vaccination: <u>Robert F. Kennedy, Jr.</u> Climate change (although several, for the first time, moderated their science denial during their confirmation hearings) : <u>Scott Pruitt</u> (EPA secretary), <u>Ryan Zinke</u> (Interior secretary), <u>Rick Perry</u> (Energy secretary), <u>Ben Carson</u> (HUD secretary), <u>Mike Pompeo</u> (CIA director), <u>Jeff Sessions</u> (Attorney General), <u>Tom Price</u> (HHS secretary), <u>Sonny Perdue</u> (Agriculture secretary), <u>Mick Mulvaney</u> (director of Office of Management of the Budget).</p>	17 (9)

<b>Spousal Abuse:</b> Both chief strategist <u>Stephen Bannon</u> and labor secretary <u>Andrew Puzder</u> (later to withdraw), like Mr. Trump himself, had been accused of spousal abuse in court documents.		17 (11)

## II. During and Since the Inauguration

1-19-17	<b><u>Hotel promotion.</u></b> Both Mr. Trump and press secretary Sean Spicer praised the beauty of the Trump International Hotel in Washington, and encouraged inauguration travelers to patronize it.	10, 11, 15
1-19-17	<b><u>Unknown Soldier ceremony boasts.</u></b> At the traditional, pre-inauguration laying of the wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, Mr. Trump boasted of the large attendance at the event, rather than meditating on the sacrifice of American soldiers.	10, 11
1-20-17	<b><u>Inauguration: rejection of global responsibilities.</u></b> In his inauguration address, Mr. Trump expressly and categorically rejected America's responsibilities to other peoples and nations.	14
1-20-17	<b><u>Inauguration: demagoguery.</u></b> In his inauguration address, Mr. Trump stoked popular fear, anger, and perceptions of rampant crime, unemployment, privation and powerless – i.e., implicitly, he stoked jealousy, paranoia, and potential scapegoating – all in the name of extreme nationalism; and deploying factual exaggerations in doing so.	7, 9
1-20-17	<b><u>Inauguration: claim to rule.</u></b> In his inauguration address, Mr. Trump declared that "the people" would now "rule," through him, even though only a minority of "the people" had voted for him, and many with strong misgivings. (CSD's concerns include Mr. Trump's delegitimizing the majority of voters and all opposition, as well as implying that the people's will would be manifested within his every personal whim.	9, 11
1-20-17	<b><u>Inauguration: militarism.</u></b> In his inauguration address, Mr. Trump excoriated civilian government while belligerently promoting the military and law enforcement authorities as America's protectors.	9

1-20-17	<b><u>Rush to denial of environmental science.</u></b> Immediately post-inauguration, Mr. Trump's staff changed the White House Web site to delete climate change and to list law and order among the administration's principal themes.	8, 9
1-20-17	<b><u>Imperial White House.</u></b> On inauguration day, Mr. Trump's staff installed imperial gold-colored curtains in the Oval Office.	9, 11
1-20-17	<b><u>Festive attacks.</u></b> At an inaugural ball, Mr. Trump attacked his "enemies" and the "dishonest press."	1, 10, 11
1-20-17	<b><u>Festive boasts.</u></b> At an inaugural ball, Mr. Trump boasted about the many service men and women who had voted for him, rather than praising them for their service and sacrifice.	9, 11
1-20-17	<b><u>Festive dancing.</u></b> At an inaugural ball, Mr. Trump led the first dance with the song, "My Way."	11
1-20/21-17	<b><u>Festive self-regard.</u></b> Overall, throughout the inaugural weekend, Mr. Trump engaged in non-stop self-promotion (as opposed to the more typical presidential expressions of gratitude and humility on that occasion) – on topics such as crowd size, TV ratings, supportive voters within the CIA staff, the beauty of the Trump International Hotel, the IQ scores of his cabinet appointees, and his electoral triumph contrary to statisticians' predictions.	11
1-21-17	<b><u>Wishful war crimes.</u></b> Mr. Trump reiterated to the CIA a campaign statement that the U.S. should have seized and exploited Iraqi oil during its occupation, contrary to international law.	10, 13, 14
1-21-17	<b><u>Inauguration crowd size claim.</u></b> Mr. Trump falsely said that the media had intentionally understated the popular attendance at his inauguration; and he said that the media would "pay a big price" for that. (Press Secretary Sean Spicer then joined in the allegation for several days.)	1, 7
1-21-17	<b><u>Falsehood re media.</u></b> Mr. Trump falsely stated to the CIA that the press had concocted his previous "feud" with the CIA.	1, 7

1-21-17	<b><u>Boasts at the CIA Memorial Wall.</u></b> During the CIA meeting, before a wall honoring the CIA's fallen, Mr. Trump extolled his popularity, fame and intellect rather than the service and sacrifice of CIA staff.	10, 11
1-23-17	<b><u>Presidential "sacrifice."</u></b> Press secretary Sean Spicer, possibly at the instance of Mr. Trump, stated that Mr. Trump had made a "sacrifice" in "leaving" his business to become President of the United States. (In fact (1) few people on the planet would consider it a sacrifice to serve as President of the United States, (2) Mr. Trump has not in fact left and has vowed not to leave his business, and (3) Mr. Trump's business is likely, whether sooner or later, to grow materially as a direct consequence of his having served as president.)	7, 11
1-23-17	<b><u>Fraudulent voting claim.</u></b> Mr. Trump reiterated, in a private session with Capitol Hill leaders, his post-election canard that 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 "illegals" (a derogatory term) voted for Hillary Clinton and thus cost him the popular vote by way of fraud.	4, 6, 7, 11
1-23-17	<b><u>Government defense of private lawsuit.</u></b> Mr. Trump directed that the Justice Department, at the taxpayers' expense and with the full weight of the United States' government's authority and resources, defend a lawsuit brought against him personally which alleged that his business dealings presented conflicts of interest and thus violated the Constitution. (Using government resources to defend a personal lawsuit would itself appear to be a conflict of interest and an abuse of power.)	9, 11, 15
1-24-17	<b><u>Fraudulent voting claim reaffirmed.</u></b> Press secretary Sean Spicer said repeatedly that Mr. Trump genuinely believes that 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 "illegals" voted for Hillary Clinton, even without supporting evidence. (If Mr. Trump's claim is thus not an intentional falsehood, it would appear to be delusional – a different hallmark of some authoritarian leaders, which not only corrupts democracy but can drive a nation to ruin. The alternative possibility of delusion is thus raised relative to some or all of the other statements described in this document as intentional falsehoods.)	10, 11
1-25-17	<b><u>Bannon on the press.</u></b> Chief strategist Stephen Bannon labeled the media "the opposition party" and said that it should "keep its mouth shut."	1

1-25-17	<b><u>State Department purge.</u></b> Mr. Trump's administration abruptly purged much of the State Department's senior leadership, without notice and without having identified replacements for them.	9, 10, 11, 13
1-25-17	<b><u>Call for voter fraud investigation.</u></b> Mr. Trump called for a major investigation of voter fraud, despite no evidence that fraud occurred to any material extent in this or any other recent state or national election, with the possible intent of encouraging voter suppression efforts. (On February 1, Politico would release a new poll showing that 25% of voters had been convinced of those baseless allegations by Mr. Trump.)	4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11
1-25-17	<b><u>Draft travel ban.</u></b> Mr. Trump released a draft directive that individuals from certain Muslim countries be barred from the U.S., whether as refugees or through visas, thus risking radical Islamist propaganda gains.	6, 13, 14
1-25-17	<b><u>Refugee curtailment.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced his intention to radically curtail our nation's refugee program in general.	14
1-25-17	<b><u>Torture proposal.</u></b> Mr. Trump reiterated to ABC news his campaign statement that he would like to resume waterboarding as an interrogation technique, contrary to international law.	13, 14
1-25-17	<b><u>Mar-a-Lago windfall.</u></b> CNBC reported that Mr. Trump had doubled the membership fees for his Mar-a-Lago club in Palm Beach since being elected president.	15
1-25-17	<b><u>Stock market commentary.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted positively about the stock market's record-breaking close, contrary to prior presidential policy of not commenting on short-term market moves.	10
1-25-17	<b><u>Chicago military threat.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted an ambiguous and possibly unconstitutional threat to send federal forces into Chicago to contain street violence there.	9, 10
1-25-17	<b><u>Un-vetted immigration orders.</u></b> Mr. Trump issued a series of provocative and disruptive executive orders regarding immigration (the Mexican wall, sanctuary cities, increased law enforcement) without having consulted with or informed members of his own party in Congress.	9, 10

1-25-17	<b><u>Draft of UN cuts.</u></b> Mr. Trump released a draft executive order to substantially de-fund various United Nations operations, including peace-keeping, and to consider withdrawing from various multilateral treaties.	13, 14
1-26-17	<b><u>Mexican consternation.</u></b> Mr. Trump reiterated his insistence that Mexico pay for the proposed border wall, whereupon Mexico's president cancelled a meeting with Mr. Trump, whereupon Mr. Trump publicly proposed a 20% import tax, then promptly walked back that proposal due to Republican backlash.	10, 13, 14
1-26-17	<b><u>Untrue crime statistics (Philadelphia).</u></b> Mr. Trump falsely stated that homicides in Philadelphia were steadily increasing.	6, 7
1-27-17	<b><u>Travel bans issued.</u></b> Without cabinet or Congressional consultation, Mr. Trump issued the previously proposed travel directive, which radically and immediately curtailed refugee admissions generally, refugee admissions from Syria specifically, and the issuance of visas to citizens of majority Muslim countries – thus creating humanitarian havoc, angering Muslim allies, threatening to undo years of trust-building efforts with the Muslim American community, and enhancing the lure of radical Islamist hatred toward the U.S. overseas. In the directive, exceptions to the ban were made for Christians and other religious minorities. (On January 30, the Washington Post would report that jihadists rejoiced in their propaganda windfall.) Within days, several Muslim American organizations that had been awarded federal grants to fight extremism here would reject the grant money and forego the federal program. On February 3, the Wall Street Journal would report that the executive order was now causing millions of Middle Eastern Christians to fear for their safety. On February 4 the New York Times would report that many Iraqi soldiers fighting ISIS alongside American troops in the Mosul offensive felt insulted and disheartened by the executive order. Within a week after the issuance of the executive order, over a dozen American courts would issue their own orders to the effect that the executive order was unconstitutional and should not be enforced.	6, 10, 13, 14

1-27-17	<b><u>Inaccuracies re refugees.</u></b> In connection with that order, Mr. Trump falsely stated that under the previous administration it was almost impossible for Christians to be admitted to the U.S. as refugees, when in fact almost as many Christians as Muslims had been admitted in 2016.	7
1-27-17	<b><u>Travel ban conflicts of interest.</u></b> The travel ban did not pertain to any Muslim-majority countries in which Mr. Trump had business interests, even though some of those countries have been the source of many international terrorists.	15
1-27-17	<b><u>Flurry of inexpert orders.</u></b> Mr. Trump ended a week of creating extraordinary upheaval and uncertainty within the government by issuing major directives on healthcare, trade, abortion, the environment, immigration, national security, housing and other areas, all without having studied their implications, consulted the pertinent implementing agencies or Congress, or coordinated internal communications among senior White House staff. The decisions appear to have been made by only a handful of men, none with previous government experience.	9, 10
1-27-17	<b><u>Fraudulent voting – the source.</u></b> Mr. Trump, in a tweet, cited Gregg Phillips, a discredited conspiracy theorist, as his source for allegations that over 3,000,000 votes for Hillary Clinton were fraudulent.	4, 7, 10, 11
1-27-17	<b><u>Attacking the media.</u></b> Mr. Trump, echoing chief strategist Stephen Bannon, referred to the media as "the opposition party."	1
1-28-17	<b><u>Untruth about The New York Times.</u></b> Mr. Trump repeated his falsehood that his nemesis, The New York Times, is losing readership, when in fact subscriptions had reached an all-time high.	1, 7
1-28-17	<b><u>Bannon to the National Security Council.</u></b> Mr. Trump added chief strategist Stephen Bannon (a political operative) to the National Security Council while demoting two of the NSC's most important security experts – the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the director of national intelligence.	9, 10, 13



1-28-17	<b><u>Border patrol defiance of court orders.</u></b> Border patrol officials defied court orders to release, or to allow lawyers to visit, travelers who had been detained at several airports in connection with Mr. Trump's sudden travel bans – possibly at the direction of the White House.	17 (2)
1-28-17	<b><u>Negotiation with information.</u></b> In a phone call with Vladimir Putin, Mr. Trump criticized a current nuclear arms reduction treaty without being aware of its contents. (Details of the conversation would emerge on February 9.)	10, 13, 14
1-29-17	<b><u>Attack on The New York Times.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the New York Times traffics in "fake news."	1, 7
1-30-17	<b><u>Attack on Sen. Schumer.</u></b> Mr. Trump mocked Senator Chuck Schumer for choking back tears over the plight of refugees and others affected by Mr. Trump's travel bans.	7, 10, 11
1-30-17	<b><u>Dismissal of Sally Yates.</u></b> Mr. Trump fired Acting Attorney General Sally Yates for declining to defend the court actions against his travel bans, even though she had been expressly cautioned by Senator Jeff Sessions, during her 2015 confirmation hearing, to follow principle over commands under President Obama. (Senator Sessions subsequently became her replacement as Attorney General.) (Mr. Trump's action, while probably legal, was compared in spirit to President Nixon's 1973 "Saturday Night Massacre" of the Watergate prosecutor and the subsequent resignations of top Justice Department officials, thus precipitating President Nixon's impeachment. Concerns arose that the Justice Department under Mr. Trump could become uniquely unable to enforce laws and the Constitution objectively.)	9
1-30-17	<b><u>State Department dissenters invited to resign.</u></b> Press secretary Sean Spicer urged dissenting State Department officials to quit their jobs, even though the participation in a "dissent memo" (here relating to Mr. Trump's travel ban) was until then an accepted practice.	17(9, 10)

1-31-17	<b><u>Supreme Court nomination spectacle.</u></b> Mr. Trump named Neil Gorsuch as his nominee to the Supreme Court in an ostentatious, live, prime-time televised spectacle, following a guessing-game build-up that he had boasted about before and during the announcement. He also began the announcement by stating that he was the first president "in a very, very long time" to be "a man of his word." (So altogether, Mr. Trump undertook to (a) humiliate prior administrations; (b) accentuate the association between his personal executive authority and the shape of the high court, although the Constitution intends the opposite; and (c) tarnish the sanctity of the Constitutional process with personal vanity and reality show glitter.)	9, 11
2-1-17	<b><u>Attack on CNN.</u></b> Mr. Trump attacked CNN as trafficking in "fake news" and the media as "the opposition party."	1, 7
2-1-17	<b><u>Insulting the Australian prime minister.</u></b> In a rude telephone call with the Australian prime minister, during which Mr. Trump abruptly hung up, Mr. Trump disrupted a U.S.-Australian agreement for the admission to the U.S. of a group of refugees under Australian control.	10, 13, 14
2-2-17	<b><u>Threat to U.C. Berkeley.</u></b> Mr. Trump threatened to pull federal funds from the University of California Berkeley because the university – out of concern for further violence – had cancelled an appearance by a notorious Breitbart News provocateur that had already generated rioting. (The provocateur was later fired by Breitbart for an unrelated reason – publicly condoning pedophilia.)	9, 10
2-3-17	<b><u>Conflicts in bank de-regulation.</u></b> Mr. Trump promised to deregulate banks (i.e., to eviscerate the Dodd-Frank Act that attempted to rein in deceptive and reckless lending practices such as had caused the Great Recession in 2007-2008) because his many "friends" in the business world were unable to get loans. (The de-regulation could also be expected to materially benefit Mr. Trump's own real estate enterprises, in terms of both easier credit for commercial borrowers generally and favorable lending terms that Mr. Trump could enjoy as a personal "thank you" from the banks.)	15, 16

2-3-17	<b><u>Attack on Schwarzenegger.</u></b> Mr. Trump gratuitously tweeted insulting remarks about former California governor Arnold Schwarzenegger, now hosting the television program Celebrity Apprentice in which Mr. Trump had retained a financial interest, due to his dissatisfaction with Mr. Schwarzenegger's performance and politics.	10, 11, 15
2-4-17	<b><u>Attack on travel ban judge.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted insulting personal criticism of a federal district court judge in Washington State who had ordered a nationwide halt to the enforcement of a travel ban contained in Mr. Trump's recent executive order – including by referring to him as a "so-called judge," and "ridiculous." (On February 12, the Associated Press would report that the judge subsequently experienced threatening messages on social media.)	2, 10, 11, 17 (5)
2-4-17	<b><u>Denial of courts' right to review presidential action.</u></b> Later, in seeking to overturn that judicial order, Mr. Trump's attorneys at the Justice Department filed pleadings that argued that the courts have no authority to review presidential decisions "to suspend the admission of any class of aliens," and thus that the court itself injured America and violated the Constitution.	2
2-4-17	<b><u>Conflicts at Mar-a-Lago.</u></b> Mr. Trump attended charity events at two of his resort properties in Florida, thus promoting the properties and drawing paying attendees, all to Mr. Trump's personal profit.	15
2-4-17	<b><u>Attack on New York Times.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the New York Times traffics in "fake news."	1, 7
2-4-17	<b><u>Minimizing Russian political killings.</u></b> In a Fox News interview, Mr. Trump declined to comment on extrajudicial killings of Vladimir Putin's opponents in Russia, except that "there are a lot of killers" in America also, thus politically and morally equating the two countries in that regard.	10, 12, 17 (1, 4, 9)
2-4-17	<b><u>Scapegoating a travel ban judge.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that if a terrorist enters the U.S. and causes injury because the federal judge in Washington State had suspended Mr. Trump's travel ban, Americans should "blame [the judge] and the court system." (Observers feared that Mr. Trump was setting up the judiciary as a scapegoat, should terrorist attacks – almost inevitably – materialize in the future.)	2, 9, 11

2-4-17	<b><u>Plan for voter fraud investigation.</u></b> Mr. Trump told Fox News that he planned to establish a commission to investigate what he had repeatedly alleged was massive voter fraud in the election, while still failing to offer any evidence for that charge.	4, 7, 9
2-6-17	<b><u>Attack on opinion polls.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that "any negative [opinion] polls [about his presidency] are fake news, just like the CNN, ABC, NBC polls in the election." (Most of the election polls had actually been accurate within the statistical margin of error.)	1, 7, 11
2-6-17	<b><u>Attack on the press re reports on terrorism.</u></b> Mr. Trump said that the (generic) press was intentionally not reporting on (unspecified) instances of terrorist attacks. (Most of the attacks had in fact been reported, many at great length. Observers feared that Mr. Trump was setting up the press as a scapegoat, should terrorist attacks – almost inevitably – materialize in the future.)	1, 7, 9, 11
2-6-17	<b><u>Attack on New York Times.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the New York Times was "failing" and was "making up stories and sources" about him in a display of "total fiction."	1, 7
2-6-17	<b><u>Campaign-style address at Tampa air base.</u></b> Mr. Trump delivered a campaign-style address at an Air Force base in Tampa, praising his own popularity with the military. (Observers feared that Mr. Trump could be seeking to politicize the military in his favor, contrary to American political and Constitutional tradition.)	9, 11
2-7-17	<b><u>Texas vendetta.</u></b> Mr. Trump publicly and casually threatened to "destroy [the] career" of a Texas state senator who had disagreed on a routine matter with a political ally of Mr. Trump's (possibly as a joke, but if so, a chilling one).	9, 10, 11
2-7-17	<b><u>False murder rate.</u></b> Mr. Trump repeated his previous falsehood that the nation's murder rate is the highest in 45 years. (In fact it is near its lowest in decades.)	6, 7, 9
2-8-17	<b><u>President not subject to courts.</u></b> During oral argument before the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals, the Trump administration's attorney argued that the president's authority on national security issues is never reviewable by the judiciary.	2, 9

2-8-17	<b><u>Attack on Nordstrom.</u></b> Mr. Trump publicly attacked Nordstrom for dropping his daughter Ivanka's fashion line – thus seeking on the one hand to bolster her business by having her line reinstated, or on the other hand to punish Nordstrom by depressing its retail sales, and in any event marking Nordstrom as a political enemy.	10, 11, 15, 16
2-8-17	<b><u>Attack on travel ban judges.</u></b> Mr. Trump publicly insinuated that the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals judges were behaving politically, improperly and incompetently ("a bad high school student would understand" Mr. Trump's statutory and constitutional authority to control immigration) in their review of the lower (Washington State) court's order halting the presidential travel ban – and all in the midst of the appellate hearings themselves. He called the proceedings "disgraceful." He also tweeted: "If the U.S. does not win this case as it obviously should, we can never have the security and safety to which we are entitled. Politics!" (He thus positioned the court as a scapegoat relative to all future terrorist attacks on our soil).	2, 9, 10, 11
2-9-17	<b><u>Promotion of Ivanka's fashion line.</u></b> Presidential counselor Kelly Anne Conway explicitly promoted Ivanka Trump's fashion line on television, drawing a recommendation for disciplinary action by the Office of Government Ethics and a promise for an ethics investigation by the Republican chair of the House Oversight Committee. (But no investigation was to materialize, and Mr. Trump declined to discipline Conway.)	17 (15, 16)
2-9-17	<b><u>Attack on Sen. Blumenthal.</u></b> Mr. Trump attacked Senator Richard Blumenthal's overall integrity after the Senator publicly reported the displeasure of Supreme Court nominee Neil Gorsuch with Mr. Trump's recent attacks on the judiciary.	10, 11
2-9-17	<b><u>Attack on travel ban appeals court.</u></b> After the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals sustained the Washington State federal district court's order staying the president's travel ban, Mr. Trump again castigated the appeals court as being "political."	2, 10, 11
2-9-17	<b><u>New Hampshire voting fraud claim.</u></b> Mr. Trump alleged, without offering evidence, that he had lost the popular vote in New Hampshire due to massive voter fraud, by way of voters being bused in from Massachusetts.	4, 7

2-11-17	<b><u>Mar-a-Lago security breach, conflicts.</u></b> At Mar-a-Lago, an exclusive resort in Palm Beach owned and frequented by Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump reviewed sensitive intelligence reports on a North Korean missile launch with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe at an outdoor patio table while surrounded by resort guests and in an unsecured environment – an apparently unprecedented and possibly illegal break with diplomatic and security protocols. Mr. Trump contemporaneously succeeded in promoting Mar-a-Lago as a commercial enterprise. (On February 14, the House Ethics Committee would announce an investigation of the breach of security protocols.)	10, 13, 15
2-12-17	<b><u>Miller on voting fraud, court authority, more.</u></b> Stephen Miller, Mr. Trump's senior advisor, forcefully repeated the canard that 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 fraudulent votes were cast for Hillary Clinton (while still offering no evidence for the claim). He also forcefully insisted that the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals had no right to rule on the constitutionality of Mr. Trump's recent travel ban, and that the president's authority is absolute. He also forcefully and inaccurately stated that Mr. Trump had accomplished more in his first three weeks in office than other presidents had accomplished in an entire administration. Afterwards Mr. Trump tweeted his praise for Miller's performance.	17 (2, 4, 6, 7, 9)
2-13/15-17	<b><u>Flynn's discussions with Russians, misstatements to administration.</u></b> On February 9, American security officials had finally acknowledged that National Security Advisor Michael Flynn had indeed discussed President Obama's Russian sanctions and other sensitive aspects of the U.S.-Russia relationship with the Russian ambassador while Mr. Obama was still the president – contrary to prior denials by Mr. Flynn to the White House and to Vice President Pence. The discussion(s) may have amounted to subversion under the Logan Act. On February 13, Mr. Flynn admitted his prior misstatements and resigned his position. Mr. Trump had been told of the affair some weeks previous and had sought Flynn's resignation only after the matter had been leaked to the public; and after the public revelation, Mr. Trump's only public comments were to denounce the leak; denounce the affair as a purely political distraction brought by Democrats in retaliation for their having lost the election; fault Flynn for lying to Pence; and support Flynn for having spoken to the Russian ambassador. [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17 (7, 9, 12)

2-13/15-17	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] (On February 15 the press would report that Mr. Flynn had initially lied to the FBI about the matter as well, which would constitute a separate felony.)	7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 17 (7, 9, 12)
2-14/15-17	<p><b><u>Russian campaign contacts exposed, denied.</u></b> During the election campaign (and prior to the start date of this document), Russian intelligence and/or other governmental officials had had extensive contacts with Mr. Trump's high level advisors and campaign staff, including then campaign manager Paul Manafort and campaign advisor (later named National Security Advisor) Michael Flynn. American intelligence agencies had monitored the calls, particularly in view of Mr. Trump's expressed admiration for the Russian prime minister Vladimir Putin, Mr. Trump's public invitation for Russians to hack Democratic emails, and the actual Russian hacking of Democratic emails that ensued. Two days after the election, Russia's deputy foreign minister had then openly revealed, in general terms, that such broad contact had occurred – a statement which Mr. Trump's campaign promptly denied. On or around December 31, the American intelligence agencies communicated their findings about the contacts to the FBI, which in turn shared them with President Obama and President-elect Trump. On February 13, the New York Times and CNN made those general findings public, based on leaked information. Press secretary Sean Spicer promptly denied that the communications had occurred. On February 15, Mr. Trump criticized the leaks, but not the conversations; and he proposed appointing a billionaire financier, friend and supporter with no intelligence experience to oversee all the national intelligence agencies. (Mr. Trump's criticism of the leaks contradicted his own prior embrace of leaks relative to Hillary Clinton's behavior as Secretary of State and relative to Democratic Party emails. While President Obama during his tenure had himself quashed leaks on policy issues, Mr. Trump appeared now to seek to quash leaks to protect himself legally and politically.)</p>	9, 12, 13, 17 (7, 9, 12)
2-15-17	<p><b><u>Refusal to discuss hate crimes.</u></b> In a joint news conference with Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu, Mr. Trump – who is not anti-Semitic – nevertheless refused to respond to an Orthodox Jewish reporter's question about the torrent of anti-Semitic episodes that had arisen during and after his election campaign, and he delivered that refusal in rude terms.</p>	1, 10, 11, 17 (6)

2-15-17	<b>Foreign policy without advice.</b> Mr. Trump softened or dropped the U.S.'s long-standing commitment to a two-state solution for Israelis and Palestinians without having consulted with Secretary of State Rex Tillerson or other cabinet members. Similarly, it was reported on that date that Mr. Trump had appointed many ambassadors without Tillerson's approval.	13
2-16-17	<b>Unusual first press conference.</b> Mr. Trump devoted much of a his first (and very lengthy) news conference as president to attacking the honesty of the press and to blaming it for recent setbacks in U.S.-Russian relations. He also denied the reports of intelligence agencies that his campaign staff had been in contact with the Russian government, and that his administration was suffering from internal chaos – proclaiming instead that his White House team was running like a "fine-tuned machine." He also blamed Democrats for creating an impression that anti-Semitic acts had flowered since his election; and again, although himself not anti-Semitic, he refused to condemn that anti-Semitism. He also vastly exaggerated the size of his Electoral College victory, as he had done repeatedly in the past. And he stated that National Security Advisor Michael Flynn did nothing wrong by speaking to the Russian ambassador about President Obama's sanctions prior to the inauguration, even going so far as to say: "I would have directed him to do it if I thought he wasn't doing it. I didn't direct him, but I would've directed him because that's his job." (Mr. Trump thus expressly supported Flynn's actions that may have amounted to subversion under the Logan Act.) Altogether the Washington Post identified 15 dubious or false claims made by Mr. Trump during the course of the news conference.	1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17 (6, 9, 12)
2-16-17	<b>Travel and security expense; golfing time.</b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's frequent trips to Mar-a-Lago, his Florida ocean-side resort, his wife's maintenance of a home in Trump Tower on Fifth Avenue in New York, and his sons' many domestic and international business trips, in the aggregate, will cost the government hundreds of millions of dollars in secret service and local police security costs (for the entire Trump family) and direct travel costs (for Mr. Trump and his retinue), far in excess of any other president. Costs for golf trips to Mar-a-Lago and Mr. Trump's golf course in Bedminster, NJ are expected to dwarf the costs of President Obama's golf trips, of which Mr. Trump had been intensely critical during the election campaign.	11



2-17-17	<b><u>News outlets as "enemy of the people."</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that The New York Times, NBC, ABC, CBS and CNN are all "fake news" outlets, and "the enemy of the American people!" (The phrase "enemy of the people" had been commonly used by Lenin and Stalin to condemn entire classes of people and to send them to their deaths. Nikita Khrushchev abandoned the term in the 1960s.)	1, 7, 9,10
2-17/21-17	<b><u>Suspect economic projections.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that the Trump administration had projected economic growth far in excess of that projected by virtually all leading economists, and was seeking to re-calculate trade deficits so as to exaggerate them – all in the service of (dubiously) justifying Mr. Trump's economic and trade policies.	7, 8
2-18-17	<b><u>Florida rally misstatements.</u></b> At a "campaign rally" in Florida, Mr. Trump castigated the media to a wildly cheering crowd; condemned a terrorist attack in Sweden that hadn't occurred; and boasted about shaving \$1 billion from the price of a new Air Force One airplane (which the Air Force subsequently denied having knowledge of). Altogether the Washington Post identified 13 dubious or false claims within Mr. Trump's statements.	1, 7, 9, 10, 11
2-19-17	<b><u>Death of qualified staff.</u></b> A New York Times article confirmed and detailed Mr. Trump's continuing inability to fill top diplomatic and national security positions, due to dissonance between his views and those of most knowledgeable professionals, and to his style of ignoring, overriding and politicizing objective intelligence data.	10, 13
2-21-17	<b><u>Disparagement of protesters.</u></b> Mr. Trump insinuated that angry protests against his administration at local Congressional offices and events were centrally manufactured and insincere – "planned by liberal activists. Sad!"	3, 7, 9, 11
2-22-17	<b><u>Russian critique of American press.</u></b> The Russian foreign ministry effectively joined the Trump administration in prominently labeling The New York Times "fake news" on the ministry's Web site, by way of a large red "Fake" stamp superimposed on critical news articles.	12, 17 (1)

2-22-17	<b><u>Amnesty's critique.</u></b> Amnesty International, in its annual global report, linked Mr. Trump's "poisonous" rhetoric with the wave of divisive authoritarianism sweeping the world. It condemned his "toxic agenda that hounds, scapegoats and dehumanizes entire groups of people." It said that "the narratives of blame, hate and fear took on a global prominence to a level not seen since the 1930s" – i.e., when Adolf Hitler rose to power in Germany.	6, 9
2-23-17	<b><u>Marginalization of State Dept.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that since Mr. Trump's inauguration, the State Department had stopped its daily press briefings, secretary Rex Tillerson had been excluded from meetings with world leaders, and the department had generally been sidelined by White House operatives in the conduct of high level strategy and diplomacy.	13
2-23-17	<b><u>Pressure on intelligence agencies.</u></b> CNN reported that – contrary to law – the White House had recently attempted to (a) cause the FBI to tell the press its misgivings about The New York Times reports concerning Mr. Trump's campaign staff having communicated with Russian officials, and (b) cause intelligence agencies to conclude that Mr. Trump's travel ban was strategically justified.	9, 13
2-23-17	<b><u>Bannon on the press.</u></b> White House chief strategist Stephen Bannon, at a televised conservative conference (CPAC), repeatedly referred to the press as "the opposition party."	17 (1)
2-24-17	<b><u>Barring the press.</u></b> Mr. Trump again attacked the "fake news" of major media outlets, again termed it or them "the enemy of the American people," then caused The New York Times, CNN, Politico, the BBC, The Huffington Post, The Los Angeles Times, and other news organs to be barred from an untelevised press conference with press secretary Sean Spicer – an apparently unprecedented act. Several right-wing news outlets, including White House chief strategist Stephen Bannon's former employer Breitbart News, were invited to the event instead. The White House later denied that any of this was unusual.	1, 17 (7)

2-24-17	<b><u>Pressure on Congressional committees to leak and denounce.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that, after the FBI had refused to denounce The New York Times to the press for potential inaccuracies regarding the Trump campaign's communications with Russian officials, the White House caused other senior intelligence officials, including members of Congress sitting on intelligence committees, to anonymously denounce The New York Times. Mr. Trump apparently did this on the same day that he decried anonymous, antagonistic government leaks. (Mr. Trump frequently cites anonymous sources when disputing well-established facts.)	9, 13
2-24-17	<b><u>Multiple untruths at CPAC.</u></b> The New York Times reported 10 false or misleading statements that Mr. Trump had made during the course of his recent speech to the Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC).	7
2-24-17	<b><u>Rejection of intelligence findings.</u></b> Mr. Trump rejected an intelligence report that immigrants from the seven Muslim-majority countries whose travel he had banned do not pose a particular risk of terrorism, insisting that the intelligence agencies match their intelligence conclusions to his political ones.	9, 13
2-26-17	<b><u>Subordinates' policy corrections.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's prior and continuing pronouncements on foreign policy and security issues had been so disruptive that various top administration officials – with or without authorization – had felt compelled to publicly walk them back. As reported in the Post and elsewhere, the following examples of subordinates correcting Mr. Trump on such matters (and other matters) had appeared. [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	9, 10, 13

2-26-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] DHS secretary <i>Kelly</i> ("military operations" will <u>not</u> be used in deportations); U.N. ambassador <i>Haley</i> (a one-state solution for Israelis and Palestinians was <u>not</u> being considered by the administration); Vice President <i>Pence</i> (NATO is <u>not</u> obsolete); defense secretary <i>Mattis</i> (the media is <u>not</u> "the enemy of the American people"; the U.S. should <u>not</u> have seized Iraqi oil as spoils of war; security assurances to South Korea, Japan and NATO <u>will</u> remain; torture is <u>not</u> effective in eliciting information); national security advisor <i>McMaster</i> (it is <u>not</u> wise to refer to "radical Islamic terrorism"); CIA director <i>Pompeo</i> (torture is <u>not</u> legal); treasury secretary <i>Mnuchin</i> (China might <u>not</u> be a currency manipulator; the IRS needs <u>more</u> funding, not less); budget director <i>Mulvaney</i> (spending more for military and infrastructure, and continuing the current level of Medicare and Medicare spending, is <u>not</u> fiscally sound). (While previous presidents and their top officials have often disagreed, the torrent of public disagreements within the first weeks of the Trump presidency appeared to be unprecedented.)</p>	9, 10, 13
2-26-17	<p><b><u>Cumulative falsehoods.</u></b> The Huffington Post identified 100 falsehoods that Mr. Trump and his aides had advanced during his first 37 days in office, and characterized the figure as extraordinary relative to previous presidents.</p>	7
2-26-17	<p><b><u>Derogatory falsehoods about The Times.</u></b> The New York Times' executive editor told CNN that Mr. Trump had referred to the Times as financially "failing" 53 times, even though its subscriptions have risen (due to Mr. Trump's candidacy and presidency) and its profits are strong. The same day, Mr. Trump again tweeted that the Times reports inaccurately and unfairly.</p>	1, 7
2-27-17	<p><b><u>De-funding diplomacy.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced a major increase in defense spending, as the White House proposed cutting the State Department's budget by up to 30% – thus suggesting a preference for military solutions to international issues over diplomatic ones. Shortly afterwards, over 120 retired generals and admirals disagreed, writing in a letter to Congressional leaders: "The State Department, USAID, Millennium Challenge Corporation, Peace Corps and other development agencies are critical to preventing conflict and reducing the need to put our men and women in uniform in harm's way."</p>	9, 13

2-27-17	<b><u>Blaming Obama.</u></b> Mr. Trump said that President Obama and "his people" were behind the recent, widespread town hall protests against Mr. Trump's policies and practices, and possibly also "some of the leaks" coming out of the White House.	3, 7, 9
2-28-17	<b><u>Self-enrichment through regulatory roll-back.</u></b> Mr. Trump directed the Environmental Protection Agency to roll back a federal rule protecting American waterways from pollution, thus benefitting his own golf courses.	15
2-28-17	<b><u>Shedding responsibility for Yemen raid.</u></b> Mr. Trump disclaimed all responsibility for the country's first military operation in Yemen, which he had ordered one week into his presidency, and which had resulted in the death of an American SEAL, the deaths of several Yemeni civilians, the loss of an attack helicopter, and the collection of possibly minimal actionable intelligence. Mr. Trump instead blamed former President Obama's administration and the military. (Contrast to the prompt acceptance of responsibility by then President Obama and then Secretary of State Hillary Clinton for the deaths of American diplomats in Benghazi some years previous.) Earlier in February, press secretary Sean Spicer had called the operation a "huge success."	7, 11
2-28-17	<b><u>Blaming hate crimes on opponents.</u></b> Mr. Trump, in condemning a recent spate of anti-Semitic bomb threats and cemetery desecrations, insinuated that they were being perpetrated by his opponents to discredit him and his supporters -- an argument consistent with that advanced by three of the country's leading anti-Semites: Andrew Anglin (The Daily Stormer), David Duke (former Ku Klux Klan leader), and Richard Spencer (National Policy Institute).	7, 9, 17 (6, 7)
2-28-17	<b><u>Inflation of unemployment statistics.</u></b> In addressing a joint session of Congress, Mr. Trump repeated his charge that 94,000,000 Americans are out of the labor force, when in fact most of those are students, the disabled, the retired, stay-at-home parents, or otherwise not interested in being employed. According to CNN, the meaningful number of unemployed was closer to 12,000,000. The Washington Post documented eleven additional misleading or inaccurate statements in the address.	7

3-2-17	<p><b><u>Secret Russian meetings by Sessions, Flynn, Kushner.</u></b> Attorney General Jeff Sessions was forced to recuse himself from Justice Department investigations of Trump campaign contacts with Russian officials after the Washington Post revealed that he had lied to Congress under oath in denying his own Russian contacts while he was actively advancing the Trump campaign. Mr. Trump said (as he had said when Michael Flynn had been forced to retire) that no wrongdoing had occurred, and that the outcome was the result of an overwrought and embittered Democratic Party.</p> <p>Also in the first week of March, the New Yorker reported that Mr. Trump's then senior advisors Michael Flynn and Jared Kushner had a previously undisclosed (and presumably conciliatory) meeting with the Russian ambassador at the Trump Tower in New York (Mr. Trump's then home) in late December, prior to his inauguration, as President Obama was moving toward sanctioning Russia for interfering with the American election.</p> <p>Mr. Trump continued to deny awareness of contact with Russian officials on the part of any of his pre- and post-election aides, until those contacts were revealed, serially, by the press.</p>	7, 9, 12, 17 (7, 9, 12)
3-2-12	<p><b><u>Count of campaign aides who spoke to Russians.</u></b> The Huffington Post documented that at least five Trump campaign aides had spoken to Russian officials, and that Mr. Trump and his administration, after the election, had repeatedly denied that <u>any</u> had spoken to such officials.</p>	7, 12, 17 (7, 12)
3-3-17	<p><b><u>Tillerson skips human rights event.</u></b> Secretary Rex Tillerson declined to personally present the State Department's annual human rights report to the public, markedly breaking with bi-partisan tradition.</p>	17 (14)
3-3-17	<p><b><u>Donald Trump, Jr. and Russia.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that Donald Trump, Jr., the president's son, was paid at least \$50,000 in October to speak to a pro-Russian think-tank in Paris. (Years before he had noted the extensive investments of Russians in Trump family real estate ventures.)</p>	17 (12, 15)

3-3-17	<b><u>Denial of ethics obligations.</u></b> NPR reported that the White House had asserted, without citing legal authority, that not just the president, but possibly the entire Executive Office staff, are not bound to a broad range of federal ethics regulations. (Outside ethics experts objected strenuously.)	9, 15
3-3-17	<b><u>Non-enforcement of acknowledged ethical rules.</u></b> Pro Publica reported that the White House was not enforcing even its own watered-down ethics rules relating to employing individuals in policy positions relative to which they had recently been paid as professional lobbyists.	17 (15)
3-4-17	<p><b><u>Accusation of wiretapping by Obama.</u></b> Mr. Trump hotly, repeatedly and without evidence tweeted that then President Obama had ordered that Mr. Trump's phones in Trump Tower be tapped during the election campaign; and the following day his staff publicly requested that Congressional intelligence committees investigate Mr. Obama for that. In charging Mr. Obama, Mr. Trump effectively accused Mr. Obama of dire constitutional and other legal violations, and denigrated the vision and the mechanisms of American democracy for the world to see.</p> <p>But within an hour after those tweets – of such grave significance – Mr. Trump casually tweeted his latest disparaging remark about Arnold Schwarzenegger's ratings on the Celebrity Apprentice television program in which Mr. Trump retains a financial interest; and then he went out to play golf.</p> <p>Mr. Obama, his director of national intelligence James Clapper, and then and current FBI director James Comey all promptly denied Mr. Trump's allegation about President Obama. (They did not comment on his allegation about Mr. Schwarzenegger.)</p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 15
3-4-17	<b><u>Military display without strategy.</u></b> A New York Times news analysis advanced that Mr. Trump's emerging military plan appeared to be to buy and display large weapons systems, but without having a strategy that such weapons systems would fulfill, other than the display itself; without an understanding of or interest in the military operations in which the U.S. is presently engaged; and all at the expense of diplomacy and foreign assistance, which programs Mr. Trump planned to materially defund, over the protests of most military strategists.	9, 13

3-7-17	<b><u>Untrue Gitmo data.</u></b> Mr. Trump falsely tweeted that former President Obama had released 122 prisoners from Guantanamo who had then returned to the jihadist battlefield. In fact Mr. Obama had released only 9; the rest had been released by his predecessor, President Bush.	7, 9, 10, 11
3-8-17	<b><u>Science skeptics at EPA.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump and EPA administrator Scott Pruitt had filled the top ranks of the EPA with like-minded climate change skeptics.	8
3-8-17	<b><u>Disparagement of CBO data.</u></b> Press secretary Sean Spicer disparaged the accuracy of any cost and revenue projections performed or to be performed by the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office, in anticipation of the CBO's upcoming scoring of the costs of the new Republican health care bill that Mr. Trump was then supporting. (While imperfect, the CBO's scoring has always been viewed as an essential analytic tool by both Democrats and Republicans, and possibly the best such tool available to Congress.)	8
3-8-17	<b><u>Chinese trademarks.</u></b> The Associated Press and the New York Times reported that the Chinese government, in an extraordinary procedural move relative to foreign companies, had recently granted the Trump businesses 38 new trademarks on an expedited basis, shortly after Mr. Trump had pulled back from his challenge to China's policy on Taiwan during a call with Xi Jinping, the Chinese president.	15
3-9-17	<b><u>Environmental science denial.</u></b> EPA administrator Scott Pruitt flatly disagreed that carbon dioxide contributes to global warming, contrary to the views of almost all climate scientists.	17 (8)
3-9-17	<b><u>Growth of Trump business brand.</u></b> Eric Trump, the president's son, stated that, since the election, the Trump Organization's golf club business "brand is the hottest it's ever been." Mr. Trump had played golf at his Florida golf courses on four out of five of his weekends since taking office, thereby implicitly but very publicly promoting them.	15



3-10-17	<p><b><u>Hotel benefiting from presidency.</u></b> The Huffington Post announced that a wine bar in the District of Columbia was suing Mr. Trump and his Trump International Hotel on grounds of unfair competition, in that patron traffic was being drawn to Mr. Trump's property because of the patrons' desire to curry favor with his administration. According to the report, since Mr. Trump's election and inauguration, the hotel – which had previously been performing below expectations – had seen a considerable boom in business, including on the part of foreign governments, whose officials hotel management have specifically courted for booking events. (Regardless of whether Mr. Trump is violating the law of unfair competition, he would appear to be financially benefitting at the hotel by being president of the United States in a way that he would not have benefited had he not been president.)</p>	15
3-10-17	<p><b><u>Fashion line benefiting from presidency.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that Ivanka Trump's fashion line sales in February were meteoric, presumably in connection with her visibility as the president's daughter.</p>	15, 16
3-10-17	<p><b><u>Dismissal of U.S. attorneys; allegations of "deep state."</u></b> The Trump administration abruptly fired 46 U.S. attorneys (regional federal prosecutors) without notice, opportunities to personally transition, or opportunities to hand off their open cases. It is common for a new administration to remove politically appointed U.S. attorneys, but not so abruptly. The removal appeared to reflect a growing fear by the Trump administration of what then was being widely referred to as a "deep state" within Washington, a cabal dedicated to undermining the Trump presidency. (The term "deep state" has historically been used in the West to refer to secret, anti-democratic elements within the military and security bureaucracies of democratizing countries. By contrast, the Trump White House has come to allege that pro-democratic bureaucrats within any American agency who disagree with Trump administration outlooks constitute a malevolent "deep state.")</p>	9, 11

3-10-17	<b><u>Selective praise of labor statistics.</u></b> The White House embraced and took credit for the Bureau of Labor Statistics' favorable February 2017 jobs report – even while continuing to claim that the bureau's prior favorable jobs reports during the Obama administration were fraudulent (and even though the positive February report more likely reflected a continuation of Obama-era trends than any effect that Mr. Trump's early presidency could have had on the economy).	7, 11
3-10-17	<b><u>Under-staffing, marginalization of State Dept.</u></b> A New York Times news analysis reported that under Secretary Rex Tillerson, an unusual number of State Department vacancies for high level administrative and ambassadorial positions remained vacant; that Mr. Trump continued to conduct diplomatic policy-making and meetings without Mr. Tillerson; and that Mr. Trump had otherwise likely caused Mr. Tillerson to stand (or to choose to stand) in the shadows of American diplomacy, contrary to his traditional mandate as secretary.	13
3-11-17	<b><u>Widespread Russian contacts.</u></b> Politico published a series of charts showing connections between the Trump administration and the Russian government and its associates. More than a dozen individuals working for or otherwise tied to the administration or the Trump campaign had had direct or indirect connections – not necessarily all damning, but in the aggregate "mysterious."	12
3-12-17	<b><u>Concentration, control, mistrust in governance.</u></b> A New York Times news analysis reported that Mr. Trump's failure to fill hundreds of top administrative positions across multiple agencies, including not only State but also Defense and Treasury, was attributable in large part to his highly concentrated, controlling and mistrustful administrative style – a holdover from his style in administering his private business enterprises – and that that failure to grasp and appreciate the complex and collaborative nature of traditional presidential governance would likely hamstring the effectiveness of the Trump administration and thus cause domestic and international injury to the U.S.	9, 10, 11

3-12-17	<p><b>False health care claims.</b> HHS secretary Tom Price said that under House Speaker Paul Ryan's current bill to repeal and replace the ACA – which Price and Mr. Trump support – "nobody will be worse off financially," thus echoing Mr. Trump's own pledge in January to replace the ACA with a plan that provides "insurance for everybody" and that would be "much less expensive and much better." (In fact any such radical retooling of the nation's health care system will almost necessarily create winners and losers. CSD does not take a position on the merits of any particular plan; but rather is concerned with false representations on the part of the administration.)</p> <p>But the following day, the Congressional Budget Office – generally confirming other independent predictions – projected that under Ryan's plan, 24 million people would lose insurance, premiums would rise by 15% to 20% in the first two years of the plan, and older Americans would pay substantially more than younger Americans, and possibly more than they are now paying. (While the CBO's projections are fallible, they are non-partisan, and what policy makers have long relied on absent any better tests. Secretary Price's prediction, made before the CBO's score was issued and in defiance of calls to wait for that score before issuing the plan, would appear to have been particularly rash in light of the Trump campaign's unremitting criticism of President Obama for having erroneously promised in 2009 and beyond that individuals could keep their then existing insurance policies under the then-prospective ACA.)</p> <p>Both the White House and Price then strongly contested the CBO's projections – even while Ryan defended them.</p>	7, 8
3-13-17	<p><b>Shifting new health plan criticisms to Obamacare.</b> When the introduction of Speaker Paul Ryan's health care plan resulted in an immediate uproar from both the left and the right, Mr. Trump invited the public to submit grievances on the White House Web site not about that plan, but about President Obama's ACA, in an attempt to further discredit it.</p>	9
3-13-17	<p><b>Cuts of science leadership and funding.</b> The Washington Post reported that President Trump had filled few high-level agency vacancies for scientists, at the same time as proposing deep budget cuts for science-based agencies such as the EPA, the Energy Department, and the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.</p>	8

3-13-17	<p><b><u>Hate crime growth; tepid criticism.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that since Mr. Trump's election, hate crimes against religious minorities (including arson at four mosques and bomb threats at dozens of Jewish community centers) have risen over 500% compared to a comparable period in normal times. (Mr. Trump's condemnation of those crimes has been infrequent, perfunctory and tepid – effectively negligible, in comparison to his post-election condemnations of Arnold Schwarzenegger, Meryl Streep, Democratic Senator Chuck Schumer, Democratic Senator Richard Blumenthal, the mainstream press, and many others whom he considers to be his enemies.)</p>	17 (6)
3-15-17	<p><b><u>Scapegoating at Nashville rally.</u></b> A federal district court in Hawaii issued a temporary restraining order barring Mr. Trump's revised travel ban, on grounds of its alleged underlying, unconstitutional intention to discriminate against Muslims. Immediately afterwards, Mr. Trump appeared at a scheduled "campaign" rally in Nashville, where, in criticizing the court's ruling, he was met with – and he appeared to take satisfaction in – a furious chorus from the crowd, chanting "Lock her up! Lock her up!" (The reference to Hillary Clinton's alleged wrongdoing was extraneous to the topic of the travel ban, and to all other topics addressed by Mr. Trump at the rally. Rather, it appeared to amount to the crowd's long-cultivated fury with respect to a scapegoat left over from Mr. Trump's original campaign. CSD observers, watching in real-time, sensed a <i>Lord of the Flies</i> moment of readily exploitable mob frenzy.)</p> <p>At the rally, Mr. Trump also castigated the "dishonest" press, and he criticized the court's ruling as "political."</p>	1, 2, 9, 17 (5)
3-15-17	<p><b><u>Culture of paranoia.</u></b> Politico, in a lengthy analysis, reported that "a culture of paranoia is consuming the Trump administration, with staffers increasingly preoccupied with perceived enemies within their own government." "It's an environment of fear that has hamstrung the routine functioning of the executive branch." "The degree of suspicion [has] created a toxicity that is unsustainable." One Republican insider said: "It's not paranoia if people really are out to get you, and everybody actually is out to get everyone else." While some individuals would appear to fear sabotage and surveillance by Obama-era holdovers, others, including Trump appointees, fear the same by other Trump appointees.</p>	9

3-16-17	<b><u>Budget cuts for science and diplomacy.</u></b> Mr. Trump proposed a budget that would radically cut scientific, diplomatic and other traditional programs while allocating significant additional money toward military and security spending. (CSD does not take a position on the budget proposal generally, except insofar as it would appear to fall within specific areas of concern as stated in CSD's principles: a gratuitously militaristic display, and the crippling of diplomatic resources and scientific programs.)	8, 9
3-16-17	<b><u>Evisceration of State Dept.</u></b> MSNBC reported on numerous ways in which Mr. Trump was eviscerating the State Department: cutting its budget by 28%; recently arranging for the Mexican ambassador to meet with White House senior advisor and Trump son-in-law Jared Kushner while in Washington rather than with Secretary Rex Tillerson; and arranging for ambassador to Israel David Freedman to report to Kushner rather than to Tillerson.	13
3-16-17	<b><u>Allegation of British spying; cumulative foreign insults.</u></b> Press secretary Sean Spicer, based on the reporting of a Fox News commentator rather than on national intelligence, alleged that the British government had spied on candidate Trump at the behest of then President Obama. The British government was infuriated and flatly denied the allegation. The following day, Fox News itself declined to support the allegation. But Mr. Trump and his administration refused to back down, or to apologize to the British government. (The episode thus added the UK to the list of countries and heads of state that Mr. Trump had gratuitously insulted since his election: Mexico, Australia, Sweden, and China. But not Russia.)	7, 10, 11, 13
3-17-17	<b><u>Invisible diplomacy.</u></b> Secretary of State Rex Tillerson broke from longstanding tradition by travelling internationally (in this case to South Korea) without press pool coverage, thus continuing a general pattern of opaqueness and/or marginalization relative to the work of the State Department since Mr. Trump's inauguration.	1, 13
3-17-17	<b><u>Russian investors in Trump Florida properties.</u></b> Reuters reported that an investigation it had conducted revealed that wealthy Russian individuals had invested at least \$100 million in Trump-owned properties in Florida, and conceivably much more.	12, 15

3-18-17	<p><b><u>Rejection of international trade and science accords.</u></b> At a meeting of the G-20 and the EU in Germany, the Trump administration stood against all of the other participants on prospective trade policies, rejected German entreaties to reaffirm longstanding international principles of free trade, rejected traditional condemnations of trade protectionism, and rejected the Paris accords on climate change.</p>	'14



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 1– April 3, 2017

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns dated March 20, 2017, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen since that date. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior identified in CSD's Statement of Principles.

3-20-17	<p><b><u>Ivanka and Kushner in the White House.</u></b> Politico reported that Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka – who has no government or policy experience – had taken or would shortly take a position in the White House, for which she would be granted a top security clearance. Like her husband Jared Kushner, her presence in the White House stood to conflict with common understandings of anti-nepotism standards. Also, like her husband and her father, she had declined to divest her personal business enterprises; and so those enterprises, at a minimum, would seemingly stand to enjoy a branding boost associated with Ms. Trump's position, as well as embodying numerous other conflicts of interest.</p> <p>(The position for Ms. Trump would formally be announced on or around March 29. The details and the considerable magnitude of Ms. Trump's and Kushner's business holdings would be publicly released by the White House on March 31. The variety and extent of Kushner's many conflicts of interest would be reported by The New York Times on April 2.)</p>	11, 15
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3-20-17	<p><b><u>Denunciation of FBI investigation.</u></b> Shortly prior to FBI director James Comey's testimony before a Congressional committee to the effect that the FBI was in fact investigating Mr. Trump's associates' connections to Russia during the presidential campaign, Mr. Trump issued a barrage of tweets denouncing Democrats, the investigation, Mr. Comey, and leaks from within his administration. Afterwards, press secretary Sean Spicer made similar comments, and added insinuations that Hillary Clinton had colluded with the Russians.</p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12
3-21-17	<p><b><u>Skipped OAS meeting.</u></b> No representative from the Trump administration attended a hearing conducted by the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (part of the Organization of American States) – apparently the first such absence in at least eight years. The absence threatened to chill the forum's credibility and effectiveness as a human rights watchdog.</p>	14
3-21-17	<p><b><u>Nunes' White House visit.</u></b> Devin Nunes is the Republican chair of the House Intelligence Committee. That committee had been in the process of investigating contacts between Russian officials and Trump campaign figures. Nunes had previously been a strong supporter of Mr. Trump's campaign and a leading figure in Mr. Trump's transition team. On the evening of March 21, Nunes secretly met in the White House with several White House officials, who provided him with classified information that was interpreted by those officials as faulting intelligence agency procedures relative to the agencies' own related fact-gathering. The following day, Nunes publicly announced his findings, before and after privately sharing them with Mr. Trump in the White House. He presented those findings in such a manner as was likely intended to discredit the intelligence agencies; to draw a legal, political or moral equivalency between the intelligence agencies' behavior and that of the Trump campaign; and in any event to distract from the media's attention to growing evidence of contacts between Russian officials and campaign figures. Nunes repeatedly declined to acknowledge his White House visit; to identify the White House aides with whom he had dealt there; and to share the data with his fellow committee members from either party. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 10, 12



3-21-17	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] The secret White House visit, the briefing of Mr. Trump, the public announcements, and the protracted withholding of data all were without precedent, violated the committee's protocols, and strongly suggested that the White House was unlawfully attempting to corrupt the committee's investigatory work.	9, 10, 12
3-22-17	<b><u>Time Magazine interview about "truth."</u></b> Mr. Trump gave an interview to Time magazine for a cover story about how he had handled truth and falsehood during his career. In that interview he stated that he could "instinctively" and infallibly predict the truth even before verifiable facts had appeared; that the supportive audiences at his continuing campaign-style rallies were demonstrating that he was governing well; and that the Wall Street Journal is "fake news." He went on to extol his recent election success, and he predicted that he would beat Richard Nixon's record as to the number of times an individual would have been featured on the cover of Time magazine. He ended the interview with this statement: "I can't be doing so badly, because I'm president, and you're not."	1, 7, 9, 10, 11
3-23-17	<b><u>Falsehood tally.</u></b> The Washington Post documented at least 14 falsehoods contained in Mr. Trump's Time magazine interview.	7
3-23-17	<b><u>Health care bill threats.</u></b> Mr. Trump delivered an ultimatum to Republican members of the House of Representatives: that if they did not immediately pass the faltering Ryan-Trump health care bill that undertook to repeal and replace President Obama's ACA, he would walk away from negotiations and let the ACA stand. The move seemed intended to threaten House Republicans with a result so embarrassing to them that it could jeopardize their ability to be re-elected, while allowing Mr. Trump to publicly blame them rather than himself for the lack of Congressional action. Although previous presidents had pressed members of Congress hard, several features of Mr. Trump's behavior seemed extraordinary, as follows. [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	9, 10, 11

3-23-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] First, he had not shown much knowledge of or interest in the content, complexities or implications of a replacement for the ACA; rather, by admission of his own staff, his goal was mainly to achieve the optics of a legislative "win," regardless of what the "win" consisted of relative to national economic and social impact, both of which would be considerable under any new health care plan. Second, his threat to abandon any attempt to fix, repeal or replace the ACA if he did not get his way with House Republicans appeared not only to forsake his campaign promises on the subject but to demonstrate a complete lack of commitment to actually solving the health insurance issues that were facing the nation. In sum, his entire motivation appeared to be one of self-aggrandizement rather than the public good.</p>	9, 10, 11
3-24-17	<p><b><u>Health care bill collapse, blame, further threats.</u></b> As the Ryan-Trump health care bill continued moving toward failure, Mr. Trump formally withdrew his support, and the measure was not voted upon. After the collapse, which was considered shocking and politically damaging by House Republicans, Mr. Trump blamed House Democrats for not supporting the bill, even though he had never sought their input or support, and even though he had categorically demonized them on that subject and many others. The New York Times identified five additional false or misleading statements within Mr. Trump's post-collapse commentary. In that commentary, Mr. Trump also threatened to let the ACA "explode" (or arguably even to help cause it to explode) rather than deploying various administrative tools available to him to stabilize the health insurance market under that law – as a means explicitly intended to embarrass Democrats rather than to protect the health of Americans. (<i>CSD continues to not take a position on the shape of any health insurance legislation; only on Mr. Trump's style of governing with respect to it.</i>)</p>	7, 9, 10, 11

3-24-17	<p><b><u>Cancellation of Yates testimony.</u></b> Former acting attorney general Sally Yates was an Obama administration appointee who had informed the Trump White House of then National Security Advisor Michael Flynn's misrepresentations relative to his previous contacts with Russian officials, and whom Mr. Trump had subsequently fired for an unrelated matter – refusing to enforce his initial travel ban. Yates was scheduled to testify before the House Intelligence Committee on March 28, on the subject of Russian contacts with Trump campaign figures. During the week before the scheduled testimony, Mr. Trump's Justice Department advised Yates that she could not legally testify without Mr. Trump's permission. On March 24, Yates confirmed her intention to testify, and within hours after that committee chair Devin Nunes cancelled the hearing during which she was scheduled to testify – thus further evidencing a an unlawful attempt by the White House to corrupt the committee's investigation and to protect Mr. Trump and his associates.</p>	9, 10, 12
3-24-17	<p><b><u>Continuing involvement with family business.</u></b> Mr. Trump's son Eric – who with his brother Donald, Jr. had come to manage their father's business after the inauguration – told Forbes magazine that he would be providing financial reports on the business to his father throughout the latter's presidency, despite the president's prior assurances to the contrary.</p>	7. 15
3-25/26-17	<p><b><u>Shifting health care bill blame.</u></b> Having initially blamed Democrats for the crash of the health care bill, Mr. Trump now tweeted innuendos as to others who were to blame: first, House Speaker Paul Ryan (by directing viewers to a Fox news program which would advance that point of view); then the House's conservative Freedom Caucus. He did not blame himself.</p>	9, 10, 11
3-26-17	<p><b><u>Golf club outings, promotion.</u></b> The Washington Post and The New York Times each reported that Mr. Trump had visited hotel and golf club properties that bore his name for eight weekends in a row, and on nearly one out of three days during which he had been president. The reports raised questions as to Mr. Trump's productivity as president during those trips. They went on to conclude that that conduct had materially promoted Mr. Trump's business brand and had implicitly encouraged clients to patronize his properties so as to get visual or personal access to him; that is, that he effectively was using the office of the presidency for personal gain.</p>	10, 11, 15

3-27-17	<p><b><u>Icahn conflicts.</u></b> The New York Times reported that billionaire investor Carl Icahn – Mr. Trump's main advisor working to deregulate the mixing of ethanol with gasoline – was the 82% owner of an oil refiner that would save hundreds of millions of dollars if the regulatory fix he was seeking were to be adopted. Icahn had vocally supported Mr. Trump in the latter's campaign, to which he had also contributed nearly \$200,000. Since the election, the stock price of Icahn's refining company had increased by 50%, generating a paper profit of \$455 million for Icahn. Icahn had numerous other investments – some presently under federal investigation – that likewise stood to benefit from his relationship with the Trump administration.</p>	16
3-27-17	<p><b><u>Disparagement of House investigation.</u></b> Mr. Trump again sought to obstruct the House Intelligence Committee's Russia investigation by tweeting that the committee should investigate the Clintons, not his campaign or his administration. He wrote that the "Trump Russia story is a hoax."</p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12
3-27-17	<p><b><u>Sessions on sanctuary cities.</u></b> Attorney General Jeff Sessions, in a news conference, vowed to punish sanctuary cities – those whose police departments do not fully cooperate with federal immigration authorities in reporting or turning over undocumented migrants, so as to preserve community relations and information sources. Sessions falsely implied that his announced policy differed materially from that of the Obama administration, until a reporter's question caused him to concede to the contrary. In addition, he peppered his statements with racist and highly debatable scare-mongering: for example, he blamed sanctuary cities for facilitating "DUIs, assaults, burglaries, drug crimes, gang rapes, crimes against children and murders"; and he said that "[c]ountless Americans would be alive today and countless loved ones would not be grieving today if these policies of sanctuary cities were ended." (<i>CSD does not take a position on sanctuary cities; only on Sessions' disingenuous and demagogic commentary.</i>)</p>	17 (6, 7, 9)

3-28-17	<p><b><u>Ford job claims.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that Ford Motor Company would be investing \$1.2 billion in Michigan manufacturing facilities, strongly implying that Ford's plan was the result of Mr. Trump's policies designed to create manufacturing jobs. Several hours later, press secretary Sean Spicer began a news conference by similarly hailing Ford's announcement, and similarly implying that the credit belonged to Mr. Trump. Only when questioned by a reporter did Spicer acknowledge that he was not aware of any causal relationship between administration policies and Ford's plan. The episode followed previous instances since the election in which Mr. Trump had taken credit for instances of saving and creating jobs when the pertinent corporate plans had already been proceeding and were not consequences of his presidency.</p>	7, 11
3-29-17	<p><b><u>Rejection of EPA's science.</u></b> EPA director Scott Pruitt (himself not a scientist) specifically rejected his own agency's scientific findings – that a widely used pesticide endangers farm workers – to justify his rejection of a ban on the pesticide.</p>	17 (8)
3-30-17	<p><b><u>Attack on libel law.</u></b> Mr. Trump, in a tweet, revived his earlier call to change libel laws so that he could sue The New York Times, the quality of whose news he once again criticized. He did not explain how the law could be changed (which in fact would require the overturning of long-established Supreme Court precedent in interpreting the Constitution).</p>	1, 2, 10
3-30-17	<p><b><u>Gullibility re Russian falsehoods.</u></b> In testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee, a senior intelligence analyst from (Philadelphia's) Foreign Policy Research Institute said that Mr. Trump's false tweeting about rigged elections and massive voter fraud appeared to have been at least partly inspired by Russian-disseminated conspiracy theories that had been posted to social media. He said that Russian trolls may have even directed their postings to Mr. Trump's likely attention; and that in any event they had succeeded in fomenting his false public statements, and thereby in injuring the United States and helping Russia.</p>	7, 10, 11

3-30-17	<b><u>Bannon's continuing Breitbart links.</u></b> The Daily Beast reported that Mr. Trump's top advisor, Steve Bannon, had continued to communicate about coverage of the administration with editors of Breitbart News, a pro-Trump, white nationalist organization that he previously led, in violation of his ethics pledge.	17 (6, 15)
3-31-17	<b><u>Depletion of technology office.</u></b> The New York Times reported that the White House's office for technology had been almost totally depleted of staff under the Trump administration; that the programs it had run were idling; and that the office's input had not been sought for Mr. Trump's harsh environment-related decisions. Under previous presidents, the office had advised on such matters as medical pandemics, nuclear accidents, the impact of robotics on the American work force, internet piracy, the use of commercial drones, oil spills, and other commercial, social and environmental matters.	8
3-31-17	<b><u>Hollowing out the State Department.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Secretary Rex Tillerson – who himself had no foreign policy experience – had appointed political advisors rather than foreign policy experts as his top deputies; that he had isolated himself from the State Department's (expert) career staff; and that the staff in turn had come to feel marginalized and mistrustful. Many staff members were alarmed that Tillerson had not fought to retain the budget and effectiveness of the department that he had come to lead. Foreign diplomats likewise were "rattled," including by Tillerson's failure to appoint senior staff for them to interface with.	13, 17 (13)
3-31-17	<b><u>Obama spying charged again.</u></b> Press secretary Sean Spicer again, and without citing evidence, accused the Obama administration of having conducted unlawful surveillance of the Trump campaign.	17 (7, 9, 10, 11)
3-31-17	<b><u>Lawsuit: incitement to violence.</u></b> A federal judge in Louisville ruled that a lawsuit brought against Mr. Trump for his having directed a campaign crowd to eject protestors last summer could proceed; specifically, that "free speech" was not a defense to Mr. Trump's intentional incitement to violence.	5



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 2– April 20, 2017

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns dated March 20, 2017, and Addendum 1 to that document dated April 3, 2017, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen since the date of Addendum 1. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior identified in CSD's Statement of Principles.

4-3-17	<p><b><u>Attack on Congressional investigations.</u></b> Mr. Trump, in a series of tweets, repeated that (1) the issue properly before the various Congressional investigative committees should not be Russian interference in the American presidential election but alleged spying on him and his campaign associates by Obama administration officials, and (2) Hillary Clinton was a pawn of Russia's president Putin. His information, as in some previous episodes, appeared to have been based on the reporting by right-wing news outlets, rather on any analysis by security experts within his own administration.</p>	7, 9, 10, 11
4-4-17	<p><b><u>Initial reaction to Syrian gas attack.</u></b> Reacting to a horrific poison gas attack perpetrated by Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad against his own people, Mr. Trump blamed President Obama for not having restrained Assad more forcefully some years previous. In fact Mr. Trump had long urged President Obama not to move militarily against Assad; and just days prior to the gassing Mr. Trump's top staff (Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and UN Ambassador Nikki Haley) had stated that fighting or removing Mr. Assad was not an administration priority. <i>(CSD does not take a position on whether or how the U.S. should respond to Assad's atrocities or otherwise attempt to resolve the Syrian civil war; only on Mr. Trump's disingenuous and demagogic commentary on the latest atrocity.)</i></p>	9, 10, 11

4-5-17	<p><b><u>Kushner's broadening portfolio.</u></b> A growing number of accounts in The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal had noted the expanding diplomatic and administrative portfolios of Mr. Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner – who had no previous government, policy or diplomatic experience. That expansion was occurring even while countless senior positions for experienced policy and diplomatic professionals within the administration remain unfilled.</p>	11, 13
4-5-17	<p><b><u>Abandonment of human rights advocacy.</u></b> A growing number of accounts in The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal had noted Mr. Trump's pointed de-linking of human rights advocacy from general foreign policy. Prior episodes, as reported by CSD, had included the administration's controversial absence from a human rights hearing conducted by the Organization of American States, and Secretary Rex Tillerson's distancing himself from the State Department's roll-out of its annual human rights country reports. Other episodes included Mr. Trump's declining to criticize human rights abuses in Russia and the Philippines; more recently his uncritical embrace of human rights-abusing regimes such as those in Egypt and Bahrain; and his de facto acceptance of the continuing atrocities of Syria's Bashar al-Assad. While all previous presidential administrations have felt compelled to deal with, and at times to mute their criticism of, serious rights-abusing regimes, Mr. Trump's early and seemingly wholesale rejection of human rights advocacy had reportedly come to alarm both Republican and Democratic champions of international human rights.</p>	14



4-5-17	<p><b><u>Empathy for O'Reilly.</u></b> Mr. Trump defended Fox News commentator Bill O'Reilly relative to the recent revelation that O'Reilly had settled five sexual harassment claims brought against him – going so far as to say that O'Reilly should have fought the claims rather than settling them. Regardless of what O'Reilly's behavior and legal liability might or might not have been, Mr. Trump's comments were gratuitous, outside the scope of his presidential duties, outside all presidential norms of both decorum and involvement in private citizens' legal battles, reminiscent of Mr. Trump's own history of incurring many sexual harassment allegations, reminiscent of his boasting on an Access Hollywood video of having routinely assaulted women, and, in all, confirming his greater (and possibly visceral) affinity for sexual predators than for their victims.</p>	6, 10, 11
4-5-17	<p><b><u>Attacks on Rice, Obama.</u></b> Mr. Trump, without citing evidence but seemingly relying on reporting from right-wing news outlets, casually told The New York Times that he believed that President Obama's national security adviser Susan Rice committed a crime in leaking names of Trump associates who were under surveillance by U.S. intelligence officials. Current and former intelligence officials from both Republican and Democratic administrations had said that they did not believe that Rice's actions were unusual or unlawful. In the same interview, Mr. Trump went on to repeat his familiar charge that "the Russia story is a total hoax." The episode followed Mr. Trump's having accused President Obama of having criminally surveilled him, again on the strength of right-wing media reports and without evidence from Mr. Trump's own government security agencies.</p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12
4-6-17	<p><b><u>Withdrawal from global commitments.</u></b> A New York Times op-ed, commenting on Mr. Trump's imminent meeting with Chinese president Xi Jinping, summarized the threats associated with Mr. Trump's serial withdrawal from international commitments as follows: "By undoing American support for an international agreement on climate change, repudiating an Asia-oriented trade deal and calling for funding cuts for the United Nations, Mr. Trump has already ceded leadership in key areas to Mr. Xi, who is eager to expand Beijing's role as an international power and has increasingly positioned his country as a competitor of the United States. It will be disastrous for America and the world if Mr. Trump continues on this disengagement path."</p>	13, 14

4-6-17	<p><b><u>Syrian missile strike.</u></b> [<i>Note: This entry is unusually long, due to the matter's complexity and momentousness.</i>] At 8:40 p.m. Eastern time, Mr. Trump launched a cruise missile strike against Syrian government airfields in retaliation for or protest against the Syrian government's gassing of Syrian civilians two days previous. The gassing had occurred in connection with the six-year-old civil war in Syria, during which up to half a million had died, countless others had been injured or maimed, the surviving population had become wretched, and millions of Syrian refugees had fled to other countries. The Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad was being supported militarily in the war by the undemocratic regimes of Russia, Iran and Hezbollah. Syria was also, of course, a sovereign nation, and this was the first ever American strike against its government. Mr. Trump claimed that the reason for the strike was his emotional response to the cable television images of the victims of the gassing.</p> <p>The strike represented a reversal of Mr. Trump's policy, publicly confirmed by his administration just days previous, to acquiesce to Syrian president Bashar al-Assad's continuing rule over Syria. It was also a dramatic reversal of his cultivation of Russia and its president, Vladimir Putin. It was also a reversal of Mr. Trump's firm caution over a period of years to then President Obama not to take military action against the Assad regime. And it was a reversal of Mr. Trump's previous and seemingly total disinterest in international human rights and humanitarian issues.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's action did not accompany, nor was it immediately followed by, any articulation of an overall diplomatic, military or strategic plan for dealing with Syrian chemical weapons, the Syrian civil war, Assad's mass murder of his people with non-chemical weapons, the unsavory coalition of Syria's allies (all hostile to the United States), or the advancement of international human rights norms in the world generally. Within the next two days, however, the administration commented variously. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson said that overall U.S. policy toward the Syrian government, including a rejection of U.S.-led regime change, was unaltered. But U.N. ambassador Nikki Haley said that the U.S. now supported Syrian regime change as "a priority." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 10

4-6-17	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> Mr. Trump had launched the strike without consulting Congress, despite having previously cautioned Mr. Obama not to take any such action without Congressional approval. He launched the strike without the approval of the United Nations Security Council. He launched the strike after having notified U.S. allies only moments previous, and after the strike was set in motion. And he launched the strike after having famously blocked Syrian refugees from entering the U.S. following his inauguration.</p> <p>As the missiles were launching, Mr. Trump, his daughter Ivanka, and his son-in-law Jared Kushner were having an outwardly serene and much photographed dinner with Chinese president Xi Jinping at Mr. Trump's Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida. Immediately after the strike, still at Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump announced the strike to television reporters, and it came to dominate the prime time television news. In that announcement, he referred to the suffering of Syrian victims (especially children), and four times to God and prayer – things he had rarely done before in presentations to general audiences.</p> <p>The strike had come after a turbulent period in Washington for the Trump administration (which may have had a bearing on the strike, as noted below). Two days previous, Mr. Trump had restructured the National Security Council, including by purging from it his chief political strategist Stephen Bannon. On the day of the strike, the Senate had terminated the long-established filibuster rule as to Supreme Court nominations so that Mr. Trump's nominee Neil Gorsuch could be approved over Democratic objections. Also on that day, Cong. Devin Nunes had temporarily recused himself from the House Intelligence Committee's investigation of Russian communications with the Trump campaign in the face of imminent calls for an investigation of him by the Office of Congressional Ethics and the House Ethics Committee for possibly having collaborated with Mr. Trump in his capacity as chair of the Intelligence Committee.</p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	9, 10
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4-6-17	<p><u>[Continued.]</u>  <u>As of the date of this Addendum, CSD does not take a position relative to the wisdom, effect or legality of the cruise missile strike.</u> In addition, CSD recognizes that the consequences, policies and perceptions around the strike are likely to develop and change over the coming weeks and months. In any event, CSD amply acknowledges the possibility that the strike may have been well planned and executed, strategically astute, and undertaken in good faith as a wise and heartfelt response to the Syrian atrocity. At the same time, however, in view of (1) Mr. Trump's history of capricious, reckless, opaque and cynical behavior since taking office, (2) his utter disregard for the suffering of Syrian civilians and refugees prior to the strike, (3) the dearth of experienced civilian diplomats and international strategists in his cabinet and inner circle, and (4) the suddenness of his multiple policy reversals in the matter, CSD saw the possibility of impetuosity, strategic rashness and/or unstated motivations as having attended the strike. In particular:</p> <p>1. The strike, and its television prime-time coincidence and announcement, might have been undertaken to distract the American public from Mr. Trump's many setbacks during the early days of his administration (the failure of the health care bill, the failure of the travel ban roll-out, the continuing investigations of contacts between his campaign staff and Russian officials). The strike and its publicity might also have been undertaken to distract from the past two days' troubling political developments for Mr. Trump (the end of the filibuster rule, the National Security Council shake-up, the recusal of Cong. Nunes); those domestic events, any one of which would ordinarily have dominated the evening news, were simply squeezed out by the coverage of the cruise missile strike. (Observers have frequently noted Mr. Trump's penchant for creating media distractions when distressed; and CSD has long feared that he could create dangerous military and diplomatic distractions if his domestic political fortunes were sufficiently jeopardized.)</p> <p>2. The strike might have been intended to spectacularly impress American voters with Mr. Trump's seeming boldness, resolve, humanity, righteousness and strength ... even if not changing very much militarily or strategically. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	9, 10
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4-6-17	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p>3. The strike might have been intended to distract from, or to cover for, the speculations raised by some Republicans and some Democrats that Mr. Trump's recent announcement that he would abide Assad's rule over Syria may have actually contributed to Assad's decision to mount the gas attack.</p> <p>4. Mr. Trump might have timed the strike to coincide with his dinner with the Chinese president, so as to impress, intimidate or distract him in the face of what observers had widely anticipated would be a discussion in which Mr. Trump would have been far less experienced, knowledgeable and prepared than his counterpart.</p> <p>5. The strike might have been intended to demonstrate to the American public Mr. Trump's disregard for Russian interests, relative to the ongoing investigations of Mr. Trump's attraction to those interests, and to win over Democratic and Republican members of Congress who had been suspicious of his Russian ties.</p> <p>6. Mr. Trump and his inexperienced diplomatic team might or might not have thought through the diplomatic and strategic consequences of the strike – which consequences, as of that evening, stood to range from the minor to the enormous, relative to American relations with China, Russia, Syria, and Iran (all of which countries sharply criticized the strike).</p> <p>Regardless of whether any of the above enumerated irregularities occurred, the mere fact that they seemed reasonably conceivable was highly disturbing to CSD.</p>	9, 10
4-6-17	<p><b><u>Kushner disclosure.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner had omitted disclosing dozens of prior foreign contacts of his – some with Russians – when seeking a top-secret security clearance to join the White House staff, and that that failure may have been felonious.</p>	12, 15, 17 (7)

4-12-17	<p><b><u>Threat to ACA.</u></b> Mr. Trump expressly threatened to sabotage the ACA by withholding certain government payments to insurance companies, as a means to force Democrats in Congress to bargain with him relative to his second run at a new health care plan. More directly than most presidential hard bargaining with Congress, the political threat went directly to the ability of Americans to carry health insurance, and thus to their very health; and in that sense it struck CSD as uniquely extortionate, callous and cruel.</p>	11
4-12-17	<p><b><u>String of falsehoods.</u></b> The New York Times reported that within a period of 24 hours, Mr. Trump had repeated several false or misleading claims: among other things, that he had not known his chief strategist Stephen Bannon until recently; that Democrats were to blame for his failure to fill his many administration vacancies; that FBI director James Comey had deemed Hillary Clinton guilty of various charges relating to her handling of classified information; that Mr. Trump himself deserved credit for NATO's counterterrorism efforts; and that former national security adviser Susan Rice improperly surveilled his campaign associates and leaked their identities to the news media.</p>	7

4-12-17	<p><b>Reversals.</b> [<i>Note: This entry is unusually long, due to the matter's complexity and momentousness.</i>] Over a period of two days, Mr. Trump reversed numerous positions that he had vocally articulated during and after his election camp. In particular, he now said that China was not a currency manipulator; that he favored a low interest-rate policy; that he liked and respected Federal Reserve Chair Janet Yellen and might re-appoint her at the end of her term; that the Export-Import Bank is valuable; and that NATO is not obsolete. Those reversals came hard on the heels of his reversal of policy on the Syrian civil war. And they followed an earlier series of reversals of his many provocative populist positions (compiled here by CSD): pulling back from harsh threats to punish China for its trade policies; minimizing his proposed modifications to NAFTA; hiring many recent lobbyists to serve in their respective areas of lobbying activity, using lobbyists to select his cabinet, and generally encouraging lobbyist participation in policy formation; courting and accepting massive funding from corporations and billionaires (for his inaugural festivities); relenting in his promise to deport undocumented immigrants who had arrived here as children; adopting policies favorable to Wall Street (including plans to cripple the Dodd Frank financial regulatory rules and to rescind the IRA fiduciary rule); issuing many executive orders (having previously faulted President Obama for issuing such orders); allowing the Keystone XL pipeline to not use American steel in its construction; not moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem; not tampering with the nuclear deal with Iran; not reversing President Obama's Cuba policy; supporting a health care bill that did not offer affordable care to everyone and that gave large tax breaks to the wealthy; appointing many wealthy figures, including donors, to his cabinet; appointing several alumni of Goldman Sachs (which firm he had demonized during his campaign) to senior administrative positions; hiring a pro-immigration figure as his top White House economist; allowing his cabinet members to confront Russia over its complicity with Syria; apparently abandoning his campaign promise to bring down prescription drug prices after having met with drug industry executives; abandoning his campaign promise to release his income tax returns; waffling on the extent of the wall he planned to build at the Mexican border; not prosecuting Hillary Clinton; not suing the women who had accused him of sexual predation; accepting the advice of generals rather than criticizing them; and retreating from his support of waterboarding and other forms of torture. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	10, 11
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4-12-17	<p><u>[Continued.] CSD does not take a position on the respective policies, either before or after the reversals, except to the extent that they may pertain to our democratic themes;</u> and to the extent that through some of the reversals Mr. Trump may have moved toward more moderate or mainstream positions, many of CSD's members could welcome that. But as of the date of this Addendum, there was no assurance that Mr. Trump would not reverse again, or go off in completely different directions. Most importantly, the reversals pointed to Mr. Trump's behavior as capricious (that is, poorly thought out, whether before or after any given reversal); unprincipled; dishonest and manipulative (that is, intended to have deceived voters prior to the election and/or policy makers and others after the election); or some of each. In any event, as of the date of this Addendum, CSD was concerned that both domestic governance and international diplomacy could be jeopardized by an appearance that any one of Mr. Trump's stated positions, on any topic, could be unreliable.</p>	10, 11
4-13-17	<p><b>Reversal denial.</b> Press secretary Sean Spicer denied that Mr. Trump's policy reversals on the previous day had amounted to reversals.</p>	17 (7)
4-15-17	<p><b>Visitor logs.</b> Following and despite weeks of criticism by mainstream news outlets, Mr. Trump firmly declined to release logs of visitors to the White House, his Florida resort Mar-a-Lago, and his New York home in Trump Tower. While he was under no legal obligation to release the logs, and while the tradition of releasing logs had begun only under President Obama, in the case of Mr. Trump the suspicions around non-transparency, conflicts of interests, lobbyist access and inappropriate contacts with foreign powers had been so extensive that the refusal to release the logs cast an even greater cloud over the integrity and motives of the current administration. The development was especially notable in that Mr. Trump had repeatedly called on President Obama to release more records, and had campaigned on the slogan "drain the swamp."</p>	9, 11



4-15-17	<b><u>Carte blanche for military.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that in Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria, Mr. Trump was giving the military wide latitude to conduct operations; that the president himself was not asserting civilian control over those operations; that no broad or long-term strategies had been articulated relative to those operations; and that State Department officials were concerned that diplomacy was out of favor. One diplomat said that the State Department was being "systematically sidelined."	9, 13
4-16-17	<b><u>Army nomination.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump's nominee for Secretary of the Army has a long history of antipathy toward and disparagement of Muslims.	17 (6)
4-16-17	<b><u>Campaign funds to Trump businesses.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump's 2020 re-election campaign had already paid close to \$500,000 to Trump businesses, such as his golf resorts and Trump Tower – thus both immediately enriching Mr. Trump and building his brand for the longer term.	15
4-16-17	<b><u>Widespread conflicts, opaqueness.</u></b> The New York Times, with extensive analysis, reported that Mr. Trump <i>"is populating the white House and federal agencies with former lobbyists, lawyers and consultants who in many cases are helping to craft new policies for the same industries in which they recently earned a paycheck. ... In at least two cases, the appointments may have already led to violations of the administration's own ethics rules. But evaluating if and when such violations have occurred has become almost impossible because the Trump administration is secretly issuing waivers to the rules. ... This revolving door of lobbyists and government officials is not new in Washington. Both parties make a habit of it. But the Trump administration is more vulnerable to conflicts than the prior administration, particularly after the president eliminated an ethics provision that prohibits lobbyists from joining agencies they lobbied in the prior two years. The White House also announced ... that it would keep its visitors' logs secret, discontinuing the release of information on corporate executives, lobbyists and others who enter the complex, often to try to influence federal policy. The changes have drawn intense criticism from government ethics advocates across the city."</i>	17 (15)

4-16-17	<b><u>Russian media faults American media.</u></b> A New York Times columnist reported that on a recent trip to Russia, the Russian state-controlled media – referencing Mr. Trump's often-articulated point of view – characterized mainstream American news reporting as unreliable and as one of the biggest problems facing America.	7, 13
4-17-17	<b><u>Praise for Erdogan.</u></b> Mr. Trump called Turkish president Recep Erdogan to congratulate him on having won a referendum that amended the Turkish constitution in a manner that moved the country further from democracy and closer to dictatorship. The referendum results greatly expanded Erdogan's personal powers; the voting had been highly contentious; nearly half of Turkish voters had opposed it; and voting irregularities favoring Erdogan were reported. The following day, a New York Times news analysis stated: "Mr. Trump and Mr. Erdogan are viewed as ideological bedfellows: They are populist leaders with little patience for the courts or other checks on their power."	14
4-18-17	<b><u>No tax returns.</u></b> The New York Times reported that despite a growing call for Mr. Trump to release his tax returns (calls made by participants in "tax marches" across the country two days previous, and by more than a dozen Republicans in Congress), and despite ethical questions as to how Mr. Trump himself might profit from any new tax legislation, Mr. Trump continued to ridicule those calls, having tweeted on the day of the tax marches that the protesters were being paid and were merely resentful that he had won the presidential election.	9, 11, 15
4-18-17	<b><u>Golf travels.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump, during his presidency to date, had spent seven out of thirteen weekends, and one out of every five minutes (not counting travel time), in Palm Beach, Florida – often playing golf. (The mainstream press had already consistently reported not only that those outings were building the Trump business brand at his Mar-a-Lago resort, and that they may have been distracting Mr. Trump from serious governing time, but that Mr. Trump's recreational outings were far more extensive and expensive than President Obama's, which Mr. Trump had virulently criticized.)	10, 11, 15

4-18-17	<p><b><u>Growth of Ivanka's businesses.</u></b> The Associated Press reported that Mr. Trump's daughter and senior adviser Ivanka had obtained three Chinese trademarks for her fashion brand on the same day that she, her husband Jared Kushner and Mr. Trump were dining with Chinese president Xi Jinping at Mar-a-Lago during the cruise missile strike on Syria. AP did not allege any impropriety in the trademark grants, in that Ms. Trump's company had been applying for and receiving many trademarks globally. But it cautioned that Ms. Trump's growing involvement in Chinese (and other foreign) affairs, combined with the global growth of her business, likely would increase the potential for her conflicts of interest in policy making. AP also reported that Ms. Trump's company's sales had grown dramatically since the presidential campaign and election, likely due to her new political prominence. (That is, she had profited directly and materially from being associated with the office of the presidency). AP also wrote that sales spiked astronomically just after campaign manager Kellyanne Conway publicly encouraged shoppers to buy Ms. Trump's brand in February.</p>	15
4-18-17	<p><b><u>Atlanta election commentary.</u></b> In denouncing a Democratic candidate's surprisingly strong bid in a special Congressional primary in an Atlanta suburb, Mr. Trump tweeted on election day that the candidate "will raise your taxes" and is "very bad on crime." Immediately after the candidate's failure to win the election outright (thus being forced into a run-off with the top Republican vote-getter), Mr. Trump, in a tweet, took credit for the result and denounced the Democrat's "FAKE media support." (CSD does not object to Mr. Trump's having voiced his views on the election; rather to his simplistic fear-mongering during the vote and his attack on the news media afterwards.)</p>	1, 9
4-19-17	<p><b><u>Disparate messages on Russia.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that while Mr. Trump's top foreign policy staff – UN ambassador Nikki Haley, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, CIA director Mike Pompeo, and national security advisor H.R. McMaster – had been highly critical of Russian aggression, Mr. Trump continued not to be. Administration officials and independent commentators alike had found the divide inexplicable, and European allies had found it disturbing. Russian foreign minister Sergei Lavrov too had noted the disjunction, but had expressed his belief and reliance on the still friendly posture of Mr. Trump.</p>	12

4-20-17	<p><b><u>Armada to North Korea.</u></b> Earlier in April, Mr. Trump had prominently announced that he had directed an aircraft carrier group toward – and that it was headed toward – North Korean waters as a show of force in response to that nation's continued testing of ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons. Some days later, news reports revealed that the carrier group did not set out for that destination until several days after Mr. Trump's announcement. Days after that revelation, how and why the misinformation or miscommunication had occurred remained unclear; and press secretary Sean Spicer denied that an error had occurred at all. In an April 20 news analysis, The Wall Street Journal reported that the Trump administration was still working "to quell an international furor and calm questions over its credibility ... after misstating by thousands of miles" the location of the aircraft carrier. (CSD does not currently have reason to believe that Mr. Trump intentionally misled the world on the carrier's location, or that the error was even his fault; but we note from the quoted analysis that the episode appears to have added to the accumulation of worldwide "credibility" issues relative to international diplomacy and strategy that have arisen under his presidency.)</p>	10
4-20-17	<p><b><u>Claims of accomplishments.</u></b> The Washington Post evaluated Mr. Trump's recent statement that "no administration has accomplished more in the first 90 days." In fact, statistics reveal that his administration has accomplished very little relative to other presidents.</p>	7



## **CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

### **SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

#### *Addendum 3 – May 7, 2017*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior identified in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

4-20-17	<p><b><u>Claim that all protests are illegal.</u></b> In defending a lawsuit brought by protesters who had been roughed up at one of Mr. Trump's campaign events, Mr. Trump's lawyers advanced the unusual argument that the protesters had no First Amendment right of expression because they had violated Mr. Trump's own First Amendment right to speak. If Mr. Trump were to prevail in this defense, all protests at political events could be forever barred. The entry of this element of Mr. Trump's defense followed his original pleading to the effect that Mr. Trump, as president, was immune from any personal lawsuit whatever – an equally unusual position.</p>	2, 3, 9
4-20-17	<p><b><u>Real estate sales to foreigners and opaque shells.</u></b> After conducting a four-month investigation, USA Today reported that since beginning his presidential campaign, and again since being elected president, Mr. Trump had sold tens of millions of dollars in residential properties, much of it to individuals connected with foreign governments or to shell companies with unidentifiable ownership. Many more residential units remain for sale, under like circumstances.</p>	15

4-20-17	<p><b><u>Colombian favors at Mar-a-Lago.</u></b> McClatchey News reported that, a week previous, Mr. Trump had secretly met at his Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago, with two Colombian ex-presidents, who lobbied him against the current Colombian president's peace plan relative to that country's long insurgency – a highly sensitive and significant topic. The ex-presidents appeared to have been invited to Mar-a-Lago by a dues-paying member of that resort with no position in the American government, who thus had used his or her commercial relationship with Mr. Trump (from which Mr. Trump benefited financially) to advance a point of view on international policy. The State Department appeared to have not been aware of the discussion in advance, and the White House denied that it had occurred.</p>	7, 13, 15
4-21-17	<p><b><u>Support for French ethno-nationalist.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that a recent shooting in Paris was a terrorist attack and would and should affect the imminent French presidential election. French investigators had not yet concluded that the shooting was by a terrorist; and the tweet was widely interpreted as constituting support for the candidacy of the pro-Russian, Russian-financed, ethno-nationalist candidate, Marine Le Pen, whose National Front Party had begun as (and still retained material indications of being) a racist and anti-Semitic organization. The National Front and Le Pen are largely reviled by both Democratic and Republican voices in the U.S. Le Pen had previously praised Mr. Trump broadly; former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke had praised both Mr. Trump and Le Pen; and so the circle of affinities as among Putin, Le Pen, Duke and Mr. Trump seemed to be nearly complete.</p>	6, 9, 10, 13
4-21-17	<p><b><u>Deletion of refugee resettlement site.</u></b> In an address at the University of Pennsylvania, Samantha Power – President Obama's ambassador to the United Nations – reported that the government's Web site that she had created, advising American citizens as to how they could help refugees who had been legally admitted to the U.S., had been taken down by the Trump Administration. CSD views this development as further evidence of Mr. Trump's disdain for international norms and commitments to receive and resettle refugees. (That disdain was originally embodied in Mr. Trump's executive order banning travel from Muslim countries and cutting worldwide refugee admissions to the U.S. by more than 50% – all in the midst of the world refugee crisis, which has generated more refugees and internally displaced people than at any time since World War II.)</p>	14

4-23-17	<b><u>Denial of praise for Wikileaks.</u></b> The Associated Press released the full transcript of a recent interview with Mr. Trump. In the interview, Mr. Trump made numerous false statements, including that he had never supported WikiLeaks, the anti-American, tell-all Web site that traffics in misappropriated documents. (His previous support for WikiLeaks, vocalized during his campaign, had been based on WikiLeaks' revelation of confidential and embarrassing Democratic Party emails. That support appears on video clips that have been widely distributed. Mr. Trump came to his reversal on WikiLeaks only after public revelations of the role of WikiLeaks in helping Russia influence the presidential election.)	7
4-24-17	<b><u>Disparagement of opinion polls.</u></b> Mr. Trump criticized a recent set of opinion polls (conducted by ABC News and The Washington Post, and by NBC News and The Wall Street Journal, respectively) as "fake news." The polls had given him historically low voter approval ratings.	1, 7
4-24-17	<b><u>Government advertisement for Mar-a-Lago.</u></b> After an outcry on ethical grounds, the State Department removed from its Web site a glowing photo-essay about Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump's for-profit Florida resort and sometimes home. Whether the article had been purposely intended to promote Mr. Trump's business interests is unknown; but at a minimum, it suggested an unusual lack of sensitivity within the Trump administration to conflict of interest questions.	17 (15)
4-25-17	<b><u>Attack on the press over the Mexican wall.</u></b> Facing the likelihood that ear-marked funds for the proposed Mexican border wall would not be included in an emergency spending bill that had to proceed in Congress in order to avoid a federal government shut-down, Mr. Trump had indicated that he would likely sign the bill without the earmark. When the mainstream press widely reported that concession, Mr. Trump inaccurately tweeted that the "fake media" were untruthfully reporting that he had "changed [his] position on the WALL."	1, 7
4-25-17	<b><u>Investigation stand-off.</u></b> The leadership of the House Oversight Committee revealed that the White House had refused to release documents relating to the hiring and resignation of national security advisor Michael Flynn, who had come under intense scrutiny for his pre-inauguration dealings with Russian officials.	12

4-26-17	<p><b><u>Blaming ethics office for slow appointments.</u></b> In a Fox News interview, White House chief of staff Reince Priebus blamed the unusually slow pace of high-level presidential appointments on delays on the part of the Office of Government Ethics in their vetting of nominees for conflicts of interest. As reported by HuffPost the following day, the OCE responded in an email to a top White House lawyer that the blame-shifting was inaccurate; that, to the contrary, and as supported by statistical data, the White House had seriously lagged in submitting nominees to the OCE; that (also statistically supported) the OCE was clearing its reports unusually quickly; and that some of the submitted nominees "have pushed back against the government's ethics requirements 'with a ferocity we've not previously seen.'"</p>	17 (7, 15)
4-26-17	<p><b><u>NAFTA threat.</u></b> Mr. Trump abruptly and publicly threatened to withdraw from NAFTA without having given that notice to the Mexican and Canadian governments. Those governments' leaders then telephoned Mr. Trump and asked for a renegotiation rather than a withdrawal. By the end of the day, Mr. Trump relented, and agreed to negotiate. One news analysis stated that his initial position and his quick reversal appeared to reflect conflicting inputs from various advisers. Other analyses stated that Mr. Trump had relented simply because of the other leaders' demonstrations of deference. CSD does not know if the events reflected capriciousness or an exercise in inter-personal dominance.</p>	10, 11, 13
4-26-17	<p><b><u>Attack on California courts.</u></b> Mr. Trump and the White House publicly objected to the ruling of a federal district court sitting in San Francisco. The previous day, that court had issued a nationwide preliminary injunction staying part of Mr. Trump's January executive order that had undertaken to strip federal funding from sanctuary cities. The White House wrote hyperbolically that the court's ruling "empower[ed] the worst kind of human trafficking and sex trafficking, and [put] thousands of innocent lives at risk." Mr. Trump himself tweeted a categorical criticism of the quality of the decisions of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals (the court to which any appeal of the San Francisco district court's ruling would be taken). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	2, 6, 9



4-26-17	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] CSD does not take a position on the district court's ruling; but we object to the White House's fear-mongering and to Mr. Trump's categorical and gratuitous condemnation of a particular court.	2, 6, 9
4-26-17	<b>Legal pleadings versus previous statements.</b> The Washington Post, in a news analysis, reported that the federal injunctions against Mr. Trump's several attempts at travel bans and against his move to de-fund sanctuary cities shared a commonality. In each case (the pertinent courts had stated), the administration's outwardly rational and reserved legal pleadings had masked what was likely his true unconstitutional intent, which had been publicly vocalized by Mr. Trump and his aides prior to issuing the subject orders – an intent to bar Muslims for their <i>religion</i> and to <i>punish</i> sanctuary cities for their law enforcement practices. The dissonance between pleadings and reality thus appeared to evidence both a late acknowledgement on the administration's part of the unconstitutionality (and ill-advisedness) of the earlier vocalizations, and a disingenuousness in the subsequent legal pleadings.	6, 7, 9, 10
4-26-17	<b>Threat to Ninth Circuit.</b> Angered by the recent rejections of his executive orders by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals and its subsidiary district courts, Mr. Trump told The Washington Examiner that he was "absolutely" considering proposals to split up the appeals court into multiple geographical jurisdictions because of what he perceived to be its liberal bias.	2
4-27-17	<b>Tax Plan.</b> Mr. Trump released a one-page plan to cut business and personal income taxes. Among other things, the plan called for various tax reductions that would materially benefit Mr. Trump, his family, and his wealthy friends, associates and high-ranking advisers – by lowering marginal tax rates, eliminating the Alternative Minimum Tax, eliminating the ACA's 3.8% surcharge on investment income for high earners, repealing the estate tax (which applies only to large estates), and allowing a (low) 15% tax rate for individual profits from "pass-through" businesses such as Mr. Trump's real estate companies. [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	9, 15

4-27-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The plan was skeletal, and in its infancy. In addition, the above benefits would accrue to many individuals outside of Mr. Trump's circle. And in any event, CSD does not take a position on the plan with regard to fairness, fiscal soundness or economic consequences. We do, however, note the impossibility of evaluating either specific or overall benefits to Mr. Trump without him having released his tax returns.</p>	9, 15
4-27/28-17	<p><b><u>Korea confusion.</u></b> Within the space of a day, Mr. Trump publicly and casually threatened war with North Korea (even as Secretary of State Rex Tillerson was tamping down the threat of war); publicly and casually threatened to make South Korea pay for an anti-missile system that the U.S. was installing there (without having previously informed the South Korean government); and publicly and casually stated that he wanted to renegotiate or terminate America's "horrible" trade agreement with South Korea (also without prior notice to the South Korean government). All of this reportedly puzzled American policy makers, rattled South Korea in the midst of its presidential election, and was of unknown effect in North Korea.</p>	10, 13
4-28-17	<p><b><u>Tax plan versus tax promise.</u></b> In a news analysis, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's recently announced tax plan, however sparse in detail, almost certainly promised "a multitrillion dollar shift from federal coffers to America's richest families and their heirs," in radical conflict with Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin's promise the previous November that the administration would provide "no absolute tax cut for the upper class." Mr. Mnuchin in recent days had also declined to promise that, under the new tax plan, everyone in the middle class would receive tax relief; and the news analysis demonstrated that many middle class members might in fact see a tax increase – all contrary to Mr. Trump's previous assurances to the middle class.</p> <p>CSD does not take a position relative to the substance of Mr. Trump's tax plan; only to any deceptions that may have preceded it or that may have become inherent in it.</p>	7

4-28-17	<b><u>NRA speech.</u></b> In a presentation to a National Rifle Association convention, Mr. Trump excited the crowd by demonizing and ridiculing former president Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton and Senator Elizabeth Warren (to whom he referred demeaningly as "Pocahontas," as he had done often during his campaign); by catastrophizing the flow of drugs and criminals from Mexico; and by proclaiming that "freedom is a gift from God." CSD does not take a position on Mr. Trump's support of gun-owners' rights; but it does take issue with the continuation of his demagogic style.	9
4-28-17	<b><u>Removal of EPA data.</u></b> The Environmental Protection Agency removed most of its climate change data from its Web site, stating that it was going to change the data to conform with the administration's policies.	8
4-28-17	<b><u>Wish to eliminate filibuster.</u></b> Mr. Trump told Fox News that the Senate should eliminate the filibuster, so that he could more easily achieve his legislative goals. That is, with the Republican Party currently in control of the House of Representatives, the Senate and the White House, he would like to remove from Congress the last remaining procedural protection for the minority party and consensus decision-making. While some members of the Senate may have also been inclined to eliminate the filibuster, the prospect of that occurring under Mr. Trump's presidency is particularly concerning to CSD in view of his authoritarian tendencies generally.	9
4-28/29-17	<b><u>100-day evaluation.</u></b> In a radio address on April 28, Mr. Trump claimed that the first 100 days of his presidency were "the most successful in our country's history." The following day he accused the "fake media" of refusing to report on his administration's achievements during that period. (Mr. Trump had shown considerable concern in recent weeks about his 100-day scorecard, to the point of – unsuccessfully – attempting to hurry-through legislation as a means of building his record.) [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	1, 7, 9, 11

<p>4-28/29-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In fact CNN, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, The Washington Post and Politico had all amply credited Mr. Trump's successes – in appointing a Supreme Court Justice of his choice, signing a record number of executive orders, and withdrawing the U.S. from the TransPacific Partnership. At the same time, they had regarded many or most of the executive orders as having been of limited effect; they had pointed to Mr. Trump's failure to pass any major legislation in Congress; they had pointed to even his articulation of policies as shifting and confused; they had reported that even politically he had lost ground (at least as measured by voter approval); and they had documented much of that statistically as having been less "successful" than most or all other recent presidents during their correlative first 100 days.</p> <p>Whether Mr. Trump's first 100 days had been "successful" is not of concern to CSD. His false and boastful commentary about them, however, is.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>4-29-17</p>	<p><b>Global reactions.</b> A New York Times news analysis indicated that governments and peoples across the globe were reacting to Mr. Trump's foreign and domestic policies variously. Ethno-nationalist political figures, governments and movements were feeling strengthened. But many others, particularly democratic ones, were reacting with puzzlement and concern over Mr. Trump's unpredictability and policy reversals, as well as the loss of American reliability and leadership – including relative to diplomatic competence and the protection of democratic principles. The analysis indicated that relations with democratic allies were degrading, if anything, rather than improving.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>

4-29-17	<p><b>Harrisburg rally.</b> At a rally in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania celebrating his first 100 days in office, Mr. Trump spent the first 12 minutes pillorying "fake news" outlets, singling out CNN, MSNBC and the "failing" New York Times – and those attacks drew excited cheers. He invited and elicited jeers for Hillary Clinton – evoking repeated chants of "Lock her up!" He gratuitously and personally attacked Democratic Senator Chuck Schumer as a "bad leader, not a natural leader." When protesters appeared in the crowd, he commandingly directed the police to "get 'em out of here," and then praised the police after the protesters were ejected. He boasted that his first 100 days were immensely successful, that he was keeping all of his campaign promises, and that his progress on his agenda was "historic." He spent approximately half the speech vowing to protect Americans from the viciousness of Hispanic gangs, other criminals that he associated with undocumented immigration, refugees, and Islamist terrorists; in that regard he read a lengthy poem about a poisonous snake – a metaphor for malicious migrants – who prevailed on a woman to take him into her home and then mortally bit her; and he repeatedly evoked the chant, "Build that wall!" He also spent a good deal of time promising jobs for manufacturing, mining and construction workers, implying that he had already done so, and that these were the only (or most) important segments of the American work force and citizenry. He said that he had established "great relationships" with many countries, including Germany. He said that he was succeeding in "draining the swamp" – his campaign phrase referring to the influence of lobbyists, corporations and financiers on the government. He asked the crowd, "Is there any place like a Trump rally?" He referred to God twice.</p> <p>Afterwards, Republican commentator David Gergen (former adviser to four presidents), normally not given to excessive on-air partisanship or to superlatives, said on CNN that it was "the most divisive speech I've heard from a sitting American president." Watergate investigative reporter Carl Bernstein said it was "the most venomous speech by an American president that I've heard in more than 50 years of reporting."  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	1, 7, 9, 11

4-29-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] A CSD observer – who had grown up in the Harrisburg community in the years after World War II and who had found that community to be tolerant, peaceable, humane, wholesome and sustaining – now found a number of Mr. Trump's statements to be patently untrue, and his presentation in general to be bullying, xenophobic, preening, manipulative, historically uninformed, and frighteningly demagogic.</p>	1, 7, 9, 11
4-29-17	<p><b><u>Duterte invitation.</u></b> In the late evening hours shortly after his Harrisburg rally, and continuing his embrace of foreign leaders known to abuse human rights, Mr. Trump invited to the White House Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte, who had been roundly condemned in the West for his acknowledged direction of and participation in widespread extra-judicial killings of suspected drug traffickers and users. A few months previous, Duterte had publicly called President Obama a "son of a whore"; and so Mr. Trump's invitation added a note of insult to the office of the presidency. The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had offered the invitation without having consulted with the State Department or the National Security Council, which agencies were shocked when they learned. Not incidentally, Mr. Trump enjoys lucrative royalties from a Trump-branded hotel in the Philippines.</p>	12, 13, 14, 15
4-30-17	<p><b><u>Plan to change libel laws.</u></b> Chief of staff Reince Priebus told ABC News that Mr. Trump and the White House were considering proposing a constitutional amendment to make it easier for the president to sue the press for defamation. This was a reiteration of Mr. Trump's own repeated calls for the same.</p>	1
4-30-17	<p><b><u>Denial of Russian interference.</u></b> Mr. Trump, in a CBS News interview, continued to support Russia's statements to the effect that Russia had not interfered in the American presidential election to favor Mr. Trump's candidacy – notwithstanding extensive intelligence agency findings to the contrary.</p>	7, 12

5-1-17	<b><u>Reiteration of Obama wire-tap claim.</u></b> In a subsequently aired CBS News interview, Mr. Trump continued to maintain that President Obama had ordered the wire-tapping of Trump Tower in New York, despite the continuing absence of evidence to that effect. When asked by the interviewer to offer evidence, he declined.	7, 9, 11
5-1-17	<b><u>North Korea overtures.</u></b> A day after publicly praising North Korean leader Kim Jong-un as a strong and successful leader and as a "smart cookie," Mr. Trump told Bloomberg News that he "would be honored" to meet with Kim. Kim is a notorious human rights violator who has violently assassinated his political opponents, and no sitting American president has met with a North Korean president since the Korean War. Promptly after the Bloomberg interview, the White House walked back Mr. Trump's remarks. While new diplomatic approaches to resolving the current American stand-off with nuclear-armed North Korea may well be appropriate, it is not clear that Mr. Trump was aware that, ordinarily, radical breaks from established diplomatic practices are carefully and discretely thought-out and prepared in advance, then announced to diplomatic counterparts before being announced to the press. (Mr. Trump's remarks had come amid a flurry of other unconventional praise on his part for human rights violators and strongmen around the world.)	10, 13, 14
5-1-17	<b><u>Praise for Andrew Jackson.</u></b> Mr. Trump, unschooled in American and world history, continued to publicly venerate nineteenth century President Andrew Jackson as a populist, disrupter and deal-maker akin to himself – in this instance by speculating at length that Jackson could have prevented the Civil War had he been president then (a commentary that was promptly questioned by many leading historians). [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	10, 11, 13, 17 (6)

	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD is not in the position to evaluate Mr. Trump's views of political history or what might have been. But in his categorical praise of Jackson, Mr. Trump, as in the past, failed to acknowledge that Jackson owned 150 slaves; once published an advertisement urging slave-catchers to apprehend and viciously torture one of Jackson's own runaways (promising "ten dollars extra, for every hundred lashes a person will give him, to the amount of three hundred"); and ordered the winter death march of thousands of Cherokee Indians on the notorious Trail of Tears. CSD would not expect Mr. Trump to acknowledge Jackson's shortcomings with every mention of him; but given the many recent mentions, we would expect at least one acknowledgement.</p> <p>Possibly of greater significance, as conservative columnist George Will was to write in the Washington Post on May 3, was Mr. Trump's statement or implication that no one had previously explored the causes of the Civil War – when in fact those causes had been explored exhaustively for over 150 years. Will placed the Jackson comments within a long list of other historically uninformed outlooks that Mr. Trump had evidenced during and since his campaign: that abolitionist Frederick Douglass was still alive; that Mr. Trump's February address to Congress was the best ever made there; Mr. Trump's casual unawareness of the basic underpinnings of America's Middle East and China policies; and potentially of most dire consequence, his casual unawareness of the premises of America's nuclear capabilities and strategy.</p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 17 (6)</p>
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5-1-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Will wrote: <i>"It is urgent for Americans to think and speak clearly about President Trump's inability to do either. This seems to be not a mere disinclination but a disability. It is not merely the result of intellectual sloth but of an untrained mind bereft of information and married to stratospheric self-confidence. ... What is most alarming (and mortifying to the University of Pennsylvania, from which he graduated) is not that Trump has entered his eighth decade unscathed by even elementary knowledge about the nation's history. As this column has said before, the problem isn't that he does not know this or that, or that he does not know that he does not know this or that. Rather, the dangerous thing is that he does not know what it is to know something. ... Americans have placed vast military power at the discretion of this mind, a presidential discretion that is largely immune to restraint by the Madisonian system of institutional checks and balances. So, it is up to the public to quarantine this presidency by insistently communicating to its elected representatives a steady, rational fear of this man whose combination of impulsivity and credulity render him uniquely unfit to take the nation into a military conflict."</i> * (See endnote for a link to Will's complete column.)</p>	10, 11, 13, 17 (6)
5-1/2-17	<p><b>Spending bill.</b> On May 1, through Vice President Mike Pence and budget director Mick Mulvaney, Mr. Trump claimed credit for and victory in an emergency bi-partisan spending bill that had been negotiated in Congress the previous evening so as to avoid a government shut-down. But The Washington Post reported on the following day that the outcome was in fact much more a victory for Democrats and moderate Republicans, and had been negotiated within Congress rather than by Mr. Trump. Mr. Trump's disappointments included the bill's provision for continued subsidies of insurance companies under the ACA, increased funding for the National Institutes of Health and an energy research project (both of which Mr. Trump had sought to cut), only very minor reductions in funding for the Environmental Protection Agency, only modest increases in military funding, a modest increase in overall non-defense spending, no withholding of funds for sanctuary cities, no cut of Planned Parenthood funding, and no funding for the Mexican border wall. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 9, 10, 11

5-1/2-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Within a day, after the Democratic leadership (perhaps injudiciously) had spoken triumphantly about its claimed victory, Mr. Trump appeared to reverse his view of the funding bill; blamed the minority Democrats for obstructionism; and tweeted that the Senate should abolish the filibuster rule for legislation or that a government shut-down should be forced on the Democrats in the fall – either of which measures, if adopted, would serve to aggrandize his control of the government. Many Republican and Democratic senators (including majority leader Mitch McConnell) promptly spoke out against the idea of eliminating the filibuster for legislation. As for the shut-down, no sitting president had previously suggested it; and by broad Congressional Republican consensus, a shut-down had historically been and would now again be fiscally expensive and politically toxic for Republicans. In fact Mr. Trump himself was now able to cause a shut-down by simply vetoing the spending bill; but that presumably would prove toxic for him as well. So in all, the tweet seemed to amount to a radical and peevish caprice, to no American's advantage.</p>	7, 9, 10, 11
5-2-17	<p><b><u>Spending for Trump family security.</u></b> The New York Times reported that the recently negotiated federal spending bill includes \$120 million in extraordinary funding to physically protect Mr. Trump and family members, mostly in connection with Mr. Trump's frequent visits to Mar-a-Lago (his Florida residence and resort) and Mrs. Trump's continuing residence at Trump Tower in New York City.</p>	11
5-2-17	<p><b><u>Ethics waivers.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Walter Shaub, the director of the Office of Government Ethics, had become sufficiently concerned about the Trump administration's secret waivers of the conflicts of interest rules pertinent to its political appointees that he had requested copies of those waivers. (While President Obama's administration had issued waivers, they were not kept secretly.)</p>	17 (15)

5-2-17	<b><u>Commentary on Comey testimony, in advance.</u></b> On the evening prior to FBI director James Comey's much-anticipated public hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee, Mr. Trump tweeted: " FBI Director Comey was the best thing that ever happened to Hillary Clinton in that he gave her a free pass for many bad deeds!" It was unusual, if not unprecedented, for a sitting president to so publicly and vengefully attempt to influence a Congressional hearing on such grave matters as were to be discussed.	9, 10, 11
5-3-17	<b><u>Kushner disclosures.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that Jared Kushner, who is Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser in the White House, after months in his advisory position had failed to disclose certain investments that could create conflicts of interest for him.	17 (15)
5-3-17	<b><u>Real estate promotion in the Philippines.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that a video that promoted sales of condominium units in a Trump-branded building in the Philippines and that prominently featured Mr. Trump and his daughter Ivanka had continued to be used in promotions for more than three months into Mr. Trump's presidency, thus luring buyers on the strength of the Trumps' White House positions. (Mr. Trump's Philippine business partner in the venture was appointed to be his country's trade representative after Mr. Trump's election by Rodrigo Duterte, the Philippine president and notorious human rights violator whom Mr. Trump has sought to befriend.)	15
5-3-17	<b><u>Transition team lobbyists.</u></b> Politico reported that at least nine people who had worked on Mr. Trump's transition team had since registered as lobbyists, notwithstanding Mr. Trump's own prior pledge to forbid that. According to the report, many of the people will be lobbying the very agencies or on the very issues with which they had been involved during the transition.	17 (15)

5-3-17	<p><b>Abandonment of human rights advocacy.</b> As reported in the Wall Street Journal, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson told an assemblage of diplomats and department employees in the clearest terms yet that the U.S. would no longer formulate its approach to other countries based on their human rights records. Breaking from decades of American policy and practice, he said that the U.S. would advocate for rights and serve as an exemplar of (unspecified) values but would not let that affect America's pursuit of its self-interest. The director of Amnesty International USA said that the Trump administration is "literally trying to erase human rights before our own eyes."</p>	14
5-5-17	<p><b>South Korea election.</b> A New York Times news analysis stated that of all the crises facing South Korea, one of the biggest issues in its current presidential election is how to deal with Mr. Trump. The article said, in part: <i>"In his first months in office, Mr. Trump's contradictory statements about the Korean Peninsula have shattered South Koreans' image of the American leader as a symbol of stability in their 60-year alliance with Washington. Mr. Trump has threatened to end what he called a 'horrible' free-trade agreement with South Korea. He has said the country should pay for an American advanced missile defense system, contradicting an earlier commitment from Washington. He has warned of a 'major, major conflict' with North Korea, while also saying he would be 'honored' to meet with the North's leader, Kim Jong-un, under the right circumstances. How to manage 'the Trump risk,' as local news media put it, has become a major campaign issue. The candidates are falling over themselves to show they would be the best at handling him, either by drawing him closer or by being tougher. ... At the least, many South Koreans fear a rift in the close relationship with Washington. At worst, some fear Mr. Trump could do something impulsive, like ordering a military attack on North Korea, with little regard for the devastation it would cause here in the South. ... Mr. Trump's rough diplomacy could shake a delicate balance in northeast Asia, prompting South Korea to redefine its alliance with Washington and move closer to China, analysts say."</i> (See CSD's 4-27/28-17 entry above regarding the conflicting Korea messaging, and its 4-29-17 entry regarding loss of faith on the part of foreign allies.)</p>	10, 13, 14

5-5-17	<p><b><u>Family planning chief.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had appointed Teresa Manning to be deputy assistant secretary for population affairs for the Department of Health and Human Services – the position in charge of the government's family planning initiatives. Manning had long been opposed to government assistance in family planning, which was her right to be. But contrary to scientific data cited by the Post, her position had been based on her belief that contraception "doesn't work," and doesn't prevent unplanned pregnancies.</p>	17 (8)
5-6-17	<p><b><u>Kushner real estate promotion in China.</u></b> At a private promotional session in Beijing, the sister of Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner encouraged the Chinese attendees to invest in a Kushner family property so as to (lawfully) obtain green cards. In the promotion, she touted her company's connection to the Trump administration through her brother (who had divested his interest in the property that was the subject of the solicitation, but who had declined to divest from most of his other family business interests, and had declined to make public a complete list of his partners and lenders.) Kushner's White House portfolio includes Chinese affairs.</p>	17 (15)
5-6-17	<p><b><u>Promotion of Ivanka's book.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's daughter and senior adviser Ivanka is actively promoting her recently published book on career advice for women by way of social media. That promotion – fortified by her stature as the president's adviser – is expected not only to enhance book sales (she has millions of social media followers) but her fashion brands generally.</p>	17 (15)
5-8-17	<p><b><u>Ethical complaints.</u></b> The New Yorker (reiterating data first reported by NPR on April 17) reported that between October and March, the Office of Government Ethics had received more than 39,000 public inquiries and complaints about conflicts of interest within the Trump administration, an increase of 5,000% over the same period at the start of the Obama administration.</p> <p>CSD does not know if those complaints were justified, whether they issued from a coordinated political campaign, or neither, or both. But the number is startling, and at a minimum it evidences a previously unheard-of level of public suspicion and allegation regarding conflicts of interest surrounding a sitting president.</p>	15

\* George Will, *The Washington Post*, May 3, 2017, [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-has-a-dangerous-disability/2017/05/03/56ca6118-2f6b-11e7-9534-00e4656c22aa\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.23375a3be0a8&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-has-a-dangerous-disability/2017/05/03/56ca6118-2f6b-11e7-9534-00e4656c22aa_story.html?utm_term=.23375a3be0a8&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 4 – May 31, 2017

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

4-27-17	<p><b><u>Fake news.</u></b> The New York Times counted 18 instances since Mr. Trump's inauguration in which he had used the word "fake" in his tweets to attempt to discredit the mainstream press.</p>	1, 7
5-1-17	<p><b><u>Falsehood tally.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that in the first 100 days of Mr. Trump's presidency, he had made 492 false or misleading claims, at an average rate of 4.9 per day. On five of those days, he had made at least 20 false claims.</p>	7
5-8-17	<p><b><u>McCain on human rights.</u></b> In a New York Times opinion piece, Senator John McCain wrote a pointed rebuke to Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's recent vow to remove human rights considerations from American international policies. McCain argued that American leadership in human rights is essential not only to America's conscience, but also to its prosperity and power. He wrote: <i>"To view foreign policy as simply transactional is more dangerous than its proponents realize. Depriving the oppressed of a beacon of hope could lose us the world we have built and thrived in. It could cost our reputation in history as the nation distinct from all others in our achievements, our identity and our enduring influence on mankind."</i> The complete column appears at <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/08/opinion/john-mccain-rex-tillerson-human-rights.html?ref=todayspaper">https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/08/opinion/john-mccain-rex-tillerson-human-rights.html?ref=todayspaper</a> .</p>	14

<p>5-8-17</p>	<p><b><u>Yates testimony.</u></b> Mr. Trump, via Twitter, attacked the credibility of former acting Attorney General Sally Yates – and thus effectively attacked Congressional committee process – just hours before she was scheduled to testify before the Senate Intelligence Committee on the subject of Russian influence on the presidential election. Her testimony was expected to address, among other things, her warnings to the administration about renegade national security adviser Michael Flynn's Russian contacts – warnings she had shared several weeks before Flynn was ultimately fired. Mr. Trump's tweet compared to his disparaging tweet on May 3 about FBI director James Comey, posted shortly prior to Comey's testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee.</p> <p>In her testimony that ensued, Yates indeed related the urgent warnings she had given to the White House in late January about Flynn's Russian contacts, including that Flynn was at risk of being blackmailed by the Russians. (Press secretary Sean Spicer had previously dismissed the urgency of Yates's warnings.) The White House appeared to have ignored those warnings, and to have continued to allow Flynn to receive top secret information – even to participate in a highly sensitive telephone call with Russian president Vladimir Putin.</p> <p>After her testimony, Mr. Trump tweeted that the "fake news" had found nothing new in the testimony; that the Russia investigation remained a "hoax"; and that President Obama was to blame for having some years earlier given Flynn a security clearance.</p> <p>Yates's testimony coincided with revelations by the press, the same day, that President Obama had personally cautioned Mr. Trump about Flynn shortly after the election in November and had recommended that Mr. Trump not hire Flynn as national security adviser. Mr. Trump did not heed that advice.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>
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5-8-17	<p><b><u>Dismissal of science advisors.</u></b> Leading news outlets reported that on May 5, contrary to custom, the Environmental Protection Agency had dismissed half the members of its Board of Scientific Counselors – a major scientific review board – as of the end of their then-current terms and without offering them renewal terms. The EPA was expected to name industry representatives to replace them. Calling upon the regulated to help advise on regulation is not uncommon or inappropriate; but in a task allocated specifically to scientific advice, the EPA's move suggested to many observers another step toward facilitating science denial on the part of the Trump administration.</p>	8
5-9-17	<p><b><u>HHS censorship.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Republicans Chuck Grassley (Senate Judiciary Committee chairman) and Jason Chaffetz (House Oversight Committee chairman) had sharply rebuked HHS Secretary Tom Price for forbidding his department's staff from communicating directly with Congress, contending that the directive was possibly illegal and unconstitutional.</p>	17 (9)
5-9/10-17	<p><b><u>Comey dismissal.</u></b> On May 9, Mr. Trump, abruptly and without notice, dismissed FBI director James Comey, nominally because of Comey's erratic public disclosures during the election campaign regarding the FBI's investigation of then-candidate Hillary Clinton's email practices.</p> <p>But the dismissal came in the midst of Comey's investigation of potentially treasonous collusion with Russia on the part of Mr. Trump's presidential campaign to influence the election in Mr. Trump's favor. It came after weeks of Mr. Trump's denunciations of the investigation as a waste of taxpayers' money. And it came a day after Mr. Trump called the investigation a "hoax"; a day after Comey reportedly asked the Justice Department for additional funding to support that investigation; and a day after former acting Attorney General Sally Yates testified before the Senate to the effect that Mr. Trump had ignored her urgent cautions about former national security advisor Michael Flynn's Russian contacts. No mention was made by Mr. Trump or his administration of the Russia investigation as grounds for Comey's dismissal, even though that investigation appeared to be one of the most critical and visible issues currently before Comey. And no assurance was offered that the investigation would continue without Comey. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12

5-9/10-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Leading Senate Republicans and Democrats expressed concern that the dismissal could compromise, and could have been intended to compromise, the Russia investigation. In response to Majority Leader Chuck Schumer's criticism of the dismissal, Mr. Trump tweeted a personal attack on "Cryin' Chuck Schumer," a reference to Schumer's emotional response to Mr. Trump's travel ban several months previous. In response to Richard Blumenthal's call for a special prosecutor, Mr. Trump brought up Blumenthal's long-ago acknowledged misrepresentation of his military service and said that he had "cried like a baby" when apologizing for that.</p> <p>The dismissal appeared to have come for many as a surprise. Comey learned of it only through the news media, while giving a presentation on the West Coast. Press secretary Sean Spicer was widely reported to have hidden in the bushes at the White House for several minutes before agreeing to speak to reporters, and then only on the condition that they not video-record him. In response to their questions about Comey's dismissal, Spicer had no answers. In the hours and days following, White House details on the motivations and process relative to the dismissal were confusing and contradictory.</p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12
5-10-17	<p><b>Russia meeting.</b> The day after Mr. Trump dismissed FBI director James Comey, seemingly at least in part for continuing to investigate links between the Trump campaign and the Russian government, Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov and Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak met with Mr. Trump to discuss how to improve American-Russian cooperation. Lavrov stated afterwards that he agreed with Mr. Trump that the various investigations into Russian election tampering and the associated publicity amounted to "false news." Russian state media had been given access to the meeting while the American press corps had been barred – a circumstance that commentators found unprecedented relative to American press access, as well as a potential security breach. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	12

5-10-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Russian press access resulted in Russian media publicizing photos of Lavrov, Kislyak and Trump in a festive and jocular mood, which troubled some commentators in that the photos appeared to "normalize" American-Russian relations, and to evidence American acquiescence to Russia's gravely anti-democratic and inhumane behavior in recent years: its annexation of Crimea, its military support of secessionists in eastern Ukraine, its commission of atrocities in support of the Syrian regime's war against rebel forces, and its interference with the American presidential election.</p>	12
5-11-17	<p><b><u>Comey dismissal: White House reversal.</u></b> After several days of White House denials, deputy press secretary Sarah Huckabee Saunders acknowledged that terminating the FBI's Russia investigation had been at least one reason for Mr. Trump's dismissal of director James Comey. She said: "We want [the investigation] to come to its conclusion with integrity. And we think that we've actually, by removing Director Comey, taken steps to make that happen."</p>	9, 10, 11, 12
5-11-17	<p><b><u>Voter fraud, voter suppression.</u></b> Mr. Trump created a commission to investigate voter fraud and voter suppression. He had previously maintained, without evidence, that millions of fraudulent votes cast for Hillary Clinton had cost him a popular vote victory. To date, no evidence had ever emerged of any recent, material voter fraud in the U.S. Meanwhile many state laws had been manifestly designed and enacted in recent years to suppress the votes of minorities, the poor and the elderly; and some of those laws had been overturned by federal courts as being unconstitutional. Mr. Trump named as chairman of the new commission a Kansas functionary who had been responsible for imposing in his state a series of voter identification laws that came to be criticized as highly restrictive and intentionally discriminatory, and many of them were barred by federal courts. Thus concerns arose that the new nationwide investigation could promote voter suppression in the name of fraud protection.</p> <p>CSD has long been appalled by any attempts by state legislatures to discriminatorily suppress voting. We have not previously commented on state voter suppression laws, because they did not fall within the province of President Trump's activities; but now they do.</p>	4

5-11-17	<p><b><u>Comey dismissal: White House pattern.</u></b> The Huffington Post called attention to what would appear to be a concerted and less-than-forthright pattern on the part of Mr. Trump to compromise investigations of Russian interference in the American election (each episode was previously described in this document): the stealth enlisting of Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman Richard Burr to rebut negative press stories; the stealth invitation of House Intelligence Committee Chairman Devin Nunes to view classified documents in the White House and then to publicly comment on them while withholding them from his committee colleagues; and, most recently, the dismissal of FBI director James Comey under at least partially false pretenses.</p>	7, 9, 10, 12
5-11-17	<p><b><u>FBI reaction to Comey dismissal.</u></b> In justifying Mr. Trump's dismissal of FBI director James Comey, the White House had said that Comey was unpopular among staff at the FBI. On May 11, newly designated acting director Andrew McCabe, a career professional at the agency, told the Senate Intelligence Committee the opposite – that Comey was and remained highly regarded at the agency. The same day, The New York Times reported that it was Mr. Trump's abrupt firing of Comey that was demoralizing for the agency's staff and that could jeopardize the agency's overall effectiveness.</p> <p>The Times wrote: <i>"Agents said they were stunned that Mr. Trump would fire Mr. Comey in the midst of an F.B.I. investigation into whether any of the president's associates had conspired with Russia to swing the election in favor of Mr. Trump. Some said in interviews that news of the firing felt like a gut punch. Others wondered whether they would be able to continue the inquiry. One senior F.B.I. official said that the president had severely damaged his standing among agents, many of whom are conservative and supported Mr. Trump as a candidate. Agents were angered by the way Mr. Trump fired Mr. Comey, who learned of his dismissal from television reports while he was in Los Angeles. They called it disrespectful. And agents flatly rejected the assertion Wednesday by a White House spokeswoman, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, during a briefing with reporters that the F.B.I.'s rank-and-file supported the sudden firing of Mr. Comey. A strained relationship with the F.B.I. can make life difficult for a president. The White House relies on the bureau for regular security updates and for unvarnished information during crises."</i></p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12

5-11-17	<p><b><u>Comey dismissal – NBC interview.</u></b> Mr. Trump told an NBC News interviewer that, prior to dismissing FBI director James Comey, he had asked Comey three times if Comey was investigating Mr. Trump personally, and that three times Comey had said no. The FBI subsequently stated that Comey did not and legally would not have responded to those questions, thus implying that Mr. Trump was likely not telling the truth. But the mere fact that Mr. Trump had asked the questions (if indeed he had done so) would appear to constitute an obstruction of any pending investigation, and a possible attempt to intimidate Comey by implicitly threatening his job.</p> <p>In the same NBC interview, Mr. Trump effectively retracted his earlier statement that he had dismissed Comey on the recommendation of deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein – after the press had revealed that Rosenstein had denied that, and thus had exposed Mr. Trump's falsehood. Rather, Mr. Trump now admitted that he had long intended to dismiss Comey, prior to directing Rosenstein to memorialize a rationale. The initial falsehood could have amounted to an unconstitutional interference with the investigation.</p>	7, 9, 10,11, 12
5-11-17	<p><b><u>Request for Comey loyalty pledge.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that in January, Mr. Trump had invited then FBI director James Comey to a private dinner, at which he had twice asked Comey to pledge his loyalty to Mr. Trump. Comey had twice declined, thus conceivably setting the stage for his subsequent dismissal. Mr. Trump's request had defied the mandate of the FBI to operate independently.</p>	9, 10, 11
5-11-17	<p><b><u>Economic incoherence.</u></b> The Economist published an interview with Mr. Trump in which, as subsequently characterized by The Atlantic, he betrayed near illiteracy about key economic issues facing the White House and his own proposed policies on them.</p>	10
5-12-17	<p><b><u>Business with Russians.</u></b> Mr. Trump released a letter from his attorneys that was intended to prove that he had no business dealings with Russians, but that was then widely ridiculed for demonstrating the precise opposite.</p>	7, 10, 11, 12, 15

5-12-17	<p><b>Allusion to taping Comey.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted a veiled threat to former FBI director James Comey – that if Comey spoke to the press in the wake of his recent dismissal, Mr. Trump would publicize conversations between Comey and Mr. Trump that Mr. Trump had surreptitiously recorded. Having secretly taped the then FBI director (if that in fact had occurred) would have been of questionable propriety. But actually threatening to intimidate Mr. Comey from speaking would constitute a federal crime (blackmail), plus possibly an unconstitutional interference with any potential Congressional testimony on Comey's part. In addition, the tweet put foreign dignitaries on notice that they too could be taped and blackmailed in the White House. And possibly of greatest concern, a sitting president issuing those threats publicly seemed to bypass rational behavior.</p>	9, 10, 11, 12
5-9-17 5-12-17	<p><b>Replacing Comey.</b> Attorney General Jeff Sessions, having been prominent in Mr. Trump's election campaign and later having misled Congress about his own contacts with Russian officials, had recused himself from participating in any matters involving the investigation of Russian election tampering. But on May 9 he had participated in the decision to dismiss FBI director James Comey in connection with Comey's investigation of the Russian matter; and on May 12 he participated in the naming of candidates to replace Comey as director, including for the continuation or other disposition of that same investigation.</p>	17 (9, 12)
5-12-17	<p><b>Unreliable press briefings.</b> In the wake of the repeated misstatements made by Mr. Trump's press officers since his inauguration, and particularly their very recent statements about his motivation for firing FBI director James Comey, Mr. Trump tweeted: “As a very active President with lots of things happening, it is not possible for my surrogates to stand at podium with perfect accuracy!” That acknowledgement put the country and the world on notice, or on further notice, that nothing the press office under Mr. Trump might articulate might ever be accurate.</p>	7

5-13-17	<p><b>Religious pandering.</b> At a commencement address at Liberty University, a religiously-based institution, Mr. Trump – not known for his righteousness in word or deed – said, “In America, we don’t worship government. We worship God.” But during his election campaign and especially following the release of the "Access Hollywood" video in which Mr. Trump had boasted about sexually assaulting women, thousands of Liberty University students had signed a petition excoriating Mr. Trump for his spiritually bereft behavior. They wrote of him: <i>"He has made his name by maligning others and bragging about his sins. Not only is Donald Trump a bad candidate for president, he is actively promoting the very things that we as Christians ought to oppose. ... A man who constantly and proudly speaks evil does not deserve our support for the nation’s highest office."</i> (A link to the complete text of the petition appears at this endnote.*)</p> <p>CSD, whose members include persons of faith, does not presume to evaluate the depth (or existence) of Mr. Trump's religious beliefs; it does not judge anyone by their beliefs; it does not fault other religious voters for supporting Mr. Trump; and it does not object to public figures sincerely invoking the name of God in their expressions of goodwill. But we object to Mr. Trump's casual promotion of his personal and political agenda as being faith-driven or in any way righteous – the sort of insincere and manipulative maneuver that autocrats the world over have routinely deployed.</p>	9
5-14-17	<p><b>Promoting Mar-a-Lago.</b> The Washington Post reported that bookings and revenues for organizational events at Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump's Florida resort and sometimes home, have increased since Mr. Trump's election, on the strength of attendees' association of the venue with the office of the presidency, and with the hope – sometimes realized – of encountering the president in person. (Mr. Trump had attended at least nine charity events there during that period.) The Post also noted the disjunction between the resort's wealthy clientele, on the one hand, and the low wages of its staff and Mr. Trump's populist political message, on the other.</p>	15

5-14-17	<b>Job creation claims.</b> The New York Times listed 11 instances since Mr. Trump's election in which he had explicitly or implicitly taken credit for creating or saving jobs at specific companies, then documented that those companies had already planned those actions long before Mr. Trump's election – with one exception: in November, Carrier had agreed to keep 800 jobs from migrating to Mexico, in exchange for receiving \$7,000,000 in tax incentives from Indiana (then Vice President-elect Mike Pence's state).	7
5-15-17	<b>Russia advantaged by Comey dismissal.</b> The Washington Post quoted several experienced diplomats to the effect that Mr. Trump's firing of FBI director James Comey, and the ensuing American political firestorm, had generated internal American weakness and discord to an extent far greater than Russia had ever hoped for or anticipated when tampering with the American election.	9, 10, 11, 12
5-15-17	<b>Hiding data.</b> The Washington Post reported that The Trump administration had removed or hidden from the Internet many types of information that until recently had been provided to the public, such as disclosures about workplace violations, energy efficiency, and animal welfare abuses.	8, 9
5-15-17	<b>Consuming inaccurate news.</b> Politico reported that Mr. Trump's staffers were deliberately and routinely passing him inaccurate news stories, both to manipulate him and to avoid angering him with the truth. Politico wrote that Mr. Trump believed the inaccurate stories.	10, 11
5-15/16-17	<b>Sharing classified information with Russia.</b> The Washington Post reported that during Mr. Trump's meeting with the Russian foreign minister and ambassador in the White House on May 10, Mr. Trump casually, personally, boastfully, and without guidance from his national security and diplomatic advisors had shared highly classified information relating to ISIS operations that had come from a secret source (a then unnamed American ally – later identified by the press as Israel), in utter breach of security standards, and to the detriment of the ally. The following day, Mr. Trump acknowledged the disclosure, and tweeted that as president he had the absolute right to disclose classified information at will. [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	10, 11, 12, 13



5-15/16-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The development alarmed members of both parties. For some it advanced the narrative of Mr. Trump's long-running disdain for the intelligence community; the narrative that he had compromised and would continue to compromise American interests in favor of Russian ones; the narrative that he had no understanding of and no will to understand governance; and yet another narrative that he would say anything to anyone (in this case top Russian officials) to encourage them to love and admire him. It also revived an earlier question as to whether he should be entrusted with classified information.</p> <p>According to CNN and the Associated Press, several American allies afterwards expressed concern about their sharing sensitive information with the U.S. going forward.</p> <p>During his election campaign, and even since then, Mr. Trump had relentlessly criticized opponent Hillary Clinton's use of a private email server relative to its potential to enable a compromise of classified information; and since his inauguration he had relentlessly criticized leaks of information from within his own administration.</p> <p>Remarkably, the White House's defense to the revelation of Mr. Trump's disclosure of the American ally's secret data was that Mr. Trump could not injure America or its allies because he was too inept to learn or retain pertinent details of national security. Specifically, The Times wrote that unnamed White House sources had said that "<i>Mr. Trump, a hasty and indifferent reader of printed briefing materials, simply did not possess the interest or knowledge of the granular details of intelligence gathering to leak specific sources and methods of intelligence gathering that would do harm to United States allies.</i>" For CSD, whether doing harm or being too inept to do harm would constitute the more troubling phenomenon was unclear.</p> <p>And in yet another interpretation of the Russian episode at the White House, the Russian foreign ministry characterized the reports that Mr. Trump had shared classified information with the diplomats as "fake." A day later, Russian president Vladimir Putin would offer to produce his own record of the discussion to that effect.</p>	10, 11, 12, 13
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5-16-17	<p><b><u>Turkish brutality.</u></b> Mr. Trump warmly welcomed Turkish president Recep Erdogan to the White House, but he did not discuss Erdogan's authoritarian crackdown on dissidents – which had included tens of thousands of arrests and dismissals from governmental, military, diplomatic and university positions; intimidation of the Turkish press; a declaration of a state of emergency; blocking of access to Wikipedia; and structural changes in Turkish governance to consolidate presidential power – including gaining the right to rule by decree. That evening, outside the Turkish embassy in Washington, as Erdogan watched, his security guards brutally attacked protesters, Secret Service agents and local police officers, sending many to the hospital; the State Department, members of Congress and the Washington police department all objected; but the White House was silent. CSD presumes that Erdogan was satisfied with all of the immediate outcomes.</p>	14, 17 (3, 5, 9)
5-16-17	<p><b><u>Requests of Comey to drop Flynn investigation, imprison reporters.</u></b> The New York Times reported that in February, Mr. Trump had pointedly asked then FBI director James Comey to end the investigation of then national security advisor Michael Flynn regarding Russian meddling in the election. Mr. Trump had put the question to Comey after asking Attorney General Jeff Sessions and Mike Pence to leave the room, thus raising a suspicion after the report emerged that Mr. Trump had known that his request of Comey could be unethical or illegal. The revelations were widely viewed with alarm by members of Congress, commentators and others as a possible indication of criminal obstruction of justice.</p> <p>Some compared Mr. Trump's previous campaign promise that, if he were elected, he would have the Justice Department appoint a special prosecutor to investigate his opponent Hillary Clinton. In that promise he had likewise demonstrated an ignorance about or a disdain for the independence of the department's investigative mandate, and had demonstrated an eagerness to use or refrain from using federal investigations politically. CSD sees a related comparison in Mr. Trump's request in January for a loyalty pledge from Mr. Comey. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	1, 9, 10, 11, 12

5-16-17	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] In the same February conversation, Mr. Trump had suggested to Comey that he prosecute and imprison reporters who had published leaked classified information – something that has never occurred in the U.S.	1, 9, 10, 11, 12
5-17-17	<b><u>Flynn's early admission to the president.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had hired Michael Flynn to be his national security adviser in January even after Flynn had told White House counsel that he (Flynn) was under FBI investigation for accepting payments from the Turkish government during Mr. Trump's campaign. The revelation appeared comparable to Mr. Trump's failure to dismiss Flynn – after then acting Attorney General Sally Yates had delivered her stern caution about Flynn regarding his contacts with Russian officials – until 18 days later, when the matter was leaked to the press.	10
5-17-17	<b><u>Russian business dealings.</u></b> Fortune Magazine detailed Mr. Trump's long-standing and extensive business dealings with Russian investors, including a number of corrupt ones. A link to the article appears at this endnote.**	12, 15
5-17/18-17	<b><u>Advice to Coast Guard graduates.</u></b> On May 17, in addressing the graduating class at the U.S. Coast Guard Academy – young men and women prepared to place their lives on the line for America – Mr. Trump said that “no politician in history, and I can say this with great surety, has been treated worse or more unfairly” than himself, including at the hands of the press. The following day, Senator John McCain stated in several venues that he (McCain) had been treated worse (presumably referring to his having been tortured as a war prisoner in Vietnam, and to Mr. Trump having mocked him during the recent election campaign for having been captured). Further to Mr. Trump's complaint about unfair treatment – and just limiting the following list to presidents -- many previous commanders in chief had been mercilessly criticized (Lincoln, Obama, countless others), rebelled against (Lincoln), impeached or nearly impeached (Johnson, Nixon, Clinton), shot (Reagan), and even assassinated (Lincoln, Garfield, McKinley, Kennedy).	1, 7, 11

5-17/18-17	<p><b><u>Russian glee at American chaos.</u></b> The New York Times quoted a Russian political analyst closely tied to the Kremlin: <i>"Of course, from Moscow, we look at this chaos with a bit of a smile. ... So many Americans used to look at the chaos in Russia that way. It is a kind of psychological revenge."</i> The following day, The Wall Street Journal quoted a Russian political analyst: <i>"Personally, Putin likes the situation – he likes the chaos, and the chance to see a Western leader as a weakling. To a Russian, everything that is happening in Washington shows the weakness of Western democracy."</i> The Journal went on to report: <i>"Russian analysts say the controversy in Washington gives the Kremlin a freer hand in foreign policy. They say U.S. foreign-policy disarray gives Moscow more space to pursue its own policies in the Middle East and consolidate its diplomatic gains."</i></p> <p>CSD notes that American commentators had long maintained that all of this was precisely the Russian objective in tampering with our presidential election.</p>	10, 13
5-18-17	<p><b><u>Count of Russian contacts.</u></b> Reuters reported that the Trump campaign had had at least 18 undisclosed contacts with Russian officials and agents. (In January, the Trump White House had denied that there had been any such contacts whatever.)</p>	17 (7, 12)
5-18-17	<p><b><u>Undermining the new special counsel; "witch hunts" in American history.</u></b> With regard to acting Attorney General Rod Rosenstein's appointment on May 17 of the highly respected former FBI director Robert Mueller as special counsel to investigate the Trump campaign's connection to Russian interests – an appointment that had generated bipartisan Congressional support – Mr. Trump tweeted on May 18: "This is the single greatest witch hunt of a politician in American history!" Later in the day, he repeated the "witch hunt" allegation; said that Democrats' retribution for their loss of the presidential election was the only reason the investigation was proceeding; denied that he had asked former FBI director James Comey to drop his own investigation; and reverted to his original, discredited claim that he had dismissed Comey because of Rosenstein's legal memorandum regarding Comey's handling of the Hillary Clinton probe rather than because of Mr. Trump's own pre-existing decision to dismiss Comey due to the Russia investigation.</p>	7, 9, 10, 11, 12

5-19-17	<p><b>European Fears.</b> In its most extensive reporting on the topic to date, The Washington Post found widespread fear among European diplomats and leaders around the chaos that they viewed as characterizing the Trump presidency. The Post wrote: <i>"In conversations with more than two dozen current and former European ministers, lawmakers, diplomats, intelligence officials and military officers in recent days, there was a common theme: After nearly four months of the Trump administration, many fear that mounting domestic scandals could sap Washington's ability to respond to challenges ranging from Russia to terrorism to North Korea. ... ."</i> But the concerns were not just about scandals: they were also about Mr. Trump's capriciousness, unreliability, inattention, and sloppiness with classified information. <i>"The vacuum may encourage people all over the world to seize the moment of an absent United States,"</i> one said. A minister added: <i>"I'm getting increasingly worried that this internal chaos in the United States is growing to an unimaginable scale. ... And that may grow into security and defense policy. If you are only fighting about tweets, if you don't have time to follow what's happening in the world, that's really disturbing. ... To regain a kind of moral leadership will be extremely difficult. Because now every guy around the world will point their fingers and say, look at your own history."</i></p>	10, 13, 14
5-19-17	<p><b>Disparaging Comey and the media to Russians.</b> The New York Times reported that during his meeting on May 10 at the White House with Russian foreign minister Sergey Lavrov and Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak, Mr. Trump had told them: <i>"I just fired the head of the F.B.I. He was crazy, a real nut job. ... I faced great pressure because of Russia. That's taken off."</i> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	1, 10, 12, 13

5-19-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Although all of the implications of Mr. Trump's statements to the Russians are not clear, CSD will assume some seemingly obvious ones: (a) that Mr. Trump (despite subsequent dissembling) had indeed dismissed Comey because of Comey's pursuit of the investigation of Russia's tampering with the American election; (b) that in the White House session Mr. Trump divulged confidential information (his relationship with a ranking subordinate and the investigation's impact on the president) to America's chief antagonist, Russia; (c) that he gossiped casually and disdainfully about a leading figure in American intelligence to America's most dangerous rival in the intelligence wars; (d) alarmingly, that he assumed a fraternity and a commonality of outlook and interest as between himself and Russian officials on the activities and dismissal of Comey; (e) more alarmingly, that he sought to comfort the Russians about a problem he shared with them (Russia's interference with the American election); and (f), perhaps most alarmingly, a possible transactional element: that he had dismissed Comey (or had boasted of dismissing Comey) in exchange for a past or future favor from Russia.</p> <p>The Times also reported that, during the meeting, Mr. Trump denounced the American media's "fake" coverage of the Russian interference allegations, and Lavrov jokingly concurred.</p>	1, 10, 12, 13
5-19-17	<p><b><u>Potential challenge to special counsel.</u></b> Reuters reported that promptly after the appointment of Robert Mueller as special counsel to investigate Russia's meddling in the election, White House attorneys began researching whether Mueller could be legally restricted in his investigation because his law firm had represented two of the possible investigation subjects – Paul Manafort and Jared Kushner. CSD acknowledges Mr. Trump's right to explore such legalisms; but we believe that his desire to do so further betrays his deep unhappiness with the appointment and the independent investigation that will ensue, and spotlights his potential for trying to undermine them.</p>	9, 12
5-19-17	<p><b><u>Cuts for environmental science.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's proposal for the fiscal 2018 budget, consistent with his prior indications, would cut funding for the EPA's Office of Science and Technology nearly in half, among other radical funding slashes for the EPA.</p>	8

5-20-17	<p><b>Gala Saudi visit.</b> Mr. Trump and a large retinue of his senior officials and family members travelled to Saudi Arabia in an unprecedented American display of friendship toward that country. The country is notorious for its authoritarian, religiously intolerant, corrupt, plutocratic, misogynistic monarchy; its refusal to accept refugees; its often harsh exploitation of foreign guest workers; its repression of its Shiite minority; its imprisonment of government critics; its being the source of one of the largest contingents of foreign fighters within ISIS; its tacit alliance with Al Qaeda; its being the birthplace of most of the 9/11 terrorists; and its status as perhaps the world's largest funding source for radical anti-Western terrorism and religious zealotry generally. As Fareed Zakariah subsequently wrote in The Washington Post, almost every terrorist attack in the West has had some connection to Saudi Arabia.</p> <p>Mr. Trump nevertheless was met there with a gala and literally royal welcome, in which, among other festive displays, he and his aides participated in a traditional Saudi sword dance – a male-only celebration of brutal tribal warfare. And substantively, his words and deeds were materially more favorable to the Saudis than had been those of previous American presidents. He identified Saudi Arabia as America's unshakeable friend; and he identified Shiite Iran (Sunni Saudi Arabia's arch-enemy) as the source of terrorism and Middle East instability, while being silent on Saudi contributions to the same. (Similarly, despite the country's distinction as a source of anti-American terrorism and radical religious zeal, Mr. Trump had not included Saudi Arabia in the list of Muslim-majority nations that were the subject of his ill-fated travel ban in January.) He also fortified the massive arms sales to the Saudi kingdom that former President Obama had slowed due to the Saudis' unrestrained use of American ordnance in killing civilians in its still-raging proxy war in Yemen. The new arms sales, at over \$100 billion, represented the largest in U.S. history.</p> <p>As a matter of American geo-strategic interest, American commentators' views of the wisdom of the Saudi embrace were mixed. But in addition to the human rights issues, the shadow of Mr. Trump's potential personal conflicts of interest appeared. During his election campaign, he had sought to develop substantial business transactions in Saudi Arabia. After the election he paused that pursuit, but he remained able to revive it at any time, either during or after his presidency.</p>	15, 17 (6, 9)
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<p>5-21-17, 5-25-17</p>	<p><b><u>Kushner Conflicts.</u></b> The Washington Post reported on May 21 that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior White House adviser Jared Kushner had not divested most of his considerable real estate holdings, despite their potential to create conflicts of interest for him (including by their being subject to the rules of regulatory agencies that Kushner was in the position to influence); that he had not disclosed the owners or activities of various shell companies in which he had investments; that by his own admission his mandatory disclosure forms were incomplete and erroneous; and that he had not publicly disclosed his private ethics agreement with the White House.</p> <p>After taking his White House position, for purportedly ethical purposes Kushner had sold some of his assets to a trust controlled by his mother.</p> <p>On May 25, ArtNet.com reported that Kushner and his wife Ivanka Trump had failed to disclose over \$1,000,000 in fine art holdings, even though Ivanka had previously publicized the fact that she collected art for investment purposes and had used the collection for promoting her business brand..</p> <p>Unlike Mr. Trump himself, Kushner was bound to the ethics requirements that by law applied to White House staff. Ethics experts argued that because of his familial relationship with Mr. Trump and his broad White House portfolio, he ethically should disclose and divest even more than is required, rather than less.</p>	<p>17 (15)</p>



<p>5-22-17</p>	<p><b>More reversals.</b> The Washington Post published a new list of recent reversals on Mr. Trump's part versus his campaign statements. Many of those reversals reflected a moderation welcomed by CSD. Others, CSD does not take a position on. In any event, they suggested that Mr. Trump had been insincere during his campaign, was being insincere now, was simply following the advice of his handlers (whoever they might have been at the moment), or was and remained bereft of beliefs and/or understanding. A partial list follows:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Preparing to propose a budget that contains radical cuts to federal entitlement spending, despite his campaign promises to the contrary.</li> <li>2. Moderating his tone on Saudi Arabia and Islam, while in Saudi Arabia: specifically, referring to Islam as "one of the world's great religions," despite having previously demonized that faith; lavishing praise on Saudi Arabia, after having blamed the country for perpetrating the 9-11 attacks; allowing or directing his wife and daughter to not cover their heads while visiting Saudi Arabia, despite having criticized Michele Obama for that; not using the incendiary term "radical Islamic terrorism" while in Saudi Arabia, despite having pledged to always do so; and .bending or bowing to the Saudi king to receive a medal, after having excoriated President Obama for having done the same.</li> <li>3. Abandoning his promise to move the American embassy in Israel to Jerusalem.</li> </ol>	<p>7, 10</p>
<p>5-22-17</p>	<p><b>Flynn's untruths, stonewalling.</b> The ranking member of the House Oversight Committee revealed that former national security adviser Michael Flynn, when renewing his security clearance in 2016, had lied to Pentagon officials about the source of funds he had received for traveling to Russia. The source was RT, the Russian government's propaganda arm.</p> <p>Hours earlier, Flynn had pleaded the Fifth Amendment in defying a subpoena to testify before the Senate Intelligence Committee.</p>	<p>17 (7, 12)</p>

5-22-17	<p><b><u>Pressure to deny evidence.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that in late March, Mr. Trump had asked Director of National Intelligence Daniel Coats and National Security Agency Director Michael Rogers to publicly deny that there was any evidence linking Mr. Trump's campaign and Russia; that is, to issue false statements about the existing FBI investigation. They declined. Commentators compared the circumstances to Mr. Trump's pressure on leading Congressional investigators in February to seek to dampen the press's reporting on their investigations, to which pressure those investigators had succumbed. Other commentators drew a comparison to President Richard Nixon's unsuccessful efforts to use the CIA to shut down the FBI's investigation of the Watergate break-in.</p>	9, 10, 11, 12
5-22-17	<p><b><u>Soliciting funds to defend investigations.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's 2020 re-election campaign – already unprecedented for its having been launched directly after the 2016 election – had invoked the alleged "witch hunt" against Mr. Trump in soliciting money from small donors. The Post said that the campaign money possibly could be used to defend Mr. Trump in certain governmental investigations of him (investigations for which The Post reported Mr. Trump was already seeking to engage private counsel). In that event, all funds collected to date could presumably be used to defend charges such as obstruction of justice, bribery and treason, even if the donors had not specifically authorized that use. While the circumstances would appear to present a legal and ethical question of first impression in American history, CSD is concerned that, at a minimum, some sort of conflict of interest, or personal use of others' entrusted funds, could arise.</p>	11, 15

<p>5-22-17, 5-26-17</p>	<p><b>Ethics blockage.</b> The New York Times reported on May 22 that the White House had asked the Office of Government Ethics to withdraw its April 28 request to see the ethics waivers that the White House had issued relative to the former lobbyists it had hired. Veterans of the agency characterized the White House's move as unprecedented. Walter Shaub, the OGE's director, responded with a scolding, 10-page denunciation of the White House's request. The Times wrote: <i>"Dozens of former lobbyists and industry lawyers are working in the Trump administration, which has hired them at a much higher rate than the previous administration. Keeping the waivers confidential would make it impossible to know whether any such officials are violating federal ethics rules or have been given a pass to ignore them. ... In many cases, they appear to be working on the exact topics they had previously handled on behalf of private-sector clients — including oil and gas companies and Wall Street banks — as recently as January."</i></p> <p>On May 26, in response to the pressure brought by the OGE and the press, the White House reversed itself and announced that it would disclose the ethics waivers. The New York Times wrote: <i>"Former senior officials with the Office of Government Ethics said that in the 39-year history of the agency, which was created in the aftermath of the Watergate scandal, they could not remember an instance in which the White House had similarly tried to block, or even to discourage, an effort to collect ethics compliance data."</i></p> <p>(See CSD's initial report of 5-2-17 on the OGE's original request for the waivers.)</p>	<p>17 (15)</p>
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5-23-17	<p><b><u>Budget cuts for science.</u></b> The Washington Post reported the following: <i>"President Trump's 2018 budget request ... has roiled the medical and science community with a call for massive cuts in spending on scientific research, medical research, disease prevention programs and health insurance for children of the working poor. The National Cancer Institute would be hit with a \$1 billion cut compared to its 2017 budget. The National Heart, Lung and Blood Institute would see a \$575 million cut, and the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases would see a reduction of \$838 million. The administration would cut the overall National Institutes of Health budget from \$31.8 billion to \$26 billion. The National Science Foundation, which dispenses grants to a variety of scientific research endeavors, would be trimmed \$776 million, an 11 percent cut."</i></p>	8
5-23-17	<p><b><u>Budget cuts for State Department.</u></b> Further on Mr. Trump's budget request, CNN reported: <i>"Funding for the State Department and US Agency for International Development would drop by about 32%, with broad cuts to programs focused on security, economic growth, humanitarian aid and disaster response, as well as in contributions to international organizations like the UN."</i> Bi-partisan critics charged that the cuts would imperil lives, empower America's competitors such as Russia and China, and increase the likelihood of wars.</p>	13, 14
5-23-17	<p><b><u>Budget cuts for refugees.</u></b> In the face of the world refugee crisis, Mr. Trump's budget proposal contemplated the admission of only 50,000 refugees in the next fiscal year, down from 110,000 in the current year, and down from an average admission allowance of 95,000 since 1980. The proposal also contemplated slashing refugee resettlement expenditures by 31%, thus virtually assuring that many of those refugees and asylum seekers who were in fact to be legally admitted would experience greater misery, less productivity, and slower integration into American society.</p>	
5-23 17	<p><b><u>Green light for Bahrain's repression.</u></b> Bahrain's security forces launched their bloodiest attack on minority Shiites in years, killing five and arresting hundreds. The attack came two days after Mr. Trump, in Saudi Arabia, had pointedly told the king of Bahrain that the U.S. would discontinue the Obama administration's criticism of the regime's endemic repression in that country.</p>	14

5-23-17	<b>Philippine butchery praised.</b> The Washington Post reported that, based on a newly leaked transcript, Mr. Trump had begun his April phone call with Philippine president Rodrigo Duterte by praising the latter for his extra-judicial killing of thousands of suspected drug dealers and users. (Duterte had previously compared himself to Adolf Hitler, on a mission to kill millions of drug addicts.)	14
5-25-17	<b>NATO shaming.</b> Meeting with NATO leaders in Brussels, Mr. Trump declined to assure them of America's commitment to the mutual defense obligations of the alliance; declined to assure them relative to his friendly posture toward Russia; publicly scolded them, during a media event at which they stood before him, for not sufficiently funding the alliance's operations (even while he appeared to continue to misunderstand the nature of the funding mechanism); and threatened Germany with punitive tariffs for exporting cars to the U.S. At one point Mr. Trump was filmed pushing a European minister out of his way so that he (Mr. Trump) could be front and center in a photo op. The entire encounter with the democratic, tolerant, free-market countries of NATO appeared to have been chilly-to-hostile, and in stark contrast to the reciprocal warmth that Mr. Trump had shared not only during his recent meeting with senior Russian diplomats in the White House, but also during his immediately pre-NATO visit with the leaders of authoritarian and intolerant Saudi Arabia. In Saudi Arabia, he had pledged his unqualified and uncritical support; at NATO, he did not.	11, 14
5-25-17	<b>Judicial rebuke.</b> The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals in Virginia largely upheld a Maryland district court's blockage of Mr. Trump's second, revised attempt at a travel ban directed at certain Muslim countries, on grounds that Mr. Trump's previous statements patently demonstrated the religiously discriminatory intent of the ban. The development followed a similar decision by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in February.	6
5-26-17	<b>Ramadan outlook.</b> Mr. Trump issued a Ramadan greeting to the world's Muslims that focused largely on defeating terrorism – a far darker statement about Islam than had appeared in the Ramadan greetings of previous presidents. For his part, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson broke from a 20-year, bi-partisan tradition and directed the State Department to not host its annual Ramadan celebration.	6

5-26-17	<p><b>More Kushner contacts with Russia.</b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner had asked the Soviet ambassador in December to establish a secret, secure line of communication between Kushner and the Kremlin through Russian facilities in the U.S. that would bypass American diplomats and intelligence agencies – an unprecedented request for an individual not yet in the government, or even for anyone in the government. The Russian ambassador himself reportedly was taken aback, because of the security risks that the proposed back-channel would pose for both countries.</p> <p>Kushner's motivation was not known. But it appeared to reflect a stunning ignorance and naiveté relative to U.S. security protocols, the limits of executive power, and Russia's appetite for and ability in manipulating its targets; a stunning disdain and hostility for American governmental institutions and the rule of law; a stunning infatuation with the Russians; or some combination of the foregoing. In any event, the overture made clear that Kushner had sought to discuss with the Kremlin one or more things that he did not want the American government to know about: whether regarding the Trump transition team's policy views, personal business matters, Russian interference with the American election, all of the above, or something else.</p> <p>Shortly after the Post's release, Reuters reported that Kushner had had at least three previously undisclosed contacts with the Russian ambassador during and after the election campaign but prior to the inauguration. Thus Kushner was now reported to have failed to honestly and completely disclose his investments and his Russian contacts repeatedly.</p>	17 (7, 12, 13)
5-27-17	<p><b>McMaster's support of Kushner.</b> National security adviser H.R. McMaster said that the attempt to open back-channel communications with the Kremlin via Russian diplomatic facilities by Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner was routine and not troubling.</p>	17 (7, 12)
5-28-17	<p><b>Kelly's support of Kushner.</b> Homeland Security secretary John Kelly said that the attempt to open back-channel communications with the Kremlin via Russian diplomatic facilities by Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner was admirable and perfectly normal.</p>	17 (7, 12)

5-28-17	<p><b><u>Post-travel tweets on Kushner and Montana election.</u></b>  Promptly after returning from his overseas trip, Mr. Trump – presumably referring to the recent leaks that had exposed the alarming, pre-inauguration overtures to the Kremlin on the part of his son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner – tweeted that the "fake news" media may have fabricated the leaked material. He added that "fake news" "is the enemy."</p> <p>Also via Twitter, Mr. Trump touted the victory of his avid admirer Greg Gianforte in a special Congressional election in Montana, despite and without referring to Gianforte's having gained national notoriety for body-slaming a respected reporter from The Guardian on the eve of his election.</p> <p>(The Huffington Post had reported on May 24 that the Guardian reporter had been the fourth political reporter to have been arrested or manhandled by government officials in May.)</p>	1, 7, 12, 17 (1, 5)
5-28-17	<p><b><u>Merkel commentary on NATO visit.</u></b> German chancellor Angela Merkel said in a public address that Europe could no longer rely on others. The strong, and extraordinary, implication was that, since Mr. Trump's meeting with NATO days earlier, Europe could no longer rely on the United States.</p>	14

5-29-17	<p><b>Militarization of the National Security Council.</b> The Washington Post reported that, in a departure from precedent, Mr. Trump had increasingly staffed the National Security Council with military figures. The Post wrote: <i>"Current and retired military officers not only hold positions at the highest ranks of government but also fill senior staff jobs in the White House that have traditionally been the purview of civilians or experienced diplomats. ... The shift in staffing reflects Trump's faith in the nation's warriors and his delight in shows of military force. ... The NSC was created after World War II to harmonize national security decision-making amid competing departments with different agendas. It was set inside the White House, and not the Pentagon, to ensure that the military, with its massive resources and personnel, would not dominate foreign policy planning. Although there is a long tradition of military personnel serving on the NSC, ... the staff has typically been dominated by career civil servants and experts from outside of government. ... One worry among some current and former White House officials is that the heavy military presence might make it harder for the Trump administration to effectively oversee the vast swath of nonmilitary agencies involved in foreign policy. Others fret that the military officers might go easy on the Pentagon."</i> A third concern articulated by The Post was that the military members of the NSC may be unduly wedded to views formed by their own earlier experiences in America's Middle Eastern wars, to the detriment of more current or geographically diverse realities – a bias that civilians might be less likely to harbor.</p>	9
5-30-17	<p><b>Murder of Good Samaritans.</b> On May 27, a white supremacist had taunted two young women on a train in Portland, Oregon, because one of the women was wearing a hijab; and when three men who knew neither the women nor one another came to the women's defense, the supremacist stabbed the men, killing two. On May 30, Mr. Trump tweeted from his presidential Twitter account that the murders were "unacceptable." But the tweet came three days after the event, following 21 tweets on other topics, including "fake news"; its language was perfunctory, and not suggestive of sincerity; and Mr. Trump did not tweet the message to his 30,000,000 personal followers, in whom for years he had undertaken to cultivate an ethno-nationalist rage. One grieving mother's moving letter to Mr. Trump – calling for him to be the president of <i>all</i> Americans – appeared widely in the press later that day, and can be viewed at this endnote.***</p>	



5-30-17	<b>Filibuster criticism, again.</b> In a tweet, Mr. Trump again called for the Senate to abolish its filibuster rule, so that it could pass his health care and tax bills with only 51 votes rather than the customary 60 – thus again seeking extraordinary means to eliminate consensus, eviscerate dissent, and consolidate his power.	9
5-31-17	<b>Cell phone access.</b> Time Magazine reported that Mr. Trump had been encouraging world leaders to call him on his unsecured cell phone; and that the use of that form of communication would amount to a radical breach of both diplomatic protocol and national security. (Compare Mr. Trump's relentless attacks on Hillary Clinton for her use of an unsecured email server.)	10, 13
5-31-17	<b>Green light for Egypt's repression.</b> The Washington Post, in an editorial board column, reported that immediately after – and likely because – Mr. Trump had told Egyptian dictator Abdel Fatah al-Sissi in Saudi Arabia earlier in the month that the U.S. would no longer criticize human rights abuses in Egypt, Sissi "doubled down" in his repression. Specifically: <i>"More than 20 news sites were shut and dozens of secular liberal political activists arrested, including Khaled Ali, a human rights lawyer who had said he might run against Mr. Sissi in the 2018 presidential election. [Then] Mr. Sissi ratified a new law imposing unprecedented restrictions on civil society groups. The new rules essentially make it illegal for Egyptians to form independent associations without the government's permission, and give the regime's intelligence and security services authority to control all foreign funding for them. Human rights groups, among others, said it will become impossible for them to legally operate inside the country. Egypt could soon resemble nations such as Cuba and North Korea, where only state-controlled civic groups exist."</i> (Compare to the May 23 entry above in this document, where related outcomes of Mr. Trump's contemporaneous blessing of Bahrain's repression are described.)	14

5-31-17	<p><b>Exiting the Paris climate accord.</b> Many major news outlets reported that Mr. Trump planned imminently to withdraw the U.S. from the Paris climate accord on limiting climate-changing carbon emissions. The move would defy the recommendations of climate scientists worldwide. Only Syria and Nicaragua are not now party to the accord; and for the U.S. to join them would establish our country as a rogue nation relative to protecting the planet from climate disaster. It would also likely diminish respect for America and its system of governance generally, remove America from influencing the implementation of the accord, cede that influence to rivals such as China, cause America to lose access to fast-growing clean energy markets, and invite foreign tariffs on American goods. Regardless of whether or when Mr. Trump in fact withdraws, his marked hostility to the accord has roundly disturbed world leaders and people all over the earth who are concerned about climate change; and it may have already come to threaten some of the U.S. interests as described above.</p>	8, 13
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\* Liberty University student petition, October 2016:

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLScdLe5fbVw0d12MtiYcJCf-hLDjpr7AdiYTikMBttqdLuTQbg/viewform>

\*\* <http://fortune.com/2017/05/17/donald-trump-russia-2/>

\*\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/05/30/in-the-face-of-hate-he-did-not-hesitate-to-act-with-love-a-grieving-mothers-letter-to-trump/?utm\\_term=.15e1a93910d8](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-nation/wp/2017/05/30/in-the-face-of-hate-he-did-not-hesitate-to-act-with-love-a-grieving-mothers-letter-to-trump/?utm_term=.15e1a93910d8)



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 5 – July 3, 2017

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

5-31-17	<p><b><u>Mulvaney vs. the CBO.</u></b> Because the non-partisan Congressional Budget Office had given a poor score to the fiscal consequences of Mr. Trump's proposed health care plan, budget director Mick Mulvaney said that the CBO was partisan, useless, and should be abolished. But commentators said that however inexact the science of economics is, and however imperfect the CBO's performance has been over the years, its abolition would eliminate the most objective evaluative resource for federal budget-making that exists within the government; it would empower partisan policy-makers to promote and enact budgets without an empirical brake; and in periods when one party controls both the executive and legislative branches of the government, it would further consolidate the president's power.</p>	17 (8, 9)
5-31-17 +	<p><b><u>The Trump Doctrine for international relations.</u></b> National Security Adviser H.R. McMaster and National Economic Council director Gary Cohn, in a joint opinion column, wrote in The Wall Street Journal of Mr. Trump's recent trip to the Middle East and Europe: <i>"The president embarked on his first foreign trip with a clear-eyed outlook that the world is not a 'global community' but an arena where nations, nongovernmental actors and businesses engage and compete for advantage. ... Rather than deny this elemental nature of international affairs, we embrace it."</i> [Continued below.]</p>	17 (14)

5-31-17 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] For days afterwards, commentators in major news outlets – The New York Times, The Washington Post, CNN, Politico, The Atlantic – identified that statement as possibly the clearest articulation of Mr. Trump's foreign policy doctrine to date. But they also remarked with alarm that that doctrine represented the opposite of, and a seeming abandonment of, what Western leaders and governments had consistently espoused during the 72 years since World War II and in reaction to that war: a bonding among democracies (which Mr. Trump now appeared be set on abrogating in favor of bonding with authoritarian strong men), and an inspired, if uneven, search for collaborative solutions for the benefit of all peoples (in part through international institutions that Mr. Trump now appeared to be set on dismantling). Some also found the stated policy amoral and dangerous – inviting cut-throat behavior and counter-behavior as an international norm.</p>	17 (14)
5-31-17, 6-2-17, 6-7-17	<p><b>Conflict of interest waivers.</b> On May 31, the White House released to the press 17 conflict of interest waivers that it had issued to top White House staffers – i.e., documents excusing those staffers from complying with the conflict of interest rules established by Mr. Trump himself. The public release of those waivers came only after pressure from the press and the Office of Government Ethics. Reportedly the number of waivers far exceeded the number of waivers granted by President Obama at the same point in his presidency; and the four-month total of Trump waivers equaled the eight-year total of Obama waivers. Among other implications, under Mr. Trump's waivers, some former lobbyists had become free to influence decisions relating to their former clients; and senior advisers Steven Bannon, KellyAnne Conway and Reince Priebus had become free to do business with their former clients or employers.</p> <p>On June 2, the Office of Government Ethics noted that most of the waivers were unsigned and undated, thus giving rise to the possibility that they had been created retroactively, after the ethics rules had been unlawfully violated.</p> <p>On June 7, Politico reported that at least six former lobbyists with White House positions had not received waivers at all, and thus were likely to engage in conflicted behavior with no scrutiny or transparency whatever.</p>	17 (15)

<p>6-1-17, 6-2-17</p>	<p><b><u>Withdrawal from Paris climate accord.</u></b> After months of promising to do so, on June 1 Mr. Trump announced that he would withdraw the U.S. from the international Paris accord that seeks to mitigate climate-changing carbon emissions. He did so against the diplomatic advice of his secretary of state, the security advice of his secretary of defense, and the business advice of major corporations – but in sync with the advice of those of his domestic advisers who openly are environmental science skeptics or deniers, and who are politicians, not scientists.</p> <p>As CSD had observed in a May 31 entry within Addendum 4 to this document, the enormity of Mr. Trump's then potential abandonment of the accord was apparent in advance: <i>"The move would defy the recommendations of climate scientists worldwide. Only Syria and Nicaragua are not now party to the accord; and for the U.S. to join them would establish our country as a rogue nation relative to protecting the planet from climate disaster. It would also likely diminish respect for America and its system of governance generally, remove America from influencing the implementation of the accord, cede that influence to rivals such as China, cause America to lose access to fast-growing clean energy markets, and invite foreign tariffs on American goods."</i></p> <p>After the announcement, world leaders and a substantial portion of the American citizenry reacted with shock and dismay.</p> <p>In announcing the withdrawal, and in a show of gratuitous hostility toward the rest of the democratic world (and the entire world), Mr. Trump stated: "I was elected to represent the citizens of Pittsburgh, not Paris." The mayor of Pittsburgh responded by Twitter: "Pittsburgh stands with the world &amp; will follow Paris Agreement." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>8, 13</p>
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6-1-17, 6-2-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Notwithstanding Mr. Trump's fervent, direct, years-long denials that carbon emissions were causing potentially lasting and calamitous world climate change, his withdrawal announcement made no mention of any of that. Rather, the withdrawal was nominally based entirely on economic considerations – purportedly intended to save American jobs (although many commentators believed that it could cause a long-term loss of jobs). In fact according to The New York Times on the following day, Mr. Trump's aides said that they did not know his current perceptions and beliefs on the topic of climate change; and that the topic simply had not been part of the internal White House discussions prior to the withdrawal. Further, because the Paris commitments were only voluntary, Mr. Trump could have readily cut back on American compliance in an attempt to save jobs without withdrawing; and thus the intent and impact of withdrawal seemed more about international pugnacity, unilateralism, isolationism and ethno-nationalism for their own sake, or for the sake of the perceptions of Mr. Trump's political base, than even about the purported (and highly disputed) economic reasons. In a sense, some commentators wrote, the withdrawal simply made the U.S. look contrary and stupid.</p>	8, 13
6-2-17	<p><b><u>Oversight requests restricted.</u></b> Politico reported that the White House had ordered federal agencies to not respond to oversight requests from any members of Congress other than (Republican) committee chairs. Thus ranking committee members, as well as other Democrats (and Republicans), were losing the ability to help monitor and check the authority of the executive branch of government; and Mr. Trump, through agency leadership appointed by him, was increasing his control over the country's governance.</p>	9
6-2-17	<p><b><u>Inflated number of new jobs from Saudi arms sales.</u></b> The New York Times evaluated Mr. Trump's claims that his recent arms sale commitments with Saudi Arabia would generate "hundreds of thousands" and "millions" of new jobs for Americans. It concluded, based on research, that many or most of the sales might not go through; that some had already been agreed to before Mr. Trump's ascendancy; and that many of the new jobs might be for Saudis within Saudi Arabia. In the course of that research, the White House had declined to furnish The Times with its own math.</p>	7

6-3/4/5-17	<p><b><u>London terror attack.</u></b> In the immediate aftermath of a terror attack at London Bridge, Mr. Trump – rather than limiting his remarks to expressions of sympathy for and unity with the British people (as had long been customary in such circumstances by statesmen worldwide) – tweeted that the tragedy was the fault of London's mayor and of "politically correct" thinking; that he himself had been proven correct about the terror threat; that American courts had been wrong to bar his executive orders restricting travel from Muslim-majority countries; <i>and that Americans should be frightened</i> (this last sentiment and statement being precisely what the terrorists would have hoped for).</p> <p>The following day, in a string of tweets that were soon set to dramatic music on Mr. Trump's Facebook page, Mr. Trump re-characterized his executive orders of the past winter in which he had undertaken to restrict travel from certain Muslim-majority countries. Specifically, he pointedly and pugnaciously referred to the orders collectively as a "travel ban" – a term that his administration had consistently eschewed for legal reasons after the orders were blocked by a series of federal courts, and which orders at Mr. Trump's instance were now on appeal to the Supreme Court. Similarly, he wrote that the first executive order (including its explicit religious discrimination) should never have been "watered-down" and made "politically correct" by the second, thus bizarrely attacking his own Justice Department, and implying that the intent of the second order (which the Justice Department had designed to be corrective of the first) was tantamount to that of the first. Mr. Trump also tweeted that the courts were "political."</p> <p>The content of the tweets was itself constitutionally problematic: first, for possibly evidencing a discriminatory intent in the orders; and second, quixotically, for attempting to influence the Supreme Court through public bombast. But the tweets were troubling in additional ways. They were demagogic (especially as set to music). They were also wildly undisciplined relative to the conduct of the court cases, and possibly even driven largely by emotion. Such indiscipline and emotion on the part of our commander in chief as reactions to episodes of terrorism were themselves frightening.</p>	2, 9, 10, 11

6-5-17	<b>Delayed appointments.</b> Via Twitter, Mr. Trump again blamed the Democrats in Congress for the delay in approving top executive branch appointments, when in fact (as was statistically demonstrable) it was Mr. Trump who had been dilatory in putting forward nominees, or who had failed to vet them prior to naming them.	7
6-6-17	<b>Inflated coal employment claims.</b> The Washington Post reported that Scott Pruitt, the administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, had stated or strongly implied in multiple television interviews that 50,000 coal mining jobs had been created since Mr. Trump became president, when in fact the actual number was 1,000 to 4,000.	17 (7)
6-6-17	<b>Surprise omission of NATO Article 5 from address.</b> Politico reported that in his recent address to members of NATO, Mr. Trump had declined to endorse Article 5 of the NATO charter (which pledges mutual defense among members) contrary to the advice of and his agreement with his senior strategic advisers – deleting the endorsement from his prepared remarks at the last moment. The omission gave rise <i>"to the surprise and consternation of his own blindsided national security team"</i> and <i>"hours of what aides are openly calling 'cleanup duty' on the part of top advisers including Vice President Mike Pence, national security adviser H.R. McMaster, Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and others."</i> That cleanup duty was to last for weeks.)	10, 13
6-6-17	<b>Saudi Payments to Trump Hotel.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that the Saudi Arabian government had paid \$270,000 to the Trump International Hotel for lodging, meals and parking in connection with a campaign to lobby against certain American anti-terrorism legislation. While some of the spending occurred last year, some of the actual payments were received after Mr. Trump became president.	15
6-6-17	<b>Trump sons mix business and politics.</b> Politico reported that Donald Trump, Jr. and Eric Trump – Mr. Trump's sons and the care-taker executives of his business during his presidency – on "Good Morning America" had contemporaneously touted the family business and the Trump presidency. They went so far as to gratuitously join in a number of Mr. Trump's most controversial commentaries – calling the Russia election-tampering investigations a "hoax," and attacking London's mayor for his handling of that city's security relative to terrorist attacks.	15



6-6-17	<p><b><u>Qatar confusion.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted his approval of, and took credit for, the previous day's move by Saudi Arabia and other Gulf Arab states to cut diplomatic, commercial and travel relations with Qatar – a country that hosts the largest U.S. military base in the region. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, Secretary of Defense James Mattis, other Pentagon officials, other American diplomats, and the government of Qatar were reportedly taken aback by both the cut-off and Mr. Trump's supportive tweets. Tillerson and Mattis leapt into a damage-control diplomatic effort, which continued for weeks.</p>	13
6-8-17, 6-9-17	<p><b><u>Comey testimony.</u></b> On June 8, former FBI director James Comey's much-anticipated testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee corroborated previous reports that Mr. Trump – inappropriately, extraordinarily, and possibly illegally – had urged Comey to drop the FBI's investigation of former national security adviser Michael Flynn's contacts with Russian officials; had fired Comey when Comey had continued to assert his investigative independence; and had spoken falsely to the public about all of that. Afterwards, Mr. Trump's lawyer (whose current clients included Russia's largest state-owned bank and a Russian oligarch close to Russian president Vladimir Putin) said that Comey both had lied and had vindicated Mr. Trump; and on the following day Mr. Trump stated the same. Their claim added to the long list of generally respected public figures and institutions that Mr. Trump had characterized as liars, and it gave rise to a straightforward question as to which of Mr. Trump and Comey was telling the truth. CSD believes that in a hypothetical forensic proceeding that was not political and in which relative credibility was being weighed, Comey's reputation for truth-telling would readily overcome Mr. Trump's reputation for falsehoods. (Incidentally, or otherwise, Comey studied religion and taught Sunday school as a young man; Mr. Trump did not.)</p> <p>Comey also testified that Mr. Trump had never asked him about the Russian interference in the election campaign – only about various matters relating to the investigation. That is, in private as well as in public, Mr. Trump appeared never to have shown an interest in what the intelligence community believed by consensus to be an unprecedented intrusion by Russia into the American electoral process; rather, his only interest appeared to lie in the domestic political implications for himself that might arise from the investigation.</p>	7, 9, 12

6-11-17	<p><b><u>Influencing a U.S. attorney.</u></b> Preet Bharara, the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York who had had jurisdiction over many of Mr. Trump's business affairs and whom Mr. Trump had fired without notice in March, revealed that Mr. Trump had attempted, inappropriately, to form a personal relationship with him before he was fired, and that he was fired promptly after Bharara had stopped taking Mr. Trump's calls out of wariness about such a relationship. Bharara said that Mr. Trump's attempt to form a personal relationship appeared to be similar to that which had befallen former FBI director James Comey. (Comey too was fired after he had resisted forming that relationship.)</p>	9
6-11-17	<p><b><u>Influencing witnesses.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Marc Kasowitz – Mr. Trump's long-standing personal lawyer who was now representing him relative to Russia's interference with the presidential election in Mr. Trump's favor and Mr. Trump's subsequent behavior relative to the various governmental investigations of that interference – had recently been visiting the White House and speaking with White House staff there. Reportedly, and extraordinarily, Kasowitz had done so without the involvement of the White House Counsel's Office and without the staff having engaged their own attorneys; indeed, he had suggested to staff that they <i>not</i> engage their own attorneys in the pertinent matters, such that he could continue to speak with them directly. Potential consequences included influencing, for Mr. Trump's personal benefit, both the behavior of the staff in the discharge of their governmental duties and any testimony that they might eventually be compelled to give in matters affecting Mr. Trump.</p>	9
6-12-17	<p><b><u>Conflicts re-framed.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the attorneys general for the District of Columbia and the state of Maryland had sued Mr. Trump, in a federal district court in Maryland, for violating two anti-corruption clauses in the Constitution by accepting millions of dollars in benefits from foreign governments since the inauguration: a clause forbidding the acceptance of emoluments from foreign governments, and another clause forbidding the acceptance of emoluments from a particular state. The suit followed the initiation in January of a similar private lawsuit by Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics. But it added materially to the characterization of the issues, by addressing such items as the following: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	15

6-12-17	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p>1. The Trump International Hotel in the District of Columbia – where Mr. Trump frequently had been greeting his guests – having hosted such patrons as the governments of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Georgia since the inauguration.</p> <p>2. That same hotel – the lease for which from the Government Services Administration prohibits elected officials from being tenants – having received a waiver of that prohibition after Mr. Trump proposed increasing the GSA's budget (thus, in CSD's view, effectively after Mr. Trump had bribed the GSA's administrators).</p> <p>3. The Trump Organization's announcement the previous week that, contrary to prior statements, it would begin building new hotels in the U.S., and mostly in states where Mr. Trump had won the presidential election – thus favoring some states over others in exchange for receiving political benefits and/or state and local regulatory benefits, to the competitive disadvantage of other jurisdictions such as the District of Columbia and Maryland.</p> <p>The Post wrote: <i>"[The two attorneys general] say that unless Trump is reined in under the emoluments clause, Americans can never be certain that 'underlying his travel ban, withdrawal from the Paris Accord climate deal or proposed tax cuts' ... he is acting in the country's best interest and not his own. Strict adherence to the emoluments clauses, [they] argue, ensures 'that Americans do not have to guess whether a President who orders their sons and daughters to die in foreign lands acts out of concern for his private business interests; they do not have to wonder if they lost their job due to trade negotiations in which the President has a personal stake; and they never have to question whether the President can sit across the bargaining table from foreign leaders and faithfully represent the world's most powerful democracy, unencumbered by fear of harming his own companies.'"</i></p> <p>The Post also quoted the plaintiffs' co-counsel, a former chief White House ethics lawyer, as follows: <i>"Trump is the [Constitutional] framers' worst-case scenario; a president who would seize office and attempt to exploit his position for personal financial gain with every governmental entity imaginable, across the United States or around the world."</i></p>	15
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6-12-17	<p><b><u>Degradation of inspectors general.</u></b> The New York Times editorial board wrote that the Trump administration was seeking to cut funding for the offices of the inspectors general of many federal agencies. The inspectors are independent officials who investigate waste, misconduct, mismanagement and criminal activity within their respective agencies. Prior to his inauguration, Mr. Trump had threatened to fire the inspectors general en masse; but then he had relented, in favor of attempting to starve them of resources. If they were to be rendered less effective, federal officials (including in the White House) could more easily engage in self-serving and other corrupt behavior.</p>	9, 15
6-12-17	<p><b><u>Cabinet flattery on live TV.</u></b> In a highly unusual move, Mr. Trump invited the television press to film the beginning of his first full cabinet meeting. He started the meeting, inaccurately, by touting the “record-setting pace” of his legislative agenda and claiming that “never has there been a president, with few exceptions” who had accomplished more while in office. Each cabinet member was then invited to thank and praise Mr. Trump, which he or she – startlingly and obsequiously – did. The seemingly staged demonstration of obeisance and servility drew widespread ridicule, and comparisons to the mechanisms and messaging of totalitarian regimes.</p>	7, 9, 11
6-13-17	<p><b><u>Criticizing the press; feeling insulted.</u></b> In a series of early morning tweets, Mr. Trump wrote: “Fake News is at an all-time high. Where is their apology to me for all of the incorrect stories??? ... The Fake News Media has never been so wrong or so dirty. Purposely incorrect stories and phony sources to meet their agenda of hate. Sad!” It was unclear what prompted this particular attack on the news media. But conceivably it was the press having reported that Mr. Trump was considering firing special counsel Robert Mueller (who had only recently been appointed to investigate Russian interference in the presidential election) – even though one of Mr. Trump's own friends had very deliberately announced that potential firing on television.</p>	1, 11

6-13-17	<p><b><u>Virginia island assurance.</u></b> Following a CNN report that Tangier Island in the Chesapeake Bay would soon be submerged due to global climate change, Mr. Trump reportedly called the town's mayor and said (according to the mayor), “not to worry about sea-level rise. ‘Your island has been there for hundreds of years, and I believe your island will be there for hundreds more.’” The mayor himself, despite being a Trump fan, had acknowledged the island's likely submergence due to climate change.</p>	8
6-13-17	<p><b><u>Cabinet misstatements.</u></b> The New York Times reported that at least four members of Mr. Trump's cabinet had inaccurately stated or implied that the administration's budget proposal will not cut certain spending items: Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price (Medicaid), Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross (the 2020 census), Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson (rental assistance), and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt (toxic waste clean-up).</p>	17 (7)
6-13-17	<p><b><u>Sessions' Senate testimony.</u></b> In testifying before the Senate Intelligence Committee, Attorney General Jeff Sessions corroborated significant elements of former FBI director James Comey's recent testimony to that committee concerning Comey's uncomfortable dealings with Mr. Trump in connection with the FBI's investigation of Russian interference in the American election. But Sessions denied all personal wrongdoing relative to that interference and the administration's handling of it; he claimed to not remember details of his own admitted contacts with Russian officials; and he refused to answer any questions about his conversations with Mr. Trump about the interference or the subsequent investigations. He also said that he had never been briefed on the interference, and that all his information on that topic had come from reading the newspapers – even though he had not recused himself from the FBI's investigation until March 2, six weeks after he had taken office, and while that investigation by his own department (the Justice Department, of which the FBI is a part) was in full flower. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	17 (7, 12)

6-13-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Altogether, Sessions' testimony exhibited an apparent lack of candor. But if his claim of having never been briefed on the Russian interference happened to be true, that would have demonstrated a seemingly willful disinterest in the matter (matching Mr. Trump's own seeming disinterest) – that is, a dereliction of duty – on the part of the nation's chief law enforcement officer, relative to one of the major political, strategic, constitutional, and potentially criminal issues of our time.</p>	17 (7, 12)
6-15-17, 6-16-17	<p><b><u>Witch hunting, revisited.</u></b> On June 15, in response to the previous day's revelation that Mr. Trump himself was now under investigation for obstruction of justice by special prosecutor Robert Mueller, Mr. Trump tweeted: "You are witnessing the single greatest WITCH HUNT in American political history". Mr. Trump made no mention of the two political undertakings that had come to be uniquely, widely, and notoriously condemned as "witch hunts" during his own lifetime, and with which he had been connected to the hunters. The first hunt, for communists within the American government and media, had been that conducted in the early 1950s by Senator Joseph McCarthy and his counsel, Roy Cohn, who was later to become Mr. Trump's attorney and mentor and who was eventually disbarred. The second hunt, for all manner of dissidents, had been that conducted in the early 1970s by President Richard Nixon, another mentor of Mr. Trump, who resigned from the presidency in disgrace and was also disbarred.</p> <p>(As reported by CSD in an entry dated May 18, Mr. Trump had first alleged a "witch hunt" against himself immediately following the appointment of Mueller.)</p> <p>CSD believes that Mr. Trump's seeing himself as the victim of "the single greatest" witch hunt reflected some combination of his failure to appreciate historical reality; his storied narcissism; a would-be autocrat's instinctive blindness to the transgressions of other would-be autocrats and fear-mongers who had happened to be his friends; but most importantly, an attempt – in and of itself – to further block Mueller's investigation and the quasi-independence of the Justice Department by arousing popular sympathy in Mr. Trump's favor. Subsequent tweets that day faulting the FBI for failing to pursue Hillary Clinton on various accounts seemed directed to the same end. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 11

<p>6-15-17, 6-16-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump also tweeted that day that the "witch hunt" was being "led by some very bad and conflicted people!" – seemingly referring to Mueller. A number of Mr. Trump's surrogates also questioned Mueller's motivations and objectivity. All of this came only a month after the near-universal, bi-partisan acclaim that had greeted Mueller's appointment as special prosecutor. As to Mueller's "bad" character generally, CSD notes that he had served for many years as a law enforcement official with a reputation beyond reproach, and had been a decorated Vietnam veteran; while Mr. Trump, his contemporary, had long been a businessman of questionable ethics, was previously the target of at least one federal lawsuit, and had avoided military service.</p> <p>On June 16, Mr. Trump rejoined his previous tweets about witches with the following: "I am being investigated for firing the FBI Director by the man who told me to fire the FBI Director! Witch Hunt". Here the added hunter appeared to be deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, whom Mr. Trump had hired for that position, and who had named Mueller as special prosecutor after Mr. Trump had fired FBI director James Comey for continuing the Russia investigation.</p> <p>Implicit in the "witch hunt" allegations were two continuing themes in Mr. Trump's apparent outlook. First was that while he was entitled to routinely and viciously attack others, any criticism or examination of him was "unfair" and unjust. Second was that as president he was not subject to the rule of American law, and was entitled to insult, intimidate, undermine and even dismiss any law enforcement officials who crossed him.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>6-16-17</p>	<p><b><u>Growth of business revenues.</u></b> After Mr. Trump released a report of his companies' revenues for purposes of complying with federal ethics requirements, The New York Times observed that those business holdings whose revenues had most flourished in the past year appeared to be those most directly linked to his campaign and presidency: his airline company that had hosted campaign flights; the Trump International Hotel in the District of Columbia that foreign and domestic favor-seekers had been viewed as patronizing; and Mar-a-Lago, his Florida resort that he had been promoting through his frequent visits there as president.</p>	<p>15</p>

<p>6-16-17</p>	<p><b><u>Cuban reversal, human rights.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced that he would reverse parts of President Obama's agreement to open commercial and diplomatic ties with communist Cuba. CSD does not take a position relative to Mr. Trump's decision, nor to the support of the decision by some Americans. But we object to two elements of his announcement, made in Miami to a cheering crowd of voters who favored the decision. First, he hyperbolically and deceptively claimed to be "canceling" the agreement – when in fact he was only reversing parts of it. Second, he claimed that his decision was based on his concern for human rights in Cuba – when in fact in recent months he had acquiesced to and even praised human rights abusing regimes virtually everywhere else in the world.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>6-16-17</p>	<p><b><u>Unqualified HUD Administrator.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Lynne Patton, a woman who had organized golf tournaments on Mr. Trump's courses and planned his son Eric's wedding, was appointed as head of HUD's New York and New Jersey office, where she will oversee billions of dollars in federal spending. Except for a recent and brief position in public relations at HUD, she had had no prior experience in housing policy or administration.</p> <p>The appointment followed Mr. Trump's pattern of appointing under-skilled but highly loyal servants to significant governmental positions, such as his golf caddie becoming his director of social media, and his bodyguard becoming a leading White House aide.</p>	<p>11, 16</p>
<p>6-18-17</p>	<p><b><u>Conflicts of Interest in Russia and the Middle East.</u></b> The New York Times reported, in two separate articles, that the Russian government had recently extended several Trump enterprise trademarks (thus materially enabling Mr. Trump to brand hotels there in the future); and that Mr. Trump's recent siding with Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates against Qatar mirrored his having done substantial business in Saudi Arabia and the UAE but having been rebuffed in Qatar.</p> <p>While the trademark extensions would have been unremarkable in the ordinary course, and while navigating America's strategic path among various terror-supporting Middle Eastern countries has defied obvious resolution, the unprecedented level and variety of Mr. Trump's business conflicts of interest continued to invite concern.</p>	<p>15</p>



6-19-17	<b><u>Perry on climate change.</u></b> Defying scientific consensus and the views of the staff of his own department, Energy Secretary Rick Perry said that human-caused carbon dioxide emissions were not the primary cause of global climate change. (The statement echoed a similar statement in March by Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt. Neither man is a scientist.)	17 (8)
6-20-17	<b><u>Spicer on Russian election interference.</u></b> In recent weeks, press secretary Sean Spicer had increasingly responded, to reporters' inquiries, that he didn't know Mr. Trump's positions, awareness, beliefs or activities on specific matters. On June 20, Spicer took that approach to the extreme, telling reporters that he had never discussed the Russian election meddling with Mr. Trump, and did not know Mr. Trump's views on it. If Spicer's statement was accurate, it would be remarkable, and comparable to Attorney General Jeff Sessions' statement of June 13 about not having discussed the Russian meddling with Mr. Trump. Spicer is tasked with knowing and reporting Mr. Trump's views on the most important policy matters before the president; and Spicer's lack of knowledge on this matter would appear to further indicate, on Mr. Trump's part, a deep disdain for transparency; a deep disinterest in how and to what extent Russia had tried to undermine American democracy; or both.	9
6-21-17	<b><u>Skewed data on refugee economics.</u></b> Reuters reported that the White House, in attempting to build an economic argument against refugee admissions, was assembling data on the cost of the admissions but not on their benefits (e.g., income tax revenues). The State Department was objecting, in that the costs and economic benefits of immigration are commonly cited together and netted out, for purposes of policy discussions.	17 (8)

6-21-17	<p><b><u>Iowa rally.</u></b> At a campaign-style rally in Iowa (as reported by The New York Times), Mr. Trump repeated his allegation of a "witch hunt" against him; repeated his attacks on the "fake news" media; and boasted of his political prowess ("All we do is win, win, win," referring to the results of two recent special Congressional elections). He made untrue statements about the level of his accomplishments as president, the current status of welfare benefits for new immigrants, the non-binding nature of the Paris climate agreement that he had withdrawn from, the level of taxation in the U.S. compared to that in other countries, and eight other matters. He evoked heated chants of "Lock her up!" – which referred to Hillary Clinton, were extraneous to Mr. Trump's subject matter, arose half a year (still) after he had defeated her in the election, and, ironically, suggested a genuine and continuing effort to scapegoat imputed witches. He also referred once more to Washington as a "swamp," despite his own broad and unprecedented introduction of billionaires into the cabinet and ethically unconstrained lobbyists into the White House.</p>	1, 7, 9, 11
6-22-17	<p><b><u>Comey tapes.</u></b> Mr. Trump denied having taped his discussions with former FBI director James Comey prior to firing him, notwithstanding having publicly hinted at the existence of those tapes almost six weeks previous, and having since then tempted the public with a forthcoming revelation as to whether the tapes in fact existed. Following Mr. Trump's denial, it was unknowable whether the denial was truthful; whether it had been artfully and legalistically crafted to evade the complete truth; or why it had taken so long for Mr. Trump (presumably with the help of his lawyers) to issue the denial. If the denial was true, the initial threat of releasing tapes appeared to constitute both an attempt to mislead the public and to (emptily) intimidate Comey. Either Mr. Trump was not telling the truth before, or he was not telling the truth now. But most certain was that – given the seriousness of the questions as to whether the tapes existed and what they may have contained – Mr. Trump's initial hint that they existed, and his subsequent game show style of touting the upcoming revelation as to whether they existed, were demeaning to the office of the presidency.</p>	7, 9, 10

6-25-17	<p><b><u>Tweets as food for spies.</u></b> A former CIA analyst, writing in The Washington Post, detailed how Mr. Trump's impulsive, emotional and frequent tweets almost certainly were revealing to the spies of hostile nations a trove of data about his perceptions, motivations, insecurities and malleability that was not available from any other head of state; that spies ordinarily expended enormous efforts to gather but in Mr. Trump's case was being handed to them; and that could easily be used by foreign powers against him and the United States. A link to the full article appears at this endnote.*</p>	13
6-26-17	<p><b><u>Pressure on EPA science testimony.</u></b> The New York Times reported that in May, the Environmental Protection Agency's chief of staff had pressured the top scientist on the agency's scientific review board to alter her Congressional testimony and play down the dismissal of the board's many expert advisers, even after she had submitted her testimony in writing. The attempts to thus politicize science, and to corrupt Congressional testimony generally, were both apparently extraordinary.</p>	17 (8)
6-26-17	<p><b><u>America's standing overseas.</u></b> A Pew Research Center statistical study of respondents in 37 foreign countries revealed that since Mr. Trump's election, confidence in and approval of America's president, and America itself, had plummeted – particularly within allied democracies such as Sweden, South Korea, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, France, Mexico, Canada, Australia, Japan and Britain. Many survey respondents considered Mr. Trump to be arrogant, intolerant, unqualified, uncaring, and dangerous. One of the few countries in which the American president's standing grew was Russia.</p> <p>The study was reported upon in many major news outlets. The Washington Post's version is particularly telling relative to the implications for America's world leadership role, and is linked to at this endnote.**</p>	All
6-27-17	<p><b><u>Time Magazine counterfeits.</u></b> As Mr. Trump unleashed a torrent of attacks on the mainstream media for disseminating "fake news," The Washington Post reported that a counterfeit image of Time Magazine's signature cover format, featuring Mr. Trump as the subject of a purported cover story (which cover and story never in fact existed), were being displayed at at least four of Mr. Trump's golf courses, and apparently not as jokes.</p>	1, 7

<p>6-28-17 - 7-1-17</p>	<p><b>Requisition for voter data.</b> On June 28, Mr. Trump's newly created Election Integrity Commission requested the governors of all 50 states to send it the names, addresses, voter IDs, political parties, partial social security numbers, voting participation history and dates of birth of each of their registered voters for the past ten years, which data it said it would make public.</p> <p>The commission had nominally been created to investigate all manner of voting issues in the U.S. But in truth, Mr. Trump had appointed as co-chair of the commission a notorious advocate for (discriminatory) voter suppression; and the commission's creation had been widely feared by civil libertarians as being a vehicle to advance rather than to restrain suppression efforts. An additional expectation was that the commission would attempt to corroborate, or at least to keep alive, Mr. Trump's spurious claim that 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 fraudulent votes had been cast for his presidential opponent Hillary Clinton in the general election. (See CSD's entry of May 11, 2017 on the creation of the commission.)</p> <p>Since its inception, the commission had shown no interest whatever in investigating voter suppression, or the widely reported efforts by Russia to hack state electoral systems during the last election, or to protect electoral systems from future hacking. As of the date of the request for state voter data, the commission had not meaningfully articulated what its areas of interest in fact were; its plans for pursuing those areas; how it intended to use the newly requested data; or why the data was requested before a plan existed for its use.</p> <p>Some of the data was already available to and routinely used by political parties in the lawful course of political campaigns; other data was not. In any event, officials of several states promptly refused to comply with the request, on grounds that there had been no evidence that significant voter fraud of the type likely being investigated had ever occurred in recent decades; and thus that the request was a political ploy and a waste of taxpayers' money. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>4, 9, 10, 11</p>

6-28-17 - 7-1-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As reported by The Washington Post on June 29, civil libertarian organizations feared even worse outcomes than the initial states had cited should the requests be honored: that voters' privacy could be unnecessarily compromised, and that partisan actors could actually use the data to suppress voting or to otherwise unlawfully influence elections. In fact the electronic facilities and transmission mechanisms through which the data was requested to be loaded were insecure, and thus susceptible to hacking by criminals and foreign governments – all as called out by multiple news outlets, including Politico on July 1. Politico quoted a cyber-security expert: "It is beyond stupid."</p> <p>By July 1, as reported by The Post, more than two dozen states had refused to comply or to fully comply. On the same day, Mr. Trump tweeted an innuendo that the dissident states were complicit in widespread voter fraud.</p>	4, 9, 10, 11
6-29-17, 6-30-17	<p><b><u>Body-shaming a prominent journalist; possible blackmail.</u></b> On June 29, Mr. Trump tweeted a crude attack on MSNBC's talk show host Mika Brzezinski that both disparaged her intelligence and ridiculed her in a grotesque episode of body-shaming. Previous female targets of Mr. Trump's body-shaming attacks had included journalist Megan Kelly, Republican primary contender Carly Fiorina, a Venezuelan Miss Universe contestant, and celebrities Kim Kardashian and Rosie O'Donnell. (A somewhat different but related attack on a woman by Mr. Trump had been, during a campaign rally, his extended expression of physical disgust that Hillary Clinton may have taken a bathroom break during the course of a Democratic primary debate.) A public outcry against Mr. Trump's MSNBC tweet ensued, including on the part of Republican members of Congress. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	1, 6, 10, 11

6-29-17, 6-30-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The following day, Brzezinski and her co-host Joe Scarborough alleged in a Washington Post column that the White House had previously threatened to allow the Trump-friendly National Enquirer to run a scandalous story about them if they did not apologize to Mr. Trump for their critical views on his presidency. Blackmail is a federal felony, punishable by imprisonment. Both Mr. Trump and The National Enquirer denied any knowledge of the alleged threat. But The National Enquirer, with whose owner Mr. Trump reportedly was personally friendly, like Mr. Trump himself was widely regarded as a consistent purveyor of preposterous untruths; and CSD believes their credibility in this matter to be limited.</p> <p>The allegation of the White House's threat both informed and was informed by Mr. Trump's previous threat addressed to former FBI director James Comey: implicitly, that Mr. Trump would release secret tapes of his conversations with Comey if Comey continued to speak negatively about Mr. Trump's behavior. That episode would appear both to corroborate the Scarborough/Brzezinski allegation and to suggest that the Comey threat likewise had had the smell of blackmail.</p>	1, 6, 7, 10, 11
7-1-17	<p><b><u>Kennedy Center rally.</u></b> At a campaign rally for "veterans and the faith community" at New York's Kennedy Center, Mr. Trump excoriated the "fake media," to enthusiastic cheers: "[They] tried to stop us from going to the White House. But I'm president, and they're not." He spoke eight times about "winning," and extensively about military valor, praising at length not only contemporary wounded veterans but also the exploits of General George Patton – (oddly) likening to Patton his own defense secretary, whom he referred to as "Mad Dog Mattis." Also to cheers, he boasted of his success in protecting the Mexican border and in beating "radical Islamic terrorists" so as to protect Americans' religious freedom (as opposed to our general security). Further on the extended theme of religious freedom, and consistent with prior addresses to religious audiences, he made numerous – and thunderous – mentions of the role of God in American life, such as "We love our freedom, and we love our God!" and "In America, we don't worship government, we worship God!" By CSD's count, he mentioned God at least 16 times. (CSD had commented more fully on Mr. Trump's suspect religious rhetoric in our entry in this document of May 13, 2017.)</p>	1, 9

7-2-17	<p><b>Wrestling video.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted an old, comic video of himself pretending to tackle and beat up a professional wrestling business magnate at ring-side, but now with the logo of CNN superimposed on the man's head as Mr. Trump punched and punched him. Commentators widely interpreted and condemned the tweet as an incitement to violence against mainstream journalists – an incitement that had already resulted in such violence during and after Mr. Trump's election campaign.</p> <p>But even if the tweet were interpreted as strictly humorous, CSD found it to be expressive of a juvenile, brutish and artless humor that embarrassed the United States before the other nations of the world. Mr. Trump had justified both his missile strikes against Syria and his withdrawal from the Paris climate accord as preventing other countries from laughing at the U.S. But George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, John F. Kennedy, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Ronald Reagan, both Presidents Bush, and Barack Obama would not have remotely sought to portray themselves or their notions of humor as appeared in the wrestling video. It is difficult to imagine how its display of narcissism, sadism and vulgarity could help solve any of our country's many domestic and international problems, and easy to imagine how it could compound them.</p>	1, 5, 10, 11
7-3-17	<p><b>Ethics lawyer quits administration.</b> Multiple news outlets reported that a Justice Department attorney serving as a watchdog for corporate crime had resigned, saying it was impossible to hold suspected lawbreakers to standards that Mr. Trump was not meeting himself. She cited possible violations of the Constitution and conflict of interest rules, possible treasonous conduct, and possible obstruction of justice. “Those are conducts I would not tolerate seeing in a company,” the attorney wrote, “yet I worked under an administration that engaged in exactly those [conducts]. I wanted no more part in it.”</p>	9, 12, 15

\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/president-trumps-twitter-feed-is-a-gold-mine-for-foreign-spies/2017/06/23/e3e3b0b0-5764-11e7-a204-ad706461fa4f\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.56b04a44a0d6&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/president-trumps-twitter-feed-is-a-gold-mine-for-foreign-spies/2017/06/23/e3e3b0b0-5764-11e7-a204-ad706461fa4f_story.html?utm_term=.56b04a44a0d6&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/poll-shows-us-tumbling-in-worlds-regard-under-trump/2017/06/26/87a4f1bc-5857-11e7-840b-512026319da7\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.02e5249f7ec0&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/poll-shows-us-tumbling-in-worlds-regard-under-trump/2017/06/26/87a4f1bc-5857-11e7-840b-512026319da7_story.html?utm_term=.02e5249f7ec0&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 6 – July 28, 2017

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

7-3-17	<p><b><u>Illegal suspension of federal rules.</u></b> A federal appeals court in the District of Columbia held that the Trump administration's attempt to suspend existing Environmental Protection Agency rules – regulating emissions from oil and gas wells – without submitting the move to the normal rule-making process of public (and in this case scientific) comment exceeded the limits of executive authority. Many other Trump administration efforts to suspend existing regulations instantaneously and by fiat appeared to be jeopardized by the decision as well.</p>	17 (8, 9)
7-6-17	<p><b><u>In Poland, for the G-20.</u></b></p> <p><i>Press conference.</i> During a press conference in Warsaw on the eve of the G-20 summit in Germany, Mr. Trump continued to question whether Russia had interfered with the American presidential election – publicly flaunting and expressly disparaging the convictions and the reliability of America's intelligence agencies. He sought to deflect the entire controversy by (extensively) blaming former President Barack Obama for having failed to timely react to the Russian interference. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	1, 7, 10, 12



7-6-17	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> In addition, Mr. Trump attacked the mainstream American media, while standing in a country (Poland) whose government had gained notoriety in recent years for attempting to throttle its own free press. He went so far as to ask Poland's president Duda, at the lectern, eliciting sympathetic laughter, whether he had had the same problem with Polish media – thus suggesting a fraternity between them in that area.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's comments on both topics were notable not only for their substance, and for being delivered to a cheering crowd of ethno-nationalist supporters that had been bused-in by the Polish government, but for disparaging and embarrassing our country on foreign soil.</p> <p><u>Principal address.</u> Also in Warsaw, in his prepared public address that was characterized by one Washington Post commentator as purveying "blood-and-soil nationalism," Mr. Trump fiercely decried the mortal perils posed to Western values, civilization and religion by other peoples – implicitly Muslims – much as he had stoked fear about the destruction of America in his inaugural address. As to "values," Mr Trump made repeated references to God, faith, tradition, national sovereignty and family, but he said little if anything about democracy, human rights or the rule of law. And it was unclear whether he saw Russian values as falling within those of "the West."</p>	1, 7, 9, 10, 12
7-7-17, 7-8-17, 7-9-17	<p><b><u>In Germany, for the G-20.</u></b></p> <p><u>[CSD Note:</u> Mr. Trump's performance at the G-20 summit was so radical by historical standards and so disturbing, in so many ways, that we have determined to report on it extensively below.]</p> <p><u>Mr. Trump's Tweets.</u> Shortly prior to meeting with the world's G-20 leaders and Russia's President Putin in Hamburg on July 7, and in an unusual showcasing of intra-American discord while abroad, Mr. Trump tweeted – presumably for the benefit of his American supporters – an error-filled attack on a Democratic party leader, John Podesta, faulting him for being passively victimized by Russian election tampering (rather than blaming the perpetrators). He also tweeted an attack on the "Fake News Media." <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

<p>7-7-17, 7-8-17, 7-9-17</p>	<p>[<u>Continued.</u>]</p> <p><u>American Isolation.</u> Substantively, the first day of the G-20 gathering was summarized by The Wall Street Journal as follows: <i>"President Donald Trump faced off with world leaders over trade policy on Friday, positioning the U.S. as the most vocal critic of the international economic order and leaving it largely isolated. The Group of 20 summit, long a platform to tackle common problems for leaders presiding over 80% of the world economy, split in two at its outset, with Mr. Trump adopting defiant opening positions toward the rest of a group largely united on the issues of trade and climate change."</i> The New York Times wrote: <i>"For years the United States was the dominant force and set the agenda at the annual gathering of the leaders of the world's largest economies. But ... when President Trump met with other leaders at the Group of 20 conference, he found the United States isolated on everything from trade to climate change."</i> The Washington Post wrote: <i>"The growing international isolation of the United States under President Trump was starkly apparent Friday as the leaders of major world economies mounted a nearly united opposition front against Washington on issues ranging from climate to free trade."</i></p> <p><u>Russia: Substance.</u> An exception to that opposition lay in an apparently warm private meeting between Mr. Trump and Putin, which came to dominate the international press coverage of the G-20 summit. In that meeting, after reportedly squabbling about Russia's meddling in the American election, the parties agreed to put their countries' past differences behind them – what would almost have to be considered a colossal concession on the part of America, even as CNN was reporting that Russian spying efforts in the U.S. had actually grown since the election, and that Russia was hacking companies that operate our electric grid. The parties also agreed to partner in developing cyber-security for their respective countries, including relative to their election systems. Afterwards, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson (who had joined in the private meeting) praised Mr. Trump's "positive chemistry" with Putin, despite Putin's standing as a near-dictator and one of America's chief antagonists. And in what would appear to be a strategic act of flattery (Mr. Trump's known weakness), Putin praised Mr. Trump as a strong negotiator who quickly grasps various issues. Mr. Trump later said it was a "tremendous meeting." [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>7-7-17, 7-8-17, 7-9-17</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p><u>Russia: Alternative Facts.</u> Also afterward the private meeting, Putin and his foreign minister Sergey Lavrov each claimed that Mr. Trump had "accepted" Putin's denial of election interference; Tillerson lightly contested that claim; neither view was reliable. But despite Mr. Trump's bravado as a self-identified counter-puncher, with Russia he continued to seem not to have been one. Quite possibly in his forbearance he was exhibiting a canny diplomatic strategy. But just as likely (according to various commentators), he may have been intimidated, or tricked, or genuinely pursuing a friendship with Putin as a fellow ethno-nationalist strongman and/or a potential business partner. In any event, because Mr. Trump continued to be deeply divided from Congress, from his own advisers and from most of the American people relative to Russia, Putin appeared both to be able to exploit that weakness and to lack an incentive to concede anything material. Other American competitor nations, such as China, likely noted that opportunity and outcome.</p> <p><u>Russia: Sideshows.</u> Famously, in a photo op just prior to the private Putin meeting, Mr. Trump had said before television cameras that it was "an honor to meet with" Putin – the very man who American intelligence agencies had concluded had personally directed Russia's tampering with our election. Also at that time, Mr. Trump and Putin had publicly joked and commiserated about the reporters in the room who had "insulted" Mr. Trump – with a chilling undertone suggestive of Putin's reputation for having secretly ordered the murders of numerous Russian reporters critical of himself. As though to twist that last dagger, at the conclusion of the summit, Putin joked about a reporter's complaint that the White House had not provided more details about the private discussion between Mr. Trump and Putin. <i>"We are going to punish them [the reporter] very strictly, very severely,"</i> Putin said. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>7-7-17, 7-8-17, 7-9-17</p>	<p>[<u>Continued.</u>]</p> <p><u>Ivanka.</u> Ivanka Trump gained attention for securing from her father and announcing at the summit a pledge of \$50 million in government funds to support a women's empowerment program in developing countries. CSD (which very much favors America's post-World War II tradition of international engagement, including development and women's empowerment) suspects that that move may have been designed as a promotion of Ms. Trump's general fortunes, and mere window-dressing for Mr. Trump's own misogyny and aversion to international development. Indeed, the sum was paltry, and was taken from other State Department development programs – robbing Peter to pay Paul. In a second flourish, Ms. Trump startled and insulted the other G-20 leaders by taking Mr. Trump's seat at one of the main summit meetings. According to The Washington Post, many in attendance considered the action to be nepotistic and to violate both democratic and diplomatic norms.</p> <p><u>Conclusion.</u> When the G-20 summit ended, French President Emmanuel Macron said, presumably referring to Mr. Trump, <i>"Our world has never been so divided. Centripetal forces have never been so powerful. Our common goods have never been so threatened."</i> German Chancellor Angela Merkel said, <i>"Unfortunately, and I deplore this, the United States of America left the climate agreement."</i> Meanwhile, Mr. Trump and the Russian government appeared to be jubilant in their budding alliance. How America's rupture with an earnest, forward-looking and democratic Europe and our embrace of a mendacious, reactionary and authoritarian Russia amounted to a defense of "Western civilization" remained a mystery to CSD. Meanwhile Europe and Japan had announced that they were moving ahead with their own free trade agreement.</p> <p><u>Aftermath.</u> Back home, Mr. Trump tweeted that the summit had been a "wonderful success." But few others appeared to have thought so. An uproar among Republican senators over his agreement for a joint cyber-security project with the Russians – as allowing the fox into our hen-house – forced him to promptly withdraw that idea. And the overall summit was summarized thus by Australian journalist Chris Uhlmann, known for his centrist outlook: <i>"We learned that Donald Trump has pressed fast-forward on the decline of the United States as a global leader. He managed to isolate his nation, to confuse and alienate his allies and to diminish America."</i></p>	<p>1, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>7-8-17, 7-10-17, 7-11-17</p>	<p><b>Undisclosed campaign meeting with Russian.</b> On July 8, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's son Donald Jr., his son-in-law Jared Kushner, and his then campaign manager Paul Manafort had met on June 9, 2016 with a Kremlin-linked Russian attorney expressly to hear her offer to reveal damaging information about then candidate Hillary Clinton. On July 10 The Times added that Trump Jr. had been told that the Kremlin was behind the attorney's overture. On July 11 The Times revealed the email chain in which the offer had appeared, including Trump Jr.'s response to the offer, "I love it." On the same day Trump Jr. himself acknowledged that he had been given to understand that the meeting would be with an attorney for the Russian government in connection with a concerted Russian government effort to influence the campaign against Clinton, which effort he had welcomed.</p> <p>The attorney had also proposed to discuss at the meeting the lifting of the Russian ban on American adoptions of Russian children. But she had long been a leading advocate for the cancellation of America's Magnitsky Act, which had imposed sanctions on Russia for certain human rights abuses; and in fact she had spent most of the time at the meeting railing against the Magnitsky Act; by July 11 she had acknowledged that her mission at the meeting was the cancellation of the act should Mr. Trump become president; and presumably, at the meeting, Russia canceling the adoption ban stood to be linked to the U.S. canceling the Magnitsky Act. More importantly, the meeting appeared now to commentators to have had the potential for a different quid pro quo: negative data on Clinton in exchange for canceling the Magnitsky Act and lifting sanctions against Russia. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (4, 7, 12)</p>
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<p>7-8-17, 7-10-17, 7-11-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] While the revelations about the meeting may or may not have evidenced or been part of a broader Trump campaign collusion with Russia, at a minimum they revealed yet another instance of Russian contacts that senior Trump campaign advisors had failed to properly disclose or detail. On July 10, in one article, the Washington Post recounted eight instances in which Mr. Trump or his senior advisors (including Trump Jr.) had denied any meetings between the campaign and Russians; and, in another article, at least three more. Prevaricators included Trump Jr., Kushner, former national security adviser Michael Flynn and Attorney General Jeff Sessions, all of whom had eventually acknowledged that they themselves had had such meetings. Kushner, and possibly some of the others, had obtained high-level security clearances on the strength of forms they had submitted that had omitted their Russian contacts.</p> <p>As Politico would report on July 10, the newly revealed meeting was far beyond the bounds of typical campaign opposition research; and the invitation to a campaign to participate with an associate of (let alone an attorney for) a foreign power would ordinarily prompt the recipient to contact the FBI immediately, rather than participate. Both Democratic and Republic lawyers and political operatives told Politico that Trump Jr. may have violated federal criminal statutes prohibiting "solicitation or acceptance of anything of value from a foreign national, as well as a conspiracy to defraud the United States." Politico also reported that on July 9, Richard Painter, the former George W. Bush White House ethics lawyer, wrote of the newly revealed meeting: "This is treason." Painter also wrote: "In the Bush administration we could have had him [Trump Jr.] in custody for questioning by now." On July 11, Republican Senator John McCain said that if one of his sons, in the military, had held such a meeting, he would probably have been court-martialed.</p> <p>Also on July 11, Mr. Trump (the president) repeated by Twitter his previous canard: "This is the greatest Witch Hunt in political history." (See CSD's commentary of May 18, 2017 and June 15-16, 2017 on Mr. Trump's selective sensitivity to witch hunts.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (4, 7, 12)</p>
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7-8-17, 7-10-17, 7-11-17	[Continued.] As a final riposte to ethics, truth and convention, Trump Jr. claimed that his revelation of the meeting's details evidenced his "transparency" – and Mr. Trump (the president) lauded that transparency – when in fact Trump Jr. had come forward with the details only after The New York Times had told him that it was about to publicly reveal the same. And just days earlier, when The Times had first broken the story of the meeting, Trump Jr. had untruthfully claimed – reportedly under the coaching of Mr. Trump (the president) – that the purpose of the meeting had been to discuss Russian adoptions.	17 (4, 7, 12)
7-8-17	<b>Illegality alleged re voter roll request.</b> The Huffington Post reported that the recent request for state voter rolls by Mr. Trump's Commission on Election Integrity had been challenged by various parties as being illegal on multiple statutory grounds: the Paperwork Reduction Act (re OMB's requirement that all new data gathering initiatives be carefully justified vs. their potential harm), the 2002 E-Government Act (re data privacy), the 1974 Privacy Act (re personal privacy), and the Hatch Act (re co-chairman Kris Kobach's contemporaneous campaign to become governor of Kansas). The possible executive overreach and statutory breaches stood in addition to what many state governments and commentators perceived as the request's unconstitutional intent – to corrupt the American voting system.	4, 9
7-10-17	<b>HUD conflicts.</b> The New York Times reported that the ranking member of the House Oversight Committee had sent a letter on July 7 to Mr. Trump's real estate company, seeking information that could point to Mr. Trump improperly making millions of dollars from a subsidized rental program funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Mr. Trump was and remained part owner of the country's largest subsidized rental property, located in Brooklyn, and he had already long benefited handsomely from the government program. But as president, he was now in the position to benefit more: by retaining the program's funding while cutting other housing program funding (as he had previously proposed); by approving the sale of the complex when HUD had previously denied such approval for the protection of the tenants; by allowing himself to raise rents; or by approving lucrative refinancing with undue favor. The HUD official with jurisdiction over the project was by then Mr. Trump's son's former wedding planner, who had had no experience in government or housing programs.	15, 16

7-10-17	<b><u>Voter integrity commission sued.</u></b> The New York Times reported that four public interest organizations had brought four separate lawsuits against Mr. Trump's Commission on Election Integrity, for violating a range of statutes protecting citizen privacy on the one hand and transparent administrative procedures on the other. The common theme was executive overreach.	4, 9
7-10-17	<b><u>Inaccurate accusation of Comey.</u></b> Mr. Trump picked up from Fox News and then re-tweeted a misleading report that former FBI director James Comey had included top secret information within a memorandum about his discussions with Mr. Trump that Comey had shared with the press several months prior. In fact Comey had shared only a memorandum that he had carefully purged of classified information. Mr. Trump's tweet was presumably intended to disparage or to compromise the various investigations of his campaign and himself, to the extent those investigations turned on Comey's ethics and credibility. Using Twitter (as opposed to law enforcement mechanisms) to accuse a former top security official of deliberately leaking top secret information was in and of itself remarkable; and making the accusation on the basis of a highly partisan news program (as opposed to serious governmental intelligence), likewise.	7, 9, 10, 11
7-11-17	<b><u>Trail of incompetence.</u></b> Dana Milbank, a Washington Post columnist, reported that senior presidential advisers were explaining away Donald Trump Jr.'s now notorious meeting last year with a Russian attorney to get negative data on then candidate Hillary Clinton as an innocent "rookie mistake" that could be overcome by more experience. Milbank responded by listing dozens of significant, and significantly embarrassing, "rookie mistakes" that the administration had made over just the previous three weeks, many of them on the world stage. He concluded that "it looks [less] like growing pains than incompetence and mismanagement aggravated by nepotism and dishonesty." Milbank's breathtaking listing of three weeks' worth of mistakes (many but not all of which have previously been logged by CSD in this document) appear in the link at this endnote.*	10, 11



7-11-17	<p><b>Conflicted de-regulators.</b> The New York Times reported that although the White House had attempted to keep secret the identities of new federal agency advisers tasked with aggressively de-regulating multiple industries, The Times had identified 71 such advisers, and had found 28 of them to be industry insiders who were positioned to (secretly) profit from their de-regulation efforts.</p>	17 (15)
7-11-17	<p><b>The Trump family business in Russia.</b> During his campaign and after his election, Mr. Trump had consistently downplayed his business connections with Russia, despite widespread journalistic reports to the contrary. On July 11, New York Magazine summarized those connections, in reporting on how they had led eventually to the controversial meeting among three top campaign aides and a Russian lawyer in June 2016 to gain negative data on opponent Hillary Clinton from the Russian government. That summary included the following passage: <i>"[T]hroughout the '90s Trump proposed ... building projects in Russia, filed at least eight trademarks in the country, and sold many condominiums in Manhattan's Trump World Tower to 'wealthy people getting their money out of what had been the Soviet Union,' as Bloomberg reported. Over the years, Trump's business, personal, and political ties to Russia became so extensive that Politico needed seven charts to map them out."</i></p> <p>Also on July 11, and then again on July 12, Michael Issikof, the chief investigative reporter for Yahoo! News, said on MSNBC that in 2014 Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka had gone so far as to sign a letter of intent with a Russian partner to develop a Trump Tower at a specific property in Moscow. But shortly after that signing (Isikoff continued), Russia had annexed Crimea, then the U.S had imposed sanctions on Russia, then the value of the ruble had plummeted against the dollar – and as a consequence Ms. Trump lost her deal. Issikof suggested a connection between that bitter experience and the subsequent, fervent efforts of the Trump family to cancel the sanctions. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	12, 15

7-11-17	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> (Issikof had reported in Yahoo! on June 1: "<i>In the early weeks of the Trump administration, former Obama administration officials and State Department staffers fought an intense, behind-the-scenes battle to head off efforts by incoming officials to normalize relations with Russia, according to multiple sources familiar with the events. Unknown to the public at the time, top Trump administration officials, almost as soon as they took office, tasked State Department staffers with developing proposals for the lifting of economic sanctions, the return of diplomatic compounds and other steps to relieve tensions with Moscow.</i>")</p>	12, 15
7-12-17	<p><b><u>Government funds to and for Trump businesses.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that that the State Department – presumably to provide security services – had spent \$15,000 on rooms at a Trump-branded hotel in February in connection with a gala opening of the hotel which Trump family members had attended. The Post added that the Secret Service likely paid additional sums for its own rooms. The Post also reported that the Secret Service had spent \$88,320 for lodging in Uruguay to protect Eric Trump (Mr. Trump's son) during a trip to promote another Trump property; and the State Department paid \$9,510. The Trump administration had not been responsive to The Post's inquiries for further details.</p>	15
7-13-17	<p><b><u>Approving the campaign meeting with Russia.</u></b> Speaking to reporters in Paris, Mr. Trump said that "most people would have taken that meeting." He was referring to the recently disclosed meeting of three of his top campaign figures with a Russian lawyer in June 2016 to receive from her the Russian government's negative data on then candidate Hillary Clinton. Mr. Trump thus appeared to have quickly pivoted from denying his campaign's contacts with the Russian government's associates to blessing at least one of those contacts. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	4, 11, 12, 17 (11, 12)

7-13-17	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> As for his belief as to what "most people" would have done, CSD can only speculate that Mr. Trump may have meant or believed that "most people" in his own real estate and entertainment circles might have done it. But "most people" engaged in an American presidential campaign would not have done it, based on the outraged commentary by campaign professionals of both parties that had followed the recent disclosure. Mr. Trump's phraseology is significant in its continued demonstration of his unawareness of and indifference to both the law and the ethical responsibilities of running for and serving in high office, and of his general outlook that if something serves him (but not others) personally, it is alright.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's phraseology echoed that of his son, Donald Trump, Jr., who on July 11 had told Fox News with regard to the campaign's Russia meeting: "That's what we do in business," he had said indignantly, without the slightest regret, circumspection, moral misgiving or appreciation of custom or law. "If there's information out there, you want it. And then you [decide] what you do with it."</p>	4, 11, 12, 17 (11, 12)
7-13-17	<p><b><u>Intimidated voters un-register.</u></b> CNN reported that voters in Colorado, Florida and North Carolina had begun to deregister to vote, for fear that Mr. Trump's Commission on Election Integrity would violate their privacy as a consequence of its plan to acquire their personal data from states. Multiple other reports confirmed the Colorado phenomenon. Whether the trend would continue if and when states were to begin turning over their voter information was unknowable. But if so, the commission would have succeeded in actually chilling the voting process.</p>	4
7-13-17	<p><b><u>McMaster and Cohn write of the G-20 meeting.</u></b> National security advisor H.R. McMaster and National Economic Council director Gary Cohn, in an op-ed in The New York Times, extolled Mr. Trump's performance at the recent G-20 summit as advancing American interests and "values." They went on to list those "values"; and the list did include freedom of speech and religion. But it notably excluded truth, a free press, tolerance, fair elections, humanitarian action, non-corrupt governance, and – above all – democracy, a "value" that Mr. Trump had barely mentioned in his own remarks at the summit.</p>	17 (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16)

7-14-17	<p><b><u>Second Russian agent attended meeting with campaign officials.</u></b> Multiple news organizations reported that a Russian-American lobbyist tied to the Kremlin and trained in counter-intelligence had also attended the June 2016 meeting with a Kremlin-associated Russian lawyer and three Trump campaign officials – Jared Kushner, Donald Trump, Jr. and Paul Manafort. None of the three had previously disclosed that. In April 2017, Republican Senator Chuck Grassley had identified the lobbyist as a likely Russian agent in connection with an investigation into potential violations by the lobbyist of the Foreign Agents Registration Act.</p>	17 (4, 7, 12)
7-14-17	<p><b><u>Body-praising French first lady.</u></b> After sight-seeing with French president Emmanuel Macron and his wife Brigitte in Paris, Mr. Trump looked her up and down, and twice said she was "in good shape." Although the comment might have been innocuous coming from another person, it gained international press attention because of Mr. Trump's history of lecherous behavior and remarks, now magnified in significance due to the stature of and the diplomatic context with the Macrons.</p>	10, 11
7-16-17, 7-17-17	<p><b><u>Updates on Russia-campaign meeting, from the administration.</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. On July 16, Mr. Trump tweeted twice that the "fake news" media was unfairly picking on his son, Donald Trump, Jr., relative to the recent disclosures about the latter's meeting with two Kremlin-associated figures and two other top Trump campaign officials in June 2016.</li> <li>2. Also, in one of those tweets, he sought to divert attention and blame to unrelated alleged wrong-doings by his former rival Hillary Clinton.</li> <li>3. Contemporaneously, one of Mr. Trump's attorneys blamed the meeting with the Russian figures on the Secret Service – for having allowed the Russians to enter Trump Tower in New York, at Trump Jr.'s invitation.</li> <li>4. On July 17, Mr. Trump, via Twitter, apparently without regard to custom, prudence or law, repeated his spurious claim that "most people" in politics, given the opportunity, would have taken the meeting with the Russians.</li> <li>5. Also on July 17, press secretary Sean Spicer maintained that the meeting was substantively about the Russian adoption law and the American sanctions law – that is, the original untruthful claim of Trump Jr. that had been debunked both by Trump Jr. himself and by Mr. Trump (the president) a week prior to Spicer's statement. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ol>	1, 7, 9, 11, 12,  17 (4, 7, 12)

7-16-17, 7-17-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <p>6. Mr. Trump appeared to decline to entertain the growing calls for revoking the security clearance of his son-in-law Jared Kushner for having likewise attended the Russian meeting and having failed to fully disclose and describe it (and many other foreign meetings) in his security filings. (By all accounts, such a revocation would have been perfunctory under those circumstances had Kushner not been a family member, and/or had Mr. Trump not been the president.)</p> <p>7. A growing chorus of critics was also voicing concern that the fees of the attorneys recently engaged by Trump Jr. to defend him relative to the meeting were being paid by the re-election campaign of his father, the president. Trump Jr. is a multi-millionaire, and the election and re-election campaigns had been largely funded by small donations from working men and women.</p> <p>8. The attorneys were paid \$50,000 for that engagement weeks prior to the first public revelation of the meeting by The New York Times. Mr. Trump (the president) had said that he had learned of the meeting only at around the time that it had been reported in the news. Based on the earlier payment of the legal fees, he was likely not being truthful.</p>	17 (4, 7, 12)
7-17-17	<p><b><u>Ethics: worldwide toll.</u></b> Walter Shaub, the director of the Office of Government Ethics who had recently announced his resignation out of despair over the Trump administration's defiance of ethical norms with respect to business conflicts of interest, shared his thinking with The New York Times. He said: <i>"It's hard for the United States to pursue international anticorruption and ethics initiatives when we're not even keeping our own side of the street clean. It affects our credibility. ... I think we are pretty close to a laughingstock at this point."</i> The Times wrote: <i>"Every other president since the 1970s, Republican or Democrat, worked closely with the ethics office, [Shaub] said. [But a] White House official dismissed the criticism, saying ... that Mr. Shaub was simply promoting himself and had failed to do his job properly."</i></p>	15, 17 (7)

7-17-17	<p><b>Legislative output.</b> Mr. Trump said that he believed he had signed more Congressional bills than any other president. In fact, according to The Washington Post, he had signed fewer than most over the course of the last 100 years; and 60% of those he signed had been one-page documents of limited consequence. The New York Times was more charitable, calculating Mr. Trump's legislative record as having been only slightly below average.</p>	7, 11
7-17-17	<p><b>Made in America.</b> Mr. Trump bombastically ushered in a week of advocacy and celebration around American-made goods, as distinguished from the foreign-made goods that the Trump family businesses routinely and notoriously dealt in. CSD does not resent either American or foreign-made goods; but it resents hypocrisy, which it believes in this case soared beyond the morally deficient to the demagogic.</p> <p>A comparable level of hypocrisy (and callousness to the human condition) lay in the self-promotional claims of Mr. Trump's daughter and White House adviser, women's clothing manufacturer Ivanka Trump, to be an advocate of women's empowerment – when in fact her company relied entirely on overseas subcontractors that commonly and harshly exploited their female workers. A July 14 exposé by The Washington Post had detailed those labor abuses, noting that the workers suffered "exhausting hours, subsistence pay and insults from supervisors if they don't work fast enough." The Post also reported that many American garment manufacturers who subcontract overseas seek to monitor and avoid such conditions, but that Ms. Trump's company has turned a blind eye. The complete Post article is linked at this endnote.**</p>	9
7-18-17	<p><b>Pruitt under investigation.</b> The Huffington Post detailed an investigation of and the potential disbarment of Environmental Protection Agency director Scott Pruitt by the Oklahoma state bar association, and the support of that investigation by a Democratic member of the Senate Environment and Public Works Committee. The matters pertained to Pruitt's alleged stonewalling and lying before that committee, during his confirmation hearing this year, about his ties to the energy industry and his use of a private email service for official Oklahoma government business when he was attorney general there. (Pruitt, an environmental science denier, has focused his activities as EPA director on deregulating the fossil fuels industry, which had handsomely funded his political campaigns in Oklahoma.)</p>	17 (7, 15)

7-18-17	<p><b><u>Sabotaging health care.</u></b> Frustrated by the inability of the Republican-controlled Congress to agree on a new health insurance bill, Mr. Trump cynically and puzzlingly blamed the Democrats. As for the existing health insurance law, the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"), he vowed to "let it fail," having already, earlier in the year, taken several administrative measures to precipitate such a failure. By letting Obamacare "fail," he meant that neither he nor the Republican Congress should try to shore up its deficiencies, essentially causing premiums to further rise and insurance companies to further drop out of the health care exchanges.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's wish (or dare) was viewed as creating such systemic uncertainty for insurers that many of them might further scale back their offerings on the strength of it. The consequence of such developments risked not only tens of millions of Americans losing their health insurance, but possibly hundreds of thousands becoming sick, or becoming sicker, or dying, for want of insurance. Mr. Trump's peevish wish (or dare) evidenced no concern for that consequence. To the contrary, he said that if the insurance system collapsed, he himself "won't own it." To encapsulate CSD's view: a vaulting egotism had dismissed all regard for Americans' welfare; and casting blame had overridden taking responsibility and solving problems.</p>	7, 9, 10, 11
7-18-17	<p><b><u>More facts emerge on campaign officials' secret 2016 Russian meeting.</u></b> News media investigations revealed that a fourth Russian had been present at the June 2016 meeting which Jared Kushner, Paul Manafort and Donald Trump, Jr. had convened so as to gather damaging data on then candidate Hillary Clinton from the Russian government. The fourth Russian represented a billionaire Russian oligarch, Aras Agalarov, who in 2013 had partnered with Mr. Trump (the president) in producing the Miss Universe pageant in Moscow and who was close to Russian President Vladimir Putin. When The New York Times had first uncovered the meeting in early July 2017, Trump Jr. had said or implied that only one Russian, an attorney close to the Kremlin, had been present – leaving three others out of the count: her translator, a former spy, and Agalarov's representative. Implications of the new revelation – both the attendance and the misinformation about it – included an ever-greater likelihood of a mixing of business and governance on the part of the Trump family; and an ever-greater likelihood that nefarious discussions had occurred at the meeting.</p>	17 (7, 15)

<p>7-18-17, 7-19-17, 7-20-17</p>	<p><b><u>Unreported meeting with Putin at the G-20.</u></b> On July 18, various news outlets reported that – after Mr. Trump's two-hour meeting at the recent G-20 summit with Russian President Vladimir Putin, Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and U.S. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson – Mr. Trump and Putin had had an additional one-hour side meeting at the end of a dinner for heads of state. No other American was present at the side meeting; the sole interpreter was Mr. Putin's. The Wall Street Journal reported that the talk (which had been observed from a distance by other world leaders sitting at dinner) was "very animated" and "very friendly." According to The New York Times, some heads of state, notably those of America's allies, had been startled that Mr. Trump had ignored them at dinner in favor of Putin.</p> <p>The White House would not immediately reveal what Mr. Trump and Putin had discussed. But it was seen by news media as highly unusual for the president of the United States to have met with a foreign adversary in the midst of diplomatic crises relative to that adversary and without alerting Congress or the press.</p> <p>In addition, because no national security or diplomatic personnel had accompanied Mr. Trump in the meeting, there had been no brake on his potential to reveal classified information (as he had done when meeting with Lavrov and the Russian ambassador on May 10), make misstatements, make miscalculations, discuss personal business goals, acquiesce to Russia's interference in the American presidential election, discuss something over which he could be blackmailed, cede influence to Russia in Ukraine or Syria, or otherwise wittingly or unwittingly compromise American interests or democratic values. A senior fellow at the Brookings Institution told The Times: <i>"If I was in the Kremlin, my recommendation to Putin would be, 'See if you can get this guy alone,' and that's what it sounds like he was able to do."</i> [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>
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<p>7-18-17, 7-19-17, 7-20-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On July 19, Mr. Trump told the New York Times that the side meeting with Putin had lasted only 15 minutes rather than an hour, that the topic had been child adoptions, and that it was an "interesting" coincidence that that had likewise been the topic of his son Donald Trump Jr.'s discussion in Trump Tower with four Kremlin-linked Russians in June 2016. The first of these statements contradicted the observations of multiple heads of state; the second too seemed far-fetched; and the third had already been debunked by Trump Jr.</p> <p>Collateral damage from the side meeting may well have included another blow to America's reputation within the West. On July 20, Politico wrote that Mr. Trump, far outgunned in terms of wits and experience by Putin, had "<i>committed several cardinal sins of diplomacy: [the meeting] was unplanned, unstaffed, undocumented, unending and undisclosed. ... [The other G-20 leaders] probably observed [Mr. Trump's] chat with Putin as one views a colleague embarrassing themselves at the office Christmas party.</i>" But CSD expects that Mr. Trump was not embarrassed. By all indications, he almost certainly would like the U.S. to ally with an amoral, ruthless, mercantile, oligarchic, kleptocratic, ethno-nationalist, authoritarian Russia and not with what he considers to be a feckless, sentimental and culturally arrogant Europe. Democracy is not on his mind.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>
<p>7-18-17</p>	<p><b><u>Border wall construction begins.</u></b> The Department of Homeland Security announced that it had begun to build Mr. Trump's wall at the Mexican border. The wall concept had long been criticized as expensive and useless, as well as unwelcome by the states in which it would rise. Its principal demonstrated utility appeared to continue to be a prop for, or a monument to, Mr. Trump's ethno-nationalist invective.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>7-19-17</p>	<p><b><u>Russia prevails in Syria.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the U.S. had ended its covert support of moderate anti-government rebels in Syria, thus handing a significant geopolitical victory to Russia's President Putin in his brutal military backing of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad – and with no known concessions from Putin in exchange. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>12</p>

7-19-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD does not take a position on how to end the calamitous civil war in Syria. But we are concerned that Mr. Trump's surrender to Russian aggression there could bespeak the beginning of what we have long feared to be a plan on his part to allow that country to expand its sphere of influence, out of personal affinity for Putin's authoritarian and corrupt model of governance and/or in pursuit of Mr. Trump's personal gain. We are also concerned that Putin had now – masterfully, ruthlessly and without penalty – at least <i>twice</i> materially undermined the U.S. within the past year, the first instance having been his creation of constitutional turmoil here by having meddled in our presidential election.</p>	12
7-19-17	<p><b><u>Voter fraud investigation.</u></b> Mr. Trump personally appeared at the inaugural meeting of his Commission on Election Integrity to promote his unfounded theory that the nation is being subjected to massive voter fraud, and to encourage the commission to prove that unprovable claim at taxpayer expense. Implicit in his message was his long-advanced charge that fraud had cost him a popular vote victory in the November election. He repeated his accusation that any state government that was not cooperating with the commission apparently had something to hide (i.e., along the lines of voter fraud). He showed no concern for voter privacy, the security of state voting systems (including as against Russian hacking), or the potential political abuse of the data to be collected by the commission .</p>	4, 7, 9, 11, 12
7-19-17	<p><b><u>Disparagement of Justice Department officials.</u></b> In an interview with The New York Times, Mr. Trump disparaged several top Justice Department officials relative to their handling of the department's investigation of Russia's meddling with the American election: Attorney General Jeff Sessions for having recused himself (Mr. Trump said he viewed Sessions' behavior as disloyal, disingenuous and "unfair"); special prosecutor Robert Mueller for alleged conflicts of interest within his investigative team; Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein for having appointed Mueller; and former FBI director James Comey for alleged perjury and (for the first time) blackmail. In the interview, Mr. Trump also cautioned Mueller to not investigate the Trump family's personal finances, (seemingly) under pain of being fired. Apparently Mr. Trump feared a corruption probe. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 11, 12, 15

7-19-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump's naming of enemies was reminiscent of President Richard Nixon's Watergate-era paranoia. His public and casual allegation of blackmail by a government official was extraordinary. His charges against Sessions were seen as a gratuitous public humiliation of a senior official that compared to his public firing of Comey. And his overall allegations seemed to amount to a wholesale undercutting of the Justice Department – a bridge not far from obstruction of justice, and an endeavor comparable to his undercutting of American intelligence agencies, American courts, the American press, the American electoral system, the American diplomatic community, the American scientific community, and the rule of law itself. As before, Mr. Trump had placed his own claimed infallibility, and his own personal interests, above all of those institutions.</p>	9, 11, 12, 15
7-19-17	<p><b><u>Foreknowledge of June 2016 campaign meeting with Russians.</u></b> In the same New York Times interview, Mr. Trump appeared to admit that, prior to the June 2016 meeting between his top campaign advisers and four Kremlin-linked Russians, he had known about and acquiesced to the email that had indicated a Russian governmental offer of damaging information about then candidate Hillary Clinton as the subject of the upcoming meeting.</p>	4, 12
7-19-17	<p><b><u>Great speeches.</u></b> In the same New York Times interview, Mr. Trump said that his July 6 speech in Poland had been “the greatest speech ever made on foreign soil by a president.”</p>	11
7-19-17	<p><b><u>Manafort debts.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Paul Manafort, through a series of evasive and mysterious offshore transactions and bank accounts, had owed \$17 million in debt to pro-Russian interests shortly before becoming Mr. Trump's original campaign manager in 2016. The revelation added to Manafort's known record of having bedded with Russian interests, including his having worked at considerable profit for an unsavory and corrupt figure who at the time was Ukraine's anti-democratic and pro-Russian president.</p>	17 (12, 15)

7-20-17	<p><b><u>Poland crippling its judiciary.</u></b> Poland's lower chamber of parliament approved a bill that would allow the government to replace every judge on the supreme court – a starkly undemocratic move that was decried by European leaders and large numbers of street protesters, but (to public knowledge) not by Mr. Trump, and only barely by the State Department. The move followed several years of growing restrictions on the Polish press, as reported by CSD in this document on July 6 in connection with Mr. Trump's visit to Warsaw and his praise of the ethno-nationalist regime there. In addition, it appeared to be a re-play of what had happened in Bahrain, as reported by CSD on May 23: in Saudi Arabia, Mr. Trump had told the government of Bahrain that the U.S. would not criticize its human rights abuses; and within days that government committed a new and bloody atrocity. Also at that time, Mr. Trump had promised Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi that he wouldn't "lecture" him, and within days al-Sissi had closed 20 news sites, rounded up dozens of secular liberal activists, and severely restricted civil society organizations – making it nearly impossible for human rights groups to operate there. (Remarkably, on July 24, and due to the protests of others, the Polish president would veto parliament's bill.)</p>	14
7-20-17	<p><b><u>Retaliatory action against Interior Department scientist.</u></b> A senior environmental scientist at the Interior Department wrote a column in The Washington Post alleging that he had been unlawfully demoted to a position in which he would collect accounts receivable – with the intent by department leadership to force him out of the department – because he had spoken out about how climate change was affecting Alaska Native communities. Contemporaneously, 50 other scientists had been re-assigned to unrelated positions as well.</p>	17 (8, 9)
7-20-17	<p><b><u>Tillerson's company violated Russia sanctions.</u></b> CNN Money reported that ExxonMobil "blatantly violated U.S. sanctions on Russia when Secretary of State Rex Tillerson led the oil company," for which the maximum fine of \$2,000,000 had just been imposed by the Treasury Department. That department said that "the violations were 'egregious' and 'caused significant harm' to the objectives of the punishment on Russia." CSD believes that a fair inference from the affair is that Tillerson is likely to oppose all sanctions that would impede the profits of energy companies – including, eventually, for his own financial benefit.</p>	17 (12, 15)

7-20-17	<p><b><u>Investigation shut-down and pardons contemplated.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's lawyers were exploring whether he could block the investigation of Russian election tampering being conducted by special prosecutor Robert Mueller, and/or fire Mueller, and/or pardon himself (as well as pardoning others, presumably his son Donald Trump, Jr. and his son-in-law Jared Kushner). CSD believes that any of those actions would amount to an attempt to insulate Mr. Trump and his associates from all accountability, and thus be tantamount to imposing a dictatorship on the United States. <u>The mere fact that Mr. Trump had contemplated and casually hinted at those actions has raised in CSD the utmost alarm.</u></p>	9, 11
7-21-17	<p><b><u>Former intelligence chiefs voice dismay.</u></b> Former CIA director John Brennan and former director of national intelligence James Clapper for the first time jointly, publicly and at length condemned Mr. Trump's expressed disdain for American intelligence agencies and his manifest coddling of Russia. No such rebuke of a sitting president by senior intelligence veterans had ever before occurred. A link to a more complete summary of their extraordinary remarks appears at this endnote.***</p>	9, 10, 12, 13
7-21-17	<p><b><u>Sessions' campaign talk with Russian ambassador.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that in communications of Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak that had been intercepted by American intelligence agencies during the 2016 election campaign, the ambassador had reported to his superiors that he had had substantive talks about the campaign with campaign figure Jeff Sessions (now Mr. Trump's embattled Attorney General). Sessions had consistently denied such talks, including in his sworn testimony before the Senate Intelligence Committee. Before that he had lied to Congress under oath about other Russian contacts of his, which lies, when discovered, had forced him to recuse himself from Justice Department investigations of Russian interference. See CSD's reports of March 2 and June 13.</p>	17 (7, 12)
7-21-17	<p><b><u>Non-scientist will head science at USDA.</u></b> CNN reported that Mr. Trump planned to name a campaign loyalist and former talk-radio host as chief scientist at the Department of Agriculture, even though he had no background in science, and even though a statute provides that nominees for that position must be scientists.</p>	8, 16

<p>7-21-17</p>	<p><b>Physical brawn.</b> In promoting Made in America Week, Mr. Trump demonstrated his physical strength by way of a test of American-made unbreakable glass that was staged by its manufacturer on-camera at the White House. After the test, the manufacturer's CEO flattered Mr. Trump for having displayed the strength of a "professional boxer." Mr. Trump reveled in the machismo, as he had done days earlier for Made in America Week by serially posing in a Stetson hat and sitting in a fire truck. (He did not pose in a garment factory.)</p> <p>For CSD, the episodes called to mind the multitude of manly, often bare-chested photographs of Russian President Vladimir Putin that had captured his athletic and outdoor pursuits and were subsequently publicized by the Russian government. More importantly, they called to mind Mr. Trump's commanding and physically threatening directives during several campaign rallies to "Get 'em out of here," referring to protesters. Physical strength is of course admirable; but our concern lies in its projection in politics by crudely authoritarian men as having a historical association with mob violence, domestic repression, sexual assault, and international aggression.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>7-21-17</p>	<p><b>Kushner omits, revises again.</b> The Washington Post reported: <i>"Jared Kushner failed to disclose dozens of financial holdings that he was required to declare when he joined the White House as an adviser to President Trump, his father-in-law, according to a revised form released [that day]. A separate document ... also showed that Kushner's wife, presidential daughter Ivanka Trump, had been paid as much as \$5 million from her outside businesses over an 84-day span this spring around the time she entered the White House as a senior adviser and pledged to distance herself from her private holdings. Kushner's new disclosure, released by the White House, detailed more than 70 assets that his attorneys said he had inadvertently left out of earlier filings. The new document comes as the presidential aide faces increasing scrutiny as part of investigations into alleged Russian influence in the 2016 campaign."</i></p>	<p>17 (7, 15)</p>

7-22-17	<p><b><u>Eye on pardons.</u></b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump doubled-down on, and made more explicit, his ability and willingness to pardon anyone in his administration who might be found guilty of a crime – seemingly in connection with the Russian election interference or otherwise. As his supporters had argued in recent days, implicit was the possibility that he might also pardon (or seek to pardon) himself. In the same series of tweets, Mr. Trump alleged "many Hillary Clinton and Comey crimes." CSD regards the tweets as diversionary demagoguery; unseemly, very public and casual accusations of crimes by a president rather than by a prosecutor; and above all, as we observed in our entry of July 20, <u>a threat to hold his administration and himself unaccountable to the rule of law.</u></p>	9, 11, 12
7-22-17	<p><b><u>Voting suggestions to Navy personnel.</u></b> In an address to some 6500 Navy personnel (many of them in uniform) at the commissioning of a new aircraft carrier in Norfolk, Virginia, Mr. Trump urged them to encourage their members of Congress to pass a pending health care bill that he had endorsed. That urging, by their commander in chief, was highly unusual, and possibly illegal.</p> <p>During the formal commissioning ceremony, Mr. Trump said that the new warship would cause America's enemies to "shake with fear," echoing the martial expressions of such unusual heads of state as the late Saddam Hussein. "May God bless and guide this warship and all who shall sail on her," he also said.</p>	9
7-23-17	<p><b><u>Seeking protection from the Republican Congress.</u></b> Relative to the investigations of Russian election interference, Mr. Trump tweeted: "It's very sad that Republicans, even some that were carried over the line on my back, do very little to protect their President." The tweet elicited a firestorm of Twitter responses, condemning the President not only for his ignorance of Congress's role under the Constitution to check him rather than rubber-stamp him, but also for his self-pity. Notably Mr. Trump was silent about his own many disloyalties to and failures to protect his own advisers and staff – most recently his Attorney General Jeff Sessions, whom he had publicly disparaged only days previous for having recused himself from the Russia investigations. (Observers have said many times since Mr. Trump's election that his notion of loyalty is unusually one-way – something owed absolutely to him, but not at all by him.)</p>	9, 11, 12

7-24-17, 7-27-17	<p><b><u>Political speech at the Boy Scouts.</u></b> On July 14, Mr. Trump, as honorary president of the Boy Scouts of America, addressed some 40,000 young scouts at the 2017 National Scout Jamboree by raining blows on his enemies and on what had always been the apolitical protocol of that annual gathering. His targets included Hillary Clinton, former President Obama, the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare), specific Republicans who might not advance the repeal of that law, pollsters and news commentators, the "fake news," and those in government whom he considered to have been disloyal to him. He also boasted about his successful election campaign, and about the large attendance at the Jamboree – as though the scouts had come to see <i>him</i>. Consistent with the campaign-style nature of the address (which the Jamboree's organizers had not anticipated), he elicited from the assembled scouts (mostly children) a chant, "USA! USA!" and boos for Clinton.</p> <p>Turning an honorable, wholesome and non-partisan event into a platform for self-praise and vicious demagoguery was consistent with Mr. Trump's performances earlier in the year at CIA headquarters and the Coast Guard Academy. The Washington Post contrasted the worthy addresses given at the Jamboree by all previous presidents, as linked at this endnote.**** Many former Eagle Scouts expressed outrage. At least one of CSD's members is a former Eagle Scout, and he found the episode disgraceful.</p> <p>On July 27, the Scouts' Chief Scout Executive issued a public apology for Mr. Trump's behavior.</p>	9, 11
7-24-17	<p><b><u>Accusing The Post.</u></b> Mr. Trump twice tweeted an insinuation that The Washington Post's antagonistic and allegedly false coverage of him was motivated by the desire of The Post's owner, Jeff Bezos (also the founder and CEO of Amazon.com) to evade taxes. The reasoning was cryptic, but the scapegoating and paranoia were evident.</p>	7, 9, 11



7-25-17	<p><b><u>More attacks on DOJ heads.</u></b> Mr. Trump continued his attacks on his own top Justice Department officials, now tweeting that Attorney General Jeff Sessions and acting FBI director Andrew McCabe were ignoring criminal activities that he attributed to Hillary Clinton. The attacks appeared intended to divert attention from and subvert the investigation of Russia's interference in the American election; undercut the traditional semi-independence of the Justice Department; encourage high-level department resignations so that more compliant replacements could be installed; scapegoat Clinton; and position the president (rather than law enforcement officials) as prosecutor. At a minimum, the attacks succeeded in demeaning the office of the presidency and the very notion of justice, by Mr. Trump's continuing to hurl the highest criminal accusations against his enemies casually and via Twitter. <u>But most disturbingly, his call to criminally prosecute a former political rival (Clinton) – routine during his election campaign and now revived – had been previously unheard-of on the part of a sitting American president, however common it may have been among overseas dictators.</u></p>	9, 11, 12
7-25-17	<p><b><u>Being presidential.</u></b> At a campaign-style address in Youngstown, Ohio, Mr. Trump countered criticisms that he was "not presidential" by stating: "With the exception of the late, great Abraham Lincoln, I can be more presidential than any president that's ever held this office." Presumably that comparison extended to the likes of George Washington, Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan.</p>	11
7-25-17, 7-26-17	<p><b><u>Continued pressure on Sessions, Mueller; threat to Clinton.</u></b> Making ever more explicit his threats to emasculate the Justice Department, on July 25 Mr. Trump told The Wall Street Journal that he was considering removing special prosecutor Robert Mueller; and he declined to express confidence in Attorney General Jeff Session, whom he had earlier in the day continued to publicly belittle. He added that he owed Sessions nothing for his considerable support of Mr. Trump during the election campaign. On the following day, <u>The Journal's (conservative) editorial board wrote that Mr. Trump's demeaning of Sessions, his threat to fire Mueller, and his threat to prosecute Hillary Clinton "crosses a red line." The board went on to write: "Mr. Trump's suggestion that his Attorney General prosecute his defeated opponent is the kind of crude political retribution one expects in Erdogan's Turkey or Duterte's Philippines."</u> [Continued below.]</p>	9, 11

	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> Also on July 26, Mr. Trump tweeted attacks against Sessions (for the third consecutive day) and against acting FBI director Andrew McCabe. Even before that episode, in its morning addition, The Washington Post had written about the Sessions attacks: <i>"It is unheard of for a Cabinet-level official to be subjected to such visceral and public criticism, which has now gone on for a week."</i> CSD observes that of course cabinet members are not infrequently dismissed; but that it is more commonly under foreign dictatorships that they're humiliated.</p>	
7-26-17	<p><b><u>Voters believe falsehoods.</u></b> A new poll conducted by Morning Consult and Politico revealed that 47% of Republican voters had come to believe that Mr. Trump won the popular vote over opponent Hillary Clinton. <u>The chilling revelation exemplified the vulnerability of even the American people to demagoguery and cynical falsehoods.</u></p>	7, 9
7-26-17	<p><b><u>Transgender ban.</u></b> Surprising even the Pentagon, Mr. Trump tweeted in the morning that he planned to ban all transgender people from the military. According to the Rand Corporation, as many as 11,000 active and reserve troops at that time were currently transgender. There had been no governmental finding that transgender people were not effective in performing their military duties.</p> <p>In addition to bespeaking intolerance, capriciousness and a likely political motive (as opposed to a motive of maintaining military strength), Mr. Trump's idea was possibly illegal. The many voices objecting to the tweet included that of a highly decorated transgender Navy Seal veteran; Republican Senator and Vietnam war hero John McCain (whose war record Mr. Trump had disparaged during the presidential campaign); and other Republican leaders.</p> <p>In Mr. Trump's tweet, he had said that he had come to his conclusion after discussions with military figures. But that evening, CNN reported that each of the heads of the military services serving on the Joint Chiefs of Staff -- from the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines -- disavowed Mr. Trump's position on transgenders.</p>	6, 7, 9, 10

7-27-17	<p><b>Scaramucci tirade.</b> The New Yorker magazine published an on-the-record interview with Mr. Trump's new communications director, financier Anthony Scaramucci, in which Scaramucci criticized and humiliated fellow top White House aides Steven Bannon (senior adviser) and Reince Priebus (chief of staff) in vile terms, and in which he mused about murdering White House staff leakers. In addition to highlighting the chaos, dysfunction and cannibalism within The White House that have been widely attributed to Mr. Trump's governing style, Scaramucci's remarks were distinctive for their self-importance, crudity, injudiciousness and misanthropy – in many ways comparable to Mr. Trump's own earlier, recorded boasts to an Access Hollywood figure about assaulting women. They suggested that Mr. Trump had so desensitized the American public to the norms of decency that anyone in his administration could say anything; or, as Mr. Trump had gloated during his campaign, that he was so adulated that he could walk down Fifth Avenue and shoot someone with impunity.</p>	17 (9, 10, 11)
7-28-17	<p><b>Health care sabotage.</b> After the Senate failed to pass a so-called "skinny repeal" of the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"), an enraged Mr. Trump tweeted, "[L]et Obamacare implode" – <u>evidencing his affirmative intention, for political reasons, to undermine insurance markets and to allow massive suffering among the American people.</u> Mr. Trump had made similar statements before (see, for example, CSD's entry of July 18), but – at least for now - the threat had come to seem more dire. CSD does not take a position on health insurance legislation; only on Mr. Trump's wanton disregard for the well-being of Americans, in the service of his own political stature.</p>	11

\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/this-is-no-rookie-mistake-the-trump-team-shouldnt-even-be-on-the-field/2017/07/11/058faec6-6679-11e7-8eb5-cbccc2e7bfbf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.b20f1ecbbdb&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/this-is-no-rookie-mistake-the-trump-team-shouldnt-even-be-on-the-field/2017/07/11/058faec6-6679-11e7-8eb5-cbccc2e7bfbf_story.html?utm_term=.b20f1ecbbdb&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/politics/ivanka-trump-overseas/?utm\\_term=.0e8363d19d61](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/politics/ivanka-trump-overseas/?utm_term=.0e8363d19d61)

\*\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/former-obama-spy-chiefs-upbraid-trump-over-his-remarks-about-his-intelligence-community/2017/07/21/01764e7e-6e82-11e7-b9e2-2056e768a7e5\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.639d2a4743f7&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/former-obama-spy-chiefs-upbraid-trump-over-his-remarks-about-his-intelligence-community/2017/07/21/01764e7e-6e82-11e7-b9e2-2056e768a7e5_story.html?utm_term=.639d2a4743f7&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\*\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/07/25/trumps-boy-scouts-speech-broke-with-80-years-of-presidential-tradition/?utm\\_term=.a12e1030ff46&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/morning-mix/wp/2017/07/25/trumps-boy-scouts-speech-broke-with-80-years-of-presidential-tradition/?utm_term=.a12e1030ff46&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 7 – August 12, 2017

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

7-25-17 to 7-28-17	<p><b><u>Threat to Alaskans.</u></b> On July 25, Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, at Mr. Trump's direction and totally extraneous to his duties at the Interior Department, privately threatened Alaska Senator Lisa Murkowski that he would cut Alaskan energy development programs if she did not vote for the health care bill then pending in Congress that Mr. Trump favored and the passage of which was hanging in the balance. Murkowski refused, she publicized the episode, and Zinke's threat was quickly and widely viewed as a political blunder. In the ensuing days, as the event was digested, it also came to be viewed by critics as an ethical and legal offense. On July 28, President George W. Bush's ethics counsel called for the dismissal of Zinke for extortion.</p>	9
7-28-17	<p><b><u>Encouragement of police brutality.</u></b> In an address to Long Island law enforcement officers, Mr. Trump encouraged them, illegally and unconstitutionally, to brutalize criminal suspects upon arrest. The local police department, many other local police departments, the Major Cities Chiefs Association, the National Association of Police Organizations, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police promptly issued contravening policy statements. (Many additional law enforcement offices would join the criticism in the coming days.) Mr. Trump's remarks had echoed his urgings at several campaign rallies the previous year that protesters there be beaten up.</p>	9

7-28-17	<p><b>Mar-a-Lago security costs.</b> The Washington Post reported that the Coast Guard had spent \$6.6 million so far in 2017 securing Mr. Trump's visits to his Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago. The Post continued: "<i>The Coast Guard's spending accounts for a fraction of the military security apparatus that has encircled Trump during journeys to his private clubs and golf courses. Congress this year allocated roughly \$120 million in additional funding to help cover the Secret Service's presidential travel and protection, as well as 'extraordinary law enforcement personnel costs' incurred by local governments during Trump's trips.</i>"</p>	11
7-28-17, 7-29-17	<p><b>Against the filibuster, again.</b> For two days after the collapse in the Senate of the health care bill that Mr. Trump had supported, he resumed his call for the abandonment of the Senate's 60-vote filibuster rule – a move, which effected, would consolidate his power, harden partisanship in Congress, have long-lasting and unpredictable effects beyond his tenure, and contravene the wiser wishes of Senate leadership. (Mr. Trump had defended the filibuster rule four years earlier, when it had suited his interests.)</p>	9
7-30-17	<p><b>Revisionist museum at EPA.</b> The Washington Post reported that, going a step beyond science denial, the Trump administration is purging the EPA's small in-house museum of exhibits describing previous administrations' efforts to stem climate change.</p>	8
7-31-17	<p><b>Shaub alleges "kleptocracy."</b> Walter Shaub, who had recently resigned as head of the Office of Government Ethics out of despair of the ethical behavior of Mr. Trump and his associates, told The Guardian that there was an "ethics crisis" in the White House because of Mr. Trump's many domestic and foreign conflicts of interest. He called Mr. Trump's leasing of Washington hotel space to himself as "wildly inappropriate"; he said that Mr. Trump's placement of his assets into a trust controlled by his sons and for his own benefit was "meaningless"; he said that Mr. Trump, in his frequent visits to his resorts, was "giving free advertising to his properties"; he condemned foreign governments booking events at Mr. Trump's properties and his softness toward foreign regimes where he had business interests; and he termed "shocking" Mr. Trump's recent statement that a typical politician would have participated in the June 2016 meeting in Trump Tower with four Kremlin-linked Russians, as Mr. Trump's top campaign advisers had done. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	15

<p>7-31-17</p>	<p><i>[Continued.]</i> Shaub said: "[Mr. Trump's behavior] risks people starting to refer to us as a kleptocracy. That's a term people throw around fairly freely when they're talking about Russia, ... and we run the risk of getting branded the same way. America really should stand for more than that. ... We're running around the world trying to promote anti-corruption measures and we don't even have our own house in order. So it's an embarrassment." The full Guardian story is linked at this endnote.*</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>7-31-17</p>	<p><b>Threat to insurance companies.</b> Mr. Trump repeated his frequent threat to insurance companies that he would cut their subsidies under the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"), thus driving up their premiums or forcing them to exit the ACA's exchanges, and in turn causing millions of Americans to become uninsured. (CSD does not take a position on health care legislation; only on Mr. Trump's wanton and extortionate threats to deprive Americans of health insurance.)</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>7-31-17</p>	<p><b>Dictating false account of June 2016 meeting.</b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump, while flying home from the G-20 summit in Hamburg aboard Air Force One on July 8, had personally dictated to his son Donald Trump Jr. the untrue text of the statement that Trump Jr. would soon release to explain the June 2016 meeting in Trump Tower among several Kremlin-linked Russians and Trump Jr., Mr. Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner, and then campaign manager Paul Manafort. The statement (as authored by Mr. Trump, the president) said that the purpose of the meeting was to discuss American adoptions of Russian children; but Trump Jr. days afterwards admitted that the purpose was to discuss obtaining damaging information on opponent Hillary Clinton from the Russian government. (That Mr. Trump had more generally approved Trump Jr.'s statement had been reported by The New York Times on July 11 and noted by CSD in this document in an entry dated July 8 through July 11.) The Post wrote that the revelation placed Mr. Trump in further legal peril, relative to the existing investigation of obstruction of justice by special prosecutor Robert Mueller.</p>	<p>7, 12</p>

<p>7-31-17, 8-1-17</p>	<p><b>White House chaos.</b> On July 31, Mr. Trump fired his communications director Anthony Scaramucci after only ten days on the job, and had him escorted from the White House grounds. Scaramucci's departure followed those of top aides Michael Flynn (national security advisor), Sally Yates (acting Attorney General), Mike Dubke (previous communications director), James Comey (FBI director), Reince Priebus (chief of staff), Sean Spicer (press secretary), and various second-tier officials. Others who to that date had been threatened with dismissal included senior advisor Steven Bannon, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, acting Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, and special prosecutor Robert Mueller. Those in the Justice Department (Comey, Yates, Sessions, Rosenstein) were accused by Mr. Trump of disloyalty. Most of the others, whether dismissed or at risk of dismissal, had come to be widely perceived by the mainstream media as reckless, ineffective, back-stabbing, and/or (in the case of Flynn) possibly criminal. Those not yet threatened with dismissal included senior son-in-law Jared Kushner and daughter Ivanka Trump, both senior advisers and protected by blood ties.</p> <p>The following day, a news analysis by Gerald Seib in The Wall Street Journal enumerated the global threats that had flowered during Mr. Trump's presidency amid the White House's descent into apparent dysfunction: the alarming growth of North Korea's and Iran's weapons capabilities, the deterioration of relations with Russia and China, and the collapse of the government of nuclear-armed Pakistan. Seib wrote: <i>"When a president appears weak, distracted or in trouble, as President Donald Trump does right now, the effects on international affairs can play out on many fronts. First, adversaries may feel more emboldened to challenge a besieged American leader. ... Second, there always is the suspicion that a president embattled at home is looking for a distraction abroad. Even if there's a real crisis, there would be charges the White House is pumping it up to divert attention. ... In any case, the president's pattern of engaging in exaggerations and outright misstatement has downside risks in a dangerous environment. When the leader of the free world speaks in a time of genuine crisis, he needs his countrymen to believe him and the rest of the world to take him seriously."</i></p>	<p>10</p>



<p>8-1-17</p>	<p><b>White House advisors selling insights.</b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's former campaign manager Corey Lewandowski and multiple other current, informal White House advisers were engaged in private businesses from which they could profit by way of presidential insights and access. Lewandowski, for example, was selling advisory services to private clients, presumably based on his White House knowledge and connections. Because (he claimed) he would not be directly advocating with government officials, he believed he was not bound by the disclosure rules that pertain to lobbyists; and so his clients, his compensation, and the subject matter of his work would remain secret.</p>	<p>16, 17(15)</p>
<p>8-1-17, 8-2-17</p>	<p><b>Double foray on color.</b> The New York Times and The Washington Post revealed that the Justice Department had initiated a plan to investigate colleges' race-based admission standards (implicitly affirmative action), and Mr. Trump announced that he would seek to halve the number of legal immigrants admitted annually to the U.S. Both endeavors fell legitimately within the purview of the president; the ethical, economic and cultural arguments could be debated pro and con; the Justice Department denied any design against affirmative action; but an uncomfortable common animus, with demagogic implications, seemed likely to CSD.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>8-2-17</p>	<p><b>Conflict with Congress over sanctions.</b> Mr. Trump reluctantly signed a bill imposing sanctions on Russia. But he said that it unconstitutionally deprived him of executive authority, and that as a billionaire businessman he could negotiate better international deals than Congress could. Notable in his remarks were his disdain for Congress's powers; his public disparagement of American policy toward our antagonist Russia; his decision to complain about the bill's constitutionality rather than to object on those grounds through legal means; and his presumption that his business career (which had included multiple bankruptcies) had prepared him for international diplomacy. In sum, he maintained his pretense to infallibility.</p> <p>CSD does not take a position on the substance of the sanctions, and it acknowledges that the law's pointed restriction on presidential discretion was extraordinary and not without pitfalls. But we note with approval that Congress apparently had determined that it simply, remarkably and properly did not trust Mr. Trump to wisely and disinterestedly conduct America's affairs with Russia.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 12</p>

8-2-17	<p><b><u>Wall Street Journal interview.</u></b> Politico published the full transcript of an interview that Mr. Trump had given to The Wall Street Journal the previous week. In the interview Mr. Trump: fabricated praise from the Boy Scouts of America for his recent speech to the Jamboree, when in fact the organization had publicly apologized for that speech; boasted at length, and irrelevantly, about his electoral win in Ohio; far inflated his success in passing legislation relative to the success of previous presidents; falsely promised no imminent White House staffing changes (within days he would fire both his press secretary and his chief of staff); repeated his threat to fire special prosecutor Robert Mueller relative to the investigation of Russian meddling in the November 2016 election; and repeated his long-standing but widely debunked denial that any of his campaign staff had dealt with Russian figures.</p>	7, 9, 11, 12
8-2-17	<p><b><u>Tillerson waives Russian propaganda.</u></b> Politico reported: <i>"Secretary of State Rex Tillerson is resisting the pleas of State Department officials to spend nearly \$80 million allocated by Congress for fighting terrorist propaganda and Russian disinformation. It is highly unusual for a Cabinet secretary to turn down money for his department."</i> Reports suggested that Tillerson's motive was to shrink the State Department's influence and/or to mollify Russia.</p>	17 (12, 13)
8-3-17	<p><b><u>Serial misstatements, confessions.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist assembled nine instances since Mr. Trump's election in which he or one of his aides had spoken falsely about significant presidential activities then later confessed to the truth. The complete article is linked at this endnote.** Curiously, the column appeared on the same day as a Post analyst's summary of a recent Sports Illustrated article revealing that Mr. Trump routinely lied about his golf scores (but did not confess). The golf article is linked at this endnote.*** On the previous day, CNN and The New York Times had reported that twice in the past week Mr. Trump had fabricated stories of having received congratulatory phone calls – from the Boy Scouts of America and the president of Mexico – and his staff had subsequently confessed. None of those news outlets (on those dates) detailed the hundreds of other documented episodes since the 2016 election when Mr. Trump had spoken falsely and did not subsequently confess.</p>	7

<p>8-3-17</p>	<p><b>Russian delight in American "chaos."</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that the state-controlled media in Russia – which had openly favored Mr. Trump's candidacy over that of his opponent Hillary Clinton in 2016 – was now delighting in the "chaos" that was besetting the American government, by virtue of the "persecution" of Mr. Trump by his enemies, the investigations being conducted relative to his campaign's activities, and the growing split between him and Congress. One policy scholar in Russia wrote that his government was using <i>"Washington for propaganda purposes, to show everyone how awful it is. ... Everyone in the Kremlin is having great fun watching this chaos unfold... ."</i></p>	<p>10, 12</p>
<p>8-3-17</p>	<p><b>West Virginia rally.</b> At a campaign-style rally in Huntington, West Virginia, and just hours after The Wall Street Journal had reported that special prosecutor Robert Mueller had empanelled a grand jury to investigate the Trump election campaign's involvement with Russian interference, Mr. Trump said that his former rival Hillary Clinton should be investigated instead, fomenting the customary "Lock her up!" cries from the raucous crowd. He boasted repeatedly about his large electoral victory in West Virginia. He said, "The Russia story is a total fabrication," and he boomed: "Have you seen any Russians in West Virginia or Ohio or Pennsylvania? ... They're trying to cheat you out of the future and the future that you won! They're trying to cheat you out of the leadership you won, with a fake story!" His demonization of insidious forces that were allegedly bent on victimizing Americans (the "they" to which he referred) prompted Washington Post and MSNBC commentator Eugene Robinson to liken the speech to the speeches of demagogic populists Huey Long of Louisiana and Juan Peron of Argentina.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-3-17</p>	<p><b>Rent dispute at Trump Tower.</b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's company had terminated the Secret Service's lease of space at Trump Tower, his New York home, seemingly at least in part over the rental price. That is, if The Post's suspicion was correct, it was insufficient for Mr. Trump that taxpayers were paying large sums to guard one of the billionaire's several homes; rather, the taxpayers were not paying enough, and to him. The Secret Service determined to relocate its command center to a trailer located on the street. (Separately, The Post wrote, but also for the Trump family's protection, the U.S. military continued to sublet space in Trump Tower at above-market rates for \$1,560,000 per year.)</p>	<p>11, 15</p>

8-6-17	<p><b><u>State Department dysfunction.</u></b> The New York Times reported that as Secretary Rex Tillerson was exploring a much-needed reorganization of the State Department, his inexperience and his micro-management style had generated dysfunction, loss of morale and loss of seasoned diplomats – all at a time of heightening international tensions. The full article is linked at this endnote.****</p>	17 (13)
8-7-17	<p><b><u>Scale of falsehoods.</u></b> The New York Times compared Mr. Trump's unrelenting stream of falsehoods with those of other politicians, and found Mr. Trump's to be unprecedented. The Times wrote: <i>"The glaring difference between Mr. Trump and his predecessors is the sheer magnitude of falsehoods and exaggerations; PolitiFact rates just 20 percent of the statements it reviewed as true, and a total of 69 percent either mostly false, false or 'Pants on Fire.'</i> That leaves scholars like [presidential historian Doris Kearns] Goodwin to wonder whether Mr. Trump, in elevating the art of political fabrication, has forever changed what Americans are willing to tolerate from their leaders. <i>'What's different today and what's scarier today is these lies are pointed out, and there's evidence that they're wrong,' she said. 'And yet because of the attacks on the media, there are a percentage of people in the country who are willing to say, "Maybe he is telling the truth.'"</i></p> <p>Later that morning, Mr. Trump – vacationing at one his resorts – launched a five-message tweet storm against The Times, "fake news" generally, and the political polls that continue to show his popularity as abysmal.</p>	1, 7
8-7-17	<p><b><u>Hotel trading on president's reputation.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the management of the Trump International Hotel in the District of Columbia had described to The Post <i>"its strategy to capitalize on the president's popularity. It markets the hotel to Republican and conservative groups that embrace Trump's politics."</i> Substantial business was coming from Republican party events, political and business figures, foreign interests (including Turkish and Saudi Arabian), and pro-Trump tourists. The Post wrote: <i>"This is nothing Washington has ever seen. For the first time in presidential history, a profit-making venture touts the name of a U.S. president in its gold signage. And every cup of coffee served, every fundraiser scheduled, every filet mignon ordered feeds the revenue of the Trump family's private business."</i></p>	15

<p>8-7-17</p>	<p><b><u>Reversal on voting rights.</u></b> As reported in The Huffington Post, for the second time since February the Department of Justice reversed its position in a pending federal lawsuit that challenged state laws restricting voter rights. The February case had involved a Texas voter I.D. law. The new reversal pertained to an Ohio procedure for purging voter rolls, where the Trump administration, in a matter pending before the U.S. Supreme Court, now effectively came to support enfranchising fewer voters rather than more. DOJ reversals of position on pending cases were reportedly rare; and critics viewed the Ohio matter as a politicization of federal voting law.</p>	<p>4</p>
<p>8-7-17</p>	<p><b><u>Re-tweeting adulatory bots.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump, a few days previous, had tweeted a response to an adulatory message about himself that may have come from a Russia-associated bot (a fraudulent Twitter user), thus "magnifying her praise of him to his 35 million followers."</p> <p>The Post wrote: <i>"As a candidate, Trump became known for amplifying tweets from accounts of dubious origin, including one under the name @WhiteGenocideTM, and for disseminating anti-Semitic memes that bubbled up from some of the darkest corners of the Internet. As president, not much has changed. Trump still routinely hits the retweet button if a Twitter user echoes his criticism of his adversaries or showers him with praise — regardless of who that user is or what his or her motives may be."</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump's apparently heedless practice ran the by now well-known peril of advancing a foreign power's disinformation. The Post continued: <i>"'Nineteen to 20 percent of the messages in the month before the election were originated by bots,' said ... a researcher at the University of Southern California who conducted research on the impact of bots on the 2016 election. 'About 400,000 accounts that posted tweets related to the political conversation we believe were bots.' If anything, these accounts have found an even greater foothold since the election among Trump's most ardent supporters online. In the past week, a virtual army of accounts identified as having ties to Russia-backed disinformation campaigns targeting the U.S. political system zeroed in on efforts among Trump's supporters to attack his national security adviser, H.R. McMaster, over the firing of two Trump loyalists from the National Security Council."</i></p>	<p>11</p>

<p>8-8-17</p>	<p><b><u>Hypocrisy rising to demagoguery.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Trump was struggling with the same quandaries in Afghanistan for which he had condemned the past two administrations; multiple news outlets commented on his mockery of Senator Richard Blumenthal's Vietnam war falsehoods without acknowledging his own avoidance of military service in that war; he re-tweeted a Fox News story that contained leaked classified information, even while he was fulminating about government leaks; and he did that from the latest of his many golf vacations at one of his resorts, having previously derided President Obama for taking vacations and playing golf. This was all in one day, and it represented only a small sampling of Mr. Trump's participation in activities that he had excoriated in other people. More significant examples had included his many broken campaign promises, such as to "drain the swamp" of the influence of lobbyists and the wealthy in Washington, and to replace the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") with less expensive health care for all (see the April 12 entry in this document titled "Reversals").</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>8-8-17</p>	<p><b><u>North Korean nuclear threat.</u></b> Responding to a report of North Korea's enhanced nuclear weapons capabilities and to other nuclear provocations by North Korea, Mr. Trump, at a press conference at his New Jersey golf club, announced that the U.S. would respond to further threats by North Korea with "fire and fury like the world has never seen." Those remarks were widely interpreted as a <u>threat to launch a preemptive nuclear strike against that country.</u> Later that day, by Twitter, Mr. Trump re-tweeted a video of that statement, and he boasted about America's nuclear capabilities. His aggressive rhetoric would continue and escalate over the ensuing days.</p> <p>Such threats by an American president were unprecedented. Mr. Trump had not been advised on his messaging in advance by his senior aides – who subsequently, amid the domestic and international alarm that ensued, scrambled to spin and defend them. Indeed, the threats had followed months of confusion and vacillation about North Korea on Mr. Trump's part, and he had not previously formulated or articulated a clear North Korea policy. Rather, in dealing with the renegade country, he had erroneously expected China's help, which hadn't materialized; and he had praised and expressed a willingness to meet with North Korea's dictator Kim Jong-un before now threatening to obliterate his country.</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>9, 10, 13</p>

<p>8-8-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In any event, within hours after Mr. Trump's initial comments, North Korea made its most specific threat ever against the U.S: that it might fire nuclear-armed missiles at Guam. The 200,000 American citizens living in Guam took note.</p> <p>CSD is not in the position to second-guess the president on strategy or rhetoric in such a matter; and at the time of this entry we expected both strategy and rhetoric to develop and shift in the days and weeks that would follow. We hoped and believed that the risk of war, if indeed it existed, could quickly abate. But we were concerned that the Korean threat could stand as the first true crisis that this heretofore impulsive, uninformed, unpopular, undiplomatic, pugnacious, self-serving, inexperienced, and often irrational president might face. And we feared that The Wall Street Journal's warning about Mr. Trump's ability to lead under such circumstances (see our July 31-August 1 entry above) may have been prescient. With the deepest and most sincere conviction, we hoped – and we will continue to hope – that Mr. Trump will demonstrate the competence, temperament and credibility that are necessary to manage the North Korean challenge and any other international crises that may arise.</p>	<p>9, 10, 13</p>
<p>8-9-17, 8-10-17</p>	<p><b><u>Damage control epidemic.</u></b> On August 9, The Washington Post's columnist Dana Milbank recounted the following major episodes in which Mr. Trump's senior advisers and representatives had felt compelled to correct his impulsive statements: his recent threat to North Korea of a pre-emptive nuclear strike; his threat to deploy the U.S. military to round up and deport Mexican migrants; his decision not to pledge mutual protection at a NATO meeting in Brussels; his stated ambivalence about a two-state solution for the Israeli-Palestinian conflict; his call for a government shut-down if the federal budget were not resolved to his satisfaction; his allegation that President Obama had tapped his telephone in Trump Tower; his allegation that the news media were "the enemy of the American people"; his statement, in a trade context, that "the Germans are bad, very bad"; his calls for Japan and South Korea to pay more for certain elements of their defense; and his identification of Qatar as a state sponsor of terrorism. Milbank wrote that this was only a partial listing of the high-level damage control efforts. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 13</p>

<p>8-9-17, 8-10-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The following day, The Huffington Post reported a somewhat comparable governmental response to Mr. Trump's <u>actual directives</u> when they had seemed particularly preposterous: the implementing agencies flat-out ignoring the directives. Examples of such directives included: converting aircraft carrier catapult engineering from electromagnetics to steam; banning transgenders from the military; calling for the end to the investigations of Russian election-tampering by labeling them a "hoax"; implicitly encouraging Attorney General Jeff Sessions to resign; renewing investigations of Hillary Clinton; and claiming that torture of prisoners of war is effective;</p> <p>HuffPost wrote: "<i>Agency heads and lower-level bureaucrats appear to have concluded that the combination of Trump's impulsive nature and short attention span means that the president's sometimes random commands can – and should – be safely ignored. ... Norm Ornstein, with the conservative-leaning American Enterprise Institute, said experts in the various agencies are left with no choice when presented with unreasonable demands. 'We've never had a president like this. We've never had a president with no knowledge base. Who's not interested in developing a knowledge base. With no impulse control,' Ornstein said.</i>"</p>	<p>10, 13</p>
<p>8-10-17</p>	<p><b><u>Hypothetical postponement of 2020 presidential election.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that in a poll it had conducted, <u>half of Republican voters would favor postponing the 2020 presidential election (thus, presumably, keeping Mr. Trump in power indefinitely) if the potential for widespread voter fraud that he had spuriously alleged had not by then been eliminated.</u> The survey results paralleled and amplified those recorded in this document on July 26; and they again pointed to Mr. Trump's apparent success in <u>preparing a substantial portion of our population for at least some aspects of dictatorship.</u> Of course, opinion polls frequently reveal that large portions of the population believe preposterous things. But CSD finds these particular poll results to be both unusually menacing and reflective of a concerted effort on the part of Mr. Trump and some of his supporters to undermine elements of our democracy.</p>	<p>4, 9</p>



8-10-17	<p><b><u>Thanking Putin for stripping American embassy.</u></b> In response to Russian President Vladimir Putin's cutting of 755 permitted U.S. embassy staff positions in Moscow in retaliation for sanctions and other punitive measures recently imposed on Russia by the U.S., Mr. Trump extensively and without apparent irony thanked Putin for facilitating American diplomatic cost-cutting. Mr. Trump's expressed gratitude, even if sarcastic (as he later claimed it was), not only pandered to one of America's greatest adversaries in a moment of spiraling tensions, but disparaged the mission and utility of the Moscow embassy – and, by extension, of all American embassies and the committed individuals who staff them. It also highlighted Mr. Trump's disturbing refusal to even mildly rebuke Putin, while hastening to condemn countless other foes and allies, both foreign and domestic.</p>	10, 12, 13
8-10-17	<p><b><u>Basking in leakers' love.</u></b> Mr. Trump told reporters that although all government leaks are bad, he was "somewhat honored" by White House leaks "where people want to love me and they're all fighting [one another] for [my] love."</p>	9, 11
8-10-17	<p><b><u>D.C. hotel bonanza.</u></b> The Washington Post detailed the first financial figures made available for the Trump International Hotel in the District of Columbia by the General Services Administration, which leases the building to Mr. Trump's company. Room rates were the highest in the city, and revenues had far surpassed the hotel's initial projections – reflecting large profits rather than large losses. The success appeared to be attributable at least partly, and maybe materially, to patronage on the part of groups and individuals, both domestic and foreign, who were politically supportive or solicitous of Mr. Trump.</p>	15
8-10-17	<p><b><u>Negotiating with China over Korea through reporters.</u></b> While increasing the temperature of his military threats toward North Korea, and having long and strongly criticized China's trade policies with respect to the U.S., Mr. Trump told reporters at his New Jersey golf club: "[If] China helps us, I feel a lot differently toward trade, a lot differently toward trade." China's state media meanwhile had been condemning Mr. Trump's fiery rhetoric toward North Korea that risked a range of outcomes which could be devastating for China. How Mr. Trump expected his public pronouncements to play internationally, and why he seemed to be sorting out (or not sorting out) his North Korea and China strategies on the fly with reporters, mystified and troubled CSD.</p>	10, 13

<p>8-11-17</p>	<p><b><u>Blaming enemies.</u></b> CNN summarized the progression in recent weeks of Mr. Trump's campaigns to divert attention from his own failures by faulting and blaming other leading American political figures, including some from his own party and some who no longer held office: first Attorney General Jeff Sessions, then election opponent Hillary Clinton, [then Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell – CSD's contribution to the list,] and (both first and last) President Obama. CNN wrote that Mr. Trump "seems to rotate through perceived enemies every few weeks," but that he also appeared to have a particular vendetta against (and possibly an obsession with) President Obama, whom he had attacked since the election overseas as well as at home.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>8-11-17, 8-12-17</p>	<p><b><u>Possible military intervention in Venezuela.</u></b> On August 11, Mr. Trump threatened to intervene militarily in Venezuela as that country moved increasingly toward authoritarian rule, civil disorder and economic melt-down. But it was unclear to CSD what the goals or the mechanisms of an intervention might be; what risks an intervention might generate; whether Mr. Trump had discussed pertinent strategy and messaging with the Defense and State Departments; how intervention would serve American interests; why the U.S. should intervene on behalf of human rights in that country but not in dozens of others having comparable human rights issues; whether the threat of intervention might actually bolster the position of the Venezuelan regime; and how the U.S. could operationally and diplomatically manage a new intervention in addition to its existing and potential military undertakings around the world, including in various Middle Eastern and East Asian theatres.</p> <p>In fact the following day, The Washington Post reported that the Venezuelan regime was fiercely exploiting Mr. Trump's remarks as a confirmation of America's imperialistic designs on that country; that numerous mainstream Latin American leaders had condemned the remarks as well; that the remarks threatened the unity that regional governments had begun to assemble to pressure the Venezuelan regime to change course; and that a polling organization had reported that fewer than 10% of Venezuelans would support American military intervention.</p>	<p>10, 13</p>

<p>8-11-17</p>	<p><b><u>North Korea and domestic politics.</u></b> In the midst of the North Korean nuclear crisis, and by way of a telephone call with the governor of Guam that the governor subsequently posted on Facebook, Mr. Trump appeared to blame his presidential predecessor(s) for the crisis and his domestic political opponents for undermining his response to it.</p> <p>Separately, The New York Times reported anecdotally on the embrace of Mr. Trump's bellicose threats by some of his Main Street supporters. They seemed generally to express a desire for vengeance against North Korea; satisfaction that geographic distance would insulate them personally from any military conflict; and little or no concern for the massive death and suffering that Koreans, and that Americans in South Korea and Guam, would experience should war ensue – all points that Mr. Trump had not articulated to the public.</p> <p>Peggy Noonan, a conservative columnist at The Wall Street Journal, detailed President Kennedy's measured public statements during the Cuban Missile Crisis, and his quiet, painstaking, and ultimately effective outreach to key American voices – Congressional leaders, former President Eisenhower, top presidential advisers, and the American press (The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Time magazine). She implicitly questioned whether Mr. Trump was capable of comparable undertakings.</p> <p>What then was Mr. Trump's political calculus, if any? Noting the perils surrounding his colorful threats, their ambiguous strategic intent, and the highly uncertain mechanisms and outcomes of any potential U.S. deployment, The Wall Street Journal reported: <i>"Asked about the strategy underlying Mr. Trump's comments targeting North Korea in recent days, a senior administration official said, 'The president tweets for his own purposes and reasons.'"</i></p>	<p>9, 11, 13</p>

<p>8-11-17</p>	<p><b><u>EPA in lockdown.</u></b> The New York Times reported that, under administrator Scott Pruitt, the Environmental Protection Agency had come to impose a radical secrecy around its high level deliberations and a radical hostility toward its own mission and staff. The agency had also been avoiding oversight questions from Congress; taken down over 1900 agency Web pages on topics such as climate change; ordered fact-less policy conclusions; and directed the elimination of inconvenient data from analytic reports. Pruitt appeared to The Times to be advised not by climate scientists or policy experts, but by political appointees and lobbyists from regulated industries.</p> <p>Remarkably, one quoted transition official seemed to equate climate scientists with "leftists" – that is, it would seem, to equate climate science with communism.</p>	<p>17 (8, 9)</p>
<p>8-12-17</p>	<p><b><u>White supremacist violence in Virginia.</u></b> A white supremacist march through Charlottesville met with counter-protests and erupted in violence. It was the largest such march that the country had seen in decades. Mr. Trump reacted by condemning "hate" and "violence," but not the supremacists. Nevertheless David Duke – the former Ku Klux Klan leader and a still prominent supremacist – criticized Mr. Trump for his remarks, tweeting that “it was White Americans who put you in the presidency.” Duke added: “We are going to fulfill the promises of Donald Trump. That’s what we believed in. That’s why we voted for [him], because he said he’s going to take our country back.” During a speech on another topic, Mr. Trump then condemned the "egregious display of hatred, bigotry and violence on many sides – on many sides" – thus implying an equivalence between the white supremacists and those who had opposed them. He pointedly ignored reporters' questions about whether he would specifically condemn the supremacists who claimed to have supported him.</p>	<p>17 (6)</p>

\* <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jul/31/trump-ethics-chief-walter-shaub-kleptocracy>

\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/08/02/7-things-the-trump-team-denied-and-then-later-confirmed/?utm\\_term=.19754b748ca1&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2017/08/02/7-things-the-trump-team-denied-and-then-later-confirmed/?utm_term=.19754b748ca1&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2017/08/02/dc3502d6-77be-11e7-8f39-eeb7d3a2d304\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.6acee9b126b6&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2017/08/02/dc3502d6-77be-11e7-8f39-eeb7d3a2d304_story.html?utm_term=.6acee9b126b6&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\*\*\* [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/06/us/politics/rex-tillerson-state-department.html?ref=todayspaper&\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/08/06/us/politics/rex-tillerson-state-department.html?ref=todayspaper&_r=0)



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 8 – September 11, 2017*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>8-12-17</p>	<p><b><u>Foreign Service loses applicants.</u></b> Politico reported that in June the number of applicants to take the Foreign Service examination – the entry point for the most prestigious positions in the State Department – had dropped by 26% from the previous year, to the lowest level in nearly a decade. Politico's sources attributed the drop variously: to Mr. Trump's plans to radically downsize the State Department, to his disinterest in diplomacy generally, and to young people's dislike for his often radical international decisions. Politico wrote that sufficient applicants will still exist to fill all available slots at the department; but that the best and brightest may be turning away. Veteran diplomats said that losing top recruits could impair the pipeline for senior diplomats for years to come.</p>	<p>13</p>
<p>8-13-17</p>	<p><b><u>Potential pardon for Arpaio.</u></b> Mr. Trump told Fox News that he might pardon Joe Arpaio, the anti-immigration former Arizona sheriff who had recently been convicted of contempt of court – a constitutional offense, and an anomaly for an official tasked with enforcing the law – for his continued racial profiling of Latinos after having been directed by the court to stop it. <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>2, 6, 9</p>

<p>8-13-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] Arpaio had gained notoriety for, among other things, making detained Latinos wear pink underwear, feeding them inedible food, placing them in tents where the temperature reached 145 degrees (from which mistreatment at least three had suffocated), referring to his detention centers as “concentration camps,” parading women and children in chain gangs before journalists’ cameras, arresting two reporters for investigating his suspect personal finances, riding a giant tank in local parades, and being a prominent and unrepentant “birther.”</p> <p>For the avoidance of doubt, CSD notes that “birtherism” was the racist, seditious, demagogic, personally vicious, and utterly unfounded allegation – advanced unrelentingly by Mr. Trump, Arpaio and others for years – that Barack Obama had been born in Kenya, not Hawaii, and thus was constitutionally barred from serving as president. Mr. Trump and Arpaio were prominently allied in this effort.</p> <p>Presidents often grant pardons, and sometimes controversially; but ordinarily not for policy-based reasons (here, enforcement of immigration laws); ordinarily not early in their presidential terms (typically instead at the end); ordinarily not shortly after the pertinent convictions (Justice Department guidelines call for a five-year wait); ordinarily not without the convict having expressed remorse (again per Justice Department guidelines, and which Arpaio had not done); ordinarily not without Justice Department review (which in Arpaio's case had not occurred); ordinarily not unless the criminal would have submitted a request for a pardon (which Arpaio had not done); and ordinarily not to criminals who are best known for, and whose misdeeds are tied to, their racism.</p> <p>Regardless of whether Mr. Trump would in fact pardon Arpaio (which he shortly would do – see the August 25 entry below in this document), CSD believed at the time of the Fox News statement that for Mr. Trump to have even announced the possibility of a pardon was both a dog-whistle for racial enmity and an extraordinary challenge to his own Justice Department (it had prosecuted Arpaio), to established civil rights laws, and to the nation's judicial system.</p>	<p>2, 6, 9</p>

<p>8-13-17</p>	<p><b>Early campaign ad attacks "enemies."</b> Mr. Trump launched the first television advertisements for his 2020 reelection campaign. The ads were unprecedented in how early they were relative to the election, suggesting the possible onset of the sort of continuous propagandizing that characterizes authoritarian regimes overseas. They were also unprecedented in explicitly denouncing the candidate's "enemies," who were depicted as recognizable members of the Democratic Party and the press. The divisiveness was especially remarkable, coming on the heels of the fatal white supremacist march in Charlottesville, after which Mr. Trump had publicly called for national unity, "love for our nation, and true affection for each other." But it was also reminiscent of Mr. Trump's having focused his presidential campaign on those groups and individuals whom he had characterized as America's enemies. And keeping track of presidential "enemies" was reminiscent of the widely discredited and ridiculed anti-democratic behavior of the Richard Nixon presidency.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>8-14-17</p>	<p><b>Charlottesville: retaliation against Merck CEO.</b> After the CEO of Merck resigned from the American Manufacturing Council (a presidential advisory group) because of Mr. Trump's failure to quickly and explicitly condemn white supremacists for their fatal Charlottesville march days earlier, Mr. Trump retaliated: not by rebutting the executive's comments on policy grounds, but by tweeting that the executive's company was engaged in price-gouging; that is, by publicly attacking a private enterprise as a political vendetta. Merck had not been seen as particularly extreme in its pharmaceutical pricing practices relative to the rest of the pharmaceutical industry. And Mr. Trump had not taken any steps to rein in pharmaceutical pricing. But the Merck CEO was African American. When two white CEOs then resigned for the same reason, Mr. Trump was silent.</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>

<p>8-14-17, 8-15-17</p>	<p><b><u>Charlottesville: denunciation, or not.</u></b> On August 14, two days after the white supremacist march and murder in Charlottesville, and after incurring intense bi-partisan criticism for not having quickly and clearly condemned the supremacists, Mr. Trump read a prepared statement containing an explicit condemnation. But many mainstream voices noted his dispassion and delay in comparison to his countless spontaneous tweets denouncing other people and groups. Alt-Right leader Richard Spencer said that the condemnation was "hollow" and not serious. And even David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and a principal actor in Charlottesville – who had expressed solidarity with Mr. Trump during the two-day period – now claimed that it was the media that had forced Mr. Trump to condemn the supremacists, against Mr. Trump's will.</p> <p>Within hours, Mr. Trump appeared to concur with Duke, tweeting “Made additional remarks on Charlottesville and realize once again that the #Fake News Media will never be satisfied...truly bad people!” As if to reinforce that point, shortly afterwards Mr. Trump re-tweeted a posting by a notorious Islamaphobe and "Pizzagate" conspiracy theorist (a purveyor of the canard about the Democratic Party's child sex-trafficking ring allegedly based in a District of Columbia pizza parlor) that called out black-on-black crime in Chicago and concluded, "No national media outrage. Why is that?"</p> <p>The following day, never one to be comfortable admitting error, Mr. Trump continued his back-sliding. Now unscripted, from the lobby of his New York building Trump Tower, he remarked at length about the violence of the anti-racist protesters in Charlottesville; <u>defended his initial comments blaming "many sides"; and asserted that many of those marching with the white supremacists who were brandishing swastikas and chanting anti-Semitic slogans were "very fine people."</u> Duke, by way of Twitter, promptly thanked Mr. Trump for his "<u>honesty and courage.</u>" <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 6, 11</p>
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<p>8-14-17 - 8-15-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Also on that day, Mr. Trump re-tweeted to his 36 million followers an image of a train running over a CNN reporter. The image recalled the episode in Charlottesville, only days earlier, when a white supremacist had run over dozens of pedestrians, killing a young woman. It also recalled Mr. Trump's July posting of a video in which he was shown beating up a CNN-identified figure, causing an uproar at that time. In addition to the anti-democratic themes on which those tweets were built, CSD notes in the tweets Mr. Trump's persistent and unrepentant motifs of violence, rage, ethnic and religious insensitivity, puerility, impulsiveness, and hostility to criticism – characteristics that we feel are unseemly, repugnant and perilous when appearing in the person of America's head of state and commander-in-chief.</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 11</p>
<p>8-15-17</p>	<p><b><u>DOJ seeks identities of thousands of protesters.</u></b> The Washington Post and other news outlets reported that the U.S. Attorney for the District of Columbia had subpoenaed the identities and other information of tens of thousands of individuals who had visited a Web site in January that was then organizing a protest of Mr. Trump's inauguration. The grounds for the subpoena were that some of the protesters had behaved violently on Inauguration Day.</p> <p>CSD of course fully supports the investigation and prosecution of criminal behavior. But we caution against any precedents that the Department of Justice may establish in investigating categorically those who wish to protest Mr. Trump's presidency. CSD finds a parallel in the FBI's massive, secret surveillance of anti-war activists and demonstrations in the late 1960s and early 1970s under then President Richard Nixon, an operation that the government eventually renounced as being unconstitutional and comparable to the activities of a police state.</p>	<p>17 (3)</p>

<p>8-16-17, 8-17-17</p>	<p><b><u>Charlottesville: outrage from business and the military.</u></b>                  On August 16, additional CEOs defected from Mr. Trump's two business councils over his defense of the white supremacist marchers in Charlottesville; and as the members were moving to dissolve the councils altogether, Mr. Trump declared them dissolved. Also, in a remarkable rebuke to the president, the chiefs of the five armed services branches posted condemnations of the supremacists; but, to the nation's good fortune, Mr. Trump was not empowered or inclined to dissolve the military. The heads of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars also condemned the supremacists.</p> <p>Notable was the continuing loss of presidential support (as in the case of the recent purported ban of transgender people from the military) on the part of three of the country's most reliable institutional bastions of Republican Party sentiment – business, the armed forces and veterans.</p> <p>The following day, the leaders of several additional major American corporations, in written memoranda, expressly criticized Mr. Trump for his remarks equating white supremacists with the anti-racist counter-protesters. The Wall Street Journal wrote: <i>"Beyond the sheer number of prominent CEOs taking such public action, the memos are noteworthy because they don't address administrative policy positions that affect day-to-day business, but rather rebuke the president on his leadership approach on a broad social and moral issue. ... "</i> A Harvard Business School professor was quoted: <i>"I've never seen this before."</i></p>	<p>6</p>
<p>8-17-17</p>	<p><b><u>Praise for defilement of Muslim bodies.</u></b> Quickly responding to an atrocity in Barcelona for which radical Islamists had claimed responsibility, Mr. Trump tweeted – with apparent favor – the canard that, during America's occupation of the Philippines in the early 20th century, General John Pershing had executed Muslim rebels with bullets coated with pigs' blood. (Mr. Trump had told the same story during his campaign.) Politico then explained that the account was untrue; and CSD believed that it was religiously insulting, gratuitously cruel, and pointlessly incendiary.</p>	<p>6, 7,10</p>

8-18-17	<p><b><u>More business leaders resign, re Charlottesville.</u></b> Politico reported that more than half the members of the Commerce Department's Digital Economy Board of Advisors – comprised of prominent business executives – had resigned in the wake of Mr. Trump's failure to denounce the white supremacist march in Charlottesville.</p>	6
8-22-17	<p><b><u>Senior figures question Trump's stability.</u></b> Former director of national intelligence James Clapper publicly questioned Mr. Trump's mental stability. "Downright scary and disturbing," he said. His comments followed by several days Republican Senator Bob Corker's public questioning of Mr. Trump's "stability" and "competence."</p>	10, 11
8-22-17	<p><b><u>White House reliant on generals.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that three current and former generals were rapidly consolidating their power in the executive branch of the government. James Mattis (Defense Secretary), H.R. McMaster (national security adviser), and John Kelly (chief of staff) had come to appear to be the administration figures most trusted not only by Mr. Trump but by both parties in Congress, and possibly also by members of both parties within the electorate – many of whom seemed to see the generals' wisdom, coherence, restraint and professionalism as one of the few things standing between Mr. Trump and national calamity, including nuclear war. (CSD and others have noted in this a remarkable development: that even many of those on both the left and the right who would ordinarily fear military dominance of civilian functions now welcomed it, under the circumstances.)</p> <p>The Post analysis included commentaries to the effect that Mr. Trump reveres the men whom he refers to as "his generals" out of a swaggering and adolescent urge to play soldier (frightening); but that he meanwhile appears to defer to them (comforting); although, yet again, that he could dismiss them abruptly if he felt he was seen as their puppet or as upstaging him (unnerving all around).</p>	9, 10, 11

8-23-17	<p><b><u>Phoenix rally.</u></b> At a highly charged campaign rally in Phoenix, Arizona, Mr. Trump defended his response to the Charlottesville protests and violence, extensively blaming the “crooked media” and the “fake news” for misinterpreting his words. He also predicted, to enthusiastic cheers, that he would pardon former Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio relative to his recent conviction for contempt of court in connection with racial profiling (see the August 13 entry in this document above regarding Arpaio's background and potential pardon).</p>	1, 2, 6, 9
8-23-17	<p><b><u>Phoenix rally: Hatch Act.</u></b> Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Ben Carson spoke at Mr. Trump’s campaign rally in Phoenix. For a cabinet member or any other federal employee to speak at a presidential campaign rally was highly unusual, and likely a violation of the Hatch Act, which bars most executive branch employees from participating in campaign activities. (Foreign dictators, by contrast, often deploy staff to aid their campaigns.)</p>	4, 9
8-23-17	<p><b><u>UN condemns Trump re Charlottesville.</u></b> The United Nations’ Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination – tasked with issuing early warnings of potential large-scale ethnic violence – condemned the white supremacists’ march in Charlottesville and Mr. Trump’s response to it. The last such warning the committee had issued was in 2016, relative to ethnic strife in Burundi.</p> <p>While the UN historically has been highly uneven in its pronouncements on human rights issues, and while the statement was only the output of a minor UN committee, at a minimum it indicated how Mr. Trump’s behavior had damaged American credibility as a force for human rights worldwide.</p>	6, 10

<p>8-24-17</p>	<p><b>Possible politicization of CIA.</b> The Washington Post reported that Central Intelligence Agency director Mike Pompeo – who had repeatedly played down Russia’s interference in the 2016 election, had defended Mr. Trump’s remarks about the protests and violence in Charlottesville, and had otherwise “<i>demonstrated a willingness to engage in political skirmishes</i>” for Mr. Trump, had now ordered the agency’s Counterintelligence Mission Center – a unit closely tied to the election investigation – to report directly to him. CIA staff told The Post that they feared Pompeo could restrain, politicize or scuttle their findings, and that “<i>they could not recall a time in the agency’s history when a director faced a comparable conflict.</i>” Quoting former CIA officials, The Post wrote that previous directors too had had to balance the CIA’s objectivity with the sitting president’s desires; but that Pompeo “<i>clearly has a more difficult challenge ... than his predecessors given ... this president’s unique personality, obsession with charges against him, lack of knowledge and tendency to take impulsive action.</i>”</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>8-25-17, 8-26-17, 8-27-17</p>	<p><b><u>Arpaio pardon.</u></b> On August 25, <u>Mr. Trump pardoned former Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio relative to his conviction for contempt of court in connection with his racial profiling activities,</u> as Mr. Trump had recently hinted he would do. (See the August 13 entry above in this document for Arpaio’s profile and the implications of his then possible pardon.) CSD believes that the pardon reflected not only Mr. Trump’s embrace of an avatar of racism, but an extreme politicization and subversion of the judicial system, and the possibility that <u>Mr. Trump might subsequently pardon any political ally, regardless of the crime, thus nullifying the independence and efficacy of the pertinent prosecutors and courts, and for specifically political and self-serving purposes.</u></p> <p>On August 26, Republican Speaker of the House Paul Ryan called the pardon an abuse of power, and Republican Senator John McCain said that it “undermined [Mr. Trump’s] claim for the respect of rule of law.” [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 6, 9</p>

<p>8-25-17, 8-26-17, 8-27-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] Also on that day, both The New York Times and The Washington Post reported that in the spring, <u>Mr. Trump had asked Attorney General Jeff Sessions and chief White House Counsel Donald McGahn to drop the then pending federal charges against Arpaio.</u> (The Post compared Mr. Trump’s request to his earlier attempt to cause the Justice Department to drop the federal investigation of former national security adviser Michael Flynn relative to possible collusion with Russians in tampering with the 2016 election campaign – for which action Mr. Trump later appeared to have come under scrutiny by special prosecutor Robert Mueller for obstruction of justice.) When Sessions and McGahn refused on legal grounds to close the Arpaio case, Mr. Trump asked them if he could lawfully pardon Arpaio should he be convicted; and when they answered yes, he appeared to plan on granting a pardon upon any such conviction. <u>That is, the eventual pardon of Arpaio was not impulsive, but was a long-planned subversion of the court system and the Constitution – possibly the first time an American president had undertaken such a scheme.</u></p> <p>On August 27, The Wall Street Journal’s conservative editorial board wrote: <i>[P]ardoning Mr. Arpaio sends a message that law enforcers can ignore court orders and get away with it. All you need is a political ally in the White House or Governor’s mansion. Down that road lies anarchy.</i>”</p>	<p>2, 6, 9</p>
<p>8-27-17</p>	<p><b><u>Militarization of local police.</u></b> USA Today reported that Mr. Trump planned to fully restore transfers by the Defense Department to local police of surplus military ordnance such as large-caliber weapons, grenade launchers, bayonets and armored vehicles. Following a series of killings by police of innocent minority citizens, President Obama had cut back the transfers, believing them to be unnecessary for law enforcement and unnecessarily intimidating to and provocative for racial minorities. Mr. Trump’s motives for resuming the sales were not reported, but CSD suspects that they were political (as opposed to security-based) – intended to please law-and-order voters and to intimidate minorities.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>8-28-17</p>	<p><b><u>Russian business dealings during campaign.</u></b> The Trump Organization (Mr. Trump’s real estate company) delivered to the House Intelligence Committee several emails indicating that, during Mr. Trump’s election campaign, senior Trump Organization counsel and Trump campaign surrogate Michael Cohen had corresponded with his friend Felix Sater (a Trump Organization broker with a violent and criminal past) and with a senior adviser to Russian President Vladimir Putin in attempting to revive a stalled endeavor to develop a Trump Tower in Moscow.</p> <p>CSD had described the Moscow endeavor in an entry within this document dated July 11. But material new information had now emerged, in The Washington Post, The New York Times, and The Wall Street Journal: that Mr. Trump had personally signed a (non-binding) letter of intent to proceed with the project as recently as October 2015 (the same day he was engaging in a Republican candidates’ debate); that Cohen had attempted to expedite the project as recently as January 2016; that Sater had boasted that he could get Putin to assist with the project, which Sater believed would somehow help Mr. Trump’s presidential campaign; and that Cohen had discussed the project with Mr. Trump three times during the campaign. The new revelations belied Mr. Trump’s persistent public denials during and since the campaign that he had had current or recent business dealings or interests in Russia.</p>	<p>12, 15</p>
<p>8-28-17</p>	<p><b><u>Cabinet disturbed by Charlottesville.</u></b> The Washington Post summarized the reports of recent days to the effect that three of Mr. Trump’s top advisers had publicly rebuked the divisiveness he had tolerated or sown in connection with the Charlottesville white supremacist march. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, on Fox News, had declined to support Mr. Trump on the matter and had spoken of the values of America and the State Department as diverging from those of the president; Secretary of Defense James Mattis had told an assemblage of troops overseas that their mission would prevail over the divisions at home; and chief economic adviser Gary Cohn had said that he had nearly resigned over the affair. The Post acknowledged that top advisers sometimes disagree with the president on policy matters; but it wrote that for three at once to criticize the president’s overall vision and governing style was unique.</p>	<p>6, 10</p>

<p>8-29-17</p>	<p><b>Hurricane Harvey: a personal response.</b> A Washington Post analysis noted that after three days of devastation wrought by Hurricane Harvey in Texas, Mr. Trump’s Twitter and in-person statements had been disturbingly self-aggrandizing. He had communicated much about the enormous size of the storm and what he saw as the effective governmental response to it. He had worn his campaign hats during a number of public appearances. At one point he had pointed to the size of the crowd that he had drawn at a Texas firehouse, and at another point he had boasted of his election victory in Missouri. But as of the publication of The Post’s analysis, he had not mentioned the storm’s death toll, the suffering of the hundreds of thousands of survivors, or any appeal to Americans to contribute to relief efforts.</p> <p>CSD fully expected that in time Mr. Trump, following the advice of his aides, would fill those gaps (and he did). But we were reminded of his visits in January to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and CIA headquarters (see above in this document), where his instinctive braggadocio was ascendant and his empathy for the fallen negligible. The actual operational response to Harvey would fall to security staff and administrative mechanisms that were already in place; rather, it was the immediate conceptual and rhetorical response that newly fell to Mr. Trump, and that was tellingly indicative of his attitudes toward Americans and himself.</p> <p>Further, and without in any way ourselves derogating from the devastation and the suffering in Texas, CSD was reminded of what had appeared – in Mr. Trump’s “America First” outlook, in his plans to cut funding to the United Nations and the U.S. Agency for International Development, in his denial of climate science, and otherwise – to be his utter disregard for, if not contempt for, the populations of foreign countries, many of them struggling in subsistence mode in the best of times, who often experience devastating storms, flooding and consequent loss of life in magnitudes far greater than what was happening in Texas.</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>8-30-17</p>	<p><b>“Duck” fighter sales to Finland.</b> After Mr. Trump publicly boasted that Finland planned to purchase a number of fighter jets from Boeing – even while Finland was still considering multiple proposals from both American and European aircraft manufacturers – the Finnish president called the statement a “duck” (a lie). Lockheed (a Boeing competitor still in the bidding) also objected.</p>	<p>7, 10</p>



<p>8-30-17</p>	<p><b>UN human rights chief decries Trump.</b> As reported by The New York Times, the United Nations’ High Commissioner for Human Rights, reacting to Mr. Trump’s recent incendiary rally in Phoenix, said that Mr. Trump’s war on the mainstream media “could amount to incitement of violence.” For a ranking UN official to so explicitly criticize American internal politics was probably unprecedented. The official said, <i>“It’s really quite amazing when you think that freedom of the press, not only a cornerstone of the Constitution but very much something that the United States defended over the years, is now under attack from the president himself. It’s a stunning turnaround.”</i> He cited Cambodia as an example of a country that had already cited Mr. Trump’s example as its inspiration for clamping down on press freedom. He also condemned Mr. Trump’s disparaging comments regarding Muslims, minorities and transgender people as “grossly irresponsible” and likely to engender violence – citing, for example, a dramatic rise in anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. since the election. He compared Mr. Trump to a driver “careening down a mountain path.”</p>	<p>1, 6, 10</p>
<p>8-30-17</p>	<p><b>Egypt’s license to repress.</b> The Washington Post reported that Egypt had experienced a dramatic spike in extrajudicial killings and other forms of state human rights abuses since Mr. Trump’s visit to the Middle East in May, when he had said that he was unconcerned about such abuses. (See CSD’s entries of May 31 and July 20.) The Post wrote that dozens of oppositionists had been arrested during that period, and more than 100 websites had been shuttered – in a country that had not previously been known to widely censor the Internet. (A lengthy report by Human Rights Watch dated September 6, 2017 would subsequently detail the excruciating tortures to which detained oppositionists in Egypt are routinely subjected: <a href="https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/09/06/egypt-torture-epidemic-may-be-crime-against-humanity">https://www.hrw.org/news/2017/09/06/egypt-torture-epidemic-may-be-crime-against-humanity</a> .)</p>	<p>14</p>
<p>8-30-17, 8-31-17</p>	<p><b>Hurricane Harvey puffery.</b> On August 30, Mr. Trump tweeted that during his first visit to flood-ravaged Texas, he had “witness[ed] first-hand the horror and devastation.” The following day, the Washington Post reported that that was not true – that he had only received reports of the ruin from government officials. When confronted with the falsehood, his press secretary replied, effectively, that second-hand was equivalent to first-hand. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>8-30-17, 8-31-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD expected that Mr. Trump would shortly experience the devastation first-hand (and in fact he did, on September 2). But at the same time we believed that the significance of this seemingly harmless misstatement was five-fold, evidencing: Mr. Trump’s continuing pattern of untruths; his (and his staff’s) seeming inability to distinguish truth from untruth, or to respect the difference; his refusal to admit error; the new “normality” through which his falsehoods were seen; and – most importantly – his having likely convinced his tens of millions of Twitter followers that he had been more personally aware of and engaged with the devastation at that point than he actually had been. None of this was indeed harmless.</p> <p>CSD (like some other commentators) also noted that the devastation in Texas did not, at least immediately, cause Mr. Trump or his environmental advisers to acknowledge, in the slightest way, the possibility of a connection between global warming and the increasing size and frequency of calamitous storms – contrary to the near universal view of climate scientists. Bemoaning traumatic destruction without even considering its possible causes and future remedies seemed contrary to all other exercises in policy-making, by all rational peoples, in all times. That is to say, frankly, it seemed insane.</p>	<p>7, 8, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-31-17</p>	<p><b><u>Mnuchin junket to Ft. Knox.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the U.S. Treasury’s Office of Inspector General, on ethical grounds, was investigating Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin’s recent flight with his wife to Fort Knox, Kentucky, largely at government expense, to view the solar eclipse.</p> <p>Mr. Mnuchin was quite wealthy, and thus amply able to afford to fly to see the eclipse at his own cost. Indeed, the trip had previously drawn media attention not only as a taxpayer-funded junket, but for the public boasting by Mnuchin’s wife about her wealth and designer clothing in connection with the trip.</p>	<p>17 (11, 15)</p>

<p>8-31-17, 9-4-17</p>	<p><b>ACA sabotage.</b> On August 31, The New York Times reported that the Trump administration was slashing spending on government efforts to inform Americans about their opportunities to sign up for the Affordable Care Act (“Obamacare”), in an apparent effort to sabotage the program’s fiscal viability by depleting the subscriber base. Public advertising of the program, for example, was being cut 90%.</p> <p>On September 4, The Times followed with a report that Mr. Trump had been sabotaging the ACA in additional ways as well, and with the use of funds from the Department of Health and Human Services – the very agency tasked with upholding and administering the law. The sabotage included posting on YouTube video testimonials by subscribers critical of the ACA; using Twitter and news releases bearing the official logo of HHS to discredit the ACA; and deleting from the department's Web site both instructions on how to obtain coverage and positive subscriber views of the law. The Times wrote: <i>"Legal experts say that while it is common for a new administration to reinterpret an existing law, it is unusual to take steps to undermine it."</i> A legal ethics expert also was quoted: <i>"[The sabotage] is inconsistent with the constitutional duty to take care that the law is faithfully executed."</i></p> <p>(On April 12 and July 28, CSD had reported on yet additional threats by Mr. Trump to sabotage the ACA – for example, to withhold pertinent subsidies from health insurance companies. We noted that to destroy the ACA before a viable substitute program was in place would come at dire expense to Americans’ health, and could likely kill many Americans; that is, that lives stood to be sacrificed for Mr. Trump's personal political benefit.)</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>9-1-17</p>	<p><b>Inflated crime figures.</b> The Washington Post reported that Attorney General Jeff Sessions in recent weeks had repeatedly claimed that violent crime – particularly in urban areas – was skyrocketing, when in fact data demonstrated that violent crime had experienced only a slight uptick two years ago and had nevertheless remained at a 40-year low.</p>	<p>17 (6, 7, 9)</p>

<p>9-2-17, 9-4-17</p>	<p><b>Politicians appointed to science jobs.</b> On September 2, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump was planning to nominate Jim Bridenstine, a Republican Congressman and environmental science skeptic with no scientific or management experience, to head the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. On September 4, The Washington Post reported that the Environmental Protection Agency had placed John Konkus, a former Trump campaign aide with no scientific or environmental policy experience, in charge of approving hundreds of millions of dollars annually in EPA grants. Both postings appeared to be unusual by virtue of the respective individuals' professional deficiencies.</p>	<p>8</p>
<p>9-2-17, 9-6-17</p>	<p><b>Crises with both Koreas.</b> The Washington Post reported on September 2 that Mr. Trump had begun to withdraw the U.S. from its current free trade agreement with South Korea. The move came amid the continuing nuclear crisis with North Korea: on the following day, North Korea would test its largest nuclear weapon ever; and only days before, that country had fired a ballistic missile over Japan. Mr. Trump was opposed in the trade move by three top aides: national security adviser H.R. McMaster, Defense Secretary Jim Mattis, and National Economic Council director Gary Cohn. But only when opposed by business groups and Congressional leaders as well, Mr. Trump told Congress that he would not press to end the trade agreement, as reported on September 6 by The Wall Street Journal</p>	<p>10, 13</p>
<p>9-5-17, 9-6-17</p>	<p><b>Mystifying Congress.</b> On September 6, Mr. Trump suddenly supported Congressional Democrats' proposal to fund relief for Hurricane Harvey and to grant a three-month extension for increasing the government's borrowing limit so as to avoid what could have been a calamitous fiscal default – after having never before in his tenure accommodated Democrats – thus shocking, embarrassing and mystifying the leadership of his own party and his Treasury Secretary Steve Mnuchin. (The Republicans had sought a longer borrowing limit extension, in hopes of avoiding Democratic leverage over a convergence of multiple major legislative issues at year-end and prior to the 2018 Congressional elections.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 10, 11</p>

<p>9-5-17, 9-6-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The previous day, Mr. Trump had had Attorney General Jeff Sessions announce a presidential executive order ending President Obama's prior executive order creating the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. DACA had allowed undocumented individuals who had arrived in this country as children ("dreamers") to study, work and live freely here; but Sessions had announced that President Obama's original executive action was unconstitutional. Likely in response to the public outcry that his own new anti-DACA order evoked, Mr. Trump then promptly urged Congress to enact legislation allowing the dreamers to remain here; and he indicated that if Congress would not protect the dreamers, he would do so himself (presumably by way of an "unconstitutional" executive order) – thus embarrassing Sessions (as he had done on previous occasions), while mystifying everyone.</p> <p>Whether the mystery of these actions was carefully calculated or purely spontaneous and capricious was impossible to evaluate; but that mere question – which was based on Mr. Trump's governing history – was unnerving for CSD. As to the DACA episode, far more unnerved was the "dreamer" community – now frantically confused as to whether they would be deported, when, under what circumstances, and on which of Mr. Trump's whims.</p>	<p>6, 10, 11</p>
<p>9-7-17</p>	<p><b><u>Fallacious voter fraud allegations.</u></b> Writing in Breitbart for a fee, Kris Kobach – the Kansas secretary of state and the vice-chair of Mr. Trump's Commission on Election Integrity whose unspoken mission was widely viewed as being to "prove" (untruthfully) that massive voter fraud had occurred in the 2016 presidential election to the detriment of Republican candidates, and to make it more difficult for the young, the elderly and minorities to vote – alleged such "proof" relative to New Hampshire voters with out-of-state drivers' licenses. He further alleged that the Democratic contender who had won election to the Senate in New Hampshire had thus "stolen" her seat. The Washington Post (and on September 10, The New York Times) discredited the "proof": most of the cited out-of-state licenses appeared to belong to college students, who had lawfully voted in New Hampshire. Kobach meanwhile was under scrutiny for being paid for his views by Breitbart while serving in official capacities directly related to his columns.</p>	<p>17 (4, 7, 15)</p>

<p>9-7-17, 9-9-17</p>	<p><b><u>Saudi-Qatar mediation: a failed boast.</u></b> On September 7, Mr. Trump arranged a telephone mediation between Saudi Arabia and Qatar in an attempt to resolve their recently escalated and strategically perilous feud. Mr. Trump had appeared to inflame that escalation at its outset this summer over the objections of Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, as reported in CSD's entries above dated June 7 and August 9-10. Now, while still stoking enmity toward Qatar, Mr. Trump predicted of the imminent mediation, "I think you'd have a deal worked out very quickly." On September 9, The New York Times reported that the mediation had collapsed in rancor.</p>	<p>10, 11, 12, 13</p>
<p>9-8-17</p>	<p><b><u>Loss of American credibility as a democracy.</u></b> At a symposium at the University of Pennsylvania on the topic of the successes and failures of developed nations' efforts to encourage the growth of democracy in less developed nations, several panelists noted Mr. Trump's defiance of America's democratic principles at home. Most tellingly, Thomas Carothers, senior vice president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a noted authority on international democratization efforts, said that the Trump administration had clearly damaged America's international image as an exemplar of democracy; such that American democratization professionals can no longer easily purport to advise other governments on how to democratize, but must now instead invite them to discuss collaboratively how we can all improve democracy in our respective countries.</p>	<p>1 through 17</p>
<p>9-9-17</p>	<p><b><u>Company profits match politics.</u></b> The New York Times reported that (with certain exceptions) Mr. Trump's golf, hotel and other consumer-facing properties that were located in voting areas where Mr. Trump was politically popular had shown better financial returns than those located in areas where he was unpopular. Although he could be viewed as a passive beneficiary or victim (as the case may be) of that phenomenon, CSD sees in it a direct and intentional linkage of his political and commercial aspirations: the more votes, the more money; and the more marketing, the more votes. Indeed, The Times report went on to observe that in June, The Trump Organization had <i>"introduced a line of budget-conscious hotels – the first are planned for Mississippi, which Mr. Trump won by an overwhelming margin – with a name, American Idea, that echoed the president's campaign themes."</i></p>	<p>15</p>

<p>9-9-17. 9-11-17</p>	<p><b>Science denial round-up.</b> On September 9, The New York Times editorial board recapped the many ways in which Mr. Trump had mounted a "war on science" since his election – to the benefit of commercial interests and to the detriment of the health and safety of Americans and the world's population. The wide array of examples included appointing multiple anti-science cabinet members and their subordinates; and cutting, ignoring and politicizing medical and environmental research – including coastal research programs that prepare communities for rising seas and worsening storms. CSD – which condemns in the Trump administration its science denial <i>per se</i> more than particular health, safety and environmental decisions if those decisions at least acknowledge and embrace empirical data – had already logged many of the episodes cited by The Times, in previous entries to this document, when those episodes had first arisen (see, e.g., the September 2-4 entry above in this Addendum). But we now encourage readers to examine The Times' complete recap, at this endnote.*</p> <p>Two days later, The Times' columnist, the economist and Nobel laureate Paul Krugman, ominously wrote on a similar theme: <i>"The bottom line is that we are now ruled by people who are completely alienated not just from the scientific community, but from the scientific idea — the notion that objective assessment of evidence is the way to understand the world. And this willful ignorance is deeply frightening. Indeed, it may end up destroying civilization."</i></p>	<p>8</p>

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\* <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/09/opinion/sunday/trump-epa-pruitt-science.html?action=click&contentCollection=Opinion&module=RelatedCoverage&region=EndOfArticle&pgtype=article>



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 9 – October 10, 2017*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>9-12-17, 9-14-17</p>	<p><b><u>Malaysian dictator visits White House, Trump Hotel.</u></b>                  On September 12, Mr. Trump hosted Malaysian Prime Minister Najib Razak at the White House. The Washington Post's editorial board wrote: <i>"Not only is Mr. Najib known for imprisoning peaceful opponents, silencing critical media and reversing Malaysia's progress toward democracy. He also is a subject of the largest foreign kleptocracy investigation ever launched by the U.S. Justice Department. U.S. investigators have charged that Mr. Najib and close associates diverted \$4.5 billion from a Malaysian government investment fund for their own uses, including \$730 million that ended up in accounts controlled by the prime minister.... [T]he U.S. investigation prompted speculation in Malaysia that he could be arrested if he set foot on American soil ... . [But with] his White House invitation, Mr. Trump has neatly gotten Mr. Najib off that hook and provided him with what the regime will portray as a tacit pre-election endorsement."</i> The Post saw no likely strategic advantage for America in Mr. Trump's act of hospitality that would mitigate the optics of a disdain for democratic rule. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 12, 15</p>
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<p>9-12-17, 9-14-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In a separate news article on the same day, The Post reported that Najib and dozens of members of his retinue had patronized the Trump International Hotel during their visit, earning Mr. Trump possibly several hundred thousand dollars in revenue.</p> <p>On September 12, The Wall Street Journal reported that the \$10-\$20 billion sale of Boeing aircraft to Malaysia that Mr. Trump had touted at the time of the meeting actually had a value of \$3 billion.</p>	<p>7, 12, 15</p>
<p>9-13-17, 9-14-17. 9-15-17</p>	<p><b><u>Flynn promoted private Middle East nuclear project while head of NSC.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that Michael Flynn had been promoting a private sector nuclear energy development project in the Middle East that had once involved Russian companies and Flynn's own for-profit services and that was worth hundreds of billions of dollars – during his tenure with the Trump election campaign, his tenure on the Trump transition team, and his brief tenure as national security adviser. He did not disclose his continuing activities on his federal security clearance forms, and he did not stop those activities even after National Security Council ethics advisers told him to.</p> <p>The revelation followed previous, widely published reports that Flynn had failed to disclose payments he had received from various Kremlin-linked Russian enterprises and the Turkish government, and had failed to disclose his discussions with Russian officials during the campaign about lifting U.S. sanctions against Russia. None of that behavior had appeared to have troubled Mr. Trump, who only reluctantly fired Flynn (and who later said he regretted having fired him) after Flynn had been found to have lied to Vice President Mike Pence about his campaign contacts with the Russians. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (7, 12, 15)</p>

<p>9-13-17, 9-14-17. 9-15-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] On September 14, CNN reported that in December 2016 the Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi had secretly met in New York with Flynn and transition team advisers Steven Bannon and Mr. Trump's son-in-law Jared Kushner. On September 15, Buzzfeed reported that in early January 2017 the King of Jordan had secretly met in New York with the same three advisers. Secret meetings with foreign powers by transition team members are abnormal. Both countries had an interest in Flynn's nuclear project. Buzzfeed wrote that although the three advisers denied it, they discussed the nuclear project with at least the King of Jordan. NBC News repeated the story.</p>	<p>17 (7, 12, 15)</p>
<p>9-13-17</p>	<p><b><u>Mnuchin sought Air Force jet for honeymoon.</u></b> ABC News reported that Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin had formally requested free use of an Air Force jet to fly him and his wife to Europe for their honeymoon in June, purportedly so as to ensure secure telecommunications in-flight. Use of the jet would have cost taxpayers \$25,000 per hour; it would have defied the reservation of such aircraft for use by ranking national security personnel; the request was reportedly eye-popping within the government; it was rejected; and a secure communications facility was readily furnished to Mnuchin for use on a non-government airplane.</p> <p>The honeymoon revelation followed an earlier report that Mnuchin had flown his wife to Fort Knox on a government airplane to witness the solar eclipse, as posted by CSD on August 31. Both episodes were being investigated by the Treasury Department's Office of the Inspector General.</p> <p>Before all of that, Mnuchin had drawn scrutiny for failing to disclose \$95 million of assets in connection with his initial ethics clearance as Treasury Secretary; then again, while serving as Secretary, for publicly promoting a Hollywood film in which he had a financial interest.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's response to the honeymoon matter on the following day was to praise Mnuchin as a "straight-shooter" and an "honorable man."</p> <p>(Mnuchin, whose net worth is in the hundreds of millions of dollars, meanwhile was spearheading efforts to rein in government waste, and to reduce income taxes on the wealthy.)</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>

9-14-17	<p><b><u>Charlottesville equivalence, again.</u></b> Mr. Trump repeated his provocative statement that <u>both the white supremacists marching in Charlottesville and the protesters opposing them had been at fault</u>, and that the anti-racist protesters had included "some very bad people." Notwithstanding the firestorm of bipartisan criticism that his original remarks equating the two sides had elicited, and notwithstanding the unanimous Congressional resolution condemning (only) the white supremacists that he signed on the day of the above statement, <u>he appeared neither to repent, nor to relent.</u></p>	6, 11
9-14-17	<p><b><u>Mexican opinion turns against U.S.</u></b> The New York Times reported that a Pew Research Center survey had revealed that 65% of the Mexican population had come to disapprove of the U.S. generally since the beginning of the Trump administration, double the disapproval rating of two years ago, and reaching the lowest point since Pew began the survey 15 years ago. In recent decades Mexico had been an American friend and ally, as well as a substantial trading partner. CSD believes that while negative grassroots sentiment in a foreign country does not establish national policy toward the U.S., it cannot be a good thing for us, especially so close to home.</p>	6, 13
9-14-17	<p><b><u>CBO confirms ACA sabotage.</u></b> The non-partisan Congressional Budget Office confirmed that Mr. Trump was succeeding in sabotaging the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") by withholding subsidies to insurance companies and by cutting advertising efforts to reach potential subscribers – all as he had threatened to do, and as CSD had reported multiple times in the past (see, e.g., our entry above of August 31 and September 4). The CBO expertly projected that because of Mr. Trump's concerted actions, three million fewer people will have health insurance. CSD inexpertly projects that <u>thousands of people may die as a result.</u></p>	11
9-14-17, 9-15-17, 9-16-17	<p><b><u>Disdain for diplomacy and the UN.</u></b> In sequential articles in advance of the United Nations' annual General Assembly meeting, The New York Times reported on Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's seeming disdain for diplomacy, and the world's troubled view of American leadership. CSD considers the matters sufficiently serious that we have drawn and quoted from the three articles at length. [Continued below.]</p>	10, 13, 14

<p>9-14-17, 9-15-17, 9-16-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] From The New York Times:</p> <p><i>September 14.</i> Tillerson said that the most important thing he could do during his tenure was to make the State Department more efficient, focusing on operational reorganization and staffing cuts rather than on any particular global policy or diplomatic issues. <i>"It's really unfortunate that that is the secretary's highest priority," said John Negroponte, a career diplomat who was President George W. Bush's ambassador to the United Nations. ... 'I think he has it all wrong.' ... John Kerry, Mr. Tillerson's predecessor, exhorted [America's diplomats] to save the planet from climate change. Condoleezza Rice charged them with fulfilling the human yearning for freedom and democracy. Mr. Tillerson wants to fix their email system. ... To be sure, the flights of rhetoric of Mr. Tillerson's predecessors sometimes fell with a thud. And the State Department's email system is truly horrible .... But employees yearn to be part of something bigger than a bureaucratic Gordian knot, and Mr. Tillerson rarely even tries to speak of a larger purpose."</i></p> <p><i>September 15.</i> Tillerson had chopped the U.S. delegation to the General Assembly meeting in half. <i>"The Africa bureau, for instance, was initially told to slash its delegation of 30 top diplomats to 10 and then to reduce that number to just three .... A host of bureaus had their delegations eliminated entirely, including those for democracy and human rights, human trafficking, oceans and the environment, cyberissues, military issues and foreign assistance .... For the department's diplomats – already deeply skeptical of Mr. Tillerson's lack of foreign policy experience, his inability to make timely decisions, put a leadership team in place or express a global strategy – the cuts are further evidence of his lack of understanding of what the department does. ... 'These cuts are needlessly stupid,' said Eliot A. Cohen, a top department official during the administration of President George W. Bush. 'So much of what diplomacy is about is building and maintaining relationships.' ... Even Mr. Tillerson's claim to bring more efficiency to the department has been questioned by many. Decision-making at the department has slowed to a crawl because he failed to hire a full complement of leaders and had revoked or re-examined the decision-making authorities of those he has hired."</i> He meanwhile had absented the U.S. from many international meetings, or had otherwise chilled them. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>10, 13, 14</p>
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<p>9-14-17, 9-15-17, 9-16-17</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p><u>September 16.</u> World diplomats had been kept in the dark as to the positions that the U.S. would be advancing at the General Assembly meeting. For example, by way of preview, the U.S. had said nothing about the world's various social crises and needs. <i>"In some places, there has been an instinct to dismiss Mr. Trump as a bombastic, Twitter-obsessed political and diplomatic neophyte"</i>; but the president of the United States cannot easily be dismissed. And while world leaders' worst fears about Mr. Trump's erratic behavior had not yet materialized, a British diplomat said, <i>"...America's friends still see dysfunctionality at the heart of the Trump administration, as key advisers come and go through the revolving door. ... They remain disheartened by Trump's announcements on climate change and trade policy. [And] they fear that the fighting talk of this impulsive president could make things worse rather than better on the Korean Peninsula."</i></p>	<p>10, 13, 14</p>
<p>9-15-17</p>	<p><b><u>London subway attack tweet.</u></b> Shortly after a suspected terrorist attack in a London subway injured 29 people, Mr. Trump tweeted furiously that the perpetrators were terrorists and that Scotland Yard was at fault for having failed to prevent the episode. (He did not tweet sympathy for the victims.) It was the most recent of many episodes since campaigning for and becoming president that Mr. Trump had either publicly blamed terrorists for overseas attacks before local police had concluded that terrorism was at play, or had delayed or avoided criticism of anti-Muslim terrorism – all as detailed by The Washington Post in the link at this endnote.*</p> <p>It was also the most recent of multiple episodes in which Mr. Trump had offended British officials by publicly inveighing against British developments that fell outside his prerogatives and expertise – as detailed by The New York Times in the link at this endnote.** British Prime Minister Theresa May expressed her displeasure. CSD does not recall an American president in recent history having so frequently and gratuitously insulted a close ally.</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>9-15-17</p>	<p><b><u>Mar-a-Lago bills taxpayers, withholds visitor list.</u></b> The Washington Post reported its discovery that, on at least one occasion since Mr. Trump was inaugurated, an American government official had stayed at his Florida resort Mar-a-Lago and had paid the full luxury room rate, at taxpayer expense. The amount of the payment was not material; but the discovery suggested to The Post the possibility that Mar-A-Lago and Mr. Trump were directly profiting from government spending there in more substantial ways that have been kept opaque from the public. (Mar-a-Lago, like other resorts, does not voluntarily reveal its overall visitor lists.)</p> <p>Separately, The New York Times reported that the Justice Department had declined to comply with a federal court order requiring that it release the names specifically of Mr. Trump's <i>presidential visitors</i> at Mar-a-Lago. The court order had been based on a private watch-dog organization's lawsuit alleging potential conflicts of interest on the part of Mr. Trump. That Mr. Trump's Justice Department was both shielding him from a personal conflict of interest investigation and defying a court order on his behalf was, for CSD, remarkable.</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>9-17-17</p>	<p><b><u>Re-tweet of violent anti-Hillary joke.</u></b> Mr. Trump re-tweeted a doctored video depicting him slamming Hillary Clinton with a golf ball that he had hit. The Huffington Post characterized the original tweeter, named @Fuctupmind, as an established homophobe, anti-Semite and conspiracy theorist. (During the election campaign, Trump supporters had sometimes worn shirts depicting violence against Clinton. Since becoming president, as reported above in this document, Mr. Trump himself had re-tweeted images of himself physically pummeling an imaginary CNN figure and a train running over an imaginary CNN reporter.)</p>	<p>5, 6, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>9-17-17</p>	<p><b><u>Politicization of Trump properties.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that, based on an extensive survey of golf clubs and hotels owned by Mr. Trump that it had conducted, many events were being canceled by groups opposed to Mr. Trump's behavior as president, while many new events were being scheduled by Republican Party organizations and business trade associations. That is, customer appeal for (and the profits of) Mr. Trump's business operations had become inextricably tied to his presidency.</p>	<p>15</p>

<p>9-18-17</p>	<p><b><u>Doctored refugee data.</u></b> The New York Times reported that a government analysis showing that refugees helped the U.S. economy more than they cost it was quashed through pressure from Mr. Trump's anti-immigration senior White House aide, Stephen Miller. The Times also reported that the figures that the administration sought to release instead showed only refugees' social program costs but not their offsetting income tax payments.</p>	<p>17 (8)</p>
<p>9-18-17</p>	<p><b><u>Plans for military parade.</u></b> While meeting with French President Emmanuel Macron, Mr. Trump reiterated and expanded upon his hopes (now seemingly plans) to mount a military parade in Washington that would feature heavy ordnance – a dream he had spoken about and tested repeatedly since before his inauguration.</p> <p>Such a parade, though uncommon in the U.S., would not be without precedent. But CSD believes that, both domestically and internationally, it would project an intimidating, martial image of our country at a moment that did not merit it. The Washington Post cited one of Mr. Trump's inspirations as his attendance at the Bastille Day parade in Paris in July: <i>"The lengthy parade seemed to thrill the president, who has long held a fascination with military force."</i> Mr. Trump is not a veteran, and has no experience in or dealing with armed conflict.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>9-18-17, 9-19-17</p>	<p><b><u>At the UN: "me," "sovereignty," and the annihilation of "Rocket Man."</u></b> On September 18, at the very outset of his initial, brief address to the United Nations General Assembly on the occasion of its annual meeting in New York, Mr. Trump boasted about and promoted the commercial success of his Trump World Tower residential skyscraper, which is proximate to the United Nations complex. That is to say, he took the opportunity of speaking at the world body on behalf of the people of the United States to both flatter himself and to encourage countries and individuals to patronize that and other Trump properties.</p> <p>On September 19, Mr. Trump began his major address to the General Assembly by boasting gratuitously of America's economic and military strength, seeming to take personal credit for those decades-long developments. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>11, 13, 14, 15</p>

<p>9-18-17, 9-19-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] He continued his address by laying out his philosophical vision for the world order: that every nation should dedicate itself to protecting its own "sovereignty" (21 mentions) and interests, while only incidentally (and perhaps transactionally) cooperating with one another – such that all nations would somehow, inexplicably benefit. Pleading "sovereignty" had long been the defensive UN rhetoric of human rights abusing countries such as Russia, China, Iran and North Korea. The New York Times called Mr. Trump's idealization of such a level of sovereignty a radical departure from all post-World War II U.S. precedent.</p> <p>But oddly, Mr. Trump also lauded at length, albeit secondarily, America's historically selfless humanitarian and collaborative endeavors. So in all, it was not clear to CSD how he reconciled those two opposing propositions; how the principal premise of each-nation-for-itself would not inherently tend toward anarchy and calamity (as it had done in the 20th century, before the UN's creation); how the unbridled self-interest of America's antagonists in North Korea and Iran could be justified by that philosophy; obversely, how Mr. Trump could rail at those countries without railing at their sovereignty; how Russia's tampering with the last American election did not grievously compromise our own sovereignty; how Mr. Trump's incessant hectoring of other countries (including in this speech) to do more to support American goals squared with his call for every nation to go it alone; or how, moving forward, an international posture based principally on direct self-interest would not likely cause weaker states, poorer populations, and thus world stability to degrade.</p> <p>Mr. Trump continued, with unintended irony, by cautioning against authoritarianism, praising post-World War II systems and alliances, and promoting the eradication of "poverty ..., violence, hatred, and fear." He then extolled America's Constitution – and America's commitment to "democracy," "human dignity" and "the rule of law" – as providing a "way of life" that would "shine as an example for everyone to watch." "We the people," he proclaimed – as CSD itself proclaims in our logo. But in all of this, it was not clear to CSD how Mr. Trump was able to reconcile his stated aspirations with his personal, concerted, daily assault over a period of years on the very ideals he was purporting to honor. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>9-18-17, 9-19-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Consistent with his ongoing, dark theme that others treat him unfairly and that other countries treat America unfairly, Mr. Trump added: "[We] can no longer be taken advantage of or enter into a one-sided deal where the United States gets nothing in return."</p> <p>He also said that the U.S. would abide and partner with countries having different "values" and "systems of government" than ours – that is, non-democracies. But he selectively excoriated the regimes of North Korea, Iran, Syria, Cuba and Venezuela for oppressing their own people, pledging America's humanitarian duty to correct that ... while giving a pass to countless other non-democracies.</p> <p>Presumably for domestic consumption, Mr. Trump cited the need to "respect borders"; he advanced the factually questionable claim that refugees and other migrants steal American jobs; he said that refugees could be cared for less expensively near their countries of origin than in the U.S. (after having sought to substantially cut U.S. support of overseas relief efforts); and he implied that refugees should stay home and commit to reforming their governments rather than fleeing repression, torture and death – or even be <i>forced</i> to stay home to face repression, torture and death. He invoked his phrase "America first," and he said that international rules and bureaucracies had destroyed American jobs.</p> <p>He also mentioned God five times.</p> <p>But most disturbingly, he threatened to "totally destroy" North Korea and the "depraved regime" of its leader, Kim Jong-un – whom he referred to disparagingly as "Rocket Man," as he had done some days earlier. Several major news outlets interpreted the threat to pertain even if North Korea would not first attack the U.S. but instead merely continued its nuclear program and its hostility toward the U.S. He also threatened to withdraw from the UN-sponsored nuclear agreement with Iran, calling it (and implicitly calling the Obama administration that had mid-wifed it) "an embarrassment to the United States." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>9-18-17, 9-19-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Wall Street Journal reported that many in attendance at the General Assembly were alarmed by the statements on North Korea and Iran. The Associated Press wrote that there were "audible gasps." The Washington Post reported that the governments of Japan and South Korea appeared to have been "blindsided." The New York Times reported: <i>"The bombastic flourishes that generate approving roars at [Mr. Trump's] political events were met by stony silence."</i> Its editorial board wrote: <i>"In all this fury, before a world body whose main purpose is the peaceful resolution of disputes, there was hardly a hint of compromise or interest in negotiations."</i> For its part, CSD notes with concern, at a minimum, Mr. Trump's marked departure from typical Western diplomacy at such a forum in favor of belligerence and personal insult, as well as his even arguable threat to preemptively obliterate a country of 25,000,000 people. (Some 80,000 had died at Hiroshima, and some 75,000 at Nagasaki.)</p> <p>That evening, shortly after having threatened a nuclear holocaust, and perhaps to unwind, Mr. Trump tweeted a disparaging comment about the poor television ratings of the annual Emmy Award program, as then hosted by his critic Steven Colbert.</p> <p>At bottom, CSD questions whether, as a practical matter, any foreign powers were in fact either impressed or intimidated by Mr. Trump's bluster at the General Assembly session, or whether instead he had merely humiliated himself and his country.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15</p>
<p>9-19-17, 9-20-17</p>	<p><b><u>At the UN: Africa.</u></b> During his major speech at the United Nations General Assembly on September 19 in which he called many times for countries to "respect" one another, Mr. Trump's sole, brief mention of Africa lauded intergovernmental efforts to stabilize conflict and American efforts at humanitarian assistance. The following day, possibly in an attempt to overcome that negative view of the continent, at a lunch meeting with African leaders he said, to the surprise of many, "Africa has tremendous business potential, I have so many friends going to your countries trying to get rich. I congratulate you, they're spending a lot of money." He also mispronounced the name of an African country, Namibia. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 10, 11, 16</p>

<p>9-19-17, 9-20-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] Whether the business interests of Mr. Trump or his friends were driving or might drive his policies toward Africa was unclear. But he had never himself visited Africa. He currently had no golf clubs or other investments there. He had rarely mentioned sub-Saharan Africa during the previous eight months of his presidency. His Secretary of State Rex Tillerson had appeared to ignore that vast region. And he had not appointed an assistant secretary of state for Africa or filled four of the other top seven positions within the State Department's Africa Bureau. The "respect" which he had professed the previous day was notably invisible relative to that continent.</p> <p>Several of CSD's members have themselves spent time in sub-Saharan African and continue to be involved with issues involving African development and democracy. They have found the vacuum of top staffing at the State Department, and Mr. Trump's overall disinterest in the region, to be an impediment. And his remarks at the lunch reminded them of his having once pointed out during a campaign rally a lone figure in the crowd, "There's my African American!"</p>	<p>6, 10, 11, 16</p>
<p>9-19-17, 9-20-17</p>	<p><b>Erdogan friendship.</b> On September 19, Turkish President Recep Erdogan told PBS News Hour that Mr. Trump had recently apologized to him for the altercation in Washington in May between people protesting his regime and his security guards. Erdogan, who had grown increasingly authoritarian in recent years, and who had imprisoned and purged tens of thousands of Turks on political grounds, had watched with satisfaction as his guards beat the Washington protesters. The beating of peaceful protesters on American soil by agents of an authoritarian government had prompted the outrage of the State Department and a condemnatory resolution by the House of Representatives, but nothing from Mr. Trump.</p> <p>The White House promptly denied that Mr. Trump had apologized to Erdogan. But the following day, at a joint appearance in New York, Mr. Trump said: "It's a great honor and privilege – because he's become a friend of mine – to introduce [Erdogan]. He's running a very difficult part of the world. ...[F]rankly, he's getting very high marks." Erdogan responded by calling Mr. Trump "my dear friend, Donald." Meanwhile a dozen Americans sat in Turkish jails as political prisoners.</p>	<p>12, 17 (5)</p>

9-20-17	<p><b><u>Cabinet spending.</u></b> Multiple news outlets reported that Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price, a long-time fiscal conservative who had been calling for deep cuts in the budget of the National Institutes of Health as well as the repeal of the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") on fiscal grounds, had broken cabinet-level norms by repeatedly traveling on private jets at taxpayer expense. News outlets also reported that Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt, another fiscal conservative, had broken norms by tripling his personal security detail. (Revelations of abusive expenses on the part of senior Trump officials would mushroom in the coming weeks, and a seeming pattern would emerge; see below.)</p>	17 (11)
9-20-17 +	<p><b><u>Puerto Rico hurricane response.</u></b> On September 20, Hurricane Maria devastated Puerto Rico. The entire electrical grid was disabled; most ports, roads and cell towers were destroyed; most homes were damaged or ruined; forests and farms were decimated; residents lost access to food, clean water and hospitals. Those conditions promised staggering economic losses and jeopardized the health of millions. But unlike his speedy assistance and positive messaging with regard to the recent devastation wrought by Hurricane Harvey in Texas and Hurricane Irma in Florida, Mr. Trump was slow to react, and his initial tweets simply faulted Puerto Rico (and implicitly its people) for the territory's poor infrastructure and high debt load. In addition, unlike in the case of Texas and Florida, he refused to immediately waive the federal Jones Act, which allowed only American ships to carry cargo between U.S. ports – stating that he wanted to protect the interests of American shipping companies (rather than saving Puerto Rican lives).</p> <p>Puerto Ricans are U.S. citizens; there are more citizens there than in some 21 states on the mainland. But they do not have the right to vote in presidential elections, and that may have been a factor in Mr. Trump's response. Given his statements and actions relative to non-whites historically, many mainstream commentators speculated that race may also have been a factor in his disdain for the island's dire needs.</p> <p>Under pressure, Mr. Trump would come around and attend to the island. But his initial, instinctive response was telling.</p>	6, 11, 16

<p>9-21-17, 9-22-17</p>	<p><b><u>Dueling madmen?</u></b> On September 21, two days after Mr. Trump's address to the United Nations General Assembly in which he had referred to North Korean leader Kim Jong-un as "Rocket Man ... on a suicide mission" and threatened to obliterate his country, <u>Kim wrote of Mr. Trump: "I will surely and definitely tame the mentally deranged U.S. dotard with fire."</u> Kim then threatened to test a hydrogen bomb over the Pacific Ocean. The following morning, <u>Mr. Trump responded by Twitter: "Kim Jong Un of North Korea, who is obviously a madman who doesn't mind starving or killing his people, will be tested like never before!"</u> Apparently satisfied with the drift of the dialogue, at a campaign rally that evening in Alabama for a senatorial candidate whom he had been fondly referring to as "Big Luther" Strange, Mr. Trump railed at length against the North Korean "madman," capping his invective and his attraction to personal physical dominance by referring to Kim now as "<u>Little Rocket Man.</u>" – an insult ordinarily more likely to inflame than to subdue.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13</p>
<p>9-22-17 +</p>	<p><b><u>Attacks on protesting athletes.</u></b> At the same Alabama rally, Mr. Trump attacked the (mostly black) National Football League players who had been protesting perceived racial injustice and police brutality by kneeling or sitting during the national anthem. He shouted to the seething crowd: "Wouldn't you love to see one of these NFL owners, when somebody disrespects our flag, to say, 'Get that son of a bitch off the field right now? Out! He's fired. He's fired!'"</p> <p>Mr. Trump would continue the attacks for days via Twitter and would urge fans to boycott the league, drawing widespread, dramatic and multi-racial protests and expressions of solidarity in the media and on the field by owners, coaches and players.</p> <p>On September 25, Mr. Trump praised NASCAR owners for vowing to fire any of their own drivers or other employees who joined in the NFL-initiated protests. He seemed at the moment to be improperly lending presidential support to one sports enterprise over another. And his sport of choice was one populated by owners, drivers and fans of a demographic more purely consistent with much of his political base, thus making his choice seem all the more politically driven and ethically suspect. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>3, 6, 9, 11, 16</p>

<p>9-22-17 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD does not take a position on the substance or the propriety of the NFL players' protests. That would appear to involve a complex political, ethical, legal and business matter as among the NFL, its players and its fans. But Mr. Trump's passionate, impetuous, preening, trivial, partisan, simplistic, gratuitous and vulgar insertion of himself into that matter suggested to us not only his deficits as a leader but his eagerness to play to racial animosities at large gatherings (he had done that often before) and his own racial animus (he had not so viscerally objected to the white supremacist protesters in Charlottesville).</p> <p>CSD is also disturbed that Mr. Trump had urged a consumer boycott of a private business enterprise, the NFL, over a dispute about a political matter (or even a merely symbolic matter). Such public partisanship relative to specific enterprises on matters not directly affecting major American economic or policy issues was unusual for a sitting president – except for Mr. Trump, who had earlier criticized Nordstrom's for dropping his daughter Ivanka's fashion line, and had praised and disparaged various industrial companies relative to domestic hiring versus overseas outsourcing. And Mr. Trump did appear to have some leverage in the NFL matter: on September 25, The Wall Street Journal wrote that "a prolonged dispute over whether players are respecting the flag is almost sure to drive away some viewers."</p> <p>Whether Mr. Trump's attacks violated the First Amendment rights of owners, coaches and players was unclear to commentators, because the government did not directly punish the protesters for expressing their views. But CSD believes that if any players were to be fired or otherwise penalized due to the inherent power of a presidential objection, a violation would have occurred; and that, given that potential, one should not have to wait for such unfortunate outcomes to consider Mr. Trump's outbursts to have been constitutionally objectionable. In that regard, we see the offense as being substantively similar to, but in some ways potentially more injurious than, his November 29, 2016 call – properly ignored by law enforcement officials – for flag-burners to be prosecuted in contravention of established constitutional law. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>3, 6, 9, 11, 16</p>
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<p>9-22-17 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD would add that Mr. Trump's divisive NFL outbursts occurred in the middle of the North Korean nuclear crisis, a potential healthcare melt-down, the ruination wrought by three deadly hurricanes, Russian assaults on our electoral process, and the fall-out from Mr. Trump's other recent racially divisive statements and actions – among countless other challenges confronting America's security and well-being that cried out for concerted attention, sober leadership and a unifying call to the American people.</p> <p>On September 27, The New York Times' conservative columnist Ross Douthat wrote, without taking sides on the substantive NFL issues, that Mr. Trump had caused those issues to be eclipsed by issues of patriotism, free speech and (especially) American culture. He wrote:</p> <p><i>"A good culture war is one that, beneath all the posturing and demagoguery and noise, has clear policy implications, a core legal or moral question, a place where one side can win a necessary victory or where a new consensus can be hashed out. A bad culture war is one in which attitudinizing, tribalism and worst-case fearmongering float around unmoored from any specific legal question, in which mutual misunderstanding reigns and a thousand grievances are stirred up without a single issue being clarified or potentially resolved.</i></p> <p><i>"Unfortunately for us all Donald Trump is a master, a virtuoso, of the second kind of culture war — and a master, too, of taking social and cultural debates that could be important and necessary and making them stupider and emptier and all about himself.</i></p> <p><i>"He is not the only figure pushing American arguments in that direction — cable news, reality TV, campus protesters and late-night political “comedy” all have a similar effect these days. But he is the president, which lends him a unique deranging influence, and he is unique as well in that unlike most culture warriors — who are usually initially idealists, however corrupted they may ultimately become — he has never cared about anything higher or nobler than himself, and so he’s never happier than when the entire country seems to be having a culture war about, well, Donald Trump."</i></p>	<p>3, 6, 9, 11, 16</p>
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9-22-17	<p><b><u>Encouraging football brain injuries.</u></b> Yet again at the Alabama rally, Mr. Trump inveighed against the National Football League's efforts to protect its players from the epidemic of brain injuries that had come to light in recent years, including by its penalizing of hard hits. He roared, "Today if you hit too hard – 15 yards! Throw him out of the game! They're ruining the game! They're ruining the game. that's what they want to do. They want to hit. They want to hit! It is hurting the game." CSD saw no obvious political point other than projecting the image of a violence-prone strongman, at the expense of the players' health and safety.</p>	9, 11
9-22-17	<p><b><u>State voting systems hacked.</u></b> The Department of Homeland Security, after careful study, officially informed election officials in 21 states that hackers had targeted their systems prior to the November 2016 election. Previous accounts had indicated that at least some of the hacking attempts were perpetrated by Russian agents. Mr. Trump continued to show no interest in the matter – only in chasing abstract and manufactured allegations of widespread ballot-box fraud on the part of Democrats and immigrants.</p> <p>One of the victimized states newly identified by DHS was Pennsylvania, CSD's home. For us, the assault on the electoral system seemed neither abstract nor manufactured.</p>	4, 12
9-22-17	<p><b><u>Yet more ACA sabotage.</u></b> The Department of Health and Human Services announced that it would <u>shut down the online federal insurance exchange for the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") on nearly every Sunday morning</u> during the upcoming open enrollment period. Nominally, the reason was "maintenance." But the maintenance downtime would be far greater than under the previous administration. More likely, in the view of many commentators, the move was intended to depress enrollments in yet another way – that is, in addition to HHS having halved the enrollment period and slashed funding for enrollment advertising and "navigator" assistance groups (see, e.g., CSD's entry in this document of August 31 and September 4). And likely the end goal was to cripple the ACA for political reasons, and before a replacement program had been enacted – all <u>at great peril to Americans' health, and their very lives.</u></p>	11



<p>9-22-17</p>	<p><b><u>Russia "hoax," again.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the recent revelation that Facebook had posted more than 3,000 Russia-paid advertisements promoting his election campaign was a "hoax." His appeared to be the lone voice in the federal government expressing that view.</p> <p>Contemporaneously, as though to distract from the Russia investigations, Mr. Trump tweeted extraneous insults about "Crooked Hillary Clinton" and the "Fake News Media."</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>9-22-17</p>	<p><b><u>Another Mnuchin travel episode.</u></b> ABC News reported that Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin had come under investigation within the Treasury Department for spending \$25,000 of taxpayers' money to fly in a private jet from New York to Washington on August 15. The episode added to his actual and attempted travel adventures with his wife, to Fort Knox and Europe respectively, which were romantically commendable but ethically questionable, as recorded by CSD above in this document on September 13.</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>9-23-17</p>	<p><b><u>New North Korea bombast.</u></b> Mr. Trump said that North Korea "won't be around much longer" if it continues its provocative behavior. <u>The North Korean foreign minister responded that Mr. Trump had declared war on his country, and that it would shoot down American bombers in international waters.</u></p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>9-24-17</p>	<p><b>The "deacon of divisiveness."</b> A New York Times news analysis placed Mr. Trump's then ongoing tirades against the National Football League and its players who had protested racial inequality within the larger context of his persistent belligerence and divisiveness. The Times wrote:</p> <p><i>"Over the course of just 17 hours this weekend, President Trump assailed [Republican Senator] John McCain, [Democratic Senator] Chuck Schumer, [basketball star] Stephen Curry, the National Football League, [NFL commissioner] Roger Goodell, Iran and [North Korean leader] Kim Jong-un — the 'Little Rocket Man.' And that was on his day off. ... Never in modern times has there been an occupant of the Oval Office who seemed to reject so thoroughly the nostrum that a president's duty is to bring the country together. Relentlessly pugnacious, energized by a fight, unwilling to let any slight go unanswered, Mr. Trump has made himself America's apostle of anger, its deacon of divisiveness. ...</i></p> <p><i>"In his brief career as president and a candidate for president, Mr. Trump has attacked virtually every major institution in American life: Congress, the courts, Democrats, Republicans, the news media, the Justice Department, Hollywood, the military, NATO, the intelligence agencies, the cast of "Hamilton," the cast of "Saturday Night Live," the pope and now professional sports. He has attacked the Trump administration itself, or at least selected parts of it (see Sessions, Jeff), and even the United States of America ('you think our country's so innocent?'). ... Which, of course, is one reason so many wonder why he makes certain exceptions to his lash-out-at-everyone rule, particularly President Vladimir V. Putin in Russia and white supremacists in Charlottesville, Va." The Times acknowledged that other recent presidents too had generated or presided over significant political and cultural divisions. "But neither Mr. Bush nor Mr. Obama overtly aspired to division, and each found the polarization of his time dispiriting. ... Mr. Trump seems wholly uninterested in trying ...."</i></p>	<p>3, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>9-26-17</p>	<p><b><u>Ivanka's business in China.</u></b> The Associated Press reported that the Chinese procurement operations of the fashion business of Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka had become materially less transparent since she had been installed as his adviser in the White House the previous winter. Despite Mr. Trump's exhortations against Chinese and other foreign imports, the heavy reliance on Chinese suppliers on the part of the licensees of Ms. Trump's brand name had already been well known. But the AP revealed that since her Washington debut, her brand business and its licensees had masked the identities of the brand's suppliers, thus secreting potential conflicts of interest relative to Chinese government and business actors – including with respect to her role, and the role of her husband Jared Kushner, as important White House conduits to ranking Chinese officials. The AP noted the possible harm: in exchange for administration favors to the Chinese government on such matters as trade policy or geopolitical security, her licensees could purchase goods from Chinese government-owned or -subsidized businesses at a discount, and to her profit, without the American public knowing. The secrecy could also mask procurement from sweatshops and other human rights violators.</p>	<p>16, 17(15)</p>
<p>9-26-17</p>	<p><b><u>Zinke and Pruitt versus staff.</u></b> In two separate news articles, The Washington Post reported, respectively, that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, during a speech to the oil industry, had threatened to eliminate up to 30% of his department's staff for being "not loyal to the flag" (i.e., not loyal to Mr. Trump's pro-business philosophies on federal land use); and that Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt was building, for \$25,000, a secure, sound-proof chamber in his office to shield his communications. Pruitt had already raised transparency and management concerns by requiring employees to abide by strenuous secrecy protocols. It was now unclear whether the two cabinet members' activities reflected paranoia, or legitimate fears of unlawful mutinies, or (in Zinke's case) illegal restrictions on staff's enforcement of federal law, or (in Pruitt's case) a desire to inappropriately continue close relationships with members of regulated industries. But at a minimum, the developments appeared to speak to unprecedented divides that the two men had generated among committed professionals within their departments.</p>	<p>17 (9, 11)</p>

<p>9-26-17</p>	<p><b>Refugee limit lowered.</b> Mr. Trump announced his plan to set the maximum number of refugees admissible to the U.S. in Fiscal Year 2018 at 45,000 – the lowest level since 1980, when presidents had first gained the authority to set the number. (By way of reference, for FY 2017, President Obama had set the number at 110,000. and Mr. Trump had subsequently reduced it to 50,000.) Both the State Department and the Defense Department had asked Mr. Trump to set a higher cap. But they were overruled by anti-immigration voices in the White House, who had long discounted all arguments that taking in refugees both helps the economy and advances America's image for international strategic purposes.</p> <p>The move came at a moment when there were over 65,000,000 displaced people in the world, more than 22,000,000 of them refugees living outside their countries of origin – the highest numbers since World War II. The U.S. was not obligated by treaty to take in any particular number. Rather, it was a matter of wisdom, and of conscience.</p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>9-26-17</p>	<p><b>Hurricane bluster.</b> A New York Times news analysis recounted the many boasts that Mr. Trump had made about how well his administration had been handling the recent hurricane relief efforts in Texas, Florida and Puerto Rico. While all politicians of course are politicians, his concerns for his popular image had seemed often to overtake his objective analyses and his concerns for the storm victims. The Times wrote: <i>"From the start, Mr. Trump has had trouble separating himself from the story."</i> (See CSD's early report on this topic of August 29.)</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>9-27-17</p>	<p><b>Russian hijack of Twitter re NFL, election.</b> The New York Times reported that researchers at Alliance for Securing Democracy, a public policy group, had revealed that Russian-controlled Twitter accounts were advancing both sides of the current controversy surrounding on-field protests of police brutality on the part of National Football League players. That is, Russia again was seeking to divide America, and baldly in the face of continuing revelations about its notorious intrusion in the November election. The researchers also said that Russia's secret Twitter activities in connection with that election may have been far more extensive than its activities on Facebook that had recently come to light. Notably, Mr. Trump did not comment.</p>	<p>12</p>

<p>9-27-17, 9-28-17, 9-29-17, 10-5-17</p>	<p><b>Pruitt's travels, and Price's, and Zinke's.</b> The Washington Post reported on September 27 that Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt had been traveling on private and military jets at government expense. Pruitt thus joined Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin and Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price in having come under scrutiny for enjoying taxpayer funded travel in irregular ways. Pruitt was already under investigation by the EPA's inspector general for having flown (commercially) at taxpayer expense to his home state of Oklahoma, where he had spent some 43 days over three months earlier in the year. Many of those trips had taken him to meetings with oil and gas executives whom his department was regulating; and many had facilitated extended weekend stays at his Tulsa home – all giving rise to speculation that he was considering running for senator in Oklahoma. (Pruitt had also drawn scrutiny for spending lavishly and unusually for a round-the-clock security detail and for a sound-proof chamber in his office. See CSD's entries of September 20 and 26, above.)</p> <p>On the following day, Politico and The Washington Post revealed that a fourth cabinet member, Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, had engaged in seemingly inappropriate (that is, expensive and indulgent) travel behavior. In June, Zinke had spent \$12,000 of taxpayer's money on a private jet owned by oil and gas executives in order to fly from political events in Nevada to his home in Montana. On October 5, Politico reported that in fact many of Zinke's taxpayer-funded trips had combined official work with political fundraising – potentially its own legal violation.</p> <p>Price in particular had been a loyal acolyte to Mr. Trump amid considerable policy controversy. During his tenure as HHS Secretary, he had repeatedly and untruthfully denied the harsh consequences of the Trump-backed health care plans raised in Congress. Through administrative actions, he had also single-mindedly followed Mr. Trump's instructions to sabotage the current health care program before a replacement was enacted, thus jeopardizing countless American lives (as recounted by CSD above in this document). Nevertheless on September 27, Mr. Trump publicly, albeit belatedly, expressed his anger about Price's travel expenses (which had first been reported by the press and recorded by CSD on September 20). Price was now on notice relative to his job. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (11, 15)</p>
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<p>9-27-17, 9-28-17, 9-29-17, 10-5-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD notes that Price's offenses were eventually tallied in the \$1,000,000 range, and that they had brought him convenience and a simulacrum of status but not monetary profit. Mnuchin's, Zinke's and Pruitt's travel expenditures were smaller; and here too there was indulgence and entitlement, but no apparent profit. By comparison, Mr. Trump and his family spent far more on luxury travel and security; and worse, they stood to eventually gain hundreds of millions if not billions of hard dollars by his having served as president, through the many conflicted situations described above in this document.</p> <p>In July, Mr. Trump had jokingly threatened to fire Price if Congress did not pass a new health care bill. Congress did not. But because of the travel expenses, on September 29, Price resigned. Mr. Trump did not.</p>	<p>17 (11, 15)</p>
<p>9-28-17</p>	<p><b><u>Tax fables.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that in characterizing his new tax proposal during a speech in Indianapolis the previous day, Mr. Trump had made eight exaggerated or outright untrue claims, including as to the benefits for middle class taxpayers. Meanwhile several elements of his proposal – including the elimination of the estate tax, the elimination of the alternative minimum tax, the lowering of corporate tax rates, and the lowering of taxes on pass-through business income – <u>would almost certainly save him and his family hundreds of millions if not billions of dollars;</u> although his continuing refusal to release his tax returns had enabled him to mask that result; and <u>he explicitly stated in his speech that he and other wealthy taxpayers would not benefit from his proposal.</u></p> <p>As to the overall effect of the proposal, a New York Times news analysis was more pointed: "<i>The tax plan that the Trump administration outlined on Wednesday is a potentially huge windfall for the wealthiest Americans. It would not directly benefit the bottom third of the population. As for the middle class, the benefits appear to be modest. ... While some [middle class] households would probably get tax cuts, others could end up paying more.</i>" The Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post and the non-partisan Tax Policy Center would all shortly come to similar conclusions. <u>The Times estimated that the plan could save Mr. Trump himself (not counting his family members) over a billion dollars per year.</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 11, 15</p>

<p>9-28-17</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] CSD does not take a position on the tax plan; only on Mr. Trump's breathtaking lack of candor and his attempt to gull the American people. We believe more than ever that Congress should make him produce his tax returns.</u></p>	<p>7, 11, 15</p>
<p>9-28-17</p>	<p><b>Another tax fable.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that the Treasury Department had taken down from its Web site its own 2012 non-partisan study that – consistent with the work of many other economists – disproved Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin's then current claim, in promoting Mr. Trump's tax proposal, that corporate tax cuts mostly benefit workers rather than shareholders. Many other legacy studies generated by the department remained posted. The Journal was skeptical of the motives for the removal.</p> <p>The removal echoed the Environmental Protection Agency's removing from its own Web site many pages of inconvenient climate study data, as reported by CSD on April 28 and August 11.</p>	<p>8</p>
<p>9-28-17, 10-2-17</p>	<p><b>The Kushners' hidden emails.</b> On September 28, CNN reported that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner had failed to disclose to the Senate Intelligence Committee a private email account, as recently discovered by news media to have been used by him to conduct government business. His attorney maintained that the government-related messages had been few, unclassified, and properly forwarded to his government account. But the episode reflected Kushner's indiscretion in view of the savagery with which Mr. Trump had attacked candidate Hillary Clinton for using private emails and now continued to attack her in tweets and at rallies ("Lock her up!"). And it was the latest instance of Kushner's non-disclosures to the government: previous failures to disclose had pertained to his assets (for ethical requirements) and his Russian meetings (relative to the election investigations). For these legal lapses his lawyers had offered the excuse of innocent sloth, even though he had been advised by top-flight attorneys when making the filings. He nevertheless was fined for his repeated lapses.</p> <p>The Republican and Democratic leaders of the committee – now apparently doubting anything that Kushner had ever told them – demanded in writing that he come clean with respect to all of his email accounts. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>17 (7, 11)</p>

<p>9-28-17, 10-2-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Five additional senior White House officials – contrary to earlier White House representations – had recently been exposed by the press as having used private email accounts for government business: Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka, chief economic adviser Gary Cohn, former chief strategist Stephen Bannon, former chief of staff Reince Priebus, and anti-immigrant adviser Stephen Miller. Their email abuses did not appear to approach those of Clinton; still, in light of the notoriety of hers, they were astonishing.</p> <p>On October 2, Politico reported the revelation of yet a third Kushner family email account – this one owned by both Kushner and Ms. Trump – to which hundreds of White House emails had been sent.</p>	<p>17 (7, 11)</p>
<p>9-28-17 +</p>	<p><b><u>Puerto Rico hurricane – the sound and the fury.</u></b> Elaine Duke, the acting secretary for the Department of Homeland Security, told television reporters that the government's "amazing" response to Hurricane Maria was a "good news story," promptly evoking outraged rebuttals by such voices as CNN, NBC, The New York Times, The WashingtonPost, and the mayor of San Juan, who pleaded for help. They said that, after eight days (the hurricane had struck on September 20), effective relief efforts had barely reached the island's interior, where victims still lacked food, water, fuel, shelter, telecommunications and working medical facilities. Some of them noted that for the first four days after the storm, Mr. Trump had seemed engaged principally (and viscerally) with name-calling relative to the National Football League players' protests about racism, and not with Puerto Rico.</p> <p>Ken Keen, the general who had commanded U.S. relief efforts following Haiti's 2010 earthquake, said that the federal response in Puerto Rico inexplicably lagged that supplied to Haiti. Russell Honoré, the general who had successfully turned around the Hurricane Katrina relief efforts in New Orleans in 2005, told CNN that the government's current self-congratulatory messages were "bullshit." "[T]hey're trying to put lipstick on a pig," he said. "When we should have been moving the military [five days ago], the president was out playing golf and Twittering." The following day, even Duke and General Jeffrey Buchanan – who had come to lead the U.S. relief effort in Puerto Rico – said that the federal response to date was unsatisfactory. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15</p>



<p>9-28-17 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The U.S. Virgin Islands were reportedly experiencing similar post-hurricane conditions, and federal responses.</p> <p>Heedless of Duke's and Buchanan's admissions, on September 30 Mr. Trump,, by way of Twitter, denounced the reporting by CNN and NBC as "fake news"; the mayor of San Juan as a poor leader and a puppet of the Democratic Party; and the Puerto Rican people as "want[ing] everything to be done for them." October 1 brought from him more tweets in the same vein.</p> <p>In Puerto Rico on October 3, Mr. Trump at last did praise the island's government for its emergency response. And he acknowledged the vast devastation. But he also hectored it for its financial problems, saying "you've thrown our budget a little bit out of whack"; and he dismissed the island's trauma as not a "real catastrophe" like Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans because far fewer Puerto Ricans had died. He had launched no such barbs relative to the recent hurricane damage in Texas and Florida – states he had visited more promptly after their respective calamities. But in Puerto Rico, much as in Texas and Florida, he boasted about the "unbelievable" and "incredible" job that his administration was doing in providing relief – deploying those words numerous times. He also invited (induced) the island's non-voting representative to Congress to praise him on-camera, and he told reporters how so many Puerto Ricans had thanked him for his efforts.</p> <p>Mr. Trump had limited his visit to San Juan, the most prosperous, least damaged and most recovered part of the island. He was greeted by well-wishers in a prosperous and minimally damaged residential neighborhood there and at an Evangelical church that had received large shipments of relief supplies from private sources on the mainland. He had no exposure to the interior, or to residents who might not be his natural allies. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15</p>
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<p>9-28-17 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On October 1, at a golf tournament in New Jersey, Mr Trump had dedicated a trophy to the hurricane victims in Florida, Texas and Puerto Rico, and he had lauded the success of the government's relief efforts. The move had drawn wide criticism as an empty gesture, and as a recreational absence, in the face of the ongoing crisis and suffering in Puerto Rico. But other presidents as well have been criticized for relaxing during a crisis; so CSD's concern was somewhat different: that Mr. Trump was implicitly using the event, the suffering and the trophy to promote his considerable business interests in the golf industry.</p> <p>CSD would also emphasize that Mr. Trump's behavior in San Juan – boasting as to the success of the relief efforts, inducing others to praise those efforts, exulting in the size of audience crowds, slamming critics as "ingrates," positioning government aid as a magnanimous gift to the undeserving – was not merely a display of an unfortunate personality trait (as many observers had charged), but a classic exercise in demagogic rhetoric – designed to distract from grievous suffering and to amplify the speaker's grace.</p> <p>But above all, as for the temporal overlap between Mr. Trump's NFL donnybrook and his inattention to Puerto Rico, CSD saw not just a capriciousness, or an indifference, or an immaturity, or a skewing of priorities – that is, a skewing of egotism masquerading as patriotism (NFL) versus saving real American lives (Puerto Rico) – but a coherent and well-worn theme: Mr. Trump's seemingly innate disdain for people of color.</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 15</p>
<p>10-1-17 +</p>	<p><b><u>Disparaging Kim and (mostly) Tillerson.</u></b> On October 1, as Secretary of State Rex Tillerson was returning from China after having sought direct negotiations with the North Korean government over the escalating nuclear crisis, Mr. Trump tweeted that Tillerson was "wasting his time trying to negotiate with Little Rocket Man" – that is, with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un. He added: "Save your energy, Rex. We'll do what has to be done." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>10-1-17 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The remarks stunned diplomatic observers. They wondered how the U.S. could possibly conduct foreign affairs if the president continued to publicly disagree with and humiliate his own top diplomat; and how the nuclear crisis could be resolved by his continuing to insult Kim. But critics speculated that even if Mr. Trump were to fire Tillerson or Tillerson were to resign, his replacement would likely be as hamstrung and marginalized as Tillerson had been, as would the entire State Department.</p> <p>Many news analyses followed, portraying Tillerson's multitude of policy differences with and slights by Mr. Trump. Since his appointment Tillerson had been a voice for diplomatic reason and moderation, but that had apparently antagonized Mr. Trump and neutered Tillerson. Areas of discord had included Mr. Trump's parceling out of major foreign policy portfolios to his son-in-law Jared Kushner, UN ambassador Nikki Haley and other senior aides; his initial refusal to affirm America's mutual defense treaty obligations with NATO; his threat of military action to stop Mexican migration; his support of the Saudi Arabian-led blockade of Qatar; his desire to exit the Iran nuclear accord; his withdrawal from the Paris climate accord; his record low cap for refugee admissions; his desire to limit troop levels in Afghanistan; his rejection of the Trans Pacific [trade] Partnership; his inappropriate discussions with Russian officials; his not having timely denounced the white supremacist march in Charlottesville; and in many of those instances his not having appropriately communicated and coordinated with Tillerson. (CSD had reported on those episodes as they had arisen.)</p> <p>On October 4, NBC reported that in July Tillerson had in fact nearly resigned over multiple disagreements with Mr. Trump – most recently over Mr. Trump's demagogic speech at the national jamboree of the Boy Scouts of America (see CSD's entry of July 24 and 27), an organization that Tillerson had once headed. NBC also reported that a few days earlier in July, at a meeting with Mr. Trump's national security team and Cabinet members, Tillerson had openly referred to Mr. Trump as a "moron." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>10-1-17 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued below.]</u> At a hastily called and (for Tillerson) unprecedented press conference, Tillerson then told television reporters that he was loyal to Mr. Trump and that Mr. Trump was "smart." Contrary to his own prior preferences, he also pledged fealty to Mr. Trump's "America first" and "make America great" themes.</p> <p>That evening, Republican Bob Corker, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, said that he hoped Tillerson would stay on. He said that Tillerson, Defense Secretary James Mattis and White House chief of staff John Kelly "help separate our country from chaos" – presumably referring to Mr. Trump's leadership style, which Corker had recently hinted was not marked by competence.</p> <p>But Tillerson was not viewed by all as an admirable leader and an innocent victim. To the criticism of virtually the entire foreign policy community, he had collaborated with Mr. Trump in what was widely characterized as the evisceration and demoralization of State Department staff, and as the disregard for the staff's deep substantive expertise in favor of political officials with no foreign policy experience. All of that was reported previously by CSD in this document, and was narrated most recently by Politico on October 4 at the link appearing at this endnote.*** The Washington Post, also on October 4, reported that Tillerson had developed a reputation for being dictatorial, abrupt, aloof and isolated – in addition to tangling with Mr. Trump and ignoring State Department staff.</p> <p>Adopting several of those competing views of Tillerson, on October 2, Eliot Cohen – former counselor to President Bush's Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice – wrote in The Atlantic that Mr. Trump had come to publicly "emasculate" Tillerson as no other president had previously done with respect to his chief diplomat; that Tillerson meanwhile had "taken a pickaxe to the department entrusted to his care"; and thus on both counts that Tillerson should resign. The complete article appears at this endnote.**** Richard Haass, another Republican and former top State Department official, voiced a similar conclusion on October 4.</p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>10-1-17 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] But the flap between Tillerson and Mr. Trump bespoke a far broader instability in governance. On October 4, The New York Times wrote: <i>"Indeed, the news conference was the latest rupture in an administration consumed by palace intrigue from the start. Just last week, Tom Price resigned as secretary of health and human services after being publicly scolded by Mr. Trump for using chartered flights. Mr. Trump has lost a chief of staff, a national security adviser, a chief strategist, a press secretary and two communications directors. He has fired the F.B.I. director, belittled his attorney general and publicly assailed the deputy attorney general. That turnover is one reason Mr. Trump has not pushed Mr. Tillerson out, according to advisers</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump would respond to the viral ridicule and criticisms, at least in part. On October 4 he countered NBC's "moron" report by denouncing the network as "fake news" and "a disgrace," disparaging its television ratings, and demanding an apology. A Washington Post commentator then quoted Mr. Trump in a March 2017 interview with Fox News, indicating what was perhaps his underlying animus toward NBC: <i>"I made a fortune for NBC with 'The Apprentice' ... . I had a top show, where they were doing horribly. And I had one of the most successful reality shows of all time. And I was on for 14 seasons. And you see what happens when I am not on. You saw what happened, and the show was a disaster. I was on. I was very good to NBC, and they are despicable — despicable in their coverage."</i></p> <p>Also on October 4, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump, by way of Twitter, had himself called people "morons" more than 50 times since 2012.</p> <p>On October 10, Mr. Trump told Forbes magazine that the "moron" story had been "fake news"; but that if true, he would compare his IQ to Tillerson's, and beat him.</p>	<p>1, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>10-2-17</p>	<p><b>Las Vegas massacre.</b> Mr. Trump's televised speech to the nation following the massacre at a country music concert in Las Vegas – the worst mass murder in our country's recent history – focused largely on hope, faith, prayer and "pure evil." He also praised law enforcement officers and called for national unity. Absent was any suggestion of cause-and-effect or problem-solving, as (CSD believes) likely would have arisen had the shooter been Mexican or Muslim. Indeed, in response to the massacre at the Pulse nightclub in Orlando in June 2016, Mr. Trump had instantly blamed a "radical Islamic terrorist" and had used that alleged causal connection to promote his restrictive immigration positions. He had also quickly blamed "Islamic terrorism" after the earlier December 2015 mass shooting in San Bernardino.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>10-3-17</p>	<p><b>Pruitt's industry informants.</b> The New York Times reported that since taking office in February, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt – a climate science denier – had met almost non-stop with executives of the industries he was tasked with regulating, but rarely with environmental protection groups. The Times wrote: "<i>Many of [the industry] players have high-profile matters pending before the agency, with potentially hundreds of millions of dollars in regulatory costs at stake. Some of these same companies and trade associations were allies of Mr. Pruitt when, as Oklahoma's attorney general, he sued the E.P.A. at least 14 times to try to block rules Mr. Pruitt is now in charge of enforcing.</i>" The Washington Post, in a follow-on story, reported that several times the EPA had ruled favorably on regulatory issues favoring the executives shortly after Pruitt's meetings.</p> <p>As recorded by CSD on September 20 and on September 27 through 29, Pruitt had already come under investigation by his own department for his extensive government-paid travel. The Times now reported that much of the travel had involved meetings with regulated companies that presumably used the opportunities to advocate against their regulation and the EPA's mission.</p>	<p>17 (11, 15)</p>

<p>10-3-17</p>	<p><b><u>Nepotism rationale.</u></b> On October 3, Politico reported that the Justice Department had released the internal memoranda of numerous previous presidential administrations in which lawyers had determined, and the presidents had accepted, that they could not retain relatives as either paid or unpaid appointees. In January, at the request of Mr. Trump's White House counsel, his Justice Department had reviewed those memoranda and had (as though on command) reversed the department's own prior conclusions – now opining that a 1978 statute had empowered the president to hire anyone he wanted to. Mr. Trump had then appointed his daughter Ivanka and his son-in-law Jared Kushner to senior White House advisory positions, despite their total lack of qualifications. They were also granted security clearances.</p> <p>Taken to its logical conclusion, CSD believes that the Justice Department's new opinion would appear to empower the president to fill hundreds of senior positions inappropriately – an unsupportable conclusion with dangerous potential.</p> <p>In fact the following day, Ms. Trump wrote in a New York Post op-ed that tech education in schools was part of her White House portfolio – arousing broad criticism to the effect that she had no background in either technology or education.</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>10-4-17</p>	<p><b><u>Call for investigation of media.</u></b> In a tweet, Mr. Trump called for the Senate Intelligence Committee to investigate "the Fake News Networks" – that is, presumably, those (and only those) networks that had been critical of him. As then recollected by MSNBC that day, Mr. Trump earlier this year, in the style of an autocrat, had called for investigations of other political enemies – President Obama, former opponent Hillary Clinton, Connecticut Senator Richard Blumenthal, and former FBI Director James Comey. He meanwhile had never endorsed the committee's investigation of Russia's well-established interference in the November election, which he repeatedly had called a hoax.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>

10-5-17	<p><b><u>The calm before the storm.</u></b> At a dinner attended by the country's uppermost military officials, Mr. Trump – standing before the officials, and lauding their military prowess – cryptically told reporters, then repeated, then refused to explain, an ominous statement that the country was experiencing "the calm before the storm." A reporter persisted in asking, "What storm, Mr. President?" "You'll find out," Mr. Trump replied. Afterwards the White House continued to decline to explain. Whether the storm might amount to a war with North Korea, China, Venezuela. Iran or Syria (all of which Mr. Trump had previously threatened), or some other storm, or no storm at all, was indeterminable. But he seemed to delight in confusing or even unnerving the American citizenry.</p>	9, 10, 11
10-5-17	<p><b><u>ACA: More sabotage.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had intervened in a number of states to block those states from adjusting their health insurance markets in order to restrain premium increases. The intent and the effect were widely perceived as being to increase premiums under, depress enrollments for, and further undermine the viability of the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"). That is, as now reported, Mr. Trump had undertaken not only to withdraw federal support for the program (as described by CSD in numerous entries above), but <u>to prevent states such as Iowa, Oklahoma and Minnesota from helping themselves.</u> <u>All of this appeared to be a concerted political strategy, and to the considerable detriment of Americans' health.</u> Mr. Trump and his administration continued to publicly claim that the ACA was failing, without acknowledging their own role in causing or magnifying that failure.</p>	11
10-5-17	<p><b><u>Reneging on Iran agreement.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced that he planned to decertify Iran's compliance with the multilateral agreement pursuant to which that country had paused its nuclear weapons program in exchange for a lifting of economic sanctions. Decertification could lead to abandonment of the agreement. The announcement alarmed America's allies that had participated in the agreement, and it was opposed by Mr. Trump's senior diplomatic and security advisers. CSD does not take a position on the Iran agreement. But we are disturbed by Mr. Trump's rejection of expert advice, and by his casual and repeated breach of our country's treaty obligations. Even for a transactionally oriented business person, breaking agreements is known to destroy trust, and to chill future deals.</p>	13, 14



<p>10-5-17, 10-6-17, 10-8-17</p>	<p><b><u>More travel issues: Chao, Mnuchin, and everyone.</u></b> On October 5, The Washington Post reported in two separate articles that Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao and Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, respectively, had incurred unusually large taxpayer-funded travel expenses since taking office, by flying on government aircraft as opposed to commercial craft. Mnuchin, who is worth hundreds of millions of dollars, ran up a tab of \$800,000. The revelations added to previous ones about his lavish travel behavior; and they added Chao to the list of recently exposed travel offenders, already populated by Mnuchin, Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt, and former Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price – all avowed fiscal conservatives. (See CSD's entry above of September 27-29.) The Post recapped and graphically illustrated the pattern of questionable Cabinet member flights on October 6, in an analysis linked at this endnote.***** On October 8, The Post published an even more extensive exposé, decrying what appeared to be a systemic culture among top administration officials (beginning with Mr. Trump himself) of taxpayer-funded travel on private or government jets, often with spouses, and often combining political or leisure activities with official business. Many of the officials were wealthy. At least five government ethics investigations were in progress. The exposé appears at this link.*****</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>10-8-17</p>	<p><b><u>Staged NFL counter-protest.</u></b> Vice President Mike Pence, attending a National Football League game in Indianapolis, on Mr. Trump's instructions walked out when players mounted a by now predictable on-field protest against racial injustice; then he criticized the protesters at length. An analysis in The Washington Post concluded that Pence's attendance and behavior had been carefully staged, had been designed specifically to stoke political and cultural (if not racial) divisions, and had cost taxpayers hundreds of thousands of dollars in travel and security expenses.</p>	<p>17 (3, 6, 9 )</p>

<p>10-8-17, 10-9-17. 10-10-17</p>	<p><b><u>Corker pops.</u></b> On October 8, Senator Bob Corker, a highly influential Republican and the chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told The New York Times that Mr. Trump routinely tweets false statements and that his tweets have injured international negotiations. He also said that <u>Mr. Trump has to be carefully minded by his advisers so as to prevent World War III</u>, and that virtually all the members of the Senate know it. Such damning criticism of a sitting president by a credible leader of his own party seemed beyond extraordinary.</p> <p>On October 9, based on interviews with many White House aides, Politico provided detail as to how the aides go about managing Mr. Trump's moods and decision-making – which indeed appeared from the interviews to be impetuous, if not infantile. The Politico article appears at this link.*****</p> <p>On October 10, Mr. Trump tweeted that the "failing" New York Times had tricked "Liddle Bob Corker" into criticizing him and looking like "a fool" – thus both slurring the newspaper and demeaning Corker because of his height.</p>	<p>1, 11, 13</p>
<p>10-10-17</p>	<p><b><u>Falsehood tally.</u></b> The Washington Post – which had been keeping a log of Mr. Trump's false and misleading statements since his election – wrote that the tally had reached 1,318 over 263 days, or an average of five per day.</p>	<p>7</p>

\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/09/15/trump-once-again-rushes-to-use-an-overseas-terrorist-attack-as-leverage-on-twitter/?utm\\_term=.2cf5ab0e444a&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/09/15/trump-once-again-rushes-to-use-an-overseas-terrorist-attack-as-leverage-on-twitter/?utm_term=.2cf5ab0e444a&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

\*\* <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/09/15/us/politics/trump-seizes-on-london-attack-to-push-for-expanding-a-travel-ban.html?ref=todayspaper&r=0>

\*\*\* <http://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2017/10/04/rex-tillerson-is-running-the-state-department-into-the-ground-215677>

\*\*\*\* <https://www.theatlantic.com/amp/article/541695/>

\*\*\*\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/10/06/nearly-six-dozen-charter-and-military-flights-by-cabinet-members-mapped/?undefined=&utm\\_term=.1d7f2fbab164&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2017/10/06/nearly-six-dozen-charter-and-military-flights-by-cabinet-members-mapped/?undefined=&utm_term=.1d7f2fbab164&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\*\*\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/federal\\_government/traveling-in-style-trumps-white-house-wrestles-with-cabinet-costs/2017/10/08/8e6debaa-a953-11e7-92d1-58c702d2d975\\_story.html?undefined=&utm\\_term=.e7eac14decca&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/federal_government/traveling-in-style-trumps-white-house-wrestles-with-cabinet-costs/2017/10/08/8e6debaa-a953-11e7-92d1-58c702d2d975_story.html?undefined=&utm_term=.e7eac14decca&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\*\*\*\* <http://www.politico.com/story/2017/10/09/trump-aides-guard-rails-243608>



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 10 – November 12, 2017*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>Throughout October, 2017</p>	<p><b><u>Ethics round-up.</u></b> On October 10, The New York Times reported that David Apol, the acting head of the Office of Government Ethics, had sent a letter the previous week to the heads of all federal agencies warning of widespread ethical abuses by "government leadership" – presumably referring to Mr. Trump's cabinet members and other top aides some of whose recently discovered ethical offenses are described above in this document. The Times wrote: "<i>Mr. Apol suggested that public confidence in the government could be undermined if federal employees — and ethics officers at each agency charged with overseeing them — do not take steps to strengthen their commitment to ethical governance.</i>" Last summer, Apol had succeeded to the position of Walter Shaub, who had famously resigned in disgust or despair (also as described above).</p> <p>CSD does not have the detail on the incidents of which Apol was concerned. But throughout the month we collected the following specific public reports. Some of the ethically questionable activities appeared to have been more aggressive, others merely thoughtless; some of the actors incidental offenders, others perennial. But in the aggregate they portrayed a profile of a group that had struggled (or not) to separate its personal gain from its public service. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>15, 17 (15)</p>
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<p>Throughout October, 2017</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Mr. Trump</i> declined to deport a Chinese billionaire real estate developer and reputed crony capitalist who had fled China under indictment for corruption. Mr. Trump's decision appeared to have been made in part because, or at least only after learning that, the man was a member of Mr. Trump's Mar-A-Lago resort in Florida. <i>Hive, 10-24-17.</i></li> <li>• <i>Mr. Trump, through his company operated by son Donald, Jr.,</i> was reported to be set to launch two luxury residential real estate projects in India – in addition to their three existing projects there – by licensing Mr. Trump's brand (as possibly enhanced by his presidency) to the Indian developers. Several of Mr. Trump's Indian partners had been accused of tax evasion, bribery or other corruption. <i>The Washington Post, 10-28-17.</i></li> <li>• <i>Ryan Zinke (Interior Secretary),</i> who had been seeking to shrink national monuments and encourage mining and drilling on public lands across the country, recommended that several national reserves be maintained or even newly created – to the exclusion of mining and drilling interests – in his home state of Montana, where land preservation is popular, and where he had long harbored ambitions to become senator or governor. <i>Associated Press, 10-1-17.</i></li> <li>• <i>Ryan Zinke (Interior Secretary)</i> denied that he had influenced the award of the controversial \$300 million contract to restore Puerto Rico's electricity after Hurricane Maria. The contractor, Whitefish Energy Holdings, was minuscule, was run by a resident of Zinke's small home town in Montana by a man who had once employed Zinke's son, had no previous qualifying experience, and was funded by a major Trump campaign donor. In addition, the contract provided, unusually, that the Puerto Rican government would have no right to audit the contractor's profits on the work or to make a claim for delayed performance. As the controversy swelled, Whitefish was fired. <i>The Daily Beast, 10-24-17; The New York Times, 10-29-17.</i> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>15, 17 (15)</p>
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<p>Throughout October, 2017</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Ryan Zinke (Interior Secretary)</u>'s congressional campaign committee bought an RV from his wife then sold it to a friend a year later at a steep discount, suggesting that the campaign had either overpaid Zinke's wife or under-priced it for the friend – in either case a possibly illegal gift on the part of the campaign. The campaign also paid for hotel stays in the Virgin Islands and New York for Zinke's family and friends, and it committed other possible infractions. The allegations were brought before the Federal Election Commission by the Campaign Legal Center, a private watchdog organization. As reported by CSD above in this document, Zinke was already under investigation over his questionable travel expenditures and his having attended political events while on official business. <u>Politico, 10-30-17.</u></li> <li>• <u>Betsy DeVos (Education Secretary)</u> was causing the government to spend up to an annualized \$6.5 million to have federal marshals accompany her on her travels – a highly unusual benefit for an education secretary. DeVos is a billionaire. <u>Politico, 10-2-17.</u></li> <li>• <u>Nikki Haley (UN Ambassador)</u> re-tweeted Mr. Trump's endorsement of a South Carolina congressional candidate – thus likely violating the Hatch Act, which regulates campaigning by government officials. <u>Politico, 10-3-17.</u></li> <li>• <u>Nancy Beck (EPA deputy assistant administrator for chemical safety and pollution prevention)</u>, prior to her appointment in May, had served as an executive of the American Chemistry Council – the chemical industry's main trade association – and had since then successfully battled the EPA's scientists in seeking to deregulate the sale and use of hazardous chemicals. <u>The New York Times, 10-21-17.</u></li> <li>• <u>Stephen Parente (nominated to be Assistant Secretary for Health and Human Services)</u> was seen to have long-standing career connections to the health insurance industry that he had been nominated to regulate. A particular red flag arose when UnitedHealth, a major insurer, recently gave a sizeable donation to a small research center that Parente had co-founded and was helping to direct.</li> </ul>	<p>15, 17 (15)</p>
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	<i>Politico, 10-30-17.</i>	
10-10-17	<b><u>Maria propaganda.</u></b> The White House produced, and Mr. Trump tweeted, a video about the effectiveness of the federal response to Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico. The Washington Post characterized the video as not objective; that is, as extolling Mr. Trump's successes and largely ignoring the continuing devastation. CSD regards the rosy video as amounting to campaign-style, wartime-style, or dictator-style propaganda, developed at taxpayer expense, and passed off officially as fact.	7, 9
10-10-17	<b><u>Tax Threat to NFL.</u></b> Mr. Trump suggested that certain tax exemptions enjoyed by the National Football League's central office be eliminated so as to force it to require protesting players to stand for the National Anthem. The statement directly threatened a private enterprise for seeking to honor individuals' civil rights.	3, 9
10-11-17	<b><u>Why a moron?</u></b> NBC revealed the episode in June that appeared to have prompted Secretary of State Rex Tillerson to refer to Mr. Trump afterwards as a "moron": a high-level military briefing in which Mr. Trump, apparently devoid of understanding, proposed increasing America's nuclear arsenal ten-fold. The ranking military and security personnel at the meeting were reportedly stunned, in view of the legal, diplomatic, operational and financial challenges that such a move would entail, and the absence of any strategic benefit in it.  Mr. Trump responded promptly by tagging the report as "fake news," and by suggesting that NBC's broadcast license be revoked (which would be both illegal and unconstitutional). Later that evening he repeated that the licenses of "unfair" networks should be pulled.	1, 9, 11
10-11-17	<b><u>Russia targeting Democrats.</u></b> Politico reported that bipartisan leaders of the Senate Intelligence Committee feared that Russia could corrupt the 2018 elections, as they had corrupted the 2016 elections, and that the Trump administration was showing little interest in stopping that. Democratic Party candidates were especially concerned that they would be targeted by Russian interests.	4, 12

<p>10-11-17</p>	<p><b>Tax fables, again.</b> At a speech outside of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania for truck drivers and business groups, Mr. Trump repeated his false statements that America's tax rates are the highest in the world and that his tax plan would benefit everyone in the middle class. (Harrisburg had been the site of his disturbingly demagogic rally the previous spring, as reported by CSD on April 29.)</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>10-12-17</p>	<p><b>Withdrawal from UNESCO.</b> Mr. Trump caused the U.S. to withdraw its funding and membership from UNESCO, the United Nations' cultural and educational organization, due UNESCO's long-held anti-Israel bias. Previous presidents have similarly withdrawn from biased UN bodies, and subsequent administrations have rejoined. But the new move was notable for its place within a unique pattern: it followed Mr. Trump's withdrawal from the Paris climate accord and the Trans Pacific [trade] Partnership, and his questioning of America's commitments to NATO, the North American Free Trade Agreement, the Iran nuclear accord, and the United Nations Human Rights Council. In all cases, Mr. Trump had deemed those international endeavors to be unfair to the U.S. or its allies. (UNESCO is perhaps best known in the U.S. for designating World Heritage Sites that preserve historical structures and promote tourism.)</p>	<p>14</p>
<p>10-12-17</p>	<p><b>No science for weather.</b> Mr. Trump appointed Barry Myers, a businessman – the CEO of the weather forecasting company AccuWeather – to head the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. Among other things, according to The Washington Post, NOAA <i>"oversees the National Weather Service, conducts and funds weather and climate research, and operates a constellation of weather satellites as well as a climate data center. It also has critical responsibilities in monitoring and protecting the nation's coasts, oceans and fisheries."</i> According to The Post, all recent NOAA heads had been scientists. In addition, The Post wrote, NOAA was expected to continue to have material commercial dealings with AccuWeather, which was owned by Myers' family, such that a conflict of interest would inhere in his governmental duties.</p>	<p>8, 15</p>

<p>10-12-17</p>	<p><b><u>Threat to pull aid from Puerto Rico.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that he would pull federal aid from storm-ravaged Puerto Rico if it did not improve its fiscal condition. The Washington Post wrote that the island remains in a "staggering humanitarian crisis." Mr. Trump's volatile tweets contradicted the previously expressed sentiments of Vice President Mike Pence, House Speaker Paul Ryan, and Mr. Trump himself in support of the island. CSD believes that the threatened move would be discriminatory, brutal, political, and violative of Mr. Trump's constitutional duty to protect the American people. We do not know if Mr. Trump would have so threatened a majority-white state or territory.</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>10-12-17 +</p>	<p><b><u>More blows to the ACA.</u></b> On October 12, Mr. Trump, unable to induce Congress to pass comprehensive health care legislation, signed <u>an executive order intended to create a parallel insurance market that would bypass the Affordable Care Act</u> ("Obamacare"). Specifically, he lengthened the allowable terms of certain short term insurance policies, and he relaxed the ACA requirements for "association plans" used by small businesses and some individuals. In both cases, new offerings could now provide lower premiums and less coverage than those mandated under the ACA. Many younger and healthier people were seen as likely to opt for the less expensive plans, thus shrinking enrollment and raising premiums under the ACA. The order represented Mr. Trump's latest move, chronicled extensively above in this document, to cripple the ACA before an alternative program for all Americans was established. CSD does not take a position on the ACA or alternative health insurance proposals; only on Mr. Trump's efforts to sabotage the ACA for personal and political purposes – thus <u>risking the lives and well-being of millions.</u></p> <p>Later that day, Mr. Trump announced his intention to <u>cease subsidizing insurance companies</u>, which could deprive lower and middle income families of the ability to purchase insurance, and destabilize large portions of the health insurance market. In his announcement he made clear that this was still only the beginning of his plan to systematically dismantle the ACA without a replacement program being in place. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11</p>



<p>10-12-17 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>Also on October 12, The New York Times published an article listing <u>12 ways in which Mr. Trump had now unilaterally, by executive authority, acted to eviscerate the ACA</u> without a replacement plan in place. Most of those ways had been described above in this document. The link to The Times' article appears at this endnote.*</p> <p>On October 16, according to The Huffington Post, Mr. Trump told his Cabinet: <i>“Obamacare is finished. It’s dead. It’s gone. You shouldn’t even mention it. It’s gone. There is no such thing as Obamacare anymore.”</i> Mr. Trump was thus effectively directing his senior-most advisors categorically to ignore, dishonor, not publicize, and not enforce the law of the land – and just in advance of the 2018 enrollment period, when the viability of the program would turn in part on enrollments.</p> <p>On October 17, The Philadelphia Inquirer reported that health insurance premiums in Pennsylvania would increase by an average of 30.6% in 2018. One critic blamed the increases directly on Mr. Trump's deliberate "sabotage" of the ACA.</p> <p>Many conservatives were pleased by the prospect of the ACA's demise, and many progressives (plus most of the insurance and health care industries and professions) were appalled. But CSD is appalled for a different reason than the loss of coverage per se: <u>the piecemeal and chaotic disruption of a major portion of our country's economic activity and quality of living without any apparent overall evaluation of or solutions for that disruption's fiscal, economic and medical implications.</u> We believe that instead Mr. Trump's actions have been brutally self-serving: driven by his desire to be seen as fulfilling a campaign promise; a desire to spite the Republican Congress for having failed to pass a health care bill; a desire to spite former President Obama and his supporters for anything they had ever accomplished; and his willingness to use old and sick people as human shields to force Congress to accede to his own vague and shifting health care whims. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
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<p>10-12-17 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In fact on October 14, Mr. Trump had boasted that the stock prices of several insurance companies had dropped as a consequence of his announcements. As described above in this document, Mr. Trump – for political gain, financial gain and/or emotional expression – had earlier publicly delighted in, and had even sought to cause, damage to selected private business enterprises. CSD believes that that behavior too represented an unconstitutional abuse of power.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>10-13-17</p>	<p><b><u>Iran nuclear agreement decertified.</u></b> Mr. Trump carried through on his threat to decertify Iran's compliance with the multinational Iran nuclear accord. The decertification did not cause the U.S. to immediately withdraw from the accord, which action would fall to Congress, but it clearly imperiled America's participation.</p> <p>CSD does not take a position on the substance of the accord. But the announcement was manifestly part of Mr. Trump's broader rejection of international collaboration generally and standing treaties in particular (see CSD's posting of October 12 regarding Mr. Trump's withdrawal from UNESCO). A Washington Post news analysis said: <i>"What has ... happened is a widening chasm of mutual disdain between the United States and its traditional allies. ... They see him as an erratic force who must be managed as he squanders American leadership."</i></p>	<p>14</p>
<p>10-16-17</p>	<p><b><u>Consoling the families of the fallen.</u></b> Mr. Trump, after being questioned about his tardiness in consoling the families of several soldiers who had recently been killed in Niger, falsely stated that it was President Obama and other previous presidents who had been delinquent in military consolations. As the controversy escalated and an angry widow was supported in her complaints by her congresswoman, Mr. Trump's chief of staff, John Kelly, falsely accused the congresswoman of unrelated, earlier bad behavior, thus further stoking the controversy. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 11, 17 (7)</p>

<p>10-16-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD does not offer a view on the timing and quality of Mr. Trump's actual consolations; nor do we claim that the behavior was racially motivated, as some others have done. But the impetuous falsehoods, the petty deflection of blame, and the casual and pointless insults directed to former presidents and other political figures were themselves by now routine for Mr. Trump and his staff, and contrary to the norms of our democracy in recent decades.</p>	<p>7, 11, 17 (7)</p>
<p>10-16-17, 10-17-17</p>	<p><b><u>Threat to McCain.</u></b> On October 16, in accepting the prestigious Liberty Medal in Philadelphia and in an apparent allusion to Mr. Trump, Republican Senator John McCain condemned "half-baked, spurious nationalism cooked up by people who would rather find scapegoats" than solve problems. The following day, Mr. Trump responded in a radio interview, "People have to be careful, because at some point I fight back. You know, I'm being very nice. I'm being very, very nice. But at some point I fight back and it won't be pretty." The veiled threat to McCain (a Vietnam war hero who had been tortured by a dictatorial regime for his defense of democracy) on the part of Mr. Trump (who had not served in the military and who appeared to be antagonistic to democracy) attracted national media attention. Whether and how the threat would materialize was unknown, as was Mr. Trump's understanding of the phrase "being very nice."</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>10-17-17</p>	<p><b><u>"The most talented cabinet in history."</u></b> A lengthy New York Times analysis detailed the dysfunctional relationship between Mr. Trump and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, as well as Tillerson's efforts at gutting the State Department and purging it of knowledgeable experts. When the reporter had submitted a series of questions to the White House for use in composing the article, he had received this response: "The president has assembled the most talented cabinet in history ... . Anything to the contrary is simply false and comes from unnamed sources who are either out of the loop or unwilling to turn the country around." The complete Times article is linked at this endnote.**</p>	<p>13, 17 (1, 7, 9, 11, 13)</p>

10-17-17	<p><b><u>Lost documents.</u></b> Politico reported that the National Archives had been repeatedly expressing its concerns to the White House that the Trump administration was not preserving its documentary records as mandated by law. Institutional memory and thus effective governance were at risk; and national security concerns and forensic implications abounded.</p>	9, 10
10-17-17	<p><b><u>Human shields.</u></b> Mr. Trump's move to brutally exploit the vulnerability of American citizens in seeking to destroy the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") without an alternative plan in place, as described by CSD in our October 12-17 entry above and elsewhere in this document, became apparent as part of a pattern extending well beyond health insurance. On October 17, a Washington Post columnist wrote: <i>"Trump on [October 13] said he would kill the Iran deal — unless Congress does something to save it. Trump threatened to pull the plug on Obamacare funds, potentially causing millions to lose health care — unless, he said, Congress passes a new health-care program. Before that, he said he would kill the DACA program protecting immigrant 'dreamers' — unless Congress enshrines it in law."</i> A New York Times columnist stated it similarly, that the new "Trump Doctrine" had finally been established: <i>"Obama built it. I broke it. You fix it."</i> To CSD's awareness, <u>this is an unprecedented mechanism of governance in America: for a president, lacking a clear agenda of his own, to threaten to destroy individual lives and international security if Congress does not solve crises of his own making.</u></p>	9, 10, 11
10-17-17	<p><b><u>Claiming victory in Raqqa.</u></b> Mr. Trump took complete personal credit for the Iraqi army's recent defeat of ISIS at its stronghold in the city of Raqqa and related battlefield successes, including by virtue of his having allowed military commanders greater latitude in their rules of engagement. But CNN said that the core battle plan had been developed by the previous administration. And The New York Times wrote that the 2017 successes were largely incremental relative to those of previous years, also possibly inevitable, and that contributing to the successes had been the Syrian army and dramatically increased civilian casualties attributable to the new engagement rules. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 9, 11

<p>10-17-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued below.</i>] To that CSD would add that deferring to commanders does not make the commander-in-chief a strategist; nor does taking credit for commander-driven wins synchronize with faulting commanders for their losses (as Mr. Trump had done relative to the failed raid in Yemen, reported by CSD above on February 28). Rather, Mr. Trump's off-loading to commanders (and thus his ability to deny responsibility for their failures) compared to his off-loading to Congress in other critical matters, as described above in our entry of October 17 titled "Human shields." CSD also found Mr. Trump's taking sole credit for the successes to be discordant with his lack of military or strategic experience (even though, during his presidential campaign, he had claimed that he knew more about how to defeat ISIS than "the generals.")</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-17-17</p>	<p><b><u>Fake news charge sticks.</u></b> A new Politico poll revealed that almost half of American voters had come to believe that the media fabricates news stories about Mr. Trump. And 28 percent believed that the government should have the power to revoke broadcast licenses of major news organizations that the president says are fabricating news stories about him. CSD attributes those results to Mr. Trump's persuasive powers.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9</p>
<p>10-18-17</p>	<p><b><u>NFL: the saga continues.</u></b> Responding to the National Football League's decision the previous day not to discipline players who declined to stand for the national anthem, Mr. Trump tweeted in the morning that the decision had demonstrated "a total disrespect for our great country!" To CSD, Mr. Trump seemed to be gratuitously stirring racial animosity, continuing petulantly to pound on an issue largely so that he could appear to "win," unlawfully interfering in a private sports enterprise, almost commanding that the players be disallowed from expressing their political views (which would entail a First Amendment violation), and offering an unsupported and likely inaccurate evaluation as to who (including himself) respects our country and who does not.</p> <p>Later that day, he tweeted a similar statement.</p>	<p>3, 6, 7, 11</p>

<p>10-19-17</p>	<p><b><u>Puerto Rico response ranking.</u></b> Mr. Trump said that he would give himself 10 out of 10 points for his response to Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico. Most of the island remained without electricity, and much without clean drinking water; meanwhile Puerto Ricans were leaving their island for the mainland in droves. CSD would not have expected of Mr. Trump, or any president, a miraculous performance in the face of such an immense natural disaster; yet he appeared to believe that he had achieved one.</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>10-19-17</p>	<p><b><u>Russia; and still ....</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the FBI may have paid to commission the negatively sensational but not fully corroborated "Steele dossier" about his activities in and with Russia that had emerged during the election campaign. Such a serious allegation against the law enforcement agency would ordinarily be dealt with by conducting an investigation and prosecution, rather than by flippantly tweeting about it – if it had had any basis in fact. Without basis, CSD believes, it was rank demagoguery, intended to discredit special prosecutor Robert Mueller's probe of the Trump campaign's possible participation in Russia's election interference, or associated obstruction of justice.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>10-19-17</p>	<p><b><u>Bush and Obama finally speak.</u></b> In a public address, without mentioning Mr. Trump's name, former President Bush (43) blasted Mr. Trump for his conspiracy theories, general untruths, isolationism, bullying, cruelty and bigotry, as well as for his challenges to the post-World War II liberal international order. Hours later, also in a public address, former President Obama blasted the again unnamed Mr. Trump for his "politics of division," his "politics of fear," and his presentation to the world of an America without ideals.</p> <p>Criticisms of a sitting president by former presidents had been rare in modern times, and had been limited to policy disputes. But these criticisms were not limited to policy; they addressed Mr. Trump's nativist, authoritarian outlook and his demagogic method of governing. (Until this point, the two former presidents had refrained from responding to Mr. Trump's repeated attacks on and scapegoating of them.)</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11, 14</p>

10-19-17	<p><b><u>Pompeo as partisan.</u></b> At a security conference in Washington, CIA director Mike Pompeo untruthfully said that the country's intelligence agencies had concluded in January that Russia's meddling in the 2016 election had not affected the outcome of that election. To the contrary, the CIA's report expressly stated that it was withholding judgment on that question. As CIA director, Pompeo's mandate was to be above politics; and his partisan outlook and utterances stood to diminish both the credibility of his agency and the rule of law.</p>	17 (7, 12)
10-20-17	<p><b><u>Inaccurate claim on U.K. crime.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that a recent increase in the crime rate in the United Kingdom was attributable to "Radical Islamic terror." The Washington Post determined that U.K. security officials had found no such link between the crime rate and terrorism.</p>	6, 7, 9
10-20-17, 10-24-17	<p><b><u>Interviewing U.S. attorney candidates.</u></b> On October 20, Politico and CNN reported that Mr. Trump had been personally meeting with candidates for the positions of U.S. attorney for Manhattan and Washington D.C. – lead prosecutorial positions that would have jurisdiction over some of his own most extensive business and political dealings. Those news outlets reported that it was highly unusual, if not unprecedented in modern times, for a president to interview such candidates. The risk, or the likelihood, was that Mr. Trump could have been seeking to either befriend or intimidate the candidates (as he had tried unsuccessfully to do with former FBI director James Comey), and in either case to prejudice the administration of justice relative to his own affairs. Mr. Trump was not reported to have interviewed U.S. attorney candidates in any jurisdictions where his personal affairs were not so concentrated.</p> <p>On October 24, The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Trump had also personally interviewed a candidate for U.S. attorney in Brooklyn, who would have jurisdiction over a current probe of the family real estate business of Jared Kushner (Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor) relative to that company's having facilitated green cards in exchange for receiving cash from overseas investors. The Journal also reported that the Manhattan and Brooklyn candidates were both law partners of close associates of Mr. Trump – former New York mayor Rudolf Giuliani and one of Mr. Trump's personal lawyers, respectively.</p>	9, 16

<p>10-20-17 +</p>	<p><b><u>EPA purges science, again.</u></b> On October 20, The New York Times reported that the Environmental Protection Agency had deleted dozens of online resources and scores of links designed to enable local governments to combat climate change, apparently as part of its campaign to deny the science and threat of global warming. Approximately 15 mentions of the phrase "climate change" had been removed from the main page of the site intended for local governments. The Times wrote: <i>"The report comes on the heels of a four-year blueprint of priorities the E.P.A. issued that does not include climate change. The 38-page draft strategic plan, issued for public comment this month, does not use the phrase. Under the Obama administration's four-year strategic plan issued in 2014, "Addressing Climate Change and Improving Air Quality" was the E.P.A.'s first of five goals. Climate change was cited 43 times."</i></p> <p>On October 22, The Times reported that the EPA – abruptly and without explanation – had canceled scheduled addresses by three EPA scientists at a conference in Rhode Island in which they would have spoken about the effects of climate change on the Narragansett Bay estuary. On the following day, The Washington Post reported on the outpouring of objections by critics that had ensued, on the basis of science denial generally and the impact on the local environment particularly.</p>	<p>17 (8)</p>
<p>10-21-17</p>	<p><b><u>Legal expense round robin.</u></b> <u>Multiple news outlets reported that Mr. Trump had committed to pay at least \$430,000 in legal expenses for his current and former aides who were being questioned by federal authorities with regard to Russian interference in the November election, including in connection with his own suspected wrongdoing.</u> CSD believes that any recipient of those funds would likely feel beholden to Mr. Trump, and thus disinclined to speak truthfully to investigators. In other words, the payments could be viewed as being akin to bribes.</p> <p>The dollar amount was reportedly similar to the amount that the Republican National Committee had agreed to pay to cover Mr. Trump's own legal defense costs, as had been widely reported in September. Mr. Trump's reelection campaign had paid even larger sums for his legal defense. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>Off the chart</p>



<p>10-21-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] (The RNC was also paying legal defense costs for Mr. Trump's son, Donald Jr., in connection with the investigation of Russian election interference. Taxpayers were also directly paying the White House Counsel's office and the Justice Department to defend Mr. Trump against various charges, including business conflicts of interest.)</p> <p>CSD views the decisions of the RNC and the reelection campaign to pay Mr. Trump's expenses as having fallen within their lawful discretion, as private organizations. And we acknowledge that at least one other recent president had offered to pay his aides' expenses in connection with investigations associated with his behavior. But in the aggregate, we find the events to be astounding: that the money of Republican donors (including small grass roots donors) was effectively being treated as Mr. Trump's personal money, and that the testimonies of Mr. Trump's aides could be purchased by Mr. Trump with that money. As a billionaire, of course Mr. Trump could afford to fund his own legal expenses and bribes.</p> <p>During his election campaign, Mr. Trump had attracted scrutiny for having seemingly bribed the Florida attorney general in 2013 to drop her investigation of criminal fraud allegations against his enterprise, Trump University. On October 5, 2017, The New Yorker had reported that in 2012 one of his attorneys had seemingly bribed Manhattan's district attorney to drop his investigation of criminal fraud allegations against his children Ivanka and Donald Jr. in connection with certain condominium sales. <u>With the new revelation of planning to fund aides' legal fees, the pattern of payments intended to corrupt criminal investigations now appeared not to have abated upon Mr. Trump's ascendancy to the presidency.</u></p>	<p>Off the chart</p>
<p>10-21-17</p>	<p><b><u>Russian news vs. fake news.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the recently discovered spending by Russia on Facebook advertisements that had advanced his presidential candidacy was insignificant compared to "the billions of dollars of Fake News on CNN, NBC, ABC &amp; CBS" – thus yet again casting his lot with the duplicitous Russian dictatorship and against America's free and scrupulously honest (if opinionated) mainstream press. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 9, 11, 12</p>

10-21-17	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Shortly afterwards, in apparent rage, Mr. Trump tweeted that Facebook had been on the "side" of "Crooked Hillary Clinton" during the campaign – thus maintaining his never-ending vendetta against and scapegoating of her.</p>	1, 9, 11, 12
10-25-17	<p><b><u>Favored media outlet.</u></b> Politico reported that Mr. Trump was scheduled imminently to give his 18th interview since his inauguration to Fox News, the only major television network that favored him editorially. He had given only four interviews in the aggregate to NBC, CBS and ABC, and none to CNN – all of which disfavored him, and which he had dubbed "fake news." Mr. Trump's level of favoritism was unprecedented as among recent presidential administrations, and it veered toward the empowerment of a presidential propaganda outlet.</p>	1, 9
10-25-17 +	<p><b><u>Russian sanctions delayed.</u></b> On October 25, Politico reported that several leading Republican and Democratic senators were expressing concern that the Trump administration, without explanation, had missed the October 1 deadline mandated by Congress for imposing economic sanctions on Russia, and that, in defiance of Congress, it was still offering no guidance as to when those sanctions would be implemented. The following day, Foreign Policy reported that the State Department had reacted to the criticism by beginning to implement the sanctions ... and that the cause of the tardiness was that the department had shut down its sanctions coordinating unit.</p>	9, 12, 13
10-26-17	<p><b><u>NASA nominee denies science.</u></b> A prominent Democratic senator exposed Mr. Trump's nominee for director of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration – Congressman Jim Bridenstine of Oklahoma – as an inveterate denier of climate science. Previously, at least one prominent Republican senator had expressed concern that Bridenstine was not even a scientist (scientists ordinarily head the agency). The new criticism also alleged and documented that Bridenstine was radically anti-Muslim and anti-LGBTQ, and that he had made light of the Access Hollywood video (revealed during the presidential election campaign) in which Mr. Trump had boasted about having sexually assaulted women – a problematic record for the proposed leader of a 19,000-employee federal agency.</p>	17 (6, 8)

<p>10-26-17</p>	<p><b>GAO will investigate voter fraud panel.</b> The Huffington Post reported that Congress's independent General Accounting Office would investigate the activities of Mr. Trump's Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity. As recorded previously by CSD in this document, the unstated aim of the commission had long appeared to be to bolster voter suppression laws by proving the existence of widespread voter fraud, particularly on the part of minorities, in favor of Hillary Clinton during last November's presidential election – a widely discredited conspiracy theory of Mr. Trump's invention. Among other things, the GAO's investigation would examine whether taxpayer funds were being squandered in pursuit of such a highly partisan and fantastical goal.</p> <p>The GAO's investigation would augment several pending lawsuits that had already been brought against the commission by various states and non-profit oversight organizations on transparency and voter privacy grounds. But the investigation reportedly would not begin for five months, because the GAO lacked sufficient staffing (staffing which presumably could be authorized and funded if the administration wished). HuffPost added: <i>"Democrats on the commission have openly expressed frustration they have been kept in the dark about what the panel is working on."</i></p>	<p>17 (4, 6, 9)</p>
<p>10-28-17</p>	<p><b>Americans despair of democracy.</b> A new Washington Post poll revealed that seven in 10 Americans believed that the nation was as divided as it had been during the Vietnam War, and that six in 10 blamed the Trump presidency for making the U.S. political system more dysfunctional. The Post wrote that the poll <i>"reveals a starkly pessimistic view of U.S. politics, widespread distrust of the nation's political leaders and their ability to compromise, and an erosion of pride in the way democracy works in America. ... Seven in 10 Americans say the nation's politics have reached a dangerous low point, ... [and] seven in 10 Americans view the Trump administration as dysfunctional. ... Recent surveys have shown consumer confidence is up this year and stands at the highest levels in the past decade, so it does not appear that economic concerns are driving discontent with the nation's political system. Rather, Trump's presidency appears to be a more critical factor in informing the way people feel about the state of American democracy."</i> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>All of the above</p>

<p>10-28-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] To be sure, the survey respondents blamed multiple factors in addition to Mr. Trump, including "money in politics" and social media. But at a minimum, CSD would advance that if Mr. Trump is not the sole cause of the unhappiness, neither is he leading the nation toward a remedy. The complete Post article describing the highly disturbing poll results is linked at this endnote.***</p>	<p>All of the above</p>
<p>10-29-17 +</p>	<p><b><u>Twitter attacks on Clinton, Democrats; Manafort indictment.</u></b> Mr. Trump ramped up his attacks on former opponent Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party, tweeting in a lengthy broadside that they should be investigated for paying for opposition research in the form of the Steele dossier, selling uranium to Russia, deleting emails as secretary of state, and "fixing" former FBI director James Comey's behavior around various events. Mr. Trump also reiterated that special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of possible collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia in tampering with the November 2016 election was a "Witch Hunt." He ended his broadside with a command or possibly a plea directed to an indeterminable person or group: "DO SOMETHING!"</p> <p>None of this exhortation, distraction and scapegoating appeared to CSD to adhere to appropriate legal process relative to Mr. Trump's grave allegations.</p> <p>But notably, the tweets came amid reports that Mueller had sent his first charges to a federal grand jury, and that some arrests could be imminent. In fact the following day, Mueller released the news that a federal grand jury had indicted Mr. Trump's original campaign manager Paul Manafort on 12 counts, including money laundering, failing to register as a foreign agent, and conspiring against America, all in connection with Manafort's dealings with pro-Russian Ukrainian interests. Mueller also identified two additional Trump campaign aides who had been indicted, including George Papadopoulos, who (Mueller revealed) had already pleaded guilty. Court papers indicated that Papadopoulos had boasted to Mr. Trump and Attorney General Jeff Sessions of his many contacts with the Russians – meaning that Mr. Trump and Sessions appear to have misled the public and the Senate, respectively, when they had denied knowledge of any such campaign contacts.</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17 (12, 15)</p>

<p>10-29-17 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Manafort promptly surrendered to the FBI. Mr. Trump promptly resumed, for several days, his tweets that Clinton and the Democratic Party should be investigated instead.</p> <p>On October 30, The Washington Post published an interactive graphic showing some 20 individuals close to Mr. Trump and their respective business and/or campaign connections to some 24 Russian individuals or activities. Those in the Trump camp: Mr. Trump, Paul Manafort (indicted), Michael Flynn (dismissed as national security advisor and under investigation), Carter Page (under investigation), Jeff Sessions (Attorney General and recused from the investigation), Jared Kushner (son-in-law and senior advisor), Donald Trump Jr. (son), Rex Tillerson (Secretary of State), Wilbur Ross (Secretary of Commerce), Roger Stone, J.D. Gordon, Michael Caputo, Rick Gates (indicted), Marc Kasowitz (attorney), Michael Cohen (attorney), Ivanka Trump (daughter), Felix Sater, George Papadopoulos (guilty plea), Erik Prince, Brian Benczkowski. The graphic appears at this endnote. ****</p> <p>Not mentioned in the list was Sam Clovis, whom a Post columnist characterized on November 1 as <i>"the Trump campaign official who oversaw George Papadopoulos and encouraged his efforts to meet with Russian officials."</i> In a July 21 entry above, CSD had identified Clovis as a non-scientist whom Mr. Trump had nominated to be the Agriculture Department's chief scientist. On November 2, due to Mueller's probe, Clovis – also a notorious "birther" and a climate science skeptic – withdrew his nomination.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 17 (12, 15)</p>
<p>10-30-17</p>	<p><b><u>Kelly fanning flames.</u></b> Mr. Trump's chief of staff John Kelly told Fox News that the Civil War could have been averted had the North and the South engaged in "compromise." Critics charged that the statement was racist and historically vacuous. The episode shortly followed Kelly's participation in an imbroglio – between Mr. Trump, on the one hand, and the widow of a black soldier killed by terrorists in Niger and her black congresswoman, on the other – in which Kelly had falsely lashed out at the congresswoman (see CSD's entry of October 16 above). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (10)</p>

<p>10-30-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In the same interview, Kelly said that "men and women of good faith" had fought on both sides of the Civil War. The statement was disturbingly reminiscent of Mr. Trump's repeated canards that "both sides" were equally at fault for the recent violence at a white supremacist march in Charlottesville, Virginia, and that there had been "very fine people" on both sides.</p> <p>CSD is not aware of anything in Kelly's history (unlike Mr. Trump's) that would indicate that he was untruthful, or injudicious, or that he harbored racial animosities. But we saw him now twice in a short period having commented thoughtlessly and with racial insensitivity on matters where he need not have commented at all; he had had minimal experience in the pertinent area of discourse; his principal motivation appeared to have been to cover for Mr. Trump's more pointed offenses; and his factual outlook itself appeared to have been colored by that motivation. In sum, he appeared to have been contaminated.</p>	<p>17 (10)</p>
<p>10-31-17</p>	<p><b><u>ACA sabotage succeeding.</u></b> <u>As open enrollment for 2018 under the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") began, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's efforts to sabotage the program, as chronicled repeatedly above in this document, had borne fruit.</u> Among many other disruptive moves, Mr. Trump had falsely stated that the ACA was "dead." Those efforts had "<i>sown confusion and anxiety among the roughly 10 million Americans with coverage through its insurance marketplaces and millions more who remain uninsured. ... Consumers are unclear whether the marketplaces still exist, whether they still have an obligation to get coverage, whether the mandate exists, whether they can get financial assistance.</i>" <u>CSD believes that thousands of people could suffer medically, for the sake of Mr. Trump's egotism and vindictiveness devoid of an interest in substantive solutions.</u> (CSD does not otherwise take a position on the merits of the ACA or alternative health insurance proposals.)</p>	<p>11</p>

<p>10-31-17</p>	<p><b>Another science purge at EPA.</b> Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt announced that three of the EPA's scientific panels could no longer be staffed by individuals who had received research grants from the EPA, but could be staffed by individuals who had received such grants from business interests. The New York Times wrote: <i>"The move will effectively bar a large number of academic researchers, many of them experts in fields ranging from toxicology to epidemiology, from advising the E.P.A. on scientific matters, since the agency is one of the largest funders of environmental research."</i> Pruitt then promptly dismissed the EPA's top science counselors without notice.</p>	<p>17 (8)</p>
<p>10-31-17+</p>	<p><b>Manhattan terrorist strike.</b> Shortly after an Uzbek immigrant murdered eight people on a Manhattan street by driving a truck through a bicycle lane on October 31, and before evidence emerged, Mr. Trump, on Twitter, blamed ISIS. Early the next morning, he blamed Democratic Senator Chuck Schumer – for having supported the bi-partisan 1990 immigration lottery statute (signed into law by a Republican president) through which the perpetrator had lawfully gained admission to the U.S.; and he (like Schumer himself in recent years) called for that statute's repeal. That is, Mr. Trump did not refrain from scapegoating, writing divisively, or proposing policy solutions freshly after a mass killing, as he had refrained following the recent massacre in Las Vegas at the hands of a white American gunman.</p> <p>Also on November 1, Mr. Trump said (without citing evidence and contrary to immigration process) that the perpetrator had been responsible for the admission of some 23 other immigrants to the U.S. He speculated (yet again without evidence) that the perpetrator's entire family in the U.S. could constitute security risks. And he said that the U.S. needs a system of <i>"punishment that's far quicker and far greater than the punishment these animals are getting right now. ... We need quick justice, and we need strong justice."</i> That last comment contravened the views of the mainstream press, as embodied in The New York Times' reporting of November 4 that <i>"[c]ivilian courts have been ruthlessly effective in bringing terrorists to justice."</i> But beyond that, it was not clear if Mr. Trump was suggesting the imposition of torture (as he had called for during his election campaign) or the abrogation of due process of law. In any event, he had made no such statements after the Las Vegas massacre. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 6, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>10-31-17+</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump also aggressively urged that the perpetrator be executed – an interference with a pending judicial case such as previous presidents had rarely engaged in. He also urged, then shortly and chaotically retracted, that the perpetrator be detained and tried militarily as an enemy combatant at Guantanamo Bay Naval Base in Cuba – a venue to which no terrorists had been sent in nine years.</p> <p>Ironically, Mr. Trump said that the criminal prosecution system in the U.S. was a "laughingstock" for its weakness – despite (or conceivably because of) his having fended off several personal and family criminal prosecutions through highly questionable political contributions (see CSD's entry of October 21, above); his having flaunted various conflict of interest laws as president; his complacency relative to, and sometimes outright defense of, numerous campaign aides under investigation or indictment by special prosecutor Robert Mueller in connection with Russian interference with last year's election; and his continuing excoriation of Mueller's prosecutorial efforts as a "witch hunt."</p> <p>But perhaps most ironically, as reported by The Washington Post on November 2, prosecutors and other government attorneys had found their cases to have been potentially compromised on multiple occasions by Mr. Trump's public imprecations. Examples included the various travel bans and the Bowe Bergdahl army desertion case (see CSD's November 3 entry on Bergdahl, below). The prosecutors had had at times to formally deny before courts the president's impact on their work, or that the president's words even carried the weight of presidential authority. That is, the more Mr. Trump had agitated for a judicial result, the more he may have compromised that result – now including the trial and punishment of the accused Uzbek terrorist.</p>	<p>2, 6, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>11-2-17</p>	<p><b><u>GSA collusion with Trump hotel.</u></b> Democratic members of the House Oversight Committee sued the General Services Administration for having refused to share documentation about its lease of the Trump International Hotel property in Washington to Mr. Trump's company, in violation of an oversight statute. Mr. Trump had previously overturned longstanding custom and law by directing that minority committee members could not request data from federal agencies, thus leaving them no recourse but a lawsuit.</p>	<p>9, 15</p>



11-2-17	<p><b>Fed selection drama.</b> Mr. Trump announced his appointment of Jerome Powell as chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank, after mounting a lengthy and public guessing game comparable to what he had deployed when appointing Neil Gorsuch to the Supreme Court the previous winter. The Wall Street Journal wrote in a news analysis: <i>"He infused the search with suspense and showmanship seldom seen in the normally staid business of picking a central-bank leader. He quizzed a TV personality about his preference, consulted a casino magnate, polled senators about their preferences, and teased the public about the outcome. 'People are anxiously awaiting my decision as to who the next head of the Fed will be,' Mr. Trump said last week in a video posted on Instagram. 'I have somebody very specific in mind. I think everybody will be very impressed.'"</i></p>	11
11-2-17	<p><b>Disdain for diplomats.</b> Referring to the many unfilled top positions at the State Department, Mr. Trump told Fox News: <i>"We don't need all the people they want us to get. ... Let me tell you — the one that matters is me. I'm the only one that matters because when it comes to it, that's what the policy is going to be."</i></p>	11, 13
11-2-17	<p><b>Quitting transparency treaty for oil.</b> The Interior Department pulled the U.S. from the Extractive Industries Transparency Initiative, an international accord that compelled oil, gas and mining companies to disclose their payments to governments worldwide. The withdrawal stood to facilitate the concealment of government subsidies, tax avoidance and bribery benefiting such companies, and it distanced the U.S. from anti-corruption leadership.</p>	14
11-2-17	<p><b>Club members win positions.</b> USA Today reported that at least five members of Mr. Trump's golf clubs had won from him senior political appointments, and that yet others had been promised ambassadorships. The report stated: <i>"Presidents often name campaign donors and close allies to administration posts, particularly prized diplomatic postings ... . But never in modern history has a president awarded government posts to people who pay money to his own companies."</i> USA Today also reported that <i>"dozens of lobbyists and federal contractors are paying members of the clubs Trump has visited the most often, a status that could put them in close contact with the president in exchange for payments that enrich him personally."</i></p>	15, 16

<p>11-2-17, 11-3-17</p>	<p><b><u>Wishing for Justice.</u></b> Mr. Trump said in a radio interview on November 2 that he would like the Justice Department to investigate various allegations against Hillary Clinton as secretary of state and as a presidential candidate that he had been advancing excitedly in recent weeks – but that the law forbade him from directing the Justice Department in those regards. He said: <i>“But you know the saddest thing is that because I’m the president of the United States, I am not supposed to be involved with the Justice Department. I’m not supposed to be involved with the FBI. I’m not supposed to be doing the kind of things that I would love to be doing. And I’m very frustrated by it.”</i> Mr. Trump made similar public remarks that evening and the next day.</p> <p>Knowingly or not, Mr. Trump was referring to the Judiciary Act of 1789 that had created the office of the attorney general and had given it substantial independence from the president. CSD found highly problematic both Mr. Trump's regret that he could not direct the prosecution of his political enemies and (obversely) his not-so-veiled attempts – unlikely limited to his public statements – to influence the Justice Department to do so anyway. We also found it disturbing, possibly unprecedented (except in his own administration, relative to the Departments of State and Defense), that he was publicly assailing his own subordinates – whether to intimidate them and their respective departments, to eviscerate their constitutional duties, to avoid accountability for their actions, or otherwise. And we found it beyond the pale that <u>he seemed to view the overall justice system as a vehicle that should be at his personal disposal and from which he should be immune: as in countless dictatorships worldwide.</u></p> <p>The New York Times, in a news analysis, wrote on November 3 that Mr. Trump <i>“has made himself into perhaps the most vocal critic of America’s system of justice ever to occupy the Oval Office. ... The repeated assaults on law enforcement cross lines that presidents have largely observed since the Watergate era, raising questions about the separation of politics and the law.”</i></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>

11-3-17	<p><b>Page folds.</b> Carter Page, one of the Trump campaign's senior foreign policy advisors, admitted to a Senate panel that he had met with Russian officials in Russia during the campaign, contrary to his repeated prior denials; that numerous Trump officials had known about the trip beforehand (despite <i>their</i> denials); and that he had reported to the campaign after his Russia trip.</p>	17 (7, 12)
11-3-17	<p><b>Bergdahl sentencing.</b> A military judge sentenced Bowe Bergdahl – an Army deserter for whom a rescue mission in Afghanistan had resulted in the serious wounding of two fellow soldiers – to a fine, a demotion, a dishonorable discharge, but no imprisonment. During the previous year's election campaign, Mr. Trump had termed Bergdahl a "traitor" at least 45 times, and had called for him to be executed gruesomely. At trial, Bergdahl's lawyers had argued for a mild sentence in part because of the prejudice that Mr. Trump had inserted into the case by way of his campaign fulminations; the judge had said he might agree; and the final outcome may have reflected such agreement. Upon the judge's announcement, Mr. Trump tweeted that the sentence represented "<i>a complete and total disgrace to our Country and to our Military.</i>" Because the ruling stood to be automatically renewed at several levels of the Army, the tweet again threatened prejudice, and thus opened the possibility of even greater lenience, or even reprieve.</p>	2, 9, 10, 11
11-5-17	<p><b>Politicking with American troops.</b> Wearing a leather bomber jacket, Mr. Trump gave a campaign style speech to American troops at an air base in Japan. The New York Times reported: "<i>Breaking with tradition for American presidents on foreign soil, Mr. Trump used his speech to promote his domestic record with a distinct political edge, asserting that the economy and military were far better off since he became president. 'We are back home starting to do, I will tell you — and you're reading, and you're seeing — really, really well,' Mr. Trump told the troops, noting that the stock market has surged and unemployment has been low, with almost two million jobs added 'since a very, very special day — it's called Election Day.' 'We've dealt ISIS one brutal defeat after another, and it's about time,' he added, then noting that he had proposed increases in the defense budget. 'That's a lot different than in the past.'"</i></p>	9, 11

<p>11-5-17, 11-7-17</p>	<p><b>Ross versus reality.</b> On November 5, The New York Times reported that Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross had failed to disclose in ethics filings his sizable investment in a company that was doing a substantial shipping business with a firm owned by Russian President Vladimir Putin's son-in-law and a Russian oligarch. The company had increased its business with the Russian firm <i>"even as the West sought to punish Russia's energy sector over Mr. Putin's incursions into Ukraine."</i></p> <p>On November 7, Forbes Magazine reported that Ross had long overstated his net worth by a factor of five, and that he was not in fact a billionaire. The magazine wrote: <i>"It seems clear that Ross lied to us, the latest in an apparent sequence of fibs, exaggerations, omissions, fabrications and whoppers that have been going on with Forbes since 2004. In addition to just padding his ego, Ross' machinations helped bolster his standing in a way that translated into business opportunities. And based on our interviews with ten former employees at Ross' private equity firm, WL Ross &amp; Co., who all confirmed parts of the same story line, his penchant for misleading extended to colleagues and investors, resulting in millions of dollars in fines, tens of millions refunded to backers and numerous lawsuits. Additionally, according to six U.S. senators, Ross failed to initially mention 19 suits in response to a questionnaire during his confirmation process."</i></p>	<p>17 (7, 15)</p>
<p>11-6-17, 11-9-17</p>	<p><b>Stock market boast.</b> On November 6, Mr. Trump said: "The reason our stock market is so successful is because of me."</p> <p>American presidents had rarely taken credit for positive stock market performance. They had feared being overly associated with the wealth of investors while other citizens were struggling financially; staking their reputations on strong markets when those markets – inherently fickle – could easily reverse direction; and drawing criticism from market analysts for questionable cause-and-effect claims. Mr. Trump evidenced none of those fears. But on November 9, a Wall Street Journal news analysis did question the causal claim: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>11</p>

<p>11-6-17, 11-9-17</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "... Mr. Trump should be giving thanks, not taking credit. The entire global economy is picking up steam, and foreign stocks are outperforming American ones. This suggests the U.S.'s good fortune is due less to Mr. Trump's presence than to a broader, global trend. Years of highly stimulative monetary policies by central banks have finally overcome various post-crisis headwinds. ... The stock market initially soared after Mr. Trump's election as investors justifiably anticipated looser regulation, especially of banks, and lower taxes. Yet with time, the 'Trump trade' has faded."</i></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>11-7-17</p>	<p><b>Fear-mongering in Virginia.</b> By way of Twitter and automated Election Day phone calls, Mr. Trump urged Virginia voters to support the Republican gubernatorial candidate on grounds that he would reduce crime, and particularly Hispanic crime. (Virginia was not a high crime state. The Republican candidate lost the election.)</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>11-7-17</p>	<p><b>Pompeo pursues conspiracy input.</b> The Washington Post reported that CIA director Mike Pompeo, at Mr. Trump's direction, had secretly met with a purveyor of a discredited intelligence theory: that the Democratic National Committee had leaked its own emails during last year's presidential campaign, rather than Russia having hacked them, even though the publication of those emails had disgraced the Democratic Party. The Post recounted a list of ways in which Pompeo appeared to have politicized his security role in Mr. Trump's favor since his appointment. The complete article is linked at this endnote.*****</p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 17 (9)</p>
<p>11-7-17</p>	<p><b>U.S. now alone in rejecting Paris climate accord.</b> Syria agreed to sign the Paris agreement on climate change. The move followed that of Nicaragua, leaving the U.S. as the sole non-participant since Mr. Trump's withdrawal.</p>	<p>14</p>
<p>11-8-17</p>	<p><b>Advertising a golf club while abroad.</b> In an address to the South Korean National Assembly (the country's legislative body), Mr. Trump promoted one of his U.S. golf clubs by name, noting that a South Korean had recently won a title there.</p>	<p>15</p>

<p>11-8-17</p>	<p><b>Science denial at the White House.</b> As reported by The Washington Post, Kathleen Hartnett White – Mr. Trump's nominee to lead the White House's Council on Environmental Quality (its top environmental position) – testified before the Senate's Environment and Public Works Committee that she was uncertain about the extent to which human activity had contributed to global warming. She acknowledged that she was not a scientist, and was not informed on a multitude of environmental matters. But as reported by The Huffington Post, she <i>"has argued that 'carbon dioxide has none of the attributes of a pollutant,' dismissed it as a 'harmless trace gas' and 'plant food,' and compared Pope Francis' public advocacy for action to curb global warming to the Catholic Church's arrest of Galileo for heresy in 1633. She equated the belief in the overwhelming evidence that man-made greenhouse gas emissions are warming the planet to 'paganism,' and accused United Nations leaders calling for climate action of advocating totalitarian communism. Hartnett White deflected those quotes as taken out of context when raised repeatedly by Democratic senators ... ."</i></p>	<p>8</p>
<p>11-8-17</p>	<p><b>Icahn under investigation.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that billionaire investor and former Trump presidential advisor Carl Icahn was under federal investigation for having attempted through his advisory position to influence regulatory activity for the benefit his own energy investments. CSD had initially reported the conflict of interest on March 27.</p>	<p>16, 17 (15)</p>
<p>11-9-17</p>	<p><b><u>Voter fraud commission member sues ... the commission.</u></b> Maine's Secretary of State Matthew Dunlap sued the Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity – of which he was then a member – to force it to disclose its secretive activities to him and to the public, as required by law. The commission, seemingly formed to prove Mr. Trump's meritless claim that millions of fraudulent votes had been cast for his opponent Hillary Clinton and to justify voter suppression laws, had already been sued in half a dozen other actions brought on privacy and transparency grounds, all as described above by CSD in our October 26 entry.</p>	<p>17 (4, 6, 9)</p>

<p>11-9-17, 11-10-17</p>	<p><b>Gutting State.</b> On November 9, Time Magazine reported that the State Department had lost 60% of its career ambassadors since January, in fulfillment of the stated intention of Mr. Trump and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson to shrink the department. The following day, The New York Times reported:</p> <p><i>"The State Department will soon offer a \$25,000 buyout to diplomats and staff members who quit or take early retirements by April ... . The decision is part of Secretary of State Rex W. Tillerson's continuing effort to cut the ranks of diplomats and Civil Service officers despite bipartisan resistance in Congress. Mr. Tillerson's goal is to reduce a department of nearly 25,000 full-time American employees by 8 percent, which amounts to 1,982 people. To reach that number, he has already frozen hiring, reduced promotions, asked some senior employees to perform clerical duties that are normally relegated to lower-level staff members, refused to fill many ambassadorships and senior leadership jobs, and fired top diplomats from coveted posts while offering low-level assignments in their place. Those efforts have crippled morale worldwide. ... Mr. Tillerson has sharply pared down the number of briefings he receives from senior diplomats as well as the number of people who normally travel with the secretary of state. As a result, Mr. Tillerson has had repeated gaffes in foreign capitals. He is also wildly unpopular in the State Department, and the president is rumored to be eager to replace him."</i></p>	<p>13</p>
<p>11-9-17</p>	<p><b>Obsequiousness toward Xi.</b> Visiting with Chinese President Xi Jinping in Beijing, Mr. Trump publicly congratulated him on consolidating his dictatorship, commended him (and faulted prior American administrations) for China having bested the U.S. in international trade, called him a "very special man," hailed their "very good chemistry," and refrained from criticizing his odious human rights record. The goals, still elusive, were to enlist China's support in reducing North Korea's nuclear threat, and possibly also to tame China's international trade abuses. Xi, while extending considerable pomp and hospitality, did not appear to publicly reciprocate the verbal flattery. Rather he said, according to The Wall Street Journal, that friction between China and the U.S. was unavoidable. The content of their private conversations was unknown. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>12</p>

<p>11-9-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The New York Times wrote this analysis: "<i>It was a remarkable moment in the story of China's rise and America's response to it, with Mr. Trump's performance suggesting a tipping point in great-power politics. By concluding that the United States can better achieve its goals by flattering a Chinese leader than by challenging him, Mr. Trump seemed to signal a reversal of roles: the United States may now need China's help more than the other way around.</i>"</p> <p>CSD does not purport to second-guess a presidential administration's diplomatic tactics. And we recognize that in extraordinary cases, as in World War II, the U.S. must partner strategically with unsavory allies. But (without wishing to compare Xi to the mass murderer Josef Stalin) we do not believe that President Franklin Roosevelt congratulated Stalin on his dictatorial powers, called him a "very special man," hailed their "very good chemistry," or blamed prior American presidents for Stalin's successes.</p>	<p>12</p>
<p>11-10-17</p>	<p><b><u>Inflated Asian deals.</u></b> The White House said that Mr. Trump, still on tour in East Asia, had signed \$250 billion in new trade and investment deals that would generate manufacturing jobs in the U.S. The New York Times reported that many or most of those deals were either tentative or had already been long in the pipeline, and that some would create jobs overseas rather than in the U.S.</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>11-10-17</p>	<p><b><u>Rejection of multilateral trade.</u></b> Speaking to business leaders in Vietnam, Mr. Trump pointedly doubled-down on his previous rejection of multilateral approaches to and institutions for international trade. He said: "<i>We are not going to let the United States be taken advantage of anymore . .... I am always going to put America first, the same way that I expect all of you in this room to put your countries first. ... For the glory of God, protect your home, defend your home.</i>" Meanwhile plans for the enormous, multilateral Trans-Pacific (trade) Partnership were rapidly advancing, without the U.S. and with China in the lead.</p> <p>Notably, Mr. Trump demanded of Asian leaders that they join him in countering the North Korean nuclear threat – a dissonance that had characterized his remarks at the UN General Assembly meeting as well. (See CSD's entry of September 18-19.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 14</p>



<p>11-10-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Although CSD does not take a position on specific trade arrangements, we continue to be concerned that Mr. Trump's hyper-nationalistic trade philosophy placed demagoguery above reason, invited conflict and chaos, and diminished America's leadership role in world affairs.</p>	<p>9, 14</p>
<p>11-11-17</p>	<p><b><u>Allegiance to Putin.</u></b> Also while in Vietnam, Mr. Trump met with Russian President Vladimir Putin. Afterwards <u>Mr. Trump told reporters that Putin had assured him that Russia did not interfere in last year's American presidential election, and that he believed Putin's sincerity, or possibly even his denial.</u> Mr. Trump's remarks about Putin's <i>bona fides</i> echoed those he had made at the G-20 summit (see CSD's entry of July 7-9). <u>He added that the American intelligence agencies that had determined that Russia had interfered were led by "political hacks" and liars.</u> He also took the occasion to scapegoat former opponent "Crooked Hillary Clinton" for poor relations with Russia; he said that <i>"the whole thing [the election meddling accusation] was set up by the Democrats,"</i> and he called the investigation an <i>"artificial Democratic hit job."</i></p> <p>Putin, for his part, deploying what has been commonly cited as the deft psychology of the former KGB colonel that he was, said that Mr. Trump had behaved at meetings <i>"with the highest level of good will and correctness,"</i> and that <i>"he is a cultured person, and comfortable discussing matters related to work."</i> Also, in a chilling joke reminiscent of a nearly identical one that he had made at the G-20 summit, Putin said of his functionaries who had failed to arrange a longer meeting with Mr. Trump, <i>"Well, they will be punished."</i> (See CSD's entry of July 7-9.)</p> <p>In his continuing skepticism of the American intelligence community's findings about Russia and the election, Mr. Trump appeared to stand virtually if not entirely alone as among senior American political figures and government officials. <u>CSD believes that under ordinary circumstances, Mr. Trump's public repudiation of his own intelligence services in favor of the word of a brutal and irredeemably mendacious foreign dictator would be considered delusional, treasonous or both.</u> Indeed, on the following day, in the wake of the firestorm that his remarks had ignited in the U.S., Mr. Trump attempted to walk them back with reporters. But his original statements stood on the record.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>

11-11-17	<p><b>Back at it with Kim.</b> After North Korean leader Kim Jong-un again referred to Mr. Trump as a "dotard," Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>Why would Kim Jong-un insult me by calling me "old," when I would NEVER call him "short and fat?"</i>"</p>	10, 11

- \* [https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/10/12/us/trump-undermine-obamacare.html?\\_r=0](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/10/12/us/trump-undermine-obamacare.html?_r=0)
- \*\* <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/10/17/magazine/rex-tillerson-and-the-unraveling-of-the-state-department.html?rref=collection%2Fsectioncollection%2Fmagazine&action=click&contentCollection=magazine&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=sectionfront>
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**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 11 – December 17, 2017*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>11-13-17, 11-14-17</p>	<p><b><u>Friends with Duterte; Asia summation.</u></b> Completing his extended East Asian journey, Mr. Trump announced that he had formed a "great relationship" with the Philippines' President Rodrigo Duterte – a strongman and fellow populist who the previous year had called President Obama a "son of a whore" and who had been widely condemned in the West for his continuous extra-judicial killings of thousands in connection with his war against drugs.</p> <p>During the Asian tour, and contrary to the at least occasional practice of previous presidents, Mr. Trump had made no public comment about the extensive human rights abuses within such countries as China, the Philippines, Myanmar, Russia and Vietnam, while instead often praising their leaders. Nor, by accounts in The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times and The Washington Post, did he appear to have advanced U.S. interests in forming new bilateral trade alliances (to replace the multilateral Trans Pacific Partnership that he had rejected) or in taming China's unfair trade practices, its territorial claims in the South China Sea, or North Korea's nuclear threat. Still he claimed that the trip was "tremendously successful," "incredible," and "very epic"; and he summarized it by pointing to the hospitality he had received: <i>"It was a red carpet like nobody, I think, has probably ever seen. That really is a sense of respect ...."</i></p>	<p>11, 12</p>

<p>11-13-17</p>	<p><b>Trump Jr. , WikiLeaks, and Pence.</b> The Atlantic reported that Mr. Trump's son, Donald Jr., had had lengthy correspondence during last year's election campaign with WikiLeaks – the radical pro-Russian and anti-American transparency organization – pursuant to which WikiLeaks had offered to assist the Trump campaign in a variety of secretive and unsavory ways. Mr. Trump himself (the president) had publicly praised WikiLeaks and had publicized its trove of leaked Democratic Party emails during that period.</p> <p>The Atlantic added that Trump Jr. had informed the campaign leadership of his WikiLeaks contacts. But Vice President Mike Pence then denied having had knowledge of them. As recited by The Huffington Post, that was at least the fifth time that Pence had denied knowledge of extraordinary matters of which a vice presidential candidate would likely have known – including campaign eminence and former national security advisor Michael Flynn's having had a business relationship with the Turkish government during the campaign; communications between campaign leadership and Russian operatives; post-election discussions about lifting Russian sanctions between Mr. Trump's transition team and Russian officials; and Mr. Trump's having fired then FBI director James Comey at least in part because of Comey's investigation of Russia's election interference. Pence thus appeared to have been delinquent out of the loop, uncommonly clueless, or inveterately dishonest.</p>	<p>17 (7, 12)</p>
<p>11-13-17</p>	<p><b>Zinke – warrior? cowboy? autocrat? thief?</b> The Huffington Post reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke had fitted out his office with stuffed game animals and his collection of Navy Seal knives; also that he had broken custom by seeking to redesign the Interior Department's flag – enlarging it so that it would be as big as the American flag – and ordering that it fly above the department, military-style, whenever he was in his office. Zinke's colorful persona had first appeared when, after his appointment to his position in March, he had arrived at the office wearing a cowboy hat and riding a horse. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (8, 9, 11, 15)</p>

<p>11-13-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As discussed in numerous episodes above in this document, Zinke had earlier this year incurred scrutiny for his questionable spending of public funds on personal and political travel; his extortionate political threat to an Alaskan senator over health care legislation; his denial of environmental science; his threat to fire 30% of the Interior Department's staff for being "not loyal to the flag"; his desire to broadly open national lands for mining and drilling; his questionable selection of national lands in his home state for preservation; his possible connection to the terminated and now investigated Hurricane Maria contractor Whitefish Energy; and his suspect purchase and sale of an expensive RV with campaign funds.</p> <p>HuffPost also reported a stark depletion in Interior Department staff morale under Zinke.</p>	<p>17 (8, 9, 11, 15)</p>
<p>11-14-17</p>	<p><b>Boundless falsehoods.</b> The Washington Post's Fact-Checker reported that Mr. Trump had made 1628 false or misleading claims since becoming president, or an average of 5.5 per day.</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>11-14-17</p>	<p><b>Sessions revises, again.</b> For at least the third time, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, when confronted with the admissions of other Trump campaign officials, revised his prior denials about his and other officials' contacts with Russian-linked individuals during the campaign. Specifically, he now acknowledged to the House Judiciary Committee having known of George Papadopoulos's and possibly of Carter Page's contacts. Previously, he had been forced to walk back denials of having met with Russians and of having discussed campaign issues with them. Sessions is the uppermost official within the U.S. government tasked with enforcing the law, including the obligation to tell the truth during judicial and governmental proceedings.</p>	<p>17 (7, 12)</p>
<p>11-15-17 +</p>	<p><b>Elephant trophies.</b> On November 15, the Interior Department, led by hunting enthusiast Secretary Ryan Zinke, announced to the Safari Club that it would rescind an American ban on importing elephant trophies from Zambia and Zimbabwe, thus sparking a bi-partisan domestic outcry and international condemnation. Among other things, critics feared that the move would encourage poaching of the endangered species, in contravention of the international campaign to ban the trade in ivory. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (9, 10, 11)</p>

<p>11-15-17 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD neither embraces nor opposes legal game hunting. But we could not discern in the new policy any benefit to America's security or prosperity, or any material benefit to the two African countries – only a thoughtless international antagonism. Indeed on November 17, submitting to the outcry, Mr. Trump reversed Zinke's department's decision and said that the ban would remain.</p> <p>We also reiterate our observation of September 19-20 that the Trump administration's interest in Africa to date appeared to have been limited to the direct exploitation of the continent for American gain (or now, pleasure) – not the continent's prosperity, democratization or political stability – perhaps consistent with his America First outlook, or perhaps out of a simple (but alarming) absence of empathy and awareness.</p> <p>On November 23, The Huffington Post extensively documented Zinke's close relationship with the Safari Club and the many actions he had taken in support of the club's interests, if not at its bidding. The article is linked in this endnote.* Zinke also had decorated his office with hunting trophies, as reported above in this document on November 13. Of course many, many of our senior political figures are avid hunters, and politicians must be allowed their hobbies. In addition, politicians routinely support the interests of their campaign contributors. But Zinke's ill-considered elephant gambit appeared to CSD to be of a piece with his numerous, seemingly self-absorbed, ethically questionable practices cited above in this document, as well as his attempted magnification of his personal and political profile as a cabinet-level strongman.</p>	<p>17 (9, 10, 11)</p>
<p>11-16-17</p>	<p><b><u>Kushner's non-cooperation.</u></b> The Senate Judiciary Committee protested to the lawyer for Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner that, while professing cooperation with the committee, Kushner had withheld from it numerous troubling documents indicating his awareness of Russian election interference and related matters.</p>	<p>17 (7, 12)</p>

<p>11-16-17 +</p>	<p><b>Sexual assaults.</b> On November 16, Mr. Trump mocked Democratic Senator Al Franken for his admission of having sexually assaulted a woman in 2006. At the same time he declined to condemn or to withdraw his endorsement of Republican senatorial candidate Roy Moore – twice dismissed from his seat on Alabama's supreme court on ethical grounds – after six women had now credibly alleged that he had assaulted them. Mr. Trump previously had condemned Democrats Bill Clinton, Harvey Weinstein and Anthony Weiner for their improper sexual behavior, and had defended Fox News Republicans Bill O'Reilly and Roger Ailes for theirs. He meanwhile did not now comment upon the allegations as to his own sexual assaults that had been brought by over a dozen women during his election campaign, or of his having boasted on an Access Hollywood tape about routinely assaulting women.</p> <p>On November 21, Mr. Trump effectively re-endorsed Moore, by urging voters to reject Moore's Democratic opponent and pronouncing Moore's denials of the women's allegations to be credible. On November 26, Mr. Trump issued a tweet even more fervently urging a vote against the Democrat. Mr. Trump (at least at that moment) thus stood virtually alone among mainstream Republicans outside of Moore's home state in supporting a man whose character and extreme political behaviors had been rejected by the rest. On December 4 and 8 he expressly endorsed Moore. On December 10 he recorded a robo-call message for Moore's campaign. And on December 8 he held a rally in nearby Pensacola, Florida, largely for the benefit of Moore's campaign (see CSD's December 8 entry, below).</p> <p>Boorishness and hypocrisy as such do not offend our democratic principles. But CSD regards Mr. Trump's casual and selective condemnation of Franken and other Democrats as amounting to a belittling of crimes against women; a scapegoating of perpetrators who were politically antagonistic toward him; and a partisan divisiveness fueled by sexual sensationalism without regard to the suffering of the victims – all comparable to Mr. Trump's tirades against Muslim mass murderers but not white American ones (see CSD's entry of October 31, above). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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11-16-17 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] We also believe that Mr. Trump's apparent view that Moore's (or seemingly anyone's) mere denial of sexual assault is tantamount to an acquittal further indicates Mr. Trump's dispositions that women accusers are not credible and that truth consists of whatever someone (in Mr. Trump's favor) says it is – both of which dispositions we consider to lie within a legal, moral and empirical abyss. In that regard we, like the majority of American voters (according to The Washington Post's report of November 16), also believe that Mr. Trump's earlier denials as to his own sexual assaults were likely false. The Post's stunning November 22 compilation of the many graphic and corroborated sexual allegations against Mr. Trump appears at the link in this endnote.**</p>	6, 7, 9, 11
11-17-17	<p><b><u>ACA black-out succeeds.</u></b> Kaiser Health News reported that <u>nearly a third of Americans eligible to enroll in the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") in the then current (and radically shortened) open enrollment period had not heard of the enrollment opportunity.</u> As CSD had previously reported on multiple occasions, Mr. Trump had engineered the gutting of mechanisms for promoting enrollments in an effort to cripple the ACA without having established an alternative program. CSD does not favor or disfavor the ACA. But we believe that the survey demonstrated yet again the success of Mr. Trump's strategy, deployed out of vindictiveness toward President Obama (and other Democrats) and for political gain, and that that strategy <u>will likely be deleterious for many Americans' health.</u></p>	11
11-17-17, 11-24-17	<p><b><u>Palestinian embassy closure – then not.</u></b> Secretary of State Rex Tillerson abruptly threatened to close the Palestinian embassy in Washington, due to a Palestinian call for the International Criminal Court to investigate certain Israeli activities. According to the Washington Post, diplomatic chaos ensued, including within the U.S. government, and a week later Tillerson reversed.</p>	17 (10, 13)
11-20-17	<p><b><u>Trump-branded merchandise.</u></b> NPR reported that Mr. Trump's company, The Trump Organization, had recently launched TrumpStore.com, which sold articles bearing Mr. Trump's name. Unlike the similar DonaldJTrump.com, by and for his re-election campaign, here the profits from his presidential celebrity would flow entirely to himself.</p>	15



<p>11-20-17, 11-22-17, 11-26-17</p>	<p><b>Legally disputed orders.</b> As reported by The Washington Post, on November 20, a federal judge in San Francisco issued an injunction to permanently block Mr. Trump’s executive order to deny funding to cities that refused to cooperate with federal immigration officials, after finding the order unconstitutional.</p> <p>As reported by The New York Times, on November 22, a federal judge in Maryland blocked the Trump administration’s ban on transgender troops, ruling that it was “capricious, arbitrary, and unqualified” and that it likely violated equal protection provisions of the Constitution. The ruling mirrored that of the previous month by a federal court in the District of Columbia.</p> <p>On November 26, an official of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau – a federal watchdog agency tasked with monitoring Wall Street – sued the Trump administration to protect the independence of that agency. Specifically, its director, prior to retiring some days earlier, had named his deputy to be his acting successor; but Mr. Trump had countered by naming as acting director the more business-friendly Mick Mulvaney, director of the Office of Management and the Budget (who would retain his current position as well). The lawsuit, brought by the deputy director on statutory grounds, sought to confirm her appointment over that of Mulvaney, pending the appointment of a permanent replacement by Congress.</p> <p>The above episodes followed the many federal court rulings that had limited or struck down Mr. Trump's series of travel bans, some of which cases were still in litigation at the time of this entry. In fairness, previous presidents too have had some of their actions challenged in court, sometimes successfully. But to CSD's knowledge, Mr. Trump's efforts in testing the edges of constitutional and statutory permissibility – and the resulting push-back by plaintiffs and the courts – have been unusually early and routine in comparison to those of recent administrations.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>11-22-17</p>	<p><b>Conway versus the Hatch Act.</b> Senior presidential advisor Kellyanne Conway appeared to violate the Hatch Act by making a televised statement condemning the policy positions of sex-scandal-tainted Alabama senatorial candidate Roy Moore's Democratic opponent. It is illegal for most federal employees to participate in partisan political campaigns. This was Conway's second known ethical violation in 2017, the first having been an endorsement of presidential daughter Ivanka Trump's commercial fashion line. While aides to previous presidents had also occasionally violated the Hatch Act, Conway's improprieties and her imperviousness to administrative disciplinary action began to appear habitual.</p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>11-22-17, 11-24-17</p>	<p><b>Sports fury.</b> On November 22, Mr. Trump continued his public feud with LaVar Ball, an audacious television sports personality for whose son, a college basketball player, Mr. Trump had recently procured a release from shoplifting charges in China. Ball had dubiously and indecorously challenged Mr. Trump's claim to having procured the release. Now Mr. Trump tweeted the following:</p> <p><i>" It wasn't the White House, it wasn't the State Department, it wasn't father LaVar's so-called people on the ground in China that got his son out of a long term prison sentence - IT WAS ME. Too bad! LaVar is just a poor man's version of Don King, but without the hair. Just think.. ...LaVar, you could have spent the next 5 to 10 years during Thanksgiving with your son in China, but no NBA contract to support you. But remember LaVar, shoplifting is NOT a little thing. It's a really big deal, especially in China. Ungrateful fool!"</i></p> <p>Both Ball and King were African American. Mr. Trump had most recently condemned an African American football player for not standing for the national anthem on November 20, and had condemned other prominent African American sports figures for criticizing him throughout the fall. CSD believes that Mr. Trump's seemingly instinctive stoking of racial antagonisms, as manifested in the tweet, and particularly his lashing out against African American sports figures, was matched only by the tweet's puerility; and that overall the tweet set a new mark for disgracing the office of the American presidency at home and across the world. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 10, 11</p>

<p>11-22-17, 11-24-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On November 24, Mr. Trump resumed his angry tweets against African American football players who had protested racism on-field, and against the National Football League which had declined to discipline them.</p>	<p>6, 10, 11</p>
<p>11-23-17</p>	<p><b>Giving thanks, for one's self.</b> By teleconference on Thanksgiving Day, Mr. Trump boasted to overseas troops about the strong economy and his forthcoming tax cuts, his build-up of military personnel and ordnance, and how his hands-off approach to military command was newly generating victories on the battlefield – all the while repeatedly disparaging former President Barack Obama as commander-in-chief. It was Mr. Trump's most recent episode of denouncing his predecessor, ignoring prior battlefield progress, and politicizing a military event.</p> <p>He also praised the Coast Guard for having improved its "brand" by way of its recent disaster relief operations.</p> <p>Mr. Trump delivered his remarks from his Florida resort Mar-A-Lago and then visited one of his nearby golf clubs. As reported by multiple news outlets, those visits marked the 100th day since his inauguration on which he had spent time at a Trump-owned property. He had done so on nearly a third of the days of his presidency – each time implicitly promoting his own "brand," this after having viciously criticized President Obama for his vacation days while in office.</p> <p>In a separate Thanksgiving Day tweet, Mr. Trump boasted of many other achievements, including by way of the breathtakingly inaccurate statement – as belied by every imaginable poll – that "the enthusiasm in this country has never been higher."</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 15</p>

<p>11-25-17</p>	<p><b>Disembowelment of State Department.</b> The New York Times updated reports of Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's determined efforts to eviscerate his department. Those senior officials who had been forced out and not replaced included the director of security (tasked with preventing future Bengazi-type tragedies at American embassies) and 100 senior foreign service officers. Squeeze-outs included <i>"most of the top African-American and Latino diplomats, as well as many women, difficult losses in a department that has long struggled with diversity. ... The number of those with the department's top two ranks of career ambassador and career minister — equivalent to four- and three-star generals — will have been cut in half by Dec. 1, from 39 to 19. And of the 431 minister-counselors, who have two-star-equivalent ranks, 369 remain and another 14 have indicated that they will leave soon — an 18 percent drop. ...</i></p> <p><i>"The political appointees who normally join the department after a change in administration have not made up for those departures. So far, just 10 of the top 44 political positions in the department have been filled, and for most of the vacancies, Mr. Tillerson has not nominated anyone."</i></p> <p>Vacancies included ambassadors to South Korea, Turkey, Jordan, Egypt, Qatar and South Africa, and assistant secretaries of state for Africa, East Asia, the Near East, and the Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration.</p> <p>Meanwhile, many remaining diplomats had had their work redirected to the mind-numbing chore of ferreting out any possibly not-yet-disclosed emails of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the target of Mr. Trump's continuing, vicious, and seemingly obsessive scapegoating.</p>	<p>17 (9, 13)</p>
<p>11-25-17, 11-27-17, 11-28-17</p>	<p><b>Fake news trophy.</b> On September 25, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"@FoxNews is MUCH more important in the United States than CNN, but outside of the U.S., CNN International is still a major source of (Fake) news, and they represent our Nation to the WORLD very poorly. The outside world does not see the truth from them!"</i> Two days later, continuing his explicit and exclusive favoritism toward a media outlet such as was without presidential precedent, he tweeted: <i>"We should have a contest as to which of the Networks, plus CNN and not including Fox, is the most dishonest, corrupt and/or distorted in its political coverage of your favorite President (me). They are all bad. Winner to receive the FAKE NEWS TROPHY!"</i> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 9, 11</p>

<p>11-25-17, 11-27-17, 11-28-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CNN and several of its reporters responded to the effect that their job was to tell the truth, not to disseminate a regime's propaganda; that Mr. Trump's attitude toward the American press stood to jeopardize the free press and the lives of reporters worldwide; and that for America to have lost its claim to the inviolability of its own press freedom "turns the world on its head."</p> <p>In fact on November 28, both The Guardian and CNN reported that some Libyan media and diplomats had questioned a recent, highly praised report by CNN International – exposing the buying and selling of sub-Saharan African migrants in Libyan slave markets – on grounds that Mr. Trump had deemed CNN International unreliable.</p>	<p>1, 9, 11</p>
<p>11-26-17, 11-27-17, 11-28-17</p>	<p><b><u>Russia sanctions still nowhere.</u></b> On at least three successive days, Republican Senator Lindsay Graham objected to Mr. Trump – in defiance of Congressional legislation – having still failed to implement the sanctions against Russia for interfering with the American presidential election that Congress had enacted and that Mr. Trump had reluctantly signed months prior.</p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>11-27-17 +</p>	<p><b><u>Torching "Pocahontas" at Navajo ceremony.</u></b> In honoring World War II Navajo Indian code-talkers at the White House, Mr. Trump took a gratuitous swipe at his frequent scapegoat, Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren, ridiculing her (as he had often done previously) as "Pocahantas" for her unsubstantiated claim to having Native American lineage. The National Congress of American Indians, the Navajo Nation and the Alliance of Colonial Era Tribes afterwards all expressed their displeasure at Mr. Trump's callous denigration of their own heritage for political purposes, according to the Huffington Post.</p> <p>Not incidentally, Mr. Trump performed the ceremony and made the statement in front of a portrait of former President Andrew Jackson that he had installed in the White House. President Jackson is notorious for having signed the Indian Removal Act that led to the deaths of thousands of Indians on the Trail of Tears in the early 19th century.</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>

11-28-17	<p><b>Sticking to falsehoods.</b> The New York Times reported that in recent days and months Mr. Trump, in private conversations, was not only denying that the voice in the notorious Access Hollywood tapes (in which he had boasted about sexually assaulting women) was his, but was still maintaining that he had lost the popular vote in his election campaign against Hillary Clinton only due to widespread voter fraud, and was resuming his allegation that President Obama had not been born in the U.S.</p>	6, 7, 11
11-29-17 +	<p><b>The Sick Puppy.</b> At a rally in Missouri on November 29, Mr. Trump derided North Korean leader Kim Jong-un as a "sick puppy," and – as he had done before – as "Lil' Rocket Man," shortly after Kim had launched a ballistic missile believed to be capable of reaching anyplace in the United States. The following day, he tweeted a criticism of China for having failed to control "Little Rocket Man."</p>	10, 11, 13
11-29-17	<p><b>Tax myths.</b> At the same Missouri rally, Mr. Trump repeated his previous falsehood that he would lose money under his proposed tax legislation. Time Magazine detailed how he and his family would likely instead save vast sums. (More would be known if Mr. Trump, like all previous presidents in recent times, would release his tax returns.)</p>	7
11-29-17	<p><b>Murder insinuation.</b> Without any factual basis, Mr. Trump insinuated in a tweet that Joe Scarborough, an MSNBC journalist critical of him, had participated in the murder of a young female aide in 2001 when Scarborough was a member of Congress.</p>	1, 11
11-29-17	<p><b>Conflicts Galore.</b> A number of Mr. Trump's pending nominees were under scrutiny for possible business conflicts of interest, including the following:</p> <p><u>Alex Azar</u> – Nominated to be Health and Human Services Secretary, had just spent a decade helping to lead a major pharmaceutical company in its price increases, and now would be tasked with reducing drug prices for the country.</p> <p><u>Barry Myers</u> – Nominated to head the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, was the CEO of the private forecasting company AccuWeather, and had spent years seeking to cause the government agency to privatize the information that the National Weather Service produces. [Continued below.]</p>	17 (15)

<p>11-29-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <p><u>Dana Baicco</u> – Nominated to serve on the Consumer Product Safety Commission, had made a legal career of defending companies against consumer safety lawsuits.</p> <p><u>Steven Engel</u> – Actually appointed in August as a top Justice Department lawyer – directly after having represented a Canadian payday lender in defending against a consumer fraud charge brought by the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau – was now in the news for having orchestrated the takeover of the CFPB by the pro-business director of the Office of Budget and Management Mike Mulvaney (see CSD's entry of November 20-26, above).</p> <p>On October 29, The Daily Beast had written that it had "<i>examined 341 nominations the president has made to Senate-confirmed administration positions. Of those, more than half (179) have some notable conflict of interest, according to a comprehensive review of public records. One hundred and five nominees worked in the industries that they were being tasked with regulating; 63 lobbied for, were lawyers for, or otherwise represented industry members that they were being tasked with regulating; and 11 received payments or campaign donations from members of the industry that they were being tasked with regulating. ... 'The depth of the ties of the industry is pervasive,' said Craig Holman, government affairs lobbyist for the group Public Citizen. 'With the Trump administration we are seeing complete regulatory capture and quite frankly it will be the defining feature of this administration.'</i>"</p> <p>CSD values business inputs to the regulatory process, and we are aware that knowledgeable regulators commonly are and should be drawn from the ranks of those experienced with the pertinent regulatory topics. We and others, however, draw a distinction between expertise and outright conflicts, and particularly now when the latter appear to have pervaded the current administration.</p>	<p>17 (15)</p>
<p>11-29-17, 11-30-17</p>	<p><b><u>Bashing Muslims and Brits at once.</u></b> On November 29, Mr. Trump re-tweeted three incendiary and partially inaccurate videos of Muslims committing violent and anti-Christian acts that had been initially posted by Britain First, a controversial, fringe, Islamophobic and sometimes criminal political party in the U.K. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>11-29-17, 11-30-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] According to The Huffington Post, the party had been denounced by every major Christian denomination in the U.K. The Washington Post wrote: "<i>British leaders across the political spectrum said they were amazed and appalled by Trump's tweets endorsing a group that usually draws just a few dozen supporters to its rallies. Some said Trump was trying to legitimize the far right in Britain, while others were so flabbergasted that they wondered whether he was perhaps either naive or ignorant. ... Britain First leaders were ecstatic about the recognition from the U.S. president.</i>"</p> <p>Leading American neo-Nazi and former Ku Klux Klan chief David Duke was also ecstatic, crying. "<i>Thank God for Trump! That's why we love him!</i>"</p> <p>But the British prime minister's office promptly said that the party was "prejudiced" and "hateful," and that what Mr. Trump had done was "wrong." Mr. Trump, in response, tweeted to the leader of America's pre-eminent ally: "<i>Theresa @theresamay, don't focus on me, focus on the destructive Radical Islamic Terrorism that is taking place within the United Kingdom. We are doing just fine!</i>" The following day the Prime Minister herself reiterated her criticism; her ambassador to Washington formally complained; and members of multiple British political parties publicly questioned whether Mr. Trump's planned 2018 state visit to the U.K. should proceed.</p> <p>Also on November 30, CNN reported that the State Department had cautioned the White House that his initial anti-Muslim tweet could result in violence against American embassies abroad.</p>	<p>6, 10, 11, 13</p>
<p>11-30-17</p>	<p><b>Obstructing Senate investigations.</b> The New York Times reported: "<i>President Trump over the summer repeatedly urged senior Senate Republicans ... to end the [Senate Intelligence Committee's] investigation into Russia's interference in the 2016 election ... . Mr. Trump's requests were a highly unusual intervention from a president into a legislative inquiry involving his family and close aides.</i>" Those pressured were Intelligence Committee chair Richard Burr, committee member Roy Blunt, and Majority Leader Mitch McConnell.</p>	<p>9, 12</p>



<p>11-30-17, 12-1-17</p>	<p><b>Slamming a migrant's acquittal.</b> On November 30, after an undocumented migrant was acquitted by a California jury in a high-profile murder case, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>A disgraceful verdict in the Kate Steinle case! No wonder the people of our Country are so angry with Illegal Immigration.</i>" The following day he added: "<i>The Kate Steinle killer came back and back over the weakly protected Obama border, always committing crimes and being violent, and yet this info was not used in court. His exoneration is a complete travesty of justice. BUILD THE WALL! The jury was not told the killer of Kate was a 7 time felon. The Schumer/Pelosi Democrats are so weak on Crime that they will pay a big price in the 2018 and 2020 Elections.</i>"</p> <p>Since his election, Mr. Trump had not commented (nor, under the Constitution, should he have commented) on the outcome of a murder trial. But in this case, the defendant was Mexican; and Mr. Trump had already made much of the accused during his election campaign, as the embodiment of violent criminals who had entered the U.S. illegally from the south. In the new tweets, scapegoats abounded: President Obama, the Democratic Party, the rules of criminal evidence, the mandate of citizen jurors, and seemingly some larger group of Mexicans and migrants.</p>	<p>2, 6, 9, 11</p>
<p>12-1-17</p>	<p><b>Flynn pleads guilty.</b> Mr. Trump's former national security advisor Michael Flynn pleaded guilty of lying to the FBI in connection with his dealings with Russian officials prior to Mr. Trump's inauguration.</p>	<p>17 (9, 12)</p>
<p>12-2-17</p>	<p><b>Another treaty dumped.</b> UN Ambassador Nikki Haley announced that the U.S. had withdrawn from the Global Pact on Migration (the New York Declaration for Refugees and Migrants), which had sought world-wide cooperation to protect the safety and rights of refugees and migrants in the midst of the current refugee crisis. Even though the mechanisms of treaty compliance would be voluntary, Haley claimed that participation in the compact violated U.S. sovereignty. She made no mention of either the humanitarian or security perils associated with the refugee crisis, or of the benefits to be had by collaborating internationally toward solutions.</p>	<p>17 (14)</p>

<p>12-3-17</p>	<p><b>Trashing the FBI.</b> Commenting on the recently revealed removal of an FBI agent from the team of the special prosecutor investigating Russian election interference, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>After years of Comey, with the phony and dishonest Clinton investigation (and more), running the FBI, its reputation is in Tatters - worst in History!</i>" The agent had been removed by special prosecutor Robert Mueller the previous summer because of the agent's texts to a colleague favoring Hillary Clinton over Mr. Trump, which texts had threatened a potential appearance of bias within the special prosecutor's office.</p> <p>To CSD's knowledge, the FBI's reputation for probity and effectiveness across its many areas of operation, while imperfect, is currently quite strong. We believe that Mr. Trump's categorical disparagement of the agency was sparked only by its investigation of his associates and (likely) himself – the typical cry of a guilty man. We also believe that that disparagement represented an attack on the rule of law as an ideal; an incitement for Americans to ignore law enforcement authorities (selectively – Mr. Trump had claimed to be a "law and order" president, particularly when the accused were people of color); an encouragement for criminals and for America's enemies within and without; a probable blow to the morale of many FBI professionals; and an embarrassment for our country internationally. Finally, we believe that the episode should have been grounds to commend the special prosecutor, not attack the FBI.</p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>
<p>12-3-17</p>	<p><b>Suing the press.</b> The same morning, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>People who lost money when the Stock Market went down 350 points based on the False and Dishonest reporting of Brian Ross of @ABC News (he has been suspended), should consider hiring a lawyer and suing ABC for the damages this bad reporting has caused - many millions of dollars!</i>" Mr. Trump was referring to an ABC reporter who had erroneously reported that Mr. Trump had directed then campaign aide Michael Flynn to collaborate with Russians. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>protec</p>

<p>12-3-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD believes that the suggested cause of action against a news network would amount to a legal novelty, which would open the press to all manner of suits for damages based on plaintiffs' purported reliance on all manner of reported news; and thus – if seriously pursued – would result in both harassment of the press and abuse of the judicial system. We also believe that if the general citizenry were to be as litigious as Mr. Trump had been historically in his business affairs, the court system would quickly collapse from the sheer weight of its caseloads. And we believe that Mr. Trump should have commended ABC for its disciplinary action, rather than calling for citizens to sue the network.</p>	
<p>12-3-17, 12-4-17</p>	<p><b>Getting imperial.</b> John Dowd, one of Mr. Trump's attorneys, reportedly admitted to The Washington Post on December 3 that Mr. Trump likely had known that his campaign aide and later national security advisor Michael Flynn had lied to the FBI about his extra-legal dealings with foreign governments – weeks before Mr. Trump was effectively forced to fire Flynn for lying to Vice President Mike Pence on that subject. But on December 4 Dowd also said that under the Constitution the president is not capable of obstructing justice; that as the county's chief law enforcement officer, his deeds are equivalent to justice. Former President Richard Nixon had made the same argument before he was forced to resign in 1974. Since then, the view that the president is above the law has been widely regarded as dictatorial.</p>	<p>9, 12, 17 (9)</p>
<p>12-4-17, 12-8-17</p>	<p><b>Another Indian (and constitutional) insult.</b> On December 4, Mr. Trump directed that Bears Ears National Monument in Utah be shrunk in size by 85%, for the benefit of oil, gas, mineral and ranching interests. The monument was known to contain thousands of Native American archaeological sites, and was regarded by surviving tribes members as sacred ground; but, according to The Huffington Post, Mr. Trump had not consulted with the tribes prior to issuing his declaration. The Bears Ears Inter-Tribal Coalition, which had spent decades advocating for and then achieving the monument's protected status, announced plans to contest the decision in court, on grounds that the Antiquities Act permits only Congress, not the president, to weaken protections for national monuments. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 17 (7, 15, 16)</p>

<p>12-4-17, 12-8-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued below.</i>] Mr. Trump also announced the dramatic shrinking of Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument, which action was similarly problematic.</p> <p>On December 8, The Washington Post reported that the announcement had followed a concerted lobbying campaign by a uranium mining company having a nearby processing plant and a desire to grow its mining fields. The lead lobbyist, Andrew Wheeler, was subsequently nominated to become the Environmental Protection Agency’s deputy secretary, and that nomination was now awaiting Senate approval. Wheeler's team had met directly with Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke's top aides. Zinke had previously denied that the goal of the shrinking was to benefit mining interests, stating that it was strictly for the benefit of Utah's citizens.</p> <p>Native tribes consider uranium mining near their lands to be highly hazardous.</p>	<p>6, 9, 17 (7, 15, 16)</p>
<p>12-4-17</p>	<p><b>Ukraine: under the bus.</b> NPR reported that during the 2016 election campaign Mr. Trump may have personally directed that the Republican Party platform soften its call for assisting Ukraine in resisting Russian aggression.</p>	<p>12</p>
<p>12-6-17 +</p>	<p><b>Jerusalem.</b> Mr. Trump abruptly overturned decades of American policy by declaring that the U.S. would henceforth consider Jerusalem – a religiously and ethnically divided city – to be Israel's capital, and would proceed to move the American embassy there from Tel Aviv. The move inflamed one of the most sensitive issues in the long-standing Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and one that previous presidents of both parties had avoided. Predictably, Arab street protests erupted, and many of America's allies expressed dismay.</p> <p>No other country had located its embassy in Jerusalem. While some American commentators supported the move, few appeared to believe that it would advance whatever then remained of the Middle East peace process. Notably, the declaration came without the administration having articulated its goals or progress relative to that process, and without having negotiated any quid-pro-quo that previous administrations had assumed would underlie such a development. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>

<p>12-6-17 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD does not take a position on the status of Jerusalem or the means for achieving Middle East peace. But we were appalled that Mr. Trump's decision appeared to have flown in the face of the advice of his secretary of state and his secretary of defense; and to have been driven by impulse, by an urge to disrupt for the sake of gaining attention, by a wish to out-do previous presidents (he stated as much in his announcement), and/or by a politically motivated desire to fulfill a campaign promise regardless of consequence for world stability or American interests.</p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
<p>12-7-17</p>	<p><b>Zinke takes – even more.</b> Politico reported that it had uncovered two expensive helicopter flights that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke had taken during the summer at taxpayer expense in order to accommodate his personal political schedule. As described above in this document, Zinke was already under investigation for similar acts of grandiosity, self-indulgence and possible graft.</p>	<p>17 (9, 15)</p>
<p>12-8-17</p>	<p><b>Using and abusing women.</b> At a campaign rally in Pensacola in support of the candidacy of Alabama Senatorial candidate and accused sexual abuser Roy Moore, Mr. Trump mocked one of Moore's accusers and questioned her credibility. (To that date Moore had accumulated at least nine accusers; according to The Atlantic, reporting the previous day, Mr. Trump himself had accumulated 19.)</p> <p>At the same rally, Mr. Trump sought to inflame the crowd by yet again condemning the killing of a young white woman by an undocumented Mexican migrant several years prior. (The woman's family had previously objected to Mr. Trump's exploitation of her death for political purposes.)</p> <p>He also said, without explanation, that Chicago is more dangerous than Afghanistan – presumably referring to violence within the city's minority neighborhoods.</p> <p>Also at the rally, Mr. Trump continued his persistent demonization of former rival Hillary Clinton, evoking (as usual) the crowd's feverish chants of "Lock her up!"</p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>12-8-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD found a coherence among those rhetorical moments: a primal, proprietary, patriarchal and incendiary vilification of the "other" on grounds of his preying on one's "own" women (many a demagogue has done this); and a vilification of women who had taken to accusing the patriarchy (many a predator has done this). We are not anthropologists; only citizens seeking a little decency.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>12-8-17, 12-9-17</p>	<p><b><u>The whole truth.</u></b> Further at the Pensacola rally, Mr. Trump attacked "fake news" CNN and ABC for a pair of recent reporting errors, committed by them in good faith, relative to their investigations of Russia's interference in the 2016 election. The following day, he condemned a Washington Post reporter for under-reporting crowd size at the rally. All three news outlets had quickly corrected their errors, and at least two had apologized.</p> <p>But Mr. Trump himself had never admitted, let alone apologized for, his 1600 + casual or intentional misstatements since becoming president. (See CSD's entry of November 14, above.) Indeed, the Washington Post found numerous falsehoods, exaggerations and empty boasts in his overall remarks at the Pensacola rally: taking personal credit for the strong economy and stock market; stating that the FBI and our system of governance generally were "rigged" against him; and maintaining inaccurately that black homeownership was at a record high, that Hispanic voters were favoring him, that opinion polls generally were false, that the coal industry was quickly rebounding in West Virginia, and that American companies had stopped moving jobs overseas.</p>	<p>1, 7</p>
<p>12-8-17</p>	<p><b><u>Enemies of America.</u></b> And finally, at the Pensacola rally, Mr. Trump said this: <i>“There are powerful forces in Washington trying to sabotage our movement. These are bad people, these are very, very bad and evil people. . . . But you know what, we’re stopping them. You’re seeing that right now.”</i> The clear implication was that <u>anyone who opposed Mr. Trump should be excised from American governance. That seemed to potentially include Democrats, Republican dissidents, and special prosecutor Robert Mueller.</u></p>	<p>9</p>

<p>12-12-17</p>	<p><b>Trashing Gillibrand.</b> Responding to a call by New York Senator Kirsten Gillibrand for Mr. Trump to resign because of the allegations of sexual assault that previously had been brought against him by many women, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Lightweight Senator Kirsten Gillibrand, a total flunky for Chuck Schumer and someone who would come to my office "begging" for campaign contributions not so long ago (and would do anything for them), is now in the ring fighting against Trump. ..."</i> The parenthetical words were widely taken by news media – with outrage – to imply that Gillibrand was willing to sexually prostitute herself for money. The USA Today editorial board wrote: <i>"A president who'd all but call a senator a whore is unfit to clean toilets in Obama's presidential library or to shine George W. Bush's shoes."</i></p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
<p>12-12-17</p>	<p><b>An infection.</b> The New York Times reported that authoritarian regimes all over the world had come to parrot Mr. Trump's derision of honest press reports as "fake news": Syrian President and war criminal Bashar al-Assad, Venezuelan President and demagogue Nicolas Maduro, a ranking security official in genocidal Myanmar, a spokeswoman for the inveterately dishonest Russian foreign ministry, and political leaders in China, Turkey, Libya, Poland, Hungary, Thailand, Somalia and elsewhere.</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>12-12-17</p>	<p><b>Korea chaos.</b> Secretary of State Rex Tillerson resumed publicly advocating for direct talks between the U.S. and North Korea – for which advocacy Mr. Trump had publicly chastised him in October. The White House promptly announced its disagreement with Tillerson, as before. By all media accounts, Tillerson remained on the verge of dismissal or resignation. Media commentators noted that Tillerson had by now been utterly discredited overseas as the voice of American foreign policy.</p> <p>CSD does not have a view as to whether the U.S. should negotiate directly with North Korea – only that the U.S. needs a secretary of state who is empowered and supported by the president, a president who is willing to respect the advice of his secretary of state, and a considered and coherent foreign policy.</p>	<p>13</p>

<p>12-14-17</p>	<p><b>Consequences of Russia denial.</b> In an extended investigatory piece based on interviews with 50 former and current national security officials, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's denial of Russian interference with the 2016 election was unprecedented, and its consequences significant. The Post wrote:</p> <p><i>"Nearly a year into his presidency, Trump continues to reject the evidence that Russia waged an assault on a pillar of American democracy and supported his run for the White House. The result is without obvious parallel in U.S. history, a situation in which the personal insecurities of the president — and his refusal to accept what even many in his administration regard as objective reality — have impaired the government's response to a national security threat. The repercussions radiate across the government.</i></p> <p><i>"Rather than search for ways to deter Kremlin attacks or safeguard U.S. elections, Trump has waged his own campaign to discredit the case that Russia poses any threat and he has resisted or attempted to roll back efforts to hold Moscow to account. His administration has moved to undo at least some of the sanctions the previous administration imposed on Russia for its election interference, exploring the return of two Russian compounds in the United States that President Barack Obama had seized — the measure that had most galled Moscow. Months later, when Congress moved to impose additional penalties on Moscow, Trump opposed the measures fiercely.</i></p> <p><i>"Trump has never convened a Cabinet-level meeting on Russian interference or what to do about it, administration officials said. Although the issue has been discussed at lower levels at the National Security Council, one former high-ranking Trump administration official said there is an unspoken understanding within the NSC that to raise the matter is to acknowledge its validity, which the president would see as an affront. ... His position has alienated close American allies and often undercut members of his Cabinet — all against the backdrop of a criminal probe into possible ties between the Trump campaign and the Kremlin."</i></p> <p>The complete article appears at the link in this endnote.***</p>	<p>7, 12</p>



<p>12-14-17</p>	<p><b><u>Most admired leaders.</u></b> In the same article, the Washington Post reported that, according to one of Mr. Trump's advisors, <u>the world leaders whom he respects most are Chinese President Xi Jinping, Turkish President Recep Erdogan, and Russian President Vladimir Putin – all of them authoritarian, anti-democratic figures.</u></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>12-12-17, 12-15-17, 12-16-17</p>	<p><b><u>Discrediting the investigation.</u></b> On December 15, Mr. Trump yet again denounced the FBI's investigation of Russian links to his election campaign, calling it "disgraceful" and (as before) a "hoax" – even though by that point two campaign leaders had been indicted and two had pleaded guilty to charges. He also called the FBI's failure to prosecute his perennial scapegoat Hillary Clinton relative to her improper handling of emails a "scam" and a "rigged system."</p> <p>The following day a lawyer for Mr. Trump's transition team, Kory Langhofer, wrote a letter to several Congressional oversight committees alleging that the investigation had unlawfully obtained a large number of transition team emails from the General Services Administration. Other experts refuted that that action had been unlawful.</p> <p>Those episodes followed the call of one of Mr. Trump's personal attorneys, Jay Sekulow, on December 12, for the appointment of a special counsel to investigate alleged corruption at the FBI and the Justice Department. The Washington Post had previously reported that Attorney General Jeff Sessions had contemplated such an appointment in November.</p> <p>Whether in the aggregate the efforts to discredit the investigation were concerted or coincidental, and whether they presaged an even more serious challenge to the rule of law as embodied in the investigation, was not known to CSD.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 17 (9)</p>

<p>12-16-17</p>	<p><b>Invoking the president's name.</b> The New York Times reported (as it and other media outlets had done before) on a statistically significant rise in hate crimes during Mr. Trump's election campaign and under his presidency. It also reported that many of the verbal and physical attacks by white people against brown people were punctuated by references to Mr. Trump himself and often by cries of his name, including taunts at high school sporting events: for example, "Trump! Trump!" to disparage or intimidate minority players. Several presidential historians said that the latter phenomenon was unprecedented, and that it would have been unthinkable for any previous president's name to have been invoked in connection with the perpetration of racial attacks.</p>	<p>17 (6)</p>
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\* [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ryan-zinke-safari-club\\_us\\_5a15c2dee4b025f8e93338bb?ncid=inbl2nkushpmg00000009](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ryan-zinke-safari-club_us_5a15c2dee4b025f8e93338bb?ncid=inbl2nkushpmg00000009)

\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/11/22/president-trump-and-accusations-of-sexual-misconduct-the-complete-list/?undefined=&utm\\_term=.fbc3187d911f&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2017/11/22/president-trump-and-accusations-of-sexual-misconduct-the-complete-list/?undefined=&utm_term=.fbc3187d911f&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

\*\*\* [https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/world/national-security/donald-trump-pursues-vladimir-putin-russian-election-hacking/?utm\\_term=.89e093fbce2b&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2017/world/national-security/donald-trump-pursues-vladimir-putin-russian-election-hacking/?utm_term=.89e093fbce2b&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### *Addendum 12 – January 19, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>12-15-17 to 12-19-17</p>	<p><b><u>Monitoring words at EPA and CDC.</u></b> On December 15, The Washington Post reported that the Environmental Protection Agency had hired a Republican opposition research company to perform news clipping services and potentially additional media services for the agency. On December 17, The New York Times reported that an affiliate of the company had filed some 40 Freedom of Information Act requests to track the emails of EPA employees who had criticized the agency's current leadership. On December 19, The Post reported that the EPA had canceled the contract, due to the outcry it had generated.</p> <p>Also on December 15, The Post reported that the Centers for Disease Control had instructed staff to avoid using the words “vulnerable,” “entitlement,” “diversity,” “fetus,” “transgender,” “evidence-based” and “science-based” in its budget proposals. The following day, The Times wrote that the move may have had less to do with policy bias, censorship and science denial than with an effort to mitigate harsh political scrutiny of the proposals; and that it might not impact the substance or the language of the agency's actual work product. Nevertheless, on December 18, a columnist for The Post reported that the agency had lifted the ban on the specified words, due to the outcry it had generated. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (8, 9)</p>
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<p>12-15-17 to 12-19-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Together, the two episodes reflected, at a minimum, the agencies' seeming insensitivity to the appearance of mixing ideology with fact; and at worst, outright censorship and intimidation.</p>	<p>17 (8, 9)</p>
<p>12-18-17</p>	<p><b>Defining, and speechifying, national security risks.</b> For the first time in 20 years, Mr. Trump eliminated climate change from the National Security Strategy Report – a presidential administration's annual description of threats to America's national security. The Huffington Post wrote: <i>"The move dispenses with decades of Pentagon policy. It also contradicts Defense Secretary James Mattis, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Gen. Joseph Dunford and four other former top military commanders who were quoted in the defense bill Trump signed last week saying things such as, 'Climate change is a national security issue.'"</i> That bill warned that climate change could create more failed states and terrorism, and could submerge many American military installations.</p> <p>The report was also silent on the risks to national security posed generally by authoritarian, anti-democratic governance overseas – risks that previous administrations had routinely cited. It was silent about Russia's meddling in American elections, past and future. It was silent about reducing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, and nearly silent about human rights.</p> <p>Mr. Trump announced the report in a campaign-style speech in which he promoted his nationalist and protectionist agenda. No previous president had made a public presentation on the occasion of the report's release. Oddly, in the speech, Mr. Trump praised his collaborative and friendly relationships with and hopes for Russia and China, while the report itself (prepared by staff) starkly branded those countries as threats to the U.S. – a disjunction that commentators noted. CSD suspects that the deviation from script may have been a principal reason for Mr. Trump's unusual decision to present the report orally; that is, to orally appease America's enemies, and to have his policies both ways.</p> <p>In addition, wrote The New York Times, Mr. Trump's characterizations of pertinent domestic and international security phenomena were riddled with exaggerations.</p>	<p>7, 8, 12, 13</p>

<p>12-18-17</p>	<p><b>Train derailment politicking.</b> Shortly after a train derailed in Washington State, killing several people and injuring many more, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"The train accident that just occurred in DuPont, WA shows more than ever why our soon to be submitted infrastructure plan must be approved quickly. Seven trillion dollars spent in the Middle East while our roads, bridges, tunnels, railways (and more) crumble! Not for long!"</i> The Seattle Times and other news outlets expressed dismay that his initial reaction was one of politics rather than condolence.</p> <p>Shortly after the Pulse nightclub massacre in Orlando, Florida in June, Mr. Trump had tweeted: <i>"Appreciate the congrats for being right on radical Islamic terrorism, I don't want congrats, I want toughness &amp; vigilance. We must be smart!"</i></p> <p>Shortly after a terrorist ran over eight people in Manhattan in November, Mr. Trump had tweeted: <i>"The terrorist came into our country through what is called the 'Diversity Visa Lottery Program,' a Chuck Schumer beauty. I want merit based."</i></p> <p>CNN commented on the insensitivity pervading that pattern of putting politics before sympathy. To our own themes, CSD sees in Mr. Trump's frequent empathic shortfalls a colloquial (if not clinical) narcissism – that is, a fundamental marker of his viscerally authoritarian instinct.</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>12-18-17, 12-19-17</p>	<p><b>Choosing judges.</b> On December 18, one of Mr. Trump's nominees for a (life-time) appointment as a federal court judge withdrew himself from consideration, following a catastrophic appearance before the Senate Judiciary Committee in which he was widely viewed as having appeared unqualified. That was the third judicial nominee to have withdrawn in recent days, the others having stood down after their radical views on social issues had been publicized. Mr. Trump had nominated the three (and dozens of other candidates) for their ideological views – as many other recent presidents had done. But unlike other presidents, in at least these three instances he appeared to have done so with blatant disregard for judicial competence. Indeed, four of his nominees had been deemed "incompetent" by the American Bar Association. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2</p>

<p>12-18-17, 12-19-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On December 19, The Washington Post reported that after nominating Neil Gorsuch as Supreme Court justice the previous winter but before Gorsuch was sworn in, Mr. Trump had voiced outrage that Gorsuch, in conversations with members of Congress, had privately criticized Mr. Trump's public disparagement of certain sitting federal judges. Mr. Trump was reportedly enraged that Gorsuch was not sufficiently loyal to him – notwithstanding the core constitutional precept that Supreme Court justices owe no such loyalty to the president.</p> <p>CSD believes that what all of these episodes had in common was a disdain for judges as independent and capable arbiters of the law. Mr. Trump's vision instead appeared to be that they were simply "his," to do his political bidding, regardless of the sense of it.</p>	<p>2</p>
<p>12-20-17</p>	<p><b><u>New Year's with (and for) the president.</u></b> Politico reported that fees to attend the annual New Year's party at Mr. Trump's Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida increased in 2017 by a factor of 15% to 30%, which Politico presumed was attributable to the guests' hopes that they would meet Mr. Trump there. That is, in an embarrassingly picayune but very real way, Mr. Trump appeared yet again to be profiting directly from his presidential celebrity.</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>12-20-17, 12-21-17</p>	<p><b><u>Threatening the world's nations; personalizing diplomacy.</u></b> Also according to Politico, on December 20, Mr. Trump hinted to his Cabinet that he might cut foreign aid to any country that would vote in an upcoming U.N. General Assembly session, on a symbolic and non-binding basis, to nullify his recent recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital – an announcement of his that had recently been condemned by countless other nations, including many American allies. He also praised his ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley, for writing this to all UN member states: <i>“As you consider your vote, I want you to know that the President and U.S. take this vote personally. The President will be watching this vote carefully and has requested I report back on those countries who voted against us. We will take note of each and every vote on this issue.”</i> The previous day she had said even more pointedly that she would be "taking names." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 17 (13)</p>

<p>12-20-17, 12-21-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] To CSD's mind, apart from the substance of dealing with the status of Jerusalem (with respect to which CSD does not take a position), both the original announcement and the subsequent threats seemed to amount to the U.S. gratuitously sticking its thumb in the world's eye. We also felt that the mere suggestion that Mr. Trump would compromise America's national and global interests to satisfy his ego, his peevishness and his impulse to vengeance – as well as his apparent belief that he was free to make that suggestion – were nothing less than shocking.</p> <p>The next day, only nine small countries, many dependent on U.S. aid, supported the U.S in the actual General Assembly vote. Many other countries volubly objected to American "extortion." Yet others commented that the U.S. had foolishly made Jerusalem an issue about the U.S. rather than Israel. Haley complained, without irony, that the U.S. had been "disrespected." But she did not let up. She said: <i>"The United States will remember this day in which it was singled out in this assembly for the very act of exercising our right as a sovereign nation. We will remember it when, once again, we are called up to make the world's largest contribution to the U.N., and we will remember it when many countries come calling on us to pay even more and to use our influence for their benefit."</i></p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 17 (13)</p>
<p>12-20-17</p>	<p><b>Tax Praise.</b> At a televised Cabinet meeting celebrating Congressional passage of a major tax bill, Vice President Mike Pence delivered a florid and lengthy encomium to Mr. Trump, praising his many accomplishments as president, as the cameras fixed on Mr. Trump's stern and commanding countenance. Housing Secretary Ben Carson also contributed, as The Washington Post wrote: <i>"As Trump and his Cabinet bowed their heads, Carson thanked God for 'a president and for Cabinet members who are courageous, who are willing to face the winds of controversy in order to provide a better future for those who come behind us.'"</i></p> <p>Shortly afterwards, at a Congressional rally outside the White House, House Speaker Paul Ryan praised Mr. Trump for his <i>"exquisite presidential leadership."</i> Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell praised him for a <i>"year of extraordinary accomplishment"</i> and said, categorically, <i>"Thank you, Mr. President, for all that you're doing."</i></p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>

<p>12-20-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] <i>"We would not be standing here if it were not for you,"</i> said House Majority Leader Kevin McCarthy. <i>"But for your leadership we would not be here today,"</i> said Rep. Kevin Brady, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.</p> <p>Sen. Orrin Hatch, chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, was particularly loquacious. He said, <i>"Mr. President, I have to say that you're living up to everything I thought you would."</i> He added <i>"that this is one of the great privileges of my life, to stand here on the White House lawn with the president of the United States, who I love and appreciate so much ..... All I can say is that God loves this country. ... We're going to ... make this the greatest presidency that we've seen not only in a generation, but maybe ever."</i></p> <p>Not to be outdone, Pence chimed in again: <i>"I truly do believe, Mr. President, that this will be remembered as a pivotal moment in the life of our nation, a day when the Congress answered your call and made history."</i></p> <p>To CSD's knowledge, the American public had never been confronted with such demonstrations of official obeisance – at least not since Mr. Trump's televised Cabinet meeting of June 12 (described above in this document) when member after member of the Cabinet had thanked and praised him in front of the cameras. The two Cabinet episodes in particular evoked widespread ridicule, at home and abroad.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>12-20-17</p>	<p><b>Tax Profit.</b> The Washington Post reiterated its earlier conclusion that the tax bill, now passed in its final form, would almost certainly benefit Mr. Trump and his family handsomely – by lowering the top marginal tax rate, lowering the tax rate on pass-through business earnings, and expanding the estate tax exemption. The bill <i>"will ensure a financial windfall for the president and his family in a way that is virtually unprecedented in American political history, experts said."</i> Other commentators noted yet additional benefits in the bill for Mr. Trump and his family: the retention of uncapped interest deductions for (only) real estate and hotel businesses; and the radical lowering of the corporate tax rate (which would benefit Mr. Trump's passive investments in corporate securities). [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 15</p>



<p>12-20-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD assumes that previous presidents who had presided over tax cuts had personally benefited as well. Uniquely in recent history, however, Mr. Trump had refused to release his tax returns and to speak honestly about the bill's impact on himself.</p>	<p>7, 15</p>
<p>12-20-17</p>	<p><b><u>Tax and the ACA.</u></b> At the same Cabinet meeting described above, Mr. Trump said that the tax bill included the elimination of the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"). But the statement was false: only the "individual mandate" – the requirement that individuals either subscribe or pay a penalty – was eliminated; most other provisions survived; and even the mandate would survive for two more tax years. <u>The statement appeared intended, yet again, to sabotage the insurance program before a replacement plan had been enacted,</u> which was especially notable in that Mr. Trump's previous efforts at sabotage appeared to have largely failed: nearly as many people had signed up for the program in late 2017 as in the previous year, despite Mr. Trump's concerted attempts to prevent that (as recited repeatedly above in this document).</p> <p><u>The sabotage efforts, unaccompanied by a productive plan, appeared to CSD and some others to have been driven by Mr. Trump's hatred for President Obama and by his determination to honor his campaign promises, rather than by any desire or effort to solve America's health care problems.</u> In any event, due at least in part to Mr. Trump's disruptive measures, insurance premiums were expected to rise dramatically for many Americans, such that many would forego coverage.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>12-21-17, 12-22-17</p>	<p><b><u>Purging environmental knowledge.</u></b> On December 21, The Washington Post wrote: "<i>Climate-related documents continue to be erased from [the Department of] Interior's website at a rapid clip: This month, the links to 92 national parks' climate action plans disappeared ....</i>"</p> <p>On December 22, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's efforts at radically downsizing the Environmental Protection Agency had so far resulted in squeezing out over 200 scientists (among a total of 700 departing employees).</p>	<p>8</p>

<p>12-22-17</p>	<p><b>"Challenge coins" ablaze.</b> The Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump's use of challenge coins – collectible metal coins bearing his name, minted by the Republican National Committee, and distributed ad hoc by Mr. Trump to police, military personnel and supporters – deviated from the challenge coins that had been distributed by previous presidents. Unlike his predecessors' somber, bronze-like coins, Mr. Trump's were gaudy (red, white, blue and gold); they replaced "<i>E pluribus unum</i>" with his legally trademarked campaign slogan "Make America Great Again"; they were much larger; and they bore the president's name not one time but three. Some ethics experts objected, on grounds of politicizing the military.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>12-22-17</p>	<p><b>Raising the rich.</b> At a holiday dinner for wealthy friends at his Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida, Mr. Trump told them, "<i>You all just got a lot richer.</i>" He was referring to the sweeping income tax bill that he had signed hours earlier and that was widely recognized – regardless of its merits and demerits – as delivering the vast bulk of its direct tax relief to those with high incomes.</p> <p>CSD did not and does not take a position on the tax bill, except to the extent that Mr. Trump had been dishonest about its contents and its impact upon his own financial position. But we found his dinner comment, both in substance and in tone, to reflect not only a betrayal of the populist rhetoric and promises that had brought him to the White House, but a stark reminder of what had long appeared to us as his profound unawareness of or indifference to the radically accelerating income inequality that was besetting the U.S. and the world – a condition that was generally regarded by economists and social thinkers as perilous for both democracy and stability. That is to say, his absorption with wealth (his and his friends') seemed to obviate any concern for potentially disastrous domestic and global ferment.</p>	<p>11, 16</p>
<p>12-23-17</p>	<p><b>Racial fervor underlying anti-immigration measures.</b> In a lengthy news analysis, The New York Times described the extent of Mr. Trump's many anti-immigration measures; the recklessness, haste, dysfunction, fervor and often fury with which he had sought to deploy those measures; and his long-standing, visceral fear of and disgust for people from poor countries. The complete article appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>1</sup></p>	<p>6, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>12-23-17, 12-24-17</p>	<p><b><u>The Christmas spirit: peace, love, humility and truth.</u></b> The morning of Christmas Eve, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>The Fake News refuses to talk about how Big and how Strong our BASE is. They show Fake Polls just like they report Fake News. Despite only negative reporting, we are doing well - nobody is going to beat us. MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!</i>" Later that day he re-tweeted an image of a blood-spattered CNN logo on the sole of his shoe, which was reminiscent of his two re-tweets during the summer of people doing violence to the CNN logo.</p> <p>The previous day, he had tweeted: "<i>The Stock Market is setting record after record and unemployment is at a 17 year low. So many things accomplished by the Trump Administration, perhaps more than any other President in first year. Sadly, will never be reported correctly by the Fake News Media!</i>" In addition to disparaging the press, the tweet was exaggerating or misleading: most of the stock market gains and the drop in unemployment had occurred under President Obama; and by all credible accounts other presidents had accomplished more during their first year in office.</p>	<p>1, 7, 11</p>
<p>12-25-17</p>	<p><b><u>Visiting one's properties.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that, since taking office, Mr. Trump – who was then enjoying the Christmas holiday at Mar-a-Lago, his Florida resort – had spent nearly one-third of his days at such properties that he owns and that paying customers also patronized, and that those properties appeared to have profited from his visits. He had traveled to those properties at considerable government expense, and had often played golf there – thus defying campaign promises to the contrary, and thus outdoing President Obama's travel and recreation, which Mr. Trump had often castigated.</p>	<p>7, 11, 15</p>

<p>12-23-17, 12-24-17, 12-26-17</p>	<p><b>Death by a thousand tweets.</b> Amplifying his long-standing attacks on deputy FBI director Andrew McCabe for having failed to indict Mr. Trump's rival Hillary Clinton relative to her email abuses as Secretary of State, on December 23 Mr. Trump tweeted (here referring to campaign donations that McCabe's politician wife had received and that McCabe had duly reported): <i>"How can FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe, the man in charge, along with leakin' James Comey, of the Phony Hillary Clinton investigation (including her 33,000 illegally deleted emails) be given \$700,000 for wife's campaign by Clinton Puppets during investigation."</i> In a single tweet, Mr. Trump thus had managed to disparage three of his regular scapegoats at once – publicly hounding them rather than discreetly pursuing traditional remedies for their perceived wrongdoings. He followed that tweet with a similar one the next day.</p> <p>In fact because McCabe was a civil servant, Mr. Trump was not able to fire him. But reportedly McCabe had yielded to Mr. Trump's onslaught, and he was preparing to resign.</p> <p>McCabe's resignation, however, seemingly wasn't the prize. Mainstream commentators widely saw Mr. Trump's principal motive in battering McCabe as discrediting and distracting from special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of the Trump campaign's ties to Russia. To that point, on December 26, Mr. Trump tweeted this – referring to a scandalous "dossier" on his Russian ties that had been assembled by a British opposition researcher during the campaign and that so far had been only partially substantiated to the public: <i>"Dossier is bogus. Clinton Campaign, DNC funded Dossier. FBI CANNOT (after all of this time) VERIFY CLAIMS IN DOSSIER OF RUSSIA/TRUMP COLLUSION. FBI TAINTED. And they used this Crooked Hillary pile of garbage as the basis for going after the Trump Campaign!"</i></p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>
<p>12-27-17</p>	<p><b>Ivanka's brand on parade.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Trump's daughter and senior advisor Ivanka Trump had usually been wearing – and thereby advertising – her own clothing brand during public and media appearances, thereby trading on her official celebrity. Her business, from which she had declined to divest, <i>"is valued at more than \$50 million in [her] federal [ethics] filing, which reports it paid her an income of between \$1 million and \$5 million between March 9 through May."</i></p>	<p>17 (15)</p>

12-28-17	<p><b>Breakneck staff departures.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that first-year staff departures from Mr. Trump's administration were the highest on record, at 34%. A Brookings Institution analyst attributed Mr. Trump's turn-over to an inexperienced president hiring inexperienced aides. Another view: <i>"It's hard [for disaffected aides] getting beyond that inner circle because of his lack of trust with people he doesn't know," said one high-level GOP ally who worked on the presidential transition. 'But it's also been the case that he makes snap decisions and winds up with people who are not great fits.'</i>" The Brookings analyst called the net result "destabilizing," and said that, based on statistical presidential precedent, the turnover would likely be even more dramatic in Mr. Trump's second year in office.</p>	10, 11
12-28-17	<p><b>Cold weather.</b> Mr. Trump suggested by way of Twitter that the unusually cold weather being experienced in the U.S. for the current and coming weeks belied scientific proof of global warming. He had launched similar tweets during cold weather in 2015.</p>	8
12-28-17	<p><b>Foreign policy re-cap.</b> In a lengthy year-end review in its news section, The New York Times summarized Mr. Trump's radical changes to America's foreign policy. The article began:</p> <p><i>"Nearly a year into his presidency, Mr. Trump remains an erratic, idiosyncratic leader on the global stage, an insurgent who attacks allies the United States has nurtured since World War II and who can seem more at home with America's adversaries. His Twitter posts, delivered without warning or consultation, often make a mockery of his administration's policies and subvert the messages his emissaries are trying to deliver abroad.</i></p> <p><i>"Mr. Trump has pulled out of trade and climate change agreements and denounced the 2015 nuclear deal with Iran. He has broken with decades of American policy in the Middle East by recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. And he has taunted Kim Jong-un of North Korea as 'short and fat,' fanning fears of war on the peninsula. ]Continued below.]</i></p>	10, 11, 12, 13, 14

<p>12-28-17</p>	<p>[Continued.] <i>"He has assiduously cultivated President Xi Jinping of China and avoided criticizing President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia — leaders of the two countries that his own national security strategy calls the greatest geopolitical threats to America.</i></p> <p><i>"Above all, Mr. Trump has transformed the world's view of the United States from a reliable anchor of the liberal, rules-based international order into something more inward-looking and unpredictable. That is a seminal change from the role the country has played for 70 years, under presidents from both parties, and it has lasting implications for how other countries chart their futures."</i></p> <p>The article continued by noting Mr. Trump's apparent susceptibility to flattery by foreign autocrats, and it ended by depicting his apparent unawareness of and disinterest in the "rules-based international order" noted above. The full article appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
<p>12-28-17, 12-29-17</p>	<p><b>Florida talk.</b> In an impromptu interview with the New York Times at his Trump International Golf Club in West Palm Beach, Florida, Mr. Trump made the constitutionally suspect claim that he had <i>"absolute right to do what I want to do with the Justice Department,"</i> apparently claiming the authority to control (or dismiss) the special prosecutor's investigation of his campaign's possible involvement with Russian election interference and of other matters.</p> <p>Mr. Trump also boasted about the grand reception he had received in China by President Xi Jinping (<i>"treated me better than anybody's ever been treated in the history of China"</i>), his campaign victory, his accomplishments as president, and his having won the club's annual golf tournament several times. He blamed Democrats for obstructionism and the media for concocting the Russia election-meddling "hoax."</p> <p>Notably, The Times wrote, Mr. Trump <i>"disputed reports that suggested he does not have a detailed understanding of legislation, saying, 'I know the details of taxes better than anybody. Better than the greatest C.P.A. I know the details of health care better than most, better than most.' Later, he added that he knows more about 'the big bills' debated in the Congress 'than any president that's ever been in office.'"</i></p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>

<p>12-28-17, 12-29-17</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i> The following day, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's White House minders were flummoxed that he had granted the interview. They felt that in general, while visiting his resort properties, a dangerous indiscipline reigned over what he would read, what he would tweet, and with whom he would meet. By way of example, The Post's review of the 30-minute interview's transcript revealed that Mr. Trump had made some 24 false or misleading statements, for an average of one every 75 seconds. The Times' own review counted at least 10.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>
<p>12-29-17</p>	<p><b><u>Skewing the census.</u></b> ProPublica reported that the Justice Department was pressing the Commerce Department to include in the 2020 census – for the first time since the early 19th century – a question about the respondents' citizenship. Census experts warned that the question would likely not have been adequately tested in time for the census; that the defective results would likely depress minority response rates; and that the resulting undercount could skew large swathes of social and economic programs, as well as Congressional apportionment. When the new question had first been proposed earlier in the year, it had been opposed by survey research scientists on the grounds of accuracy – to the disadvantage of communities needing public and private services and of businesses needing sound market data. See the links at this endnote.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>The inclusion of the new question had originally been advanced by anti-immigration activists. CSD fears not only the compromise of scientific polling and the dysfunctional social and business outcomes that could result, but an abuse of household data for political and law enforcement purposes – uses that are anathema to the spirit and purpose of the census.</p>	<p>17 (6, 8, 9)</p>
<p>12-31-17</p>	<p><b><u>A changed presidency.</u></b> The New York Times, in its news section, posted a lengthy and provocative analysis of how Mr. Trump had changed the American presidency since his election. The analysis posed commentary by his defenders as well as his critics, and both fears that the changes could be permanent and hopes that they would not be. CSD finds the following excerpts to be cautionary but objective, supported by evidence within, and consistent with our own themes. (The complete article, which we commend, appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>4</sup>) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>All of the above</p>

<p>12-31-17</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "Mr. Trump is the 45th president of the United States, but he has spent much of his first year in office defying the conventions and norms established by the previous 44, and transforming the presidency in ways that were once unimaginable. ...</i></p> <p><i>"He has kept a business on the side; attacked the F.B.I., C.I.A. and other institutions he oversees; threatened to use his power against rivals; and waged war against members of his own party and even his own cabinet. He fired the man investigating his campaign and has not ruled out firing the one who took over. He has appealed to base instincts on race, religion and gender as no president has in generations. And he has rattled the nuclear saber more bombastically than it has been since the days of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. ...</i></p> <p><i>"The presidency has served as a vehicle for Mr. Trump to construct and promote his own narrative, one with crackling verve but riddled with inaccuracies, distortions and outright lies, according to fact checkers. Rather than a force for unity or a calming voice in turbulent times, the presidency now is another weapon in a permanent campaign of divisiveness. Democrats and many establishment Republicans worry that Mr. Trump has squandered the moral authority of the office. ...</i></p> <p><i>"[H]e has bristled at the restraints imposed on the presidency as few have, lashing out at judges, lawmakers, investigators and journalists who anger him and expressing frustration that he is not supposed to use the F.B.I. as he sees fit. His sense of government is not based on coalition building or a balancing act between equal branches. It is one where he deems what is necessary and the system should fall in line. ...</i></p> <p><i>"Mr. Trump essentially calls [presidential decorum] fake, making no effort to pretend to be above it all, except to boast that he is stronger, richer, smarter and more successful than anyone else. To him, the presidency is about winning, not governing." And as for the press, "... since Watergate, no president has waged the sort of sustained public campaign against what Mr. Trump has called the 'enemy of the American people.'"</i></p>	<p>All of the above</p>



<p>1-1-18, 1-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Another nuclear slam.</u></b> In a New Year's Day speech, North Korean leader Kim Jong-un said, <i>"The entire United States is within range of our nuclear weapons, and a nuclear button is always on my desk,"</i> The next morning, back in Washington from his Mar-a-Lago holiday, Mr. Trump boasted by Twitter that "Rocket man's" soldiers were fleeing North Korea. And that evening he tweeted: <i>"North Korean Leader Kim Jong Un just stated that the 'Nuclear Button is on his desk at all times.' Will someone from his depleted and food starved regime please inform him that <u>I too have a Nuclear Button, but it is a much bigger &amp; more powerful one than his, and my Button works!</u>"</i></p> <p>The New York Times wrote as news analysis: <i>"The president's tone ... generated a mix of scorn and alarm among lawmakers, diplomats and national security experts who called it juvenile and frightening for a president handling a foreign policy challenge with world-wrecking consequences. The language was reminiscent of Mr. Trump's boast during the 2016 presidential campaign that his hands, and by extension his genitals, were in fact big enough."</i></p>	<p>11, 13</p>
<p>1-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Times tirade.</u></b> Mr. Trump began the first working day of the new year by tweeting a lengthy attack on "The Failing New York Times" for not treating him "fairly."</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>1-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Jail for political enemies.</u></b> Scapegoating at least three named enemies, Mr. Trump also tweeted that day: <i>"Crooked Hillary Clinton's top aid, Huma Abedin, has been accused of disregarding basic security protocols. She put Classified Passwords into the hands of foreign agents. ... Jail! Deep State Justice Dept must finally act? Also on Comey &amp; others."</i> (Abedin had wrongfully sent passwords to a personal email account, but no foreign agents are known to have accessed them.)</p>	<p>7, 9</p>

1-2-18	<p><b>The remains of the (Twitter) day.</b> On the same day as his North Korea, New York Times and jail-for-enemies tweets, Mr. Trump took to Twitter to threaten Pakistan and the Palestinian Authority with de-funding (with or without having had input from his advisors); encourage the anti-government street protests in Iran (same); blame Democrats for not resolving the DACA child immigrant crisis (although Democrats had been the children's chief proponents); take credit for the recent safety record of American commercial airlines (which had resulted from Obama administration policies); and promise to shortly announce <i>"the most dishonest and corrupt media awards of the year."</i> The many tweets were remarkable for both their capriciousness and their breadth, prompting a CNN commentator to ask: <i>"What would we say if the leader of Germany or China or Brazil posted tweets like Trump's? We'd say: That person is not well."</i></p>	1, 7, 11, 13
1-2-18	<p><b>WaPo fact-check tally.</b> The Washington Post updated its tally of Mr. Trump's false and misleading statements since taking office to 1950, for an average of 5.6 per day. Details and patterns appear at the link at this endnote.<sup>5</sup></p>	7
1-3-18 +	<p><b>Floating fear.</b> Attorney General Jeff Sessions said that the U.S. was experiencing <i>"rising violent crime [and] a staggering increase in homicides."</i> Two days later, The Washington Post's editorial board disputed that characterization statistically. The Post's column can be found at the link at this endnote.<sup>6</sup> In a news story that made no reference to Sessions and that seemed coincidental, The Wall Street Journal wrote:</p> <p><i>"Murders fell in America's largest cities in 2017, and the two biggest—New York and Los Angeles—are at or near the lowest levels of deadly violence in their modern histories. In New York, murders dropped to 290, a number not seen since 1951, police say, and killings in Los Angeles were at 281, staying below 300 for the eighth consecutive year, according to data from the police and the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Even Chicago, where ragged violence has shocked the nation, saw murders fall to 650 in 2017, down from 771 in 2016, police say. Seven of the 10 largest U.S. cities saw declines in 2017, according to police; one saw an increase, and two didn't have final data."</i></p>	17 (7, 9)

<p>1-4-18 +</p>	<p><b>The voter fraud that never dies.</b> On January 4, the day after having suddenly disbanded his notorious Commission on Election Integrity, Mr. Trump tweeted a call for states to adopt enhanced voter ID laws as a means to prevent electoral fraud and "rigged" elections. Critics and some courts had long viewed at least some of those laws as having been intended to suppress voting on the part of the young, the old and the poor – disproportionately constituencies not aligned with the laws' authors or with Mr. Trump.</p> <p>Mr. Trump had formed the commission to prove that Hillary Clinton had stolen the popular vote victory from him in November 2016 by way of electoral fraud, and (seemingly) to promote voter suppression laws. But the commission had quickly fallen into ridicule, disdain and dysfunction due to its anti-democratic intentions, the resistance of and lawsuits brought by oversight organizations and state governments (both red and blue), and the chairman's secretive methods of operating – all as described above in this document.</p> <p>The commission never found any evidence of voter fraud. But pushing on, in addition to Mr. Trump's new call for state voter ID laws, the White House announced that the Department of Homeland Security (the immigration police) would be taking up the investigation of voter fraud. Also, the committee chair said that the committee would pass its findings to DHS, and that he would be advising the agency.</p> <p>But even in its death, there were indications of the committee's dishonesty: DHS shortly announced that it had no plans to take up the matter. And on January 9 The Huffington Post reported that the White House information officer who had custody of the committee's data swore in a court declaration that the committee had no findings to pass on to DHS, that it would not pass any data to DHS, and that DHS would not take up the commission's work. HuffPost also reported that DHS had denied that the committee chairman would be advising the agency.</p> <p>Mr. Trump meanwhile had not yet supported any initiatives to prevent foreign interference in American elections – interference that had occurred to his benefit in the 2016 election – or any other significant measures to actually promote "election integrity."</p>	<p>4, 6, 17 (7)</p>

<p>1-4-18</p>	<p><b>More servility.</b> Politico reported that at the outset of a White House meeting on immigration, one politician after another publicly thanked Mr. Trump for his glorious leadership: Vice President Mike Pence, Sen. James Lankford, Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen, and even sometimes Trump critic Sen. Lindsey Graham.</p> <p>Politico called it <i>"a scene that is becoming something of a tradition in the Trump White House."</i> CSD has reported above in this document on previous episodes of public gestures of servility toward Mr. Trump at official meetings. To our knowledge, no other modern president had commanded such fawning, or had even wanted it. Most, we expect, would have been puzzled, embarrassed and horrified.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>1-4-18</p>	<p><b>Obstruction.</b> The New York Times reported that, in the administration's early months, the White House had sought to prevent Attorney General Jeff Sessions from recusing himself from the Russian election-meddling investigation; that the Justice Department had attempted to dig up dirt on then FBI Director James Comey for use in a public smear campaign prior to his dismissal; and that other specified efforts suggestive of an intent to throttle the investigation had occurred. The Times also reported that Mr. Trump had told aides at the time that he expected the attorney general to protect him above all (that is, above protecting the country or the law). <i>"Where's my Roy Cohn?"</i> he once asked, referring to his one-time personal lawyer – who, as counsel for Senator Joseph McCarthy's anti-communist inquisition in the early 1950s, had been one of the most reviled figures in Washington, and who had eventually died in disgrace.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>1-4-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Fire and Fury.</u></b> On January 4, Mr. Trump's attorneys formally <u>demand</u>ed that <u>Henry Holt &amp; Co., the publisher of a new book about the Trump presidency titled <i>Fire and Fury</i>, immediately cease its distribution.</u> The book, based on some 200 interviews with White House staffers, was highly critical of Mr. Trump's intellectual, moral and emotional competence. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>1-4-18 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.]</i> To be sure, the author was controversial, and according to some unreliable. But he had been granted free access to the White House to write the book, which the administration had apparently thought would treat the administration favorably. And his reporting largely confirmed general senior level perceptions of Mr. Trump that had already been widely publicized. In any event, a presidential attempt to block a book's publication was unprecedented in recent history. It was most closely approximated by Richard Nixon's attempt to block the publication of the Pentagon Papers – on national security (not personal) grounds.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's lawyers sent related demands to the book's author and to the author's leading source, former White House senior advisor Stephen Bannon. Mr. Trump also released a written statement disparaging Bannon's performance, motives, character and personal traits, which The New York Times wrote was <i>"unlike any issued by a president against a top adviser in modern times."</i></p> <p>The following day, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Well, now that collusion with Russia is proving to be a total hoax and the only collusion is with Hillary Clinton and the FBI/Russia, the Fake News Media (Mainstream) and this phony new book are hitting out at every new front imaginable."</i> The notion that the book was not in itself newsworthy was false; the book was newsworthy. Mr. Trump's continuing allegations that the investigation of his campaign's possible collusion with the Russian government had been "proven" to be a "hoax" was also false; the investigation was continuing. But in all, within a short period, Mr. Trump had managed to blame the author, the publisher, Bannon, Clinton, the FBI and the mainstream press for the book and/or for the attention it was receiving – rather than accepting blame for the disturbing portrait of himself that had emerged.</p> <p>Later that evening he tweeted: <i>"Sloppy Steve Bannon ... cried when he got fired and begged for his job. Now Sloppy Steve has been dumped like a dog by almost everyone. Too bad!"</i> <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>1-4-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On January 6, seemingly in response both to the book and to independent discussions in Washington of Mr. Trump's mental competence, Mr. Trump tweeted again that the criticisms were intended to distract from recent "proof" that the Russia investigation was a "hoax" perpetrated by Democrats. He then wrote: <i>[T]hroughout my life, my two greatest assets have been mental stability and being, like, really smart. ... I went from VERY successful businessman, to top T.V. Star, to President of the United States (on my first try). <u>I think that would qualify as not smart, but genius....and a very stable genius at that!</u></i></p> <p>Commentators observed that any such public statements on the part of a military officer or a corporate executive in themselves would likely have resulted in an immediate mental evaluation, and possibly removal.</p> <p>Later in the day, as on prior occasions, Mr. Trump called for stronger libel laws – presumably such as would enable him to win lawsuits against his critics. (Current libel laws are established by state legislatures, not Congress. And the Supreme Court ruled decades ago that public figures such as Mr. Trump could only prevail on a libel claim if the writer or publisher had recklessly or intentionally lied – a high bar that has, among other things, protected newspapers' ability to criticize national political figures.)</p> <p>On January 7, Mr. Trump's senior policy advisor Stephen Miller defended him against the book's characterizations in an interview by a respected CNN journalist, until the interviewer cut Miller off for speechifying, interrupting and evading. Still Miller wouldn't leave the set, and CNN security had to escort him away. Mr. Trump then tweeted: <i>“Jake Tapper of Fake News CNN just got destroyed in his interview with Stephen Miller of the Trump Administration. Watch the hatred and unfairness of this CNN flunky!”</i></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>1-5-18</p>	<p><b>Security Council lobbying.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that, a year prior, Mr. Trump's transition team had extensively lobbied members of the UN Security Council to withdraw a pending resolution critical of Israel, anticipating (accurately) that the Obama administration would abstain from the vote and thus let the measure pass. Michael Flynn, Jared Kushner and Nikki Haley had all made the calls. Such diplomatic interference by a transition team was uncommon and possibly illegal, wrote The Journal.</p>	<p>9</p>

1-6-18	<p><b><u>Trashing trees, getting a job.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that a National Park Service official who had been disciplined for illegally removing protected trees from a Maryland park to benefit the view of a nearby property owner had now been named as the NPS's deputy director. The property owner, Daniel Snyder, was also the owner of the Washington Redskins, and had contributed \$1,000,000 to Mr. Trump's election campaign.</p>	16
1-8-18	<p><b><u>Telling it to farmers.</u></b> At an address to the Farm Bureau (a national trade association) in Nashville, Tennessee, Mr. Trump boasted that he had delivered a \$5.5 trillion tax cut in the recent tax legislation, when in fact it was widely understood to have been only \$1.1 trillion net of tax increases. He also said, untruthfully, that most of the benefits of the tax bill were <i>“going to working families, small businesses, and ... the family farmer.”</i> He further boasted about having reversed a clean water regulation that many farmers had opposed, thus <i>“setting free our farmers to innovate, thrive, and grow. Oh, you are so happy you voted for me. You are so lucky I gave you that privilege.”</i> Also this, referring to (mainly black) player protests against racism at recent National Football League games, having nothing to do with farming: <i>“We want our flag respected. We want our flag respected. And we want our national anthem respected,”</i> drawing chants of <i>“U.S.A.!”</i> And this: <i>“Farm country is God's country!”</i></p>	6, 7, 9, 11
1-9-18, 1-10-18, 1-18-18, 1-19-18	<p><b><u>The (performance) art of the deal.</u></b> Amid mounting charges by critics that Mr. Trump was mentally incompetent and emotionally unsound, on January 9 he staged a publicly televised negotiating session with Congressional leaders on the topic of immigration that was widely viewed as an attempt to demonstrate his moderation and effectiveness. Critics promptly charged that during the session he demonstrated confusion, disinterest and continuous self-contradiction with respect to his own policy positions. And a week later, as emergency talks to fund the federal government reached an impasse over the immigration issues, both parties in Congress faulted him for his cluelessness. Yet at a televised Cabinet session on January 10, he touted the "great reviews" and "great ratings" he had received for the previous day's "performance" – "one of the greatest meetings ever witnessed."</p>	11

1-9-18	<p><b><u>Earmarking revival.</u></b> During the meeting on immigration, Mr. Trump proposed the restoration of the fiscally irresponsible and frequently corrupt practice of Congressional earmarking – hiding project-specific dollars within federal budget bills for the political benefit of individual members of Congress – a practice that had previously been engaged in by both political parties but that had been outlawed in 2011.</p>	17 (15)
1-10-18, 1-11-18	<p><b><u>Libel laws: what? what?</u></b> At the January 10 Cabinet meeting, still smarting from the publication of <i>Fire and Fury</i>, Mr. Trump said that current libel laws are a "sham" because they don't allow redress for knowingly false statements on the part of journalists and publishers. In fact they do – for all plaintiffs, including public figures such as himself.</p> <p>The following day he told the Wall Street Journal that he wanted Congress to strengthen the libel laws. But as before he made no mention of the fact that the states, not Congress, establish such laws, and that the Supreme Court had limited the laws' practical scope on constitutional grounds.</p>	1, 7, 9, 11
1-10-18	<p><b><u>Tax tricks.</u></b> Both Politico and The Washington Post reported that the Trump administration appeared to be pressuring the Internal Revenue Service to reduce workers' withholding payroll taxes in 2018 so that they would see larger net paychecks and thus support Mr. Trump's political party in the mid-term Congressional elections – even though lowering withholding could damage the workers' ability to fund their tax obligations and hamper the IRS's tax collection efforts.</p>	9
1-10-18	<p><b><u>Urging partisan investigations.</u></b> Frustrated by Democrats having a voice in the various Congressional investigations of Russian election meddling, Mr. Trump tweeted that Republicans should "take control" of the investigations – which are lawfully required to be bi-partisan, and are theoretically supposed to be non-partisan.</p>	9
1-10-18	<p><b><u>Hammering the judges, again.</u></b> After a federal judge blocked Mr. Trump's attempts to wind down protections for young undocumented (DACA) immigrants, Mr. Trump (rather than merely voicing disagreement) called the court system "broken and unfair."</p>	2



<p>1-10-18</p>	<p><b>Zinke does a favor.</b> Days after Mr. Trump had issued an order permitting nearly all offshore drilling for oil and gas, Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke exempted Florida from the order, in a move that critics suspected was a partisan (and therefore illegal) effort to help the state's Republican governor in his bid for the U.S. Senate. Many, including South Carolina's Republican Congressman Mark Sanford, even speculated that the carve-out was intended to preserve the pristine ocean view of Mr. Trump's Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago – a theory consistent with Mr. Trump's long-running attempt to keep offshore wind turbines from tainting the sea view from his Scottish golf course. In any event, both Mr. Trump's original order and Zinke's subsequent carve-out for Florida generated bi-partisan outrage.</p>	<p>15, 16, 17 (9, 16)</p>
<p>1-10-18</p>	<p><b>Russia report ignored.</b> The Democratic members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee released an extensive study of recent Russian efforts to undermine democracies worldwide, stating "<i>Never before in American history has so clear a threat to national security been so clearly ignored by a U.S. president.</i>" Mr. Trump ignored the report as well, effectively casting the protection of democracy as a partisan endeavor.</p>	<p>12</p>
<p>1-11-18</p>	<p><b>Clinton, the FBI and the Russians.</b> In an apparent attempt to deflect from the special prosecutor's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 election campaign – an investigation that to date had netted at least four guilty pleas by or indictments of senior Trump campaign officials – Mr. Trump suggested via Twitter that both his opponent Hillary Clinton and the FBI (for her benefit) may have collaborated with Russia during the campaign. He offered no evidence.</p>	<p>9. 11</p>
<p>1-11-18, 1-14-18</p>	<p><b>Kim's friend: what? what?</b> On January 11, Mr. Trump told The Wall Street Journal, "<i>I probably have a very good relationship with Kim Jong Un. I have relationships with people. I think you people are surprised.</i>" How could Mr. Trump square that statement with his continuing and unprecedented exchange of insults with the North Korean leader that most analysts had feared was posing a threat of devastating military confrontation? He explained, by proudly pointing to his unpredictability and insincerity: "<i>You'll see that a lot with me, and then all of the [sic] sudden somebody's my best friend. I could give you 20 examples. You could give me 30. I'm a very flexible person.</i>" [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 11</p>

<p>1-11-18, 1-14-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As to whether the appearance of a rapprochement in recent days between North Korea and South Korea was intended by the North to drive a wedge between the South and the U.S., he said: “<i>The difference is I’m president, other people aren’t. And I know more about wedges than any human being that’s lived.</i>”</p> <p>Three days later, after an inexplicable delay, Mr. Trump tweeted that he had actually said “<i>I’d probably have a very good relationship with Kim Jong Un</i>” (rather than “<i>I probably have</i>”), charging The Journal with intentionally misquoting him and dispensing “FAKE NEWS.” The Journal rebutted the allegation by releasing an audio of the interview. Undisputed was Mr. Trump’s boasting of his capriciousness in diplomacy.</p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>1-11-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>No to "shithole" immigrants.</u></b> On January 11, Mr. Trump told members of Congress at a White House meeting that the U.S. shouldn’t accept immigrants from "shithole" places such as Haiti, Africa, and (by some accounts) El Salvador, as opposed to worthy places like Norway.</p> <p>Neo-Nazis and other white supremacists promptly praised Mr. Trump’s epithet, gleefully agreeing with "liberals" that Mr. Trump had proven himself to be a racist. Critics, for their part, were quick to fold the episode into, and to recount, the lengthy list of seemingly racially-motivated campaigns and statements that Mr. Trump had engaged in for decades – many of which are reported above in this document.</p> <p>Apart from allegations of racism, the naming of "shitholes" added to the roster of countries that Mr. Trump had gratuitously insulted (previously Australia, the UK, France, Germany, Iran, Mexico, China, North Korea). It even risked turning away African countries, contrary to U.S. interests. In 2017 some 33 of 54 African countries were hosting U.S. special forces troops in America’s fight against Islamist militants; and China had long been strategically developing and aggressively courting such countries. Indeed the revelation of Mr. Trump’s statement brought prompt denunciations from African, Caribbean and Latin American governments (plus the United Nations human rights office), as well as the angry resignation of the U.S. ambassador to Panama. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 11, 13, 14</p>

<p>1-11-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD does not consider Mr. Trump's reported use of the word "shithole" to have necessarily been racist, nor his reported comments as such to have disparaged the subject countries on racial (as opposed to economic development) grounds. But as we have previously noted, Mr. Trump did appear to have long feared and disdained people from poor, brown countries (except for those he had chosen to personally employ at his resorts) and to dismiss America's humanitarian obligations toward them. In addition, he now appeared very clearly to have endorsed a race-based immigration system.</p> <p>CSD also does not advocate for unlimited immigration any more than anyone else does. We see proper immigration policies as those that balance the economic benefits and the humanitarian imperatives of immigration against the right of every country to protect its cultural identity. But we also see Mr. Trump's deeply embedded aversion to accepting refugees and to receiving migrants from certain countries (other than his own employees) as evidencing his seeming unawareness or rejection of half the equation (economics and humanitarianism); as dismissive of the gains in science, technology, enterprise, the professions, the arts and the humanities wrought over the years by immigrants from poor countries and without which the American project would be only a shell of its current embodiment; as reminiscent of the ethnically-based, exclusionary immigration policies of the 1920s through the 1940s that resonated with, and that withheld from refugees a haven from, the rise of Nazi Germany; and thus as profoundly inhumane and unpatriotic.</p> <p>We would also note that, by all accounts, in his life Mr. Trump had not spent time, either recreationally or professionally, in any of the places that he had now characterized as "shitholes," or in any similar places; that he had demonstrated no awareness of or curiosity about their circumstances; and that his travels abroad had instead been limited to stays in opulent environments. For all of this we consider his characterization of those countries to be uniquely arbitrary, insulated, and thus devoid of the level of wisdom and empathy that would befit a sitting president.</p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 11, 13, 14</p>
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<p>1-11-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The White House did not initially deny that Mr. Trump had said "shithole," and according to The Washington Post he boasted about it in private. Only vaguely did he deny it the next day, by Twitter. But on January 14, Kirstjen Nielsen, his Secretary of Homeland Security who had been present at the meeting, said that she took "<i>a little offense to allegations that the president is racist</i>"; and she subsequently testified under oath before the Senate Judiciary Committee that she couldn't remember whether Mr. Trump had used the vulgar word. Also on January 14 Mr. Trump explicitly denied having used the word, and he told reporters. "<i>I'm the least racist person you have ever interviewed.</i>" The silver lining that CSD perceives in these denials is that, after America's long embrace of a better way of thinking, it is still not generally acceptable in political discourse here to be, or to be viewed as, a racist – even if one is.</p>	<p>6, 7, 11, 13, 14</p>
<p>1-12-18</p>	<p><b>Zinke takes credit.</b> The Huffington Post reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, who had famously distinguished himself as an opponent of natural lands protection, in a year-end report on his department's work had taken credit for numerous protection measures that had been initiated and achieved by the Obama administration.</p>	<p>17 (7. 11)</p>
<p>1-12-18</p>	<p><b>Porn bribe.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that, during Mr. Trump's election campaign, one of his attorneys had paid a porn star \$130,000 to be silent about Mr. Trump's affair with her that had occurred while he was married to current wife Melania and their son Barron was months old.</p> <p>The affair was not illegal; the payment was not illegal; nor did the circumstances amount to Mr. Trump telling a falsehood. But at a minimum, the quid-pro-quo seemed to be of a piece with Mr. Trump's notoriously "transactional" and unprincipled attitude toward individuals and issues; his pattern of seeking to repress the truth; his pattern of bribing law enforcement officials (such as several state attorneys general who had been investigating his businesses); his pattern of paying-off political supporters (as in his presidential appointments of various unqualified individuals to high ranking positions); the possibility of his having excused the Russian government for its interference with the presidential election in exchange for its silence about his past; and his possible susceptibility to blackmail generally.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 16</p>

1-16-18	<p><b><u>Bannon is gagged.</u></b> Testifying under subpoena before the House Intelligence Committee about Russian interference with the 2016 presidential election, former senior White House advisor Stephen Bannon – at the direction of the White House – declined to answer questions about conversations he had had while serving on Mr. Trump's transition team and in his administration. That is to say, the White House had ordered him to defy not only Congressional prerogatives but his legal obligations under the subpoena. Both Republican and Democratic committee members were outraged.</p>	9, 12
1-16-18	<p><b><u>Zinke goes it alone.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that nine out of the twelve members of the National Park System Advisory Board – federally chartered in 1935 and advising the Interior Department for over 80 years on the designation and maintenance of national parks – had quit because Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke had refused to meet with them or convene a single meeting in 2017. The New York Times said that they had also quit because Zinke had <i>"ignored science, squelched efforts to address climate change and undermined environmental protections."</i> In May, Zinke had suspended the work of all outside committees, including those providing input on matters such as environmental science and public lands protection.</p> <p>CSD has reported on the dishonest and corrupt behaviors of many members of Mr. Trump's cabinet, including Zinke. But we also find Zinke to have distinguished himself in his truculent, self-absorbed and authoritarian style, which has seemed to border on, if not cross into, the illegal. Indeed, citizen advocacy groups that favor the national park system had labeled Zinke as anti-park – a charge, which if true, would cause him to be working in opposition to his legal mandate as Interior Secretary to protect and promote our parks; as though a police chief were working to advance street crime, or an army general were working to advance the cause of a military enemy.</p>	17 (8, 9)

<p>1-16-18</p>	<p><b>McCain warns on press freedom.</b> In an opinion piece in The Washington Post, Republican Senator John McCain cited a recent report by The Committee to Protect Journalists to the effect that some 21 journalists had been jailed in 2017 by authoritarian regimes overseas on charges of disseminating "fake news." He faulted Mr. Trump for not having discouraged such abuses, and – by way of Mr. Trump's own attacks on the American press – for having implicitly condoned and encouraged them.</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>1-16-18, 1-17-18</p>	<p><b>Cooking the books on black support.</b> On January 16, Mr. Trump tweeted a Fox News commentator's statement to the effect that his popularity among African Americans had doubled since his election. The following day The New York Times reported that that interpretation of the polling results was devoid of integrity, and that black support for Mr. Trump appeared to have actually declined.</p>	<p>7, 8</p>
<p>1-16-18, 1-18-18</p>	<p><b>Cooking the books on immigrant violence.</b> On January 16, Mr. Trump tweeted that a study by the Departments of Justice and Homeland Security that he had ordered in March and that had now been released proved that <i>"nearly 3 in 4 individuals convicted of terrorism-related charges are foreign-born."</i> A New York Times analysis stated that the report ignored acts of domestic terrorism (such as those perpetrated by white supremacists); it included episodes that did not amount to acts of terrorism on U.S. soil, or to terrorism at all; and it was otherwise statistically deficient, substantively confusing, and likely concocted to justify barring Muslims from entering the U.S.</p> <p>In addition, the government study pointed to the prevalence of violence against women (including, allegedly, honor killings) among immigrants. But here too – according to The Huffington Post's analysis of January 18 – the methodology and reporting appeared to be wildly unprofessional, including by the authors' having relied on sketchy data and having ignored comparable phenomena among the general American population</p>	<p>6, 7, 8</p>

<p>1-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>America disdained.</u></b> A new Gallup poll of individuals in some 134 countries revealed for 2017 the lowest approval of America's leadership in the poll's 10-year history, now at a mere 30% – a drop of 18% since the previous year, and the biggest yearly drop ever in the perception of any country's leadership. Disapproval was especially high among citizens of U.S. allies. Also studied were the individuals' perceptions of the leadership of Germany, Russia and China, with both Germany and China surpassing the U.S. in the poll, and the U.S. barely surpassing Russia. Gallup attributed the drop in approval to Mr. Trump's presidency.</p> <p>CSD does not place undue credibility in the poll's precise statistics, given the margin for error, the challenges of designing such a survey, and the inherently subjective (if not capricious) attitudes of the survey respondents. Nor do we maintain that the popularity of America's leadership outside of America's borders is necessarily of crucial importance. We nevertheless believe that the dramatic change in survey results was indicative, and that the loss of American prestige is likely deleterious both for American strategic and economic interests and for democracy worldwide. Certainly it is not good.</p>	<p>10, 13, 14</p>
<p>1-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>Trading on the presidency.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the developer of a Trump-branded apartment building in India was promising purchasers of units the opportunity to travel to the U.S. to meet with Mr. Trump's son, Donald Jr.</p> <p>The Post also reported that the cost of renting the "Ivanka Suite" in the Trump International Hotel in Washington had risen from \$914 to \$2134 per night since Mr. Trump's election: trivial sums in the grand scheme, but exemplary of a business and political outlook, in CSD's view.</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>1-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>Fake News Awards.</u></b> As he had promised some weeks previous (see CSD's January 2 entry above), Mr. Trump named the winners of his Fake News Awards for 2017. The winners were The New York Times, ABC, CNN, TIME, The Washington Post and Newsweek (all of which news outlets CSD relies on as its news sources). Of the thousands of stories and millions of words about Mr. Trump issued by those outlets in 2017, Mr. Trump was able to specifically identify only ten actual reporting errors – almost all of which the publishers had promptly corrected, apologized for, and/or disciplined its reporters for. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7</p>

1-18-18	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] Mr. Trump had never corrected or apologized for any of the 2,000 + exaggerations and falsehoods that he had made during the first year of his presidency.	7
January 2018	<p><b><u>Freedom House decries decline of American democracy.</u></b>  In its annual report on the status of freedom in the world, the highly respected, non-partisan, non-profit Freedom House called out the deterioration of democracy in the U.S. under Mr. Trump's presidency. Elements of the decline included Mr. Trump's withdrawal from world leadership in promoting democracy, his embrace of authoritarian regimes, his attacks on the press and the judiciary, his racially-tinged policies, his business conflicts of interests, his nepotism, his non-transparency (including as to his tax returns), his attacks on the investigation of Russian election interference, and his false allegations of widespread electoral fraud. Perhaps most distressingly, <b><u>the U.S.'s overall rating on Freedom House's index – on a scale of 1 (most free) to 7 (least free) – dropped from 1 to 2.</u></b> We urge readers to view the U.S. chapter, which can be seen at the link at this endnote.<sup>7</sup></p>	All of the above
January 2018	<p><b><u>The view from abroad.</u></b> A lengthy news analysis in Politico's magazine reported on the impression that Mr. Trump had made on dozens of foreign leaders and senior diplomats from friendly countries during his presidency. They consistently found him "uninformed," "dangerously unpredictable," "insane," given to "volatility," susceptible to "flattery," "jarring," "disturbing," "unlike anything they've ever heard," filled with "bluster and blasting," "breaking china all over the place," "hair-raising," "catastrophic," "terrifying" and "incompetent," but at the same time "cartoonish" and a "laughingstock."</p> <p>The reporter wrote: "<i>Over their year of living dangerously with Trump, foreign leaders and diplomats have learned this much: The U.S. president was ignorant, at times massively so, about the rudiments of the international system and America's place in it, and in general about other countries. He seemed to respond well to flattery and the lavish laying out of red carpets; he was averse to conflict in person but more or less immovable from strongly held preconceptions. And given the chance, he would respond well to anything that seemed to offer him the opportunity to flout or overturn the policies endorsed by his predecessors Barack Obama and George W. Bush.</i>" [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	10, 11, 13



January 2018	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Meanwhile (wrote the reporter), on the inside, the administration's foreign policy leadership was "plagued by insecurity and infighting" and was only sometimes successful in what it had determined its principal mission to be, a historical first for America: containing and controlling an erratic president. On many of the largest and most sensitive issues, that leadership was often outright ignored. CSD has described this phenomenon extensively before. But the reporter now wrote that foreign leaders perceived all of it as well, and that they were unnerved by their inability to rely on even the efforts of sane and capable senior staff.</p> <p>The complete article appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>8</sup></p>	10, 11, 13
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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/23/us/politics/trump-immigration.html?ref=todayspaper&r=0>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/28/us/politics/trump-world-diplomacy.html?ref=todayspaper>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.insightsassociation.org/legal-article/adding-immigration-and-citizenship-status-questions-census>; and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/census-watchers-warn-of-crisis-if-funding-for-2020-count-is-not-increased/2017/04/17/e6cc170a-20d6-11e7-a0a7-8b2a45e3dc84\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.867a025c20bc](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/census-watchers-warn-of-crisis-if-funding-for-2020-count-is-not-increased/2017/04/17/e6cc170a-20d6-11e7-a0a7-8b2a45e3dc84_story.html?utm_term=.867a025c20bc); and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/02/us/census-citizenship-status-immigrants.html?ref=todayspaper>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/31/us/politics/trump-reinventing-presidency.html?ref=todayspaper>

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/01/02/president-trump-has-made-1949-false-or-misleading-claims-over-347-days/?undefined=&utm\\_term=.e7f4ad0ad269&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/01/02/president-trump-has-made-1949-false-or-misleading-claims-over-347-days/?undefined=&utm_term=.e7f4ad0ad269&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jeff-sessions-says-theres-a-staggering-increase-in-homicides-the-data-dont-agree/2018/01/05/b0ae52fa-f169-11e7-b390-a36dc3fa2842\\_story.html?undefined=&utm\\_term=.c0ba776a6707&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jeff-sessions-says-theres-a-staggering-increase-in-homicides-the-data-dont-agree/2018/01/05/b0ae52fa-f169-11e7-b390-a36dc3fa2842_story.html?undefined=&utm_term=.c0ba776a6707&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>7</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/report/freedom-world/2018/united-states>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2018/01/02/donald-trump-foreign-policy-analysis-dangerous-216202>



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 13 – February 26, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>1-17-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Perjury trap.</u></b> One of Mr. Trump's lawyers said that if Mr. Trump were to agree to be interviewed by special prosecutor Robert Mueller about Russian interference with the 2016 election and other matters, Mueller could set a "perjury trap" for Mr. Trump. News analysts widely interpreted that to mean that because of Mr. Trump's proclivity for falsehood, Mr. Trump could easily lie to Mueller, then be found to have done so, which would be a felony. In subsequent days and weeks, a chorus of Mr. Trump's legal and other advisors urged him not to be interviewed by Mueller, for that reason.</p>	<p>7, 12</p>
<p>1-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>Hate crimes soar.</u></b> The Anti-Defamation League reported that white supremacists had murdered 57% more people in 2017 as in 2016. The report followed ADL's November 2, 2017 report that serious anti-Semitic incidents had increased 67% year-to-date in 2017 versus the same period in the previous year.</p> <p>Mr. Trump himself is not anti-Semitic. Nor has he encouraged or condoned violence against religious, ethnic or racial minorities. But he has explicitly condoned white supremacists (on the occasion of the Charlottesville march in August); supremacists have explicitly praised him as their champion; and commentators have widely drawn a correlation between Mr. Trump's seemingly racist views and the white supremacists' new-found boldness.</p>	<p>17 (5, 6)</p>

<p>1-20-18</p>	<p><b><u>Historical firsts.</u></b> Comparing Mr. Trump to his predecessors in the White House, Sean Willentz, a prominent professor of American history at Princeton University, wrote of Mr. Trump in the New York Times: <i>"[H]e is the first president to fail to defend the nation from an attack on our democracy by a hostile foreign power — and to resist the investigation of that attack. He is the first to enrich his private interests, and those of his family, directly and openly. He is the first president to denounce the press not simply as unfair but as 'the enemy of the American people.' He is the first to threaten his defeated political opponent with imprisonment. He is the first to have denigrated friendly countries and allies as well as a whole continent with racist vulgarities."</i> Although Willentz is partisan, those observations struck CSD as informed, objective, and noteworthy for their conciseness.</p>	<p>1, 6, 9, 12, 13, 15</p>
<p>1-20-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>The shut-down: rolling the minority.</u></b></p> <p><u>Scapegoating the opposition.</u> On January 20, the federal government went into partial shut-down because Congress could not agree on a spending bill. Mr. Trump placed all blame on the Democrats, despite widespread, bi-partisan charges faulting his own confusion, indecision, unreliability and even sabotage relative to resolving the immigration issues at the center of the controversy.</p> <p><u>Accusing the opposition of murder</u> That day, Mr. Trump's re-election campaign accused the Democratic Party of being <i>"complicit in every murder committed by illegal immigrants,"</i> for its having negotiated to include relief for undocumented child (DACA) migrants in the federal spending bill.</p> <p><u>Wrecking the Senate.</u> On January 21, still reacting to the shut-down, Mr. Trump, as he had done before, called for the elimination of the long-standing Senate filibuster rule that requires 60 votes to pass legislation, so that a single party (currently his) could control all governance and render the minority party utterly voiceless. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 17(6, 9)</p>

<p>1-20-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p><u>Politicizing the troops.</u> On the same day, at an American military base in the Middle East, Vice President Mike Pence told the troops that the Democratic Party was solely responsible for the shut-down and for the resulting impediments it was creating for the military – points with which Democrats of course disagreed – thus continuing the Trump administration's extraordinary and troubling practice of delivering domestic political messages to the armed forces.</p> <p><u>Trashing Hispanics.</u> Similarly, Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen, who had been charged with the apolitical task of protecting Americans' domestic safety, gratuitously tweeted relative to the shut-down: "<i>Benefits for millions of illegal immigrants instead of paying Americans who put their lives at risk daily to protect ours? I don't think so.</i>"</p> <p><u>Taunting the vanquished.</u> On January 23, a day after Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer and sufficient additional Democrats had voted to fund the government on Republican terms and thus end the shut-down, Mr. Trump, by way of Twitter, berated "<i>Cryin' Chuck Schumer ... and his humiliating defeat.</i>" On January 26, Mr. Trump doubled-down, tweeting that "<i>Cryin' Chuck Schumer took such a beating over the shutdown.</i>"</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (6, 9)</p>
<p>1-20-18, 1-23-18</p>	<p><b>Profiting from the presidency.</b> On January 20, The Washington Post reported that the Republican National Committee would be holding a gala fundraiser at Mr. Trump's Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida that evening in celebration of the anniversary of his inauguration, and that the RNC was believed to be paying Mr. Trump's company substantial fees for rent and related items. On January 23, Politico reported that Mr. Trump would address the RNC at a February 1 event at his Washington hotel. The RNC of course was free to enrich Mr. Trump if it wished, having reportedly paid his companies millions of dollars in connection with the 2016 election campaign. But CSD nevertheless continued to be alarmed that Mr. Trump, a billionaire, accepted the sums, and that he saw fit to exploit the presidency as a profit center.</p>	<p>15</p>

<p>1-22-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Intimidating Justice.</u></b> On January 22, The Washington Post reported that Attorney General Jeff Sessions had been pressing FBI director Christopher Wray to fire deputy director Andrew McCabe, due to McCabe's perceived friendships with Trump antagonists Hillary Clinton and fired FBI director James Comey. The pressure had followed Mr. Trump's own many public attacks on McCabe. The following day, The Post reported that shortly after firing Comey, Mr. Trump had summoned McCabe (then acting director) to his office, asked his political preferences, and hinted his expectation of loyalty. On January 24, the Post observed that, cumulatively, Mr. Trump had asked at least six senior Justice Department officials for their loyalty or to act inappropriately, including three FBI directors or acting directors: Comey, Wray, McCabe, Sally Yates (former deputy attorney general), U.S. Attorney for New York Preet Bharara, and Attorney General Jeff Sessions. To this list CSD would add Mr. Trump's pressure on Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein to write a memorandum that Mr. Trump then disingenuously used as cover for firing Comey.</p> <p>In sum: Mr. Trump had wanted Justice Department officials – lots of them – to serve as his handmaidens; much like staff at his Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago.</p> <p>On January 26, CNN reported that Mr. Trump had been venting his anger at Rosenstein, who had appointed and who now continued to supervise special prosecutor Robert Mueller. On January 28, The New York Times reported independently to that effect. On February 1, CNN reported that at a meeting in the White House in December, Mr. Trump had asked Rosenstein relative to the investigation, "Are you on my team?"</p> <p>On January 29, under pressure from Wray, McCabe resigned.</p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>1-25-18</p>	<p><b><u>Mueller in the cross-hairs.</u></b> The New York Times reported, and The Washington Post and other news journals then independently confirmed, that <u>in June 2017 Mr. Trump had ordered White House counsel Donald McGahn to direct the Justice Department to fire special prosecutor Robert Mueller.</u> McGahn refused, and threatened to resign. In subsequent months, Mr. Trump and White House staff had publicly stated that he had never considered firing Mueller.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>

<p>1-26-18</p>	<p><b>Chaos.</b> CNN observed that the threatened resignation of White House counsel Donald McGahn over Mr. Trump's June directive that special prosecutor Robert Mueller be fired fit an alarming pattern: that other senior aides who were known to have threatened to resign during Mr. Trump's first year in office due to his irregular governing style included John Kelly (chief of staff), Jeff Sessions (Attorney General) and Christopher Wray (FBI director). To that list CSD would add Rex Tillerson (Secretary of State).</p> <p>USA Today had previously listed some 15 senior officials who had in fact either resigned or been dismissed, as linked at this endnote.<sup>1</sup> Casualties included those Mr. Trump had perceived as political enemies (FBI director James Comey), weaklings (press secretary Sean Spicer and chief of staff Reince Priebus), and wild embarrassments (senior advisors Stephen Bannon and Sebastian Gorka; national security advisor Michael Flynn; communications director Anthony Scaramucci; and Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price). He had inherited the political enemies from the previous administration; the others he had appointed himself. In any event, instability appeared to have reigned.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>1-26-18</p>	<p><b>The whole world is watching (and is fake).</b> Mr. Trump was booed at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland when, in an address, he attacked the "fake" media generally and The New York Times specifically. He particularly denied recent media reports of his attempt in June to fire special prosecutor Robert Mueller.</p>	<p>1, 7, 10</p>
<p>1-28-18</p>	<p><b>Ice caps "breaking records."</b> In a television interview, Mr. Trump equivocated as to whether climate change was occurring; said that the earth was getting colder (when in fact temperatures are at record highs); and added that the polar ice caps were "breaking records" for their size (when in fact they have been shrinking dramatically).</p>	<p>7, 8</p>
<p>1-29-18, 1-30-18</p>	<p><b>Defying Congress on Russia sanctions.</b> On January 29, the State Department announced that it would not implement the sanctions against Russia that had been overwhelmingly passed by Congress and reluctantly signed into law by Mr. Trump in August. The announcement came on the date of the implementation deadline. For CSD, <u>Mr. Trump's ongoing coddling of Russia as it continued to look to interfere with our elections, and his open defiance of Congress, were equally disturbing.</u> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 12</p>

<p>1-29-18, 1-30-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The State Department did, however, meet its deadline for publishing a list of wealthy Russians with close ties to the Russian government. Having had six months to do so, on the deadline date the department released a list of Russian billionaires which, at the last moment, it had taken directly from Forbes magazine, without regard to whether they had political connections. The Russian government and others derided the State Department's sloth; and the next day Russian President Vladimir Putin blamed Mr. Trump's enemies for the U.S. having published anything at all.</p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>1-29-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Corrupting the House investigation.</u></b></p> <p><i>The Nunes memo.</i> California Congressman Devin Nunes – who had been a leading member of Mr. Trump's presidential transition team and was now the chair of the House Intelligence Committee that had subsequently undertaken to investigate the Trump campaign's possible involvement with Russian interference in the 2016 election – appeared to sabotage whatever remained of his committee's mandate to conduct a good faith, empirical, bi-partisan inquiry. He released to Mr. Trump, for re-release to the public, a classified memorandum authored by Republican committee members that damned the FBI for its allegedly partisan investigation of one of Mr. Trump's campaign associates, Carter Page, in connection with the election interference. The alleged partisanship involved the FBI's not disclosing to the special Foreign Intelligence and Surveillance Act (FISA) court, which had issued and three times renewed a warrant to surveil Page, that one of its informants – Christopher Steele, of Russian "dossier" fame – was partisan. Nunes meanwhile forbade the committee's Democrats from contemporaneously releasing their own rebuttal.</p> <p><i>The retort.</i> Those actions – openly encouraged if not actually solicited or directed by Mr. Trump – were condemned by not only the committee's Democrats but by the FBI and the Justice Department, on grounds that Nunes was politicizing his committee and its investigation to an unprecedented extent; distributing classified information and misleading analysis by way of the memorandum in an unprecedented manner; intending to throttle rather than promote transparency; and further intending to discredit <i>all</i> of the work of the FBI and special prosecutor Robert Mueller in their independent investigation of Russian election interference and other matters. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 13 17 (7, 9, 12, 13)</p>

1-29-18 +	<p>[Continued.] <i>The fallacies.</i> Nunes's allegation that the FBI had failed to disclose to the FISA court that Steele was partisan was false; and it overlooked the fact that every prosecutor and court may and must take seriously even partisan sources that come forward. In addition, Nunes withheld from his memorandum the fact that the FBI had been tracking Page's unusual Russia connections long before the events in question; that Page had openly boasted of his Russia connections; and that as a campaign figure he thus eminently merited scrutiny. Most notably, Nunes's undertaking to "out" the FISA warrant application as biased appeared in no way to derogate from the significant amount of damning information that had emerged around the Trump campaign's contacts with Russians irrespective of Page; from Mr. Trump's concerted attempts to block the investigation; or from his highly suspect friendship toward and admiration of Russian President Vladimir Putin and his tolerance of past and future Russian election interference.</p> <p><i>Other irregularities.</i> Nunes himself appeared not to have read the classified information underlying his own memorandum before its release. And the text of the memorandum he had delivered to Mr. Trump was shortly revealed to have been edited versus the text that the committee's majority had approved. These two items were not so damaging, but they were plainly foolish and erratic.</p> <p><i>The motive.</i> Nunes had previously been forced to recuse himself from his committee's investigation due to his wildly partisan and dishonest activities in that endeavor, as described above in this document on 3-21-17, 4-6-17 and 5-11-17. The new episode seemed of a piece with the original one, and with Mr. Trump's own more direct attempts to discredit the FBI, the Justice Department and Mueller. Indeed, <u>Mr. Trump was widely reported to have told aides that he wanted the memorandum released specifically so as to undermine Mueller's investigation, damage the FBI's reputation, and provide him with grounds for firing Rosenstein. For CSD, the devolution of a select Congressional investigatory body into a fact-challenged political tool of one of the investigation's targets (Mr. Trump), as well as a cover for the hostile and destructive activities of one of America's principal foreign rivals (Russia), as well as a defilement of the independence and authority of the nation's chief law enforcement agency (the FBI), seemed an abomination.</u> [Continued below.]</p>	7, 9, 11, 12, 13 17 (7, 9, 12, 13)
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<p>1-29-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] <u>The release, and the tweet.</u> Finally, on February 2, <u>Mr. Trump declassified the memorandum's contents (over the objections of national security staff), released the memorandum to Nunes for publication (which Nunes then leaked to favored media outlets before making it fully public), then tweeted: "The top Leadership and Investigators of the FBI and the Justice Department have politicized the sacred investigative process in favor of Democrats and against Republicans."</u> (In fact Mueller, Wray, Rosenstein and Comey were all understood to be Republicans.) <u>He then hinted that FBI and DOJ leaders should be punished for their "disgrace."</u></p> <p><u>Fox.</u> Mr. Trump reportedly took those actions in coordination with Fox News, the cable network that since the election campaign had appeared to serve as his propaganda outlet in the guise of news commentary. No previous president had collaborated with a news outlet in such a continuing and partisan manner, or (to CSD's knowledge) in real-time relative to a major political event.</p> <p><u>"Transparency?"</u> Vice President Mike Pence, chief of staff John Kelly and press secretary Sarah Sanders lauded the publication of the Nunes memorandum as advancing "transparency," the primacy of which they extolled. But Nunes had blocked the Democrats' rebuttal of his memorandum. Revealing classified information should <i>never</i> be placed in the same basket as other transparency issues. And in fact the Trump administration had been non-transparent about nearly everything else, including Mr. Trump's tax returns; visitor logs for the White House, Mar-a-Lago and Trump hotels; Mr. Trump's golf outings; his agencies' activities; his and his aides' conversations with and about Russia; and other items listed at The Washington Post and The New York Times links at this endnote.<sup>2</sup></p> <p><u>"Conspiracy?"</u> The larger theme of the authors and many supporters of the Nunes memorandum had been that the FBI had conspired to throw the presidential election to Hillary Clinton. But in fact the FBI had long been largely Republican-leaning. On February 2, The New York Times' conservative columnist Brett Stephens wrote that it was in fact the Democrats who had complained bitterly toward the end of the election campaign about the FBI's behavior, and we quote him as follows: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 13 17 (7, 9, 12, 13)</p>
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<p>1-29-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] <i>"It has become clear that you possess explosive information about close ties and coordination between Donald Trump, his top advisers and the Russian government," then Senate Minority Leader Harry Reid angrily wrote James Comey in late October 2016. 'The public has a right to know this information.' Maybe so. But the G-Men kept quiet about their investigations, and Trump won the election. How that represents evidence of a sinister deep-state conspiracy is a question for morons to ponder."</i></p> <p><u>National security.</u> The thoughtless (or worse) release of classified information by Nunes and Mr. Trump followed Mr. Trump's having casually revealed to Russian officials highly classified information provided by Israel relative to certain Middle Eastern military operations (see CSD's entry of 5-15/16-17). Both episodes were viewed by commentators as having the potential to chill how much classified information foreign governments would share with the U.S. going forward, and how much American intelligence agencies would share with the president – all to the detriment of our national security. In addition, rank-and-file FBI staff were widely reported to have been demoralized by the release of the Nunes memorandum and the associated attacks on the FBI's leadership.</p> <p><u>McCain's outrage.</u> Immediately after the release, Republican Senator John McCain accused Mr. Trump and Nunes of "manufacturing partisan sideshows" that undermined the rule of law and served Russia's interests.</p> <p><u>In Philadelphia.</u> On February 1, as Nunes's release was imminent, the Intelligence Committee's ranking member – California Congressman Adam Schiff, who had been publicly and intensively resisting that release, including for its inaccuracies – had spoken similarly to an audience at The University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. He said, <i>"The threat from Russia to our democracy is now far less than the threat from within."</i> He called this moment an inflection point for the fate of liberal democracy. He observed that countries around the world continued to look to the U.S. as a beacon, but that <i>"now they don't recognize what they see,"</i> adding that <i>"the Russians are astounded at how fragile our democracy has turned out to be."</i> <i>"We will get through this,"</i> he said, <i>"but it will require all of us to do our part."</i> Schiff was partisan, but correct. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 13 17 (7, 9, 12, 13)</p>
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<p>1-29-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] The president's take.</u> On February 3, Mr. Trump tweeted his own summary of the matter: <i>"This memo totally vindicates 'Trump' in probe. But the Russian Witch Hunt goes on and on. Their [sic] was no Collusion and there was no Obstruction (the word now used because, after one year of looking endlessly and finding NOTHING, collusion is dead). This is an American disgrace!"</i> In fact the memorandum had not even remotely addressed any of that; the tweet was simply false, incendiary, demagogic, and directed at discrediting and obstructing the various investigations. Not to leave it at that, on February 5, Mr. Trump tweeted that <i>"Little Adam Schiff... is one of the biggest liars and leakers in Washington,"</i> and that Nunes was a <i>"Great American Hero."</i></p> <p><u>Catching "them."</u> In a campaign-style speech in Cincinnati, Ohio on February 5, Mr. Trump as much as admitted that he had conspired with Nunes in the memorandum's creation and release – and that it had been a partisan, vengeful, obstructive, and possibly illegal endeavor rather than an objective exercise in intelligence committee oversight – by saying: <i>"Oh but did we catch them in the act or what? You know what I'm talking about. Oh, did we catch them in the act. They are very embarrassed. They never thought they were going to get caught. We caught them. We caught them. It's like so much fun, like the great sleuth."</i></p> <p>On February 9, Mr. Trump blocked the release of the rebuttal of the Nunes memo authored by the Intelligence Committee's Democratic members, on grounds that it contained classified information. The inclusion of that information had not stopped even Nunes and the other committee Republicans from releasing the rebuttal; and the inclusion of classified information in the Nunes memo had not stopped Mr. Trump from releasing it (the Nunes memo).</p> <p><u>The end result.</u> On February 5, The Huffington Post reported that <u>Mr. Trump had convinced some 74% of Trump voters that the FBI was biased against him, and some 64% that the FBI was not trustworthy.</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 13 17 (7, 9, 12, 13)</p>

<p>1-30-18, 2-1-18, 2-5-18</p>	<p><b>State of the Union.</b> On January 30, in his first State of the Union address before Congress, Mr. Trump – in what was likely a distinguishing and unprecedented feature – railed extensively against the violence perpetrated upon Americans by undocumented migrants, effectively echoing his campaign statements that many or most were drug smugglers and rapists.</p> <p>He also sought to distinguish his speech by his call for American "unity;" although commentators widely contrasted that theme to his efforts over the past several years to bitterly malign his enemies, the Justice Department, immigrants, the court system and the free press, and to his having created what polls widely indicated was the most divided environment in this country since at least the Vietnam War. To be sure, he did not celebrate our demographic or ideological diversity. Indeed, CSD believes, one could legitimately speculate that his idea of "unity" was for the entire nation to submit to his authority.</p> <p>Not unexpectedly, The Washington Post counted in the speech some 18 boastful claims about Mr. Trump's accomplishments while in office – many about how he single-handedly had improved the economy – that were untrue, grossly exaggerated or otherwise misleading, all as enumerated at the link at this endnote.<sup>3</sup> The New York Times listed a dozen defective claims.<sup>4</sup></p> <p>On February 1, Mr. Trump said that his State of the Union address was the most widely watched in television history. It was not: The New York Times reported that eight others had been more broadly viewed, just since 1993; and that Mr. Trump had inflated his media "ratings" and event attendance figures at least four previous times since being elected. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>1-30-18, 2-1-18, 2-5-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On February 5, at the Cincinnati speech noted above, Mr. Trump accused Democratic members of Congress who hadn't applauded during his State of the Union message of "treason" – a crime punishable by death. The Wall Street Journal retorted in a news analysis: "<i>It is common practice for the opposition party to avoid standing or applauding during a president's State of the Union address.</i>" To be sure, many Congressional Republicans had declined to applaud President Obama without him having labeled them traitors; to be sure, the right to dissent is protected by the First Amendment; and to be sure, in North Korea, those who fail to applaud are shot. In CSD's view, Mr. Trump's failure to seek to protect American elections from future Russian interference falls far closer to treason than does the failure by a member of Congress to clap.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>1-31-18</p>	<p><b><u>The Carson family business: ours.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Housing and Urban Development secretary Ben Carson had included his wife, his son and his daughter-in-law in multiple official meetings, and that his son had recruited potential business associates to attend an official "listening tour" conducted by Carson. (CSD had reported on 8-23-17 about Carson's likely violation of the Hatch Act – forbidding federal employees from politicking – in connection with his speaking at a Trump re-election campaign rally that day.)</p>	<p>17 (15)</p>
<p>1-31-18</p>	<p><b><u>CDC director resigns.</u></b> Brenda Fitzgerald resigned as director of the Centers for Disease Control – the government's principal cancer-fighting agency – after the press's revelation that she had purchased tobacco company stocks while in her current position. The resignation was the latest evidence of a culture of casual conflicts of interest among high-ranking officials within Mr. Trump's administration, as reported on many occasions by CSD.</p>	<p>17 (15)</p>
<p>2-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Migration nominee dislikes Islam, denies climate change.</u></b> Mr. Trump nominated Ken Isaacs to head the International Organization for Migration, the United Nations' unit tasked with refugee operations. The nomination evoked a firestorm of criticism among refugee advocates, who pointed to previous comments by Isaacs to the effect that Islam is warlike and climate change is non-existent. (Climate change had become widely acknowledged in recent years as a principal driver of global migration, present and future.)</p>	<p>17 (6, 8, 14)</p>

2-1-18	<b>Science deniers dominate Cabinet.</b> ThinkProgress reported that 12 of Mr. Trump's 24 Cabinet members, plus eight additional senior aides who advise on the environment, were client science deniers – more than in any other administration; and that almost all of the rest of the current Cabinet members had dodged the issue of climate change. The remarkable analysis appears at the link at this endnote. <sup>5</sup>	17 (8)
2-1-18	<b>Pilfering waiters' tips – and dumping the data.</b> Vanity Fair reported that the Labor Department generated but then hid data that demonstrated that Mr. Trump's December regulatory move allowing restaurants to require waiters to pool and share their tips in fact could result in the employers' seizure, and the workers' loss, of billions of dollars from those tips. (CSD does not take a position on the regulation; only on the hiding of data, and on Mr. Trump's conflict of interest as the owner of multiple restaurants.)	17 (7, 15)
2-5-18	<b>Cincinnati: the rest of it.</b> At the Cincinnati speech noted above, Mr. Trump complimented himself sumptuously, berated the "fake news," and took credit for (black) football players not having protested on-field against racial inequities during the previous evening's Super Bowl.	1, 6, 9, 11
2-5-18	<b>Trashing the U.K., again.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted that <i>"thousands of people are marching in the UK because their [universal National Health] system is going broke and not working."</i> In fact, according to The Washington Post, the system was extremely popular; the thousands of protestors who had participated in a recent march very much supported it and were merely calling for more funding for it; and the tweet provoked anger across the British political spectrum. Prime Minister Theresa May's office proudly retorted that <i>"the NHS was rated the best in the world for a second time."</i>	10, 13
2-6-18	<b>Now favoring a shut-down. What? What?</b> After having torn into Democrats for (in his view) causing a one-day government shut-down in January, Mr. Trump now said that he would favor such a shut-down if Democrats refused to fund his proposed Mexican border wall. He had previously fulminated that a shut-down by Democrats would amount to a betrayal of America's troops – thus making his new threat magnificent not only in its hypocrisy but in its disregard for America's welfare; and all in the service of building a wall that most Americans did not appear to favor, so that the president personally could "win" that negotiation.	6, 11

2-6-18	<p><b><u>The frightened and the lazy.</u></b> Mr. Trump's chief of staff John Kelly said that many young, undocumented Latin American migrants who were eligible for possible immigration relief but had not registered for it had failed to do so because they were "<i>too afraid to sign up</i>" or "<i>too lazy to get off their asses.</i>" The former explanation had been well documented and found credible – in that having registered (in good faith), many of the young individuals had become easy deportation targets (in bad faith). The latter explanation was a racial dog-whistle.</p>	17 (6)
2-6-18, 2-7-18	<p><b><u>Military parade ordered.</u></b> On February 6, the Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had now actually ordered for 2018 the massive military parade in Washington that he had earlier contemplated after attending and admiring the annual Bastille Day parade in Paris, as reported by CSD on 9-18-17. The parade would be the first of its scale in Washington since the parades celebrating the end of the first war in Iraq in 1991 and, before that, the end of the Civil War, World War I and World War II.</p> <p>On February 7, a Post news analysis observed that, given the absence of a victory celebration, there was no apparent predicate for the display that Mr. Trump had now ordered other than to project his personal authority and (as he had acknowledged before) to out-do the French. The Post also noted that the French parade was traditional (dating from 1880), inclusive (sometimes featuring other nations' militaries and flags), and thus distinguishable from the sort of muscle-bound and menacing parades commonly mounted by Russia and North Korea that Mr. Trump likely foresaw.</p> <p>Politico added that the parade would likely promote Mr. Trump's populist-nationalist political agenda, and would give him, at considerable financial expense to the nation (later estimated by the White House at \$10 to \$30 million), "hours of free air time while men and women in uniform visibly salute him."</p> <p>Numerous commentators also observed, as they had done in September, that Mr. Trump's affinity for the military and his role in commanding it betrayed a boyish fascination with uniforms, weapons and power; belied his having declined to serve in Vietnam; and suggested an insouciance relative to the horrors of armed conflict. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9

<p>2-6-18, 2-7-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Politico shortly went on to report that Republicans, Democrats and veterans' organizations all opposed the idea of a parade, on grounds that it would be expensive, pointless, authoritarian, embarrassing, and suggestive of American military insecurity. The leader of the 1991 parade added that it would be unwise and burdensome to take so many military personnel away from their families and duties at a time when our armed forces were already stretched thin.</p> <p>On February 8, Robert O'Neill, the Navy Seal who had shot Osama Bin Laden, said, "<i>A military parade is third world bullshit.</i>"</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>2-7-18</p>	<p><b><u>No murder.</u></b> The FBI released a report of its extensive investigation of a border patrol officer's death in November, revealing no evidence of foul play. When the officer's body had first been discovered, Mr. Trump had tweeted that the man had been killed, that justice [vengeance] would be served, and that the episode demonstrated the need for a border wall. Mr. Trump never retracted his accusation.</p>	<p>6, 7, 10</p>
<p>2-7-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Another spouse abuser falls.</u></b></p> <p><i>Porter, and the others.</i> On February 7, a senior advisor to Mr. Trump, White House staff secretary Rob Porter, resigned after allegations of several episodes of his violent spousal abuse were publicized – allegations that had long been known and acquiesced to by his supervisor, chief of staff John Kelly, and by White House Counsel Don McGahn. The development followed the exposure of alleged violent spousal abuse on the part of chief White House strategist Stephen Bannon, Labor Secretary nominee Andrew Puzder, and Mr. Trump himself, all as reported by CSD on p. 12 of this document prior to the inauguration. To CSD's thinking, violent spousal abuse – and the toleration of violent spousal abuse – not only is grotesque in itself, but is authoritarian, period, and may connote a proclivity for authoritarian political behavior as well. We feel that the flow of violent spousal abusers through the Trump administration had not been coincidental, and not indicative of merely personal scandal, but rather reflective of a certain authoritarian affinity among those concerned. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 17 (11)</p>



<p>2-7-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] <u>Kelly.</u> As for Kelly, the man's once impeccable reputation for decency and sound judgment had now withered on multiple occasions, as previously reported in this document: his defense of Mr. Trump's harsh statements about a Gold Star widow and Kelly's own attacks on the widow's Congresswoman; his praise of Robert E. Lee and his claim that the Civil War could have been avoided by compromise; his insinuation that many young Mexican migrants were lazy; and now his revealed tolerance and (initial) vocal support of Porter.</p> <p><u>Staffing, generally.</u> CSD does not fault Kelly because his distinguished military record had proven an imperfect match for running the president's office. Rather, we fault Mr. Trump for his own impulsiveness and ineptitude in staffing the government; for defying the law by allowing such top aides as Porter and son-in-law Jared Kushner to serve in highly sensitive positions for unusually lengthy periods without having obtained security clearances (on February 15, NBC reported that some 130 political appointees had lacked clearances as of November); and for squeezing a compromising obeisance out of his aides such as Kelly as they desperately attempted to flatter, defend and moderate him – all of which could end badly for our country.</p> <p><u>Not me!</u> For many days following Porter's resignation, the White House appeared to be ferociously consumed with inconsistent (and thus, likely, some untrue) accounts as to who knew what and when about, and which staffers were to blame for, the earlier failure to dismiss Porter and the subsequent cover-up.</p> <p><u>Defending the accusers.</u> On February 9, Mr. Trump finally commented on the matter, wishing Porter well and emphasizing Porter's claim to innocence. He said nothing about the victims specifically or domestic violence generally. Later that day, White House speech writer David Sorensen resigned when he too was publicly accused of having committed domestic abuse. On the following day, Mr. Trump tweeted a full-throated defense of the accused: "<i>Peoples [sic] lives are being shattered and destroyed by a mere allegation. Some are true and some are false. Some are old and some are new. There is no recovery for someone falsely accused - life and career are gone. Is there no such thing any longer as Due Process?</i>" [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 17 (11)</p>
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<p>2-7-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] <i>The long view of abuse.</i> For years Mr. Trump had been quick to allege unethical or criminal activity on the part of his political enemies and selected minorities prior to proof. Specifically as to alleged sexual abuse, he had tarred President Bill Clinton, Minnesota Senator Al Franken, comedian Bill Cosby, and five black men falsely accused of raping the Central Park jogger. But he had argued the innocence of the following men who had allegedly assaulted women and whose interests had aligned with his own: Alabama Senate candidate Roy Moore, RNC finance chair Steve Wynn, Fox News chair Roger Ailes, Fox News commentator Bill O'Reilly, boxer Mike Tyson, campaign manager Corey Lewandowski, and of course himself. On April 5, 2017 and November 16, 2017, CSD had addressed more thoroughly Mr. Trump's proclivity for politicizing abuse allegations, defending male abusers, and disbelieving their female victims – when expedient.</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 17 (11)</p>
<p>2-8-18</p>	<p><b>Shooting the investigator.</b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump accused Senator Mark Warner, the ranking member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, of improperly approaching an attorney who represented a Russian oligarch to seek to contact Christopher Steele, the author of the notorious "Steele dossier" about Mr. Trump's allegedly sordid entanglements with Russia. Mr. Trump's implication was that Warner, Hillary Clinton and other Democrats – not Mr. Trump himself – had colluded with Russia in connection with the 2016 presidential campaign. But it was unclear what he felt was wrongful about Warner's behavior, given Warner's investigatory mandate; plus two Republican senators quickly defended Warner by announcing that they had pre-approved his activities.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>2-9-18</p>	<p><b>Brand to resign.</b> Associate Attorney General Rachel Brand – a Trump appointee and the third-ranking official in the Justice Department – announced that she would resign. The move marked yet another senior departure from the department, and the department's intense instability under Mr. Trump's hand. Commentators widely speculated that Brand had feared being placed in the position of supervising and restricting special prosecutor Robert Mueller should Mr. Trump make good on his threats to fire her immediate superior, Rod Rosenstein.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>2-9-18</p>	<p><b>Intelligence briefings.</b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had long been rejecting written daily intelligence briefings in favor of abbreviated, oral ones. The Post also reported that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner – who lacked a security clearance, lacked any pertinent professional experience, and appeared to be under investigation by special prosecutor Robert Mueller – did read the written daily briefings.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's well-known fondness for watching, drawing insights from and tweeting impulsively upon the observations of notoriously non-objective and conspiracy theory-driven Fox News pundits suggested to some that he literally might have been drawing more from Fox than from his intelligence team. But in all events, the combined circumstance of an uninformed and erratic commander-in-chief and an overly informed and suspect son-in-law concerns CSD.</p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>2-11-14, 2-14-14</p>	<p><b>More travel abuses.</b> On February 11, The Washington Post reported on Environmental Protection Secretary Scott Pruitt's continuing luxurious spending for his official domestic travel. On February 14, The Post reported on Veterans Affairs Secretary David Shulkin having fraudulently induced the government to pay for his and his wife's European vacation travel in 2017.</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>2-12-18+</p>	<p><b>White House instability.</b> Further to CSD's January 26 reporting on White House turnover, on February 12 The New York Times addressed the topic extensively. It wrote that after Rob Porter's Wednesday, February 7 resignation as staff secretary under a cloud of domestic abuse allegations, <i>"a deputy chief of staff moved on. A speechwriter resigned. The associate attorney general stepped down. The chief of staff offered to quit. And that was just Friday. ...</i></p> <p><i>"More than a year into his administration, President Trump is presiding over a staff in turmoil, one with a 34 percent turnover rate, higher than any White House in decades. He has struggled to fill openings, unwilling to hire Republicans he considers disloyal and unable to entice Republicans who consider him unstable. Those who do come to work for him often do not last long, burning out from a volatile, sometimes cutthroat environment exacerbated by tweets and subpoenas. ... [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>10, 11</p>

<p>2-12-18+</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p><i>" 'We have vacancies on top of vacancies,' said Kathryn Dunn Tenpas, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who has studied White House turnover over the last six administrations. ... According to a report by Ms. Tenpas, Mr. Trump's 34 percent turnover rate in his first year is more than three times as high as President Barack Obama's in the same period and twice as high as President Ronald Reagan's, which until now was the modern record-holder.</i></p> <p><i>"Of 12 positions deemed most central to the president, only five are still filled by the same person as when Mr. Trump took office. Mr. Trump is on his second press secretary, his second national security adviser and his third deputy national security adviser. Five different people have been named communications director or served in the job in an acting capacity. The president has parted ways with his chief strategist, health secretary, several deputy chiefs of staff and his original private legal team. He is on his second chief of staff — and some wonder whether a third may be in the offing soon."</i></p> <p>On February 13, yet another White House staffer, George David Banks, resigned because his uncompleted (or effectively waived) security clearance had demonstrated prior drug use. The resignation appeared to reflect a hasty catch-up effort relative to the dozens of uncompleted White House security checks.</p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>2-13-18</p>	<p><b><u>The Russian threat: ignored.</u></b> Testifying before the Senate Intelligence Committee, <u>the nation's six top intelligence officials concurred that Russia was expected to tamper with the 2018 Congressional elections, and that Mr. Trump had never asked or directed them to address it.</u> The officials were CIA director Mike Pompeo, National Security Agency director Michael Rogers, national intelligence director Dan Coats, FBI director Christopher Wray, Defense Intelligence Agency director Robert Ashley, and National Geospatial-Intelligence Agency director Robert Cardillo. Four of the men had been appointed by Mr. Trump himself.</p>	<p>12</p>

2-13-18	<b>Budget proposal strips climate science.</b> The Associated Press and The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's 2019 budget proposal called for the gutting of numerous programs dedicated to scientifically evaluating climate change. The full article appears at the link at this endnote. <sup>6</sup>	8
2-14-18	<b>No science advisor.</b> Numerous news outlets freshly reported that Mr. Trump had still not appointed a White House science advisor, even though he had made many major science-related decisions: leaving the Paris climate accord, (not) responding to the worst flu outbreak in a decade, responding (tardily and barely) to the raging opioid epidemic, (not) reacting to the public health impacts of a series of calamitous wildfires and hurricanes, and (hotly) addressing North Korea's nuclear program. The vacancy in the position was the longest in over 40 years. In addition, Mr. Trump's Office of Science and Technology Policy had less than half the staff as under President Obama,	8
2-14-18	<b>Pence fibs on investigations.</b> Vice President Mike Pence falsely stated that <i>"it is the universal conclusion of our intelligence communities that none of [the Russian election interference] efforts had any impact on the outcome of the 2016 election."</i> In fact none of the agencies had come to that conclusion at all – at least not publicly.	17 (7, 12)
2-15-18	<b>Bannon stonewalls, again.</b> Mr. Trump's senior campaign strategist and later his senior White House strategist Stephen Bannon, after long delaying his appearance, declined to answer many questions put to him under subpoena by the House Intelligence Committee about the Russian election meddling in 2016, much as he had declined on January 16 to answer the committee's questions. He now answered only a limited number of questions that had been scripted by the White House. Members of both parties considered holding him in contempt of Congress; although the consequences of such a decision were viewed as being potentially toothless.	17 (9, 12)

<p>2-16-18</p>	<p><b><u>Yet another affair; more pre-election hush money.</u></b>                  Following The Wall Street Journal's January 12 revelation that Mr. Trump had paid a porn star on the eve of his election to be silent about their sexual affair that had transpired early in his current marriage (as reported by CSD on that date), The New Yorker reported that Mr. Trump had had a nearly identical and contemporaneous affair with, and that his close associates had arranged for a nearly identical and contemporaneous pay-off to, a Playboy centerfold model. As CSD had written about the earlier episode, the consensual affair was not illegal. But as before, the reported bribery, lack of principle, and suppression of truth struck us as corroborative of many of the far more legally and constitutionally aberrant behaviors described in this document.</p>	<p>7, 10, 11</p>
<p>2-16-18</p>	<p><b><u>DACA dead? Blame the Dems.</u></b> After having a day earlier caused the Senate to kill a compromise, bi-partisan immigration plan that had included relief for young undocumented migrants and even funding for his much-touted border wall, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>Cannot believe how BADLY DACA recipients have been treated by the Democrats...totally abandoned! Republicans are still working hard.</i>" Of course it had been Mr. Trump who had revoked the previous administration's DACA protections in the first place.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>2-16-18, 2-17-18</p>	<p><b><u>Russian indictments? Blame the Dems.</u></b> On February 16, after a stunning announcement that special prosecutor Robert Mueller had indicted 13 Russian individuals and three Russian organizations for an aggressive impersonation and disinformation operation in the U.S. to favor Mr. Trump during the 2016 presidential election campaign, Mr. Trump wrote in an astonishing statement: "<i>It is more important than ever before to come together as Americans. We cannot allow those seeking to sow confusion, discord, and rancor to be successful. It's time we stop the outlandish partisan attacks, wild and false allegations, and far-fetched theories, which only serve to further the agendas of bad actors, like Russia, and do nothing to protect the principles of our institutions. We must unite as Americans to protect the integrity of our democracy and our elections.</i>" [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>

<p>2-16-18+</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Missing from the statement was an endorsement of the investigatory work of Mueller or the Department of Justice; a robust condemnation of Russia; a vow to punish Russia; an acknowledgement that the investigation was not a "hoax" (as Mr. Trump had long maintained); or any reference to Mr. Trump's own role as America's divider-in-chief and principal antagonist to "our institutions." Rather, the statement appeared to blame other, unnamed American partisans, presumably his political adversaries, for causing trouble in the U.S. and empowering Russian wrongdoing. In this his position seemed virtually identical to that of the Kremlin, which blamed Mr. Trump's enemies for the indictments but did not blame Mr. Trump himself. And as on previous occasions, his call for "unity" appeared to be a call for everyone but himself and his supporters to be silent.</p> <p>Over the following days, Mr. Trump tweeted extensively – some 21 times by one count – about how the indictments had proven that he and his campaign had not colluded with the Russians (the indictments had not; the investigation was ongoing); how it was Hillary Clinton and other Democrats who had colluded (they had not); how the "fake news" media had ignored details of the indictments (it had not); and how President Obama had failed to call out or punish the Russians (he had not). Yet he still did not condemn Russia's election interference, past and projected.</p> <p>He also tweeted that the FBI was "spending too much time" on the investigation instead of having prevented the recent mass shooting at a Parkland, Florida high school (citing the FBI's error in not having followed a tip on the perpetrator's violent intentions) – his only initial policy pronouncement addressing the most recent in a spate of school shootings. That is, he exploited the massacre to advance a broader attack on the agency that was attempting to hold him to the rule of law.</p> <p>On February 21, still fuming, Mr. Trump implied in a tweet that his own attorney general, Jeff Sessions, was at fault for failing to investigate President Obama and "Dem crimes" rather than Mr. Trump's campaign and business activities – a message which, CSD expects, observers worldwide may have found vicious yet helpless, petty yet demagogic, calculated yet frantic, and in any event quite remarkable to have come from an American president. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>
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<p>2-16-18+</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Where then was Mr. Trump's heart? Remarkably, while much of the nation was absorbed with the Mueller indictments and with the Florida school shootings, he tweeted that television celebrity Oprah Winfrey was "insecure" as host of a "60 Minutes" news program. And he played golf at his Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>
<p>2-17-18, 2-23-18</p>	<p><b>Profits from India.</b> On February 17, The New York Times reported on the imminent travel to India by Mr. Trump's son and political surrogate, Donald Jr., to promote over \$1 billion of sales in Trump-branded luxury residential units in that country, where Mr. Trump (the president) is well known (as president) and politically popular. Donald Jr. reportedly would be accompanied by Secret Service agents, at government expense. But even more significantly, he was expected to use the president's political brand to advance sales, including by offering buyers the opportunity to become "members of the Trump family" and to have dinner with himself (whose celebrity derives entirely from his father's office). The Trump branding had already enabled the units to sell at 30% above market rates, and to move briskly while other luxury buildings were beset with vacancies.</p> <p>The Times wrote: <i>"The idea that the president's son would be going and shilling the president's brand at same [sic] time Donald Trump is president and is managing strategic and foreign relations with India – that is bizarre," said Daniel S. Markey, who helped coordinate South Asia policy at the State Department during the George W. Bush administration.</i>" Concerns included not only Mr. Trump's profiting from the presidency, and Donald Jr.'s apparent offering to property purchasers the hope of buying influence with the Trump administration, but also allowing the family's quest for profit to color the conduct of foreign policy. Indeed, Donald Jr. – a man who has no experience in foreign policy and no authority to speak about it on behalf of the American government or people – was planning to deliver a speech, in support of his father's initiative to help India counter China in the Pacific, at a joint appearance with India's prime minister.</p> <p>On February 23, in reaction to the ethical uproar, Donald Jr. canceled his foreign policy speech.</p>	<p>15</p>



2-20-18	<b><u>Disparaging Florida survivors.</u></b> Donald Trump, Jr., the president's son and surrogate, "liked" two items tweeted by a far-right conspiracy theorist that accused one of the teen-age organizers of a nationwide protest against gun violence – a survivor of the recent mass killing at the Parkland, Florida high school – of bad faith, on grounds that the student's father worked at the FBI field office to which a threat by the perpetrator had not been reported. In sum, far from showing sympathy toward the survivors, Trump Jr. appeared to be joining in a florid accusation that they were in league with an incompetent, if not treasonous, FBI.	17 (9, 11)
2-20-18	<b><u>Bankrupting the ACA.</u></b> Mr. Trump took yet another pass at bankrupting the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare): by proposing new rules that would enable healthy consumers to purchase less coverage less expensively outside of the ACA – by extending the maximum length of permissible "short term" policies – thus magnifying the needs and insurance premiums of those who remained in the ACA and driving it under. Mr. Trump had previously threatened this move, as reported above in this document. CSD does not take a position on the ACA; but we continue to be appalled by <u>Mr. Trump's attempt to drive it into the ground, without a replacement plan being in place; seemingly in part out of sheer hostility toward President Obama; and without regard to the well-being of Americans.</u>	11
2-20-18	<b><u>Trashing the accuser.</u></b> Responding to the continuing accusations of one of many woman who had claimed that Mr. Trump had sexually harassed or assaulted them in years past, Mr. Trump tweeted for the world to see: <i>"A woman I don't know and, to the best of my knowledge, never met, is on the FRONT PAGE of the Fake News Washington Post saying I kissed her (for two minutes yet) in the lobby of Trump Tower 12 years ago. Never happened! Who would do this in a public space with live security cameras running."</i> (The actual allegation was that the incident had occurred elsewhere.) CSD's query: Was the president of the United States in this tweet making America great again?	1, 6, 7, 10, 11
2-21-18	<b><u>Censoring the human rights report.</u></b> Politico wrote that senior State Department officials had ordered the curtailment of discussions of women's and minorities' rights in the department's annual human rights report.	6, 14

<p>2-21-18 +</p>	<p><b>Arming teachers.</b> In the wake of the mass shooting at the Parkland, Florida high school earlier in the month, on at least four successive days Mr. Trump called for arming hundreds of thousands of teachers. He did not cite any data demonstrating the efficacy of such a radical and highly martial measure.</p> <p>The concept was promptly rejected as flat-out perilous by at least four organizations representing school administrators and police. According to The New York times, the president of the American Federation of Teachers said after conducting a telephone town hall meeting on the subject with her membership: <i>“The response was universal, even from educators who are gun owners: Teachers don’t want to be armed, we want to teach. ... We don’t want to be, and would never have the expertise needed to be, sharp shooters; no amount of training can prepare an armed teacher to go up against an AR-15.”</i> Separately, individual teachers said that becoming armed would be inimical to their talents and vision as educators; that funding for arms would far better be spent on the country's widespread educational budget shortfalls; that to arm teachers would amount to accepting school shootings as a "new normal"; and that teachers could accidentally shoot students.</p> <p>CSD does not propose a remedy for gun violence or school shootings. But we consider any perfunctory and ill-informed call for armed force as a solution to complex problems to be inherently both demagogic and (as a practical matter) dangerous, as it has found Mr. Trump's previous statements along those lines to have been.</p>	<p>9, 10</p>
<p>2-22-18, 2-23-18</p>	<p><b>Hate crimes and harassment.</b> On February 22, The Huffington Post, citing statistics supplied by an ethnic advocacy group, reported that hate crimes committed against South Asians and Middle Easterners in the U.S. spiked 45% during the year following Mr. Trump's election, and that 20% of the perpetrators had invoked his name, his administration's policies or his campaign slogans. The group also pointed to 89 episodes of xenophobic political rhetoric during that period, most of it from public officials and candidates, including Mr. Trump himself.</p> <p>The following day, HuffPost reported that the Department of Education had recorded a sharp spike in episodes of racial harassment in schools in 2017.</p>	<p>17 (6)</p>

2-23-18	<p><b><u>Mad and madder in Maryland.</u></b> Mr. Trump delivered a lengthy, campaign-style speech in Maryland to a gathering of the Conservative Political Action Committee, in which he evoked chants of "<i>Lock her up!</i>" in reference to his former rival Hillary Clinton (more than a year after the election); recited the poem that he had often used on the campaign trail – about a venomous snake biting a woman who had cared for it – to viciously demonize immigrants; and claimed that his "<i>administration has had the most successful first year in the history of the presidency.</i>"</p>	6, 7, 9, 11
2-24-18	<p><b><u>Hunting the witches: Mueller, Sessions and Obama.</u></b> Notwithstanding (or because of) the accumulating indictments and guilty pleas being secured by special prosecutor Robert Mueller in connection with his investigation of Russia's interference with the 2016 presidential election in Mr. Trump's favor, Mr. Trump – by way of Twitter and a Fox News interview – yet again disparaged Mueller's investigation as a "Witch Hunt"; he again blamed President Obama for tolerating the Russian interference; and he again faulted his own attorney general Jeff Sessions for not investigating the FBI instead of him. He meanwhile continued to show no interest in the actual election interference.</p>	7, 9, 11, 12
2-24-18	<p><b><u>House Intelligence: Rebutting the rebuttal.</u></b> Mr. Trump's remarks cited immediately above were delivered shortly after the release of the Democratic rebuttal to the highly partisan memorandum about the FBI's earlier investigation of the Trump campaign that House Intelligence Committee chair Devin Nunes, with Mr. Trump's active involvement, had previously issued (see CSD's entry of January 29). Mr. Trump had caused the Democratic rebuttal to be reviewed and heavily redacted by intelligence agencies on national security grounds before its release, without having required such review or redaction of Nunes's original memorandum. As expected, after thus having already watered down the rebuttal and delayed its release for several weeks, Mr. Trump, through Twitter, now derided it and its lead Democratic proponent, Congressman Adam Schiff.</p>	7, 9, 11, 12

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/onpolitics/2017/12/14/white-house-departures-whos-been-fired-and-who-resigned-trump-administration/951641001/>

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<sup>2</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/02/02/the-trump-white-houses-laughable-claim-that-releasing-the-nunes-memo-is-all-about-transparency/?utm\\_term=.43fba5ca7cfl&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/02/02/the-trump-white-houses-laughable-claim-that-releasing-the-nunes-memo-is-all-about-transparency/?utm_term=.43fba5ca7cfl&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/02/02/opinion/nunes-memo-trump-taxes.html?ref=todayspaper>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/01/30/fact-checking-the-2018-state-of-the-union-address/?undefined=&utm\\_term=.fb49639957d9&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/01/30/fact-checking-the-2018-state-of-the-union-address/?undefined=&utm_term=.fb49639957d9&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/30/us/politics/fact-check-sotu.html?ref=todayspaper>

<sup>5</sup> <https://thinkprogress.org/trump-cabinet-climate-deniers-2ff87aba57ec/>

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-gut-funding-for-climate-science-boost-fossil-fuels/2018/02/13/518ccf06-1101-11e8-a68c-e9374188170e\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.6bfc701c17d2](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-gut-funding-for-climate-science-boost-fossil-fuels/2018/02/13/518ccf06-1101-11e8-a68c-e9374188170e_story.html?utm_term=.6bfc701c17d2)



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 14 – April 1, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>2-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>Courage under fire.</u></b> Mr. Trump said that had he been outside during the February 14 high school shooting massacre in Parkland, Florida, <i>“I really believe I’d run in there even if I didn’t have a weapon.”</i></p> <p>Some found the statement dubious, in view of Mr. Trump's acknowledged distaste for blood and his having avoided military service, all as described by The Huffington Post and The Washington Post at the links at this endnote.<sup>1</sup> CSD, for its part, further found the statement dubious, and distasteful, given Mr. Trump's apparent life-long record of having rarely made personal sacrifices of any nature for anyone (even through ordinary philanthropy), and given his preference for golf carts versus walking the fairways.</p> <p>But the statement surpassed mere hollow bluster. We found it to reflect a dispiriting and dangerous lack of appreciation for the duties and deeds of real heroes, who, under fire, had spoken less and done more: President John F. Kennedy, President George H.W. Bush, Senator John McCain, special prosecutor Robert Mueller, and innumerable first responders, service members and ordinary citizens. We also found the notion that the commander-in-chief might properly risk his life under such circumstances to be dangerously cavalier and uninformed, as though drawn by a young boy from a comic book. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>2-26-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] We also found in Mr. Trump's bravado further evidence of his authoritarianism, reminiscent of the machismo of political strongmen whom he appeared to admire: Russian President Vladimir Putin's promotion of his martial arts skills and of his much-ridiculed, bare-chested outdoor exploits; and Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte's boasts about having personally executed drug traffickers. It was also reminiscent of the moment in the 2016 presidential debates when Mr. Trump spoke of the size of his genitals.</p> <p>But above all, we were stunned that Mr. Trump was posturing and preening on the graves of murdered children. We did not understand how such a man could serve as president.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>2-27-18</p>	<p><b>State Department withering.</b> The Washington Post reported that Joseph Yun was retiring as special representative for North Korea policy and deputy assistant secretary for Korea and Japan after more than three decades of service, due to Mr. Trump's disempowering of the State Department. The resignation shortly followed that of the department's senior-most diplomat, the widely respected Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs Thomas A. Shannon, Jr., for seemingly similar reasons. No ambassador to South Korea had yet been appointed, despite the ongoing U.S. crisis with North Korea.</p>	<p>13</p>
<p>2-27-18</p>	<p><b>The price of flying.</b> The Washington Post reported that Boeing's final cost to build two new Air Force One planes – which Mr. Trump had boasted early in his presidency he had reduced from \$ 4.2 billion by over \$1 billion after only an hour's negotiation – had come in at \$3.9 billion.</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>2-27-18, 3-1-18</p>	<p><b>Carson, although a brain surgeon, is not getting it.</b> On February 27, The New York Times reported that Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson had spent \$31,000 in taxpayer funds for a new dining room set for his office, while slashing programs for the agency's beneficiaries – namely, the poor. (CSD pointed on multiple previous occasions to Carson's ethical lapses.) On March 1, following the public exposure of the plan, Carson undertook to cancel the purchases.</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>

<p>2-27-18, 2-28-18, 3-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Kushner is clipped.</u></b> On February 27, The White House announced that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner had been stripped of his temporary top-secret security clearance after over a year of viewing top-secret information. The widely suspected reason for the move lay in his complex foreign business dealings, which he had been reluctant to fully disclose in his ethics filings. The widely suspected reason for the long delay in enforcing security and ethical standards was nepotism. Indeed the standards may have never been enforced at all against Kushner but for the recent scandal involving Rob Porter, the White House staff secretary, having failed his security clearance due to a history of having committed spousal abuse.</p> <p>On the same day as that announcement, The Washington Post reported more specifically. It wrote that national intelligence agencies had determined that at least four countries had considered "playing" Kushner relative to his business affairs (which included his quest for foreign financing to relieve an enormous debt that he owed on a troubled Manhattan property) and relative to his inexperience in foreign policy. Those agencies had also found that Kushner had improperly had meetings with foreign officials without coordinating with or reporting to the National Security Council.</p> <p>CNN then added that Kushner had been meeting with representatives of various countries on behalf of the U.S. at the same time he was running his business during the presidential transition; without having been briefed by American governmental experts; and without being accompanied by other American officials – all in violation of national security protocols. Theoretical concerns articulated by CNN commentators included that Kushner could have been induced to compromise American interests for his personal gain, and/or could have become vulnerable to blackmail by foreign governments in that regard.</p> <p>On February 28, The New York Times reported that in 2017 two major financial institutions – Apollo Global Management and CitiGroup – had advanced large loans to Kushner's businesses after he had met with their top executives in the White House. The Times called the appearance of conflicts of interest unprecedented. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>11, 17 (11, 15)</p>
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<p>2-27-18, 2-28-18, 3-3-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On March 3, The Times' editorial board wrote an extensive summation of Kushner's wide-ranging incompetence and likely corruption within the White House – for which it faulted Mr. Trump's nepotism – as linked at this endnote.<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>11, 17 (11, 15)</p>
<p>2-27-18, 2-28-18</p>	<p><b>Hicks out.</b> On February 27, The Washington Post reported that Hope Hicks, Mr. Trump's communications director who had long been privy to many of his crucial conversations and strategies, under direction from the White House and without claim of legal justification or right, refused to answer questions put to her by the House Intelligence Committee in connection with its investigation of Russia's election interference, insofar as those questions related to the period since the presidential inauguration. In the same hearing she admitted to telling "white lies" to defend the president. The next day Hicks – who had been dating White House staff secretary Rob Porter before he was ousted the previous week due to the press's revelation of prior spousal abuse, and who had helped defend him to the press – resigned, adding to the many high-level departures from the administration, including three previous communications directors.</p> <p>The next day, The Post listed the large number of Mr. Trump's immediate subordinates – extraordinary even relative to other presidents under investigation – who had refused to answer Congressional questions, likewise without legal justification: senior White House advisor Stephen Bannon, NSA director Mike Rogers, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, and one-time campaign manager Corey Lewandowski.</p>	<p>17 (7, 9, 12)</p>
<p>2-27-18, 2-28-18</p>	<p><b>Sessions vs. Trump vs. the FBI.</b> On February 27, following the lead of House Intelligence Committee chair Devin Nunes in his recent outlandish and corrupt memorandum on the topic (see CSD's entry of January 29), Attorney General Jeff Sessions directed Michael Horowitz – the independent and well-respected Inspector General of the Justice Department who had served the Clinton, Bush and Obama administrations – to investigate the department's handling of a FISA warrant to surveil Mr. Trump's presidential campaign luminary Carter Page relative to his activities with Russians. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>



<p>2-27-18, 2-28-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] Not to be out-done, on the following day Mr. Trump tweeted that it was "DISGRACEFUL" for Sessions to have entrusted that investigation to Horowitz – whom Mr. Trump accused of being a partisan of President Obama – rather than a regular Justice Department lawyer whom Sessions and/or Mr. Trump would be able to direct.</p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>
<p>3-3-18 +/-</p>	<p><b>Isolation; instability.</b> Analysts and commentators at CNN, The Washington Post, The New York Times and Politico all reported that Mr. Trump and/or the White House staff had appeared dangerously unnerved by internal events of recent days and weeks. No new international crises had arisen, only disturbances of Mr. Trump's own making: <i>out-sized turn-over of senior staff</i> (as previously logged by CSD in this document); <i>Mr. Trump's having grown ever angrier at and more isolated from his remaining senior advisors</i> (Attorney General Jeff Sessions, National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster, Chief of Staff John Kelly); <i>his having lost the confidence of such advisors</i> (chief economic advisor Gary Cohn once again threatening to resign); <i>his having lost the reliable comfort of his closest confidantes</i> through resignations, scandal, both, or the prospect of same (bodyguard Keith Schiller gone; staff secretary Rob Porter gone; communications director Hope Hicks going; wife Melania fuming over reports of his tawdry infidelities and pay-offs; daughter Ivanka and son-in-law Jared Kushner reportedly under investigation for corrupt business dealings and now considering resignation, following Kushner's scandalous demotion); <i>his having just advanced several highly impulsive policy positions</i> (abandoning Republican orthodoxy on gun control while zigzagging on the same; and announcing major new tariffs without having consulted his advisors while casually welcoming a "trade war" with American allies); and then, despite it all, and despite new ominous nuclear threats from Russia, <i>having traded insults with TV impersonator Alec Baldwin via early-morning tweets</i>. The Post's version – based on 22 insider interviews, and citing the staff's "anxiety and volatility"; Mr. Trump's "anger," "isolation," "grudges," "suspicions" and "obsessions"; and the concerns for his stability being expressed by personal friends – is linked at this endnote.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>CSD acknowledges the possible evanescence of that turmoil; Mr. Trump had survived multiple divorces and bankruptcies, and he appeared to have nine lives. But we note it out of our ongoing concern for our national security.</p>	<p>10, 11</p>

<p>3-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Praising Xi, for life.</u></b> At a fundraising event in Florida, Mr. Trump commended Chinese President Xi Jinping for having abolished term limits for his own tenure, stating, <i>“He’s now president for life, president for life. And he’s great ... . And look, he was able to do that. I think it’s great. Maybe we’ll have to give that a shot someday.”</i> Mr. Trump praised Xi as <i>“a great gentleman”</i> and added: <i>“He’s the most powerful (Chinese) president in a hundred years.”</i> He also boasted that Xi had treated him <i>“tremendously well”</i> during his visit to China in November. The mainstream media expressed widespread concern.</p> <p>In fairness, portions of those remarks drew laughter from the crowd, and those portions may have been intended or interpreted as a joke. Indeed, CSD believes that if any other president had made such jokes, they would not have merited attention. But not all of the remarks were jokes. And given Mr. Trump's authoritarian sentiments and his undermining of American institutions of governance and expression, we found even the jokes disconcerting. Xi is a ruthless dictator who has throttled civil society, imposed mass surveillance on his people, purged thousands of political opponents, crushed any semblance of press independence, built a personality cult, protected nuclear-armed North Korea, shielded Myanmar's genocidal government, weakened his own free market economy, stolen U.S. intellectual property, and aggressively sought to expand China's maritime territory. To the extent these were jokes, we didn't get them. And Mr. Trump's admiration for Xi was clear.</p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>3-4-18</p>	<p><b><u>No help for democracy abroad.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist reported that, buried in Mr. Trump's recent budget proposal, was a provision to de-fund the National Endowment for Democracy, an organization chartered by Congress at the urging of then President Ronald Reagan. The NED makes grants to American and foreign organizations to promote fair elections, anti-corruption efforts, and other anti-authoritarian measures, and it has long been widely regarded as a pillar of America's overseas democratization efforts. The columnist wrote: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>14</p>

<p>3-4-18</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "Trump officials often affirm the need to support democracy, but the administration's actions tell a different story. The State Department considered removing the reference to democracy from its mission statement. It downgraded U.S. participation in the Community of Democracies. Nobody has been nominated to be undersecretary for civilian security, democracy and human rights or assistant secretary for democracy, human rights and labor. And so on."</i></p>	<p>14</p>
<p>3-5-18</p>	<p><b>No help for democracy at home.</b> The New York Times and Politico reported that Secretary of State Rex Tillerson had yet to spend some \$120 million in funds granted to him by Congress beginning nearly a year ago to protect American elections from foreign interference.</p> <p>The report followed the acknowledgement to the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 27 by Mike Rogers, the director of the National Security Agency and chief of the U.S. Cyber Command, that Mr. Trump had not instructed him to strike at Russian cyber operations directed at corrupting American elections, that the U.S. was not doing enough in that regard, and that Russian President Vladimir Putin had likely concluded that he "had no price to pay" for engaging in such efforts.</p>	<p>12</p>
<p>3-5-18</p>	<p><b>Obama did it.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Why did the Obama Administration start an investigation into the Trump Campaign (with zero proof of wrongdoing) long before the Election in November? Wanted to discredit so Crooked H would win. Unprecedented. Bigger than Watergate! Plus, Obama did NOTHING about Russian meddling."</i></p> <p>None of those allegations were true. In fact, as had been widely reported by the mainstream media and President Obama's staff after the election, he had deliberately <i>not</i> publicized Russia's interference on behalf of Mr. Trump so as to avoid any appearance of exploiting that interference to affect the election. And that forbearance from disclosure may have helped Mr. Trump win.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>

<p>3-6-18</p>	<p><b><u>Conway violated the Hatch Act.</u></b> The Office of U.S. Special Counsel (a permanent government investigatory body unrelated to the office of special prosecutor Robert Mueller) cited Mr. Trump's senior advisor and television surrogate Kellyanne Conway for two violations of the Hatch Act, which statute forbids government employees from engaging in political campaigns. Specifically, Conway had twice praised Roy Moore under her White House colors while he was running in a special senatorial election in Alabama several months ago. The new citation recommended that Mr. Trump discipline her.</p> <p>CSD had previously noted Conway's ethical and legal infractions on February 9, 2017; May 31, 2017; and November 22, 2017. Mr. Trump had not disciplined her on those occasions.</p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>3-6-18</p>	<p><b><u>Cohn Resigns.</u></b> Mr. Trump's chief economic advisor Gary Cohn resigned, at least in part due to his frustration over Mr. Trump's recent, erratic plan to impose protectionist tariffs on metals imports – on which action the advice of Cohn, Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, and Republican leadership had been ignored.</p> <p>Shortly afterwards, in reaction, Mr. Trump told reporters that <i>“everybody wants to work in the White House.”</i> He added: <i>“Many, many people want every single job. ... You know, I read where, ‘Oh, gee, maybe people don’t want to work for Trump.’ And believe me, everybody wants to work in the White House. They all want a piece of that Oval Office. They want a piece of the West Wing. And not only in terms of it looks great on their résumé, it’s just a great place to work. ... So many people want to come in. ... I have a choice of anybody. I could take any position in the White House, and I’ll have a choice of the 10 top people having to do with that position.”</i> <u>None of that appeared to be true.</u></p>	<p>7, 10, 13</p>
<p>3-8-18</p>	<p><b><u>Zinke rides again.</u></b> Media widely reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, who had come to work on a horse his first day in office, had contracted to spend \$139,000 on new office doors. Zinke had often engaged in politics and fundraising on taxpayer-funded trips contrary to law, as detailed by Politico at the link at this endnote.<sup>4</sup> As of the date of this entry, Zinke remained under investigation for such abuses by his department's inspector general. (CSD had previously called out Zinke's many infractions, above.)</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>

<p>3-8-18 +</p>	<p><b>Talking to Kim.</b> Through South Korean officials visiting the White House on March 8, Mr. Trump, on the spur-of-the-moment, accepted the invitation of North Korean leader Kim Jong-un to meet directly with him within two months. He then had the South Koreans immediately publicize the agreement at a White House press event.</p> <p>The sudden agreement appeared to have materialized without input from either the State Department or Japan, and contrary to the advice of senior aides. It came on the same day as Mr. Trump had roiled Asian allies by imposing his new tariffs. No other American president had met with his North Korean counterpart, out of concern for being snookered. Just months prior, Mr. Trump and Kim had been trading unprecedented insults and threats of nuclear war. And under Mr. Trump the State Department had been denuded of ranking diplomats and specialists such as would ordinarily be necessary to prepare for or staff negotiations, as reported by CSD on February 27. For all those reasons, a mad scramble within the administration to impose reason and planning relative to the meeting seemed to ensue.</p> <p>Both in the U.S. and abroad, the announcement was greeted with a mixture of shock, puzzlement, cautious optimism, and deep skepticism. Skeptics feared that Kim could be playing Mr. Trump on the basis of the latter's inexperience, vanity, impulsiveness, domestic political and media needs, susceptibility to flattery, and lack of subject knowledge. The benefits of a positive outcome were enormous and obvious. Potential negative consequences for the U.S. included the reckless disclosure of classified information by Mr. Trump, his granting of ill-considered concessions, and – if the talks were to fail – a validation and strengthening of Kim in exchange for nothing, a loss of American stature, and escalated mutual belligerence.</p> <p>The Wall Street Journal's editorial board wrote on March 9: <i>"There is no reason to think that North Korea has changed its long-term goals of becoming a recognized nuclear power, expelling U.S. forces from the Korean peninsula and conquering South Korea."</i> The New York Times wrote on March 10 that the tariff and North Korea moves together alarmed our Asian allies, who had come to fear China's canny and measured ascendance in the face of what they perceived as Mr. Trump's capriciousness. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 13</p>

3-8-18 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] For its part, CSD also questioned whether Kim (or any other leader) would trust the notoriously dishonest, unreliable and often insulting Mr. Trump in any sort of negotiation or agreement of existential proportions. Conversely, we feared the potential for Mr. Trump to embrace Kim as a friend, as he had already done with the authoritarian leaders of Russia, Turkey and the Philippines.</p> <p>But we of course hoped for the best.</p>	10, 13
3-9-18	<p><b><u>A climate debate foiled.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt had pressed in 2017 to stage a public debate between mainstream environmental scientists and climate science deniers, but that the idea had foundered due to political considerations. CSD views the concept as akin to a presidential administration staging – and endorsing – a public debate on whether astronauts truly landed on the moon, or whether the Holocaust truly occurred, simply because some fringe elements happen to deny it.</p>	17 (8)
3-10-18	<p><b><u>The Pennsylvania campaign (again).</u></b> At a rally in southwestern Pennsylvania for Republican Congressional candidate Rick Saccone, Mr. Trump held forth with self-absorption, insults and boasts, while speaking little about Saccone. Some of the insults: toward Saccone's rival Conor Lamb ("Lamb the sham"), television personality and potential presidential candidate Oprah Winfrey ("I know her weakness"), NBC news anchor Chuck Todd ("a sleepy son of a bitch"), Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren ("Pocahontas"), California Congresswoman Maxine Waters ("a very low IQ individual"), and CNN ("fake as hell"). Some of the boasts: that he had won 52% of the women's vote (untrue); that he had made the recent Olympic games in South Korea a success (untrue); that he was better looking than the tall, young, fit and photogenic Lamb (difficult to verify); that he had defied polls in winning the presidential election (true); and that his television ratings for "The Apprentice" were better than those of Arnold Schwarzenegger (so what?). To big cheers, he derided past presidents, glorified police officers for brutalizing Hispanic gang members, and proposed executing drug dealers. (CSD does not take a position on capital punishment – but we are outraged by its demagogic invocation.) He also drew from the crowd chants of "CNN sucks!" and "Build that wall!"</p>	1, 6, 7, 9, 11

<p>3-10-18</p>	<p><b>The Kushner business.</b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's real estate company was partnering with the real estate company of his son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner in several development projects. Ethics experts cautioned that Mr. Trump's dealing with Kushner over the latter's ever-deepening exposure in the investigations being conducted by special prosecutor Robert Mueller could be compromised by the business connection even more than by the familial one. Blood is thicker than mud; and for some, money is thicker than all.</p>	<p>11, 15</p>
<p>3-11-18</p>	<p><b>Dueling with Maggie, and with numbers.</b> The New York Times' reporter Maggie Haberman reported that Mr. Trump had interviewed a new defense lawyer. Mr. Trump responded by tweeting that the <i>"Failing New York Times purposely wrote a false story."</i> Haberman tweeted back that she had multiple sources and independent media corroborations. Mr. Trump then tweeted inaccurately and petulantly that his current lawyers <i>"have shown conclusively that there was no Collusion with Russia, just excuse for losing. The only Collusion was that done by the DNC, the Democrats and Crooked Hillary. The writer of the story, Maggie Haberman, a Hillary flunky, knows nothing about me and is not given access."</i> (Mr. Trump would in fact soon change lawyers: see CSD's entry of March 22, below.)</p> <p>On the same day, Mr. Trump tweeted that the current Rasmussen poll had given him a voter favorability rating of "around 50%." In fact the figure was 44%, higher than almost all other polls, and lower than that enjoyed by any other president at this stage in his tenure.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>3-12-18</p>	<p><b>Hatch Act cascade.</b> The New York Times reported that at least eight Hatch Act complaints had been filed against Trump administration officials since the inauguration, and that at least three of the complaints had result in findings of violations by the Office of Special Counsel. The Hatch Act forbids most federal employees from participating in partisan politics. The alleged perpetrators included son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner (at least two complaints), senior advisor Kellyanne Conway (at least two complaints, reported by CSD on March 6), and UN ambassador Nikki Haley. The Times characterized the number as large for this stage in an administration's life, and it reported that the White House appeared to have no intention of taking disciplinary action.</p>	<p>17 (9)</p>

<p>3-13-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Tillerson out; also the body man; also everyone else?</u></b></p> <p>Mr. Trump tweeted that he had fired Secretary of State Rex Tillerson. Three hours later he called Tillerson to tell him he was out. The move came after Mr. Trump had ignored, blind-sided and demeaned Tillerson for nearly a year, since soon after the secretary's appointment. A former senior diplomat writing for CNN said that no previous president in at least a century had outright fired his secretary of state, and that the firing-by-Twitter was an unprecedented insult. (But compare: Mr. Trump had fired then FBI director James Comey by way of a cable news report the previous year.)</p> <p>Tillerson and Mr. Trump had disagreed on many matters, including Tillerson's condemnations of Russia; his quest for a measured diplomatic approach to North Korea; Mr. Trump's exit from the Paris climate accord and his threat to exit the Iran nuclear accord; moving the American embassy to Jerusalem; how to handle China and the Middle East; the threat of a trade war; and the overall tone of diplomacy. Mr. Trump reportedly found Tillerson "too establishment."</p> <p>Mr. Trump said that he had been considering dismissing Tillerson for "a long time," even though he had previously denounced such rumors as "fake news." He had also publicly ridiculed Tillerson's search for a diplomatic solution with North Korea, before suddenly agreeing to meet with its leader Kim Jong-un – without Tillerson's input.</p> <p>The Washington Post wrote that the suddenness and means of the dismissal had "<i>startled and confused allies around the globe and many throughout the government.</i>" It also wrote that Mr. Trump's nominee to replace Tillerson, current Central Intelligence Agency director Mike Pompeo, would not likely be approved by the Senate quickly; and thus that the U.S. would have to manage North Korea, multiple Middle East imbroglios, and fraught trade discussions without a secretary of state for a good bit of time. The Post also wrote that Pompeo was likely to be more of a yes-man for Mr. Trump's authoritarian, nationalistic, truth-bending and impulsive style – having, for example, at times taken Mr. Trump's line on Russian election interference, and supported his seat-of-the-pants agreement to meet with Kim. Other commentators agreed, noting that Pompeo, like Mr. Trump, had opposed the Iran nuclear deal, questioned the existence of global warming, and endorsed the use of torture. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>3-13-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The undersecretary of state for public affairs who publicly characterized the circumstances of Tillerson's dismissal as he understood them was promptly fired as well.</p> <p>Later that morning Mr. Trump's body man, Johnny McEntee, was abruptly escorted out of the White House. The Wall Street Journal reported that his dismissal arose from his having failed his security clearance due to gambling and tax problems; The Washington Post eventually corroborated the gambling. (CSD does not question the dismissal; rather, why the man had been hired.)</p> <p>A March 14 interactive graphic in The Washington Post identified the many high level departures under Mr. Trump's presidency, as linked at this endnote.<sup>5</sup></p> <p>On March 15, The Post – on the strength of its interviews with many White House insiders and friends of Mr. Trump – reported that Mr. Trump was on the brink of firing National Security Advisor H.R. McMaster, and was also considering firing or disciplining Education Secretary Betsy DeVos, Chief of Staff John Kelly, Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, Veterans Administration director David Shulkin, Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt, and perhaps many others. (The cases of Zinke, Carson, Shulkin and Pruitt appeared to derive at least in part from their respective, much publicized spending improprieties, as detailed above and below in this document.) For its part, also on March 15, The Wall Street Journal wrote that the following senior aides were at peril for their positions: Kelly, Shulkin, McMaster, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, daughter Ivanka, and son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner.</p> <p>White House staff were reportedly frantic over the situation, but also engaged in doing one another in. The Post wrote: <i>"Trump enjoys watching his subordinates compete for his approval. Many of the rumors are fueled by Trump himself because he complains to aides and friends about other staffers, or muses about who might make good replacements."</i> <u>CSD feared the national security implications of a White House that appeared in such patent disarray</u> – regardless of whether Mr. Trump were in fact to terminate any of those at risk, and regardless of the reasons.</p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
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3-13-18	<p><b><u>Torture perpetrator to head CIA.</u></b> Mr. Trump nominated Gina Haspel to direct the Central Intelligence Agency, in tandem with his nomination to replace Secretary of State Rex Tillerson with current CIA director Mike Pompeo. As deputy CIA director and before, Haspel had gained notoriety for her having supervised the water-boarding of captive Al-Qaeda suspects in Thailand in 2002 – i.e., using an interrogation technique that was subsequently outlawed by presidential order as constituting torture – and for having directed the destruction of video recordings documenting the brutal interrogations. Her nomination immediately raised objections on human rights grounds by members of both parties in Congress. The nomination was particularly disturbing because Mr. Trump on several occasions had called for restoring the practice of water-boarding, contrary to American and international law.</p>	17 (14)
3-14-18	<p><b><u>Saccone vs. Lamb.</u></b> Mr. Trump and his family had intensively campaigned for Republican candidate Rick Saccone in a special Congressional election in a Southwestern Pennsylvania district that had voted heavily for Mr. Trump, urging crowds that the Congressional race was now crucial to protect the president's agenda (see CSD's entry of March 10, above). After Saccone's narrow loss to Democrat Conor Lamb due apparently to voter disillusionment with Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump said that the loss didn't matter, and that Lamb had won only because he had supported Mr. Trump's positions (which for the most part he had not).</p>	7, 11
3-14-18	<p><b><u>Getting over on Canada.</u></b> In a private fundraising speech, Mr. Trump boasted about having lied to Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau – about America's non-existent trade deficit with Canada – in an effort to trick him.</p>	7, 10, 11, 13
3-14-18	<p><b><u>Grifter bring-down.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that at least six Cabinet members were under investigation for improperly spending taxpayer money on personal luxuries, including Zinke, Pruitt, Carson, Shulkin and Price (since dismissed). CSD had reported on most of the episodes as they had been revealed; but the investigatory round-up is notable, and appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>6</sup></p>	17 (11)

<p>3-15-18</p>	<p><b>Sanctions against Russia, slightly.</b> Long after Congress had passed (and Mr. Trump had reluctantly signed) a 2017 law requiring the U.S. to impose a broad range of sanctions against Russia for having interfered with the 2016 American election, and after months of continuous prodding by Congress, the administration did sanction 19 Russian individuals and five Russian organizations. The sanctions were also imposed on grounds of Russian cyber-attacks in the U.S. But senators from both parties said the sanctions were insufficient, one of them telling The Washington Post that the administration forewent imposing six other types of mandated sanctions. And the move came only after Russia appeared to have poisoned one of its former spies in the UK, to the UK's outrage – absent which event the sanctions may have continued to languish. (CSD had reported on Mr. Trump's dislike of the sanctions and his subsequent refusal to enforce them on August 2, 2017; October 25, 2017; November 26, 2017; and January 29, 2018.)</p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>3-16-18 +</p>	<p><b>Sessions fires McCabe.</b> At Mr. Trump's direction, Attorney General Jeff Sessions fired former FBI Deputy Director Andrew McCabe. The FBI's Office of Professional Responsibility had recommended he be fired for his alleged lack of candor during an internal review of how the FBI and the Department of Justice had handled an investigation into the Clinton Foundation. The review itself had addressed McCabe's having authorized an FBI staffer to tell The Wall Street Journal that McCabe had pressed to continue the investigation, so as to counter recent broadsides by the administration that McCabe had been pro-Clinton because his wife was a Democratic politician who had lawfully accepted campaign money from a close Clinton friend.</p> <p>McCabe was a lifelong Republican, and his investigation had seemingly harmed Clinton in her campaign. But Mr. Trump considered McCabe a political enemy for not having indicted Clinton, for having been a friend of fired FBI Director James Comey, and for having corroborated Comey's account that Mr. Trump had fired Comey to quash the FBI's investigation of Russian election interference. McCabe's firing followed Mr. Trump's long, public campaign to disparage him, fire him and strip him of his pension, as recounted above by CSD on July 25, 2017 (two entries); December 23, 2017; and January 22, 2018. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>

<p>3-16-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] McCabe had maintained his silence throughout those events. But directly after his firing, which he had learned of through news reports, he publicly protested that for 21 years he had served the FBI ardently and capably and that the subject press discussions were routine. His attorney said that he had been denied a customary and necessary opportunity to defend himself. And his supporters believed that he had been fired so as to humiliate him, scapegoat him, scapegoat Clinton, punish him by depriving him of his pension (which would have fully vested two days later upon his planned retirement), disparage and intimidate the intelligence community generally, and stain the FBI's and DOJ's investigation of Russian election interference specifically.</p> <p>The morning after the firing, Mr. Trump exultantly tweeted: <i>"Andrew McCabe FIRED, a great day for the hard working men and women of the FBI - A great day for Democracy. Sanctimonious James Comey was his boss and made McCabe look like a choirboy. He knew all about the lies and corruption going on at the highest levels of the FBI!"</i></p> <p>Regardless of the merits of McCabe's firing – detail was not revealed – such a tirade upon an official's dismissal by an American president was unprecedented; as was the White House's meddling in DOJ's disciplinary proceedings; as was McCabe's humiliating firing-via-media (except for the prior, humiliating media firings of Comey and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson – rule-by-humiliation being a despot's style). Former CIA director John Brennan, normally measured in his comments, tweeted in response to Mr. Trump: <i>"When the full extent of your venality, moral turpitude, and political corruption becomes known, you will take your rightful place as a disgraced demagogue in the dustbin of history. You may scapegoat Andy McCabe, but you will not destroy America. America will triumph over you."</i></p> <p>Effectively confirming that McCabe had been fired so as to discredit DOJ's Russia investigation, Mr. Trump's attorney John Dowd shortly wrote to The Daily Beast: <i>"I pray that Acting Attorney General Rosenstein will follow the brilliant and courageous example of the FBI Office of Professional Responsibility and Attorney General Jeff Sessions and bring an end to alleged Russia Collusion investigation manufactured by McCabe's boss James Comey based upon a fraudulent and corrupt Dossier."</i> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>
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<p>3-16-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As for McCabe having allegedly misled FBI investigators, Sessions himself had lied to Congressional investigators under oath on multiple occasions relative to his contacts with Russians during Mr. Trump's campaign, as reported by CSD above on March 2, 2017; June 13, 2017; and July 21, 2017. But Sessions had not been fired.</p> <p>In the following days, Mr. Trump continued repeatedly to tweet attacks against McCabe, Mueller, Comey ("lying James Comey") and Clinton ("Crooked Hillary"), alleging once again a "WITCH HUNT" against himself and assuring that the investigations had proven that there was "NO COLLUSION" between his campaign and Russia. Of course two of the investigations – by special prosecutor Robert Mueller and by the Senate Intelligence Committee – were continuing (the Republican majority in the House Intelligence Committee having recently, and controversially, closed its own investigation). The March 18 Washington Post found Mr. Trump's tweets to be riddled with falsehoods.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>3-16-18 +</p>	<p><b>Threats.</b> On March 16, Michael Cohen, one of Mr. Trump's many lawyers, publicly threatened to sue adult entertainment actress and director Stormy Daniels for \$20 million – that is, to financially ruin her – if she were to breach her non-disclosure agreement about her prior affair with Mr. Trump (see CSD's entry about Daniels of January 12). The threat appeared extortionate, and in any event an unprecedented attempt to intimidate an individual on the part of a sitting president.</p> <p>On March 25, Daniels re-alleged to Anderson Cooper on CBS's <i>60 Minutes</i> both the 2006 affair and Cohen's \$130,000 "hush" payment to her shortly before the presidential election. Disturbingly, she now added that she had been <i>physically</i> threatened in 2011 when she had tried to sell her story about the affair. Daniels said: <i>"And a guy walked up on me and said to me, 'Leave Trump alone. Forget the story.'</i> <i>And then he leaned around and looked at my daughter and said, 'That's a beautiful little girl. It'd be a shame if something happened to her mom.'</i> <i>And then he was gone."</i> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>3-16-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Daniels was not a model of integrity, and CSD would not record the allegation of the physical threat, except that in the following days a spate of news and opinion items offered other evidence of Mr. Trump and Cohen having harshly and routinely threatened individuals, including television reporter Megyn Kelly. Those items appear at the link at this endnote.<sup>7</sup> While not all of the allegations are proven or highly credible, some are. Overall, the likelihood of Mr. Trump and Cohen having acted as ruthless and criminal extortionists, continuing into the Trump presidency, was difficult to escape; and for CSD, it was sickening.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>3-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>NDAs.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist reported that Mr. Trump had exacted from most of his aides stringent non-disclosure agreements that would survive his presidency and (among other things) prevent them from writing books about it. While previous presidents had (rightly) sought to prevent leaks as to official confidential information, Mr. Trump's agreements with aides seemingly went well beyond that. Critics said they were unconstitutional.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>3-19-18</p>	<p><b><u>"Deep state" poll.</u></b> Politico reported that a majority of Americans in a new poll had come to believe that government bureaucrats within a "deep state" were or might be secretly manipulating U.S. policy. The breadth of that radical perception followed Mr. Trump's frequent, furious allegations to that effect.</p> <p>CSD is greatly disturbed that so many Americans had come to that view. We would compare the poll results to those we had previously reported, that large numbers of Americans since Mr. Trump's election had become convinced of his views that widespread voter fraud had occurred in the 2016 presidential election (January 25, 2017); that he had beaten Hillary Clinton in the popular vote (July 26, 2017); that he should remain in office without reelection in 2020 if widespread voter fraud were then to threaten (August 10, 2017); and that the media had been fabricating news stories about him (October 17, 2017). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>3-19-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As for the deep state itself, CSD assumes that most federal and state offices likely do have entrenched bureaucracies that on the one hand may be slow to change but that on the other can serve as a highly professional counter to executive malfeasance, ignorance or neglect, and that in any event keep the trains running. We believe that Mr. Trump should thank his great good fortune that the federal bureaucracy can run the country and that the military can protect it even absent a stable, honorable and competent president and commander-in-chief.</p> <p>More urgently, we believe that Mr. Trump's tirades against the deep state are demagogic: that they constitute scapegoating, fear-mongering, and a quest for absolute authority, while betraying his disdain for effective governance and his frustration at what may sometimes be the resistance of patriotic Americans against his anti-democratic agenda. Indeed, we would compare his blaming of secret conspiracies to similar, newly rampant conduct by xenophobic, authoritarian governments and parties in Eastern Europe – a region much of which is now turning away from the democratic and pluralistic promise ushered in by the fall of communism 30 years ago.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>3-20-18, 3-21-18</p>	<p><b><u>The Russian buddy.</u></b> On March 20, Mr. Trump called Russian President Vladimir Putin to congratulate him on winning his re-election, after Putin had throttled all material opposition. Mr. Trump did not raise with Putin Russia's meddling in the 2016 American election or its recent attempt to assassinate an ex-Russian spy in the U.K.; he instead focused on expressions of warmth and friendship, noting that he expected to meet with Putin soon.</p> <p>The Washington Post reported subsequently that Mr. Trump had ignored express instructions in his daily intelligence briefing paper to not congratulate Putin, but instead to raise the election meddling and the assassination; also that the invitation to a meeting had taken Mr. Trump's advisors by surprise. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>11, 12, 13</p>

<p>3-20-18, 3-21-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] German Chancellor Angela Merkel also congratulated Putin; and President Obama had congratulated Putin on his 2012 election victory. But they were hardly enamored or indulgent of Putin, as Mr. Trump had long appeared to be; and President Obama's gesture had come well before Putin's invasion of Crimea, his propping up of the Syrian regime, his meddling in the American election, and his grand authoritarian swing. Notably, Mr. Trump had also recently congratulated the Turkish and Chinese presidents on the structural consolidations of their respective autocratic powers. He did not congratulate Merkel on her recent election to a fourth term in office.</p> <p>On March 21, Mr. Trump defended the criticisms of his call to Putin by disparaging previous American presidents and effectively boasting about his own intellect and other gifts. He tweeted: "<i>Bush tried to get along, but didn't have the 'smarts.' Obama and Clinton tried, but didn't have the energy or chemistry.</i>"</p>	<p>11, 12, 13</p>
<p>3-22-18</p>	<p><b>Congress flags Carson and Zinke.</b> Business Insider reported that Congress had just inserted into its pending spending bill a measure strictly limiting the ability of Cabinet members to spend lavishly on office redecorations. The insertion was in response to redecorating abuses, reported above in this Addendum, by Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson (February 27) and Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke (March 8).</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>3-22-18</p>	<p><b>Talking smack with Biden.</b> Provoked by former Vice President Joe Biden's several comments that as a high school athlete he would have beaten up Mr. Trump for the latter's abuse of women, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>Crazy Joe Biden is trying to act like a tough guy. Actually, he is weak, both mentally and physically, and yet he threatens me, for the second time, with physical assault. He doesn't know me, but he would go down fast and hard, crying all the way. Don't threaten people Joe!</i>"</p> <p>Without defending Biden, CSD notes that Biden walked back his words six days later, while Mr. Trump's were not likely to be walked anywhere. More importantly, we believe that Mr. Trump single-handedly set this tone during his campaign and beyond, and that the devolution of political discourse has followed.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>



<p>3-22-18</p>	<p><b>McMaster out; Bolton in.</b> Mr. Trump dismissed the respected General H.R. McMaster as his national security advisor, replacing him with the highly controversial, perpetually enraged and ultra-hawkish John Bolton, who years ago had been relieved of his United Nations ambassadorship after a short period..</p> <p>Bolton, who had served in the George W. Bush administration and had later lost the confidence of Mr. Bush and other Republicans, had gained a reputation as an unpopular bully, vicious infighter and authoritarian both within the U.S. government and as a diplomat. He had long decried international agreements generally and the United Nations particularly. He had had long and close associations with anti-Muslim groups. Despite (like Mr. Trump) having chosen not to serve in Vietnam, he also had called for going to war preemptively with both North Korea and Iran, and had been (and remained) a major proponent of the war in Iraq. The Huffington Post reported that although Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and chief of staff John Kelly had encouraged McMaster's dismissal, they were "skeptical" of Bolton as his replacement.</p> <p>Bolton would become Mr. Trump's third national security advisor in his 14 months in office (the first having been the disgraced Michael Flynn). And the dismissal of McMaster only nine days after that of Secretary of State Rex Tillerson left remaining only two of the four "adults" that pundits across the political spectrum had hoped would contain Mr. Trump's reckless and uninformed whims on matters of international policy and national security: Kelly (at that time seemingly both compromised and marginalized) and Mattis. The New York Times wrote that after Bolton's appointment, Bolton <i>"described the job of national security adviser as making sure that the bureaucracy did not impede the decisions of the president."</i></p>	<p>11, 13</p>
<p>3-22-18</p>	<p><b>Dowd out; DiGenova in (briefly).</b> The departure of General H.R. McMaster as national security adviser came on the same day as that of John Dowd, Mr. Trump's top personal attorney defending him against special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation. It was also three days after Mr. Trump had hired Joseph diGenova, a flamboyant, made-for-TV attorney who had long claimed that the "deep state" and the FBI had been conspiring against Mr. Trump. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>

<p>3-22-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The changes were widely viewed as signaling a harder turn by Mr. Trump against Mueller. Three days later, DiGenova – theretofore un-vetted – would step down, due to conflicts of interest as among his clients. But in any event, some of the biggest heads had rolled (McMaster's, Dowd's, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson's) – and in each case shortly after Mr. Trump had assured the country that no changes were being contemplated.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>
<p>3-22-18</p>	<p><b>Wrecking the WTO.</b> Mr. Trump imposed tariffs on \$60 billion worth of Chinese imports, violating The World Trade Organization's requirements that trade disputes be first adjudicated by that body. The New York Times reported that diplomats in Geneva considered Mr. Trump to have dealt "<i>a blow to the foundations of the W.T.O.</i>," an organization descended from one built after World War II to help prevent military conflicts. The move sparked a threat of retaliatory tariffs by China, raising the risks of a trade war.</p>	<p>13</p>
<p>3-23-18</p>	<p><b>Bending Congress to one's will.</b> In a press conference, Mr. Trump again proposed eliminating the Senate's filibuster rule that requires a 60-vote majority to pass most measures. Killing the rule would end what little voice the minority party (now or ever) would have in Congress, and would today vastly concentrate power in Mr. Trump's hands. The proposal was not off-handed; rather, Mr. Trump had advanced it frequently during the short period of his presidency, as reported by CSD on January 20, 2017; April 28, 2017; May 1, 2017; May 30, 2017; and July 28, 2017. For example, in July he had tweeted: "<i>Republicans in the Senate will NEVER win if they don't go to a 51 vote majority NOW. They look like fools and are just wasting time.</i>"</p> <p>At the same press conference, Mr. Trump proposed restoring the line-item veto, which would enable him to bypass negotiated Congressional compromises and thus again concentrate presidential power, and which the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional.</p> <p>Mr. Trump delivered those remarks in connection with his having reluctantly signed a bi-partisan omnibus spending bill and blaming Republicans for having compromised with Democrats. The New York Times reported, relative to Mr. Trump's unhappiness with the bill: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>3-23-18</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "His stated reason was its lack of funding for his promised border wall, but that was only one disappointment for the president in a measure that blocked the hiring of thousands of new border patrol agents; stopped deep cuts to foreign aid, the diplomatic corps and environmental programs; thwarted a push to fund vouchers for private and parochial schools; and even rescued the National Endowments for the Arts and the Humanities."</i></p> <p>The implications of Mr. Trump's complaint were plain: that (1) compromise is weak, foolish and wrong; (2) anything that occurs in Washington and not to his taste was both wrong and not his fault; and (3) the country would be better off if he had absolute authority.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>3-24-18</p>	<p><b>Personality cult.</b> The Washington Post – in noting the Republican Party's abandonment of its long-standing support of immigration, free trade, fiscal restraint, resistance to Russia, international democratic alliances, and decency in political discourse, all in favor of Mr. Trump's contrary views – reported that Republican insiders saw the party's base as embracing Mr. Trump as their leader more than party or any particular principles. The Post wrote: <i>"For many pro-Trump voters, one senior White House official said, the actual policies are less important than the principle — and the principal[is] Trump himself, promising to stand up and fight for them. Sen. Bob Corker (R-Tenn.) ... described Trump's support in stark terms: 'It's more than strong, it's tribal in nature. ... People ... who are out on the trail say, "Look, people don't ask about issues anymore. They don't care about issues. They want to know if you're with Trump or not.'"</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump's supporters, wrote The Post, argued that he was simply delivering what his base had wanted, not things he had foisted on them. CSD's response: The American (and most other) people have likely always borne a vulnerability for certain anti-democratic themes to be exploited. But since the time of the Founding Fathers, the role of our leaders has been to quell, not exploit those themes.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>3-26-18 +</p>	<p><b>Skewing the census – this time for real.</b> On March 26, the Trump administration made good on its earlier proposal by ordering that the 2020 decennial census ask respondents whether they are citizens. As reported by CSD on December 29, 2017, critics had decried the plan as an attempt to intimidate migrant communities from participating in the census and thus to undercount them for purposes of Congressional and other governmental representation. In addition, survey research experts, business groups and prior census officials had blasted the plan as bad science that would debilitate all manner of social and business endeavors that rely on good census data.</p> <p>At least a dozen states promptly announced their intention to sue the government on constitutional grounds. And on March 30, the Census Bureau's own scientific advisory committee denounced the move, warning that including the question would depress responses, add expense, and compromise confidentiality – all for political purposes.</p>	<p>17 (6, 8, 9)</p>
<p>3-28-18</p>	<p><b>EPA gags staff.</b> The Huffington Post, and then The Washington Post, revealed a recently leaked memorandum from the Environmental Protection Agency's leadership to its communications staff instructing them to downplay the certainty, extent and risks of human-caused climate change.</p>	<p>8</p>
<p>3-28-18</p>	<p><b>Pardons for witnesses?</b> The New York Times reported that John Dowd, who until days before had been Mr. Trump's lead lawyer in defending him against special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation, had approached the lawyers for now-indicted Trump campaign leaders Michael Flynn and Paul Manafort in 2017 to discuss granting them pardons, possibly in exchange for them not testifying against Mr. Trump. If the allegation was true, it would likely constitute obstruction of justice. Dowd denied it.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>3-28-18</p>	<p><b>Shulkin out; Jackson in.</b> Mr. Trump fired the chief of the Veterans Administration, David Shulkin. He announced the firing by Twitter, only moments after chief of staff John Kelly had personally notified Shulkin, making this Mr. Trump's fourth firing-by-media (after those of FBI director James Comey, demoted FBI deputy director Andrew McCabe, and Secretary of State Rex Tillerson). The firing followed scrutiny of a travel spending episode of Shulkin's (which Shulkin publicly defended) and Shulkin's resistance to privatizing veterans' health care. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 16</p>

<p>3-28-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump named as Shulkin's replacement Ronny Jackson, after having consulted few advisors. Jackson was the White House physician who on television had hyperbolically lauded Mr. Trump's health after having examined him some months previous. The appointment echoed Mr. Trump's consideration of his personal pilot in February to lead the Federal Aviation Administration. Veterans' organizations, by contrast, voiced concern that Jackson had no material administrative experience.</p> <p>Mr. Trump had previously praised Jackson's television performance. His selection thus appeared also to echo Mr. Trump's prior appointments of people who were television personalities or whom he had said he considered to be telegenic, or (often) to be from "central casting": chief economic advisor Larry Kudlow (TV), John Bolton (TV), Vice President Mike Pence (central casting), Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis (central casting), former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson (central casting) – all as documented at the links at this endnote.<sup>8</sup> The implication, in at least several of those instances, was Mr. Trump's predilections toward image over substance, and television ratings over all.</p>	<p>10, 11, 16</p>
<p>3-28-18</p>	<p><b><u>Owning the Supreme Court.</u></b> Reacting to a public call by a retired Supreme Court justice to repeal the 2nd Amendment to the Constitution, which ensures citizens the right to bear arms, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>“THE SECOND AMENDMENT WILL NEVER BE REPEALED! As much as Democrats would like to see this happen, and despite the words yesterday of former Supreme Court Justice Stevens, NO WAY. We need more Republicans in 2018 and must ALWAYS hold the Supreme Court!”</i></p> <p>In fact neither the Democratic party nor its Congressional delegation had ever called for (and did not appear to want) the 2nd Amendment to be repealed. More disturbing was Mr. Trump's implication that a president has the right and obligation to stack and control the court. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2</p>

<p>3-28-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] While many or most presidents had appointed Supreme Court justices with whom they had had ideological affinities, many had appointed moderates without strong party affiliations; the liberal Justice Stevens himself had been appointed by Republican President Gerald Ford; all justices had been approved by bi-partisan Senate votes; and (to CSD's knowledge) no recent president had so explicitly called for a party or the president to own the court, which would defy the separation of powers enshrined in the Constitution.</p>	<p>2</p>
<p>3-29-18 +</p>	<p><b>The war on Amazon.</b> By way of Twitter, on March 29 Mr. Trump resumed his long-running attack on Amazon.com, charging that the company was paying less than its fair share of taxes and abusing the U.S. Postal Service. The tweet shortly followed an allegation issued by Axios, amply supported by evidence, and widely republished elsewhere, that Mr. Trump was "obsessed" with Amazon because its founder, CEO and largest shareholder, Jeff Bezos, also owned the Washington Post, which news outlet was politically hostile to Mr. Trump. Mr. Trump repeated his attacks on both Amazon and The Post on March 31.</p> <p>To the knowledge of CSD, Mr. Trump had not singled out any other company for not paying taxes or for abusing the postal service, although presumably there are many against which such complaints could be brought. The attempt by a sitting president to intimidate, damage the business of, and bring down governmental scrutiny and regulation upon a specific business enterprise for political purposes and personal vendetta is not without precedent: as documented by CSD above, Mr. Trump had behaved similarly relative to Nordstrom and the NFL (September 22, 2017) and multiple heavy manufacturers (pre-inauguration – see p. 7 of this document).</p> <p>The latest anti-Amazon tweets, the Axios article, a New York Times rebuttal of the charge that Amazon was not paying its share of taxes, and a Wall Street Journal demonstration that Amazon was actually propping up the postal service, appear at the links at this endnote.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

3-29-18	<p><b>FEMA ignores climate change.</b> A member of Congress wrote a letter to the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) questioning why the agency had dropped all references to climate change in its new strategic plan. The plan, among other things, was intended to protect the country against future catastrophic disasters. The previous strategic plan had concluded that climate change posed a major threat to the nation, for which management and planning were essential.</p>	8
3-30-18	<p><b>Pruitt on the take.</b> Multiple news outlets reported that, for six months in 2017, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt had leased an apartment on Capitol Hill at a substantially below-market rate from the wife of a major energy industry lobbyist.</p> <p>Pruitt – whose prior political campaigns in Oklahoma had been heavily financed by the energy industry and whose climate science denial was by now notorious – had already drawn scrutiny on multiple occasions for having incurred ethically questionable travel expenses, lied to Congress, and taken virtually all of his stakeholder inputs from the energy industry, as reported above by CSD on July 18, 2017; September 20, 2017; September 27, 2017; October 3, 2017; and February 11, 2018. But the below-market apartment rental rate appeared a step beyond – appeared to amount to outright bribery.</p>	15

<sup>1</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-parkland-school-shooting\\_us\\_5a94341ce4b02cb368c44ab3](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-parkland-school-shooting_us_5a94341ce4b02cb368c44ab3) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/02/26/trump-said-he-would-charge-a-gunman-heres-what-hes-actually-done-in-the-face-of-danger/?undefined=&utm\\_term=.46ccae49a9b7&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/02/26/trump-said-he-would-charge-a-gunman-heres-what-hes-actually-done-in-the-face-of-danger/?undefined=&utm_term=.46ccae49a9b7&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/01/opinion/jared-kushner-donald-trump-nepotism.html?ref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/pure-madness-dark-days-inside-the-white-house-as-trump-shocks-and-rages/2018/03/03/9849867c-1e72-11e8-9de1-147dd2df3829\\_story.html?undefined=&utm\\_term=.2cea95e646e6&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/pure-madness-dark-days-inside-the-white-house-as-trump-shocks-and-rages/2018/03/03/9849867c-1e72-11e8-9de1-147dd2df3829_story.html?undefined=&utm_term=.2cea95e646e6&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/02/22/ryan-zinke-gun-club-outing-investigation-watchdog-356800>

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/national/amp-stories/you-re-fired-a-timeline-of-trump-administration-departures/?undefined=&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/national/amp-stories/you-re-fired-a-timeline-of-trump-administration-departures/?undefined=&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-cabinet-members-accused-of-living-large-at-taxpayer-expense/2018/03/14/9f9476c4-27a7-11e8-b79d-f3d931db7f68\\_story.html?undefined=&utm\\_term=.e843da2f4b2e&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-cabinet-members-accused-of-living-large-at-taxpayer-expense/2018/03/14/9f9476c4-27a7-11e8-b79d-f3d931db7f68_story.html?undefined=&utm_term=.e843da2f4b2e&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/26/opinion/stormy-daniels-trump-60-minutes.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=4&pgtype=collection> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/26/opinion/trump-stormy-daniels-60-minutes.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection> and <http://people.com/politics/megyn-kelly-reiterates-threats-trump-team-after-stormy-daniels-interview/> and [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/megyn-kelly-michael-cohen-lawyer-death-threats\\_us\\_5abd0896e4b04a59a3157151](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/megyn-kelly-michael-cohen-lawyer-death-threats_us_5abd0896e4b04a59a3157151)

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/why-trumps-preoccupation-central-casting-matters> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/16/business/media/trump-kudlow-hegseth-television.html>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/03/29/trump-amazon-taxes-491332?cid=apn> and <https://www.axios.com/trump-regulation-amazon-facebook-646c642c-a2d7-454b-a9a9-cdc6e4eaf2c.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/29/us/politics/trump-amazon-post-office-fact-check.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=8&pgtype=collection> and [https://www.wsj.com/articles/amazon-despite-lumps-from-trump-buoys-postal-service-1522344209?mod=ITP\\_us\\_0&tesla=y](https://www.wsj.com/articles/amazon-despite-lumps-from-trump-buoys-postal-service-1522344209?mod=ITP_us_0&tesla=y)





**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 15 – May 7, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>3-30-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Denying asylum under the guise of efficiency.</u></b> On March 30, Attorney General Jeff Sessions ordered that immigration judges meet an annual quota of cases they must decide. The order was likely to cause fewer grants of asylum, even meritorious ones. An explanation follows, based on the knowledge of several members of CSD who routinely provide forensic assistance to asylum seekers in the U.S. who have fled foreign dictatorships.</p> <p>International and American law require that people who flee persecution in foreign countries on specified grounds (e.g., race, religion, political beliefs) and who find their way to the U.S. must be granted asylum here, if they can show sufficient evidence in court that they were persecuted.</p> <p>In the U.S., immigration courts operate under the Department of Justice, not the federal court system; and as such their procedures can be dictated by an administration's political considerations. Whether and on what grounds an immigration judge grants asylum in a particular case can be appealed within the department; but usually a judge's individual or aggregate decisions are not seriously challenged by higher levels of the department – thus allowing the judge's political and social views to color his or her asylum determinations. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 6, 14</p>
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<p>3-30-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] By way of example, some immigration judges categorically grant asylum far less frequently than do others, and thus a clear bias against granting asylum sometimes appears.</p> <p>An additional challenge for asylum seekers is that most are poor, deficient in English, lacking in legal knowledge, and not represented by counsel in court. Accordingly, it often falls to the judges to draw out from them the facts pertinent to their cases. A judge who is categorically disinclined to grant asylum will not do that, will instead let the asylum seeker stumble through his or her testimony, will then deny asylum, and will issue an order of removal (deportation) – which may be to the country where the claimed persecution had taken place, and where the individual may well be persecuted again.</p> <p>The re-persecution can include harassment, religious repression, privation, imprisonment, torture or execution. For this reason many attorneys and country experts in the U.S. volunteer their time to ensure that asylum seekers here obtain fair consideration of their asylum claims in court.</p> <p>Immigration judges have long been overwhelmed by their case loads. Sessions had already undertaken to hire more judges, to ease those loads. But now he ordered that the judges dispose of at least 700 cases per year. In the days following the order, numerous experts, including current and former immigration judges, concluded that the cases of asylum seekers who lack counsel would now be rushed through; fewer judges would probe to learn the pertinent facts; due process (which constitutionally protects citizens and non-citizens alike) would be compromised; more worthy asylum claims would be denied; and thus more men and women who had been persecuted in their countries of origin – whether in Africa, Asia or Latin America – would be sent back, to face abuse, torture or death.</p> <p>Analysis by The Wall Street Journal and CNN appears at the links at this endnote.<sup>1</sup> One former judge went so far as to write in The Washington Post that judges would likely now expect to be compensated – in his words, bribed – to deport more asylum seekers. He wrote: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 6, 14</p>
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<p>3-30-18 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "Every immigration judge knows that in general, it takes longer to consider and rule in favor of relief for a respondent than it does to agree with ICE [Immigration and Customs Enforcement] and order deportation. The administration wants to use quotas to make immigration judges more an arm of ICE than independent adjudicators. In my many years on the immigration bench, I learned that repressive nations had one thing in common: a lack of an independent judiciary. Due process requires judges free of political influence. Assembly-line justice is no justice at all."</i><sup>2</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's quota order followed the recent imposition by him of at least three other restraints on asylum seekers: grilling them more aggressively during their "credible fear of persecution" interviews at the border; misinforming and turning away altogether some asylum seekers there; and holding more asylum seekers in detention without parole prior to their asylum hearings, all as detailed at the link at this endnote.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>CSD, of course, acknowledges the right and the obligation of the U.S. to secure its borders against unlimited immigration. But we also fervently seek to uphold our country's obligations under international law, American statutes and humanitarian principles: to protect refugees and asylum seekers, to the extent such is just and practicable.</p>	<p>2, 6, 14</p>
<p>4-1-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Those Mexicans (and Hondurans, and Democrats).</u></b>          Beginning on Easter morning, April 1, Mr. Trump issued five anti-Mexican tweets in 24 hours – including that the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was unfair to Americans; that Mexico was sending "caravans" of criminals into the U.S.; and that Democrats "want no Borders, hence drugs and crime!" He also blamed Democrats for the demise of DACA, the law protecting children brought to the U.S. by their parents as undocumented immigrants. <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 13</p>

<p>4-1-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] As to the "caravans," there was one: a group of about 1,000 – mostly bedraggled Honduran women and children – who were fleeing through Mexico to escape corruption, rabid gang violence and crushing poverty. Reportedly they travelled in a group to defend against human predators, and they posed no security threat to the U.S. whatever. Similar groups had made the journey every Easter for several years, as a combination escape and protest march. Few had entered the U.S. But now, sparked by Fox News coverage, for at least three days Mr. Trump would seek to rouse rage and hysteria over the imminent invasion of the U.S. by the "caravan." Absent from his words of the Easter season were the slightest acknowledgement of or compassion for the migrants' suffering.</p> <p>On April 3, Mr. Trump threatened to send troops to the Mexican border to stop the migrants from entering the U.S., and on April 4 he issued an unspecified order to do so. In fairness, both immediately preceding presidents had deployed troops there – but in support, not enforcement capacities. In any event, Mr. Trump's threat and order appeared to lack both specific planning and any obvious purpose other than intimidation and demagoguery; and in the end, these troops too would be constrained to provide support only.</p> <p>As to DACA, a Democratic president had created it ; Democrats had long defended it; Mr. Trump himself had revoked it; and he remained able to restore it with the stroke of a pen. His scapegoating of Democrats was based entirely on their refusal to make concessions in a proposed DACA deal that they found harsh, extraneous and illogical; and even Republican members of Congress had found Mr. Trump impossibly unreliable and incoherent in negotiating the DACA issue.</p> <p>On April 5, Mr. Trump boasted that he had forced the Mexican government to disband the "caravan." The Mexican government denied that, and said that Mr. Trump's plan to send the National Guard to the border was foolish and offensive. Observers did, however, expect the "caravan" to disperse soon, as it had done in previous years: with most participants going home or being absorbed by Mexico. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 13</p>
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<p>4-1-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As to Mr. Trump's routine insults of the Mexican government and people, on April 6, The Washington Post reported on the extensive cooperation that the Mexican government had been according U.S. border security efforts, as linked at this endnote.<sup>4</sup></p> <p>Through all of that falsehood and fear-mongering, Mr. Trump had conflated the "caravan," DACA, NAFTA and drug trafficking, none of which related to one another – except that they all involved brown people – whom Mr. Trump, from all evidence, simply doesn't care for. But he did look very tough, to some.</p> <p>As stated above in this Addendum, CSD acknowledges the right and the obligation of the U.S. to secure its borders against unlimited immigration, just as we acknowledge the business community's countervailing but equally legitimate desire to employ an immigrant work force to the extent of an American labor shortage. But above all, we condemn any racism and demagoguery associated with anti-immigrant sentiments and measures.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 13</p>
<p>4-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Telling the Baltics that U.S. news is "fake."</u></b> At a news conference with the heads of three Baltic nations, Mr. Trump called on a number of Baltic reporters, surmising (in his words) that they would report "real news - not fake news," thus implying a contrast to the American journalists present, belittling our press freedoms, and denigrating our country before foreign leaders.</p>	<p>1, 10</p>
<p>4-2-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Blazing thumbs.</u></b> Further in the Easter spirit, on April 2 Mr. Trump savaged many more of his usual scapegoats by way of Twitter: the FBI and the Justice Department ("an embarrassment to our country" relative to their "slow walking" probe of Hillary Clinton); Amazon (inaccurately attacking its postal arrangements and tax practices, seemingly because the company was led by Jeff Bezos, the owner of Mr. Trump's journalistic nemesis The Washington Post); the news media ("fake NBC, which is a total joke"); and the Senate's filibuster rule (as often before, seeking more complete control of Congress for himself). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>4-2-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> The following day, his Twitter rants were more focused – on the media. He specifically named CNN, NBC, ABC and CBS as "fakers," comparing them unfavorably to Sinclair Broadcast Group (which had recently come under criticism for forcing its 100+ local television stations to air scripted conservative commentary). He particularly alleged (again, inaccurately) that CNN executive Jeffrey Zucker – "Little Jeff Zuker" – had applied a political litmus test when hiring staff and was causing CNN to fail (CNN has actually done quite well under this presidency).</p> <p>On April 3, The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Trump had issued five anti-Amazon tweets in five days, and that, partly as a consequence, its stock had fallen 8% – a loss of tens of billions of dollars in market value. Money magazine had reported on April 2 that Bezos had personally lost \$16 billion. As of April 5, the Amazon tweets persisted.</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>4-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Regards for Sisi.</u></b> President Trump congratulated Egyptian President Abdel Fateh al-Sissi on winning his re-election, having scored 97% of the vote in what was widely viewed as a sham contest. The warm wishes added to those recently proffered by Mr. Trump to the leaders of China, Turkey and Russia for having extended their tenures undemocratically.</p>	<p>12</p>
<p>4-3-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pruitt does it again; and again; and again.</u></b> On April 3, The Washington Post reported that Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt had directed one of his staffers to shop for apartments for him, contrary to law. The Post also reported that Pruitt had given 33% and 52% raises, respectively, to two staffers without the White House's permission, also possibly contrary to law. On April 5, The New York Times reported that Pruitt had reassigned, demoted or forced out five EPA staffers who had questioned his spending practices; yet again, contrary to law. On April 7, The Associated Press reported that Pruitt had spent \$3,000,000 on his personal security detail to date – three times that of any of his predecessors. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>17 (8, 9)</p>

<p>4-3-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On April 6, The Huffington Post re-capped some 23 questionable activities of Pruitt, most of which CSD had previously reported in this document. In the aggregate they revealed a deeply self-absorbed and ambitious man – much like Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, and Mr. Trump himself – largely un-tethered to honesty and ethical norms, and repugnant role models for Americans of all ages. CSD believes Pruitt's behavior to be of a piece with his unflinching denial of climate science in the service of his political patrons, and that that larger betrayal of reason, decency and responsibility may go down in American history as one of the great scandals and subjects of ridicule issuing from this administration.</p>	<p>17 (8, 9)</p>
<p>4-3-18</p>	<p><b>Enabling Sinclair.</b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's chair of the Federal Communications Commission, Ajit Pai, had skewed the agency's rules so as to allow Sinclair Broadcast Group, the conservative owner of over 100 local television stations and already the country's largest local station owner, to acquire dozens more stations through its proposed purchase of Tribune Media. Mr. Trump's anti-trust indulgence of his media ally Sinclair contrasted with his anti-trust attacks on his media enemies – Jeff Bezos/Amazon/The Post, and AT&amp;T/TimeWarner/CNN.</p>	<p>9, 16</p>
<p>4-3-18</p>	<p><b>Stomping on businesses.</b> The New York Times detailed Mr. Trump's history of attempting to intimidate and injure individual named businesses, in a story linked at this endnote.<sup>5</sup> The context was his recent, inflammatory and untruthful campaign against Amazon, which campaign had succeeded at least temporarily in depressing that company's stock price. But the Times listed many additional named business targets, together with Mr. Trump's array of epithets for them and the sources of his personal animus: for example, Amazon (because its founder Jeff Bezos owned Mr. Trump's foil, The Washington Post); AT&amp;T (because it sought to merge with TimeWarner, which owned Mr. Trump's foil, CNN); and the National Football League (following his long-running litigation with them after he had bought a team in the competing United States Football League). While other recent presidents had criticized individual businesses, they had not done so frequently, almost never by name, not through blatant falsehoods, and not to advance a personal or political grudge. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>4-3-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Times quoted a (Republican) U.S. Chamber of Commerce executive: “<i>It’s inappropriate for government officials to use their position to attack an American company, [which action] undermines economic growth and job creation.</i>” CSD would add that such attacks are a violation of constitutional rights, and comparable in spirit to the persecution of politically disfavored business owners in foreign autocracies such as Russia.</p> <p>Not coincidentally, preventing government abuse of private businesses through the Center for International Private Enterprise (a Chamber of Commerce affiliate) had long been one of the mandates of the National Endowment for Democracy, a Congressionally-chartered organization that Mr. Trump had recently sought to de-fund.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>4-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Not learning, internationally.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had been reverting to his unschooled campaign rhetoric on international affairs, after temporary tempering by experienced advisors, and often contrary to the policies that his own administration was effecting. Examples: a recent call for peremptorily exiting the Syrian civil war; recent verbal attacks on NATO allies; continuing expressions of warmth toward Russia; continuing derision of NAFTA; and implementing the move of the U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.</p> <p>Unlike other presidents, who also had campaigned on concepts that they might not have been able to fulfill, Mr. Trump appeared resistant to post-election realities. The Times wrote: “<i>He has been very consistent essentially since the 1980s,’ said Eric S. Edelman, a former under secretary of defense for policy in the George W. Bush administration. ‘He knows very little about the world, about history, about the policy details. But he does have strong convictions and they are remarkably durable and apparently impervious to contrary evidence.’ ... ‘The best and most intelligent presidents are adaptive,’ said R. Nicholas Burns, a diplomat who served in the Clinton and Bush administrations. ‘They reconsider some of their views from the campaign. I worry that we are looking at someone who is not adaptive — who is not learning on the job.’</i>”</p>	<p>10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>



<p>4-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>Hispanics: rapists and fraudulent voters.</u></b> At a tax roundtable in West Virginia, Mr. Trump dramatically tossed aside his prepared remarks and instead pointedly affirmed his earlier, controversial comments that Hispanics were rapists (now claiming that they were raping members of the migrant "caravan" described above), and that they constituted "millions and millions" of fraudulent voters in the U.S. Neither statement was true.</p>	<p>4, 6, 7, 9</p>
<p>4-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>Fox to the rescue.</u></b> Noting Mr. Trump's well-known flattery by, reliance on and inspiration from highly partisan and often inflammatory commentary on Fox News, The Washington Post wrote: "<i>Aides sometimes plot to have guests make points on Fox that they have been unable to get the president to agree to in person. 'He will listen more when it is on TV,' a senior administration official said.</i>"</p>	<p>10</p>
<p>4-6-18</p>	<p><b><u>Animus toward Bezos explained.</u></b> In a news analysis linked at this endnote,<sup>6</sup> The Washington Post documented both the origins of and the fallacies within Mr. Trump's hatred for Jeff Bezos, the founder of Amazon and the owner of The Post. Mr. Trump had deployed that hatred in recent months and days both to punish the business of Amazon and to disparage the credibility of The Post, all as reported above in this Addendum.</p> <p>The Post wrote that the source of the animus was far deeper than the paper's critical view of Mr. Trump's policies and behaviors (which view, The Post wrote, contrary to Mr. Trump's allegations, Bezos has never encouraged or directed – reportedly Bezos is totally hands-off editorial policy, his personal politics are unknown, and Amazon's PAC gives mostly to Republican candidates).</p> <p>Rather (wrote The Post, with documentation), Mr. Trump dislikes people who are richer than himself; and Bezos is currently the world's richest person in Forbes magazine's rankings, with Mr. Trump at 766. But most importantly, again according to The Post, Mr. Trump does not use data, information or a computer, and he disdains thinkers and even functionaries who create and operate in that space (such as at companies like Amazon); instead, he is far more comfortable with and anchored to activities such as building construction, smokestack industries, and the executives and workers who staff them. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 11</p>

<p>4-6-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD does not disdain building construction and smokestack industries, some of its members having worked in them. At the same time, CSD does not consider the Post's observations about Mr. Trump's motivations to be mere captious gossip, but rather of the most profound import for American society. A president bludgeoning a company for its founder's newspaper's outlook or out of jealousy for the founder's wealth would be despicable enough. But Mr. Trump's retrograde views about labor, industry and commerce would appear to deny not only the value of scientific and technological endeavor but the entire forward thrust of American and worldwide enterprise. Bluntly put, that denial would seem as reactionary and potentially damaging as is Mr. Trump's affinity to the politics of "blood and soil" – that is, to the racism and nationalism of an earlier era, which Mr. Trump never outgrew and appears to yearn for from the depths of his being.</p> <p><i>Epilogue:</i> Mr. Trump had been bashing Amazon for not collecting sales taxes from its customers. But Amazon in fact had been collecting taxes in all 45 states where those taxes were in force. Remarkably, also on April 6, The Wall Street Journal reported that TrumpStore.com – the online retail unit of The Trump Organization (Mr. Trump's business) that sells trivial Trump-branded merchandise nationwide – collected sales tax in only two states, possibly contrary to law. Both the White House and The Trump Organization declined comment.</p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 11</p>
<p>4-6-18</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo and Bolton vs. Muslims.</u></b> The New York Times reported on the extensive history of anti-Muslim statements and associations of Mr. Trump's recent appointment nominees Mike Pompeo as Secretary of State and John Bolton as national security advisor, as linked at this endnote.<sup>7</sup> Many Muslim and Jewish groups had objected to those nominations.</p>	<p>17 (6)</p>
<p>4-7-18</p>	<p><b><u>Trade Wars.</u></b> Mr. Trump's months-long threat of a trade war with China intensified over recent days, as he placed tariffs on an increasing number of Chinese imports and as China retaliated. Whether the tariffs would stand, and whether a full-blown trade war would materialize, were unknown. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>4-7-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD does not take a position on trade policy, just as we do not take positions on health care, taxation, general spending, gun rights, reproductive rights, and so forth. But we do take positions on dishonesty, scapegoating, and reckless, irrational governance. In that regard, we despair of Mr. Trump's continuing fulminations against Chinese trade practices without his even acknowledging the well-publicized complexities inherent in his plans to impose punitive tariffs on China, such as the following:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. The potentially devastating injury that a trade war would likely cause to American exporters (such as farmers), retailers, importers of foreign materials and parts, the employees of such enterprises, and American consumers generally.</li> <li>2. The deployment of tariffs to curry favor with certain American industries and their workers regardless of overall economic impact, which many economists had rated as unlikely to generate a durable resurrection of those industries.</li> <li>3. The view held by some economists that a trade imbalance with China was not inherently harmful to the U.S. – rather, that the U.S. obtains huge value for its Chinese purchases.</li> <li>4. The incendiary rattling of our relations with China at a time when we needed that country to rein in North Korea.</li> <li>5. Mr. Trump's obsession with the trade imbalance while not addressing the far more immoral and injurious Chinese practice of stealing American intellectual property.</li> <li>6. The potential disruption of world economic and geopolitical stability that the system of international trade norms and dispute resolution was designed to bolster.</li> <li>7. The broad resistance to expanded tariffs and a trade war expressed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, other prominent business voices, nearly all economists, most of Mr. Trump's own economic advisors past and present, and (for whatever it's worth) the stock market (and thus the savings of untold millions of Americans).</li> </ol> <p>CSD does not purport to know the solutions. But in all, we believe that the consequences of the trade issues are far too vast and precarious for America's policies to be driven by Mr. Trump's petulance, his grudges, his machismo, his nativism, his disinterest in data, his unawareness of world economics, and his quest for a few hundred thousand votes.</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>4-7-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] We also fear that if Mr. Trump were now to back down from his threats of Chinese tariffs and a trade war, the world would increasingly tire of, and view with skepticism and a yawn, not only his many unduly pugnacious diatribes, but even more appropriate statements about protecting American and democratic interests abroad that he might issue.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13</p>
<p>4-7-18, 4-8-18</p>	<p><b><u>Tweeting the weekend away.</u></b> From Saturday to Sunday, Mr. Trump tweeted: a (provocative) condemnation of China's trade practices; an (improbable) boast that he was sealing the Mexican border while "the Dems" had been "a disaster" on that front; two (furious) complaints that the Justice Department was withholding certain classified information relating to Mr. Trump's enemies from Republican members of Congress; a (brutish) exultation that the Trump Tower in Manhattan had survived a fire (while not mentioning the tenant who had died in the blaze, or that Mr. Trump had lobbied against and had long refused to equip the building with sprinklers); a (falsehood-filled) defense of ethically embattled Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt; another (furious) complaint that the FBI had protected Hillary Clinton; a (bitter) blast at The Washington Post for having just exposed his fraying relationship with chief of staff John Kelly; a (slavish) pledge of friendship to China's dictator ("<i>President Xi and I will always be friends, no matter what happens with our dispute on trade</i>"); and three (threatening) denunciations of a recent chemical weapons attack in Syria, blaming President Obama for not having intervened more forcefully four years ago (when Mr. Trump himself, by way of Twitter, had urged President Obama not to intervene).</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>
<p>4-9-18</p>	<p><b><u>Lies, damned lies, and this president.</u></b> The Washington Post's continuing Fact Checker column logged two dozen falsehoods told by Mr. Trump in two speeches on March 29 and April 5 – that is, about 12 falsehoods per speech, rather than his average of around six per day. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>4-9-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The falsehoods related to such matters as the nature of the border wall and its construction status; America's current level of energy imports; Hillary Clinton's role in effecting an earlier trade deal with South Korea; the overall strength of the U.S. economy; the status of the recent bump stock ban (re gun control); the extent to which he had fulfilled his campaign promises; the dollar cost of America's wars in the Middle East; the legality, wisdom and practicality of his wish to seize Iraqi oil as spoils of war; the number of federal judges he had appointed; the relative size of his recent tax cut; the size of the U.S.'s trade deficit with China; whether other countries, like the U.S., award birthright citizenship; whether widespread rape had occurred within the "caravan" in Mexico; whether an immigrant who had run over many New Yorkers in 2017 had brought in 22 family members through "chain migration"; whether massive fraudulent voting had occurred in the U.S.; and much more. The Post's column appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>8</sup></p> <p>CSD found the number and variety of falsehoods to be not only brazen and stunning but also gratuitous and self-propelling – as though there were few particles of truth that would not bring forth from Mr. Trump a loud and cynical untruth; few falsehoods that he could bear not to tell.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>4-9-18</p>	<p><b>The Panama hotel.</b> The Washington Post reported that the Panamanian lawyers for the Trump Organization, Mr. Trump's business, had asked the president of Panama to intervene in a Panamanian court case between the owner of a Trump-branded hotel and that business. The owner had terminated the Trump Organization's management contract and had removed the Trump branding from the enterprise, in part due to Mr. Trump's unpopularity in Latin America for his having repeatedly insulted Hispanics. The request appeared to seek to induce the Panamanian president to violate Panama's laws regarding separation of powers. It also suggested a possibly improper use of American presidential power at a diplomatic level for the personal benefit of the American president, which The Post's reporter called "extraordinary."</p>	<p>15</p>

<p>4-9-18</p>	<p><b><u>"An attack on our country" (aka Michael Cohen).</u></b>  <u>Shortly after the FBI raided the office, home and hotel room of Mr. Trump's lawyer Michael Cohen in connection with possible bank fraud, wire fraud and campaign finance violations, Mr. Trump – flanked by his top military aides – posed for a video to react.</u> He blamed Democrats in the Department of Justice for the incident, even though all ranking DOJ officials, including the U.S. Attorney for Manhattan who had procured the search warrant from a federal magistrate judge, were Republicans whom Mr. Trump had handpicked for their positions. He also assailed Hillary Clinton and former FBI Director James Comey by name.</p> <p>He would also soon publicly threaten to fire special prosecutor Robert Mueller (who had <i>not</i> launched the raid); publicly blame, as he had done often before, Attorney General Jeff Sessions for having recused himself from the Russia investigation (thus depriving Mr. Trump of control); and privately blame Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein for the raid on Cohen.</p> <p>Cohen's own attorney complained that the raid was an extreme measure. He was correct. For a prosecutorial office to raid an attorney's office to gather information rather than simply asking for the information demonstrated a strong expectation that the attorney would destroy evidence, and thus exhibited an utter contempt for the attorney's integrity, as well as suspicion of serious crimes.</p> <p><u>In the military-enhanced video, Mr. Trump called the raids "disgraceful," a "witch hunt," "a whole new level of unfairness," and – most provocatively – "an attack on our country."</u> To that last point, CSD found Mr. Trump's equating of his own interests and the interests of his ruthless, amoral and servile attorney with America's interests to be notable: not only for its pugnacity, its self-pity, its disdain for the rule of law and its disdain for America's interests, but for its shockingly deviant perception of reality itself.</p> <p>Mr. Trump meanwhile had never claimed that Russia's election interference and infrastructure hacking had amounted to "attacks on our country," although all his national security staff had. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11,12</p>
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<p>4-9-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] But Mr. Trump's displeasure was not unrelated to fact. In summarizing the extent to which he now appeared to be encircled by law enforcement officials, a New York Times reporter wrote: <u>"His longtime lawyer is being investigated in Manhattan; his son-in-law, Jared Kushner, is facing scrutiny by prosecutors in Brooklyn; his former campaign chairman is under indictment; his former national security adviser has pleaded guilty to lying; and a pair of former campaign aides are cooperating with Mr. Mueller. Mr. Mueller, meanwhile, wants to interview Mr. Trump about possible obstruction of justice."</u> Observers speculated that Mr. Trump was now sufficiently frightened and angry that he could plunge the country into any manner of domestic or international crisis. Whether he would create such havoc before being tamed by Congress remained to be seen.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11,12</p>
<p>4-9-18</p>	<p><b>Ukrainian spend.</b> The New York Times reported that Victor Pinchuk, a Ukrainian billionaire, had paid \$150,000 to Mr. Trump's charitable foundation in September 2015 – during Mr. Trump's presidential campaign – and that special prosecutor Robert Mueller was investigating the payment. Mr. Trump's attorney and unsavory "fixer," Michael Cohen, had solicited the payment.</p> <p>In fairness, Pinchuk appeared to be pro-Western; and he had donated much larger sums to the Clinton Foundation. But the Clinton Foundation (regardless of the ethical questions surrounding it) had been unmistakably committed to and massively engaged in advancing prosperity and social justice worldwide; while the Trump Foundation had no mission, and it did little more than contribute occasionally to sometimes quirky local charities with which Mr. Trump had relationships. Indeed the Trump Foundation had previously come under scrutiny for deploying its funds for Mr. Trump's personal benefit, contrary to tax law. For a presidential candidate to accept campaign funding from a foreign individual is also contrary to election law.</p>	<p>Its own category: bribery</p>
<p>4-10-18 +</p>	<p><b>National security purge.</b> Beginning April 10, Mr. Trump's new national security advisor John Bolton commenced a wholesale purge of national security staff – including all who had served under President Obama – starting with homeland security advisor Tom Bossert, National Security Council spokesman Michael Anton, and two days later deputy national security advisor Ricky Waddell.</p>	<p>17 (9, 11, 13)</p>

4-10-18	<b><u>U.S. caves to China and Russia on human rights.</u></b> In an address at the University of Pennsylvania, Zeid Ra'ad Al Hussein, the United Nations' outgoing High Commissioner for Human Rights, said that the material abrogation of human rights advocacy under the Trump administration had encouraged and enabled Russia and China to broadly shut down discussions on that subject at the UN.	14
4-11-18	<b><u>Consumer law scuttled.</u></b> The Associated Press reported that under the leadership of Mr. Trump's budget director Mick Mulvaney, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau – created by Congress in 2010 to prevent a repeat of the Great Recession by heading off financial services industry abuses – had not brought a single enforcement action, thus effectively defying Congressional authority.	17 (9)
4-11-18	<b><u>Ryan stands down.</u></b> <u>House Speaker Paul Ryan announced that he would not run for reelection in 2018.</u> He thus joined almost four dozen other Republican members of Congress who had announced their retirements, after having seemingly found it impossible to square their perceptions of their party's traditional principles (on trade, immigration, Russia and fiscal conservatism) or their personal principles (reason, honesty, decency, democracy) with Mr. Trump's absence of principle and with his take-over of the Republican electorate.	Maybe everything
4-12-18	<b><u>Unnerved, unhinged.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that staff and others close to Mr. Trump had been finding him so unnerved by the escalating Russia investigation that <u>he was spending hours ranting about subordinates; issuing nonsensical orders; making impulsive and contradictory public comments on major issues (Justice Department leadership, the recent gas attacks by the Syrian regime, and the blow-back from trade disputes that he had initiated) – all without strategy or advice. Staff were alarmed, feeling that they could do nothing from one hour to the next except react, and contain the damage.</u> The Post's reporting appears at the link at this endnote. <sup>9</sup>	10, 11, 13



<p>4-12-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pruitt, endlessly.</u></b> On April 12, the Environmental Protection Agency's former deputy chief of staff, whom administrator Scott Pruitt had fired for questioning his lavish spending, detailed a multitude of new revelations about that spending and other self-important conduct and self-serving ethical lapses on Pruitt's part – too many to recite here. The whistle-blower was Kevin Chmielewski, a life-long Republican and a supporter of Mr. Trump. He shared the information with members of the House and Senate, who in turn confronted Pruitt in a letter seeking pertinent documents. That letter appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>Roughly contemporaneously, another group of senators asked the EPA's inspector general to investigate Pruitt's use of four separate government email addresses, under suspicion that the notoriously secretive Pruitt had been attempting to hide his official activities. That detail appears here.<sup>11</sup></p> <p>On April 13, The New York Times reported that Pruitt's security chief had built an unusual and unseemly protective wall around him – inflating security needs, intimidating colleagues, affecting cowboy attire and swagger, and awarding a security contract to a business associate.</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>4-13-18</p>	<p><b><u>Libby is pardoned.</u></b> Mr. Trump pardoned Scooter Libby, the chief of staff of Dick Cheney, then President George W. Bush's vice president. Libby had been convicted in 2005 for having committed perjury and obstruction of justice in connection with the "outing" of CIA operative Valerie Plame due to Cheney's anger at her diplomat-husband for having questioned the invasion of Iraq. The reason for the timing of the Libby pardon was not apparent; but it seemed almost certainly to be politically inspired, to be related to Mr. Trump's concerns about the special prosecutor's Russia investigation; a possible precursor to his pardoning individuals implicated in that investigation; and thus an inducement for them to not cooperate with the investigation.</p> <p>The Libby pardon followed Mr. Trump's pardoning of the sadistic, anti-immigrant and unrepentant "birther," Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio, also for political purposes. Presidential political pardons (as opposed to pardons for repentant petty criminals) had been unusual in recent decades, but now they threatened to become routine. CSD reported on the Arpaio pardon on August 13, 23 and 25, 2017. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>4-13-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Libby's crimes included leaking classified information – a charge that Mr. Trump had long leveled against his former FBI director James Comey and unnamed others in his administration. More generally, Libby had compromised America's national security, a charge that many observers had leveled against Mr. Trump himself.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>4-13-18</p>	<p><b>Unrelenting on Bezos.</b> Mr. Trump ordered an investigation of the postal service's financial problems, including relative to the pricing it was offering bulk shippers such as Amazon. Mr. Trump's attempts to injure Amazon and its founder Jeff Bezos for political and personal reasons are detailed above in this Addendum in entries dated April 2 and April 6.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>4-13-18</p>	<p><b>Fiddling (i.e., tweeting) while Damascus burns.</b> As Mr. Trump, the Defense Department and the Joint Chiefs of Staff were secretly only hours away from launching a series of missile strikes against chemical weapons facilities in Damascus and two other Syrian locations in retaliation for that country's recent use of chemical weapons against civilian populations, Mr. Trump launched a different series of strikes – by Twitter.</p> <p>Reacting to the release of former FBI director James Comey's new memoir, and without apparent irony, Mr. Trump's morning tweet held that Comey was an “<i>untruthful slime ball</i>” and a “<i>proven LEAKER &amp; LIAR.</i>” Mr. Trump also tweeted an attack on “Crooked Hillary Clinton.” Later he tweeted that dismissed Deputy Attorney General Andrew McCabe had “<i>LIED! LIED! LIED!</i>”; that McCabe was “<i>totally controlled by Comey</i>”; and that allegations of collusion with Russia were “<i>all made up by this den of thieves and lowlifes!</i>” (The fusillade of tweets denigrating Comey, the Clintons and McCabe would continue for days and weeks to come. They included a radical, incendiary and unconstitutional call for Comey to be jailed.)</p> <p>The missile strike then ensued. As it was occurring, it appeared at least hypothetically to risk armed conflict with Russia and Iran. Given the gravity of the undertaking, it was announced in real time on television that evening by Mr. Trump, Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and Joint Chiefs Chairman Joseph Dunford. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>

<p>4-13-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In the strike's immediate aftermath, the consensus of mainstream commentators held that it did "send a message" to Syria relative to future chemical use; that it might or might not have succeeded in reducing Syria's chemical warfare capabilities (although on April 19 The New York Times would report that within days the Pentagon had concluded that Syria's chemical program would likely continue, and that its chemical capability had survived); and that the strike did not, and was not intended to, change the course of the Syrian conflict – which Syria, Russia and Iran were winning, including through other means of mass murder. In that sense (many mainstream analysts said), the scrupulously limited nature of the strike was a "win" for those three countries, and even for North Korea.<sup>12</sup> Syrian leadership and the pro-regime Syrian "street" were jubilant; and the next day Syrian military gains against the country's rebels advanced. Mr. Trump nevertheless tweeted "Mission Accomplished!", plus a boast about American military glory.</p> <p>CSD does not purport to second-guess the strike's tactical or strategic goals or outcomes, except to note some others' concerns relative to the strike's planning: that a week beforehand, Mr. Trump, seemingly to the shock of his advisors, had tweeted his intention to take military action, thereby apparently enabling the Syrians and Russians to prepare for the strike and to minimize the strike's damage; that just days before the strike, Mr. Trump had called for the withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Syria; that Mattis and Dunford had reportedly advised him against the strike; and that after the strike many bi-partisan congressional voices decried the void in overall strategy relative to the Syrian conflict – never a good thing when attacking another country. Indeed, although Mr. Trump had sought to dramatically out-muscle and out-boast former President Obama in his response to Syrian atrocities, in reality his broader plan remained widely viewed as equally unshaped, and his results to date equally limited.</p> <p>But apart from any geo-strategy (or its absence), CSD found Mr. Trump's actions that day unnerving in their totality:</p> <p>1. Whether or how Mr. Trump had considered and managed the precarious strike at the same time as pardoning Scooter Libby and launching his tempestuous domestic political tweets defied the imagination. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9. 10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>4-13-18</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u>                  2. Those tweets – and the turmoil, vanity, incompetence, corruption, sedition, desperation and political weakness that they evidenced – did not likely impress either our friends or our enemies with the reliability of our commander-in-chief in moments of military crisis.</p> <p>3. Mr. Trump had created an optical environment in which even good faith military endeavors were susceptible to suspicions of him "wagging the dog" – i.e., cynically diverting attention from his own political crises (in this case the mounting Russia investigation and the mounting scrutiny of his attorney Michael Cohen), at potentially catastrophic costs to the country and to individual lives. Following the Syria strike such suspicions did appear in the mainstream news, to our country's chagrin.</p>	<p>9. 10, 11, 13</p>
<p>4-15-18</p>	<p><b><u>A party for lawyers.</u></b> New Federal Election Commission filings revealed that in 2018 Mr. Trump's reelection campaign had spent over \$834,000, or more than 20% of its funds, on his legal defense fees. That brought the campaign's total legal spending since he took office to nearly \$4,000,000.</p> <p>As CSD has written before, the campaign may lawfully do that. Mr. Trump may lawfully engage lawyers in his defense. And at least one other recent president, Bill Clinton, had engaged lawyers to defend himself during his presidency. But for Mr. Trump the phenomenon was a signpost, or a billboard, for a number of anomalies:</p> <p>1. The scale and variety of Mr. Trump's legal problems so soon in his presidency, and the sheer number of lawyers and law firms defending him, was stunning.</p> <p>2. Mr. Trump, a proud billionaire, could amply afford to pay his own lawyers. To induce his small campaign donors to foot the bill, possibly without their knowledge, seemed grotesque, and of a piece with his instinct for inducing large numbers of other people to part with their money for foolish reasons (casino indulgence, over-priced merchandise, worthless "university" educations) and – as a politician – to advance his own power and wealth by convincing large numbers of people that his policy agenda and his radical governing tactics were for their own good. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>11</p>

<p>4-15-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] An April 15 New York Times Magazine feature speculated that Mr. Trump's puzzlingly early and (since then) continuous conduct of reelection campaign rallies might be attributable to his love of adoring crowds. But CSD speculates that he also saw the crowds as an easy and pleasant way to fund his legal defense.</p> <p>3. Mr. Trump had reputedly owed his prior business success (and certainly his escapes from business demise) at least in part to persistent and ruthless litigation and legal intimidation, as opposed to creative commercial insights and fair play. In addition, he reputedly had long seen lawyers as tools to circumvent or frustrate the law, as opposed to creating positive value for business and society. He now appeared to have brought those attitudes about deploying legal resources to his role in governing the country.</p> <p>Several of CSD's members are lawyers: (they hope and believe) of a different sort.</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>4-15-18, 4-16-18</p>	<p><b><u>Sanctions, no sanctions.</u></b> On April 15, U.N. Ambassador Nikki Haley told CBS News that the Trump administration would be imposing sanctions on Russian companies that had supplied Syria in connection with its chemical weapons program. The next day, following a protest from Russia, the White House said that those sanctions would not be imposed.</p>	<p>10, 12</p>
<p>4-16-18</p>	<p><b><u>"Fake news" epithet proliferates.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist listed authoritarian or moving-toward-authoritarian regimes that had copied Mr. Trump's invented phrase "fake news" to denounce their enemies and a critical press – India, Israel, Burma, Syria, Venezuela, the Philippines, Libya, Cambodia, Uganda, Malaysia, Turkey, China – as well as American scoundrels who had recently done the same: Alabama senate candidate and sexual predator Roy Moore, Missouri Governor and sexual predator Eric Greitens, Texas Congressman and sexual predator Blake Farenthold, white supremacist David Duke, and others. To CSD, it seemed a wildfire of deception and anti-press sentiment that Mr. Trump had lit, and that was raging uncontrollably.</p>	<p>1, 7</p>

4-16-18	<b>Zinke protects the interior (of Montana).</b> The New York Times reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke not only had spent lavishly (see above in this document) and had traveled often to his home state Montana on nominally official business, but had repeatedly acted to protect Montana's parklands and environmental security while gutting those of many other states. Zinke reportedly was aspiring to high elective office in Montana. <sup>13</sup>	17 (11, 15)
4-17-18	<b>Trust in the FBI plummets.</b> An NPR poll revealed that 30% of Americans and the majority of Republicans – presumably convinced by Mr. Trump – now believed that the FBI was biased against him. The implication was that, for them, Mr. Trump should not be subject to law enforcement in the ordinary course; i.e., was above the rule of law.	7, 9, 11
4-18-18	<b>Breeding.</b> Tweeting about Hispanic immigration into California sanctuary cities, Mr. Trump referred to " <i>this ridiculous, crime infested &amp; breeding concept.</i> " News commentators puzzled over the meaning of the phrase "breeding concept." But – given Mr. Trump's past references to Hispanic migrants as brutal and racially inferior, and his past condemnation of Hispanic women entering the U.S. to have citizen-babies here – many concluded that he meant that Hispanics bred in America like animals. The world over, demagogues and racists have long used similar rhetoric to de-humanize ethnic and religious targets and to characterize them as vermin. In the worst cases, that has led to genocide.	6, 9
4-22-18	<b>The Korea deal.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted that, contrary to the concerns of "Sleepy Eyes Chuck Todd of Fake News NBC," Mr. Trump had gained the upper hand in his (possibly) approaching summit meeting with North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, in that the North Koreans "have agreed to denuclearization." The North Koreans had not agreed to that. Negotiations had not even begun, and their outcome (if any) was the subject of wildly varying speculation.	1, 7

<p>4-24-18</p>	<p><b>The honorable Kim.</b> Whether hoping to gull the American people into supporting possible give-aways to North Korean leader Kim Jong-un in upcoming nuclear negotiations, or talking himself into trusting Kim, or expressing genuine admiration for the man, Mr. Trump – likely spontaneously – called the ruthless despot, liar, assassin and torturer "very honorable" – only months after having exchanged outrageous threats and insults with him.</p>	<p>10, 11, 12. 13</p>
<p>4-24-18 +</p>	<p><b>Pruitt persists.</b> On April 24, Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt proposed a rule that would bar his agency from using any confidential scientific data, including individuals' private health data that the EPA had long considered critical to formulating policy and protecting Americans' well-being. Pruitt called the move a landmark in transparency; critics called it a landmark in silencing science.</p> <p>The proposal arose while Pruitt was under siege for an ever-growing raft of alleged ethical violations, with scrutiny mounting after a recent New York Times exposé of his having grown rich as an Oklahoma politician through suspect means and later hiring two of his business associates – both unqualified, and one banned for life from the banking industry – as top EPA officials.<sup>14</sup> Pruitt had also long been scrutinized for being politically and financially beholden to the energy and industrial companies which, as EPA administrator, he had been tasked with regulating, and for brazenly and unlawfully undermining the agency's mission to protect the environment.</p> <p>On May 1, two of Pruitt's top (and unsavory) aides would be forced to resign as a result of the publicity.</p>	<p>17 (8, 11, 15, 16)</p>
<p>4-25-18</p>	<p><b>Mulvaney for sale.</b> Mick Mulvaney – the director of the Office of Management of the Budget and the acting director of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (which regulates banks and which he is attempting to dismantle) – told a meeting of bankers that as a Congressmen he would only meet with lobbyists if they would donate to his political campaigns. The implication was that the attendees (and others) even today should bribe government officials in order to be heard.</p>	<p>17 (bribery)</p>

<p>4-26-18</p>	<p><b>Ever nearer – to immunity, and/or to the edge.</b> In a raging and disconnected telephone interview on Fox News, Mr. Trump yet again denounced former FBI Director James Comey and the FBI and Justice Department leadership; called for his adversaries to be prosecuted; and hinted that he might intervene in the department's investigations of himself.</p> <p>Mr. Trump also took the occasion of the interview to boast of his record ("<i>We have accomplished more than any president in the first year, by far</i>"); laud his relationships with France and North Korea; claim victory in the North Korea negotiations (which had not yet even been scheduled); threaten war with Iran; defend his misbegotten nomination of Ronny Jackson to lead the Veterans Administration; stick up for his indicted former campaign manager Paul Manafort; vouch for the character of, yet distance himself from, his thuggish attorney Michael Cohen (who was under federal investigation); deny having colluded with Russia; insist that "nobody's been tougher" on Russia than himself; pummel Hillary Clinton; praise his electoral college victory over her; claim to have broad support among African Americans and in that regard compare himself to Abraham Lincoln; crow that he had "made a fortune" for NBC with his reality show "The Apprentice"; hammer the mainstream press (including "sleepy eyes Chuck Todd" of MSNBC); tell countless falsehoods (according to The Washington Post); give himself an "A+" performance rating; and blame the Democrats for everything. In the end, the rattled and chagrined interviewers cut him off.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>4-26-18</p>	<p><b>Jackson gone (before he arrived).</b> Ronny Jackson – the White House physician who had lavishly praised Mr. Trump's health on-camera after examining him – withdrew his nomination to head the Veterans Administration. The withdrawal followed accusations about Jackson's drinking episodes, improper prescriptions of drugs to patients, and bullying his staff – all of which compounded the already widespread, bi-partisan concerns among senators and veterans organizations about his lack of administrative experience. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 16</p>



<p>4-26-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The developments once again illustrated Mr. Trump's proclivity to choose and reward officials for their praise of him and their telegenic looks, regardless of qualifications. They also illustrated his administration's disinterest in or ineptness at properly vetting high level nominees, which had led to both controversial appointments and extremely high turnover. Mr. Trump, however, blamed Jackson's demise on "false accusations" by Democrats, and he demanded that one Democratic senator resign for those falsehoods. (Mr. Trump himself, of course, hadn't resigned for telling an unprecedented volume of falsehoods.)</p> <p>Jackson's demise followed that of Mr. Trump's initial VA administrator, David Shulkin – see CSD's discussions of February 11, March 13, March 14 and March 28, 2018. So that was two down in 14 months. Mr. Trump also had had two secretaries of state, two secretaries of health and human services, two secretaries of homeland security (one promoted to chief of staff), two chiefs of staff, three national security advisors, and four communications directors, with more changes widely expected.</p>	<p>10, 11, 16</p>
<p>4-27-18</p>	<p><b>The hunted.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the investigations of his campaign's relations with Russia were a "big hoax by the Democrats," and that "there should never have been a Special Counsel appointed. Witch Hunt!" The message implied that he was continuing to consider causing special prosecutor Robert Mueller to be fired.</p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>
<p>4-28-18</p>	<p><b>Up in Michigan.</b> At a raucous campaign-style rally in Michigan, Mr. Trump said of undocumented Hispanics, "<i>All of these people pouring across are gonna vote Democrat,</i>" thus yet again falsely alleging massive voter fraud on the part of brown non-citizens. He also insinuated that he might blackmail a Democratic senator who had helped foil his nomination of Ronny Jackson as Veterans Administration chief. He attacked the "fake news" media and former FBI director James Comey. He boasted about his economic and diplomatic accomplishments. He touted America's military might and the recent strike against the Syrian regime. Duly incited, the crowd chanted that he deserved a Nobel peace prize.</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>4-30-18</p>	<p><b>Impeaching Rosenstein.</b> Republican members of Congress drafted articles to impeach Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein for failing to turn over documents relating to the Justice Department's conduct of the Hillary Clinton email and Russia investigations. The move arose presumably with the encouragement or at least the acquiescence of Mr. Trump – in that he himself was known to have considered firing Rosenstein, and in that Mr. Trump would soon publicly join in the chorus about the documents. No member of the executive branch of the government, except a president, had been impeached since 1876, and that was for taking kickbacks, not a partisan dispute. In response, Rosenstein publicly implied that the department was been "extorted."</p>	<p>17 (9, 11, 12)</p>
<p>5-1-18 +</p>	<p><b>Pruitt just can't help it.</b> On May 1, The Washington Post reported that the Moroccan government had hired an American lobbyist and long-time friend of Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt who had strangely and secretly arranged an expensive and ethically suspect trip for Pruitt to Morocco. Implications included that Pruitt had unlawfully used his office to financially benefit a friend, and that his trip had been unlawfully arranged by a foreign agent.<sup>15</sup> The following day, The New York Times reported that another lobbyist – who had been dismissed from Mr. Trump's transition team for business conflicts of interest – had similarly undertaken to arrange a trip for Pruitt to Australia, likely for purposes of personal gain.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>Contemporaneously, news outlets widely reported that the lobbyist husband of Pruitt's Washington apartment landlord (who had rented to Pruitt at a deep discount) had asked Pruitt to appoint one of the husband's lobbying clients to several EPA committees – an apparent quid-pro-quo.</p> <p>On May 3, The Washington Post reported that shortly after taking office, Pruitt had drawn up a list of at least a dozen countries he would like to visit, had urged aides to help him find official reasons to travel there, then had asked well-connected friends and allies to make the trips happen.</p>	<p>17 (11, 15, 16, bribery)</p>

<p>5-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Pence likes Arpaio.</u></b> At a speech to a pro-Trump group in Arizona, Vice President Mike Pence called former Arizona sheriff Joe Arpaio "a tireless champion of ... the rule of law." Arpaio was a racist, xenophobe and "birther," who had abused and humiliated migrants in detention, then was convicted of defying a court order to stop his systematic racial profiling. Mr. Trump subsequently pardoned him.</p>	<p>17 (6, 9)</p>
<p>5-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>The good doctor.</u></b> Mr. Trump's long-time personal physician, Harold Bornstein, told CNN that the letter describing Mr. Trump's exceptional health that he had released during Mr. Trump's election campaign had been dictated to him by Mr. Trump himself. Although the letter had seemed ludicrous even at the time, Bornstein's new confession bore significant implications:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Mr. Trump having caused his physician to lie to the American public with potentially vast implications for the voters' selection of their commander-in-chief.</li> <li>2. The brashness of the lie, given its transparency and its genesis, as though Mr. Trump had had no sense whatever as to when it was important to tell the truth, or whether and how falsehoods could be uncovered.</li> <li>3. Mr. Trump's avid selection and use of subordinates to advance his falsehoods, regardless of the risks to their reputations (examples within his presidential administration had come to abound).</li> <li>4. Mr. Trump's matchless gift for leading individuals (at times, tens of millions of them) to their disadvantage based on preposterous promises that he would take care of them in exchange for their loyalty (Bornstein had hoped to become the White House physician).</li> <li>5. Mr. Trump's ultimate abandonment of those individuals – he had directed his attorney to surprise Bornstein and seize the records from him in February 2017.</li> </ol> <p>As for the records, they were seized two days after Bornstein had publicly disclosed Mr. Trump's use of a hair-growth drug. But unless Bornstein had given the records over willingly, it had been not mere vanity and vengeance on Mr. Trump's part but possibly criminal conduct:  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>5-1-18</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u>            1. Those doing the seizing had included the chief counsel for his company, who had had no governmental authority to so act; another had been his bodyguard; and together they may have been defrauding or extorting Bornstein (who told NBC that he had felt "raped, frightened and sad,").</p> <p>2. Bornstein appeared to have been deprived not only of certain property rights in the records but his professional duty to protect them.</p> <p>Ordinarily medical records are transferred in a careful and decorous way between physicians. CSD suspects that the thuggish seizure of the records by Mr. Trump's lawyer and bodyguard was comparable to the thuggish pay-off of Mr. Trump's former girlfriends by another one of his attorneys, Michael Cohen, and likewise intended to hide compromising information – just as Mr. Trump had long withheld his tax returns and had refused to cooperate with the Russian election-tampering investigations.</p> <p>CSD also suspects that Bornstein, like many other cocksure but disreputable and ultimately hapless Trump associates who had seemingly come to "flip" on him during the course of investigations, had found themselves seeking to protect themselves from the whirlpool of revelations into which they all seemed to be sinking.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>5-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>In abundance.</u></b> The Washington Post's tally of Mr. Trump's falsehoods while in office reached 3,001, for an average of 6.5 per day.</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>5-2-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Cobb gone; Giuliani in (and in it, deeply).</u></b> On May 2, Mr. Trump – who had recently hired his friend and political supporter, the flamboyant and controversial former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani, to join his personal legal defense team – fired Ty Cobb, who had been the lead White House counsel in defending the Russia election-meddling investigation. Mr. Trump thus continued his chaotic churn of top aides, and yet again lived up to his reputation for having retained many lawyers; having dismissed many lawyers; and having been an intolerable client for many lawyers due to his disrespect for thoughtful counsel, the law, and the truth. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 10, 17 (9, 11)</p>

<p>5-2-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Later that day, Giuliani told Fox News that Mr. Trump had in fact funded attorney Michael Cohen's hush-money pay-off to adult entertainment star Stormy Daniels – thus implicitly acknowledging that both Cohen and Mr. Trump had publicly lied when they had previously denied that, and thus fortifying others' allegations of Mr. Trump's participation in campaign finance crimes, bank fraud and wire fraud in connection with that payment. Giuliani also said that Mr. Trump had fired former FBI director James Comey for refusing to state publicly that Mr. Trump wasn't under investigation – again acknowledging an earlier lie on the part of Mr. Trump, and fortifying others' allegations of Mr. Trump's participation in obstruction of justice. To be sure that his Fox appearance would not go unnoticed, Giuliani also said that former presidential candidate Hillary Clinton should be in jail and that Comey should be prosecuted.</p> <p>The following day, The Washington Post and The Wall Street Journal reported that Giuliani's performance – which appeared to have been devised in collaboration with Mr. Trump, but to have then complicated if not increased Mr. Trump's legal and reputational jeopardy – occurred without prior consultation with Mr. Trump's chief of staff, his press secretary, or his other attorneys. The Post wrote that White House staff were "agog," expressing "a mixture of exasperation and horror." The Journal said that staff were "stunned," "alarmed," and "completely frozen."</p> <p>On May 4, Mr. Trump told the press that Giuliani wasn't fully informed, and Giuliani issued a revised statement. In ongoing media appearances in the days following, Giuliani continued to fumble and revise, acknowledging that he still didn't have the facts – quite unusual for an attorney who was concertedly purporting to represent the facts of his client's case to the public, let alone in such momentous matters.</p>	<p>7, 10, 17 (9, 11)</p>
<p>5-2-18</p>	<p><b>Yet nearer.</b> Mr. Trump again insinuated that he would directly intervene in the Justice Department's investigation of himself, by demanding Congressional (Republican) access to the department's records relating to the investigation's scope.</p>	<p>9</p>

5-3-18	<p><b><u>Feeding on Republican donors.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that the Republican National Committee and other Republican organizations and candidates had spent nearly \$2 million of their donors' money on Trump owned and branded hotels and resorts, thus enriching Mr. Trump personally. This would have included contributions by some small donors who likely had never anticipated that sort of use of their funds. Compare to CSD's entry of April 15 above, relative to small donors' funds being used to pay the billionaire's legal expenses.</p>	11
5-3-18	<p><b><u>Kushner keeps forgetting, remembering.</u></b> Pro Publica reported that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner was still struggling to tell the truth: he had just committed to revising his ethics disclosure filings for at least the 40th time, having failed thus far to be sufficiently accurate and forthright. (Kushner had lost his top security clearance in February due to his business conflicts of interest and his susceptibility to influence by foreign governments. He was also apparently a person of interest relative to the special prosecutor's investigation of Russian election meddling.)</p>	17 (7, 15)
5-4-18	<p><b><u>Knives, knives, knives.</u></b> At a National Rifle Association convention, Mr. Trump implied that British and French gun control laws were responsible for (or at least ineffective in stopping) a recent spate of murders perpetrated by the use of "knives, knives, knives," dwelling on grisly hospital scenes in London. As reported by The Washington Post and The Huffington Post, his comments evoked angry responses from British and French officials and citizens, some of whom pointed to their countries' homicide rates being far lower than that of the U.S., and to the potential for a firearms attack to kill many more people than a knife attack.</p> <p>CSD does not take a position on gun control. But we do object to Mr. Trump's inflammatory demagoguery and his reckless creation of unnecessary international friction and discord.</p>	9, 10
5-5-18	<p><b><u>Dirty tricks against Iran deal.</u></b> The Guardian reported that aides to Mr. Trump, in an attempt to subvert the Iranian nuclear accord to which he long had objected, had hired an Israeli private intelligence company to dig up personal dirt on several of President Obama's diplomats who had negotiated the accord in order to discredit them.</p>	9

<p>5-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>No boundaries in Cleveland.</u></b> Mr. Trump used a tax round-table event funded by U.S. taxpayers unlawfully to campaign for a Republican Senate candidate and to disparage his Democratic opponent.</p> <p>As reported by The Washington Post, at the event he also attacked the "fake news" and undocumented migrants. Objecting to the frequent practice (across three presidential administrations, including his own) of immigration authorities releasing apprehended migrants pending judicial hearings for want of sufficient detention space, he said: <i>"We have thousands of [immigration] judges. You think other countries have judges that give them trials?"</i></p> <p>But his numbers were wrong: as of that date the U.S. had only 330 immigration judges – the dearth of which, as CSD described in a March 30 entry above, was problematic. In addition, most undocumented migrants in the U.S. are in fact already subjected to "expedited removal" without having an opportunity for a hearing before a judge, a practice that some immigration rights advocates criticize. But worst of all, other Western democracies (as well as the U.S.) do afford asylum seekers and some other undocumented migrants the right to a judicial hearing. Mr. Trump's implication that undocumented migrants didn't deserve due process at all reflected a view contrary to U.S. and international law, and the Constitution.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/04/02/politics/immigration-judges-quota/index.html> and <https://www.wsj.com/articles/immigration-judges-face-new-quotas-in-bid-to-speed-deportations-1522696158>.

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jeff-sessions-wants-to-bribe-judges-to-do-his-bidding/2018/04/05/fd4bdc48-390a-11e8-acd5-35eac230e514\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c78dfd4b7db5&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jeff-sessions-wants-to-bribe-judges-to-do-his-bidding/2018/04/05/fd4bdc48-390a-11e8-acd5-35eac230e514_story.html?utm_term=.c78dfd4b7db5&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.mystatesman.com/news/national-govt--politics/trump-immigration-crackdown-targets-central-americans-seeking-asylum/6vXXIaPccreYAYRS5tzWSN/>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-gathers-data-on-migrants-deep-in-mexico-a-sensitive-program-trumps-rhetoric-could-put-at-risk/2018/04/06/31a8605a-38f3-11e8-b57c-9445cc4dfa5e\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.27a6c7d98866&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/us-gathers-data-on-migrants-deep-in-mexico-a-sensitive-program-trumps-rhetoric-could-put-at-risk/2018/04/06/31a8605a-38f3-11e8-b57c-9445cc4dfa5e_story.html?utm_term=.27a6c7d98866&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/03/us/politics/trump-amazon.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>

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- <sup>6</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/why-trump-went-after-bezos-two-billionaires-across-a-cultural-divide/2018/04/05/22bb94c2-3763-11e8-acd5-35eac230e514\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.ce3a8644c866&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/why-trump-went-after-bezos-two-billionaires-across-a-cultural-divide/2018/04/05/22bb94c2-3763-11e8-acd5-35eac230e514_story.html?utm_term=.ce3a8644c866&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/06/us/pompeo-bolton-muslims.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pctype=collection>
- <sup>8</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/04/09/two-trump-speeches-two-dozen-dubious-claims/?utm\\_term=.8f28fe7ac517&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/04/09/two-trump-speeches-two-dozen-dubious-claims/?utm_term=.8f28fe7ac517&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>9</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-chooses-impulse-over-strategy-as-crises-mount/2018/04/11/884e33c2-3d9d-11e8-974f-aac97698cef\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.8c7f002df628&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-chooses-impulse-over-strategy-as-crises-mount/2018/04/11/884e33c2-3d9d-11e8-974f-aac97698cef_story.html?utm_term=.8c7f002df628&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>10</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/scott-pruitt-chmielewski\\_us\\_5acf8542e4b0edca2cb7638d](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/scott-pruitt-chmielewski_us_5acf8542e4b0edca2cb7638d)
- <sup>11</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/scott-pruitt-secret-email-accounts\\_us\\_5ad056e1e4b077c89ce72551](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/scott-pruitt-secret-email-accounts_us_5ad056e1e4b077c89ce72551)
- <sup>12</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/after-syria-attack-us-and-russia-tensions-rise-but-military-confrontation-fears-ease/2018/04/14/d7a48d32-3fdb-11e8-a7d1-e4efec6389f0\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.df5c40171499&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/after-syria-attack-us-and-russia-tensions-rise-but-military-confrontation-fears-ease/2018/04/14/d7a48d32-3fdb-11e8-a7d1-e4efec6389f0_story.html?utm_term=.df5c40171499&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/damascus-defiant-as-trump-orders-strikes-after-syria-chemical-attack/2018/04/14/5ec055a6-3f5c-11e8-955b-7d2e19b79966\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.5db507bd414a&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/damascus-defiant-as-trump-orders-strikes-after-syria-chemical-attack/2018/04/14/5ec055a6-3f5c-11e8-955b-7d2e19b79966_story.html?utm_term=.5db507bd414a&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/syrias-assad-said-to-be-in-good-mood-scorns-us-weaponry-after-airstrikes/2018/04/15/a5e313cb-727a-4dda-98da-d582d86f0add\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.9e5bb7a922f8&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/syrias-assad-said-to-be-in-good-mood-scorns-us-weaponry-after-airstrikes/2018/04/15/a5e313cb-727a-4dda-98da-d582d86f0add_story.html?utm_term=.9e5bb7a922f8&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-syria-strike-was-meant-to-project-strength-it-did-the-opposite/2018/04/15/f9e37fa6-40b8-11e8-8569-26fda6b404c7\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.8f0e3ffd32ce&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-syria-strike-was-meant-to-project-strength-it-did-the-opposite/2018/04/15/f9e37fa6-40b8-11e8-8569-26fda6b404c7_story.html?utm_term=.8f0e3ffd32ce&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>13</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/16/us/ryan-zinke-montana.html>
- <sup>14</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/04/21/us/politics/scott-pruitt-oklahoma-epa.html>
- <sup>15</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/lobbyist-helped-broker-pruitts-100000-trip-to-morocco/2018/05/01/b2e20ec0-4d76-11e8-b725-92c89fe3ca4c\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.f504216a9d42&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/lobbyist-helped-broker-pruitts-100000-trip-to-morocco/2018/05/01/b2e20ec0-4d76-11e8-b725-92c89fe3ca4c_story.html?utm_term=.f504216a9d42&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>16</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/02/climate/epa-pruitt-australia-travel.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=7&pctype=collection>





**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 16 – June 21, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>5-8-18</p>	<p><b><u>Iran undone.</u></b> After months of threatening to do so and after a weeks-long media build-up, Mr. Trump, with bravura, announced his decision to terminate the U.S.'s participation in the multi-nation agreement – the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action (JCPOA) – restricting Iran's development of nuclear weapons that had been negotiated and signed by the Obama administration, Iran, Russia, China, and several European countries. The move, if fully honored and followed by all JCPOA participants, would enable the U.S. to re-impose economic sanctions on Iran; deprive the United Nations' nuclear watchdog, the IAEA, of the ability to monitor Iran's nuclear programs; and allow Iran to resume its development of nuclear weapons.</p> <p>America's allies, and many former American diplomats and security officials, were outraged ("near bursting with anger," wrote The Washington Post). Issues included: the potentially negative security prospect relative to Iran; the uncertain implications for North Korean denuclearization; the risks associated with the U.S. repeatedly breaking its word (as Mr. Trump had previously done relative to the Trans-Pacific Partnership and the Paris climate accords); Mr. Trump's failure to advance any alternative strategy for dealing with Iran's regional trouble-making (in Syria, Yemen, Gaza, Lebanon and elsewhere) or its nuclear ambitions; and the risk of war. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 14</p>
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5-8-18	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD does not take a position on the Iran agreement or its potential demise. We are concerned, however, that Mr. Trump may have made the decision (a) to fulfill a campaign promise devoid of understanding at the time it was made, (b) to reject multi-country agreements for the sake of personal and nationalistic swagger, (c) to pursue iconoclasm and attention-getting for their own sake (or for the sake of domestic political gain), and/or (d) to spite President Obama. (Mr. Trump had already established a pattern of acting in each of those four perilous and illegitimate ways.)</p>	9, 14
5-9-18	<p><b><u>Banning hostile journalists.</u></b> Mr. Trump suggested by way of Twitter that journalists who were critical of him should have their White House and other presidential press credentials revoked. Commenting on that hostility toward the media, The Associated Press wrote that Mr. Trump had given only one formal news conference since becoming president, a break from his predecessors' tradition; and that the daily briefings given by his press secretary had been much shorter than those of prior administrations.</p>	1
5-10-18	<p><b><u>Making America "respected again."</u></b> At a rally in Indiana for a senatorial candidate, Mr. Trump boasted about moving the U.S. embassy in Israel to Jerusalem and withdrawing from the Iran nuclear agreement, claiming that he had made America "respected again" abroad. It was unclear to CSD who overseas had increased their respect for America under his belligerent, chaotic, capricious, untrustworthy, scandal-ridden and uninformed leadership; but he convinced his crowd.</p> <p>Mr. Trump also trashed the "fake news media," promised yet again to build the Mexican border wall, and extolled the American flag.</p>	1, 6, 7, 9, 11
5-11-18	<p><b><u>At fever pitch.</u></b> The New York Times reported a series of recent events suggesting that Mr. Trump's frustration over not being able to quickly close America's southern border by way of dictates and intimidation was rising in intensity.</p> <p>1. In late April he had declaimed at a rally in Michigan that the U.S. has "the dumbest immigration laws anywhere on earth." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	6, 9, 11

<p>5-11-18</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p>2. In early May, he had railed to the National Rifle Association about "deadly immigration loopholes," "horrible killer gang members" and "laws that were written by people that truly could not love our country."</p> <p>3. At a May 9 Cabinet meeting, he had heatedly berated Department of Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen – a lawyer, a seasoned homeland security professional, and a hawk on border enforcement – seemingly for attempting to keep her enforcement actions within the limits of the law.</p> <p>4. Later that day, at a rally in Indiana, he had roared that Democrats had given the country "the worst immigration laws in the history of mankind."</p> <p>In CSD's view, Mr. Trump's disdain for the law, his branding of Democrats as traitors, his demonization of Hispanics, and his tirades against ethnic "others" particularly when stirring up crowds were all straightforward exercises in demagoguery. As for his comparative and historical legal analysis, we doubt that he had much awareness of either prior immigration laws in the U.S. or current immigration laws in other countries, many of which have been more liberal than ours currently are.</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
<p>5-14-18</p>	<p><b><u>Incitement in Jerusalem.</u></b> As tens of thousands of Gazan Palestinians protested and dozens died in riots over the moving of the U.S. embassy in Israel from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem – a move defying the pleas of many Western and other countries, and deftly exploited by Gaza's radical Hamas leadership – the embassy's opening ceremonies were notable for their in-your-face provocations, their disdain for diplomacy in a dangerous part of the world, their horrendous televised projection of America's image globally, and their bald appeal to American political partisanship irrespective of America's interests and international consequences: <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 17 (6)</p>

<p>5-14-18</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>1. They were led by Mr. Trump's senior advisor and son-in-law Jared Kushner, who despite having no pertinent experience had been tasked with advancing the Middle East peace process, and had subsequently lost his security clearance due to business conflicts. Kushner's wife and fellow (non-experienced) presidential advisor Ivanka Trump also figured prominently at the event. As a matter of messaging (or otherwise), both appeared ebullient, and oblivious to the Palestinian mayhem.</p> <p>2. An Israeli rabbi who had recently compared black people to monkeys spoke at a reception and was then asked for his blessing by Kushner and Ms. Trump.</p> <p>3. The official ceremony began and ended with prayers by two prominent American pastors and Trump acolytes, Robert Jeffress and John Hagee, who were known for their anti-Islamist sentiments, among other extreme and exclusivist theological views. Jeffress, for example, had also made notoriously anti-Catholic, anti-Mormon and anti-gay statements. Hagee had said that God had ordained the Holocaust, to drive Jews to Israel and thus hasten the end of days. Jeffress and Hagee fawningly praised Mr. Trump's wisdom, courage and leadership in moving the embassy.</p> <p>4. Mr. Trump's ambassador to Israel, his former bankruptcy attorney David Friedman – also devoid of diplomatic experience – likewise swooned over Mr. Trump's greatness and compared him to Abraham Lincoln.</p> <p>5. The 14 members of Congress in attendance were all Republicans – the administration had invited no Democrats. Never before had an American president made the country's general support of Israel a partisan affair.</p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 17 (6)</p>
<p>5-14-18</p>	<p><b>Hiding the toxins.</b> Politico reported that, since the beginning of the year, the White House and the Environmental Protection Agency had been withholding a report by the Department of Health and Human Services on a nationwide water contamination crisis resulting from certain industrial and military uses of chemicals. Internal correspondence indicated that the subterfuge was for specifically political purposes: to quell awareness of pollution and polluters, even at the expense public health.</p>	<p>17 (8)</p>

<p>5-15-18</p>	<p><b>Law and Order.</b> At an event commemorating fallen police officers, Mr. Trump banded on Hispanic gangs, sanctuary cities, illegal immigration, those who criticize police abuses, and measures that he viewed as being soft on crime. He also boasted of his controversial program to arm local police units with free, surplus, heavy military weaponry.</p> <p>CSD deeply respects and admires our police officers. But we are wary of appeals for police immunity or for emotionally-pumped calls for police department aggrandizement, especially when combined with racial and xenophobic animus. We also question the motives of a law-and-order president who had pardoned several prominent criminals for political purposes; whose pre-presidential life had been characterized by associations with criminals; and who himself appeared to have repeatedly skirted if not violated the law in his business and political affairs. But for us it was less a matter of hypocrisy than of autocracy.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>5-16-18 +</p>	<p><b>Hounding them.</b> At a meeting with conservative California leaders in Washington, Mr. Trump referred to some or all undocumented immigrants as "animals" – for at least the sixth time, as documented by The Huffington Post.<sup>1</sup> (Whether he had been referring to some or to all immigrants became a question of controversy but was irrelevant; he had not so repeatedly referred to whites or white criminals as animals; and he had typically failed to distinguish between brown migrant criminals and non-criminals when attacking them in the past.)</p> <p>On April 18, CSD had cited the ugly and dangerous history of demagogues referring to ethnic minorities as sub-humans. Following this new episode, Vox cited psychological studies that demonstrated graphically and dramatically how such dehumanization works on populations, plus preliminary indications that Mr. Trump was achieving that with ours.<sup>2</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump also urged Attorney General Jeff Sessions to prosecute Mr. Trump's antagonist, the mayor of Oakland, for having publicly warned immigrants of an imminent federal dragnet in February. (Sessions was present, but did not respond; he had previously declined to prosecute the mayor at Mr. Trump's request, presumably because he felt that that prosecution would have been unlawful.)  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>

5-16-18 +	<u>[Continued.]</u> On May 23, at a Long Island site of Hispanic gang violence, Mr. Trump, defiantly, used the term "animals" again to describe the gang members, detailing their crimes lugubriously.	6, 9, 11
5-16-18	<b><u>Pruitt misleads Congress.</u></b> Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt repeatedly lied at a Senate hearing, as reported by The New York Times and The Washington Post. A bring-down of his torrent of ethical and legal offenses – most of them previously reported by CSD – appears at this link to The Post. <sup>3</sup> Now under 16 investigations, he continued to enjoy Mr. Trump's support.	17 (7, 11, 15, 16)
5-16-18	<b><u>Blaming Dems for sundering migrant families.</u></b> Having drawn much criticism for seeking to deter Central American migrants by separating children from their parents, on May 16 Mr. Trump falsely blamed Democrats for mandating that. In truth, as The Associated Press reported, in 2008 a unanimous Congress had created shelters for migrant children and their parents, and President George W. Bush had signed the law; it was Mr. Trump who was newly and deliberately tearing apart families by arresting the parents and sending the children to shelters. He would repeat the allegation about Democrats on May 26 and beyond.	7, 11
5-17-18	<b><u>More witch talk.</u></b> Via Twitter, Mr. Trump yet again complained of " <i>the greatest Witch Hunt in American History,</i> " and he wrote (yet again) that the Democrats, not he, had colluded with Russia in the 2016 presidential campaign. He added: " <i>Despite the disgusting, illegal and unwarranted Witch Hunt, we have had the most successful first 17 month Administration in U.S. history – by far! Sorry to the Fake News Media ... .</i> " None of that was true.	1, 7, 9, 11, 12
5-18-18 +	<b><u>Punishing Amazon.</u></b> On May 18, The Los Angeles Times and The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had several times personally pressed the postmaster general to double Amazon's postage rates for package deliveries; and that she had refused because that would have broken the postal service's contract with Amazon, as well as jeopardized an arrangement that she considered profitable for the service. Two days later, Mr. Trump's chief economic advisor, Larry Kudlow, told ABC News that he had no opinion on the matter, indicating that Mr. Trump was acting individually rather than as a matter of considered government policy. <u>[Continued below.]</u>	9, 10, 11

<p>5-18-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Mr. Trump's intervention was remarkable for its apparent personal and political motivation – his animus toward Jeff Bezos, Amazon's founder and the owner of Mr. Trump's nemesis, The Post. To CSD's knowledge, Mr. Trump (or any other recent president) had not intervened so directly in any other commercial relationship between the government and one of its customers or suppliers, let alone for personal reasons. We had presented in detail the legal import of Mr. Trump's attempt to destroy Bezos and the Amazon enterprise in our entries of July 24, 2017; and March 29, April 2, April 3, April 5, and April 13, 2018.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>5-19-18+</p>	<p><b>Many tries at conspiracy; DOJ briefing.</b> In the wake of the recent (false) claim by Mr. Trump and his allies that the FBI had infiltrated his election campaign (rather, it had merely tasked an informant with engaging several campaign figures who had had suspicious Russia ties in order to ensure that they were not susceptible to blackmail, an apparently common FBI operation), on May 19 CNN listed many previous (false) conspiracy theories that Mr. Trump and his allies had advanced since his election: that President Obama had tapped the wires in Trump Tower; that the Obama administration had "unmasked" and spied on Trump transition officials; that an anti-Trump secret society existed within the FBI; and that the FBI used the unproven Steele dossier of Mr. Trump's activities in Russia to initiate its investigation of his campaign's ties with that country, thus tainting the entire investigation. Soon afterwards, CNN recalled several of Mr. Trump's conspiracy theories that had pre-dated his election: that President Obama had not been born in the U.S.; that Senator Ted Cruz's father may have participated in the assassination of President Kennedy; and that MSNBC host Joe Scarborough may have murdered one of his staffers. On May 29, the New York Times added two more: that Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia may have been murdered; and that the U.S. government had known in advance of the September 11 attacks.</p> <p>But Mr. Trump persisted in alleging infiltration, and on May 20 he tweeted <u>a threat that he would imminently order that the Justice Department investigate whether under President Obama the FBI had infiltrated his campaign for political purposes – a move that bore the potential to spark a crisis within the department.</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12</p>

<p>5-19-18+</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein shortly responded, by way of a perceived compromise but nevertheless remarkably, that the department's inspector general (its internal ethical watchdog, not a criminal prosecutorial unit) would look into the matter. And on May 22, the Justice Department agreed to brief Congressional Republicans on May 24 on the activities of the FBI informant – initially, and astonishingly, excluding Democrats, until the Democrats demanded inclusion. Disturbingly, one of Mr. Trump's lawyers and his chief of staff John Kelly also attended the briefing, even though his own campaign was a subject of the criminal investigation.</u></p> <p><u>The series of episodes represented the first instance in which Mr. Trump had gone beyond complaints and bluster to actually intervene in the Justice Department's investigation; and they appeared to be unprecedented since President Nixon's comparable abuses.</u></p> <p>No evidence of spying visibly emerged from the May 24 briefing, or beyond. But for weeks after the initial claim, Mr. Trump would continue almost daily and sometimes more often, typically by Twitter, to allege, without evidence, that a "criminal deep state" had spied on his campaign, that the investigation of his campaign was "rigged," that "corrupt" Democrats (including within the FBI) were dogging him because they regretted losing the presidential election, that Democrats (particularly Hillary Clinton) rather than his campaign should be investigated, that the investigators would tamper with the mid-term congressional elections, and the like</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>5-19-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Like mad.</u></b> On May 19, The New York Times reported that Donald Trump, Jr. had been offered illegal campaign assistance by the governments of Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates in 2016 and that special prosecutor Robert Mueller was investigating that circumstance. The following morning (a Sunday), in an angry stream of six tweets (containing 11 misstatements, according to CNN), Mr. Trump condemned the "Failing and Crooked" Times, "Crooked" Hillary Clinton, and the "Witch Hunt" against him (which he maintained was being perpetrated by Democrats within the FBI). He also called for "real Americans" to "get tough" on the "Scam," and he spun out extensive conspiracy theories about the FBI protecting Democrats. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>



5-19-18 +	<u>[Continued.]</u> But by now such allegations, threats and tirades had become routine, and barely newsworthy. Had any previous president issued even one of them, one time, it would have rocked the nation. The public's tolerance for the degradation of discourse, honesty and the rule of law under Mr. Trump's tenure was momentous.	1, 7, 9, 11
5-20-18	<b><u>Pruitt is resisted.</u></b> The Washington Post identified numerous deregulatory moves by Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt – including the easing of requirements for storing toxic waste – that were being effectively resisted by agency staff, by other federal agencies, or by private litigants for failing to adhere to scientific evidence and/or appropriate internal review. <sup>4</sup> Other matters that had been effectively resisted: easing truck emissions, easing automobile fuel efficiency standards, and easing limits on methane gas leaks from hydrocarbon extraction. More than 70 lawsuits had been filed, and the EPA had lost four out of the six that had come to conclusion. But a far larger number of Pruitt's deregulatory efforts appeared to have advanced.	17 (8)
5-21-18	<b><u>Kim on a coin.</u></b> The Trump administration struck a commemorative coin featuring the faces of Mr. Trump and North Korea's brutal dictator Kim Jong-un in advance of their planned summit meeting in June. Never before had a commemorative coin paired a president with a despot.	12
5-21-18	<b><u>Data security – who, me?</u></b> Politico reported that Mr. Trump refused to use a secure cell phone for his personal communications, despite his long-standing and continuing condemnations of Hillary Clinton for having used an unsecured email server while secretary of state.	10
5-23-18	<b><u>Twitter ban unconstitutional.</u></b> A federal district court in New York ruled that Mr. Trump's practice of blocking critics from responding to his tweets violated the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech in a public forum.	3
5-24-18	<b><u>Taking the knee: treason?</u></b> Reacting to the National Football League's decision to ban its players from conducting on-field protests of perceived racial injustice during the playing of the national anthem, Mr. Trump suggested that protesting players should leave the country.	3, 6

<p>5-24-18 +</p>	<p><b>Kim off the coin, into the dumpster, and back.</b> On May 24, Mr. Trump abruptly canceled his planned June 12 nuclear summit with North Korea, following a flurry of mixed and at times inflammatory messages from himself, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Vice President Mike Pence and National Security Advisor John Bolton as to America's expectations for North Korea's concessions, and amid the realization that North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un was not prepared to unilaterally disarm (as most observers had long predicted). The summit's plans had followed precipitously a months'-long exchange of insults between Mr. Trump and Kim; it was canceled without prior notice to America's ally, South Korea, which had facilitated it; and it ended with Mr. Trump renewing veiled threats of military action against North Korea.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's supporters characterized his declaration of the summit's end as a "gutsy" move; his critics as the fumbling of a recklessly executed gambit, an unnecessary insult to Kim, an embarrassment to South Korea, and a confidence-killer and strategic opening for China. Within days, in fact, the summit was back on. In astonishing public remarks, on June 6 Mr. Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani said it was because Kim had gotten "on his hands and knees and begged" for the meeting to be restored.</p> <p>As Politico would report on June 7, on the threshold of the negotiations, Mr. Trump appeared to have foregone most of the customary preparatory security briefings.<sup>5</sup></p> <p>CSD continues to not comment on the merits of specific U.S. diplomatic and strategic initiatives except to the extent that they appear to coddle dictators, gratuitously abrogate international comity, attempt to humiliate former presidents, damage America's standing by betraying massive executive disorder, or otherwise jeopardize or discredit our democracy. Mr. Trump's lead-up to the North Korea summit appeared to have evidenced at least four of those exceptions.</p> <p>Nevertheless, as ever, we continued to hope for the best.</p>	<p>10, 13</p>

<p>5-24-18</p>	<p><b><u>No asylum.</u></b> In a Fox News interview, Mr. Trump again erroneously claimed that the U.S. employed "thousands" of immigration judges to try asylum cases (there are fewer than 400). He also said without explanation that the asylum system was "corrupt." And he hinted that there should be no judges whatever; that asylum seekers should be denied an opportunity to advance their claims; and that everyone who sought to enter our southern border should simply be turned away by security forces. Notably, his practice of imprisoning migrants and harshly separating them from their children (see CSD's entry of May 16, above) was being applied to asylum seekers who had lawfully presented themselves at the border. In all, Mr. Trump's rejection of the convention of asylum (and of due process for asylum seekers) represented <u>an abrogation of one of the most revered doctrines of international human rights, as embodied in the 1951 United Nations Refugee Convention that was adopted following the Holocaust, and that currently is honored by democracies (and even many non-democracies) worldwide.</u></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>5-25-18</p>	<p><b><u>Funny (Russian) money.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Viktor Vekselberg, a billionaire Russian oligarch whom the U.S. had since sanctioned for participating in Russia's meddling with the U.S. presidential election, together with his cousin and business associate Andrew Intrater, before and after Mr. Trump's inauguration met several times with Mr. Trump's lawyer Michael Cohen, now under state and federal investigation. They discussed how the Trump administration could advance Russian national interests; and Intrater agreed to pay Cohen a \$1,000,000 consulting fee through his investment firm, Columbus Nova. Intrater also donated \$250,000 to Mr. Trump's inaugural committee. Special prosecutor Robert Mueller was investigating.</p>	<p>17 (12, 15)</p>
<p>5-25-18</p>	<p><b><u>R-e-s-p-e-c-t.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's address at the U.S. Naval Academy's commencement exercises was heavy on pride and power, but unusually light on policy, strategy and ideals. Specifically, he boasted about his spending on building naval vessels and on otherwise increasing the size of the U.S. military. And he said that he had caused America to be "respected again" – repeating the claim from his May 10 rally in Indiana that CSD had noted then and remained mystified by.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>5-26-18 +</p>	<p><b>Mixing it with China.</b> On May 26, The Huffington Post reported that the Chinese government had granted six new trademarks to presidential daughter and advisor Ivanka Trump's fashion business. On May 28, Politico reported that she had just won another mark, bringing to 13 the number of Chinese trademarks she had been awarded in the last three months, plus eight provisional marks. .</p> <p>Politico wrote: <i>"Taken together, the trademarks could allow her brand to market a lifetime's worth of products in China, from baby blankets to coffins, and a host of things in between, including perfume, make-up, bowls, mirrors, furniture, books, coffee, chocolate and honey."</i></p> <p>HuffPost noted that the grants roughly coincided with Mr. Trump rescinding sanctions on ZTE, a Chinese cell phone manufacturer – despite its trading with North Korea and Iran in violation of U.S. sanctions law, and despite its products' broadly perceived threats to American cyber-security – enraging both Republicans and Democrats in Congress. Also contemporaneously, China agreed to lend \$500 million to an Indonesian theme park project in which Mr. Trump was a partner.</p> <p>For CSD, the conflicts of interest were apparent. But in fairness, Mr. Trump's then current policies toward China seemed to mix hostility and appeasement erratically. By way of example, Mr. Trump had marginalized China relative to his dealings with North Korea; and on May 27 he provocatively sent a naval convoy through South China Sea waters claimed by China. Recent Washington Post pieces characterized as cacophonous and dysfunctional the fraught divisions and waffling within his administration's China trade policy<sup>6</sup>. Indeed, with China as with many other matters, one of Mr. Trump's few consistencies (other than authoritarianism, capriciousness, dishonesty, racism and self-promotion) appeared to lie in the advancement of his and his family's business interests.</p>	<p>10, 15</p>
<p>5-27-18</p>	<p><b>The young and beautiful.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Who's going to give back the young and beautiful lives (and others) that have been devastated and destroyed by the phony Russia Collusion Witch Hunt? They journeyed down to Washington, D.C., with stars in their eyes and wanting to help our nation...They went back home in tatters!"</i> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>11, 12</p>

<p>5-27-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] It was impossible to know to whom Mr. Trump was referring: his five subordinates who had already pleaded guilty to investigated offenses? his attorney and self-professed "fixer" Michael Cohen who was under investigation for an ever-growing list of grotesque activities? his communications directors and press secretaries who had routinely and avidly purveyed and defended his falsehoods? his multitude of corrupt cabinet members and senior advisors? or any of the many others in his orbit who seemed destined for eternal and eminently deserved disgrace?</p>	<p>11, 12</p>
<p>5-29-18</p>	<p><b>Stoking sadism in Tennessee.</b> At a raucous campaign rally for a Senate candidate in Nashville, Mr. Trump mocked the candidate's opponent as a nobody. He pounded the news media, "crooked" Hillary Clinton, undocumented migrants, and his "enemies." Referring to a notorious Hispanic criminal gang, he called House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi an "MS-13 lover"; and while working the audience "into a frenzy" (according to The New York Times), he drew from the crowd a cry that MS-13 members were "animals" – Mr. Trump's own notorious word for Hispanic migrants. He boasted about his popularity, his accomplishments, his expensive leather binder, the size of his hands, and the luxuriant construction of the new American embassy in Jerusalem. He reiterated his frequent falsehood that the FBI had infiltrated his campaign. He also reiterated his frequent falsehood that the Democrats were intending to destroy the Second Amendment and the right to bear arms. He said, without knowledge, "<i>Our [immigration] laws are the worst laws of any country anywhere in the world.</i>" He said, inaccurately, "<i>We have triumphed over evil like nobody has seen before.</i>"</p> <p>But perhaps most notably, in a display of hatred, domination and gratuitous cruelty toward Mexico and Mexicans, he said, "<i>In the end, Mexico's going to pay for the wall. ... They're going to pay for the wall, and they're going to enjoy it, OK? They're going to enjoy it.</i>" Mexico's president shortly responded by Twitter: "<i>President @realDonaldTrump: NO. Mexico will NEVER pay for a wall. Not now, not ever. Sincerely, Mexico (all of us).</i>"</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>5-29-18, 6-5-18</p>	<p><b>Obstructing Sessions.</b> On May 29 and June 5, Mr. Trump tweeted that he regretted having chosen Jeff Sessions as his attorney general – his most recent efforts to humiliate Sessions and (seemingly) to cause him to resign, so that Mr. Trump could replace him with someone who would end the special prosecutor's investigation of Russian election-meddling and presidential obstruction of justice.</p> <p>Also on May 29, The New York Times reported that in early 2017 Mr. Trump had sought to convince Sessions to reverse his recusal from the investigation. All of these moves themselves appeared to amount to obstruction of justice.</p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>
<p>5-29-18</p>	<p><b>Ignoring the GAO.</b> Democrats on the House Oversight Committee released a May 9 letter to White House counsel from counsel for the Government Accountability Office, the chief government watchdog, alleging that the White House had stopped responding to all information requests, which previous administrations had routinely honored.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>5-30-18</p>	<p><b>Roseanne and me.</b> After ABC canceled the weekly series of the television sitcom actress and conspiracy theorist Roseanne Barr following her grievously racist tweet insulting President Obama's advisor Valerie Jarrett (she had similarly insulted President Obama's national security advisor Susan Rice in 2013), Mr. Trump reacted not with a condemnation of bigotry but with a stunning combination of racial insensitivity and narcissism: <i>"Bob Iger of ABC called Valerie Jarrett to let her know that 'ABC does not tolerate comments like those' made by Roseanne Barr. Gee, he never called President Donald J. Trump to apologize for the HORRIBLE statements made and said about me on ABC. Maybe I just didn't get the call?"</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump's response appeared to be official. At a press briefing that shortly followed, his press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders doubled-down on it, at length, from a prepared script. Mr. Trump himself tweeted again on the subject of ABC's alleged unfairness the following day.</p> <p>He and Barr had supported one another reciprocally: Barr in her vocal political views, Mr. Trump in his congratulatory call to her on the success of the series in which she was cast (true to life) as a Trump supporter.</p>	<p>11, 17 (6)</p>

<p>5-31-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pardon me.</u></b> On May 31, Mr. Trump announced that he would pardon pundit Dinesh D'Souza relative to his 2014 guilty plea for violating campaign finance laws. D'Souza is a radically provocative racist, birther, slavery apologist and conspiracy theorist – known, among many other things, for racially disparaging President Obama – as documented by The Huffington Post.<sup>7</sup> Many observers had found him to be not merely hyper-partisan, but uniquely cruel. Mr. Trump also said that he might shortly commute the sentence of former Illinois governor Rod Blagojevich relative to his 2010 bribery conviction; and pardon television personality and entrepreneur Martha Stewart relative to her 2004 conviction for obstructing justice and lying to investigators in connection with her insider trading activities. Both Blagojevich and Stewart had appeared on Mr. Trump's reality television program, <i>The Apprentice</i>.</p> <p>Mr. Trump had recently issued pardons to Arizona sheriff, prisoner abuser, birther and anti-immigration agitator Joe Arpaio (also a uniquely cruel man) relative to his 2017 conviction for violating a court order that had barred his racial profiling practices; to Scooter Libby, former Vice President Dick Cheney's chief of staff relative to his 2007 conviction for his role in outing a CIA operative for political reasons; and (posthumously – which was unusual – at the request of Sylvester Stallone) to the first black heavyweight boxing champion, Jack Johnson, relative to his 1913 conviction for violating Jim Crow laws. He had also commuted the sentence of Shalom Rubashkin, the CEO of the country's largest kosher slaughterhouse, who had been convicted of scores of financial crimes.</p> <p>The odd <i>media/celebrity</i> nexus to clemency continued in the days following, as the wives of Blagojevich and George Papadopoulos – the Trump presidential campaign's foreign policy advisor who had pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI about his Russia contacts – called for their husbands to be pardoned during appearances on Fox News, a station from which Mr. Trump was known to take many of his political cues. On June 6, Mr. Trump commuted the life sentence of Alice Marie Johnson, an aging, non-violent drug offender, at the urging of television celebrity and prison reform advocate Kim Kardashian, with whom he had met and posed for photos. On June 8, he said he might posthumously pardon Muhammad Ali for a draft evasion conviction – which had already been overturned. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 12, 17 (6)</p>
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<p>5-31-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump's unusual alignment with <i>extremists</i> in these developments also continued, as (according to The Washington Post) he mulled pardoning Dwight and Steven Hammond, two Oregon ranchers who were convicted in 2012 of committing arson on federal lands and whose cases inspired an armed, anti-government militia to lay siege to a federal land preserve in 2016 for 41 days.<sup>8</sup></p> <p>The White House said on May 31 that a dozen more pardons would likely ensue. The Post wrote that he was asking friends whom to pardon. On June 8, he said he was asking NFL players.</p> <p>Mr. Trump argued that the punishments of D'Souza, Blagojevich and Stewart were unduly harsh; in fairness, some others had previously argued the same; and Mr. Trump himself had complained of Blagojevich's long sentence long before he had sought the presidency.</p> <p>But pardons and commutations are ordinarily granted only after a Justice Department process, pursuant to which the criminal has requested that relief and has shown contrition – which had not occurred in any of the above cases except for Alice Johnson's. In fact, according to The York Times, of nearly 200 petitions for clemency that had come to Mr. Trump's desk in the ordinary course in April alone, he had denied them all.<sup>9</sup></p> <p>More disturbingly, with the possible exception of Alice Johnson, <u>what each of those actual and potential acts of clemency had in common was that they were politically motivated</u>: directly benefiting highly visible supporters or potential supporters of Mr. Trump, and/or appealing to their potentially numerous sympathizers. Other recent presidents too had issued (controversial) political pardons, but not exclusively or preponderantly: they had pardoned mainly unknown individuals for humanitarian reasons. And even Alice Johnson's commutation by Mr. Trump may have been political: she was black; President Obama had declined to grant her clemency; she was championed by a television celebrity; and Mr. Trump had not yet shown any serious interest in drug sentencing reform, but rather had allowed or encouraged his attorney general Jeff Sessions to order the opposite policy – maximum sentencing. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 12, 17 (6)</p>
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<p>5-31-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD views Mr. Trump's early and (so far) nearly exclusive deployment of the "political" pardon as intended to and succeeding in <u>undermining the independence of the judicial system in favor of his own political fortunes</u>. But the pardons and commutations, whether actual or merely contemplated, were disturbing for many additional reasons. Again, with the possible exception of Alice Johnson:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They stoked Mr. Trump's narrative of a criminal justice system gone wild against minor offenders (a narrative that he had to date been applying to investigations of himself and his associates); i.e., that the criminals were actually victims.</li> <li>2. They continued to signal to Mr. Trump's many former subordinates who were under investigation and indictment that he might pardon them if they declined to turn on him.</li> <li>3. They forgave many of the specific crimes for which Mr. Trump himself and his associates were at risk of punishment, as detailed by Fortune.<sup>10</sup></li> <li>4. They may have even been announced as vengeful humiliations of some of the prosecutors who had convicted the particular criminals and whom Mr. Trump had since determined to be his political enemies – such as Preet Bharara, former U.S. Attorney in New York (who had convicted D'Souza) and former FBI director James Comey (who had convicted Stewart), as hypothesized by Quartz.<sup>11</sup></li> <li>5. Of equally profound concern, the sequential pardons of Arpaio and D'Souza – two of the country's leading birthers (Mr. Trump himself being a third) – may have reflected his deep, even visceral affinity toward them relative to their shared, viciously racial hatred for President Obama.</li> <li>6. A number of reports indicated that Mr. Trump had also taken great personal delight in his pardons, possibly reveling in the sort of omnipotence (optically, practically, and constitutionally) that they displayed – no other branch of the government could check him. [Continued below.]</li> </ol>	<p>2, 9, 11, 12, 17 (6)</p>
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<p>5-31-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> Much more was to come. On June 4, <u>Mr. Trump</u> tweeted that he had the "absolute right" to pardon <u>himself</u> – a position that even previous presidents facing potential criminal charges (Nixon, Clinton) had not publicly articulated (and that the Supreme Court might not agree with, should it come to that).</p> <p>That tweet had followed public and (recently revealed) private statements by Mr. Trump's attorneys that, because he was the president, and regardless of his motives (seemingly even corrupt ones), he could direct the Justice Department to do anything he wished; could not be indicted or subpoenaed, even for murder; was not capable under the law of obstructing justice; and could issue a pardon to himself. By implication, <u>Mr. Trump and his attorneys apparently believed that he could pardon himself for such crimes as child molestation, murder and treason. And per the claims of his attorneys, he could direct the Justice Department to persecute his political enemies.</u> Those outlooks compared to then-former President Nixon's infamous televised remark in 1977, <i>"When the president does it, that means that it is not illegal."</i></p> <p><u>Mr. Trump also tweeted on June 4 that the appointment of special prosecutor Robert Mueller had been "totally UNCONSTITUTIONAL!"</u></p> <p>In all, for CSD, the episodes re-confirmed Mr. Trump's primal view of law enforcement: that it should be ruthless for brown street criminals and Democratic adversaries, but absent for himself, his abettors, and those whose celebrity could otherwise help him stay in office; also that <u>he could overrule, and was beyond the reach of, the Justice Department and the courts. It was the opposite of separation of powers and of the rule of law.</u></p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 12, 17 (6)</p>

<p>5-31-18</p>	<p><b><u>Blasting the media – inaccurately.</u></b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump accused the mainstream media of lying for having reported that he had fired then FBI director James Comey due to the Russia election probe – when Mr. Trump had admitted as much himself on camera. He also falsely tweeted that ABC had failed to apologize for or discipline a reporter who had erred in accusing Mr. Trump of directing his then national security advisor Michael Flynn to make contact with Russians. The tweets followed a May 26 allegation by Mr. Trump that The New York Times had quoted an imaginary official regarding the scheduling of North Korea talks, when in fact it had paraphrased a senior White House aide whose identity shortly became known and widely reported. In sum, not satisfied with bashing the media for things it had actually done, he was now bashing it for things it had not done.</p>	<p>1, 7</p>
<p>6-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Leaking the jobs report.</u></b> Contrary to decades of protocol and possibly law, Mr. Trump tweeted a hint of a favorable monthly jobs report an hour before its public release by the Bureau of Labor Statistics -- thus immediately moving financial markets, enabling his Twitter followers to profit, and potentially politicizing the process of the report's production and dissemination. Such a leak by any other government servant would have been grounds for immediate termination. Mr. Trump had previously leaked classified information about an Islamic State terrorist threat (he told Russian diplomats in May 2017) and U.S. military strikes in Syria (he told a fundraising audience in May 2018).</p> <p>Whether Mr. Trump's casual disclosures of protected information were intended to win favor from the recipients, or to show off his knowledge, or both, was unknown. The Washington Post offered a third theory, and its consequences: <i>"[B]ecause of Trump's penchant for blurting out sensitive information — often, apparently, simply because it is at the top of his mind — many West Wing aides and advisers privately say they are hesitant to share anything with Trump that they do not want to become public."</i> On June 4, Politico would report that Mr. Trump's former chief economic advisor Gary Cohn did just that – withheld the jobs numbers from Mr. Trump, so that he wouldn't reveal them. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>8, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>6-1-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] That Mr. Trump had persistently derided as meaningless the positive jobs report figures under President Obama's administration was its own matter – suggesting not merely hypocrisy of the highest order, but an attempt to manipulate the credibility of empirically developed governmental data.</p>	<p>8, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>6-4-18</p>	<p><b><u>Radicalizing both Europe and America's role there.</u></b> Reported in the U.S. by Politico, Mr. Trump's ambassador to Germany, Richard Grenell, told Breitbart London that he wanted to "empower" anti-establishment, anti-"elite," anti-immigration, populist, and (CSD would infer) xenophobic and authoritarian forces in Europe.<sup>12</sup> Grenell's statements were shocking not only for their call for the U.S. to interfere with the politics of our European allies, but for their <u>threat to Europe's democratic resurrection that had followed its authoritarian calamity of the mid-twentieth century. To ignore Europe's recent history and to encourage the xenophobia currently sweeping that continent seemed to CSD at once ignorant, incendiary, and unforgivable.</u></p>	<p>17 (6, 9, 12, 13)</p>
<p>6-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>Flags vs. football.</u></b> After most members of the Philadelphia Eagles football team had declined to attend a celebration at the White House of their February Super Bowl win, Mr. Trump hastily staged a replacement celebration there, dramatically featuring the Marine Band, the Army Chorus, a military march, the American national anthem, and many American flags. In his remarks he implied that NFL players who had protested racial injustice during the playing of the national anthem, and possibly the entire Eagles team, opposed America. (No Eagles players had engaged in such protests.) He also said that fallen military heroes were looking upon him fondly from heaven. In addition, he boasted about the strength of the economy under his presidency.</p> <p>The crowd in attendance appeared largely to consist of federal workers invited by the White House and masquerading as Eagles fans.<sup>13</sup> Mr. Trump, true to form, boasted about the size of the crowd.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>6-5-18</p>	<p><b>UN condemns US for separating migrant children.</b> The United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights charged that the Trump administration's practice, since May, of imprisoning adult migrants (including lawful asylum seekers) and separating their children from them in order to deter migration violated international human rights laws and treaties to which the U.S. was a party. U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley responded by calling the OHCHR "ignorant" and "hypocritical." She added, with a defiance toward the UN that resembled that which commonly issues from regimes that broadly abuse human rights: <i>“Neither the United Nations nor anyone else will dictate how the United States upholds its borders.”</i></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>6-5-18, 6-6-18</p>	<p><b>Pruitt vs. Kushner.</b> On June 5, The Huffington Post listed ten new ethics scandals that Environmental Protection Agency chief Scott Pruitt had been nabbed in within just the last month: splurging on customized fountain pens, dispatching an aide for months finding him an apartment, asking another aide to help his wife procure a Chick-Fil-A franchise, trying to buy a used mattress from the Trump International Hotel in Washington (what?!), and on.<sup>14</sup></p> <p>But the next day, a Washington Post columnist tellingly found Pruitt's four- and five-figure adventures in grifting to be trivial compared to the nine-figure adventures of Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner: using his government office to win a \$120 million real estate investment from one source and \$500 million from another – not to mention the trademark approvals worth potentially millions that Kushner's wife, Ivanka Trump, had scored from the Chinese government for her fashion business.<sup>15</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 11, 15)</p>
<p>6-5-18</p>	<p><b>An absence at Justice.</b> The Wall Street Journal reported that the White House had given up trying to appoint an Associate Attorney General, the number-three position in the Department of Justice, because no one wanted the job. The previous number-three, Rachel Brand, had resigned, seemingly at least in part over fears that she could be asked to replace the number-two, Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein (who supervised special prosecutor Robert Mueller) in the event Mr. Trump dismissed Rosenstein and a constitutional crisis ensued. Other top positions at Justice remained vacant as well, and the vacancies were reportedly slowing the department's effectiveness. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 12</p>

6-5-18	<p>[Continued.] The Journal added that in the past week Mr. Trump had tweeted about the Russia probe and the Justice Department – both of which he was unremittingly antagonistic towards – more than 20 times.</p>	9, 10, 12
6-7-18	<p><b><u>ACA – the final blow?</u></b> In response to a filing by several Republican-controlled states claiming that the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") was unconstitutional, the Justice Department declined to defend the law – a highly irregular move by the federal government. (The Washington Post's editorial board subsequently wrote, on June 10: <i>"Defending major, duly passed federal statutes is a core Justice Department responsibility. If it defended only laws the president liked, uncertainty about the permanence of many laws would reign, particularly as the presidency changed hands."</i>) And the department went so far as to argue that the ACA's requirement that insurers cover pre-existing conditions was unconstitutional, thus breaking Mr. Trump's campaign promise to protect that provision.<sup>16</sup> <u>For political reasons and (likely) personal vengeance against President Obama, Mr. Trump continued to wish to see the health care law die without a replacement plan in place, regardless of the impact on the health of tens of millions of Americans.</u> Indeed, The Wall Street Journal reported that insurers were unnerved, foresaw market turbulence, and predicted big premium spikes for the old and the ill.<sup>17</sup></p>	9, 11
6-8-18 +	<p><b><u>At the G-7: Russia "da," allies "nyet."</u></b> On June 8, <u>just before the economic summit in Canada of the Group of 7 -- America's closest and strongest allies -- Mr. Trump told reporters that the group should readmit Russia, after its having expelled that country for annexing Crimea in 2014.</u></p> <p>He said nothing about the annexation, but as before he appeared to acquiesce to it, as well as to Russia's meddling in the elections of the U.S. and some other G-7 countries. The Washington Post reported that the National Security Council had no prior notice that Mr. Trump was going to propose readmitting Russia, and that both Republicans and Democrats in Congress were appalled by the proposal. In fact, on that very day, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats warned that the Kremlin was proceeding to interfere in U.S. mid-term elections in "unprecedented" ways, and was attempting to break up Western alliances. He called it <i>"an all-out assault by Vladimir Putin on the rule of law, Western ideals and democratic norms."</i> [Continued below.]</p>	7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14

<p>6-8-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] But Mr. Trump had already incited turmoil going into the G-7 meeting, having recently launched tariffs against and trade disputes with the other members, threatened an all-or-nothing negotiation for American interests with them at the summit, refused in advance to enter into a joint statement with them about shared principles and values; specifically objected to such a statement's perfunctory embrace of a "rules-based international order"; announced that he would leave the meeting early (thus avoiding discussions about climate change); and at one point in the previous days even said that he didn't want to attend at all.</p> <p>Still in advance of the summit, The New York Times wrote that, the previous day, "<i>President Emmanuel Macron of France and Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada lashed out at Mr. Trump for imposing tariffs on their steel and aluminum industries. They called it an illegal economic assault on their countries that is unanimously opposed by the other leaders of the Group of 7 ...</i></p> <p><i>"There have been disagreements within the G-7 in the past .... But rarely — if ever — has there been the kind of visceral and unanimous outrage at an American president among the United States' most important allies. Mr. Trump has repeatedly poked his counterparts in the eye — ignoring their pleas to remain a part of the Paris climate treaty, the Trans-Pacific Partnership trade pact and the Iran nuclear deal, and more recently by branding their steel and aluminum industries threats to national security, and therefore subject to tariffs."</i></p> <p>As the summit unfolded, Mr. Trump showed up late for several meeting sessions; his disagreements with the others were heated, as he reportedly mocked and insulted the other leaders; he was often inattentive to the others' remarks<sup>18</sup>; he threatened to stop trade with some allies altogether; and (incidentally) at a press conference he extensively pummeled the American news media between boasts about his negotiating skills and friendships with foreign leaders. As threatened, he left the summit early. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-8-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Soon after the summit, he reiterated his desire to admit Russia to the group; reacting to frank follow-up statements by Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, he tweeted that Trudeau was "very dishonest and weak"; he threatened to escalate the trade war; and, after having agreed while in session to sign the group's joint communiqué, he retracted.</p> <p>The Times captured the June 9 aftermath: <i>"Shortly before leaving the annual meeting ... President Trump boasted that it had been 'tremendously successful' and that on a scale of 0 to 10, 'the relationship is a 10.' Fewer than nine hours later, <u>the relationship was plummeting toward a zero. With a petulant tweetstorm from Air Force One, Mr. Trump all but blew up the Group of 7 nations that the United States has led for more than four decades and essentially declared open political war on America's closest neighbor. ... Mr. Trump's unvarnished post-summit Twitter insults aimed at Mr. Trudeau ... left the Canadian-American relationship at its most overtly hostile since, perhaps, the War of 1812.</u>"</i></p> <p>On June 10, Mr. Trump's aides, in what appeared to be an orchestrated endeavor, added to the fury on the Sunday talk shows. Chief economic advisor Larry Kudlow accused Trudeau of a "betrayal," and National Trade Council director Peter Navarro said that Trudeau deserved "a special place in hell." Conservative Washington Post columnist Max Boot wrote: <i>"<u>No U.S. officials have ever spoken this way about any U.S. ally, ever. These are the kind of words that normally precede military action.</u>"</i></p> <p>Russian President Vladimir Putin had already publicly gloated about the economic discord among his Western foes.<sup>19</sup> As many commentators noted, his efforts to help Mr. Trump's election seemed to be paying off.</p> <p>In any event, Mr. Trump's hostility toward long-allied democratic leaders contrasted starkly with his warmth toward and flattery of the dictators of Russia, North Korea, China, the Philippines, Egypt, Turkey, and Saudi Arabia (a remarkable collection of flattering quotes appears at this endnote<sup>20</sup>). He seemed bent on personally humiliating the former, while extolling and coddling the latter; even on weakening the NATO military alliance, which he had long derided. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-8-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] But just as disturbing as his preference for autocrats was his apparent preference for global instability. European Council President Donald Tusk said of the G-7 conference, notably using the disputed communiqué language, “What worries me most . . . is the fact that the rules-based international order is being challenged” – and by its chief architect, the U.S.</p> <p>For CSD, an explicit challenge to explicit rules set forth in treaties made for only part of the crisis. Mr. Trump's impetuous retraction of his agreement to the joint communiqué fortified us in our concern – stemming generally from Mr. Trump's profound volatility and unreliability, and more specifically from his previous withdrawals from the Paris climate accord, the Iran nuclear agreement and the Trans-Pacific Partnership – as to the extent to which another country would trust Mr. Trump or the U.S. to abide by any statement or agreement whatever going forward.</p> <p>What was Mr. Trump's goal in all of this? A New York Times columnist speculated: <i>“Maybe it’s ideological, and he prefers Putin-style authoritarianism to democracy. Or maybe he no grand strategy and Putin really does have some compromising information. Or maybe Trump just likes being against what every other modern American president was for.”</i><sup>21</sup></p> <p>CSD, however, would give Mr. Trump credit for at least an attempt at canny pragmatism: his avowed aim of using tariffs to help some industrial workers within his electoral base (even if at the expense of injuring many more workers and consumers); and his aim of looking strong in advance of his imminent summit with North Korea, as acknowledged by his aides (although the G-7 fiasco may well have had the opposite long-term effect). Still, we share the concerns of the columnist; and to those concerns we would add four more possibilities: Mr. Trump's prospect of profiting from future investments in Russia and other authoritarian countries; pure peevishness and impulsiveness; a compulsion to dominate; and a hostility toward high-minded and urbane foreign leaders whom he may have imagined as looking down on him culturally (see our entry of June 20, below). Because apart from angry tweets and raging claims at political rallies, he had not made a reasoned case that the U.S. was indeed on the losing end of global tariffs – which commentators on both the left and the right had found to be a phony charge. His claim of a trade deficit with Canada was plainly spurious.<sup>22</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>Shredding everything, and the law.</u></b> Politico reported that Mr. Trump routinely (and manually) shredded many or most documents on his desk after he had read them, in violation of the Presidential Records Act, and despite his staff's attempts to change his practice. A team of data management specialists had been tasked with taping together the shredded documents, until several of them were abruptly terminated this spring, without notice and without explanation.<sup>23</sup> Whether Mr. Trump's shredded papers had undergone re-assembly since then was not reported.</p>	<p>9, 10</p>
<p>6-11-18</p>	<p><b><u>Profiting: Jared and Ivanka.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that presidential advisors Ivanka Trump and Jared Kushner, Mr. Trump's daughter and son-in-law, while serving in the White House in 2017, had made at least \$82 million from their businesses, sometimes through endeavors in which their government positions posed potential or actual conflicts of interest.<sup>24</sup> The New York Times reported that the couple had engaged in \$147 million in transactions during that period, with unknown counter-parties – who, frankly, could have been anyone.<sup>25</sup></p>	<p>17 (15)</p>
<p>6-11-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>With Kim, in Singapore.</u></b> Before international television cameras, Mr. Trump met North Korean President Kim Jong-un with a warm and protracted handshake. Mr. Trump said that he was "honored" to meet with Kim, and that he expected to have a "terrific relationship"</p> <p>Kim was widely viewed as the world's most brutal dictator. He is worshipped as a near deity at home. The atrocities committed by him and his family against his own people almost defied description – he had directed the torture and imprisonment of thousands, the assassinations of his uncle and half-brother, the executions of foes by close-range anti-aircraft fire, and the allocation of massive government funds to weapons programs despite broad malnutrition. Nevertheless recent columns in The New York Times and The Washington Post undertook to summarize those atrocities.<sup>26</sup></p> <p>Following the handshake, in a break from American national security and diplomatic protocols, Mr. Trump met with Kim privately – that is, with no aides present, only interpreters. What they discussed will likely never be known.</p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>

<p>6-11-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] After a subsequent, longer session, Mr. Trump announced that he had agreed to stop joint U.S. military exercises with South Korea – without having first notified either South Korea or the Pentagon – and thus undermining the U.S.'s long alliance with the south. He also reiterated his aim to bring U.S. troops home from the south – which would abandon the south and cede regional hegemony to China. He promised no new sanctions on the north. He promised the north (unspecified) security guarantees.</p> <p><u>At the conclusion of the talks, Mr. Trump screened a fantasy video showing himself and a beaming Kim as glorious partners in the building of a prosperous and technologically advanced North Korea. He speculated that the country could enjoy world class beach hotels and condos (possibly built by himself?). He said that the meeting had been "fantastic," and that he and Kim had developed an "excellent relationship" and a "very special bond." He said, "We had great chemistry .... We had it right from the beginning." He characterized the outcome – warm relations and a path toward denuclearization of North Korea – as "very important," "comprehensive," and, implicitly, as triumphant and epochal. He said he was confident that Kim would begin dismantling his nuclear arsenal "very quickly." He characterized Kim himself as a "very talented man" who "wants to do the right thing," is a "very worthy, very smart negotiator," and is a "funny guy" with a "great personality" who "loves his people." He said, "I do trust him." At one point Mr. Trump saluted a North Korean general.</u></p> <p>Later, Mr. Trump tweeted that “<i>everybody can now feel much safer than the day I took office. There is no longer a Nuclear Threat from North Korea</i>”; also that “<i>President Obama said that North Korea was our biggest and most dangerous problem. No longer — sleep well tonight!</i>”</p> <p>Analysts, however, widely said that although the U.S. had made the concessions described above, Kim had agreed to nothing firm or new in the very brief written accord, other than to continue the talks. His more general promises of denuclearization were ones that North Korea had broken often in its dealings with prior American administrations. No discussions about North Korea's growing capabilities and provocations in the areas of cyber-attacks, ballistic missiles or chemical and biological weapons were reported.</p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] To the contrary, North Korea – and Kim individually – were widely seen as having benefited materially from Kim having scored a first, direct and much-publicized meeting with the president of the United States, as well as from the president's personal flattery. Some observed that Mr. Trump had been totally out-manuevered, had effectively (for better or worse) adopted the long-standing Democratic position of engaging with North Korea without immediate denuclearization, and at most had succeeded in defusing a crisis of his own creation.<sup>27</sup> Many noted that although the U.S. had not relaxed its economic sanctions on the strength of the summit, China and Russia were seen as inclined to do so, and other countries as likely to. For Kim's part, reports on his robust, self-congratulatory, internally-directed, post-summit propaganda spin appear at the links at this end note.<sup>28</sup></p> <p>As had occurred after the G-7 fiasco only days earlier, observers were also quick to contrast Mr. Trump's embrace of Kim with his denunciation of the G-7 leaders. The New York Times editorial board, referring to Kim and other dictators as "authoritarian thugs who crave respect and legitimacy" as well as gaudy pomp and ceremony, found in them men whom Mr. Trump respected precisely because of their willingness to deploy brutality to succeed in their self-aggrandizement; for whom he felt a genuine fondness; with whom he was truly comfortable; and with whom he shared, fraternally, the disdain of most of the Western world.<sup>29</sup></p> <p>Of such media criticism, Mr. Trump tweeted on June 13: ""Our Country's biggest enemy is the Fake News."</p> <p>CSD, of course, lauds a diplomatic course as superior to the recent exchange of insults and nuclear threats between the two leaders. And peace, prosperity and cultural modernization could eventually arrive in North Korea, with America's help. <u>But we are wary of preening, televised theatre designed to enthrall political constituents and disparage prior administrations, all at the possible expense of America's national interests. In addition, we would characterize Mr. Trump's public flattery of Kim as both deviant and perilous; his early triumphalism as truly epochal for its disingenuousness; and his claim that North Korea was no longer a nuclear threat as flat-out preposterous.</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Most commentators doubted that the North Korean regime would ever give up its nuclear weapons – the fruit of a long and expensive investment, and its key to power and survival – notwithstanding Mr. Trump's demands for and projections of that result. And just as the U.S. was justified in mistrusting North Korea, North Korea would appear to be justified in mistrusting Mr. Trump, who had distinguished his presidency not only by his dishonesty, but by changing his mind capriciously and continuously and by reneging on major international agreements.</p> <p>We believe that if a thaw between the two countries nevertheless were to ensue, even (and likely) without denuclearization, it will have been through Kim's build-out of his nuclear missile program, his staged (and not serious) threats to the U.S., his shrewd reading of Mr. Trump, and his canny diplomatic planning – not Mr. Trump's impulsive, ill-informed, volatile and vain reactions to events.</p> <p>We were not alone in our skepticism. North Koreans celebrated the summit's outcome. Except for Mr. Trump's most inveterate partisans, few Americans – among analysts, members of Congress and the media – appeared to have done so. One former senior official in President Bush's State Department called Mr. Trump's claim of success at the summit the work of a "huckster," "fantasist" and "grifter."<sup>30</sup> Only 21% of Americans polled bought the bait.<sup>31</sup></p> <p>We of course are not strategists or intelligence analysts, nor do we predict the future. We only chronicle behaviors.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
<p>6-13-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pruitt did it again.</u></b> On June 13, The Washington Post reported that Environmental Protection Agency administrator, radical deregulator and climate science denier Scott Pruitt, already plagued by many, many investigations of his self-indulgent spending of taxpayer money and other irregularities, had last year pressed a senior aide to spend months asking political donors to give or find his wife a job; and they did. Pruitt had likely acted unlawfully both in extracting free services from a subordinate and in procuring a personal benefit from the donors on the strength of his office. In a separate piece, The Post tallied Pruitt's known spending abuses while at the EPA as totaling nearly \$4,000,000.<sup>32</sup> In days following, reports appeared to the effect that Pruitt's misuse of staff, and his seeking politically charged favors from friends, was routine.<sup>33</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 15)</p>

<p>6-14-18</p>	<p><b><u>Trump Foundation is sued.</u></b> New York State's attorney general announced that she had sued Mr. Trump, his children Ivanka, Eric and Donald, Jr., and the Trump Foundation (their charitable giving arm) for "persistently illegal conduct" – that is, for having brazenly and systematically violated state non-profit laws over a period of ten years. Federal tax and campaign law violations were also suspected. The offenses included the foundation's having made grants for the benefit of Mr. Trump's and others' election campaigns, and of his personal and business interests (such as settling some of his lawsuits and purchasing a portrait of him for one of his golf clubs). The grants were made at Mr. Trump's whim, without any charitable policy or governance being in place, and in defiance of the law requiring foundations to operate exclusively for charitable purposes.</p> <p>Among other things, the attorney general asked the court to dissolve the foundation, to order it pay at least \$2.8 million in restitution and penalties, and to bar the Trumps from serving on New York charitable boards for specified future periods.</p> <p>Mr. Trump tweeted that the allegations were politically motivated and "ridiculous." Whether and to what extent any of the offenses may have occurred during CSD's reporting period – i.e., since Mr. Trump's election – was not apparent. But at a minimum, Mr. Trump's denial (implicit or explicit) seemed almost certainly to amount to a falsehood.</p> <p>The episode adds to the long list of investigations of and lawsuits against Mr. Trump that had arisen since his presidential candidacy, including those involving assault, inciting violence, defamation, violation of the Constitution's ban on emoluments, the Stormy Daniels matter, and of course the special prosecutor's investigation of collusion with Russian election meddling and associated acts of obstruction of justice. Extensive histories of Mr. Trump's litigation activity – he and his firms were involved in over 4,000 cases through 2016 – appear at this end note.<sup>34</sup></p> <p>Of special interest: Wrestling magnates Vince and Linda McMahon had given \$5,000,000 to the foundation; and Mr. Trump had later appointed Ms. McMahon as head of the Small Business Administration.</p>	<p>7; Plus charity, tax and campaign finance fraud (each its own category)</p>

<p>6-14-18</p>	<p><b>Sessions thumps Bible.</b> In defending his harsh policy of broadly prosecuting those who cross the Mexican border, Attorney General Jeff Sessions quoted a scriptural passage defending law and order – which in the past, according to The Washington Post, had been most prominently cited for political purposes by crown loyalists during the American revolution and by Southern slaveholders prior to the Civil War.<sup>35</sup> (He said nothing about the rampant violations of law by Mr. Trump and his Cabinet members.) Conservative religious leaders disagreed with him – at least on the subject of separating migrant families.<sup>36</sup></p>	<p>17 (6, 9)</p>
<p>6-14-18</p>	<p><b>Reality check.</b> A pair of columns in The Washington Post served as compelling reminders of practical, historical truths that have often gotten lost in Mr. Trump's America First thunder: that a dog-eat-dog, unilateralist international order, and an abandonment of liberal alliances and even of the principal of world liberalization, is inherently hostile to American security<sup>37</sup>; and that North Korea (or any country) can simply not modernize and draw broad investment unless it adopts some level of human rights and the rule of law.<sup>38</sup></p>	<p>14</p>
<p>6-15-18</p>	<p><b>The post-Singapore interview.</b> Basking in his claims of success at the North Korea summit, Mr. Trump gave an impromptu interview to Fox News and then to other reporters on the White House lawn.</p> <p><u>On North Korea.</u> He said of Korean leader Kim Jong-un: <i>“He speaks and people sit up at attention. I want my people to do the same.”</i> (Mr. Trump later said he was joking; but given his extraordinary and unprecedented history of speaking and behaving in an authoritarian manner, as reported extensively in this document, it was a bad joke, if in fact a joke at all.) He excused Kim's massive human rights violations on grounds that North Korea is a "tough country." He said that he didn't care about human rights there as long as America was safe from nuclear attack. Of having given Kim a summit win by granting him international stature and legitimacy, he said, <i>I gave him credibility. I what we got, everything. Point after point after point.</i>” What those points were was unknown to the public. As to the vast missing details of denuclearization, he said, "I have solved that problem." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>

<p>6-15-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] <u>On the DOJ.</u> Mr. Trump mischaracterized and cherry-picked the findings of the just-released Department of Justice inspector general's report. Among other things, the report had found former FBI director James Comey to have been insubordinate in publicly announcing renewed scrutiny of then presidential candidate Hillary Clinton's email practices just days before the election (to the detriment of her election bid); several other FBI staffers to have privately favored Clinton over Trump (although without apparent action or effect); and the agency to not have been at fault in declining to prosecute Hillary Clinton for her use of a private email server. In the interview, Mr. Trump said or implied that the report demonstrated that (a) Comey was a criminal, (b) the FBI categorically had plotted against him during the campaign; (c) he himself had done nothing wrong; and (d) his campaign had not colluded with the Russians. But the report had not said any of that. More roundly, he slammed the report for concluding that the FBI had not in fact acted against him in a biased manner, and for overall being "a horror show" and itself a work of "total bias." He said that he wanted to "defeat" the FBI in its conduct of "very dishonest intelligence," and called it a "den of thieves," led by "scum on top." And he said that special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of him had been "thoroughly discredited."</p> <p><u>On Russia, and the investigations.</u> Mr. Trump again called for Russia to be re-admitted to the G-7. He also blamed President Obama for having lost Crimea to Russia and for having permitted Russia's interference with the American election (himself having never objected to either of those things). He said that former national security advisor Michael Flynn deserved sympathy and may have been innocent of the charges to which he had pled guilty and that had forced him from office. He also expressed sympathy for indicted former campaign manager Paul Manafort, while falsely minimizing Manafort's role in the Trump campaign. Of his having dictated to his son Donald, Jr. an intentionally misleading characterization of the latter's meeting with Russian operatives in Trump Tower during the campaign, he said, "It's irrelevant. It's a statement to <i>The New York Times</i>. The phony, failing <i>New York Times</i>." Of the special prosecutor's investigation generally, he said "they have no Republicans" (although in fact Robert Mueller is a life-long Republican). [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
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<p>6-15-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] <u>On black and brown.</u> Mr. Trump said that (black) NFL players who protested racial injustice should stay out of politics. He also falsely stated that U.S. law requires him to separate migrant parents from their children at the Mexican border; he (again) falsely blamed Democrats for the (non-existent) law (and he would do that again the following day); and he said he would refuse to sign a pending congressional bill that would bar the separations.</p> <p><u>On Hillary.</u> He also boasted (still) of his electoral victory over Hillary Clinton, thus effectively reminding his supporters that he had rescued them from her clutches.</p> <p><u>On himself.</u> According to The New York Times, Mr. Trump's boasts during the interviews incorporated the words "great" or "greatest" 48 times.</p>	<p>1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>6-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>Playing with fire in Europe.</u></b> Blaming immigrants and German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Mr. Trump tweeted that crime was at a record high in Germany, and that European voters should support anti-immigration parties. In fact, German crime was at a record low; Mr. Trump had no business interfering in European politics; like Russian President Vladimir Putin, he appeared to be seeking to weaken and divide Europe rather than unite and strengthen it; and <u>Mr. Trump's encouragement of populist, xenophobic political movements in Europe demonstrated an atrocious disremembering of the run-up to World War II.</u></p> <p>The tweet followed similar expressions of sentiment by the U.S. ambassador to Germany, as chronicled by CSD on June 4. Mr. Trump and his Secretary of State Mike Pompeo meanwhile, as reported by The Times, had been cultivating Hungary's notoriously xenophobic and anti-Semitic leader, Victor Orban, whom the two previous American presidents had shunned.</p>	<p>6, 9, 12, 13</p>
<p>6-18-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>UN calls U.S. child separation "abuse"; WaPo calls it "torture."</u></b> The mounting national and international furor over the Trump administration's harsh separation of children (including toddlers and infants) from their parents at the Mexican border was joined again by <u>the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, who said that the practice constituted child abuse – having previously said, on June 5 (as chronicled by CSD above), that it violated the rights of children under international law.</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 14, 17 (7); Plus gratuitous cruelty (its own category)</p>

<p>6-18-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The following day, a Washington Post columnist took the charge of child abuse a step further. Referring to widely published recordings and images of separated children screaming in anguish, she wrote that subjecting the parents to that amounted to "<u>mental torture similar to forcing a POW to listen to the screams of a comrade as a means of extracting information or inducing submission.</u>"<sup>39</sup> That, indeed, seemed to be precisely the sort of "deterrent" against migration that Mr. Trump had claimed to intend.</p> <p>Meanwhile, also on June 18, Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen falsely said that family separations were not administration policy, that only Congress could stop them, and that the Obama and Bush administrations had also performed such separations.</p>	<p>6, 14, 17 (7); Plus gratuitous cruelty (its own category)</p>
<p>6-19-18</p>	<p><b><u>Burning the ACA down.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced new rules that would allow small businesses to band together to purchase inexpensive insurance for their employees, as an end-run around the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") and in a further attempt to sabotage it. The policies were expected to lack many basic protections provided by the ACA, including maternity care, prescription drugs and mental health benefits. The young and healthy were projected to subscribe to the employer plans; and as a consequence, fewer insureds would subscribe to the ACA, and their premiums would rise. <u>Without providing a responsible insurance plan available to all Americans, Mr. Trump was all but ensuring that tens of millions would suffer reduced health care.</u></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>6-19-18</p>	<p><b><u>More Conflicts.</u></b> Politico reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke, cited often above in this document for his self-aggrandizing behavior while in office, was having indirect business dealings with the chairman of Halliburton, an oil field service company which he was tasked with regulating.<sup>40</sup></p> <p>Separately, The New York Times reported that, in October, Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross had shorted the stock of a Kremlin-linked shipping company after reporters had begun investigating his questionable connection with it, but before that information had become public. That is, illegal insider trading was suspected.<sup>41</sup></p>	<p>17 (15)</p>

<p>6-19-18</p>	<p><b><u>Dumping the UN (again).</u></b> The Trump administration, having already abandoned most or all efforts to advance international human rights, now announced its withdrawal from the United Nations Human Rights Council, on grounds that the organization had routinely and disproportionately criticized Israel, and that its membership was populated with rights-abusing regimes. The Bush administration had refused to join, on similar grounds, but the Obama administration later joined. The New York Times wrote that this was the first time a member had voluntarily left UNHRC; and that <i>"the United States now joins Iran, North Korea and Eritrea as the only countries that refuse to participate in the council's meetings and deliberations."</i> North Korea and Eritrea are outlaw states.</p> <p>In October, the U.S. had withdrawn from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) – known widely for its preservation of World Heritage Sites – also in protest of an action that was perceived to be anti-Israel.</p> <p>UNHRC had long been controversial for its patently anti-Israel bias (if not obsession) and for its rights-abusing members. CSD nevertheless places the Trump administration's withdrawal from UNHRC and UNESCO within the context of its persistent abandonment or disparagement, in a perilous age, of major international bodies and agreements: the Trans-Pacific Partnership, the Iran nuclear accord, the Paris climate accords, the G-7 and NATO. In the aggregate, Mr. Trump's wholesale and radical embrace of unilateralism did not seem possibly to be good for the advancement of U.S. and democratic interests. The withdrawal from UNHRC, for example, stood to deprive the U.S. of participating in a forum about major human rights issues such as several members of CSD are deeply engaged in.</p>	<p>14</p>
<p>6-19-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>"Infestation" ... and then reversal.</u></b> On June 19, under widespread pressure to not separate children from their parents at the Mexican border, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i><u>"Democrats are the problem. They don't care about crime and want illegal immigrants, no matter how bad they may be, to pour into and infest our Country, like MS-13. They can't win on their terrible policies, so they view them [illegal immigrants] as potential voters."</u></i> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>6-19-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] The next day he tweeted: <i>"The Fake News is not mentioning the safety and security of our Country when talking about illegal immigration. Our immigration laws are the weakest and worst anywhere in the world, and the Dems will do anything not to change them &amp; to obstruct - want open borders which means crime."</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump's casting blame on the Democrats appeared to be based on their refusal to cave to his unilateral demands for building a wall along the Mexican border and other anti-immigration measures. That is, as he had previously acknowledged, he was exploiting the family separations as bargaining chips in what should have otherwise been a normal (or abnormal) policy debate – or, as many observers commented, he was holding over 2300 children hostage.</p> <p><u>Mr. Trump's vicious reference to an "infestation" by migrants, the recent elevation of racial and xenophobic drum-beating as his most consistent and prominent appeal to his base, and his combination of all of that with attacks on his political opponents and the press recalled for CSD the run-ups to historical genocides overseas, as we had written on April 18.</u> Genocide did not threaten; but we believed that America's vision and stature had been crippled, and that our country had become endangered – and defiled.</p> <p>On June 20, Mr. Trump relented. Having doubled- and tripled-down on separating the children, but then having incurred the wrath of domestic and world leaders (including bi-partisan members of Congress, governors, conservative American Christian figures, four former First Ladies and the Pope), he was forced to issue an executive order barring the separations. He thus gave the lie to his frequent claim that he had had no power to issue such an order. Still he blamed Congress for the crisis he had created; at a press briefing he said nine times how "strong" he was against immigration<sup>42</sup>; and he implied that the reprieve was his own humane idea. The following day he continued to blame Democrats, raging that they didn't care about the children.</p> <p>The order reportedly had been developed and executed in a slap-dash, panicky manner, leaving White House aides and DHS officials flummoxed as to how to proceed.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, Mr. Trump and his White House had already flip-flopped 14 times (to that date) on the issue.<sup>44</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>6-19-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump's new plan for the children was unclear, but initially he appeared to contemplate incarcerating entire families indefinitely, contrary to U.S. law. <u>CSD nevertheless believes that this reversal demonstrates the potential for popular and congressional opposition to thwart Mr. Trump's barbaric policies more generally.</u></p> <p>Not insignificantly, Refugees International, a prominent American refugee advocacy organization that is normally careful (for practical and ideological reasons) to remain non-partisan, issued a report card for the Trump administration regarding its performance on refugee and humanitarian protection. The grade, which was supported by extensive analysis, was a resounding F.<sup>45</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>6-20-18</p>	<p><b>Huge in Duluth.</b> At a boisterous campaign rally in Duluth, Minnesota, as reported by The Washington Post, Mr. Trump dwelt on the ways in which his perceived enemies had wronged him. "They" (largely the mainstream media) hadn't applauded him sufficiently for his recent North Korea summit; had gone on at length about his separating migrant children from their families; had acquiesced to the Justice Department inspector general's report that Hillary Clinton hadn't merited prosecution; had credited President Obama with much of the economy's recovery since the Great Recession; hadn't appreciated the size of his crowds; and – quite tellingly – hadn't accepted him as part of the nation's "elite."<sup>46</sup> To that last point, he said, <i>"You ever notice they always call the other side 'the elite'? The elite! Why are they elite? I have a much better apartment than they do. I'm smarter than they are. I'm richer than they are. I became president and they didn't."</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump drew from the crowd boos for CNN and the reporters in attendance, chants of <i>"Lock her up!"</i> as to Clinton, calls to <i>"Build that wall!"</i> as to Hispanic migrants, and jeers for the dying Senator John McCain (for having voted against the repeal of the Affordable Care Act). He mocked the manhood of several protestors, and shouted, <i>"Get 'em out of here!"</i> As for Hispanic migrants, he said, <i>"We're sending them the hell back!"</i> And again he portrayed his executive order halting the family separations as his own, humane idea.</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

6-21-18	<b>Even more treason!</b> Mr. Trump said in a television interview that the media's skepticism about the fruits of his recent summit with North Korea was " <i>almost treasonous.</i> " He had previously accused Democrats of treason for not having applauded his State of the Union address. <sup>47</sup>	1, 9, 11
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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-calls-immigrants-animals-again\\_us\\_5afca15fe4b0779345d59e2a](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-calls-immigrants-animals-again_us_5afca15fe4b0779345d59e2a)

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.vox.com/science-and-health/2018/5/17/17364562/trump-animals-dehumanization-psychology>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/at-the-epa-lights-sirens-and-lots-of-smoke/2018/05/16/9d4e885e-594e-11e8-858f-12becb4d6067\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.fe11106d112d&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/at-the-epa-lights-sirens-and-lots-of-smoke/2018/05/16/9d4e885e-594e-11e8-858f-12becb4d6067_story.html?utm_term=.fe11106d112d&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/epas-pruitt-praised-for-effectiveness-hits-bumps-in-his-rollback-campaign/2018/05/20/c6ca13d8-53b3-11e8-abd8-265bd07a9859\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.205d564b1ed4&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/epas-pruitt-praised-for-effectiveness-hits-bumps-in-his-rollback-campaign/2018/05/20/c6ca13d8-53b3-11e8-abd8-265bd07a9859_story.html?utm_term=.205d564b1ed4&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/06/07/trump-bolton-north-korea-630362> and <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/06/07/trump-preparations-north-korea-630404>

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/its-been-amateur-hour-on-china-negotiations/2018/05/21/4d91f8ec-5d35-11e8-9ee3-49d6d4814c4c\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.72eeaae512fd&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1%20](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/its-been-amateur-hour-on-china-negotiations/2018/05/21/4d91f8ec-5d35-11e8-9ee3-49d6d4814c4c_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.72eeaae512fd&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1%20) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/trump-announces-tariffs-on-china-tech-crackdown-ahead-of-key-trade-meeting/2018/05/29/9b4df54a-633e-11e8-99d2-0d678ec08c2f\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.88cdc4edc192&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/trump-announces-tariffs-on-china-tech-crackdown-ahead-of-key-trade-meeting/2018/05/29/9b4df54a-633e-11e8-99d2-0d678ec08c2f_story.html?utm_term=.88cdc4edc192&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/dinesh-dsouza-convicted-felon-pardoned-by-trump-has-done-some-vile-things\\_us\\_5b1007efe4b05ef4c22bbf94](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/dinesh-dsouza-convicted-felon-pardoned-by-trump-has-done-some-vile-things_us_5b1007efe4b05ef4c22bbf94)

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-fixates-on-pardons-could-soon-give-reprieve-to-63-year-old-woman-after-meeting-with-kim-kardashian/2018/06/05/37ac6cb6-683d-11e8-bbc5-dc9f3634fa0a\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c29593b7fe2b&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-fixates-on-pardons-could-soon-give-reprieve-to-63-year-old-woman-after-meeting-with-kim-kardashian/2018/06/05/37ac6cb6-683d-11e8-bbc5-dc9f3634fa0a_story.html?utm_term=.c29593b7fe2b&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/31/us/politics/dsouza-pardon.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection>

<sup>10</sup> <http://fortune.com/2018/05/31/trump-pardons-martha-stewart-rod-bлагоjevich/>

<sup>11</sup> <https://qz.com/1293948/dsouza-bлагоjevich-martha-stewart-what-trumps-pardons-have-in-common/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.politico.eu/blogs/on-media/2018/06/richard-grenfell-breitbart-us-ambassador-to-germany-wants-to-spread-trumpian-gospel-in-europe/> and <http://www.breitbart.com/london/2018/06/03/trumps-right-hand-man-in-europe-wants-to-empower-european-anti-establishment-conservatives/>

<sup>13</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-banishes-the-eagles-and-acts-like-a-turkey/2018/06/05/de286718-6908-11e8-bf8c-f9ed2e672adf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.94e2e016a3fc&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-banishes-the-eagles-and-acts-like-a-turkey/2018/06/05/de286718-6908-11e8-bf8c-f9ed2e672adf_story.html?utm_term=.94e2e016a3fc&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>14</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/scott-pruitt-scandals\\_us\\_5b16ef35e4b0734a99385b09](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/scott-pruitt-scandals_us_5b16ef35e4b0734a99385b09)

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- <sup>17</sup> [https://www.wsj.com/articles/what-health-law-case-means-for-insurance-markets-1528549200?mod=ITP\\_us\\_0&tesla=y](https://www.wsj.com/articles/what-health-law-case-means-for-insurance-markets-1528549200?mod=ITP_us_0&tesla=y)
- <sup>18</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/10/us/politics/trump-trudeau-summit-g7-north-korea.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>19</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/trump-calls-for-russia-to-be-reinstated-to-g7-threatens-allies-on-trade/2018/06/08/6a13d876-6b15-11e8-bea7-c8eb28bc52b1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.a9f74266f29e&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/trump-calls-for-russia-to-be-reinstated-to-g7-threatens-allies-on-trade/2018/06/08/6a13d876-6b15-11e8-bea7-c8eb28bc52b1_story.html?utm_term=.a9f74266f29e&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)
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- <sup>21</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/10/opinion/g7-trump-quebec-trudeau.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>22</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/06/12/trumps-false-claim-that-the-u-s-has-a-100-billion-trade-deficit-with-canada/?utm\\_term=.894cd5309965&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/06/12/trumps-false-claim-that-the-u-s-has-a-100-billion-trade-deficit-with-canada/?utm_term=.894cd5309965&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>23</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/06/10/trump-papers-filing-system-635164>
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- <sup>26</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/09/opinion/sunday/north-korea-human-rights.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=17&pgtype=collection> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/if-trump-ignores-north-koreas-monstrous-crimes-theyll-come-back-to-haunt-him/2018/06/10/5e151554-6a6a-11e8-bf8c-f9ed2e672adf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.a8956dec92fb&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/if-trump-ignores-north-koreas-monstrous-crimes-theyll-come-back-to-haunt-him/2018/06/10/5e151554-6a6a-11e8-bf8c-f9ed2e672adf_story.html?utm_term=.a8956dec92fb&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

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- <sup>27</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/12/opinion/trump-kim-summit-north-korea.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection> and [http://www.philly.com/philly/columnists/trudy\\_rubin/trump-kim-jong-un-singapore-summit-denuclearization-north-korea-20180612.html](http://www.philly.com/philly/columnists/trudy_rubin/trump-kim-jong-un-singapore-summit-denuclearization-north-korea-20180612.html)
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- <sup>29</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/12/opinion/north-korea-trump-singapore-style.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>
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<sup>41</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/19/us/politics/wilbur-ross-shorted-stock.html>

<sup>42</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/family-separation-debate-shows-trump-worries-most-about-showing-strength-not-heart/2018/06/20/330ee6be-74b0-11e8-9780-b1dd6a09b549\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.4c264e7af08c&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/family-separation-debate-shows-trump-worries-most-about-showing-strength-not-heart/2018/06/20/330ee6be-74b0-11e8-9780-b1dd6a09b549_story.html?utm_term=.4c264e7af08c&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>43</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/21/us/politics/trump-immigration-border-family-separation.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-signs-order-ending-his-policy-of-separating-families-at-the-border-but-relieve-may-be-temporary/2018/06/20/663025ae-74a0-11e8-b4b7-308400242c2e\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.4c31f0b60940&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-signs-order-ending-his-policy-of-separating-families-at-the-border-but-relieve-may-be-temporary/2018/06/20/663025ae-74a0-11e8-b4b7-308400242c2e_story.html?utm_term=.4c31f0b60940&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/06/21/trump-administration-family-separations-conflicting-statements-662618>

<sup>44</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/06/20/the-trump-administration-changed-its-story-on-family-separation-no-fewer-than-14-times-before-ending-the-policy/?utm\\_term=.79f0361a278b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/06/20/the-trump-administration-changed-its-story-on-family-separation-no-fewer-than-14-times-before-ending-the-policy/?utm_term=.79f0361a278b)

<sup>45</sup> <https://www.refugeesinternational.org/reports/2018/6/19/report-card-on-the-trump-administrations-performance-on-refugee-and-humanitarian-protection>

<sup>46</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-airs-his-grievances-and-demands-more-credit--for-just-about-everything/2018/06/20/f05df018-749f-11e8-b4b7-308400242c2e\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.0fc7b3391c21](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-airs-his-grievances-and-demands-more-credit--for-just-about-everything/2018/06/20/f05df018-749f-11e8-b4b7-308400242c2e_story.html?utm_term=.0fc7b3391c21)

<sup>47</sup> <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/393402-trump-media-coverage-of-north-korea-summit-is-almost-treenuous>



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 17 – July 30 , 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>6-22-18</p>	<p><b><u>No deal.</u></b> Mr. Trump told Congress to postpone indefinitely any attempt to pass immigration legislation, despite his having made that issue the hallmark of his presidency. The statement reflected his apparent, belated acknowledgement of the complexities of the issue and the divisions within Congress, even though his party controlled Congress.</p> <p>The postponement was Mr. Trump's latest failure to accomplish things that he could not effect unilaterally as president such as he had done with regulatory roll-backs, judicial appointments, and pardons of criminals. The New York Times wrote that it exemplified his failure to "make deals," despite his self-professed superiority in that skill. The Times listed other deals that he had failed to make, notwithstanding his considerable efforts (or at least volubility): health care, gun control, spending cuts, NAFTA, China trade, steel and aluminum imports, Middle East peace, the Qatar blockade, Syria, Russia, Iran, climate change, and Pacific trade. Even the major deal of his administration, the tax cut legislation, had been struck within Congress rather than through his own attention. And despite his claims to the contrary, there was nothing yet approaching a "deal" with North Korea. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11</p>
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<p>6-22-18</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] The Times wrote: "Even routine deals sometimes elude Mr. Trump, or he chooses to blow them up. After a Group of 7 summit meeting this month with the world's leading economic powers, Mr. Trump, expressing pique at Canada's prime minister, refused to sign the carefully negotiated communiqué that his own team had agreed to. It was the sort of boilerplate agreement that every previous president had made over four decades. ...</i></p> <p><i>"To be sure, [the above-listed types of non-deals] can be enormously complex and forging consensus can take time. Negotiations over such matters have frustrated more seasoned presidents with more bipartisan or internationalist instincts. Any judgment before the end of his four-year term may be premature. But no modern president has sold himself on the promise of negotiating skills more than Mr. Trump has. He regularly boasts that deals will be 'easy' and 'quick' and the best ever."<sup>1</sup></i></p> <p>Several of CSD's members are attorneys. "Dealing" by way of insults and bullying has been discredited by experts on negotiating techniques for decades. It may succeed in two-party negotiations, especially when one party holds most of the power; but less often in transactions involving multiple counter-parties, or in repeat transactions with non-captive counter-parties (members of Congress, foreign countries). People just won't put up with it. We do not believe that Mr. Trump's deal-making style – the posturing, the bullying, the egotism, the capriciousness – is likely to serve either the practical or the values-based interests of America on a durable basis.</p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>6-22-18</p>	<p><b><u>Cheers and jeers.</u></b> The Washington Post characterized and documented the nature and volume of the oral reactions by attendees at Mr. Trump's recent rally in Duluth, Minnesota, and at other rallies: raucous "boos" and taunts following his naming of enemies; raucous cries to build the wall at the Mexican border; and raucous chants and cheers for his praise of America and of his purported accomplishments. The Post likened that phenomenon to a rock concert.<sup>2</sup> But CSD sees no connection to a rock concert. To us, the unique mix of hatred, self-praise and jingoism that Mr. Trump had been routinely visiting upon and evoking from audiences for several years seemed comparable only to what dictators bring out in political broadcasts and rallies.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>6-22-18</p>	<p><b>Dead children.</b> Mr. Trump met on television with relatives of American children who had been killed by undocumented Hispanic migrants, displaying large photographs of the children that he had autographed. The event came amid the still-raging controversy about Mr. Trump's harsh policy of separating Hispanic migrant children from their parents at the Mexican border, which he had been forced by national and international outrage to back down from just two days earlier. He said to the cameras, <i>“These are the American citizens permanently separated from their loved ones. The word “permanently” being the word that you have to think about. Permanently. They’re not separated for a day or two days. They are permanently separated.”</i> [The migrant families would be separated for much longer than a day or two.] Mr. Trump had the relatives graphically describe how the children had died. He cited exaggerated statistics as to the number of such deaths. And he blamed the mainstream media and Democrats for creating or ignoring the tragedies.</p> <p>To CSD, the event appeared to be an effort to cynically and demagogically exploit the memory of the child victims, as Mr. Trump had done after the school shootings in Parkland, Florida (see our entry of February 26); to justify Mr. Trump's harsh family separation policy; to demonize and dehumanize undocumented Hispanic migrants categorically; and to make the loss and suffering of "our" children appear more important than the loss and suffering of "theirs."</p> <p>Earlier in the day, by way of Twitter, Mr. Trump had accused Democrats of telling <i>“their phony stories of sadness and grief [about the migrant children], hoping it will help them in the elections.”</i></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9</p>
<p>6-24-18</p>	<p><b><u>Ax the judges!</u></b> By way of twitter, <u>Mr. Trump explicitly (more explicitly than before) called for the immediate deportation of all undocumented migrants, for eliminating immigration courts, and for denying due process to asylum seekers and other migrants. Such an outcome would violate the Constitution, international refugee law, and American treaties adopting that law.</u></p> <p>He also wrote, <i>“Our immigration policy [is] laughed at all over the world.”</i> That is not evenly remotely true. Only Mr. Trump's policy and policy goals were laughed at and reviled – at least among refugee professionals worldwide, whose writings several members of CSD regularly read.</p>	<p>2, 6, 7, 14</p>

<p>6-24-18</p>	<p><b>Hawking Mar-a-Lago.</b> The New York Times reported that the White House would be distributing a commemorative "challenge coin" featuring the image of Mr. Trump's Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago – a bald advertisement for one of Mr. Trump's for-profit ventures, and a further testament to his grandiose, self-promoting, ethically challenged view of the presidency.<sup>3</sup> Other commemorative coins previously ordered by Mr. Trump had likewise represented presidential firsts: a gilded, super-sized coin that replaced "<i>E pluribus unum</i>" with Mr. Trump's campaign slogan, "Make America Great Again"; and a medal featuring a portrait of himself with the North Korean butcher, Kim Jong-un. (See CSD's entries of December 22, 2017 and May 21, 2018.)</p> <p>The Times wrote: "<i>People who have traveled with Mr. Trump say he has become enthralled by challenge coins, attributing his interest to his appreciation for military traditions and might, as well as his attraction to gaudy displays of gilded excess. That fascination grew during the presidential campaign, when he would receive coins from law enforcement and military personnel whom he encountered at stops.</i>"</p> <p>That the Mar-a-Lago coin was being paid for by some of Mr. Trump's White House staff rather than by the government seemed to CSD not the valid excuse that the White House claimed it to be, but rather a possible violation of both campaign finance law and the ban on federal employees giving gifts to their superiors.</p> <p>The Times reported that after it had inquired about the Mar-a-Lago coin, White House plans for other coins – featuring Mr. Trump's Trump Tower in Manhattan and his golf course in Bedminster, New Jersey – were abruptly canceled.</p>	<p>9, 11, 15</p>
<p>6-25-18</p>	<p><b>The immigrant invasion.</b> The Washington Post reported that although Mr. Trump had angrily characterized immigration as an ever-more threatening "invasion" by Hispanics across the Mexican border, the data showed a different picture. In 2016 (the latest year for which figures were available), some 1.2 immigrants lawfully obtained green cards; another 629,000 people illegally overstayed their visas and thus remained here as immigrants; and only 170,000 crossed the border illegally by land (down 90% from the year 2000).<sup>4</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7</p>

<p>6-25-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Post wrote that the number of green cards issued was not affected by the number of illegal entries or overstays; and that immigration hawks ought to be (and some are) more worried about the visa over-stays than about the land crossings. Why then was Mr. Trump so fixated on the undocumented crossings? CSD believes that it was just a matter of a demagogue's need to simplify problems and to name ethnic out-groups as a country's mortal tormentors.</p>	<p>6, 7</p>
<p>6-26-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Slaughtering the hog.</u></b> After the E.U. responded to Mr. Trump's new tariffs by imposing retaliatory tariffs that would be ruinous for American motorcycle manufacturer Harley-Davidson, the company announced plans to move some of its manufacturing operations overseas so as to avoid those tariffs. (Harley was not alone – many manufacturers and farmers around the country feared similar tariff-generated calamities.<sup>5</sup>) The announcement angered and likely embarrassed Mr. Trump: because he had previously praised Harley for its made-in-America profile; because he had cultivated its "hog"-riding customer base and promoted the company by hosting it at the White House; and because the company had now very publicly undercut his assurances that his protectionist tariffs would save and restore American jobs. For several days Mr. Trump responded to the company's announcement in a series of tweets and in a speech – to the effect that Harley was ungrateful for the (marketing) help he had given it; that its customers would and should abandon it; and that he himself would punish Harley by brutally taxing the company. He called it "the beginning of the end" for Harley. The company's stock price plummeted.</p> <p>On July 3, Mr. Trump tweeted that he would help foreign motorcycle manufacturers move to the U.S. to supplant Harley, charging that Harley's customers were unhappy with Harley's move, and deriding it for an unrelated sales drop.</p> <p>CSD does not take a position on trade policy (except to the extent that it may be erratic, demagogic or not fact-based, all as Mr. Trump's policy had appeared thus far to be). But we continue to strenuously object to his unprecedented pattern – contrary to our country's bedrock belief in free enterprise – of singling out individual American companies for punishment or reward to suit his political and emotional needs. Dictators do that.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>6-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>Justices blast presidential intolerance.</u></b> The Supreme Court, in a strict partisan vote, upheld Mr. Trump's controversial travel ban for people from several Muslim-majority nations, as having fallen within the president's national security prerogatives. <u>Justices Roberts (writing for the majority) and Kennedy (concurring) nevertheless subtly but specifically castigated Mr. Trump for his anti-Muslim statements as offending the Constitution and the American way.</u><sup>6</sup> <u>To CSD's knowledge, essentially calling a president a bigot and his behavior insulting to the Constitution and to our ideals was unprecedented on the part of the Court.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump promptly gloated about his judicial victory. But he was silent about the court's excoriation of him – if he even understood that they, in their restrained and legally cautious language, had done that.</p>	<p>6, 11</p>
<p>6-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>Returning the children.</u></b> A federal district judge in San Diego issued a preliminary injunction ordering the government to stop separating migrant children from their parents at the Mexican border unless their parents endangered them, thus removing the issue from presidential discretion. It also ordered that the government reunite families with their parents pursuant to an expedited timeline. The court wrote that the separations – effected under Mr. Trump's "zero-tolerance" immigration policy since May – were likely to cause irreparable psychological damage to both parents and children, and that the government's failure to have planned its separation and reunification operations had led to chaos and had violated due process.</p> <p>Whether the government was able to comply with the timeline, and whether it even knew where all the children were, would long remain unclear.</p>	<p>6, 9, 10; Plus gratuitous cruelty (its own category)</p>

<p>6-27-18</p>	<p><b>The Fargo rally.</b> At a rally for congressional candidates in Fargo, North Dakota, Mr. Trump adhered to his customary style and themes while addressing the principally white attendees. He boasted about the crowd size; promoted several private businesses; snidely called the recently intemperate African American Congresswoman Maxine Waters the "new leader" of the Democratic party; disparaged the mortally ill Senator John McCain for having voted against repealing the Affordable Care Act; derided "Crooked Hillary" Clinton and called her "guilty, guilty, guilty, guilty"; alleged that Democratic Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi "wants to protect" the Hispanic gang MS-13; claimed that he was smarter than his uncle who had been an MIT professor, and (for good measure) "smarter than anybody"; falsely stated that Michigan voters approved of his performance as president; crowed that a New York Democratic congressman "got his ass kicked" in a recent primary election; derided the "elite" (claiming that "we" – who? – were smarter and richer than "them"); and said that "We will make America loving again."<sup>7</sup> The New York Times identified at least 12 exaggerated or (sometimes viciously) false statements – too many to list here, but stunning in their array.<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>6-27-18, 6-28-18</p>	<p><b>Fear and loathing.</b> Within the space of nine hours following the Fargo rally, Mr. Trump tweeted protracted and excited allegations that Democrats were endangering American lives by supporting undocumented migrants, and that the Justice Department and the FBI were persecuting him and his associates while giving Hillary Clinton a pass. To the latter point, for possibly the first time, he expressly named special prosecutor Robert Mueller as one of his persecutors; and he yet again questioned whether Russia had interfered in the 2016 presidential election (contrary to the findings of multiple American intelligence agencies). The tweets contained too many falsehoods and exaggerations for CSD to identify here. But in order to fully convey the tirade's venom, its bizarreness, its insults to the values of our Republic, and its attempts to obstruct the DOJ's investigation of Mr. Trump and his associates by turning public opinion against it (a project in which he had been succeeding), we quote it in its entirety:</p> <p><i>"Thank you North Dakota. Together, we are MAKING AMERICA SAFE AND GREAT AGAIN! ... [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>6, 9, 12</p>



<p>6-27-18, 6-28-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] <i>"In recent days we have heard shameless attacks on our courageous law enforcement officers. Extremist Democrat politicians have called for the complete elimination of ICE. Leftwing Activists are trying to block ICE officers from doing their jobs and publicly posting their...</i></p> <p><i>"...home addresses – putting these selfless public servants in harm's way. These radical protesters want ANARCHY – but the only response they will find from our government is LAW AND ORDER! ...</i></p> <p><i>"Lover FBI Agent Peter Strzok [the indiscreetly anti-Trump staffer who had mainly sleuthed Hillary Clinton's offenses] was given poor marks on yesterday's closed door testimony and, according to most reports, refused to answer many questions. There was no Collusion and the Witch Hunt, headed by 13 Angry Democrats and others who are totally conflicted, is Rigged! ...</i></p> <p><i>"Russia continues to say they had nothing to do with Meddling in our Election! Where is the DNC Server, and why didn't Shady James Comey and the now disgraced FBI agents take and closely examine it? Why isn't Hillary/Russia being looked at? So many questions, so much corruption!...</i></p> <p><i>"Peter Strzok worked as the leader of the Rigged Witch Hunt for a long period of time - he got it started and was only fired because the gig was up. But remember, he took his orders from Comey and McCabe and they took their orders from you know who. Mueller/Comey best friends! ,,,</i></p> <p><i>"When is Bob Mueller going to list his Conflicts of Interest? Why has it taken so long? Will they be listed at the top of his \$22,000,000 Report...And what about the 13 Angry Democrats, will they list their conflicts with Crooked H? How many people will be sent to jail and.....</i></p> <p><i>"....persecuted on old and/or totally unrelated charges (there was no collusion and there was no obstruction of the no collusion)...And what is going on in the FBI &amp; DOJ with Crooked Hillary, the DNC and all of the lies? A disgraceful situation!"</i></p>	<p>6, 9, 12</p>

<p>6-29-18</p>	<p><b>Religion in the world.</b> The International Organization for Migration – a United Nations Agency tasked with data-gathering, logistical and other operations relative to the movement of refugees, which had been led by an American for most of its 67 years – roundly rejected Ken Isaacs, Mr. Trump's nominee to lead the organization. Although Isaacs had had a distinguished career with Samaritan's Purse (the Evangelical relief organization), his nomination failed due to his previous anti-Muslim remarks, his skepticism about climate change, and Mr. Trump's hostility toward migrant rights and international organizations. The episode was seen as evidence of international resentment toward Mr. Trump's America, and of the limitations of Mr. Trump's ability to foist his controversial outlooks on the rest of the world.<sup>9</sup></p> <p>Isaacs' nomination coincided roughly with the naming under Mr. Trump's presidency of several high profile Christian political activists to U.S. positions in which they would be responsible for advancing universalist, non-sectarian human rights globally: Sam Brownback as Ambassador for International Religious Freedom; Robert Destro as head of the State Department's Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor; and Gary Bauer and Tony Perkins as members of the Commission for International Religious Freedom. Those units had long been amply represented by committed Christian (and other faith-inspired) voices. But CSD, through its human rights affiliations, has learned that some of the new appointments, and related staffing decisions, have taken the units in a more aggressively sectarian and polarizing direction.</p> <p>CSD very much supports the religious freedom movement's advocacy for persecuted Christian minorities overseas – one of our members was active in that advocacy during the movement's early days. And several of CSD's members see their own international humanitarian efforts as being faith-inspired. But we are concerned that the appointments and the increased "sectarianization" of our country's international humanitarian efforts, combined with the Trump administration's more general disinterest in universal human rights and international humanitarian relief, could risk for our government's pertinent units a sectarian operational bias, a corruption of the very notion of human rights and international humanitarian relief, and a backlash from other countries and peoples. We earnestly hope our concerns are misplaced.</p>	<p>6, 13, 14</p>
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6-29-18	<p><b><u>Artless.</u></b> A New York Times columnist documented how Mr. Trump had become the first recent president to appear to be categorically indifferent if not opposed to the fine and performing arts. The columnist wrote that the phenomenon reflected a soullessness in the administration, and that it encouraged a dehumanization and diminution of the American spirit.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>CSD is not certain whether an aversion to art is anti-democratic, as such. After all, historically, some of the world's most barbaric dictators embraced the fine and performing arts to their liking (while torturing and murdering artists whose work they believed threatened them). But we see in Mr. Trump an elevation of money, power, fame and sex above all other appetites and values – to the exclusion of both the empathic and reflective values that the arts often advance. We are inclined to categorize this behavior as indicated.</p>	11
6-29-18	<p><b><u>Kissing the bride, grabbing the country by the XXXXX.</u></b> Uninvited and unannounced but consistent with his practice, Mr. Trump dropped in on a private wedding at his golf club in Bedminster, New Jersey and kissed the bride. The club at one point had explicitly promoted itself as a wedding venue by holding out the possibility of such presidential visits.</p>	15
7-1-18, 7-2-18	<p><b><u>WTO, NATO threats.</u></b> On July 1, Axios reported that Mr. Trump had ordered, and his administration had drafted, a bill that would withdraw the U.S. from the rules of the World Trade Organization.<sup>11</sup> The next day, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had issued written (but unspecified) threats to other NATO members for their under-spending on military defense.<sup>12</sup> Both moves were consistent with Mr. Trump's hostility toward the Group of 7, the United Nations and other multi-lateral organizations. They were seen in particular as supporting Russia's goal of weakening Western alliances – almost as though, at least metaphorically, Russia had directed them.</p>	12, 13, 14

<p>7-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Selling exposure, again.</u></b> NBC reported that Mr. Trump's wife Melania – who in years past had posed nude and nearly nude for several magazine photo shoots<sup>13</sup> – while at the White House was secretly receiving substantial royalties through Getty Images from the licensing of glamorous photographs of herself and her family. (The licensing agreement stipulated that the images could be used only in positive news stories about the Trumps.) NBC was not aware of any other First Ladies having traded on their White House celebrity in that manner (that is, by selling their images, or their looks) – only of their having written and sold inspirational books, the proceeds of which were donated to charities.<sup>14</sup></p>	<p>17 (11, 15)</p>
<p>7-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Asylum abridged.</u></b> A federal judge in the District of Columbia issued a preliminary injunction against what had proven to be a secret, <i>de facto</i> policy of the Trump administration of routinely, extensively and indefinitely imprisoning asylum seekers (those credibly fleeing persecution abroad) pending their asylum hearings before immigration judges, contrary to U.S. and international law.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 14</p>
<p>7-2-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pruitt: The adventure continues; until it doesn't.</u></b> On July 2, Environmental Protection Agency chief Scott Pruitt's former deputy chief of staff revealed, and CNN confirmed, that Pruitt had routinely, deliberately and illegally created false daily logs so as to hide from the public many questionable meetings, such as those with executives of industries that he was tasked with regulating, and a \$240 per person dinner in Rome with a Vatican cardinal who was known for his climate science denial and who was accused of sexual abuse.<sup>15</sup></p> <p>The revelation shortly followed a report by The Washington Post that Pruitt's EPA had been operating under an "open door policy" toward lobbyists from regulated industries, routinely granting their wishes.<sup>16</sup> As previously reported in this document, much of Pruitt's political career had been bankrolled by such industries.</p> <p>The Post and The New York Times had also recently reported that the EPA's chief ethics officer had recommended that Pruitt be investigated by the EPA's inspector general for an array of offenses, many or most of them likely the subject of over a dozen investigations of Pruitt that were already underway.<sup>17</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (7, 11, 15, 16)</p>

<p>7-2-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Post also reported that Pruitt had directed a staffer to find his wife not just a job (as CSD had chronicled on June 13), but a job paying over \$200,000.<sup>18</sup></p> <p>At last, on July 5, Pruitt resigned. His controversial tenure was summarized at the links at this end note.<sup>19</sup> Mr. Trump praised him on his way out the door. And in his resignation letter – true to his pattern of obsequiously lauding Mr. Trump in furtherance of the latter's personality cult, which practice until his resignation had appeared to have protected his position – he wrote that Mr. Trump had "<i>blessed [him] personally</i>" by allowing him to serve; he praised Mr. Trump's "<i>courage, resoluteness and steadfast commitment</i>"; and he said, "<i>I count it as a blessing to serve you in any capacity.</i>" Promoting Pruitt's profile as a man of strongly professed faith, the letter soared to this extraordinary conclusion:</p> <p><i>"My desire in service to you has always been to bless you as you make important decisions for the American people. I believe you are serving as President today because of God's providence. I believe that same providence brought me into your service. I pray as I have served you that I have blessed you and enabled you to effectively lead the American people. Thank you again Mr. President for the honor of serving you and I wish you Godspeed in all that you put your hand to."</i></p> <p>Pruitt's immediate successor as acting EPA administrator was Andrew Wheeler, the deputy administrator and a former coal lobbyist. Within weeks, a call was raised to investigate him for having met with former clients three times since becoming deputy in April, contrary to his ethics pledge.<sup>20</sup></p>	<p>17 (7, 9, 11, 15, 16)</p>
<p>7-3-18</p>	<p><b>Winning in North Korea.</b> Only days after intelligence reports had revealed that North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un was enhancing his nuclear capabilities rather than restraining them – contrary to the much vaunted spirit of Mr. Trump's recent summit with Kim – Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>Many good conversations with North Korea - it is going well! In the meantime, no Rocket Launches or Nuclear Testing in 8 months. ... All of Asia is thrilled. Only the Opposition Party, which includes the Fake News, is complaining. If not for me, we would now be at War with North Korea!</i>" [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>

<p>7-3-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD's understanding, however, was that America's Asian allies were more nervous than thrilled; and that if in fact the U.S. had been at the brink of war with North Korea some months ago (which was and remains debatable), it was Mr. Trump who had brought us there.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>7-5-18</p>	<p><b>Mockery in Montana.</b> At a campaign rally in Great Falls, Montana, Mr. Trump mockingly (as before) alleged that Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters (who is black) had extremely low intelligence; mockingly (as often before) referred to Democratic Senator Elizabeth Warren as "Pocahontas" for her claims to Native American ancestry; and made mocking reference to the "Me, Too" movement against sexual predation (himself having been accused of serial acts of predation).</p> <p>He also took the occasion to disparage the NFL's television ratings and its new policy on player protests of racial injustice (allowing players to remain in the locker room during the national anthem); allege that the Justice Department was giving Hillary Clinton "special treatment" relative to her email abuses (evoking the usual "Lock her up!" chants from the crowd); boast (improbably) that North Korea would completely denuclearize; chastise the "Fake News"; assure that Russian President Vladimir Putin, at the two men's upcoming summit, would be "fine" (apparently meaning "fair and trustworthy"); allege without foundation (as often before) that Clinton had won the popular vote in 2016 due to massive election fraud; and charge (falsely) that Democrats wanted to let the Hispanic gang MS-13 "run wild in our communities" and to impose "anarchy" in the country. The New York Times counted a staggering 18 falsehoods in his speech, each more stunning than the next.<sup>21</sup> The Washington Post calculated that 76% of Mr. Trump's claims were untrue or unsubstantiated.<sup>22</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 12</p>
<p>7-5-18</p>	<p><b>Ending asylum.</b> By way of Twitter, <u>Mr. Trump repeated his June 24 call for Congress to end due process and safe haven for political asylum seekers in the U.S., at least as to Hispanics at the Mexican border.</u> And as he had done many times before, he characterized the alternative measure as requiring the hiring of "thousands" of immigration judges to hear asylum cases, a measure which not even asylum advocates had felt was called for.</p>	<p>2, 6, 7, 14</p>

<p>7-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>Fox in the henhouse.</u></b> Mr. Trump hired as his deputy chief of staff for communications Bill Shine, who had recently resigned as a top Fox News executive while under scrutiny for having failed to police rampant sexual harassment there.</p> <p>The appointment was notable for multiple reasons. First, Shine became Mr. Trump's fifth communications director in 17 months. Second, the appointment defied widespread concerns about harassment of women in the workplace. Third, it cemented Mr. Trump's proximity to Fox: Shine became his second Fox hire (the first had been Heather Nauert, named the State Department's chief spokesperson); Fox had been widely seen by both friends and foes of Mr. Trump as vocally and indiscriminately supporting him in its editorial content; Mr. Trump was known to rely heavily and impulsively on Fox editorial content (even when erroneous) as inspiration for his Twitter activity; and he reportedly had been consulting with incendiary and fact-challenged Fox commentator Sean Hannity regularly on matters of personnel and policy. That wedding of our country's governance with the marketing intuition and continuous, dubious messaging of a major television network was unprecedented and disturbing.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>7-5-18, 7-9-18</p>	<p><b><u>From the Supreme Court – with gratitude?</u></b> On July 5, Politico observed that whoever Mr. Trump would pick to fill the vacant Supreme Court seat created by the departure of Justice Anthony Kennedy could feel sufficiently beholden to Mr. Trump as to rule in his favor in the likely event that one or more of the many pending proceedings against him personally (sex scandals, emoluments clause, non-profit violations, incitement to assault protestors, and above all the special prosecutor's investigation) were to reach the Court.<sup>23</sup></p> <p><u>No previous president had been so personally entangled in legal process when appointing a Justice, or so personally positioned to benefit from such an appointment.</u></p> <p>In fact on July 9, when Mr. Trump nominated Brett Kavanaugh for the position (in front of television cameras, after conducting a dramatic, reality-show style guessing game as to his pick), Kavanaugh's first words of acceptance expressed effusive gratitude toward Mr. Trump. More importantly, <u>Kavanaugh was known for – and was likely selected in part for – his belief that presidents should have expansive administrative powers and should not be subject to investigations or other legal process.</u><sup>24</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11</p>

<p>7-5-18, 7-9-18</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Process issues coming before the Court could include whether the president can be subpoenaed, whether the president can pardon himself, and whether the president can dismiss a special prosecutor who is investigating him. If appointed, Kavanaugh would seemingly be unique among the Justices for his hostility toward presidential subpoenas.</u><sup>25</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 11</p>
<p>7-6-18</p>	<p><b>Charity bashes.</b> The Palm Beach Post reported that nearly all of the \$706,000 in donations made by Mr. Trump's foundation in Palm Beach County since 2008 went to charities that had hosted lavish fundraisers at his Mar-a-Lago resort. In other words, the foundation (which was now defunct but was nevertheless being sued by the State of New York for non-profit law violations) would – off the record – at once reward the charities with cash for promoting Mr. Trump's property and exact a booking fee for him personally in connection with making its charitable gifts.<sup>26</sup> Both types of "deals," however artful, were unusual for bona fide foundations, and (in the view of CSD) legally suspect.</p> <p>Those activities do not appear to have occurred since Mr. Trump's election, and thus they do not fall within the reporting period of this Chronology. CSD nevertheless includes them here to further illuminate our June 14 entry relative to the New York lawsuit, in which the state attorney general effectively alleged that Mr. Trump's foundation was an utter scam.</p>	<p>Strong-arming charities (its own category)</p>
<p>7-6-18</p>	<p><b>Formaldehyde for all.</b> Politico reported that the Environmental Protection Agency was blocking the release of a study that indicated that most Americans inhale enough formaldehyde vapor in the course of daily life to put them at risk of developing leukemia and other ailments.</p>	<p>8</p>
<p>7-7-18 +</p>	<p><b>More blows to Americans' health.</b> On July 7, the Trump administration announced that it was temporarily halting billions of dollars in risk adjustment payments to health insurance companies under the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") – payments intended to mitigate disproportionate risks as among insurers with sick patients and those with healthy patients – because a federal judge had questioned how the government was calculating the payments. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>11</p>



<p>7-7-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As a consequence of the payment suspension (in the view of a Wall Street Journal writer) and in the service of Mr. Trump's vanity and vengeance rather than the health of Americans (in the view of CSD), <u>more insurance market turbulence, higher premiums and fewer insureds were projected.</u><sup>27</sup> (On July 24, following an outcry from insurers, the administration would reverse its decision, and promise to resume the payments.)</p> <p>On July 10, the administration announced that it was slashing its grants to non-profit organizations that helped consumers subscribe to the ACA – its second round of cuts, bringing the cumulative cuts to 80%. It also mandated that the "navigators" at the non-profits introduce consumers to non-ACA compliant insurance plans as well as the ACA. Critics charged that consumers – particularly the poor – could be encouraged to purchase plans offering weak coverage, while many others would lose all opportunity for face-to-face assistance.<sup>28</sup> (CSD does not hold a position on the ACA – only on its wanton destruction for the sake of Mr. Trump's political and emotional benefit.)</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>7-7-18, 7-8-18</p>	<p><b><u>Little truth; much obstruction.</u></b> On July 7, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Public opinion has turned strongly against the Rigged Witch Hunt and the 'Special' Counsel because the public understands that there was no Collusion with Russia (so ridiculous), that the two FBI lovers were a fraud against our Nation &amp; that the only Collusion was with the Dems!"</i> Regrettably, in one respect he was correct: according to Politico, Mr. Trump had by now succeeded in turning 36% of voters against special prosecutor Robert Mueller.</p> <p>And then this: <i>"The Rigged Witch Hunt, originally headed by FBI lover boy Peter S (for one year) &amp; now, 13 Angry Democrats, should look into the missing DNC Server, Crooked Hillary's illegally deleted Emails, the Pakistani Fraudster, Uranium One, Podesta &amp; so much more. It's a Democrat Con Job!"</i> On this point, Mr. Trump and CSD could likely agree: that the conspiracy theories had come in a breathtaking stream from a besieged politician with an unusual mind and a determined rhetorical agenda.</p> <p>The following day, Mr. Trump's personal attorney and television surrogate, former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani, told ABC news that Mueller's probe was <i>"the most corrupt investigation I have ever seen."</i> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>7-7-18, 7-8-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Like everyone else, of course, Giuliani had no idea how the largely secret investigation was being conducted, what its working findings were, or how those findings were driving its direction. Unlike everyone else, however, in recent months he had distinguished himself for his aggressive, erratic, television-borne defense of Mr. Trump. In any event, he was speaking for his client (or so he was bound to do under pertinent professional standards), and in that he seemed bent on causing popular sentiment to obstruct and shut down the investigation. CSD does not undertake to report on every utterance of Mr. Trump's lawyers or supporters; but this episode of pointed obstruction struck us as meriting a place in our Chronology.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>7-7-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>No tariffs or tirades for Ivanka.</u></b> Politico and The Huffington Post reported that none of the tariffs that Mr. Trump had recently imposed on Chinese imports touched any of the Chinese-manufactured products that his daughter Ivanka was importing for her fashion line. HuffPost also noted that although Mr. Trump had railed against Harley-Davidson after its announcement that it would move some of its manufacturing operations overseas, none of Ms. Trump's branded products (and few of Mr. Trump's own branded products) had ever been "Made in America."<sup>29</sup> HuffPost subsequently reported on the criticisms that she had recently drawn for touting her father's plan for the creation of American jobs while contracting out her own manufacturing to Asian sweat shops.<sup>30</sup></p> <p>On July 24, Ms. Trump would announce that she was closing her company. She explained that she would always be too occupied with policy issues to ever return to it. But the Trumps are business people. News media reported that she had been scorched both politically and financially – that her brand had been doing poorly since, and likely because, she had taken her White House office, and because of her father's unpopularity as president. The off-shoring and sweat shop concerns may also have been hitting home – politically, financially, or even personally. Notably, she would likely not have been able to <u>sell</u> the business, if its principal asset was its tarnished brand. In any event, her announcement had come only days after Mr. Trump had threatened to impose tariffs on virtually <u>all</u> Chinese imports – seemingly, even Ms. Trump's – such that (in CSD's view) her decision to close may have been preemptive, and even something akin to insider trading.</p>	<p>11, 15, 17 (7, 11, 15)</p>

<p>7-8-18, 7-9-18</p>	<p><b>Forking the babies.</b> The New York Times reported that in the spring the Trump Administration had threatened Ecuador (and implicitly other countries) with trade sanctions and cuts in foreign aid if they were to sponsor a perfunctory World Health Organization resolution favoring breast-feeding babies over using infant formula. The U.S. also had threatened to cut its support for the WHO over the matter. For 40 years scientists had agreed that breast-feeding was healthier than the use of formula; and today they saw breast-feeding as standing to save hundreds of thousands of children's lives and hundreds of billions of dollars, annually, worldwide. They viewed the recent U.S. objection as hostile to science and health and as intended instead to favor American formula manufacturers. In the end, the resolution was saved when its sponsorship was taken up by Russia, which country the U.S. chose not to threaten. Russia appeared to pick up diplomatic points with the other delegates, while the U.S. lost.<sup>31</sup></p> <p>The day after the news report, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"The failing NY Times Fake News story today about breast feeding must be called out. The U.S. strongly supports breast feeding but we don't believe women should be denied access to formula. Many women need this option because of malnutrition and poverty."</i> The tweet was false both as to its implication that The Times had reported erroneously, and as to its claim that formula is advantageous in circumstances of malnutrition and poverty.<sup>32</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 12, 14</p>
<p>7-9-18, 7-10-18</p>	<p><b>Picking on Pfizer.</b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump condemned Pfizer for raising the prices of some of its drugs – once again (as in the cases of Harley-Davidson and many others) singling out an American company for opprobrium and thus interfering with its business. He blamed Pfizer for <i>"taking advantage of the poor &amp; others unable to defend themselves,"</i> ignoring both his own habits in that direction and his having failed in his campaign promise to force drug prices down. Apparently fearing a blow to its stock price, Pfizer announced the next day that it would postpone its product price increases.<sup>33</sup></p>	<p>9</p>

<p>7-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>The Hammonds are pardoned.</u></b> Mr. Trump pardoned Oregon ranchers and federal land arsonists Dwight and Steven Hammond, who were revered by extremist militias that had occupied other federal land in protest over the Hammonds' initial convictions. Mr. Trump had recently predicted those pardons, as reported by CSD in our May 31 entry. The move constituted a continuation of Mr. Trump's streak of high profile, self-interested, political acts of clemency, which, together with their drastic implications for democracy, are described in that entry. But opponents of federal land conservation, including the leader of the occupation who was now running for governor of Nevada, exulted.<sup>34</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 11</p>
<p>7-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>Spinning the children.</u></b> Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar told CNN, as to the thousands of children in his custody (through his Office of Refugee Resettlement) that the U.S. had harshly separated from their parents at the Mexican border: <i>“It is one of the great acts of American generosity and charity, what we are doing for these unaccompanied kids who are smuggled into our country or come across illegally.”</i> The double-speak drew media attention. Not incidentally, HHS had missed the July 10 deadline for re-uniting most of the age five-and-under children with their families that had been ordered by a federal court – apparently due at least partly to not knowing where the children and/or parents were.</p>	<p>17 (7, 10, 11; plus gratuitous cruelty, its own category)</p>
<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>In Europe.</u></b> Mr. Trump's tour of Europe laid bare for the world his unfitness as president and his danger to democracy. It was an embarrassment for and a blow to America. An extensive summary follows.</p> <p>A. <i><u>With NATO, in Brussels.</u></i></p> <p>1. <i><u>Overview.</u></i> On July 11, Mr. Trump traveled to Brussels to meet with NATO leaders. As at the recent G-7 meeting in Toronto, he would skip meetings, force agenda changes, arrive at events late and leave early, and be otherwise generally disruptive.<sup>35</sup> Based on his pre-meeting remarks and his history since becoming president, European and American commentators widely feared that he would use the occasion to undercut the alliance and move closer to NATO's arch-enemy, Russia – a fear (or if it materialized, an actual development) of historic proportions for both America and democracy. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>

<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>2. <u>Knifing Germany.</u> Mr. Trump began the NATO summit by angrily charging, with reporters present, that Germany's arrangement to import gas from Russia through a new pipeline was making Germany "captive of Russia" and "totally controlled by Russia."</p> <p>While some European leaders too were concerned about the pipeline, and while the U.S. had long opposed it (including for its potential to enable Russia to punitively cut off gas sales to Eastern Europe while enjoying Western European markets), in truth Germany was otherwise leading Europe's resistance to regional Russian hegemony and Russia's disruption of democracies. Germany's leader, Angela Merkel, had been characterized in the press as having replaced the American president as the "leader of the free world." She was also a friend of President Obama. Mr. Trump was widely seen as deeply resenting her.</p> <p><u>Mr. Trump's insulting comments, at the outset of what had traditionally been a cordial conference intended to project Western unity, appeared to be drawn from his playbook – attempting to humiliate his rivals, and accusing others of his own worst offenses as a means of distracting from and justifying his wrongful behavior (here, his friendship toward Russia). Commentators on the left and the right wrote that the affront was almost unprecedented in the alliance's nearly 70-year history.</u> Two of Mr. Trump's aides who were present appeared in video to be taken aback. Republican and Democratic congressional leaders objected from afar.</p> <p>3. <u>The motive.</u> In truth, Mr. Trump had long wished Europe to buy (expensive) American gas rather than (inexpensive) Russian gas.<sup>36</sup> At the conference he also demanded that every country commit 4% of its GDP to defense spending – far above the current 2% target, and not even met by the U.S. – reportedly shocking many in the room. It all seemed to be about money and winning (rather than defense or shared values), and about Mr. Trump's idea of the art of the deal.</p> <p>4. <u>The threat.</u> During the conference, Mr. Trump was indeed viewed as having implicitly threatened to withdraw the U.S. from NATO; and in the end, the conference appeared to the Europeans to have been successful, only in that that withdrawal hadn't occurred – yet. But the Europeans were reportedly rattled. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>5. <u>The self.</u> Still, Mr. Trump couldn't leave it at that. At a July 12 press conference following the meetings, he boasted that he alone had gotten NATO members to agree to eventually raise their defense spending to 2% – a commitment that the Obama administration had already won. He boasted that he had gotten Europeans to agree to spend more of that money sooner, which Italian and French leaders promptly denied. He said, "<i>Everyone in the room thanked me</i>" (which may actually have been true, given an accurate reading of his emotional needs – see below). He also boasted about his electoral college victory, the rise in the American stock markets, and his recent negotiations with North Korea – all while larding his comments with misstatements.<sup>37</sup> And despite the widespread perception among European leaders that Mr. Trump was erratic, ill-informed and untrustworthy, he repeated his claim that he was a "very stable genius."<sup>38</sup></p> <p><u>Multiple commentators wrote that the European leaders were allowing Mr. Trump to preen precisely so as to keep the U.S. in NATO; and one wrote that those leaders resembled psychiatrists dealing "with a disturbed child."</u><sup>39</sup></p> <p>At bottom, it was not clear to CSD how such boasts and such claims of overwhelming domination (presumably for the consumption of Mr. Trump's American supporters) would enhance America's effectiveness or bargaining position on the world stage.</p> <p>6. <u>And on Russia.</u> Mr. Trump's attitude toward Russia arose, and contrasted sharply, in the same news conference. Asked how he would respond if Russian President Vladimir Putin were to deny his country's interference in the 2016 American election when the two men would shortly meet in Helsinki, Mr. Trump responded: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p><i>"I mean, look, he may. You know, what am I going to do if— he may deny it. I mean, it's one of those things. So all I can do is say, 'Did you?' and 'Don't do it again.' . . . He's a competitor. He's been very nice to me the times I've met him. I've been nice to him. He's a competitor. Somebody was saying, is he an enemy? He's not <u>my</u> enemy. Is he a friend? No, I don't know him well enough. But the couple of times I've gotten to meet him, we get along very well. I hope we get along well. I think we get along well. But ultimately, he's a competitor. He's representing Russia. I'm representing the United States. So, in a sense, we're competitors. Not a question of friend or enemy. He's not my enemy. And, hopefully, someday, maybe he'll be a friend."</i></p> <p><u>To paraphrase, Mr. Trump cared nothing about the gross injuries that Putin had inflicted (and was inflicting) on Ukraine, Syria or America, but only whether he could personally befriend him – and, as CSD had long suspected, find a way to divide up much of the world's spoils between themselves, such as sometimes occurs among ruthless but "friendly" competitors in business.</u></p> <p>NBC reported that promptly after the NATO summit, the Pentagon had gone into "full-scale damage control" to counteract such comments and to reassure America's NATO allies.<sup>40</sup> That exercise was not anomalous. CSD finds it staggering how routinely, and how desperately, Mr. Trump's principal advisors and bureaucracy (presumably the "deep state" that he had often alleged was conspiring against him) had had to scramble in order to un-do the injuries he had caused to our country, and to himself.</p> <p>7. <u>In sum.</u> Altogether, the mainstream media's consensus was that Mr. Trump's wrecking-ball antics had scarred NATO, empowered Russia, and accomplished nothing for the U.S. [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]  B. <i>Bearing gifts, in the U.K.</i>  1. <i>Unwelcome.</i> From Brussels, Mr. Trump proceeded to the U.K. for a meeting with British Prime Minister Theresa May. He was greeted across that country with days of widespread protests and ridicule – including, in London, a 250,000 person march, thousands of belligerent (and often vulgarly belligerent) placards, and a giant, diapered "baby Trump" balloon – all reflecting a level of outrage, hostility and disrespect that no previous American president had experienced.</p> <p>2. <i>Insulting.</i> Upon his arrival on July 12, Mr. Trump told The Sun, a tabloid affiliated with Fox News, that May's "soft Brexit" strategy (exiting the European Union while retaining certain trade and migration accords) would "probably kill" any trade deal with the U.S. <u>It was consistent with Mr. Trump's desire to divide and conquer Europe<sup>41</sup>, but otherwise an extraordinary intrusion into the workings of the EU, America's greatest international ally. It was also extraordinary and insulting for an American politician to publicly criticize, let alone threaten, his host in her own land.</u> (In a press conference the next day, he denied having made the statement. He instead blamed the "fake news" for misquoting him, and he said that May should do whatever she wanted relative to Brexit. But The Sun quickly released the tapes of the interview, which corroborated what he had said.) In the same interview with The Sun, <u>Mr. Trump promoted May's principal Tory rival, Boris Johnson, as a good replacement for her, another extraordinary act of meddling and impropriety.</u></p> <p>3. <i>Racist.</i> Also in the interview, he blasted London's (brown) Mayor Sadiq Khan, falsely blaming him for an increase in (brown) crime and terrorism there. And he pointedly told The Sun that <u>the recent wave of (brown) immigration was destroying Europe's culture. That is, not content with his incendiary racism at home, he chose to export it.</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11,  12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <p>4. <u><i>Self-promoting.</i></u> Mr. Trump also chose to export his preposterous claims as to his own popularity. He told The Sun, "<i>They like me a lot in the U.K.,</i>" when opinion polls – not to mention the protests – demonstrated the opposite, and Princes Charles and William had refused to meet him.<sup>42</sup> He also falsely boasted that he was the most popular Republican president in history – more popular even than Abraham Lincoln.<sup>43</sup></p> <p>5. <u><i>Anti-democratic.</i></u> For spice, Mr. Trump publicly denigrated specific American news outlets (CNN and NBC), likely a first for a president abroad.</p> <p>6. <u><i>Untruthful.</i></u> On July 15, The Huffington Post recounted the many falsehoods that Mr. Trump had publicly dispensed to that point in his European adventure<sup>44</sup> – apparently committed to, or constitutionally unable to deviate from, his American rhetorical style.</p> <p>C. <u><i>New Russian indictments.</i></u></p> <p>1. <u><i>The announcement.</i></u> On July 13, while Mr. Trump was abroad, the Justice Department announced that a grand jury called by special prosecutor Robert Mueller had indicted 12 Russian military intelligence officers for hacking the email accounts of the Democratic National Committee and the personal office of then candidate Hillary Clinton during the 2016 election campaign. The hacking of Clinton's emails had first occurred on the very day that Mr. Trump, in a campaign speech, had urged the Russians to find and publicize emails that she had deleted from her private server. Now 26 of the 32 people indicted by Mueller were Russians.</p> <p>2. <u><i>The defense.</i></u> Quickly and predictably, Mr. Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani tweeted that the indictments established that no Americans were involved in what the Russians had done. But the indictments did not establish that; they did not even address that. Giuliani added that the investigation of Mr. Trump should end, because no evidence of his wrongdoing had emerged. But the evidence-gathering was ongoing – carefully and confidentially. To a virtual certainty Mueller had already uncovered vastly more data than he had revealed – that is in the nature of competent forensic investigations, as opposed to political and media circuses. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <p>3. <i>The scapegoats.</i> Mr. Trump had been advised of the indictments before traveling to Europe. But by the end of the day, as he prepared for his imminent meeting in Helsinki with Russian President Vladimir Putin, neither he nor the White House had commented on the alleged Russian crimes. In fact on the morning of July 13, shortly before the DOJ announcement, he had condemned the "rigged witch hunt" against him during a press conference with May.</p> <p>Finally, on July 14, via Twitter from Scotland, Mr. Trump blamed President Obama for having not stopped the Russian behavior, and the "Deep State" for not prosecuting Hillary Clinton instead of himself. As before, there was no outrage against Russia; only the aftertaste of Mr. Trump's fury toward Europe, and his ongoing scapegoating of others. Mr. Trump's continuing embrace of Russia – unlike most of his other positions, however controversial – was reportedly at complete odds with those of all of his senior staff.<sup>45</sup></p> <p><i>D. At Home, in Scotland.</i></p> <p>1. <i>Promoting the club.</i> On July 14, Mr. Trump arrived at his Trump Turnberry golf club in Scotland to play some rounds, promote his property, and observe its business and operational performance.<sup>46</sup> On his first day on the links (as he had done repeatedly in Europe before arriving at the club<sup>47</sup>), he tweeted how magnificent the club was. (He also tweeted attacks on CNN, President Obama and the "Deep State," and he boasted of his 2016 electoral victory.) As he traded on his reputation as president and conducted personal business, U.S. taxpayers footed the bill.<sup>48</sup> Not incidentally, Mr. Trump's son Eric was visiting and markedly promoting Turnberry at the same time.<sup>49</sup></p> <p>2. <i>Fear of the foreigner.</i> Mr. Trump had now spent 30% of his days as president at one or another of his properties, always at government expense.<sup>50</sup> For CSD, that reflected not only his business conflicts, his lavish spending and his yen for self-promotion, but his fear of and disdain for foreign environments. For example, we are not aware of Mr. Trump having often spent time abroad (or even in the U.S., except for political rallies and factory tours) touring, exploring, or otherwise removing himself from the luxurious, pampered, sanitized comfort associated with his Manhattan and Palm Beach lifestyle – a world of servants and the served, and devoid of all germs. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>We do not regard that provincialism and fussiness as a mere peccadillo or as a harmless matter of taste. We see in it a telling insight into his racism, nationalism and anti-multilateralism, which appeared to be native, visceral, blinding, irrational, perilous, and counter-productive in a now largely globalized world.</p> <p>3. <i>And back at you.</i> Mr. Trump's feeling toward foreigners appeared to be mutual. The Turnberry club reportedly was unpopular among both Scottish and other potential patrons due to their antipathy toward Mr. Trump, and it was losing money – hence Mr. Trump's current efforts to promote it.<sup>51</sup> Astonishingly, according to a new survey by a Russian state polling company in advance of Putin's imminent meeting with Mr. Trump, even 71% of Russians disliked the latter, and only 16% trusted him.<sup>52</sup></p> <p>4. <i>Europe as foe.</i> Also while in Scotland, Mr. Trump told CBS News that "the European Union is a foe, what they do to us in trade." He then placed them side by side with Russia and China as America's "competitors."</p> <p>E. <i>With Putin, in Helsinki.</i></p> <p>1. <u>Meeting alone.</u> On July 16, <u>Mr. Trump met in Helsinki, Finland for two hours with Russia's brutal and authoritarian president, Vladimir Putin. Mr. Trump had no known agenda, and no staff present other than an interpreter. All of that represented a radical breach of security and transparency for any president, but particularly for this president, whose relationship with his counter-party was already notoriously suspected of having been compromised relative to American interests.</u></p> <p><u>As in the case of Mr. Trump's recent unaccompanied meeting with another brutal, corrupt and authoritarian leader, North Korean President Kim Jong-un, whatever transpired in the talks – including any promises or concessions Mr. Trump may have made, any classified information he may have revealed, or any personal business he may have discussed – may never be known to any Americans except Mr. Trump and his interpreter.</u></p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>2. <u>The enemies within.</u> Just prior to the meeting, Mr. Trump had told reporters that he expected to have an “extraordinary relationship” with Putin, and he had faulted prior American administrations for the two countries’ current enmity – another radical breach of protocol. He had also tweeted that morning: “<i>Our relationship with Russia has NEVER been worse thanks to many years of U.S. foolishness and stupidity and now, the Rigged Witch Hunt!</i>” In other tweets that morning he had castigated former President Obama (for tolerating the Russian election meddling) and the FBI (for conducting the “Witch Hunt” against him); and he had written that “<u><i>[m]uch of our news media is indeed the enemy of the people.</i></u>”</p> <p>3. <u>The joint press conference.</u> Even before the meeting, The New York Times, The Washington Post and others believed that (like Kim) Putin – an international pariah with a struggling economy -- had come out ahead by simply having been able to meet with and sternly face the American president as an equal.<sup>53</sup> But the actual outcome was far worse. In the spectacle of an astonishingly warm and harmonious press conference with Putin immediately following the session, still on July 16, <u>Mr. Trump said that the U.S. and Russia were equally at fault in their current hostile relationship – the U.S., for its “foolish” policies. He agreed with Putin that the determinations of the special prosecutor and numerous American intelligence agencies – that Russia had interfered in the 2016 presidential election – were erroneous. He declined to criticize Russia for anything. To divert reporters’ pointed questions about him siding with Putin, he railed at the FBI, the Justice Department, Hillary Clinton and the special prosecutor, calling the last “a disaster for our country.”</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump even went so far as to embrace Putin’s preposterous proposal that the Russian government help the U.S. interrogate the 12 Russians whom the special prosecutor had recently indicted, and that the U.S. allow Russia to interrogate (possibly in Russia) 11 Americans, including President Obama's ambassador to Russia, Michael McFaul. The first part of the proposal would plainly involve a corruption of justice and security. The second part would represent an utter dishonor to our diplomatic corps, and – given that the U.S. has no extradition treaty with Russia, and given that U.S. diplomats have diplomatic immunity in foreign jurisdictions in any event – an arrangement that would involve the president exercising dictatorial powers over private citizens to cause them to appear before Russian agents. (Days later Mr. Trump would be forced by a unanimous Senate resolution to walk back the idea.)</p> <p><u>Never before had an American president sided against his own government, let alone in the course of a public display of friendship toward one of our principal adversaries that was televised to the world in real time. The press conference was widely seen as a colossal diplomatic, if not strategic, victory for Russia.</u></p> <p>4. <u>The American blow-back.</u> For once, Mr. Trump found himself largely isolated in the matter. His senior aides, whose advice and briefing materials he had reportedly ignored, withheld public comment. In Congress, his performance drew cries of alarm from many Democrats and some Republicans (from Republicans: “disgraceful,” “shameful,” “bizarre,” and “weak”), with few cheers from either party. One prominent critic called Mr. Trump an imbecile; others, a traitor. Other commentators speculated that Mr. Trump, out of vanity and insecurity, was seeking to defend the legitimacy of his minority election; others, that Putin had duped him and was now howling with laughter; yet others, that his behavior was servile or cowardly. Among the few prominent Americans who vocally defended Mr. Trump's Helsinki performance were the notoriously reliable Vice President Mike Pence,<sup>54</sup> the notoriously pro-Russia Congressman Dana Rohrabacher,<sup>55</sup> and the notoriously racist and anti-Semitic former KKK leader David Duke.<sup>56</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>5. <u>Our take.</u> CSD does not think Mr. Trump was either duped or cowardly. We have long believed that he admires Putin for his cunning and power; that he would like to partner with Putin in establishing an international axis of authoritarian, mendacious, ethno-nationalist regimes that allow one another hegemony in their respective spheres of influence while favoring corrupt billionaires within; that he hopes to do business in Russia in the future; and above all that in Helsinki he <u>intended to give away pieces of our country’s freedoms, sovereignty, democratic values and strategic influence – for something that would benefit him personally.</u> (This was CSD's view, as of July 16. It was joined in large measure, although far more eloquently, by conservative writer Andrew Sullivan in New York magazine on July 20.<sup>57</sup>)</p> <p>We also find the allegations that Mr. Trump had obstructed (and was obstructing) justice in connection with the various investigations of Russian election interference to now appear obvious, never more amply apparent, even quaint – that is, nearly insignificant in comparison to his forthright and public embrace of America's enemy.</p> <p>6. <u>Walking it back.</u> On July 17, after returning to the U.S., Mr. Trump tweeted that the “Fake News” had undermined his strong performance in Helsinki. But he had not yet fully faced the broad American outrage. After being pressured by political allies to re-consider his rejection of U.S. intelligence conclusions in favor of Putin's views, he told a group at a White House meeting before television cameras that no president had ever been tougher on Russia than he (although in truth all of his actions against Russia had been pressed on him by Congress or by staff).</p> <p>More to the point, he said that at the Helsinki press conference – when he had famously stated, "I don't see any reason why it would be Russia" that had interfered in the 2016 election – he had meant to say "wouldn't be Russia"; that he “accepted” U.S. intelligence assessments that Russia had interfered [although <i>not</i> that he "agreed with" or "believed" or "supported" those assessments]; that the good faith error in his misstatement "should have been obvious"; that he was now "clarifying" it in case it hadn't been obvious; but that he also believed [without evidence] that others may have interfered as well. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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7-11-18 +	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump's retraction (if it actually was a retraction) was reportedly watered down from the script he had agreed to with his aides, and in any event it was patently insincere.<sup>58</sup> Indeed, he had waffled on these very points before, and he seemed certain to waffle again (and he did – tweeting on July 22 that the investigation was "all a big hoax" and on July 23 that the "discredited Mueller Witch Hunt" should immediately end). He meanwhile retracted nothing else from his pro-Russian and anti-American remarks in Helsinki. <u>His disloyalty to the U.S. seemed deliberate and ingrained,</u> and the danger and damage seemed irreversible for as long as he would remain the president.</p> <p><u>Also on July 17, The Atlantic reported that both the White House's video and transcript of the Helsinki press conference – like the Kremlin's own transcript – had been edited to omit part of an exchange between Putin and a reporter that had indicated, in Putin's words, that Putin had wanted Mr. Trump to become president.<sup>59</sup> The world had already seen the complete video, as it was being filmed. But the White House didn't correct the transcript until July 28.<sup>60</sup></u></p> <p>7. <u>Yet more damage.</u> On July 18, Mr. Trump told a reporter that Russia was no longer meddling in the American electoral process – directly contradicting the "red alert" on that topic issued just days previous by his director of national intelligence, Dan Coats.<sup>61</sup> Once again the White House, through its press secretary, found itself scrambling to mask and un-do what Mr. Trump had clearly said.</p> <p>8. <u>And another meeting to come.</u> On July 19, the White House announced that Mr. Trump had invited Putin to meet with him there in the fall. Coats himself learned of the development with shock from an NBC reporter while she was interviewing him on a stage in Aspen, Colorado. Coats also acknowledged that he had not yet been informed as to what Mr. Trump and Putin had discussed privately in Helsinki. The Wall Street Journal then reported that Mr. Trump had defied the White House staff's plan for him to confront Putin over the 12 recent indictments relative to election meddling.<sup>62</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p><u>From all appearances, Mr. Trump thus was barreling headlong toward rapprochement with Russia – but without the input of his security agencies and most other advisers, and without the outcomes of his first summit with Putin having come to rest or even being known to those advisors or to members of Congress.</u> Indeed – even though the Russian foreign ministry had announced that agreements had been reached during Mr. Trump's one-on-one session with Putin, that Russia was beginning to implement them, and that Mr. Trump had made concessions to Putin – few if any within Mr. Trump's administration seemed to know what the agreements or concessions were. In fact the overall activities of the national security and intelligence agencies relative to Russia seemed completely disconnected from those of Mr. Trump.<sup>63</sup> <u>He looked to be making policy and conducting diplomacy recklessly and on his own – unmoored from information, transparency, accountability, intra-governmental coherence, and allegiance to American principles of strength and weakness, right and wrong. One commentator called it "nothing less than the breakdown of American foreign policy."<sup>64</sup></u></p> <p>9. <u>Selling it.</u> But Mr. Trump did make a few things clear to the public: what he viewed to be the unpatriotic efforts of Americans who opposed him. On July 19 he tweeted: "<i>The Summit with Russia was a great success, except with the real enemy of the people the Fake News Media.</i>" And on the following day, he told CNBC that President Obama had been a "patsy" for Russia.<sup>65</sup></p> <p>While his actions in Helsinki appeared to have disturbed nearly all members of Congress (including, with a quiet disturbance, most Republicans), his rhetoric had indeed moved the grass roots. New polls indicated that over 70% of registered Republicans approved how he had handled the summit;<sup>66</sup> that – despite the clear findings of intelligence agencies and the Senate – only 32% of Republicans agreed that Russia had interfered in the 2016 election;<sup>67</sup> that 84% to 88% of Republicans approved of his overall job performance;<sup>68</sup> and that 75% of Republicans believed that the FBI's investigation was the result of anti-Trump bias while only 30% approved of the investigation.<sup>69</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>A gifted salesman, Mr. Trump's perennial pitch to the electorate that "it would be better to get along with Russia than not" – a proposition with which nearly all Americans would agree in the abstract – continued to omit the qualifier under which he in fact seemed to have been operating: "– on their terms." But the trope nevertheless appeared to have resonated with his enthralled base – many or most of whom only a few years ago might have viewed Russia as our implacable enemy.</p> <p>10. <i>The chaos.</i> Had Mr. Trump in recent days been powerfully expanding the unilateral powers and practices of the presidency, or instead humiliating himself in that effort? On June 20, a Washington Post reporter wrote of Mr. Trump's chaotic contests with other American institutions during and since his Helsinki summit:</p> <p><i>"For the third time this week, President Trump has been forced to walk back something he said about Russia. First it was comparing his own intelligence community's credibility to Vladimir Putin's. Then it was his statement that Russia wasn't still interfering in U.S. elections. And now it's his apparent plan to allow Russia to interview Americans it accuses of crimes, including a former ambassador. It was all one giant, self-inflicted wound. And it all did precisely what Putin hopes and what Trump seems to fear most: made Trump look weak and ineffectual."</i></p> <p>10. <i>What is true?</i> On July 20, a Washington Post columnist contrasted Mr. Trump's rejection of his intelligence agencies' empirical findings about Russia's election meddling, and his disregard for empirical intelligence generally, with his embrace of countless false conspiracy theories (often as purveyed by fringe right-wing media outlets). Among other things, in recent years, he had adopted the canards that a Democratic National Committee staffer rather than Russia had stolen and leaked the DNC's emails; that President Obama had tapped the wires in Trump Tower and spied on his campaign; that President Obama had been born in Kenya, not Hawaii; that thousands of Muslims in New Jersey had been seen celebrating the collapse of the Twin Towers on September 11, 2001; and that 3,000,000 fraudulent ballots had been cast for Hillary Clinton in 2016.<sup>70</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>Was our commander-in-chief perennially delusional in addition to being pathologically mendacious? Pundits speculated. But on July 24, the question arose again. Mr. Trump tweeted: <u>"I'm very concerned that Russia will be fighting very hard to have an impact on the upcoming Election. Based on the fact that no President has been tougher on Russia than me, they will be pushing very hard for the Democrats. They definitely don't want Trump!"</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump offered no evidence for this radical and novel allegation; no commentary on Russia having been found by our intelligence agencies to have interfered with our 2016 election on Mr. Trump's behalf or on Putin's forthright acknowledgement in Helsinki that he had wanted Mr. Trump to win that election; and (still) no interest in securing the upcoming mid-term elections from foreign meddling. <u>Empirical reality had never been so undermined by any president</u> (except by Mr. Trump himself).</p> <p>11. <u>Pompeo balks.</u> On July 25, in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo refused to reveal what Mr. Trump had discussed in his two-hour private meeting with Putin in Helsinki – if in fact Pompeo knew. So either Pompeo was defying Congress, or Mr. Trump was continuing to keep vital secrets from one of his most senior advisors.</p> <p>12. <u>Walking it back – again.</u> Also on July 25, after meeting at the White House with European Commission President Jeanne-Claude Juncker, Mr. Trump agreed to postpone the trade war that he had initiated and that had come to threaten sectors of the American economy, including farming. On the same day, National Security Advisor John Bolton announced that Mr. Trump would postpone the proposed White House visit by Putin from the fall of 2018 until 2019, "after the Russia witch hunt is over."</p> <p>As for the trade agreement, which Mr. Trump had touted with televised fanfare as "historic," nothing firm had been agreed to; some of its concepts (such as free trade) resembled those championed by President Obama; and as with North Korea and the migrant families separated at the Mexican border, Mr. Trump took splashy credit for having resolved (actually, backed down from) a crisis he had created.<sup>71</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>7-11-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u>          As for the announcement by Bolton, who had made a career of being ultra-hawkish relative to Russia and other foreign powers in the service of protecting democracy, he had now, after only a few months on the job, switched over to a career that included demonizing special prosecutor Robert Mueller and American democracy in the service of his (Bolton's) master.</p> <p>One or both moves appeared calculated to postpone Mr. Trump's headstrong and potentially ruinous activities until after the November 2018 mid-term congressional elections. But in any event, in both matters, Mr. Trump seemed to have been forced to pull back by congressional Republicans. <u>The twin episodes demonstrated not only the recklessness of Mr. Trump's policies, but the power of Congress to rein him in when it is willing.</u></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
<p>7-12-18</p>	<p><b><u>Ross sells.</u></b> The Office of Government Ethics told Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross that conflicts of interest associated with his investment holdings were potentially criminal, whereupon – after much delay and controversy in previous months – he announced that he would sell all his investments. One of the shrewdest business people in Mr. Trump's Cabinet, Ross claimed innocent error in having misunderstood his holdings when failing to divest earlier.</p>	<p>17 (7, 15)</p>
<p>7-13-18</p>	<p><b><u>Us versus them.</u></b> The United Nations completed an agreement – the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration – that laid out better ways to address the current extraordinary global flow of migrants, including tens of millions of refugees. Since December, the Trump administration had boycotted the treaty process, and it chose not to sign the agreement.</p>	<p>14</p>
<p>7-16-18</p>	<p><b><u>Fear.</u></b> As reported by The Huffington Post, a new poll indicated that – presumably convinced by Mr. Trump – 85% of Trump voters and 32% of Clinton voters had come to believe that the vicious but petty and highly localized Hispanic gang MS-13 that preyed mostly on other Hispanic migrants was a threat to America as a whole. Among the Trump voters, half (regardless of whether they were located in an MS-13 area) were very concerned that they or their families were personally at risk.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>7-18-18</p>	<p><b>The Trump boys fly around, on the U.S. nickel.</b> Politico reported that, in just one month, the Secret Service had spent \$250,000 to accompany presidential sons Eric and Donald, Jr. on overseas business trips.</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>7-19-18 +</p>	<p><b>Trolling the Fed.</b> In an interview with CNBC on July 19, Mr. Trump criticized the Federal Reserve Bank for raising interest rates, notwithstanding the Fed's policy and tradition of independence. Despite the controversy that followed, he doubled-down on that sentiment in a July 20 tweet. White House staff, yet again, felt compelled to publicly clean up Mr. Trump's remarks; but his point had been made.</p> <p>The U.S. was then experiencing a sustained economic expansion. During such expansions, raising interest rates is a measure customarily taken by the central bank to check inflation, albeit at the risk of slowing growth. Not customary – in fact almost unknown in recent decades – is for the president to criticize or otherwise politicize the Fed's decisions. Mr. Trump, who (reportedly) had no understanding of economics and (seemingly) had no concern for the country's long-term economic health beyond his tenure as president, said he was opposed to any interest rate moves that could reduce growth of the economy (and thus of jobs and the stock market). He also opposed rate increases for their contribution to a strong dollar, which weakens exports – even though the dollar had been strengthening largely because of the economic growth of which he himself had been boasting.</p> <p>While a desire for economic growth is salutary, meddling over one's head in highly technical and perilous waters for political purposes is not. To be sure, excessive borrowing on the one hand, and reckless interest rate policy designed to bolster growth, employment and public social benefits on the other, are two ways in which authoritarian regimes often maintain power ... and then collapse.</p> <p>Rising interest rates (CSD assumes) could also negatively impact some of the personal businesses of Mr. Trump and his family. Higher rates, for example, are abhorrent to the real estate industry.</p> <p>Mr. Trump told CNBC that he knew he was breaking protocol in his interest rate remarks, but that he didn't care. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 15</p>

<p>7-19-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u>                  When campaigning for president, Mr. Trump had (falsely) accused then President Obama and Federal Reserve Board chair Janet Yellen of artificially depressing interest rates for political purposes.</p> <p>For more complete critiques of Mr. Trump's interest rate meddling, see the links to The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times, Politico and The Washington Post at this end note.<sup>72</sup> (CSD itself disclaims any expertise in economics; but we are confident in our ability to spot presidential overreach and conflicts of interest.)</p>	<p>9, 10, 15</p>
<p>7-19-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Zinke storms along.</u></b> On July 19, CNN reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke had been declining to publish his meeting schedules both in advance and after the fact, and had been concealing specific meetings that had transpired – including meetings with business figures. The practice was contrary to both protocol and (maybe) the law. But – like Zinke's other flagrantly self-aggrandizing behavior in public office – it resembled that of disgraced former Environmental Protection Agency administrator Scott Pruitt.<sup>73</sup></p> <p>Possibly prompted by that report, on July 23 The Huffington Post wrote that Zinke had become the subject of at least 11 formal investigations since his appointment, and it listed nearly a dozen Zinke scandals that had accumulated since then (most of them having been covered by CSD previously in this document): Montana real estate conflicts, campaigning for Mr. Trump in violation of the Hatch Act, hiding his personal meetings, flying on political and personal business at government expense, exempting Florida from his offshore drilling plan for political purposes, attempting to punish a senator regarding the repeal of the Affordable Care Act (which had had nothing to do with his portfolio), failing to disclose that he owned stock in a Montana gun manufacturer, reassigning (and thus effectively silencing and punishing) senior civil service department staff with whom he disagreed, and so forth.<sup>74</sup> But for the examples of Pruitt and Mr. Trump, the mind would struggle to contain how one man – even a brazenly grasping one such as Zinke – could have grabbed, and grabbed, and gone free to grab again.</p>	<p>17 (9, 15)</p>

7-19-18	<p><b>Weird bang, big bucks.</b> CNN reported that Mr. Trump's planned military parade in Washington would cost an estimated \$12,000,000. As CSD had observed in our entries of September 18, 2017 and February 6, 2018, the parade would principally benefit Mr. Trump's ego and his political stature within his base, while doing damage to long-standing American traditions, attitudes and projected images regarding the role of the military in civic life.</p>	9, 10, 11
7-20-18	<p><b>Tackling the NFL (again).</b> Mr. Trump, by way of Twitter, resumed his attack on the NFL, now for postponing a policy of forbidding (black) player protests during the playing of the national anthem. Seeming to seek to arouse his base after his disastrous European tour, he proposed a specific set of punishments for the players. But, according to The Huffington Post, after many months of criticizing the protests, he had never addressed the <i>substance</i> of the protests – disproportionate police killings of black people.</p>	6, 9
7-21-18, 7-22-18	<p><b>It's good to be the king; although sometimes annoying.</b> On July 21, The Wall Street Journal wrote that in recent days Mr. Trump had been bridleing at bi-partisan criticisms of his overreach in asserting presidential powers relative to trade, interest rates and Russia: <i>"All he's hearing in D.C. is 'you can't do this, you can't do that.' He can't criticize the Fed, he can't criticize the intelligence community,' said a person close to the president, echoing others in Mr. Trump's orbit. 'He's obviously going to get frustrated by the can't-do mentality.'"</i><sup>75</sup></p> <p>The following day, Politico detailed episodes in which Mr. Trump had blind-sided the Pentagon in unilaterally proposing or announcing significant changes to military policies and operations: his transgender ban, his military parade, his Space Force, his reported agreement to partner with Russian forces in Syria, his announced desire to reduce U.S. troop commitments in Germany, his suggestion that the U.S. invade Venezuela, and his cessation of military exercises with South Korea at the behest of North Korea. Each of those developments had sent his senior-most military officials into desperate and time-consuming attempts to understand, communicate, and obey.<sup>76</sup> In these cases, however, he did not seem frustrated. No one had gotten in his way.</p>	9, 10, 11, 12, 13

<p>7-22-18</p>	<p><b>Back to North Korea.</b> After having granted worldwide legitimacy and several concessions to North Korea in June, Mr. Trump had claimed to have defused that country's nuclear threat. The Washington Post now reported that although he had maintained as recently as July 17 that negotiations with North Korea were <i>"going very well,"</i> in fact they were not. Rather, the U.S. had been repeatedly snubbed and insulted since then. The Post wrote: <i>"Diplomats [without attribution] say the North Koreans have canceled follow-up meetings, demanded more money and failed to maintain basic communications ... . Meanwhile, a missile-engine testing facility that Trump said would be destroyed remains intact, and U.S. intelligence officials say Pyongyang is working to conceal key aspects of its nuclear program."</i></p> <p>CSD, naturally, hoped for improvement – and for the truth.<sup>77</sup></p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>7-22-18</p>	<p><b>And now Iran.</b> After Iranian President Hassan Rouhani said to a gathering of diplomats that <i>"America should know that peace with Iran is the mother of all peace, and war with Iran is the mother of all wars,"</i> Mr. Trump tweeted, in capital letters: <i><u>"To Iranian President Rouhani: NEVER, EVER THREATEN THE UNITED STATES AGAIN OR YOU WILL SUFFER CONSEQUENCES THE LIKES OF WHICH FEW THROUGHOUT HISTORY HAVE EVER SUFFERED BEFORE. WE ARE NO LONGER A COUNTRY THAT WILL STAND FOR YOUR DEMENTED WORDS OF VIOLENCE &amp; DEATH. BE CAUTIOUS!"</u></i></p> <p>It was unclear whether Mr. Trump was (a) threatening to initiate a nuclear strike over what could be a trifling, second oral threat by Rouhani; (b) writing without the input of his advisors (he had tweeted late at night); (c) risking an inconclusive, thin, dangerous and/or humiliating diplomatic outcome with Iran such as he had done with North Korea; (d) attempting to distract from his missteps with Russia and North Korea; (e) acting on impulse; (f) unaware that the Iranians – having watched him in action with Russia and North Korea – may have come to view him as a hapless noise-maker and negotiator; (g) deranged; or (h) several of the above. Critics charged that in any event the administration had not articulated a coherent Iran strategy.<sup>78</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>

<p>7-22-18, 7-23-18</p>	<p><b>Stormy words for enemies.</b> Over two days, by way of Twitter, Mr. Trump raged against (a) the "Fake News" for criticizing rather than appreciating what he saw as his spectacular meetings with North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un and Russian dictator Vladimir Putin; (b) Jeff Bezos and his companies Amazon and The Washington Post (see CSD's many entries on this topic above); (c) President Obama; (d) "Crooked" Hillary Clinton; and (e) the Justice Department's investigations.</p> <p>CSD has here lumped these topics together. We have sometimes found Mr. Trump's Twitter rants to be as eclectic, multi-directional and difficult to compartmentalize as he himself apparently has. For him, it is all about a sprawling conspiracy. For us, a fancifully gilded and towering deceit.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>
<p>7-23-18</p>	<p><b>Silencing the security experts.</b> Mr. Trump threatened to revoke the security clearances of six named, high level former national security officials because of their criticisms of him since becoming private citizens. (Indeed, and quite unusually, they had criticized him, patriotically and in good faith, on grounds that he was disloyal and incompetent, and because he had attacked and disregarded the intelligence community.) No president had ever attempted to silence critics in that way before; security clearances had been revoked for wrongdoing, not retaliation. Removing the clearances could not only embarrass and professionally damage the targets of that action, but in some cases, to the country's disadvantage, could hamper the ability of successor staff to consult with them – something that in previous administrations staff had done with their predecessors.<sup>79</sup> Republican Senator Bob Corker compared the proposal to the behavior of Venezuela's dictator, Nicolas Maduro.<sup>80</sup></p>	<p>3, 9, 11</p>
<p>7-24-18</p>	<p><b>Sessions hoists his pitchfork.</b> Attorney General Jeff Sessions joined a convention of conservative high school students in Washington, D.C. in chanting "Lock her up!", in reference to defeated presidential candidate Hillary Clinton.<sup>81</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>



<p>7-25-18</p>	<p><b><u>A reporter, to the dungeon.</u></b> White House communications staff banned a CNN reporter from a press event on grounds that her questions to Mr. Trump in an immediately preceding event had been inappropriate. Other news outlets, including Fox, found her behavior to have been customary, and they stood by her. The Washington Post characterized the incident as the first actual realization of Mr. Trump's frequent directives to aides to punish individual reporters.<sup>82</sup></p>	<p>1</p>
<p>7-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Illinois.</u></b> At a steel mill in Granite City, Illinois, Mr. Trump misleadingly touted his aggressively protectionist, reputedly scattershot, and highly controversial trade policies – policies that were abhorred even by many or most Republicans in Congress.</p> <p>He exaggerated the number of jobs that his steel tariffs had created at the plant and the number of steel plants that were opening across the country. He ignored the loss of jobs at nearby manufacturers who now had to pay more for their steel. He ignored the heavy damage that his trade wars were causing farmers (except to taunt, without explanation, “<i>we will not let anybody bully our wonderful American farmers</i>”). He boasted of the previous day's "breakthrough" trade agreement with the EU, and of Europe's "surrender," despite (as reported by CSD on pp. 33-34 above) his having been forced by Republicans to pull back on his bellicose tariff plans after having risked damaging the American economy. And he accused China of ongoing trade offenses because of its desire for Democrats to win the upcoming mid-term congressional elections, which in turn would bring Hispanic criminals across the Mexican border. (What?)<sup>83</sup></p> <p>As to his trade war in general, he said, “<i>We are winning, we're back and we are winning and we are winning bigger than anyone understands.</i>”<sup>84</sup> “<i>America never surrenders,</i>” he said.<sup>85</sup> None of that was true.</p> <p>In the campaign-style event, complete with booming music, Mr. Trump bashed the news media, praised North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un, bragged about humbling our NATO allies, and for good measure boasted of his 2016 election victory.<sup>86</sup> To that last point, he repeated his prior falsehood that the majority of American women had voted for him in 2016; in truth, only a majority of <i>white</i> women had voted for him;<sup>87</sup> so possibly those were the only women whom he recognized as being truly American. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>

<p>7-26-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] At one point Mr. Trump – the posh-living heir and billionaire who (unlike some members of CSD) had possibly never worked with his hands or machines for a day – said to the largely blue collar crowd, <i>"I look at the faces of you people. I could be one of you."</i><sup>88</sup></p> <p>Several Republican congressional candidates were in Mr. Trump's entourage, and he endorsed them. But the event was funded by taxpayer dollars – which was illegal relative to his and their campaign event.<sup>89</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>7-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Iowa.</u></b> Mr. Trump told a crowd in Dubuque, Iowa that, with respect to his July 25 trade discussion at the White House with European Commission President Jean-Claude Juncker (see CSD's entry on pp. 33-34 above):</p> <p><i>"We're opening things up. ... But the biggest one of all happened yesterday ... the EU .... We just opened up Europe for you farmers. You're not going to be too angry with Trump, I can tell you. You were essentially restricted. You had barriers that really made it impossible for farm products to go in ... you have just gotten yourself one big market that really essentially never existed."</i> According to The Wall Street Journal, European leaders disagreed. While possible movement on the beef and soybean trade had occurred, they said they had expressly declined to address any other aspect of agricultural tariffs.<sup>90</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump also said that the parties had agreed to <i>"no tariffs, no nothing, free trade"</i> – an Obama administration initiative that Mr. Trump had previously trashed, and that he and Juncker had now only posed as a (possible) aspiration, not an agreement.</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>7-27-18</p>	<p><b><u>What, me worry?</u></b> President Trump conducted a brief private meeting with his most senior advisors – his first on the topic – to learn what actions various federal agencies had undertaken to protect the 2018 mid-term elections from foreign interference. He listened to their reports; but as before since his own election, he reportedly offered no new direction or coordination.<sup>91</sup></p>	<p>12</p>

7-27-18	<b>Cooking the books (again).</b> Mr. Trump lauded the economy's current growth; and it indeed was growing. But, as reported by The New York Times, his remarks were peppered with false claims of scale and of his own wizardry. <sup>92</sup>	7
7-28-18	<b>Post-factual at HHS.</b> Politico reported on how the Trump administration's skewing and rejection of scientific data in favor of ideology, to an unprecedented extent, had contaminated the public-facing work of the policy-making unit of the Department of Health and Human Services. <sup>93</sup>	17 (8)
7-28-18	<b>Nazis emboldened in Pennsylvania.</b> In a chilling report, The Washington Post characterized the neo-Nazi cells that have long been prevalent in northern Pennsylvania as having become emboldened during and because of the presidency of Mr. Trump. <sup>94</sup>	17 (6)
7-29-18	<b>Mr. Trump and The Times.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted that a July 20 discussion that he had had with the publisher of The New York Times had been cordial, and he implied that the parties had agreed on the widespread problem of "Fake News." The publisher promptly issued a dissenting statement, writing that he had told Mr. Trump that his allegations of "Fake News" were inaccurate, and that Mr. Trump had been encouraging violence against journalists, especially overseas, by labeling the media "the enemy of the people." Mr. Trump then tweeted that the media were "unpatriotic" and the ones who were putting lives at risk, particularly attacking The Times and The Washington Post. <sup>95</sup>	1, 7
7-29-18	<b>The president versus the prosecutor.</b> As special prosecutor Robert Mueller appeared to be coming ever closer to Mr. Trump's inner circle in unearthing pertinent facts about Russian meddling in the 2016 election, Mr. Trump had been tweeting ever more often and critically about him in an effort to obstruct the investigation. Having ignored his own business conflicts of interest as president, on July 29 he detailed in a series of tweets what he characterized as Mueller's business conflicts which (he claimed) should militate Mueller's dismissal.	9, 12

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/22/us/politics/trump-deal-maker.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york->

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[times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection](#)

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/politics/trump-crowd-sound/?utm\\_term=.d3ea539df24f](https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/politics/trump-crowd-sound/?utm_term=.d3ea539df24f)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/24/us/politics/trump-challenge-coins.html>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2018/06/25/most-immigrants-who-enter-the-country-do-so-legally-federal-data-show/?utm\\_term=.731f316d15db&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/wonk/wp/2018/06/25/most-immigrants-who-enter-the-country-do-so-legally-federal-data-show/?utm_term=.731f316d15db&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/factory-workers-arent-getting-what-trump-promised/2018/06/25/725d7c92-78b4-11e8-aeec-4d04c8ac6158\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.a68f3c13a0de&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/factory-workers-arent-getting-what-trump-promised/2018/06/25/725d7c92-78b4-11e8-aeec-4d04c8ac6158_story.html?utm_term=.a68f3c13a0de&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/even-the-supreme-court-knows-trump-is-freaking-out-the-world/2018/06/26/19a6dbf8-7976-11e8-93cc-6d3becdd7a3\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.49505c67dee8&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/even-the-supreme-court-knows-trump-is-freaking-out-the-world/2018/06/26/19a6dbf8-7976-11e8-93cc-6d3becdd7a3_story.html?utm_term=.49505c67dee8&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/27/politics/sotomayor-roberts-trump-president-normal/index.html>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/06/28/politics/donald-trump-north-dakota-speech/index.html>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/28/us/politics/fact-check-trump-north-dakota-rally.html>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/29/world/europe/iom-trump-migration-ken-isaacs.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/06/29/opinion/dave-eggers-culture-arts-trump.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection>

<sup>11</sup> <http://thehill.com/homenews/administration/395102-leaked-trump-bill-would-abandon-key-wto-rules-axios>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/02/world/europe/trump-nato.html>

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.gq-magazine.co.uk/article/donald-trump-melania-trump-knauss-first-lady-erectons> and <https://www.usmagazine.com/celebrity-news/news/melania-trumps-nude-1995-modeling-pictures-surface-w431848/>

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/news-media-paid-melania-trump-thousands-use-photos-positive-stories-n883111>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/07/02/politics/scott-pruitt-whistleblower-secret-calendar/index.html>

<sup>16</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/emails-reveal-close-rapport-between-top-epa-officials-those-they-regulate/2018/07/01/6c5a62b6-7642-11e8-805c-4b67019fcfe4\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.1922d9752992&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/emails-reveal-close-rapport-between-top-epa-officials-those-they-regulate/2018/07/01/6c5a62b6-7642-11e8-805c-4b67019fcfe4_story.html?utm_term=.1922d9752992&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2018/06/30/top-epa-ethics-official-discloses-that-he-has-urged-additional-investigations-into-scott-pruitt/?utm\\_term=.bf0b95c9f70a&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/energy-environment/wp/2018/06/30/top-epa-ethics-official-discloses-that-he-has-urged-additional-investigations-into-scott-pruitt/?utm_term=.bf0b95c9f70a&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

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- <sup>18</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/pruitt-aides-reveal-new-details-of-his-spending-and-management-at-epa/2018/07/02/71b87384-7aec-11e8-80be-6d32e182a3bc\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.fffa2d231ba6&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/pruitt-aides-reveal-new-details-of-his-spending-and-management-at-epa/2018/07/02/71b87384-7aec-11e8-80be-6d32e182a3bc_story.html?utm_term=.fffa2d231ba6&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>19</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/trump-epa-head-steps-down-after-wave-of-ethics-management-scandals/2018/07/05/39f4251a-6813-11e8-bea7-c8eb28bc52b1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.8ce70a741828](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/trump-epa-head-steps-down-after-wave-of-ethics-management-scandals/2018/07/05/39f4251a-6813-11e8-bea7-c8eb28bc52b1_story.html?utm_term=.8ce70a741828) and <https://www.politico.com/interactives/2018/scott-pruitt-epa-ethics-spending/>
- <sup>20</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/andrew-wheeler-ethics-probe\\_us\\_5b5a7deae4b0fd5c73cd874c](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/andrew-wheeler-ethics-probe_us_5b5a7deae4b0fd5c73cd874c)
- <sup>21</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/06/us/politics/fact-check-trump-montana.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=9&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>22</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/07/10/anatomy-of-a-trump-rally-76-percent-of-claims-are-false-misleading-or-lacking-evidence/?utm\\_term=.03cfe06fb94e&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/07/10/anatomy-of-a-trump-rally-76-percent-of-claims-are-false-misleading-or-lacking-evidence/?utm_term=.03cfe06fb94e&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>23</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/05/trump-supreme-court-personal-692403>
- <sup>24</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts\\_law/brett-kavanaugh-trumps-supreme-court-pick-has-sided-with-broad-views-of-presidential-powers/2018/07/09/1618bec0-83a8-11e8-8553-a3ce89036c78\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.563f0f76b8a9&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/courts_law/brett-kavanaugh-trumps-supreme-court-pick-has-sided-with-broad-views-of-presidential-powers/2018/07/09/1618bec0-83a8-11e8-8553-a3ce89036c78_story.html?utm_term=.563f0f76b8a9&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/09/brett-kavanaugh-mueller-russia-probe-704162>
- <sup>25</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/10/us/politics/brett-kavanaugh-trump-mueller-subpoena.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>26</sup> <https://www.mypalmbeachpost.com/news/national-govt--politics/trump-foundation-donated-charities-that-booked-galas-mar-lago/mfh5YFm3bK8iUOVQ8UnXKN/>
- <sup>27</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/07/07/politics/wsj-aca-risk-adjustment/index.html>
- <sup>28</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/10/us/politics/trump-affordable-care-act.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>29</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/07/china-trade-war-ivanka-trump-business-shoes-701668> and [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-china-tariffs-spare-clothing-shoes-ivanka-safe\\_us\\_5b42a597e4b09e4a8b2e72c3](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-china-tariffs-spare-clothing-shoes-ivanka-safe_us_5b42a597e4b09e4a8b2e72c3)
- <sup>30</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ivanka-trump-american-jobs\\_us\\_5b525ab1e4b0b15aba8ee190](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ivanka-trump-american-jobs_us_5b525ab1e4b0b15aba8ee190)
- <sup>31</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/08/health/world-health-breastfeeding-ecuador-trump.html>
- <sup>32</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/09/well/breastfeeding-trump-resolution.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=4&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>33</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/business/wp/2018/07/10/pfizer-buckles-under-pressure-from-trump-delays-drug-price-increases/?utm\\_term=.3aef3f17098c&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/business/wp/2018/07/10/pfizer-buckles-under-pressure-from-trump-delays-drug-price-increases/?utm_term=.3aef3f17098c&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

- <sup>34</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/10/us/politics/trump-pardon-hammond-oregon.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=6&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>35</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/13/world/europe/trump-europe.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=8&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>36</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/trump-says-germanyis-captive-to-russia-in-fiery-opening-salvo-against-nato/2018/07/11/56aa7174-7f0a-11e8-a63f-7b5d2aba7ac5\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.85508a868bea&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/trump-says-germanyis-captive-to-russia-in-fiery-opening-salvo-against-nato/2018/07/11/56aa7174-7f0a-11e8-a63f-7b5d2aba7ac5_story.html?utm_term=.85508a868bea&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and [https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-wants-europe-to-buy-u-s-gasbut-russia-is-in-his-way-1532619275?mod=ITP\\_us\\_0&tesla=y](https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-wants-europe-to-buy-u-s-gasbut-russia-is-in-his-way-1532619275?mod=ITP_us_0&tesla=y)
- <sup>37</sup> <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/07/nato-summit-all-the-lies-trump-told-about-his-performance-in-brussels.html> and <https://www.cnn.com/2018/07/12/politics/trump-nato-press-conference-fact-check/index.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/trump-upends-nato-summit-demanding-immediate-spending-increases-or-he-willdo-his-own-thing/2018/07/12/a3818cc6-7f0a-11e8-a63f-7b5d2aba7ac5\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.227678fed1fb&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europe/trump-upends-nato-summit-demanding-immediate-spending-increases-or-he-willdo-his-own-thing/2018/07/12/a3818cc6-7f0a-11e8-a63f-7b5d2aba7ac5_story.html?utm_term=.227678fed1fb&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)
- <sup>38</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/12/donald-trump-behavior-nato-summit-europe-716035>
- <sup>39</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2018/07/12/ralph-peters-trump-merkel-nato-disturbed-child-sot-ac-vpx.cnn>
- <sup>40</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/pentagon-goes-damage-control-mode-reassure-nato-allies-n891096>
- <sup>41</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/13/world/europe/trump-europe.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=8&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>42</sup> <https://www.politico.eu/article/donald-trump-europe-queen-elizabeth-snubbed-by-uk-royal-family/>
- <sup>43</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/07/13/politics/trump-popularity-history/index.html>
- <sup>44</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-brought-lies-to-europe\\_us\\_5b48b0d3e4b0e7c958fa9c59](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-brought-lies-to-europe_us_5b48b0d3e4b0e7c958fa9c59)
- <sup>45</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/14/us/politics/trump-russia-putin.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>46</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/07/14/trump-turnberry-scotland-golf-promotion-presidency-722200?cid=apn>
- <sup>47</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/07/15/opinions/donald-trump-informercial-scotland-obeidallah/index.html>
- <sup>48</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-turnberry-us-government-taxpayer-dollars\\_us\\_5b4eecbbe4b0b15aba89e86b](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-turnberry-us-government-taxpayer-dollars_us_5b4eecbbe4b0b15aba89e86b)

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- <sup>49</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/14/world/europe/uk-trump-scotland-golf.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>50</sup> <https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2018/07/trump-turnberry-resort-scotland/>
- <sup>51</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/not-exactly-rolling-out-the-red-carpet-trump-visit-to-turnberry-resort-spotlights-challenge-facing-his-brand/2018/07/11/d7294386-83ae-11e8-8f6c-46cb43e3f306\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.728e0bfe6261&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/not-exactly-rolling-out-the-red-carpet-trump-visit-to-turnberry-resort-spotlights-challenge-facing-his-brand/2018/07/11/d7294386-83ae-11e8-8f6c-46cb43e3f306_story.html?utm_term=.728e0bfe6261&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
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## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### *Addendum 18 – September 3, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

7-30-18, 7-31-18	<p><b><u>Collusion's cool.</u></b> Mr. Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani, and then Mr. Trump himself – confronting long-standing concerns that Mr. Trump's 2016 campaign may have colluded with Russia in the latter's election interference – said that "<u>collusion is not a crime.</u>" While that was technically correct – the term "collusion" apparently doesn't appear in federal criminal statutes – conspiracy to hack computers, to steal confidential data, to tamper with elections, and to assist foreign powers in injuring the U.S. are decidedly federal crimes. CSD was not certain whether Giuliani and Mr. Trump were parsing words or instead trivializing those possible grievous charges; but they were clearly trivializing something. CSD believes that <u>no other president would have made such a treacherous statement in the context of dealings with a foreign adversary.</u></p>	7, 9, 12
7-31-18	<p><b><u>More are born every minute.</u></b> TheHill.com reported on two new surveys that reflected the apparent success of Mr. Trump's having discredited basic American institutions and values. One poll found that substantial numbers of voters would welcome or tolerate Russian assistance to Republican congressional candidates in the upcoming mid-term elections.<sup>1</sup> The other found that the majority of voters believed that the FBI, in its investigations, had acted with bias for or against Mr. Trump or Hillary Clinton.<sup>2</sup></p>	7, 9, 12

<p>7-31-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Tampa.</u></b> At a campaign rally for a congressional candidate in Florida, Mr. Trump launched his usual fury against the "fake news," Hispanic gangs, House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, Congresswoman Maxine Waters, cancer-stricken Senator John McCain, and Democrats who he falsely alleged had welcomed criminals "pouring into our country." He drew the usual chants of "Lock her up!" (for "Crooked Hillary" Clinton) and "Build the wall!" (for Hispanic migrants).</p> <p>A video captured the crowd vulgarly abusing the members of the press who were present.<sup>3</sup> Also, a prominent contingent of attendees identified themselves by T-shirts and signs as members of the fringe group QAnon. QAnon purveys wide-ranging conspiracy theories, including about a pedophilia ring among Hollywood elites; also a plot by a globalist cabal – including President Obama, the Clintons and the Rothschilds – to run the country and to kill Mr. Trump, which plot (they claim) Mr. Trump and special prosecutor Robert Mueller are secretly allied in foiling.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's misstatements at the rally included that Democrats sought to give undocumented migrants the right to vote; that he had started building the border wall and that Congress had given him \$1.6 billion to do that; that he had passed the biggest tax cut in American history; that people already needed IDs to buy groceries (and thus should need them to vote); that he was the most popular president among Republicans in history; that Russian President Putin was "very unhappy" that Mr. Trump was president; that "savage gangs" were occupying our country; that thousands of people were standing outside who couldn't fit into the hall; that U.S. Steel had committed to building six new steel mills (as yet not announced by the company – and if true, a breach of securities laws relative to disclosing inside information); that the Uzbek terrorist who had killed eight people in Manhattan had brought in 22 family members through "chain migration"; and that the new embassy in Jerusalem would cost only \$400,000 (actual cost: tens of millions).</p> <p>He also said that his political "movement" (however that might be defined – Make America Great Again?) was "the greatest movement in the history of America" – that is, surpassing such socially positive, coherently articulated and successful movements as labor rights, civil rights and women's rights. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>7-31-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] Mr. Trump stood in front of a "Promises Made. Promises Kept" banner, despite his having failed to deliver on many of his key campaign pledges: building the border wall, repealing the Affordable Care Act and replacing it with something better, eliminating (or even shrinking) the federal deficit, draining (or even shrinking) the swamp, making America more respected abroad (or even maintaining its level of respect), favoring the middle class over Wall Street and the wealthy, and bringing peace to the Middle East – all of which he had once predicted would be easy. Nevertheless, one attendee said, <i>"Trump is the first person that's done what he said he's gonna do."</i><sup>4</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Fire Mueller now! Free Manafort, too!</u></b> Within a series of seven tweets, Mr. Trump shouted that <i>"Attorney General Jeff Sessions should stop this Rigged Witch Hunt right now, before it continues to stain our country any further. Bob Mueller is totally conflicted, and his 17 Angry Democrats that are doing his dirty work are a disgrace to USA!"</i> He also tweeted (as he had done often before) that the investigation was a "hoax." And he tweeted sympathy for his former campaign chief Paul Manafort, who was on trial for tax evasion and bank fraud – calling that trial too a "hoax," and thus directly interfering with judicial process.</p> <p>Mueller was expected to examine the tweets themselves in investigating whether Mr. Trump had sought to obstruct justice. The tweets meanwhile re-confirmed Mr. Trump's continuing acquiescence to Russian election meddling.</p>	<p>2, 9, 12</p>
<p>8-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Just the facts, ma'am.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had now made 4,229 false or misleading claims during his presidency, raising the rate from an initial 4.9 claims per day to 7.6 in a recently accelerating trend. On July 5 he had made 79 false or misleading claims in a single day. The Post wrote: <i>"Trump has a proclivity to repeat, over and over, many of his false or misleading statements. We've counted nearly 150 claims that the president has repeated at least three times, some with breathtaking frequency."</i> Some of the most common and repeated falsehoods pertained to the economy, immigration, the special prosecutor's Russia investigation, taxes, NATO spending, and trade. The Post wrote that the falsehoods, among other things, had indicated "a fundamental misunderstanding of economics."<sup>5</sup></p>	<p>7</p>

<p>8-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Insurance for some.</u></b> The Trump administration issued a <u>final rule allowing the sale of inexpensive, skimpy, "short-term" health insurance policies that would leave customers exposed for claims for pre-existing conditions and catastrophic illnesses.</u> (CSD had previously noted the proposal.) The policies were widely viewed as being attractive to the young and the healthy, such that premiums on Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") policies for the old and the ill would rise, many insurable events would go uncovered, and <u>Americans' health would likely suffer.</u> (CSD does not take a position on the Affordable Care Act – only on Mr. Trump's vengeful and demagogic effort to destroy it without having a suitable replacement in place.)</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>8-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Pennsylvania.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania for senatorial candidate Lou Barletta, Mr. Trump jeered the "fake disgusting news" as "horrible, horrendous people" who "only make up stories." He extensively slammed the press for undercutting his many real or imagined wins: his Pennsylvania election victory, his good relations with Russian President Vladimir Putin, his (purportedly) triumphant engagement with North Korea, his purportedly <i>exceptional</i> relations with NATO leaders, and the purportedly brilliant outcomes of his tax and economic policies. He also said that the press had lied in reporting that he had arrived late for his meeting with Queen Elizabeth in London the previous month, when video footage plainly showed her waiting for 12 minutes.<sup>6</sup> His supporters screamed "CNN Sucks!"</p> <p>As for immigration, Mr. Trump said that his campaign accusation that Mexico was sending "rapists" to the U.S. was "peanuts compared to what turns out to be the truth." He continued to brand the Hispanic gang MS-13 as the exemplar of all undocumented migrants – even though, according to the Philadelphia Inquirer, its members represent less than 1% of gang membership in America and a tiny fraction of undocumented migrants altogether.<sup>7</sup> He falsely accused Pennsylvania Senator Bob Casey of favoring open borders and the abolition of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency (ICE) (also of refusing to meet with Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh and to debate Barletta). He also touted his border wall and his call for more border patrol agents. He said, "It's our country, so get the hell out!" [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>8-2-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump drew cries of "Lock her [Hillary Clinton] up!" And he charged that special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation was a "hoax" – only hours after five of his top national security officials (FBI director Christopher Wray, Director of National Intelligence Dan Coats, Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen, National Security Advisor John Bolton, and National Security Agency chief Paul Nakasone) had condemned and cautioned of Russian election meddling past and present.</p> <p>As in Tampa on July 31, QAnon members were prominently visible, and tolerated.</p> <p>But when an anti-Trump protestor appeared in the crowd, Mr. Trump directed – in a sneer of cold command, as he had done while campaigning – "<i>All right. Get 'em out. Get 'em out. Get 'em outta' here.</i>" To be sure, all presidents have encountered protestors. But CSD members do not recall a recent president having issued such imperious, thuggish directives (if any directives at all) to expel them. We do, however, personally recall the campaign appearances in Pennsylvania of Presidents Eisenhower and Kennedy, who had commanded hard men during wartime. Mr. Trump, in what seemed a pretense to a criminal boss's style of command, did not resemble them in any respect.</p>	<p>1, 3, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>Philadelphia immigration judge removed.</u></b> The Justice Department removed a well-regarded Philadelphia immigration judge from an asylum case for seeking to gather more information on the case before ruling; and it replaced him with a different judge who promptly deported the (Hispanic) asylum claimant. The move was extraordinary, but consistent with Attorney General Jeff Sessions's recent directive to speed up asylum hearings, even if at the expense of justice. It reportedly shocked the local immigration bar as well as retired immigration judges, who protested in a letter.<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>17 (2, 6, 14)</p>

<p>8-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Voter fraud – just saying stuff.</u></b> A member of Mr. Trump's now defunct Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity – having at last procured via a court order the commission's records that Mr. Trump's allies on the commission had astonishingly withheld from other members – charged that the documents established that the commission had been convened specifically to prove widespread voter fraud in the 2016 presidential election, but that its findings instead confirmed that no substantial voter fraud had occurred in recent history. Still, Mr. Trump and his allies continued to claim that fraud had robbed him of a popular vote victory in 2016.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>4, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-3-18, 8-6-18</p>	<p><b><u>Labels.</u></b></p> <p><i><u>A populist?</u></i> On August 3, a New York Times columnist criticized the media for characterizing Mr. Trump as a "populist," when his major initiatives had appeared to have been aimed at helping corporations and the wealthy rather than (or more than) the poor, working and middle classes – particularly in the areas of taxes, health care, labor and regulation (e.g., relative to banking, the environment, worker safety, and consumer protection).<sup>10</sup> While CSD does not take a substantive position on those issues, we do agree with the columnist that the outcomes do not seem to have obviously favored "the people," despite Mr. Trump's claims otherwise.</p> <p>Which, then, if any, of Mr. Trump's principal positions might properly be called "populist?" CSD would place the following items at least partly in that column: his call (for now) to protect social benefit entitlements; his protectionist tariffs (which had been widely viewed as boosting some jobs while destroying others); his hostility toward educated "elites," their culture, their global outlook, their tech industries, their belief in science, and their universities (except if he or his appointees had attended them); and above all his ethno-nationalism and anti-immigrant xenophobia (which CSD believes comport with only a type of populism, one associated with torches and pitchforks).</p> <p>But what, if anything, is anti-democratic about claiming to be for the people to the extent one is not, or to be for the people in patently destructive ways? CSD would characterize the behavior as indicated in the right-hand column. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>8-3-18, 8-6-18</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p><u>A Republican?</u> On August 6, a Washington Post columnist summarized the many ways in which Mr. Trump had forsaken Republican Party principles: his uncritical embrace of Russia and other brutal autocracies; his attacks on democratic allies; his pursuit of massive deficit budgeting; his abandonment of free trade and free domestic markets; and his excoriation of the free press.<sup>11</sup> CSD would add to the list his antipathy toward the pro-immigration principles of the Republican Party's business wing, and his disdain for the party's long-proclaimed "family values" (a phrase that we do not recall Mr. Trump having used often, if at all.)</p> <p>But what is anti-democratic about scuttling the core doctrines of a major American political party? – Theoretically nothing; things change. But if the change flows from the whim and concoction of a single, fraudulent demagogue, something is very wrong.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>8-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Raking it in.</u></b> The Washington Post, in reporting that a Saudi Arabian government delegation had recently spent heavily at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, noted that delegations from Malaysia, the Philippines and Kuwait were also known to have patronized the property since it opened after Mr. Trump's election, and while the administration was conducting diplomacy with those countries; but that Mr. Trump's company had continued to keep the details of foreign patronage secret. (Mr. Trump was then still being sued for violating the Constitution's prohibitions on him accepting foreign and domestic "emoluments" at the hotel.)<sup>12</sup></p>	<p>15</p>
<p>8-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Donald, Don and LeBron.</u></b> After CNN host Don Lemon and NBA star LeBron James criticized Mr. Trump on television, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Lebron James was just interviewed by the dumbest man on television, Don Lemon. He made Lebron look smart, which isn't easy to do."</i> Mr. Trump had previously alleged low intelligence in his African American foils (Lemon and Congresswoman Maxine Waters), and he would do so again on August 13 (Omarosa Manigault Newman – see below). He had also frequently attacked, as unpatriotic, black athletes who had protested his policies and rhetoric.</p>	<p>6, 11</p>



<p>8-4-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Ohio.</u></b> At a rally for a congressional candidate in Lewis Center, Ohio, Mr. Trump ripped his usual targets, including MSNBC ("so corrupt ... so disgusting") and the special prosecutor's investigation (a "witch hunt"). He drew the crowd's by now obligatory chants, "CNN sucks!" and "Build the wall!" He also attacked the coastal "elites," repeating his narrative that his supporters were smarter and richer than them and thus were themselves the true "elite" – thus exploiting the politics of jealousy, resentment and negativity that (in CSD's view) had long been more characteristic of places like Russia than America.* In fact one visual image of the rally went viral: a photo of a pair of burly Trump supporters wearing T-shirts that read, "I'd rather be Russian than Democrat."</p> <p>[*<i>The standing joke:</i> A poor American and a poor Russian watch as someone roars by in a luxury sports car. The American says, "I want to be able to get one of those!" The Russian says, "I want to kill that bastard."]</p>	<p>1, 6, 9, 12, 17 (12)</p>
<p>8-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>Forest fire fantasies.</u></b> As the most extensive wildfires in California's history raged, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"California wildfires are being magnified &amp; made so much worse by the bad environmental laws which aren't allowing massive amount of readily available water to be properly utilized. It is being diverted into the Pacific Ocean. Must also tree clear to stop fire spreading!"</i> Experts disagreed with his assessment of cause and effect, and noted his failure to name human-generated climate change as a possible, if not likely, cause.<sup>13</sup></p>	<p>7, 8</p>
<p>8-5-18, 8-7-18</p>	<p><b><u>Tariffs vs. the national debt.</u></b> On August 5, Mr. Trump tweeted that the extensive tariffs he had been imposing on imports were a major success – even though, in truth, the U.S. trade deficit that Mr. Trump had demonized continued to mushroom. He also said that his tariffs would pay down the national debt, and at the expense of foreign exporters; but as a Washington Post business analyst explained, a projected \$21 billion in revenue from the new tariffs (a) would in truth effectively be paid by American companies and consumers; (b) would be reduced by the \$12 billion in subsidies that Mr. Trump had ordered for farmers injured by his trade wars; and (c) in any event would barely make a dent in the \$21 trillion debt – to which at least \$1.6 trillion was being added by Mr. Trump's own tax cuts and additional spending.<sup>14</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 10</p>

<p>8-5-18, 8-7-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] An August 7 New York Times analysis likewise concluded that the tariffs would barely scratch the national debt, to which Mr. Trump had been substantially adding.<sup>15</sup></p> <p>More generally, the overall economic merit of Mr. Trump's tariffs and trade wars versus their potential injuries continued to be fiercely debated, particularly within Mr. Trump's own party.</p>	<p>7, 10</p>
<p>8-5-18, 8-7-18</p>	<p><b><u>The Enemy of the People threatens our national security.</u></b> On August 5, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>The Fake News hates me saying that they are the Enemy of the People only because they know it's TRUE. I am providing a great service by explaining this to the American People. They purposely cause great division &amp; distrust. They can also cause War! They are very dangerous &amp; sick!</i>"</p> <p>Two days later, newly published survey results showed that <u>48% of Republicans had come to believe that the media indeed was "the enemy of the people"; also that 43% said that "the president should have the authority to close news outlets for bad behavior."</u><sup>16</sup></p>	<p>1</p>
<p>8-6-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Favoring Saudi Arabia over Canada re human rights.</u></b> On August 2, the Canadian foreign minister had tweeted concern about Saudi Arabia's recent imprisonment of prominent human rights and women's rights advocates. On August 6, the Saudis retaliated by expelling the Canadian ambassador, recalling their own, vowing to interfere in internal Canadian affairs, freezing future trade and investment in Canada, and pulling thousands of Saudi students from Canadian universities.</p> <p>Ordinarily the U.S. would have come to Canada's defense. But in a showing of Mr. Trump's contempt for liberal democratic Canada and his friendship toward authoritarian Saudi Arabia, the State Department on August 7 broke with tradition by publicly stating that although it was concerned about due process in Saudi Arabia, it wouldn't take sides in that country's dispute with Canada.<sup>17</sup></p>	<p>12, 14</p>

<p>8-9-18</p>	<p><b><u>The obstruction team (or part of it).</u></b></p> <p>1. <i>Nunes</i>. House Intelligence Committee chair Devin Nunes – having ardently, untruthfully and at times ridiculously hamstrung (and then finally terminated) his committee's investigation of the Russian election meddling, and having called for the impeachment of Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein (who supervises special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation) – was revealed to have openly said at a fundraising event that the Republican Party must retain its majority in Congress [and thus control of his committee] to protect Mr. Trump from special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation. He thus made clear that he saw his, his party's, and Congress's role as protecting the president, rather than serving as a constitutional check on him.</p> <p>2. <i>Giuliani</i>. Rudy Giuliani – Mr. Trump's famously flamboyant, disjointed and self-contradictory attorney – said that a Justice Department rule required that Mueller end his investigation within 60 days prior to the upcoming congressional elections. His untruths: (a) no such rule exists; (b) an <i>unwritten protocol</i> discourages <i>publicity</i> about investigations of <i>candidates</i> – it does not suggest limiting the investigations themselves, and none of Mueller's known targets are running for office; and (c) even the protocol is not always honored, as when then FBI director James Comey, only weeks before the 2016 presidential election, announced that his investigation of candidate Hillary Clinton's email practices had resumed.<sup>18</sup></p> <p>3. <i>The obstructer-in-chief</i>. Mr. Trump tweeted: “<i>This is an illegally brought Rigged Witch Hunt run by people who are totally corrupt and/or conflicted. It was started and paid for by Crooked Hillary and the Democrats. Phony Dossier, FISA disgrace and so many lying and dishonest people already fired. 17 Angry Dems? Stay tuned!</i>” Once again, he appeared to be threatening to fire Mueller.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 17 (7, 9, 12)</p>
<p>8-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>Knee-capping the kneelers.</u></b> A day after on-field player protests of racial inequality resumed at a series of NFL pre-season games, Mr. Trump tweeted his objections. He complained that fans were buying expensive tickets to enrich the ungrateful players, and that most of the protesters couldn't even define their grievances (grievances that he himself had never even acknowledged).</p>	<p>6</p>

8-11-18	<p><b>Both sides now.</b> As white supremacists prepared to rally only blocks from the White House on the anniversary of the notorious march on Charlottesville, Mr. Trump again refused to condemn the racists – instead, as before, equivocating as between the marchers and the counter-protesters. He tweeted: <i>“Riots in Charlottesville a year ago resulted in senseless death and division. We must come together as a nation. I condemn all types of racism and acts of violence. Peace to ALL Americans!”</i></p>	6
8-12-18	<p><b>Boycotting Harley.</b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump endorsed a consumer boycott of Harley-Davidson for its having undertaken to move some of its manufacturing operations overseas as a result of his trade wars. CSD has frequently noted Mr. Trump's pointed efforts to injure the businesses of Harley, Amazon and other companies that he believes to have crossed him. But remarkably, an effective boycott of Harley would eliminate hundreds of Harley jobs – the very jobs that Mr. Trump had claimed to be protecting.</p>	9, 10, 11
8-12-18	<p><b>Voter suppression.</b> The New York Times detailed how Mr. Trump's Justice Department was supporting various states in their efforts to suppress voting (typically on the part of young, old, poor, and/or minority voters – not Mr. Trump's base): aggressive voter role purges, restrictions on absentee ballots, harsh voter identification requirements, and racially motivated gerrymandering.<sup>19</sup> In recent decades the federal government had sought instead to protect and expand the franchise, as it indeed was obliged to under federal law.</p>	4, 6
8-13-18	<p><b>The joy of giving.</b> Politico detailed how Mr. Trump's golf clubs had been selling Trump-branded merchandise at a discount to selected presidential aides. The discounts amounted to inappropriate gifts, or (arguably) bribes. At the same time, they promoted Mr. Trump's business brand. The activities appeared to be unethical, if not illegal.</p>	15; plus bribery (its own category)
8-13-18 +	<p><b>Omarosa and NDAs.</b> The imminent publication of former White House staffer Omarosa Manigault Newman's tell-all book alleging that Mr. Trump was racist, misogynistic and mentally incompetent, and her publicizing bootleg tapes of inside White House conversations, sparked Mr. Trump to tweet that the African American woman was a "crazed, crying lowlife," and a "dog." His campaign counsel wrote to the publisher, baselessly and unconstitutionally threatening litigation.<sup>20</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 17 (extortion and bribery)

<p>8-13-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Who was Omarosa? In the words of a Washington Post columnist, himself African American: <i>"Omarosa achieved single-name fame as a contestant on Trump's show 'The Apprentice,' where she performed with Shakespearean villainy — lying, cheating, backstabbing, viciously advancing her own interests and sabotaging her rivals. Trump evidently found all of this admirable, because he insisted on bringing her into his administration as a top-level adviser despite her utter lack of experience and qualifications. They deserve each other."</i><sup>21</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's own further thoughts, via Twitter: <i>"People in the White House hated her. She was vicious, but not smart. I would rarely see her but heard really bad things. Nasty to people &amp; would constantly miss meetings &amp; work. When Gen. Kelly came on board he told me she was a loser &amp; nothing but problems. I told him to try working it out, if possible, because she only said GREAT things about me — until she got fired!"</i></p> <p>The tapes appeared to indicate an extortionistic threat on the part of chief of staff John Kelly to injure Newman's reputation if she were to go public with unflattering information, plus an offer of a bribe of \$15,000 per month to remain silent.</p> <p>The fracas pointed to the remarkable array of self-serving, flamboyant, deceptive, ruthless, erratic and legally slippery advisors and agents with whom Mr. Trump had surrounded himself during and since his campaign in addition to Newman: Steven Bannon, Paul Manafort, Corey Lewandowski, Michael Cohen, Roger Stone, Scott Pruitt, Ryan Zinke and others (not even counting his horde of deceptive surrogates and advocates such as Sean Spicer, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, KellyAnne Conway, Rudy Giuliani, Jay Sekulow and Donald Trump, Jr.). Is having a stable of unsavory agents anti-democratic? CSD believes so, if they individually and collectively undermine the government's integrity, credibility, and commitment to core American values. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 17 (extortion and bribery)</p>
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<p>8-13-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] The Newman episode also revived discussions of Mr. Trump's disturbing and unprecedented requirement that many staff sign perpetual non-disclosure and non-disparagement agreements in favor of himself and his family members, including as to the beneficiaries' personal and financial affairs and unclassified information. The practice struck some observers as being contrary to the staff's First Amendment rights and to their obligation to protect the country before protecting the president.<sup>22</sup> In addition, a Post reporter wrote: <i>"The rampant use of such nondisclosure agreements underscores a culture — fostered by Trump himself — of paranoia, leaks, audio recordings and infighting that has pervaded his dealings for decades and continues into his presidency, according to current and former aides."</i><sup>23</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 9, 10, 11, 17 (extortion and bribery)</p>
<p>8-13-18, 8-14-18</p>	<p><b>Defying Congress.</b> After signing a major defense spending bill on August 13, Mr. Trump issued a signing statement in which he announced that he would decline to enforce some 50 of the bill's provisions as unconstitutional intrusions on his presidential powers – including provisions limiting his authority to support Russia militarily and to withdraw troops from South Korea, and provisions obligating him to disclose information to Congress.<sup>24</sup> Other recent presidents had also used and abused such signing statements, but – in CSD's view – not as part of a broadly authoritarian assertion of executive power such as Mr. Trump had long deployed.</p> <p>Along similar lines, in a New York Times opinion piece, a writer argued that Mr. Trump's persistent attempts to destroy the duly legislated Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") by unilateral executive action was not only inhumane and self-serving, but (because contrary to Congress's will) illegal.<sup>25</sup></p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>8-14-18</p>	<p><b>Tweeting: in multitudes, for multitudes.</b> In eight morning tweets, Mr. Trump railed against "Crooked Hillary" Clinton, the Justice Department, the FBI and his attorney general Jeff Sessions, all relative to the special prosecutor's investigation of him and his campaign with respect to Russian election meddling. He yet again termed the investigation a "Rigged Witch Hunt" and called for its termination. As many commentators had noted under this presidency, repeating the same false allegations again and again is a favored mechanism of authoritarian regimes, and an effective means of convincing populations of their truth.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>

<p>8-15-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Brennan's security clearance revoked.</u></b> On August 15, Mr. Trump announced, through his press secretary, that he had revoked the security clearance of one of his critics, former CIA director John Brennan. Among other things, the move curtailed current government officials from consulting with Brennan. It was reportedly unprecedented on the part of a sitting president; and it appeared to abridge Brennan's First Amendment rights, the interests of national security, and established institutional protocols for revoking security clearances. Characteristic of Mr. Trump, it was vengeful and political – aimed at silencing and humiliating Brennan and other critics, not protecting national security. Reportedly it had occurred without the prior knowledge of Dan Coats, the Director of National Intelligence.</p> <p>In a written statement, Mr. Trump accused Brennan of <i>"unfounded and outrageous allegations, wild outbursts on the internet and on television about this Administration."</i> He said that Brennan's <i>"lying and recent conduct, characterized by increasingly frenzied commentary, is wholly inconsistent with access to the Nation's most closely held secrets and facilitates the very aim of adversaries, which is to sow division and chaos."</i> Commentators were quick to note that he had projected onto Brennan, a long-serving American patriot whose strategic advice had secured the elimination of Osama Bin Laden, some of Mr. Trump's own worst traits.</p> <p>But in reality, as The Wall Street Journal reported based on an interview with Mr. Trump, his true motivation in punishing Brennan (and in threatening to so punish others – see below) was to quash the special prosecutor's probe of Russian election interference.<sup>26</sup></p> <p>The White House contemporaneously reiterated its threat to revoke the clearances of many other former senior officials whom Mr. Trump considered to be his enemies, as CSD had first reported on July 23; but the list of his targets had now grown. Those on the list had served the country honorably and selflessly, many for decades – in sharp contrast to Mr. Trump himself. Commentators recalled President Nixon's secret "enemies list" (Nixon too had considered <i>his</i> enemies to be <i>America's</i> enemies), the revelation of which list over 40 years ago had sparked national outrage; except that Mr. Trump paraded his list publicly, and much of the country – by now accustomed to his wildly anti-democratic behavior – was not outraged. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>
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<p>8-15-18+</p>	<p>[Continued.] On August 16, The Washington Post reported that <i>"of the more than a dozen officials with what could be construed as leadership roles in [overseeing the special prosecutor's] investigation, more than half have been fired and/or threatened with official recourse."</i><sup>27</sup></p> <p>On the same day, retired Navy Admiral William McRaven – who as commander of the U.S. Joint Operations Special Command had overseen the Navy Seals in executing the Bin Laden operation – addressed Mr. Trump in a Post op-ed: <i>"I would consider it an honor if you would revoke my security clearance as well."</i></p> <p>McRaven also wrote: <i>"John Brennan ... is one of the finest public servants I have ever known. Few Americans have done more to protect this country than John. He is a man of unparalleled integrity, whose honesty and character have never been in question .... Through your actions, you have embarrassed us in the eyes of our children, humiliated us on the world stage and, worst of all, divided us as a nation. If you think for a moment that your McCarthy-era tactics will suppress the voices of criticism, you are sadly mistaken."</i><sup>28</sup></p> <p>Twelve top former intelligence officials who collectively had served under Presidents Reagan, Clinton, George W. Bush and Obama (and who were soon afterwards joined by others of that rank) then issued a joint condemnation of Mr. Trump's action with respect to Brennan. The next day, on August 17, some 60 lower-ranking former CIA officers of varying party affiliations signed a similar letter. On August 20, another 177 former officials signed.<sup>29</sup></p> <p>Also on August 17, The Post reported that Brennan's punishment had been announced weeks after it had been decided by Mr. Trump, at a moment specifically intended to divert attention from the scandal involving former White House aide Omarosa Manigault Newman's tell-all book about the administration. The Post also reported that the White House was considering lifting others' security clearances to coincide with any other Trump administration scandals that might eventuate.<sup>30</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>



<p>8-15-18</p>	<p><b>Corruption? No problem.</b> Multiple news outlets reported that Mr. Trump had cut the budgets for the inspectors general of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Homeland Security Department, the State Department, the Treasury Department, and the Department of Agriculture. Inspectors general are internal, independent, anti-corruption watchdogs. Corruption at the EPA on the part of former director Scott Pruitt had made headlines throughout Pruitt's tenure.</p>	<p>17 (15)</p>
<p>8-16-18</p>	<p><b>When newspapers unite.</b> In a coordinated effort, more than 300 American newspapers published editorials rejecting Mr. Trump's repeated attacks on the "fake news" and his repeated characterizations of the press as "the enemy of the people." (The Washington Post wrote, in its news reporting, that Mr. Trump had deployed the phrase "fake news" or similar over 400 times since his inauguration.) The editorials charged that that behavior was authoritarian, undemocratic and potentially violence-provoking.</p> <p>By way of example, the Houston Chronicle's editors wrote:  <i>"What makes Trump's undermining of the press worse is that it's not taking place in bureaucracy's backrooms. Trump's insults directed at reporters and news organizations, and his threats to limit press access and freedoms, are front and center at news conferences, at rallies, on Twitter. And they're incessant."</i><sup>31</sup></p> <p>The Senate then unanimously passed a resolution declaring that "the press is not the enemy of the people."</p> <p>Mr. Trump, however, responded to the newspapers by tweeting an attack on the "FAKE NEWS" and accusing them of "collusion."</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>8-16-18 +</p>	<p><b>Military parade postponed.</b> On August 16, Mr. Trump indefinitely postponed the military parade that he had planned for November, after cost estimates ballooned from \$12 million to \$90 million. Virtually no one but Mr. Trump had supported the "vanity" event, which had drawn criticism – including from military figures and veterans groups – for being pointless and offensively militaristic. The following day, by way of Twitter, Mr. Trump blamed the Washington, DC municipal government for price-gouging relative to its portion of the cost; but a \$50 million portion was the Pentagon's, and more belonged to other federal agencies.<sup>32</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

8-17-18	<p><b><u>Intervening for Manafort.</u></b> As a federal jury was deliberating on whether to convict Mr. Trump's one-time presidential campaign manager Paul Manafort of tax and bank fraud, Mr. Trump told reporters that Manafort – an over-the-top liar, grifter, poseur, counselor to dictators, and general scoundrel – was <i>"a very good person, and [that] ... it's very sad what they've done to"</i> him. The "they" was presumably the legal team of special prosecutor Robert Mueller, which continued its investigation of possible collusion and obstruction of justice relative to Russian election meddling on the part of Manafort, Mr. Trump himself, and other Trump campaign personalities. (Also in speaking to reporters that day, Mr. Trump once again said that Mueller was "conflicted," and that the probe was a "rigged witch hunt.")</p> <p>For the president of the United States to so intervene in an ongoing criminal trial had rarely if ever happened before. And Mr. Trump declined to discuss whether he would pardon Manafort if convicted<sup>33</sup> – likely encouraging Manafort and others under investigation or indictment to hold out for clemency rather than cooperate with Mueller.</p>	2, 9, 12
8-17-18	<p><b><u>Cutting foreign aid.</u></b> Politico reported that the White House was seeking to cut at least \$3 billion from Congressionally-mandated foreign aid spending – much of it through United Nations contributions. Republican and Democratic senators found the plan to be extraordinary, geo-strategically unwise, "devastating" for the State Department and USAID, and likely illegal.<sup>34</sup></p>	9, 10, 13, 14
8-18-18	<p><b><u>Attacks on the investigation, by the numbers.</u></b> The New York Times tallied over 250 attacks by Mr. Trump on the special prosecutor's investigation since the special prosecutor was appointed in early 2017, with a sharp spike beginning in April 2018 as (commentators speculated) the investigation was coming closer to Mr. Trump and his inner circle.<sup>35</sup> It is difficult for CSD to see that pattern and intensity of attacks as amounting to anything less than obstruction of justice, in the extreme.</p>	7, 9, 11, 12

<p>8-18-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>For open social media.</u></b> On August 18, Mr. Trump tweeted that far right-wing social media content should not be censored by platform operators, equating the far right's entitlement to be heard to that of the "fake" CNN and MSNBC. He seemed to be referring to radical and incendiary conspiracy theorist Alex Jones' Infowars, which recently had been banned from several popular platforms. He threatened to restrain the platforms from excluding some voices. He repeated the attack a week later.<sup>36</sup></p> <p>In effect, the initial tweet proposed – dangerously, but consistent with Mr. Trump's war on the mainstream media – that the president should have a voice in what a privately-owned media outlet should and should not publish, what its internal rules for proper content and even its editorial policies should and should not be.</p> <p>As for the general phenomenon of a privately (or even publicly) owned media outlet or platform asserting its own editorial rules – and they all do – CSD appreciates the ethical complexities. And we recognize that open platforms such as Twitter differ from content providers such as newspapers, Web publishers and cable channels; that they face unique challenges in weighing the premises of open content versus the effects of dangerous or offensive content (including determining what's offensive or dangerous, and to what extent). But we allow no credibility whatever for Mr. Trump's views in this matter, given his war against accurate reporting, and his <i>de facto</i> alliance with robust, anti-factual, anti-democratic, hate-spewing content providers during a period when the president himself had drastically moved the country toward believing in and acting on such content. Certainly Mr. Trump owes his entire political success to his own radical and abusive deployment of Twitter.</p>	<p>1, 9, 17 (7)</p>
<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>
<p>8-19-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>McGahn cooperates, The Times reports, the president explodes.</u></b> After The New York Times reported that White House Counsel Donald McGahn had long been cooperating with special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of Mr. Trump and his associates in order to avoid Mr. Trump blaming him for any misdeeds that might emerge from the investigation, Mr. Trump – tweeting from a weekend stay at his Bedminster, New Jersey golf club on August 19 – railed against The Times' reporting and the special prosecutor. Below, CSD has transcribed the whole remarkable rant. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>

<p>8-19-18 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "I allowed White House Counsel Don McGahn, and all other requested members of the White House Staff, to fully cooperate with the Special Counsel. In addition we readily gave over one million pages of documents. Most transparent in history. No Collusion, No Obstruction. Witch Hunt!</i></p> <p><i>"The failing @nytimes wrote a Fake piece today implying that because White House Council [sic] Don McGahn was giving hours of testimony to the Special Council [sic], he must be a John Dean type "RAT." But I allowed him and all others to testify - I didn't have to. I have nothing to hide.....</i></p> <p><i>"....and have demanded transparency so that this Rigged and Disgusting Witch Hunt can come to a close. So many lives have been ruined over nothing - McCarthyism at its WORST! Yet Mueller &amp; his gang of Dems refuse to look at the real crimes on the other side - Media is even worse!</i></p> <p><i>"No Collusion and No Obstruction, except by Crooked Hillary and the Democrats. All of the resignations and corruption, yet heavily conflicted Bob Mueller refuses to even look in that direction. What about the Brennan, Comey, McCabe, Strzok lies to Congress, or Crooked's Emails!</i></p> <p><i>"The Failing New York Times wrote a story that made it seem like the White House Council [sic] had TURNED on the President, when in fact it is just the opposite - &amp; the two Fake reporters knew this. This is why the Fake News Media has become the Enemy of the People. So bad for America!</i></p> <p><i>"Some members of the media are very Angry at the Fake Story in the New York Times. They actually called to complain and apologize - a big step forward. From the day I announced, the Times has been Fake News, and with their disgusting new Board Member, it will only get worse!</i></p> <p><i>"Study the late Joseph McCarthy, because we are now in period [sic] with Mueller and his gang that make Joseph McCarthy look like a baby! Rigged Witch Hunt!"</i></p> <p><i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>
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<p>8-19-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On the following day, Mr. Trump's tweets resumed – launching ever increasing vitriol at Mueller, in an apparent attempt to obstruct the investigation by swaying public opinion against it:</p> <p><i>"Disgraced and discredited Bob Mueller and his whole group of Angry Democrat Thugs spent over 30 hours with the White House Council [sic], only with my approval, for purposes of transparency. Anybody needing that much time when they know there is no Russian Collusion is just someone...."</i></p> <p><i>"....looking for trouble. They are enjoying ruining people's lives and REFUSE to look at the real corruption on the Democrat side - the lies, the firings, the deleted Emails and soooo much more! Mueller's Angry Dems are looking to impact the election. They are a National Disgrace!"</i></p> <p><i>"Where's the Collusion? They made up a phony crime called Collusion, and when there was no Collusion they say there was Obstruction (of a phony crime that never existed). If you FIGHT BACK or say anything bad about the Rigged Witch Hunt, they scream Obstruction!"</i></p> <p><i>"I hope John Brennan, the worst CIA Director in our country's history, brings a lawsuit. It will then be very easy to get all of his records, texts, emails and documents to show not only the poor job he did, but how he was involved with the Mueller Rigged Witch Hunt. He won't sue!"</i></p> <p><i>"Everybody wants to keep their Security Clearance, it's worth great prestige and big dollars, even board seats, and that is why certain people are coming forward to protect Brennan. It certainly isn't because of the good job he did! He is a political 'hack.'"</i></p> <p>CSD would note that the two tirades came from a man who had vowed to "Make America Great Again" and who had compared himself ever more often to Abraham Lincoln.</p> <p>Also on August 20, Mr. Trump told Reuters that he could run the investigation of Russian election tampering himself if he wished to.<sup>37</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17 (7, 10)</p>
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<p>8-19-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Meanwhile, Mr. Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani, on television, was disparaging (and thus seeking to obstruct) the investigation on a continuous, falsehood-laden, and often incoherent basis.</p> <p>As for Mr. Trump's Twitter reference to Senator Joseph McCarthy's brutal and fraudulent red-baiting campaign in the early 1950s, we would observe (as we have done before) that McCarthy's notorious lawyer and lieutenant, Roy Cohn, had long served in his later years as Mr. Trump's personal attorney and his deny-everything, apologize-for-nothing, punish-all-critics mentor.</p> <p>As for Mr. Trump's disparagement of Brennan and Mueller, we would observe that at the CIA Brennan had served Democratic and Republican administrations for 25 years, at times with great distinction; and that Mueller, a Republican, had served spotlessly as FBI director and was a Vietnam war hero. We did not grasp how Mr. Trump, with his life-long dedication to himself, his fame, his libido and his money, could see his way to attacking their character – except as a demagogue.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17 (7, 10)</p>
<p>8-20-18</p>	<p><b>The politics of cyber-bullying.</b> Joining the chorus of pundits who (justly or unjustly) noted the irony of First Lady Melania Trump's (seemingly tepid) campaign against cyber-bullying, a Washington Post columnist detailed Mr. Trump's own offending activities in that area:</p> <p><i>"In recent days alone, he has cyber-bullied his former White House aide Omarosa Manigault Newman ('dog,' 'wacky,' 'vicious,' 'nasty,' 'a loser,' 'hated,' 'crazed, crying lowlife'); John Dean ('rat'); the media ('sick,' 'fake,' 'disgusting,' 'enemy of the people'); Brennan ('loudmouth, partisan, political hack,' 'limited intellectually'); his own attorney general ('BLANK Jeff Sessions'); Connecticut Democratic Sen. Richard Blumenthal ('Loser!'); Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer ('haywire'); New York Gov. Andrew Cuomo ('incompetent,' 'really dumb,' 'having a total meltdown'); Ohio Gov. John Kasich ('very unpopular,' 'failed'); and those investigating Trump ('creep,' 'McCarthyism at its WORST!' 'zero credibility,' 'corrupt,' 'a fraud,' 'lowlife')."</i><sup>38</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>8-20-18</p>	<p><b><u>The obliteration of ISIS.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that although Mr. Trump had been claiming to have "eradicated," "wiped out," and "obliterated" ISIS, the Pentagon and other security officials believed that the organization remained at peak strength and was poised to make attacks in distant countries.<sup>39</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>8-20-18</p>	<p><b><u>Fear and loathing for immigrants.</u></b> At a White House ceremony honoring immigration officers and agents, Mr. Trump railed at Hispanic criminals and rapists, the MS-13 gang, and Democrats – who he said were soft on migrant crime and who, if they won electoral gains in Congress, he said would open the borders to chaos. He falsely claimed that his border wall was already being built and that his administration had shattered immigration enforcement records. He repeatedly referred to the federal Customs and Border Patrol agency as "CBC" rather than CBP. And – provoking criticism from many in the media – he commended a Hispanic-American border agent for speaking "perfect English" – as though that was a rarity among the millions of Hispanic-Americans who likewise speak fluently and without accents, few of whom he likely had come to know.<sup>40</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>8-20-18</p>	<p><b><u>Squatting on the Fed.</u></b> In an interview with Reuters, Mr. Trump again said that he didn't want the Federal Reserve Bank to raise interest rates. <i>"I should be given some help by the Fed,"</i> he said – thus once more violating the nation's long-held respect for the Fed's independence from presidential and other political influence.<sup>41</sup></p> <p>Also on that day, The Wall Street Journal recounted numerous other calls by Mr. Trump for the Fed to halt its interest rate increases, and his spoken regrets for having appointed Jerome Powell to chair the bank. Some observers felt that Mr. Trump was setting up Powell as his scapegoat if the economy were to turn downward.<sup>42</sup></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>8-21-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Manafort is convicted; Cohen pleads guilty.</u></b> On August 21, a federal jury convicted Mr. Trump's one-time campaign manager Paul Manafort on eight counts of tax and bank fraud, which are felonies. Mr. Trump reacted by praising Manafort as a "good man" and denouncing special prosecutor Robert Mueller. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 7, 9, 11, 12, 17 (7, and assorted crimes)</p>

<p>8-21-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Manafort still faced trial for money laundering and illegal foreign lobbying relative to his work for authoritarian foreign governments. He also remained a subject of Mueller's investigation of Russian election meddling, having long worked for and with high-ranking friends of the Kremlin.</p> <p>Nearly contemporaneously, Mr. Trump's former attorney and self-proclaimed "fixer" Michael Cohen pleaded guilty to eight counts of bank and tax fraud. He also pleaded guilty to having, at Mr. Trump's "direction," secretly and through devious maneuvers paid two of Mr. Trump's extra-marital girlfriends (porn star Stormy Daniels and Playboy centerfold Karen McDougal) to remain silent about their respective affairs so as to influence the 2016 election. <u>The criminality of the payments lay in their having constituted campaign contributions in excess of permissible limits, in violation of restrictions on corporate donations, and in intentional defiance of campaign finance disclosure obligations – effectively a fraud on American voters, some of whom may have (or according to one poll would have) voted differently had they known about the payments and their circumstances.</u><sup>43</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump and the White House had repeatedly denied, and now to continued to deny, his advance knowledge of the payments. He reacted to Cohen's plea by calling him a persistent liar and maintaining that he (Mr. Trump) had done nothing wrong. Cohen also remained a subject of the Russian election meddling probe.</p> <p>On the same day, a grand jury indicted California Congressman Duncan Hunter for personally using campaign funds. Hunter was one of the first two members of Congress to endorse Mr. Trump for president. The other was New York Congressman Chris Collins, recently arrested for insider trading.<sup>44</sup></p> <p>Additional leading Trump campaign figures had earlier pleaded guilty to federal crimes alleged by the special prosecutor such as lying to the FBI: short-lived national security advisor Michael Flynn, Manafort's campaign assistant Rick Gates, and foreign affairs campaign advisor George Papadopoulos. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 7, 9, 11, 12, 17 (7, and assorted crimes)</p>
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<p>8-21-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On August 22, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"I feel very badly for Paul Manafort and his wonderful family. 'Justice' took a 12 year old tax case, among other things, applied tremendous pressure on him and, unlike Michael Cohen, he refused to 'break' - make up stories in order to get a 'deal.' Such respect for a brave man!"</i> Mr. Trump thus at once disparaged the court system; disparaged the Justice Department; attempted to influence future court cases implicating himself and his associates; exalted a lying, thieving felon; showed no interest in the pertinent crimes; betrayed a godfather-like conviction that loyalty (toward himself) should supersede the law; and indicated his continuing favor (and possible future pardons) for defendants who declined to turn on him.</p> <p>In fact on August 22, Mr. Trump told Fox News that a criminal defendant's "flipping" to cooperate with prosecutors by testifying against his or her associates – a bedrock tool and goal of prosecutors, including those pursuing the Hispanic drug gangs whom Mr. Trump had demonized – "almost ought to be illegal."</p> <p>CSD continues to marvel at Mr. Trump's swarm of white collar criminal associates. (To the list we should add Felix Sater, a convicted swindler for the Russian mafia in the U.S. who had partnered with or consulted for Mr. Trump in various real estate ventures and Russian contacts, including contacts during the 2016 election campaign.) We visualize them flanking him in a chorus as he has ranted against migrant and other minority street criminals, incited crowds to clamor for Hillary Clinton's imprisonment (including mere hours after the Manafort and Cohen developments described above), and proclaimed himself the law and order president. As we had noted in our August 9 entry about Mr. Trump's fevered, accusatory tweets, we do not see any of this as making America great, or as placing Mr. Trump in the league of Abraham Lincoln.</p>	<p>2, 7, 9, 11, 12, 17 (7, and assorted crimes)</p>
<p>8-21-18</p>	<p><b><u>Campaigning at official functions.</u></b> White House staffers cavalierly told reporters that Mr. Trump and his top aides had been and still were routinely and determinedly campaigning for Congressional candidates in the course of, or in the guise of, conducting official events, and at taxpayer expense. The activity was reportedly unusual for presidential administrations, and was likely a violation of various federal election laws.<sup>45</sup></p>	<p>9, 17 (9)</p>

<p>8-21-18</p>	<p><b>Still defying Congress – for Russia.</b> Republicans and Democrats on the Senate Banking Committee castigated Trump administration officials for dragging their feet on implementing the economic sanctions against Russia that Congress had legislated in 2017.<sup>46</sup> Republicans and Democrats on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee likewise called out administration officials for refusing to share with Congress what Mr. Trump and Russian President Vladimir Putin had secretly agreed to in Helsinki in July.<sup>47</sup></p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>8-21-18</p>	<p><b>In West Virginia.</b> At a rally for a congressional candidate in Charleston, West Virginia, Mr. Trump warned of waves of criminal migrants if Democrats were to win control of the House. He said, <i>“A vote for any Democrat in November is a vote to eliminate immigration enforcement, to open our borders and set loose vicious predators and violent criminals. ... They’ll be all over our communities. They will be preying on our communities.”</i> He made special mention of the recent murder of a white female Iowa student, allegedly by an undocumented male Mexican migrant (a case to which he and his allies would soon devote continuing inflammatory attention, contrary to the wishes of the student's family and without ever offering condolences to the family).<sup>48</sup> He led the crowd in a chant of "Build the wall!", and he reiterated his recent falsehood that the wall was already being built (now even hinting that it would soon be completed).</p> <p>Mr. Trump also attacked Democratic legislators Chuck Schumer, Nancy Pelosi and Maxine Waters by name, and he thundered: <i>“The Democrat Party is held hostage by the so-called resistance: left-wing haters and angry mobs. They’re trying to tear down our institutions, disrespect our flag, demean our law enforcement, denigrate our history and disparage our great country — and we’re not going to let it happen.”</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump encouraged the crowd to chant, "Lock her [Hillary Clinton] up!" and "Drain the Swamp!" He said nothing about the judicial developments earlier in the day pursuant to which his former campaign manager Paul Manafort and his former attorney Michael Cohen would themselves likely be locked up (Manafort already had been locked up, pending his trial, which he had just lost) – or about Manafort's now fabulously publicized reputation as the ultimate swamp creature. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>

<p>8-21-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] But he did issue his obligatory denunciations of the "fake news," the "Russian witch hunt," and the special prosecutor's investigative team. He also repeated his recent cry that he is smarter and richer than the "elite" – emphasizing in particular his own luxurious homes, which he claimed surpassed theirs – and that his supporters were the true elite. (How his wealth and luxurious homes made him more "elite" than, say, a highly accomplished general or writer or businessperson or professor or public policy professional, any of whom might or might not oppose him, was not clear.)</p> <p>As reported by The New York Times, Mr. Trump "<i>worked the crowd into a frenzy.</i>"<sup>49</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>8-22-18</p>	<p><b>The market and me.</b> On August 22, Mr. Trump told Fox News that he couldn't be impeached because he was doing "a great job" as president. He also said (threatened?) that if he were impeached, the stock market would collapse and impoverish millions. Neither statement had a basis in evidence, logic or American history.<sup>50</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-23-18</p>	<p><b>Insurrection?</b> Mr. Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani told Sky News that if Mr. Trump were impeached "the American people would revolt."<sup>51</sup> It was not clear to CSD whether Giuliani was predicting political action or armed insurrection; whether he was inciting lawlessness or just speaking carelessly; or what the ideology of the revolt would be, other than possibly (CSD could only speculate) ethno-nationalism or loyalty to an authoritarian leader.</p> <p>CSD has long feared that Mr. Trump or his followers could stoke violent lawlessness. We are disturbed that Giuliani – a former law enforcement official and the president's attorney – would make a statement that could at all be interpreted as a call for an uprising to protest constitutional due process.</p>	<p>17 (5, 10)</p>
<p>8-23-18</p>	<p><b>No to human rights.</b> National Security Advisor John Bolton told the Associated Press that the U.S. would eliminate its funding for the United Nations' Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights – the world's leading intergovernmental human rights organization.<sup>52</sup></p>	<p>14</p>

<p>8-23-18</p>	<p><b>Taking it to Africa.</b> Following a Fox News report that black South Africans were murdering large numbers of white farmers and that the government was stealing their land – widely viewed by informed observers to be a false conspiracy theory – Mr. Trump, without a moment of investigation, analysis or diplomacy, publicly tweeted his concern. That was only his second tweet about Africa, and his first tweet expressing a position on any political or social issue there.<sup>53</sup> He had long appeared to be without knowledge of or interest in the continent, and without empathy for its predominantly black population. Given the vastness and diversity of the region's geography, promise and problems, that he chose (perhaps instinctively) to highlight an issue involving black-on-white crime had only one possible explanation. The South African government objected. American white supremacists cheered.<sup>54</sup></p>	<p>6, 10, 13</p>
<p>8-23-18</p>	<p><b>The withering of State.</b> The New York Times reported on continuing vacancies in senior positions at the State Department, despite recent improvements in that regard: <i>"No administration in modern American history has had its top diplomats confirmed at a slower rate. Forty-three embassies have no ambassador, and some of the world's most strategically important countries — Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Qatar, Pakistan and Australia — still have no nominees. The department's bureaus for East Asian and Pacific affairs and for South and Central Asian affairs, vital centers for coordinating and implementing policy, do not have nominees for their top slots. And only one of the department's six under secretary positions has a Senate-confirmed appointee. .... [T]here is a widely held perception even among Republicans in Congress that the Trump administration does little to vet its nominees, with Senate staff members discovering controversies and lawsuits — often through simple Google searches — never mentioned in paperwork that is supposed to be all-encompassing."</i><sup>55</sup></p>	<p>10, 13</p>

<p>8-23-18, 8-25-18</p>	<p><b>No to the law; yes to the mob.</b> In a wide-ranging news analysis on August 23, The Washington Post characterized Mr. Trump's increasingly explicit disdain for the law, manifested in recent days as prosecutorial investigations had become more damaging to him and his associates. Elements of the disdain included his suggestion that prosecutors not be allowed to flip witnesses; his continued denunciations of his Attorney General Jeff Sessions for refusing to protect him; his praise of his former campaign manager and now convicted felon Paul Manafort; his attorney Rudy Giuliani revealing that he and Mr. Trump had discussed pardoning Manafort; his stripping of former CIA director John Brennan's security clearance for having criticized him; his arguing that campaign finance law violations are commonplace, trivial, and not even truly illegal; and his ongoing excoriation of special prosecutor Robert Mueller for conducting a "witch hunt." The writer saw the developments as threatening long-lasting damage to the American justice system and the rule of law.</p> <p>Among other things, the writer quoted a former Mafia prosecutor who likened Mr. Trump's view of the law to that of a "mobster." He said, "<i>The president has not a whit of respect for institutions, whether it's the DOJ or the Fed or the FBI .... If you are a threat to him, he is [metaphorically] going to try to kill you.</i>"<sup>56</sup> (Other observers had long noted Mr. Trump's Mafia style and past business connections.<sup>57</sup> See also CSD's August 2 and 21 comments about Mr. Trump's mobster-like tone in ejecting a protester from a rally and in demanding personal loyalty, respectively.)</p> <p>In a similar analysis two days later, The New York Times wrote that in addition to Mr. Trump having damaged – perhaps irreparably – the reputation and thus perhaps the very effectiveness of the FBI and the Justice Department, now <i>any</i> criminal, following the president's lead, might more freely and successfully claim that his or her prosecution was politically motivated, that lying is acceptable, that truth does not exist, and that the testimony of cooperating witnesses should not be trusted or even admitted into evidence. The Times added that throughout Mr. Trump's business career he had alternatively battled the American legal system and abused it as a bludgeon for his personal enemies. Now as president, wrote The Times, "<i>Mr. Trump is sworn to uphold the law, but he has viewed the legal system itself as an adversary.</i>"<sup>58</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>8-24-18</p>	<p><b>Sessions on the ropes?</b> For a year and a half, Mr. Trump's attorney general Jeff Sessions had faithfully and effectively carried out much of Mr. Trump's agenda that had fallen to him, including identifying conservative judges and justices for nomination to the federal bench, withdrawing the Justice Department from regulatory enforcement efforts, and helping to implement Mr. Trump's anti-immigration policy.</p> <p>But Mr. Trump's resentment for and humiliation of Sessions for having recused himself from the Russian election meddling investigation at its outset, and thus having allowed a special prosecutor to be appointed, had only grown. In fact Mr. Trump had reportedly found any suggestion that <i>any</i> of his subordinates place the Constitution over their loyalty to him to be incomprehensible and infuriating.<sup>59</sup> As the investigations of Mr. Trump and his associates on various matters bore ever more damaging fruit, Mr. Trump was now increasingly described by allies and critics as bent on firing Sessions.<sup>60</sup> (He had the legal power to do so; but he apparently feared political blow-back from Republicans in the Senate, where Sessions had previously served.)</p> <p>On August 24, Mr. Trump tweeted his cumulative list of grievances against Sessions, urging him to: <i>"look into all of the corruption on the 'other side' including deleted Emails, Comey lies &amp; leaks, Mueller conflicts, McCabe, Strzok, Page, Ohr..... ....FISA abuse, Christopher Steele &amp; his phony and corrupt Dossier, the Clinton Foundation, illegal surveillance of Trump Campaign, Russian collusion by Dems - and so much more. Open up the papers &amp; documents without redaction? Come on Jeff, you can do it, the country is waiting!"</i></p> <p>The following morning, Mr. Trump resumed his attacks on Sessions (also on special prosecutor Robert Mueller, Hillary Clinton and the FBI) – including with an apparent threat to fire Sessions and to directly interfere with the operations of the Justice Department:</p> <p><i>"Jeff Sessions said he wouldn't allow politics to influence him only because he doesn't understand what is happening underneath his command position. Highly conflicted Bob Mueller and his gang of 17 Angry Dems are having a field day as real corruption goes untouched. No Collusion! [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>8-24-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] "<a href="#">@LindseyGrahamSC</a> [Quoting Senator Lindsey Graham] 'Every President deserves an Attorney General they have confidence in. I believe every President has a right to their Cabinet, these are not lifetime appointments. You serve at the pleasure of the President.'</p> <p>"Big story out that the FBI ignored tens of thousands of Crooked Hillary Emails, many of which are REALLY BAD. Also gave false election info. I feel sure that we will soon be getting to the bottom of all of this corruption. At some point I may have to get involved! 'The FBI only looked at 3000 of 675,000 Crooked Hillary Clinton Emails.' They purposely didn't look at the disasters. This news is just out. <a href="#">@FoxNews</a> ... 'The FBI looked at less than 1%' of Crooked's Emails!"</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>8-25-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Dominating even the dead.</u></b> Mr. Trump's terse, tepid and tardy public condolence following the death of Senator John McCain on August 25 contained no words of praise, and in his Instagram message the text was accompanied by a domineering photo of Mr. Trump himself.<sup>61</sup> In that regard it matched his tribute to the iconic, utterly independent and recently deceased singer Aretha Franklin, whom he had boastfully and patronizingly eulogized by claiming that she had "worked for" him (she had merely performed sometimes at his casinos).<sup>62</sup> For CSD, in both instances, the preening, the imperiousness and the need to dominate even the dead bespoke Mr. Trump's selfish, cruel and controlling mindset.</p> <p>The McCain tribute was particularly savage in its omissions. McCain had long served in the Senate with distinction, and he had run for president of the United States in Mr. Trump's own party. He had been widely admired not only for being a Vietnam war hero (which Mr. Trump, who had avoided military service, had belittled), but for standing against Mr. Trump's authoritarian behavior and for adhering throughout his political career to honorable convictions.</p> <p>While heartfelt tributes to McCain flowed from foreign leaders and from former domestic adversaries such as President Obama, Hillary Clinton, Harry Reid and John Kerry – Mr. Trump's tribute was stony. But it was true to form. For many months, as McCain had been dying, and until just days before his end, at campaign rallies Mr. Trump had railed against him and evoked boos from attendees.</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>10, 11</p>

<p>8-25-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump's harshness upon McCain's passing caused such an uproar – including from American veterans organizations – that two days later he issued the following, second tribute: “<i>Despite our differences on policy and politics, I respect Senator John McCain’s service to our country and, in his honor, have signed a proclamation to fly the flag of the United States at half-staff until the day of his interment.</i>” While some commentators found that to be an improvement, CSD did not. There was still no kindness, sympathy or praise. Rather, the statement of "respect" remained formulaic; and in unnecessarily reiterating his differences with McCain, Mr. Trump seemed simply to not be able to let it go – that is, seemed to demand having the last, hostile word. We found his behavior to be not merely petty and mean-spirited, but deeply unpatriotic – yet another example of him placing his vanity and self-aggrandizement over the values and interests of the country.</p> <p>Finally, some hours later, Mr. Trump very briefly told Evangelical leaders before cameras, perfunctorily but without rancor, “<i>We very much appreciate everything that Senator McCain has done for our country.</i>” He thus at last had acceded slightly to the urgings of his staff, who had originally drafted a warm tribute to McCain that Mr. Trump had rejected. During the course of the entire fiasco, the White House flag had been lowered, then raised, then lowered again in tribute.</p> <p>Notably, Russian media rejoiced in McCain's death.<sup>63</sup></p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>8-27-18</p>	<p><b><u>FBI headquarters grab.</u></b> According to a report by its inspector general, the General Services Administration had improperly allowed Mr. Trump to influence the agency in deciding to build the FBI's new headquarters across the street from his Trump International Hotel in Washington, contrary to long-standing plans to move the headquarters to Maryland or Virginia. The GSA also may have misled Congress about that intervention, and may have hidden the Washington building's higher cost.<sup>64</sup></p> <p>The GSA had also drawn criticism early in Mr. Trump's administration for not having found Mr. Trump's company to be in breach of the GSA's lease of the building housing the hotel, contrary to the lease's plain language forbidding government officials from having a financial interest in the tenant.<sup>65</sup> The agency appeared to be under his thumb.</p>	<p>11, 15, 17 (7, 15)</p>



<p>8-27-18</p>	<p><b><u>Violence and Faith.</u></b> As reported by both The New York Times and The Washington Post, Mr. Trump warned a group of evangelical leaders at the White House that if Democrats were to gain control of Congress in the upcoming November elections, radical leftists would unleash a storm of violence on the American people. (Both newspapers recounted various episodes during Mr. Trump's 2016 election campaign when he had urged his own followers to commit violence. Actually no Democratic candidates, then or since, had urged violence.)</p> <p>Mr. Trump also told his guests: <i>“This November 6 election is very much a referendum on not only me, it’s a referendum on your religion, it’s a referendum on free speech and the First Amendment.”</i> In that regard he urged the pastors to campaign vigorously for Republicans from their pulpits, in contravention of federal tax law – the so-called Johnson Amendment, a statute that forbids tax-exempt, non-profit churches from engaging in political activity. He thus at once stoked religious paranoia (and hatred?); suggested that he and his party (and America?) were bound to protect principally one religion; clamored for a massive campaign of illegal conduct (despite his professed law and order presidency); and cynically inverted his disparagement of First Amendment rights (at least as they protect the mainstream press).</p> <p>In addition, Mr. Trump boasted to the group at length that he had revoked the Johnson Amendment. But he had not done that, and he could not have done it absent congressional action. In fact he had merely ordered that the law not be aggressively enforced; but it already was not being aggressively (if at all) enforced.<sup>66</sup></p>	<p>5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-27-18, 8-28-18</p>	<p><b><u>A unique presidency.</u></b> A CNN television commentator noted that Mr. Trump was the only recent president not to have had friendly relations with any of his predecessors.</p> <p>A Washington Post political analysis noted that Mr. Trump was also unique among presidents for regularly shunning or being disinvited from perfunctory events which a president would ordinarily attend, including a recent royal wedding in the UK, and the funerals of Senator John McCain and former first lady Barbara Bush.<sup>67</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 15</p>

<p>8-27-18, 8-28-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] A Post columnist wrote: <i>"The man now living and working in the White House is uniquely different from, and worse than, his predecessors. All of them. Other presidents have been venal, bigoted, corrupt, divisive, ignorant or unstable, but never all of these things at the same time, in such lavish measure."</i><sup>68</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 15</p>
<p>8-27-18, 8-29-18</p>	<p><b>Ohr.</b> On August 27, The New York Times profiled Bruce Ohr, the career FBI civil servant whom Mr. Trump had lately been vilifying on Twitter. Mr. Trump was seeking to force Ohr out of the agency for having communicated with former British spy Christopher Steele relative to Steele's partially unproven "dossier" on Mr. Trump's Russia connections. Among other things, Mr. Trump had threatened to rescind Ohr's security clearance. Ohr's nearly 30-year record at the FBI in fact was spotless. Ohr's specialty: Russian organized crime.<sup>69</sup></p> <p>Two days later, Mr. Trump, in a series of tweets, advised Chief Justice John Roberts how to handle Ohr and others at the FBI and the Justice Department:</p> <p><i>"How the hell is Bruce Ohr still employed at the Justice Department? Disgraceful! Witch Hunt!</i></p> <p><i>"Ohr told the FBI it (the Fake Dossier) wasn't true, it was a lie and the FBI was determined to use it anyway to damage Trump and to perpetrate a fraud on the court to spy on the Trump campaign. This is a fraud on the court. The Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court is in ... charge of the FISA court. He should direct the Presiding Judge, Rosemary Collier, to hold a hearing, haul all of these people from the DOJ &amp; FBI in there, &amp; if she finds there were crimes committed, and there were, there should be a criminal referral by her...."</i></p> <p>CSD found the tweet alarming. Constitutionally, the president has no standing to advise the chief justice of anything – only to request that the Justice Department file a formal petition or pleading to litigate a matter in the ordinary course. Democratically, the proposal for a court to round up all the president's enemies at once was perverse. And in terms of protocol, the casual, public and imperious tweet debased the dignity of the Supreme Court.</p>	<p>2, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>

<p>8-27-18 - 8-29-18</p>	<p><b>Not a hack.</b> Shortly after a right-wing media outlet reported on August 27 that a Chinese-owned company had penetrated Hillary Clinton's private email server and had obtained nearly all of her emails while she was serving as secretary of state, Mr. Trump tweeted the allegation as fact, faulting the FBI for not pursuing the matter. The FBI then announced that the report was false.<sup>70</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>8-28-18 +</p>	<p><b>What rule of law?</b> On August 28, A Washington Post columnist listed a startling array of instances in which Mr. Trump had alleged that his critics' lawful actions were "illegal," while defending the genuinely illegal actions of his associates.<sup>71</sup></p> <p>Similarly, a New York Times columnist observed that, true to his earlier boast, Mr. Trump had already (figuratively) "shot someone on Fifth Avenue" with impunity relative to his defiance of American democratic norms. The columnist added that Mr. Trump was moving toward the "Russification of America": not only through his friendship toward Russia, but through widespread corruption; regular attacks on the press and the judiciary; the ascendancy of rule by personal loyalty over rule by the Constitution; <i>"the glorification of oil, gas and mining over science and technology; the elevation of white, Christian, nationalist values; and the neutering of the legislative branch."</i><sup>72</sup> Russia stood (the columnist wrote) to win the post-Cold War.</p> <p>On August 30, Mr. Trump said that the special prosecutor's investigation was flat-out "illegal."<sup>73</sup></p>	<p>1, 2, 6, 8, 9, 15</p>
<p>8-28-18 +</p>	<p><b>Google: also rigged.</b> Shortly after watching a Fox News commentary on August 28, but without investigating or offering any evidence, Mr. Trump repeated that commentary – by tweeting that Google searches were "rigged" to display more results for (mainstream) "fake" news media that were critical of him than for news media that favored him. He had also previously criticized Facebook and Twitter for disfavoring him, and he did that again by Twitter the next day. All of those critiques reflected his eagerness both to single out for censure individual American businesses and to broadly attack various forms of media for their content, all to advance his personal agenda. Google denied the new charge of bias, of which tech industry professionals were likewise skeptical. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 9, 11, 17 (1)</p>

<p>8-28-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The president's top economic advisor, Larry Kudlow, nevertheless promptly said that he would investigate whether to seek to regulate Google searches.<sup>74</sup></p> <p>On August 30, Mr. Trump suggested that Google, Amazon and Facebook be broken up on anti-trust grounds.<sup>75</sup> A New York Times columnist subsequently pointed to the support for Mr. Trump's outlook from his allies in Congress, and to the real possibility that Google could cave to authoritarian pressure for censorship, as it had done overseas.<sup>76</sup></p> <p>CSD acknowledges that voices of varying political persuasions have alleged anti-trust abuses on the part of some of the above companies. And as we wrote on August 18, we acknowledge the ethical complexities inherent in politically-based content selection on the part of the media (all media). But as we also wrote then, we fear Mr. Trump's self-serving agenda; and we see irony in his having won and preserved his presidency largely on the strength of Twitter.</p> <p>In addition, as we have written before, we note his utter disinterest in advancing tech (as opposed to smokestack) industries, despite tech's having long served as a stunning engine for economic and job growth. (Both his allies and his critics might call that a "cultural thing.") But in any event, Mr. Trump's views on tech companies would appear to be devoid of consistency, principle or analysis; instead to consist only of ad hoc cries to benefit his personal fortunes.</p>	<p>1, 9, 11, 17 (1)</p>
<p>8-29-18</p>	<p><b><u>Dead Puerto Ricans? Their own fault.</u></b> Confronted with new official figures that almost 3,000 people had died as a result of Hurricane Maria the previous year – making that the most deadly natural disaster in the U.S. in a century – Mr. Trump expressed no sympathy for the loss of lives, no regret for the federal government's slow response to the catastrophe, and no chagrin for his initial braggadocio about having saved lives. Instead, at a news conference, he continued to fault Puerto Rico for its own lack of preparedness and infrastructure, and to boast of the brilliance of the federal (that is, his own) response.<sup>77</sup></p>	<p>6, 11</p>
<p>8-29-18, 8-30-18</p>	<p><b><u>McGahn going; Sessions knifed.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced that White House counsel Don McGahn would be leaving his position. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 12</p>

<p>8-29-18, 8-30-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The news marked not just the latest of many departures on the part of Mr. Trump's top aides.<sup>78</sup> It also marked the demise of yet another of Mr. Trump's attorneys – including Ty Cobb and John Dowd – each of whom had unsuccessfully attempted to maintain simultaneously his position and his integrity relative to the special prosecutor's investigation of Mr. Trump's activities in connection with the Russian election meddling. (Many other attorneys had simply declined to represent Mr. Trump.<sup>79</sup>) In McGahn's case, his offenses included having refused to fire, but instead having cooperated with, the special prosecutor.<sup>80</sup></p> <p>The announcement coincided with reports that Mr. Trump was lobbying individual senators to allow him to dismiss his campaign luminary and attorney general, the former four-term senator Jeff Sessions – for similar reasons – after having persistently humiliated him<sup>81</sup>; and that even most of the Republican caucus from Alabama (Sessions's home state) had swung to Mr. Trump and against Sessions.<sup>82</sup></p> <p>In all, the events confirmed the sense of CSD and various commentators that Mr. Trump seemed almost inevitably to tarnish and/or betray even his closest associates (and wives), and to be bent on shuttering the special prosecutor's investigation.</p> <p>The day after the McGahn announcement, the White House announced that White House ethics counsel Stefan Passantino was also departing.<sup>83</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 12</p>
<p>8-30-18</p>	<p><b>My stock market.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"The news from the Financial Markets is even better than anticipated. For all of you that have made a fortune in the markets, or seen your 401k's rise beyond your wildest expectations, more good news is coming!"</i></p> <p>He thus continued to take sole credit for the rise in the stock market (most of which had preceded his presidency); puffed the market's performance in contravention of prudence and presidential custom; pre-established his eventual need to find a scapegoat upon a market down-turn; and betrayed his favoritism toward the wealthy such as other presidents had not so baldly done.</p>	<p>7, 10, 11</p>

8-30-18	<p><b>Leaving the WTO.</b> Mr. Trump threatened to exit the World Trade Organization if it didn't bend to his demands, after having already snubbed its rules by imposing major tariffs on imports under a false pretext in March.<sup>84</sup></p>	14
8-30-18	<p><b>The lying enemy.</b> In a barrage of angry and patently untruthful tweets, Mr. Trump laid into CNN and NBC:</p> <p><i>"The hatred and extreme bias of me [sic] by @CNN has clouded their thinking and made them unable to function. But actually, as I have always said, this has been going on for a long time. Little Jeff Z [CNN's CEO, Jeffrey Zucker] has done a terrible job, his ratings suck, &amp; AT&amp;T should fire him to save credibility!"</i></p> <p><i>"What's going on at @CNN is happening, to different degrees, at other networks - with @NBCNews being the worst. The good news is that Andy Lack(y) [NBC's chairman, Andrew Lack] is about to be fired(?) for incompetence, and much worse. When Lester Holt [an NBC reporter to whom Mr. Trump had acknowledged on camera that he had dismissed FBI director James Comey because of the Russia investigation] got caught fudging my tape on Russia [Holt had not fudged it, and the video that the entire world had seen was plainly not edited], they were hurt badly!"</i></p> <p><i>"I just cannot state strongly enough how totally dishonest much of the Media is. Truth doesn't matter to them, they only have their hatred &amp; agenda. This includes fake books, which come out about me all the time, always anonymous sources, and are pure fiction. Enemy of the People!"</i></p>	1, 7, 9, 11
8-30-18	<p><b>In Indiana.</b> At a rally for congressional candidates in Evansville, Indiana, Mr. Trump dedicated much of his speech to attacking the media. Among other things, he falsely accused television networks of turning off their cameras when he was thrashing them at rallies; and he urged NBC to fire its chairman. (Hours earlier, a man had been arrested for threatening to kill reporters at the Boston Globe, calling the paper "the enemy of the people" for criticizing Mr. Trump.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12

<p>8-30-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] He also again threatened to "get involved" in the FBI and the Justice Department if they didn't stop investigating him. He again charged Democrats with being soft on border security and the Hispanic MS-13 gang. He again blasted Hillary Clinton and evoked chants of "Lock her up!" And he again said he was more popular among Republicans than Abraham Lincoln had been.</p> <p>Mr. Trump said, <i>"Today's Democrat Party is held hostage by left-wing haters, angry mobs, 'deep state' radicals, establishment cronies, and their fake news allies."</i> He repeatedly praised veterans as heroes, but said nothing about the recently deceased war hero John McCain, his nemesis. As to the "elite" (whoever they might be), he reiterated his narrative: <i>"See, you have to understand, I have a better education than they do from a much better school, but -- the elite. They're the elite. They're the elite. I went to better schools, I went to better everything. And by the way, by the way, are you ready for this? And I'm President, and they're not."</i></p> <p>Further on the subject of himself, he said, <i>"We love winners. We love winners. Winners are winners."</i> Also: <i>"And we're the talk of the world. I'll tell you, every foreign leader who comes to see me, almost, they walk in and they start off, Mr. President, congratulations on the incredible success you're having with your economy. Congratulations. Everything. Almost everyone."</i></p> <p>In a similar vein, he had told Bloomberg reporters earlier in the day that he would award himself an "A-plus" job approval rating because (he said) the "level of love" at his rallies is "just a beautiful thing to watch."<sup>85</sup> CSD bites its tongue as it puzzles over Mr. Trump's understanding of the word "love."</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>8-31-18</p>	<p><b><u>Riling Palestinians.</u></b> A week after slashing bilateral aid for Palestinian development projects, the State Department announced that it would end America's long-standing financial support for UNRWA, the United Nations' humanitarian agency that helps Palestinian refugees. The administration reportedly believed that the harsh UNRWA cut would bring the Palestinians to the negotiating table with Israel. Most of the international diplomatic community believed that it would do the opposite.<sup>86</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 14</p>

<p>8-31-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] CSD doesn't purport to know. But we are skeptical of both Mr. Trump's overall Middle East peace strategy (which to date has already seemed amorphous, peevish, provocative and counter-productive), and we reject his categorical disdain for the UN and other international institutions.</p>	<p>10, 14</p>
<p>8-31-18</p>	<p><b>The Kavanaugh papers.</b> The Trump White House notified the Senate Judiciary Committee that it would withhold from the committee over 100,000 pages (that is, over a quarter) of Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh's papers from the period when he had served George W. Bush in the White House counsel's office, even though President Bush's attorney had authorized the release of those papers.</p> <p>The records and legal histories of federal judicial nominees are routinely scrutinized by the committee in advance of the nominees' confirmation hearings. Kavanaugh's history was uniquely complex, in part because he had served special prosecutor Kenneth Starr in the investigation of President Clinton that had led to the president's impeachment, and in part because he had served a former president in a political role relative to major (and controversial) policy decisions. His White House records could powerfully inform the committee as to his views and performance relative to a future role as a Supreme Court justice. Critics thus found the White House's withholding of the Kavanaugh papers to violate both the prerogatives of Congress under the Constitution and the integrity of the Supreme Court, and to possibly even represent a cover-up.<sup>87</sup></p>	<p>2, 9</p>
<p>9-1-18</p>	<p><b>As McCain rested.</b> As Senator John McCain was being poignantly eulogized by his family and by presidents Obama and George W. Bush at the National Cathedral, Mr. Trump – who had been disinvited from the memorial events – played golf at one of his clubs. He also angrily tweeted a threat to destroy the North American Free Trade Agreement; plus a false conspiracy theory alleging that the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance (FISA) Court had wrongfully failed to hold hearings when granting and extending warrants to monitor his Russophile campaign aide Carter Page. Several news analysts wrote that Mr. Trump could not bear sharing the nation's attention with the deceased McCain. Instead, at what could have been (and for many was) a moment of great patriotism and national unity, Mr. Trump chose to play, to sulk, to preen, to bash allies, to help Russia, and to divide.<sup>88</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>



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- <sup>1</sup> <http://thehill.com/homenews/campaign/399783-poll-some-republicans-approve-of-russias-help-in-elections>
- <sup>2</sup> <http://thehill.com/hilltv/what-americas-thinking/399803-poll-majority-of-americans-say-fbi-showed-bias-in-trump-clinton>
- <sup>3</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/trump-florida-rally-supporters-cnn-jim-acosta-tampa-maga-a8472436.html>
- <sup>4</sup> <https://www.news-press.com/story/news/politics/2018/07/31/donald-trump-crowd-braves-rain-long-wait-ahead-trump-rally-tampa/870189002/>
- <sup>5</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/08/01/president-trump-has-made-4229-false-or-misleading-claims-in-558-days/?utm\\_term=.d01f878d7312&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/fact-checker/wp/2018/08/01/president-trump-has-made-4229-false-or-misleading-claims-in-558-days/?utm_term=.d01f878d7312&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>6</sup> <https://www.politico.eu/article/donald-trump-claims-queen-elizabeth-kept-him-waiting-uk-us-media/>
- <sup>7</sup> <http://www2.philly.com/philly/news/politics/trump-pennsylvania-rally-take-aways-20180803.html>
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- <sup>9</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2018/08/03/the-most-bizarre-thing-ive-ever-been-a-part-of-trump-panel-found-no-voter-fraud-ex-member-says/?utm\\_term=.97aa263ae5da&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/politics/wp/2018/08/03/the-most-bizarre-thing-ive-ever-been-a-part-of-trump-panel-found-no-voter-fraud-ex-member-says/?utm_term=.97aa263ae5da&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>10</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/02/opinion/stop-calling-trump-a-populist.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection>
- <sup>11</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-rally-rhetoric-is-going-to-get-somebody-killed/2018/08/06/d3bccad8-99ac-11e8-b60b-1c897f17e185\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.393e8dd04957&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-rally-rhetoric-is-going-to-get-somebody-killed/2018/08/06/d3bccad8-99ac-11e8-b60b-1c897f17e185_story.html?utm_term=.393e8dd04957&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>12</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/at-president-trumps-hotel-in-new-york-revenue-went-up-this-spring--thanks-to-a-visit-from-big-spending-saudis/2018/08/03/58755392-9112-11e8-bcd5-9d911c784c38\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.de8026336ad7](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/at-president-trumps-hotel-in-new-york-revenue-went-up-this-spring--thanks-to-a-visit-from-big-spending-saudis/2018/08/03/58755392-9112-11e8-bcd5-9d911c784c38_story.html?utm_term=.de8026336ad7)
- <sup>13</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/08/07/politics/donald-trump-wildfires-california-climate-change/index.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/07/us/california-fires-mendocino.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/we-wont-stop-californias-wildfires-if-we-dont-talk-about-climate-change/2018/08/08/99768218-9a80-11e8-8d5e-c6c594024954\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.43edefa3af63&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/we-wont-stop-californias-wildfires-if-we-dont-talk-about-climate-change/2018/08/08/99768218-9a80-11e8-8d5e-c6c594024954_story.html?utm_term=.43edefa3af63&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
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- <sup>15</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/07/business/no-tariffs-arent-going-to-pay-down-the-national-debt.html?nyapp=true>
- <sup>16</sup> <https://www.thedailybeast.com/new-poll-43-of-republicans-want-to-give-trump-the-power-to-shut-down-media> and <https://www.ipsos.com/en-us/news-polls/americans-views-media-2018-08-07>

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<sup>83</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/white-house/white-house-ethics-lawyer-stefan-passantino-leaving-administration-n905031>

<sup>84</sup> <http://nymag.com/daily/intelligencer/2018/08/trump-vows-to-pull-u-s-out-of-wto-if-they-dont-shape-up.html>

<sup>85</sup> <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-08-31/trump-gives-president-trump-an-a-plus-rating-balance-of-power>

<sup>86</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/08/31/palestinian-refugees-united-nations-agency-funding-united-states-806007> and [https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/31/us/politics/trump-unrwa-palestinians.html?imp\\_id=244127812&action=click&module=Well&pgtype=Homepage&section=World](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/31/us/politics/trump-unrwa-palestinians.html?imp_id=244127812&action=click&module=Well&pgtype=Homepage&section=World) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/08/31/opinion/trump-united-nations-palestinian-funding.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>

<sup>87</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-administration-brett-kavanaugh-100k-pages-withheld\\_us\\_5b8a7de4e4b0cf7b00367221](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-administration-brett-kavanaugh-100k-pages-withheld_us_5b8a7de4e4b0cf7b00367221) and [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/brett-kavanaugh-documents\\_us\\_5b8c0a28e4b0cf7b00373cf9](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/brett-kavanaugh-documents_us_5b8c0a28e4b0cf7b00373cf9)

<sup>88</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/as-washington-mourns-mccain-trump-tends-to-grievances-on-twitter/2018/09/01/4a5e4394-adfb-11e8-b1da-ff7faa680710\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.cf470fbd93b8&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/as-washington-mourns-mccain-trump-tends-to-grievances-on-twitter/2018/09/01/4a5e4394-adfb-11e8-b1da-ff7faa680710_story.html?utm_term=.cf470fbd93b8&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/01/us/politics/trump-john-mccain.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=7&pgtype=collection>





**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 19 – October 16, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>9-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Gagging Mueller's report.</u></b> Mr. Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani told The New Yorker that whenever special prosecutor Robert Mueller would finally issue his report to Mueller's superior, Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, he (Giuliani) was "sure" that Mr. Trump's legal team would attempt to block publication of at least parts of it on grounds of executive privilege.<sup>1</sup> Mueller's report was expected to address any collusion with the Russian election meddling, and any obstruction of the special prosecutor's investigation, that Mueller may find the Trump campaign or Mr. Trump to have engaged in. <u>Giuliani's statement confirmed the longstanding fears of pro-democracy advocates that Mr. Trump would attempt to block the document's publication.</u></p> <p><u>Although Mueller had reportedly agreed with Mr. Trump's lawyers that they could assert executive privilege, CSD believes that withholding the full report from Congress and the American people would itself amount to one of the gravest acts of obstruction imaginable; and that even threats at this time to withhold the report – by influencing public opinion and thus the will of Congress to take preventive or (in the future) remedial action – likewise would amount to obstruction.</u></p>	<p>9, 12</p>

<p>9-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Interference in more criminal cases.</u></b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump faulted his attorney general Jeff Sessions for having recently allowed the Justice Department to indict two Republican congressmen, Duncan Hunter and Chris Collins, on corruption charges. Hunter and Collins had been Mr. Trump's earliest supporters in Congress and had been seeking reelection (Hunter still was, while Collins had dropped out due to the charges). That is, <u>Mr. Trump suggested that, for the political benefit of himself and his party, the government should not have pursued the corruption cases against the congressmen.</u><sup>2</sup> (Mr. Trump had previously, through his public comments, sought to influence the trial and sentencing on tax and bank fraud charges of his former campaign manager Paul Manafort, as reported by CSD on August 1, August 17 and August 21.)</p>	<p>2</p>
<p>9-4-18</p>	<p><b><u>Shutting down NBC?</u></b> Mr. Trump suggested by Twitter that the FCC lift the broadcast license of his antagonist NBC, for its having allegedly failed to have sufficiently called out a particular, prominent Hollywood sex offender. No legal or constitutional rationale was offered for lifting the license; and in fact the FCC issues licenses only to stations, not networks.<sup>3</sup></p>	<p>1</p>
<p>9-4-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Woodward, Anonymous, and Yale.</u></b></p> <p><u>Woodward's book.</u></p> <p>As reported on September 4 by multiple news outlets, legendary Watergate journalist Bob Woodward's forthcoming book on the Trump White House would shortly reveal in explicit detail how <u>Mr. Trump's senior-most aides</u> – chief of staff John Kelly, chief economic advisor Gary Cohn, staff secretary Rob Porter, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, Defense Secretary James Mattis, personal attorney John Dowd, and others – while serving Mr. Trump had <u>feared that his instability, ignorance and mendacity could undermine his presidency and the country's national security.</u> Woodward said that they even hid dangerous draft documents from him so that he couldn't sign them.</p> <p>Woodward also described Mr. Trump as regularly and wretchedly berating his senior staff, including in a reference to Attorney General Jeff Sessions as "mentally retarded" and a "dumb southerner" (suggesting that Mr. Trump disdained some of his base as well as his aides). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 10, 13</p>



<p>9-4-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Like many other mainstream journalists before, <u>Woodward described the White House as unprecedentedly dysfunctional. He called the staff's efforts to rein in Mr. Trump "an administrative coup d'état."</u><sup>4</sup></p> <p>That evening and the following morning, Mr. Trump tweeted that Woodward was lying. In one tweet he also suggested that libel laws (that is, Supreme Court precedent) should be changed so that he could sue Woodward for defamation. (He had made similar suggestions in the past, relative to other journalism he disfavored.) His tweets defied a recent recording of him speaking with Woodward about the forthcoming book, in which he had told Woodward that he had always considered him to be fair. (Woodward had won two Pulitzer prizes for The Washington Post.)</p> <p><i>Anonymous's op-ed.</i></p> <p>On September 5, in an utterly remarkable move, <u>The New York Times published an anonymous column by a currently serving, high ranking government official (whom The Times' editorial board knew) in which the official confirmed that multiple top officials had long been seeking to protect American security and democracy from Mr. Trump, and that they at one point had considered invoking the 25th Amendment of the Constitution to oust him on grounds of infirmity.</u> The writer – a professed conservative Republican – called Mr. Trump not only "amoral," but "impetuous, adversarial, petty and ineffective" and "half-baked, ill-informed and occasionally reckless."</p> <p>Backed by a cohort of sheriffs at a photo op that signaled his commitment to law and order, Mr. Trump reacted to the news of the column as posed to him by a reporter. He boasted about his popularity and accomplishments; said inaccurately that "nobody has ever done in less than a two-year period what we've done"; said that despite the anonymous column no one could beat him in 2020; said that The Times and CNN would be out of business before he left the presidency; and condemned the anonymous author as "gutless" and The Times and CNN as "phony media outlets." At his request, the sheriffs applauded. His press secretary later demanded that the unnamed "coward" resign and that The Times apologize.<sup>5</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>9-4-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Later, by Twitter, Mr. Trump suggested that the op-ed amounted to "treason." He then tweeted that the "Failing New York Times" may have made up the story; but that if it hadn't, for national security purposes it must turn over the identity of the writer. (On October 11, Mr. Trump would again say that there was a "very good chance" that The Times had fabricated the column.<sup>6</sup>) That demand stood in bald defiance of the newspaper's constitutional rights, and as a demagogic yet hollow rhetorical gesture (as opposed to him bringing a legal action against The Times – which would have failed). No breach of law on the part of either the writer or The Times was apparent, and in fact possibly hundreds of White House officials over the decades had leaked to the press their discontent with the then president.<sup>7</sup> As for the "national security" rationale, Mr. Trump had before invoked it, controversially, to support many of his recent orders,<sup>8</sup> in a manner characteristic of dictators. On September 7, Mr. Trump called on the attorney general to track down the author on national security grounds – but obviously, in reality, to find and punish a political enemy.<sup>9</sup></p> <p>As for the author of the anonymous op-ed, not only his/her identity but also his/her motives drew broad speculation from the press. Had he/she acted out of patriotism, conservative partisanship, or self-interest? Was he/she brave or cowardly in having remained anonymous? Observers on both the left and the right objected to the anonymity. But the only things certain were that the White House was frantically trying to identify the author for punishment, and that everyone there was denying being the culprit and terrified of everyone else.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>Also on September 7, Mr. Trump falsely said of the episode, "<i>We have a really well-run, smooth-running White House. It's a well-oiled machine. It is running beautifully.</i>" He also said that, contrary to the column, he was very smart: because he could captivate "the biggest crowds in the history of politics" for over an hour without notes.<sup>11</sup></p> <p><u><i>A Yale psychiatrist.</i></u></p> <p>In yet another confirmation of the questions around Mr. Trump's stability, on September 6, <u>a Yale University psychiatrist told Salon.com that two of Mr. Trump's staffers had called her the previous October to discuss their concerns that he was "unraveling."</u><sup>12</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>9-4-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Of Kavanaugh: Outlawing protests? Securing the Court?</u></b> On September 4, <u>Mr. Trump suggested to a conservative news site that protesting be outlawed.</u> His comment appeared to have been sparked by protests that day against his Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh at Kavanaugh's confirmation hearing before the Senate Judiciary Committee.<sup>13</sup> Previously as well Mr. Trump had suggested that protesters be jailed.<sup>14</sup></p> <p>The Kavanaugh protesters included both those from the grass roots, and (at their seats on the panel) Democratic senators who objected to the hearing going forward without a full and timely release of records from Kavanaugh's previous service in the office of the White House Counsel under President George W. Bush.<sup>15</sup> Their charges (as reported by CSD on July 9 and August 31) were that Kavanaugh seemed the most partisan nominee in the Court's recent history, as well as one of the strongest advocates of presidential immunity from legal process, both of which things the missing records could help establish.</p> <p>The Court's constitutional mandate is to be deliberative, non-political. For CSD, <u>the question of partisanship was now particularly acute in view of the possibility (if not the probability) that the Court – including Mr. Trump's nominee Kavanaugh – would be called upon to rule on elements of Mr. Trump's anti-democratic behavior, and/or on congressional procedures in examining that behavior.</u><sup>16</sup></p> <p>The next day, Kavanaugh dodged senators' questions as to whether, as Mr. Trump had previously suggested, the president could pardon himself or ignore criminal subpoenas, or whether Kavanaugh would recuse himself on such matters.<sup>17</sup> In recent decades court nominees routinely had declined to answer substantive legal questions, for fear of being rejected by the Senate. Still, the unanswered questions hovered over the proceedings.</p>	<p>2, 3</p>
<p>9-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>Against Nike.</u></b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump taunted the Nike sports apparel company for featuring Colin Kaepernick, the NFL's first player to have taken a knee in protest of police brutality and racial injustice in that ongoing controversy. In his tweet, he claimed that the businesses of both Nike and the NFL were doing poorly, in an apparent effort to undermine them, as he had done previously relative to other businesses that he believed had crossed him.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>9-6-18</p>	<p><b>The price of golf.</b> TMZ.com reported that cumulative golf cart rentals for Mr. Trump during his presidency at taxpayer expense totaled over \$300,000, and that his golf club outings altogether had cost taxpayers approximately \$77 million.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Trump had spent a quarter of his days in office at his golf clubs.<sup>19</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>9-6-18</p>	<p><b>My friend Kim (the hacker).</b> Almost contemporaneously with the Justice Department's release of a criminal complaint exposing North Korea for hacking American companies and stealing hundreds of millions of dollars from global financial institutions, Mr. Trump, responded to a flattering statement from that country's dictator by tweeting: <i>"Kim Jong Un of North Korea proclaims 'unwavering faith in President Trump.' Thank you to Chairman Kim. We will get it done together!"</i><sup>20</sup></p>	<p>11, 12</p>
<p>9-6-18</p>	<p><b>In Montana.</b> At a rally for a congressional candidate in Billings, Montana, before a crowd that The New York Times described as "jubilant and rowdy," Mr. Trump bashed the news media and suggested that the administration insider's recent anonymous New York Times op-ed describing his incompetence was "gutless" and amounted to "treason." He compared his speeches to Lincoln's Gettysburg address, stating that the "fake news" had also criticized the latter in Lincoln's day.<sup>21</sup> He said, <i>"The economy is booming like never before in our history"</i><sup>22</sup>— a claim that he had frequently made and that The Washington Post now documented as spurious.<sup>23</sup> He falsely said that Democrats wanted to "destroy your Social Security" by diverting its funds to Hispanic migrants.<sup>24</sup> He falsely said that he had started building the Mexican border wall, that Democrats wanted to confiscate privately owned guns, that former White House physician Ronnie Jackson had been untruthfully maligned, and that CNN was "almost out of business." He boasted about having defeated the "Bush Dynasty" and "crooked Hillary Clinton"; also about how he and North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un were fond of one another; also about presidents and prime ministers calling him "sir"; also that "they all" praised him for his infamous press conference with Russian President Vladimir Putin in Helsinki in July (most observers had found it nauseating). He said, <i>"We will win. We will win. We always win. We always win."</i> Also: <i>"Like you, you, me, we're smart, we're really smart."</i> Also: <i>"We're going to have no crime."</i><sup>25</sup>  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>

9-6-18	[Continued.] The Washington Post subsequently reported that 68% of Mr. Trump's claims in the speech were inaccurate. <sup>26</sup>	1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12
9-7-18	<b>The beat goes on.</b> The Washington Post reported that its Fact Checker database of Mr. Trump's false or misleading claims since his inauguration had reached 4,713 on September 3. The rate had accelerated in the previous three months to 15 per day – possibly as Mr. Trump had felt increasing pressure from the special prosecutor's probe. <sup>27</sup>	7
9-9-18	<b>Like a dog with a bone.</b> As the NFL's regular season began, Mr. Trump tweeted his objection to black players' on-field protests against racial injustice, linking those protests to what he said were low viewer ratings. He thus resumed his attacks on both the athletes and the league, a private business enterprise that he appeared to wish to injure both for political purposes and for vengeance.	6, 9, 11
9-10-18	<b>And ICC to the dogs.</b> National security advisor John Bolton, confirming his career-long hostility to the International Criminal Court, declared open war on that body, calling it illegitimate and ineffective, and threatening to prosecute criminally any court personnel – including eminent judges and human rights experts – who may charge citizens of the U.S. or its allies with a crime. (The U.S. had never joined the court, for fear of our soldiers and leaders being charged for war crimes during international interventions; but it had mostly supported the court's mission and operations.) <sup>28</sup> Tin-pot dictators who could be subject to the court's justice rejoiced at Bolton's words. <sup>29</sup>	17 (14)
9-10-18, 9-19-18	<b>Sessions vs. immigration judges.</b> On September 10, Attorney General Jeff Sessions told immigration judges that asylum seekers' lawyers were shifty and that the judges shouldn't be sympathetic to asylum seekers. Immigration judges work for the attorney general at the Justice Department (not within the federal court system). Sessions's advice offended the judges' union, which promptly protested. Union spokespeople said that Sessions had effectively asked the judges to ignore due process and to serve as prosecutors rather than as independent adjudicators. <sup>30</sup> [Continued below.]	17 (2, 6)

<p>9-10-18, 9-19-18</p>	<p>[Continued below.] On September 19, Sessions generally forbade the judges from dismissing deportation cases (that is, effectively, parking them in suspense for want of judicial resources) without the permission of the prosecutor (the Department of Homeland Security) – a further affront to judicial independence.<sup>31</sup></p>	<p>17 (2, 6)</p>
<p>9-10-18</p>	<p><b>Swagger.</b> The State Department announced that it would brand itself going forward as the "Department of Swagger." Denuded of staffing, the agency would now define itself to the world by its arrogance rather than its expertise or effectiveness.<sup>32</sup> Its stock in trade is diplomacy; but CSD puzzled at the stunningly tone-deaf branding campaign.</p>	<p>17 (10, 11)</p>
<p>9-10-18 +</p>	<p><b>A mistake? Impossible.</b> On September 10, Mr. Trump, boasting about the growth of the economy under his presidency, tweeted: "<i>The GDP Rate (4.2%) is higher than the Unemployment Rate (3.9%) for the first time in over 100 years!</i>" His chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers promptly and publicly said that the figure of 100 should have been 10; and multiple analysts wrote that the growth in GDP had exceeded the unemployment rate many times in recent decades, as demonstrated by empirical evidence. But Mr. Trump seemed unwilling to correct his error. Although he had deleted many of his tweets over the course of his presidency, this tweet would remain online through at least October 16, when CSD last checked.</p> <p>Anyone can make a mistake. But CSD feels confirmed in its sense that the more convincingly one of Mr. Trump's factual claims has been contested, the more likely he has been to stand by it.</p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>9-11-18</p>	<p><b>Unwelcome in Ireland, also.</b> The Irish government said that Mr. Trump's planned trip to Ireland for November had been canceled, due to the prospect of widespread popular protests over his climate policies, international relations and treatment of immigrants, women and minorities. The protests would follow those that had greeted him in the UK in July.</p> <p>Presidents Kennedy, Obama and Clinton had been greeted in Ireland warmly.<sup>33</sup> CSD is not aware of an American president having been so reviled by the people of an overseas, democratic ally.</p>	<p>Disgusting American allies, and humiliating the U.S. overseas</p>

<p>9-11-18</p>	<p><b>Treason, and Louis the King.</b> A Washington Post columnist recounted (with citations) the many people and groups that Mr. Trump had accused of treason: all Democrats, all journalists, several Republicans, President Obama, and some members of his own administration (Attorney General Jeff Sessions, former chief economic advisor Gary Cohen, FBI analyst Peter Strzock, and the anonymous New York Times op-ed writer). The columnist called out "<i>Trump's Louis XIV-style belief that he is the state [L'état, c'est moi], that his self-interest and the national interest are the same. News he doesn't like is 'fake.' Actions he doesn't like are 'illegal.' People he doesn't like are 'traitors.'</i>"<sup>34</sup></p> <p>In the U.S., treason is a capital offense, punishable by death.<sup>35</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>9-11-18 +</p>	<p><b>Puerto Rico: an alternative reality.</b> In proclaiming strong governmental preparedness for incoming Hurricane Florence in the Carolinas on September 11, Mr. Trump responded to a reporter's questions about lessons learned from Hurricane Maria that had hit Puerto Rico in 2017. He said that the federal response to Maria had been "tremendous," and an "incredible, unsung success." He said nothing about the loss of nearly 3,000 Puerto Rican lives, much of which had occurred weeks and months after the storm had passed and thus may have been preventable by a stronger governmental relief effort. He also said nothing about lessons learned from Maria. In the coming days he continued to blame the slow recovery from Maria on Puerto Ricans themselves (for their weak infrastructure immediately prior to the hurricane's landfall), on San Juan's "incompetent" mayor, and on the logistical difficulties of providing relief to an island.<sup>36</sup></p> <p>Commentators had widely acknowledged the infrastructure and logistical difficulties there, and their views had been mixed as to the extent to which the loss of lives was due to the negligence of the Trump administration. But what outraged critics at this point was that Mr. Trump still neither acknowledged nor showed empathy for the massive loss of Puerto Rican lives, nor admitted even the slightest possibility that the federal government could have done more to save them. Rather, his sole message on the subject was the claim of his own perfect performance. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 11</p>

9-11-18 +	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] Following the outcry over his remarks, in a series of tweets on September 13, Mr. Trump denied – contrary to scientific studies – that 3,000 Puerto Ricans had died as a result of the storm. He blamed the report of the high death toll on a conspiracy against him on the part of Democrats. <sup>37</sup> More outrage ensued. <sup>38</sup> All of this occurred while Hurricane Florence continued churning toward the Carolinas.	6, 7, 8, 11
9-12-18	<b><u>Sabotaging refugee admissions.</u></b> Reuters reported that the Trump administration – in addition to drastically reducing the annual cap on refugee admissions – had been concertededly blocking the processing of admissible refugees' applications, imposing harsher vetting requirements (especially for Muslims), starving the vetting process of staff, ignoring pro-refugee analyses, and even removing pro-refugee analysts from their jobs. The report indicated that the administration's measures represented a radical deviation from the decades-long procedures of preceding administrations, both Democratic and Republican. <sup>39</sup>	6, 8, 14
9-12-18	<b><u>Campaign rent.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that in the 2018 election cycle, Mr. Trump's 2020 re-election campaign had spent nearly \$1,000,000 to rent his properties for events. <sup>40</sup>	11, 15
9-13-18	<b><u>The untruths surge.</u></b> The Washington Post's "Fact Checker" reported that Mr. Trump had now made over 5,000 false or misleading statements since his inauguration. On September 7, in a single day, he had made 125 such statements within 120 minutes, a new one-day high. He had averaged 8.3 false or misleading claims per day, but 32 per day within the most recent nine days. On almost 140 occasions he had said that Russian election meddling hadn't occurred. <sup>41</sup>	7, 12
9-14-18	<b><u>Manafort pleads.</u></b> Mr. Trump's one-time campaign manager Paul Manafort – already convicted of eight counts of tax and bank fraud – pleaded guilty to money laundering, bank fraud and illegal foreign lobbying charges in a separate action brought by special prosecutor Robert Mueller that had specifically targeted Manafort's income from his pro-Russian Ukrainian clients. That brought to five the number of Trump campaign figures who had pleaded guilty to crimes since the election.	17 (12, and a wide variety of crimes)



9-15-18	<b>The hunt.</b> Mr. Trump again tweeted that special prosecutor Robert Mueller's "Witch Hunt" was "illegal."	7, 9, 11, 12
9-17-18	<p><b>Refugees slashed again.</b> Amid the worst global refugee crisis since World War II (over 68,000,000 displaced, over 25,000,000 of them externally<sup>42</sup>), Mr. Trump cut the cap on refugee admissions for Fiscal Year 2019 to 30,000, after having cut it from 110,000 under President Obama to 45,000 in 2018. The 45,000 figure had already been the lowest in the history of the current refugee program. The new 30,000 figure suggested that Mr. Trump wanted the U.S. eventually to admit almost no refugees at all, as some of his advisors had reportedly urged – contrary to international law, humanitarian principles, the net positive contributions of refugees to America's economy, and America's strategic international standing. Both the State Department and the Defense Department had objected to the new cut.<sup>43</sup> Congressional leaders from both parties objected as well, on humanitarian, strategic, and procedural grounds.<sup>44</sup></p> <p>Notwithstanding the 45,000 cap for FY 2018, the Trump administration had slowed the processing of refugee admissions to the extent that only 20,000 to 25,000 were expected to actually have been admitted to the U.S. in that year. CSD expects that actual admissions in FY 2019 may be even lower.</p>	6, 9, 13, 14
9-17-18 +	<p><b>Releasing classified data.</b> On September 17, Mr. Trump ordered the Justice Department to declassify certain data relating to the ongoing investigation of Russian election meddling – specifically, portions of a Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA) warrant application regarding his former campaign adviser Carter Page. Mr. Trump's act was extraordinary for several reasons: he sought to declassify selectively and in a manner clearly intended to discredit the investigators and thus to help himself politically; federal investigatory data had rarely if ever been declassified in the midst of an investigation; the investigation pertained to the declassifier (Mr. Trump) himself; and the Justice Department believed that the declassification would jeopardize the integrity of its investigation and threaten national security. The selective declassification mirrored the earlier selective release of Russian investigatory data by Mr. Trump's allies in Congress, and Mr. Trump's own casual disclosure of national security secrets on several occasions, all as described above in this document. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 11, 12

<p>9-17-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As ever, there were competing narratives. Mr. Trump's congressional allies had been urging the selective release of the Russia data on grounds of "transparency," even though Mr. Trump and they had commonly sought to hide Russia information, plus such other information as Mr. Trump's income tax returns and (more recently) Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh's records from his days in the White House Counsel's office. For their part, critics (including CSD) considered the new declassification decision to amount to a further attempt by Mr. Trump to sway popular opinion against the Russia investigation, and thus to obstruct it.<sup>45</sup></p> <p>The next day, Mr. Trump told a reporter from The Hill that exposing "corruption" at the Justice Department (such as in the FISA warrant matter) would amount to one of his "crowning achievements" in office.<sup>46</sup> On September 19, he railed to The Hill about his attorney general Jeff Sessions, in his continuing effort to humiliate Sessions into resigning – so that, by all appearances, he (Mr. Trump) could dismantle the Justice Department's Russia investigation.<sup>47</sup></p> <p>Under pressure from American allies and the Justice Department over security concerns, on September 21 Mr. Trump delayed the implementation of his order that the investigatory documents be released.<sup>48</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>
<p>9-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>The good economy.</u></b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker detailed, with extensive data, how Mr. Trump's oft-repeated claim to have single-handedly strengthened the U.S. economy – as opposed to having at least in part ridden a trend that had begun under President Obama – was false.<sup>49</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Kavanaugh's innocence.</u></b> As the Senate Judiciary Committee neared approval of Mr. Trump's nominee for the Supreme Court, Brett Kavanaugh, a woman alleged that Kavanaugh, while drunk, had sexually assaulted her when they were both teenagers and Kavanaugh was a popular, hard-drinking athlete at an elite Washington-area prep school. The nomination's progress had already been controversial – and problematic for CSD – as we had reported on July 9, August 31 and September 4. But the new charges roiled the Senate and the nation as much as anything so far in Mr. Trump's presidency, with Republicans defending Kavanaugh and Democrats objecting. Below is an extensive synopsis of the events. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, ??)</p>

<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <p><u><i>The background.</i></u> Polarization between Democrats and Republicans had been increasing for decades, escalating notoriously during President Obama's tenure and then further in Mr. Trump's. A year from the end of his term, President Obama had nominated Merrick Garland – a centrist federal circuit court judge – to fill a vacancy on the Supreme Court; but the Senate's Republican leadership had refused to grant the candidate a hearing, on grounds that President Obama was a lame duck and thus should not staff the Court. Promptly upon Mr. Trump's election – blessed with a Senate controlled by his own party – he had filled that vacancy with a conservative justice and without much impediment or controversy. But when a second vacancy arose for Mr. Trump to fill, he was in the position to tilt the Court toward a solid conservative majority. Democrats, still aggrieved by the loss of the "Merrick Garland" seat, vowed to resist Mr. Trump's nomination of Kavanaugh, an arch-conservative. Through what came to be seen as tactical missteps, or even (their critics said) bad faith, the Democrats introduced Kavanaugh's first sexual accuser to the committee only at the end of his confirmation hearings.</p> <p><u><i>The first accuser, and the defense.</i></u> Kavanaugh flatly denied the first accuser's allegations. The White House undertook to micro-manage Kavanaugh's defense,<sup>50</sup> and on September 18, 19 and 20, including at a Las Vegas rally, Mr. Trump glowingly defended him against her charges. Knowing nothing about her, and before she had testified, how he had come to his conclusion was unknown; but it was consistent with his having defended many of his supporters and allies (as well as himself) – but not his opponents – against charges of assaulting women.<sup>51</sup> Mr. Trump meanwhile blamed the timing of the allegations on a conspiracy by Democrats, and he recommended against an investigation by the FBI despite the accuser's request.<sup>52</sup></p> <p><u><i>The attack.</i></u> At last, on September 20 and 21, Mr. Trump did the expected: <u>he denigrated the accuser's credibility</u> – on grounds that she had not promptly reported the incident to the police (although most sexual assault victims, such as his own, don't).<sup>53</sup> That move was reportedly undertaken not impulsively but strategically, on the advice of Mr. Trump's aides.<sup>54</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <p><u><i>The second accuser, and the second attack.</i></u> On September 24, shortly after a second woman had accused Kavanaugh of alcohol-fueled sexual misbehavior while they both were students at Yale and Kavanaugh had denied the same, <u>Mr. Trump – again without evidence – said the accusation was "totally political"; he tweeted about the "False Accusations"; and the White House broadly attacked her claims.</u><sup>55</sup> <u>Mr. Trump continued his attacks on the second woman's credibility on September 25 and 26, at one point stating that because many women had (in his opinion) falsely accused him (Mr. Trump) of sexual harassment and assault, all powerful men should be protected against such claims.</u><sup>56</sup></p> <p><u><i>The third accuser, and the continuing push-back.</i></u> By then a third female accuser from Kavanaugh's allegedly angry-drunk prep school days had stepped forward, and again Kavanaugh denied everything. All three accusers had now alleged that Kavanaugh had acted in concert with, and as a form of shared hilarity with, other abusive young men. At least two of the three accusers (the first and second) seemed to be viewed as credible, even by Senate Republicans. But Mr. Trump remained adamant in his defense of Kavanaugh; he did not express empathy or credibility relative to victims of sexual abuse generally; and CSD does not recall him having ever done so – unless the alleged attackers were black or brown (as when he had twice labeled Mexican migrants "rapists" and had railed against the Central Park Five both before and after their innocence was proven<sup>57</sup>).</p> <p><u><i>The directive.</i></u> But the highest drama was yet to come. Reacting to a bland interview that Kavanaugh had given to Fox News to shore up his image, <u>Mr. Trump reportedly urged Kavanaugh to defend himself more aggressively at his next hearing session</u><sup>58</sup> – when Kavanaugh would confront the charges of the first accuser. What shortly followed that directive was extraordinary.</p> <p><u><i>The cross-testimony; breaking judicial bounds.</i></u> On September 27, the first accuser testified before the committee. Among many other riveting statements, she said that her most indelible recollection of the assault was of Kavanaugh and his fellow attacker laughing uproariously at her expense while perpetrating it. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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9-18-18 +	<p><u>[Continued.] In rebuttal, Kavanaugh raged. In so doing he leapt to comply with Mr. Trump's demand for aggression: evading questions,<sup>59</sup> belligerently and tearfully proclaiming his victimhood, implausibly denying certain youthful behavior,<sup>60</sup> mischaracterizing the statements of witnesses,<sup>61</sup> furiously alleging a Democratic, "left-wing" and Clintonian conspiracy against him,<sup>62</sup> maintaining that he was entitled to the appointment because he had worked hard at good schools and beyond to get there, and vowing revenge.<sup>63</sup> He addressed some of his Democratic questioners insultingly: snidely asking Senator Klobuchar if she had ever blacked out from drinking; similarly asking Senator Whitehouse what he liked to drink; and shouting over Senator Feinstein.</u></p> <p><u>The Washington Post wrote: "<i>Kavanaugh's statements marked an extraordinary moment in the history of Supreme Court confirmation battles. Not only was a potential justice on the highest court raging against one of the country's two major political parties, but he was also leveling a serious allegation - that the process itself was being manipulated.</i>"<sup>64</sup></u></p> <p>A distinguished law professor who had come to know almost all of the Supreme Court justices in the last 50 years later wrote that Kavanaugh's testimony was "truly shocking, immature, irrational and uncontrolled" – which he believed distinguished Kavanaugh from all of the other justices, and rendered him unfit for the job.<sup>65</sup> A Nobel economist and fellow Yale alumnus saw the root of Kavanaugh's diatribes as lying in his sense of entitlement.<sup>66</sup></p> <p>Both CNN television commentators and The Post speculated that in Kavanaugh's tirades he had been playing to "an audience of one" – Mr. Trump – so that Mr. Trump wouldn't withdraw his nomination. The Post said that the strategy had worked: that after the hearing Mr. Trump and the White House were ebullient.<sup>67</sup> This, and their lavish praise of Kavanaugh's performance, occurred despite Kavanaugh having frequently wept during the session, and Mr. Trump's more typical mockery of and distaste for men who weep. Mr. Trump's praise of Kavanaugh was also inconsistent with his known dislike for men who drink to excess;<sup>68</sup> and inconsistent with his frequently voiced disdain (except as to his own appointees) for the coastal academic, political and social "elites" of which Kavanaugh was a part.<sup>69</sup> (Kavanaugh was a personal protégé of President George W. Bush, his father was a wealthy lobbyist, and his grandfather had also gone to Yale.<sup>70</sup>) <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] To CSD's knowledge, rarely if ever in recent decades had a sitting president so directly orchestrated and politicized a Supreme Court nominee's confirmation hearing – and thus, effectively, the demeanor of the Court itself. And never had a nominee during recent Supreme Court confirmation hearings appeared so intemperate and non-judicial, or had so ratified and re-committed to a professional history as a partisan (and even hyper-partisan) political operative.*</u> Notably, as numerous commentators had observed, it was this partisan history, and likely a continuing partisan identity, for which Mr. Trump may have chosen to nominate Kavanaugh from the outset – as well as having possibly chosen Kavanaugh for his expansive view of executive privilege which, if he were seated on the Court, could help render Mr. Trump immune from legal process.</p> <p><u>The glimmer of reason and fairness.</u> On September 28, following a groundswell of popular outrage against the wildly political and indecorous conduct of the committee hearings, a lone Republican senator, Jeff Flake, forced the committee to recommend to Mr. Trump that the FBI be directed to conduct a limited, one-week, "supplemental" investigation of the various sex-related claims against Kavanaugh – as Democratic senators had been insisting upon. Politically, Mr. Trump had no choice but to accede to the committee's reluctant request.</p> <p><u>The glimmer fades.</u> But by the next morning, the White House had forbidden the FBI from interviewing Kavanaugh's third accuser, asking his prep school and Yale classmates about his drinking habits, or otherwise conducting a full investigation. It relented slightly only after pressure from Democrats and moderate Republicans had been applied.<sup>71</sup> Still, in the end, <u>the FBI would interview only ten witnesses<sup>72</sup> and turn away dozens who came forward.<sup>73</sup> It would not interview Kavanaugh or two of his three accusers.<sup>74</sup> Although such "supplemental" investigations for judicial nominations are routinely truncated, under the current exceptional circumstances the White House's orders<sup>75</sup> to the FBI seemed like nothing less than a cover-up. [Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p><u>More misogyny – and now demagoguery.</u> On October 1, Mr. Trump told reporters that he questioned the claims of Kavanaugh's accusers.<sup>76</sup> On October 2, he told reporters that "women are doing great," while "it's a very scary time for young men in America" due to false accusations of sexual misconduct.<sup>77</sup> Later in the day, at a campaign rally in Mississippi, he viciously mocked and brutally misstated the testimony of Kavanaugh's first accuser in an effort to discredit her, insinuating that she was part of an "evil" cabal of Democrats; and he said that men, not their accusers, were the true victims in sexual assault cases. His supporters at the rally cheered and laughed<sup>78</sup> – as the accuser had alleged Kavanaugh had laughed during his attack on her.</p> <p><u>The contrary view.</u> On October 3, the National Council of Churches (representing 38 denominations and over 40,000,000 people, including Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, Episcopalians, Methodists, and several Orthodox denominations) called for the withdrawal of Kavanaugh's nomination. It cited his bias, disrespect for Democratic senators, and lack of judicial temperament. It also cited his "misstatements" and "outright falsehoods."<sup>79</sup> By October 4, over 1,700 law professors had signed a petition objecting to Kavanaugh's appointment, also for his want of judicial temperament.<sup>80</sup> Kavanaugh's own court (the federal circuit court for the District of Columbia) forwarded multiple complaints on similar grounds to the Supreme Court's Chief Justice John Roberts – an unheard-of reproach.<sup>81</sup></p> <p><u>The FBI report.</u> On October 3, the FBI released its report to the White House, and on October 4, the White House released it confidentially to the Senate. Kavanaugh's supporters in the Senate called the report "thorough," and they were jubilant that no corroborating allegations of sexual misconduct had been cited. His opponents called it a "sham," in that the FBI had not followed countless leads that had appeared. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p><u><i>The defense mushrooms.</i></u> Also on October 4, Kavanaugh pleaded his case by way of an op-ed in a broad circulation newspaper (The Wall Street Journal)<sup>82</sup> – a move that critics said was unprecedentedly political for a Supreme Court nominee. <u>On October 5, Mr. Trump tweeted that those who had been protesting against Kavanaugh were carrying signs "paid for by Soros" – the American pro-democracy philanthropist who in recent years had become the whipping boy of anti-democratic, anti-Semitic forces in Central and Eastern Europe, and more recently in the U.S.</u> The Russian government also rallied to defend Kavanaugh and dismissed his accusers as representing "malignant feminism."<sup>83</sup></p> <p><u><i>The vote.</i></u> On October 5, enough senators committed to vote in Kavanaugh's favor that his confirmation was assured. <u>On October 6, the Senate confirmed Kavanaugh, on a razor-thin and almost purely party-line vote. Some analysts wrote that Mr. Trump's public mockery of the first accuser<sup>84</sup> and Kavanaugh's rage-filled testimony<sup>85</sup> – each in defiance of democratic norms – may have saved the nomination. The limitations on the scope of the FBI's supplemental investigation, as directed by the White House,<sup>86</sup> may have also been a factor.</u></p> <p><u><i>The aftermath.</i></u> Later on October 6, Mr. Trump (as often before) called for libel laws that would (unconstitutionally) enable Kavanaugh and himself to sue their accusers.<sup>87</sup> That evening, at a campaign rally in Kansas – during which, as was typical, he whipped his audience into a rage – Mr. Trump not only rejoiced in the Kavanaugh victory, but characterized the "radical" Democrats' opposition to it, and their peaceful protests, as the work of an "angry mob." He roared: <i>"They threw away and threw aside every notion of fairness, of justice, of decency, and of due process – nobody's seen anything like it."</i><sup>88</sup> According to The Washington Post, <i>"Kavanaugh's name elicited thunderous applause, with supporters cheering, fist-pumping into the sky and holding up babies in celebration."</i><sup>89</sup> Perhaps never before had a Supreme Court confirmation so energized a crowd, or a Supreme Court justice (for some) become so lionized. On October 8, Mr. Trump told reporters that the accusations against Kavanaugh were a <i>"hoax set up by the Democrats. .... All made up. It was fabricated."</i><sup>90</sup></p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] At a splashy, televised White House ceremony that evening celebrating Kavanaugh's confirmation – normally such confirmations are low-key and apolitical – Mr. Trump apologized on behalf of the American people to Kavanaugh and his family for their "suffering." (The majority of Americans, according to polls, had not wanted Kavanaugh to be seated.) He also charged Kavanaugh's accusers with "lies and deception." And he said that Kavanaugh had been "proven innocent" of the accusers' charges – despite the purely partisan nature of the Senate proceedings, the inapplicability of criminal trial procedures there, and the quashing of the FBI's fact-finding.<sup>91</sup> Both Mr. Trump and Kavanaugh lauded the Republican senators who had supported the confirmation.<sup>92</sup> Although many leading Republicans attended,<sup>93</sup> it was not apparent to CSD whether any Democrats were invited or came.</p> <p>On October 9, both in tweeting and in speaking to reporters, Mr. Trump repeated and made more explicit his previous false claims that the thousands of anti-Kavanaugh protestors in Washington had been hired by dark forces.<sup>94</sup> That evening, at a campaign rally in Iowa, he accused Democratic Senator Diane Feinstein (without evidence) of corrupting the Kavanaugh proceedings, evincing from the crowd a chant, "Lock her up!" He also excited the crowd by chastising the "angry left-wing mob" that had protested Kavanaugh's appointment.<sup>95</sup></p> <p><u><i>In summary.</i></u> The contest over Kavanaugh's confirmation was unseemly and deeply damaging to our governmental institutions. Observers universally blamed Senate Republicans, Senate Democrats, or both for the disaster. But this document is limited to reporting on the anti-democratic behavior of Mr. Trump and his administration, however much others may at times provoke or facilitate that behavior. CSD sees Mr. Trump as having personally exhibited the following anti-democratic behaviors in the Kavanaugh affair:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Publicly discrediting and mocking particular women who had credibly accused a man of sexual assault.</li> <li>2. In public statements, generically favoring accused men over their female accusers.</li> <li>3. Falsely characterizing the Senate witnesses' testimony and the outcome of the proceedings. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ol>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>4. Doing all of that demagogically – especially by alleging the victimization of Kavanaugh, of himself, and of men generally – for personal political gain.</p> <p>5. Constricting the FBI's fact-finding relative to the sexual accusations: a cover-up.</p> <p>6. Withholding documents pertinent to Kavanaugh's political history in serving a previous administration: another cover-up.</p> <p>7. Defiling the Supreme Court and undercutting its legitimacy by directing a nominee's (injudicious and inflammatory) testimony and by orchestrating a ruthless campaign that placed party strategy over judicial and constitutional principle.</p> <p>8. Calling peaceful protesters a threatening "mob," and spinning a false conspiracy theory that they were paid by nefarious forces (compare to his anti-Obama "birtherism").</p> <p>9. Likely having nominated Kavanaugh at least in part for Kavanaugh's expansive view of presidential and executive privilege, which could shield Mr. Trump and his administration from legal process.</p> <p>10. Continuing, even after the confirmation, to deliberately frighten and anger his base and to divide the American people.</p> <hr/> <p>*<i>The nominee.</i> This document is about not only Mr. Trump but also his nominees and appointees – those whom he has empowered or sought to empower in their respective offices. Accordingly, CSD feels compelled to summarize the questions that had arisen at the eleventh hour as to Kavanaugh's fitness to serve on the Court:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whether in his youth he had committed predatory and humiliating sexual offenses against women in the company of, and for sport with, other males;</li> <li>• Whether he had repeatedly lied to the Senate Judiciary Committee (a breathtaking list of his alleged falsehoods appears at the link at this endnote<sup>96</sup>); and</li> <li>• Whether he was so partisan and vengeful that, going forward, he could not be expected to fairly decide cases involving litigants with whom he ideologically disagreed. [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] At the September 27 hearing, we did not see Kavanaugh's supporters within the committee as having addressed any of those issues; rather, as having principally argued that the timing of the sexual allegations raised by Democrats had been devious and unfair (ignoring their own previous, extraordinary boycott of Merrick Garland's nomination). Instead the task of discrediting the accuser fell to the seasoned, outside prosecutor whom Kavanaugh's supporters had hired to interrogate her at the hearing and who on September 30 faithfully issued the discrediting report.<sup>97</sup> Critics, including both prosecutors and defense attorneys, found the report questionable, if not unprofessional.<sup>98</sup></p> <p>As to whether Kavanaugh's denial of the sexual allegations issuing from his adolescent years was truthful, we of course don't know more than anyone else does – notwithstanding his other patent evasions and likely untruths during and before his testimony. (Despite having earlier opined from the circuit court bench that polygraph tests are useful, and despite his first accuser having sought and passed a polygraph test, Kavanaugh had not done the same.<sup>99</sup>)</p> <p>As to his character that otherwise emerged in the course of the nomination process, he appeared, even when young, to have been a man of considerable kindness and rectitude – within his tribe, and when sober. But we grew concerned about several facially disparate items in his adult years that we came to believe might in truth be related to one another: first, his role as a back-room, puritanical and furious zealot in investigating President Clinton's sexual infractions;<sup>100</sup> and second, his having accumulated up to \$200,000 in credit card debt – much of it spent on buying baseball tickets for himself and his Washington friends, and in all leading him to apparent balance sheet insolvency.<sup>101</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>
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<p>9-18-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Zealotry, sexual hypocrisy and improvidence aren't crimes. But to our knowledge they aren't characteristic of recent or current Supreme Court Justices either. Most disturbing, however, were the commonalities that we discerned: Kavanaugh's tendency toward an unsettling mix of obsequiousness and pack-like behavior, which together had been capable of resulting in injury, intentional or otherwise. His rashness and rage at the hearing were likewise consistent with how his accusers and many of his classmates had characterized his youth. We found it disturbing that such characteristics could be represented on the Supreme Court – the country's ultimate protector of the law – where (at least to public appearance) temperance, dignity and independence had for decades, if not centuries, been the norm.</p> <p>In particular, we became and remain profoundly concerned, based on what we saw of Kavanaugh and the circumstances of his confirmation, that his allegiance to Mr. Trump could transcend his allegiance to the Constitution and the law.</p>	<p>2, 3, 6, 7, 9, 17 (2, 7?)</p>

[Please continue to the next page.]

<p>9-18-18, 9-19-18</p>	<p><b>Hatch Act, anyone?</b> On September 18, Politico reported that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo would shortly speak before an election-oriented gathering of conservative activists on the topic of international religious freedom. Previous secretaries of state had addressed gatherings sponsored by advocacy groups relative to international affairs; but seemingly not groups with such a broadly partisan domestic agenda, especially during election season.<sup>102</sup> CSD is concerned that Pompeo's address may have violated the Hatch Act, which forbids most government officials from aiding in election campaigns.</p> <p>On September 19, Politico reported that budget director and acting Consumer Financial Protection Bureau director Mick Mulvaney had met behind closed doors with Republican donors and campaign officials in September, also in possible violation of the Hatch Act.<sup>103</sup></p> <p>Other Trump Cabinet members had previously appeared to violate the Hatch Act as well, with impunity, as reported earlier in this Chronology.</p>	<p>17 (campaign law violations)</p>
<p>9-19-18</p>	<p><b>The latest hurricane.</b> In North Carolina, while being briefed before news cameras on the damage from Hurricane Florence, Mr. Trump asked about the condition of the state's Lake Norman area – where he owns a Trump-branded golf club – then spoke beatifically about the area.</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>9-20-18</p>	<p><b>In Nevada.</b> At a campaign rally in Las Vegas, Nevada, Mr. Trump engaged in his customary campaign rhetoric – including by hounding the "fake news" and Democrats – as the excited crowd chanted "Build that wall!" and "Lock her [Hillary Clinton] up!". He repeatedly mocked reporters for "crying." He boasted of his electoral college victory (still!), his penchant generally for "winning," and his adeptness in quickly building structures (here, the Mexican wall). Of Democrats, he said: <i>"The new platform of the Democrat Party is radical socialism and open borders."</i> Also: <i>"And I won't allow the United States of America to become the next Venezuela. That's what they want to do."</i> Also: <i>"Today's Democrat Party is held hostage by left-wing haters, angry mobs, socialist fanatics, 'deep-state' bureaucrats, and their fake news allies."</i> Additional inaccuracies abounded.<sup>104</sup></p> <p>He also continued his ceaseless mockery of the late Senator John McCain, now posthumously.<sup>105</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>

<p>9-21-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Missouri.</u></b> At a campaign rally for a senatorial candidate in Springfield, Missouri, Mr. Trump – as had been his custom during the mid-term campaign season although he was not on the ballot – spoke mostly of himself. He boasted of his purges to date within the Justice Department, while vowing to rid the department of its "lingering stench." He also boasted falsely of having created "the greatest economy in history." He described his own 2016 election victory as "one of the greatest nights in the history of our country."</p> <p>He falsely warned that Democrats would fling open the Mexican border, provide social benefits to undocumented migrants, and destroy Medicare in the process.</p> <p>He also continued his defense of his Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh relative to recent sexual assault allegations, arguing (as he had said of some of his other appointees, and reflecting his orientation to televised showmanship) that Kavanaugh was from "central casting" – without explaining how surface appeal translated into wisdom, fairness or integrity.</p> <p>Without apparent irony, some signs raised by the audience read, "Drain the Swamp."<sup>106</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
<p>9-25-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Laughter at the UN.</u></b> Boasting of his accomplishments in a speech before the United Nations General Assembly in New York on September 25, Mr. Trump said, <i>"In less than two years, my administration has accomplished more than almost any administration in the history of our country."</i> <u>Many in the audience audibly laughed at him.</u> He responded, <i>"I didn't expect that reaction, but that's OK."</i></p> <p>Why Mr. Trump was surprised at being disdained by an international body that he had so relentlessly vilified for so long puzzled CSD. In fact he shortly reiterated his antagonistic worldview to the assembly: <i>"We will never surrender America's sovereignty to an unelected, unaccountable, global bureaucracy. America is governed by Americans. We reject the ideology of globalism and we embrace the doctrine of patriotism."</i> Also: <i>"The United States will not be taken advantage of any longer .... America will never apologize for protecting its citizens."</i> [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>7, 11, 12, 14, Making America Great (Again?)</p>

<p>9-25-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] More specifically, he denounced the International Criminal Court, the Iran nuclear agreement, the World Trade Organization, and the UN's Human Rights Council – all institutions from which he had either withdrawn or distanced the U.S. He also threatened to withdraw the U.S. from UN peacekeeping efforts. He said that immigrants commit crimes and should stay home; also that the U.S. would not participate in the new UN compact on global migration.<sup>107</sup> In addition, as at other multinational meetings, he had arrived late for his speech, forcing the world organization to alter its schedule.<sup>108</sup></p> <p><u>The laughter was widely reported. One report also noted that this was the first General Assembly speech by an American president that was not interrupted by applause.</u><sup>109</sup> Several reports referred to this 2014 tweet by Mr. Trump, in which he had swiped at President Obama: "<i>We need a President who isn't a laughing stock to the entire World. We need a truly great leader, a genius at strategy and winning. Respect!</i>"<sup>110</sup> Another writer posted multiple Trump tweets from over the years in which he had claimed that the world had been laughing at the U.S. and that he would fix that.<sup>111</sup></p> <p>The German delegation then laughed at him for claiming that Germany was growing dependent on Russian energy.<sup>112</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's presentation was otherwise mottled with light and darkness. He boasted about the performance of the American stock market and other economic indicators.<sup>113</sup> He praised North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un, as well as a handful of countries that he considered to be friendly. But he railed against Iran, China, Syria, Cuba, OPEC, Venezuela, World Trade Organization members, recipients of US aid, and NATO allies.<sup>114</sup> By one account, in half an hour he had disparaged countries representing 90% of the world's population<sup>115</sup> (but not Russia).</p> <p><u>Unlike other American presidents, Mr. Trump offered no affirmative vision of humankind other than unchecked nationalism.</u> The only sense of fairness he articulated was what was fair to the U.S. In the words of one commentator, "<i>President Trump made it as clear as he ever has how he views America's place and purpose in the world. As a bully, not a beacon. His speech lashed out at all the familiar foes, but Trump's main target was the international order itself.</i>"<sup>116</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 11, 12, 14, Making America Great (Again?)</p>
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<p>9-25-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] The Washington Post's Fact Checker identified 14 false or misleading claims in his address.<sup>117</sup> The New York Times (as everyone knows, a more conservative newspaper) identified only five.<sup>118</sup></p> <p>Within hours after the address, the laughter episode was noted in Philadelphia by several speakers at a sizable University of Pennsylvania symposium titled "Competing Visions of the Global Order." A leading British journalist quipped that the laughter was heard "all the way down the Hudson River." Indeed, Mr. Trump's rejection of the 70-year post-World War II order stood as a major motif of the event, and speakers voiced their concerns. One of them, former United Nations ambassador and former national security adviser Susan Rice, withheld comment on the laughter; but she cautioned that <u>Mr. Trump's radical breach of the decades-old order could cause other countries to never fully trust the U.S. going forward, even after Mr. Trump's term ends; that to their minds, "If it happens once, it can happen again."</u></p> <p>Later that day, Mr. Trump told reporters that he had in fact intended to elicit laughter from the General Assembly, and that he thought his UN speech had gone "very well."<sup>119</sup></p> <p>Subsequently, at the Security Council, he charged without evidence that China had been interfering with American elections; gave Russia an unmerited pass both on that topic and on the use of chemical and biological weaponry; exaggerated his progress on North Korean denuclearization; and threatened to crush Iran. These too were the observations of Rice, now writing in The New York Times. She concluded: <u>"Mr. Trump's trip to the United Nations this week set America on an ever more dangerous course in which we are courting conflict with powerful countries that don't seek it and ignoring persistent threats from committed adversaries with the will and capacity to do us grave harm. In these troubling times, up is down, black is white and America stands alone, reckless and ridiculed, among the nations of the world."</u><sup>120</sup></p>	<p>7, 11, 12, 14, Making America Great (Again?)</p>
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<p>9-29-18</p>	<p><b><u>In West Virginia (falling in love).</u></b> At a rally for a senatorial candidate in Wheeling, West Virginia, Mr. Trump said twice that he and the murderous North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un "fell in love" during the course of their meeting in June. But Mr. Trump's administration had recently conceded, contrary to his own previous predictions, that Kim had not moved at all toward the denuclearization that Kim had promised; that denuclearization could take years; and that Kim was continuing to attempt to interfere with American elections.<sup>121</sup> <u>To CSD, it was as though Presidents Roosevelt or Truman had said that they had fallen in love with Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin, and had continued to trust him, even while Stalin was plotting against the U.S. and butchering his own people.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump also lashed out at some of his usual enemies, deprecating the media as "the enemy of the people" and Democratic Senator Elizabeth Warren as "Pocahontas" (a term to which Native American groups had previously objected).<sup>122</sup> In addition, to thunderous applause, he called the Democrats on the Senate Judiciary Committee "disgraceful political hacks" for having treated Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh with "shameless conduct" during the September 27 confirmation hearing regarding allegations of his youthful sexual offenses;<sup>123</sup> and he lauded Kavanaugh for his "brilliant and really incredible character, quality and courage" (a characterization that CSD is inclined to label as questionable, if not a grotesque falsehood).</p> <p>But for the most part, CSD had found that <u>Mr. Trump's demagogic rallies were no longer being reported upon in detail by the mainstream media, or even by Fox News,<sup>124</sup> since they had become so commonplace, repetitive, and – regrettably – normalized.</u></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 12</p>
<p>10-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Little confidence.</u></b> A new Pew Research Center global poll revealed that while most of the populations tested would prefer the U.S. rather than China to lead the world, few – particularly among America's allies – had confidence in Mr. Trump's ability to lead.<sup>125</sup></p>	<p>10, 13, 14</p>

<p>10-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Mississippi (savaging the accuser).</u></b> At a campaign rally in Southaven, Mississippi, Mr. Trump boasted about his electoral success and prospects. He called the Democratic Party the "party of crime" – on the same day that The New York Times revealed that he had made much of his fortune through what appeared to have been tax fraud on the part of himself and his family. He hinted that he could physically knock out former Vice President Joe Biden. He said that Mississippi's Republican Governor Phil Bryant (who was in attendance) was from "central casting." He falsely said that construction of his proposed Mexican border wall had begun. He evinced from the crowd the chant, "Lock her [Hillary Clinton] up!"</p> <p>Relative to the recent, appalling Senate Judiciary Committee hearing for the approval of his Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh, and intensely advocating on Kavanaugh's behalf, Mr. Trump falsely stated that Kavanaugh was at the top of his class at Yale College and Yale Law School. <u>He ruthlessly disparaged and mocked the testimony of the woman who had accused Kavanaugh of attempted rape,</u> while depicting men (explicitly including himself) as vulnerable to false allegations of sexual abuse. He unfairly thrashed and grossly exaggerated Democratic committee member Senator Richard Blumenthal's misstatements about his Vietnam-era service in the Marines, while ignoring his own infinitely more plenteous and injurious falsehoods and his having avoided military service altogether. And he suggested that Democratic committee member Senator Patrick Leahy was a drunk.<sup>126</sup></p>	<p>2, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Presidential alert.</u></b> At 2:18 p.m. EDT, most cell phones in the country received a loud, buzzing message titled "Presidential Alert" – a test of FEMA's new emergency warning system. Private plaintiffs had brought a lawsuit to restrain the test on grounds of privacy, free speech, and unconstitutional seizures of property (that is, of cell phones).<sup>127</sup></p> <p>CSD does not have a view on those issues. But we are disturbed that a perfunctory message on the part of a federal administrative agency had been and would continue to be cast as "presidential," thus suggesting to the country that it was Mr. Trump personally (as opposed to the agency) that was protecting us – like the paternalistic, all-powerful, all-seeing, and always audible Big Brother in the novel <i>1984</i>.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

10-3-18	<p><b>Judge blocks expulsions.</b> A federal judge in California temporarily blocked the Trump administration's termination of Temporary Protected Status (TPS) for several hundred thousand migrants who had fled upheaval and natural disaster in Haiti, Sudan, Nicaragua and El Salvador. The judge said that the motivation for the intended expulsions could be racial, based on Mr. Trump's many racist and anti-immigrant comments in other matters.<sup>128</sup></p>	6
10-3-18 +	<p><b>Still "fixing" the census.</b> On October 3, the Trump administration urged the Supreme Court to prevent the deposition of Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross and a ranking Justice Department official in a case challenging the inclusion of a question about respondents' citizenship in the 2020 decennial census. As reported by CSD on December 29, 2017 and March 26, 2018, critics had charged that including the question would be costly and scientifically unsound, and that it was motivated by a desire to suppress immigrant and minority participation – a claim that the depositions could corroborate.<sup>129</sup> Thus, despite the administration's recent cries for "transparency" when seeking to release classified documents to its own advantage (see CSD's entry of September 17 above), here the administration was still furiously excluding, stonewalling and dissembling relative to the census.<sup>130</sup></p> <p>Ross too appeared to be dissembling. On October 11, the Justice Department filed court papers acknowledging that he "recalled" having discussed the citizenship question with anti-immigration ideologues Stephen Bannon and Kris Kobach, contrary to his earlier sworn statements to Congress.<sup>131</sup> (Compare to Ross, a brilliant investor, having previously "misunderstood" his investments relative to his ethics disclosure obligations: see CSD's entry of July 12.)</p>	6, 8, 9, 17 (6, 7)
10-6-18	<p><b>In Kansas.</b> At a rally in Topeka, Kansas for gubernatorial candidate and leading immigration conspiracy theorist Chris Kobach, Mr. Trump exulted in the Senate's confirmation that morning of his Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh, and he characterized the Democratic opposition to Kavanaugh as despicable. As before, he also railed against immigration; called Democrats "the party of crime" and "open borders"; implied that he could physically thrash former Vice President Joe Biden; and referred to Senator Elizabeth Warren as "Pocahontas." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	6, 9

<p>10-6-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] Of Democrats generally, Mr. Trump said, "<i>Just imagine the devastation they would cause if they ever obtain the power they so desperately want and crave. ... You don't hand matches to an arsonist and you don't give power to an angry left-wing mob – and that's what they've become. The Democrats have become too extreme and too dangerous to govern.</i>"<sup>132</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>10-8-18</p>	<p><b>Selling weapons, like steaks.</b> The Huffington Post documented how Mr. Trump had been trumpeting his success in sales of heavy American military equipment to other countries – much in the way he had previously trumpeted the success of his sales of condos, golf course memberships, steaks, ties, vodka and "dubious" real estate courses. Although the U.S. had been making such sales since the end of World War II, it had done so more quietly, seeking to avoid a morally distasteful reputation as an arms merchant; but Mr. Trump had shown no such reservations. HuffPost wrote that the new publicity sometimes caused chagrin on the part of the purchasers and anger toward the U.S. on the part of victimized populations (such as Yemeni civilians suffering from Saudi Arabian attacks using U.S. weapons).<sup>133</sup></p>	<p>10</p>
<p>10-8-18</p>	<p><b>Melania in Africa.</b> Upon his wife Melania's return from her goodwill trip to four African countries on October 8, Mr. Trump said, "<i>The First Lady did a tremendous job representing our country in Africa – like no one has before.</i>"<sup>134</sup></p> <p>CSD – several of whose members have spent time in Africa – takes exception. While Ms. Trump's whirlwind trip was stylish and harmless, we found it thin on substance and expressed insight. Countless presidents, members of Congress, diplomats, aid workers, Peace Corps volunteers, human rights organizations, artists, missionaries and business people, among others, had "represented" our country in Africa far more effectively. Mr. Trump was entitled to praise his wife. But his concern for and awareness of Africa still seemed to be nil.</p>	<p>6</p>

<p>10-9-18 +</p>	<p><b>Let it fry.</b> Mr. Trump reacted with skepticism to the October 7 release of a major new United Nations report predicting catastrophic consequences of human-caused global warming within 20 years. Asked for comment by a reporter, he appeared to not yet have become familiar with the report's contents; but his initial response consisted of questioning its accuracy based on who had written it. According to The Huffington Post, "<i>The data in the UN's new document is unlikely to sway Trump, who has vowed to pull the U.S. out of the Paris Agreement and has taken steps to dismantle every major policy designed to reduce the nation's carbon footprint.</i>"<sup>135</sup> On October 14, Mr. Trump's chief economic advisor Larry Kudlow, without apparent analysis, expressly questioned the report's findings.<sup>136</sup></p>	<p>8, 17 (8)</p>
<p>10-9-18</p>	<p><b>In Iowa.</b> At a campaign rally in Council Bluffs, Iowa, Mr. Trump adhered to his recurrent themes: boasting about his accomplishments, decrying Hispanic migration, labeling Democrats as socialists bent on turning the U.S. "into Venezuela," and insulting Democratic leaders such as Senators Diane Feinstein, Richard Blumenthal and Elizabeth Warren ("Pocahontas"). Since the recent imbroglio over Brett Kavanaugh's Supreme Court nomination hearings, he had come to thrashing Democrats for opposing the nominee; he had been calling Democrats "the party of crime" and an "angry left-wing mob"; and those new-found themes also appeared in Council Bluffs, to the audience's roaring approval. He also again called Democrats "too dangerous to govern." As to the "mob," the chants of "Lock her up!" that he evoked now targeted both Hillary Clinton and Feinstein (the latter for her role in the Kavanaugh hearings).</p> <p>In addition, Mr. Trump charged Democrats with practicing the "politics of anger, division and destruction."<sup>137</sup> For CSD, that accusation paralleled his long-standing, dizzying custom of derogating his critics by way of allegations that had first been leveled at him. (For example, he had called the press liars and had claimed that Hillary Clinton had colluded with Russia in election meddling.) The new slur was likely destined to further confound all reasoned discourse.</p> <p>The Washington Post wrote: "<i>For a president who campaigned on and is governing with themes of grievance and fear, the portrait painted Tuesday night in Council Bluffs was especially dark.</i>"<sup>138</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>

<p>10-9-18</p>	<p><b><u>Haley gone.</u></b> The U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley, announced that she would resign effective January 2019. Speculation about her reasons for leaving were widespread and various: fatigue, intra-administration tensions, presidential ambitions, financial needs, and even a recent complaint by a watchdog organization that she and her husband had travelled frequently to her home state of South Carolina during her tenure at the expense of private donors.<sup>139</sup> Despite having argued for and implemented many of Mr. Trump's harsh, anti-multilateral initiatives at the U.N., she had on occasion shown more moderation and independence than some of his other appointees. In any case, she joined the long list of Mr. Trump's high-level aides who had not lasted.<sup>140</sup></p>	<p>10</p>
<p>10-9-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pressing the Fed.</u></b> Mr. Trump again – twice on October 9, as the stock market was falling – complained that the Federal Reserve Bank was raising interest rates too quickly in their effort to contain inflation, thus (he said) jeopardizing the country's economic growth; and he fortified his attacks in subsequent days. He went so far as to brand the Fed "crazy" and "out of control," at one point saying, <i>"I think I know more about it [interest rate policy] than they [the Federal Reserve Board] do."</i> He meanwhile falsely implied that he had the power to fire Jerome Powell, the Fed's chairman, over the latter's policies.<sup>141</sup></p> <p>In fact Mr. Trump had been widely regarded by economists of all persuasions as knowing nothing about their discipline. Worse, his by now recurring jabs violated nearly all recent presidential precedent relative to the Fed's independence. They also were seen by observers as positioning him to take credit for economic and stock market growth while blaming others for any declines in the ordinary course.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>10-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>The white nationalists within.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist identified ten Trump administration officials who had been exposed as having supported white nationalists. The column was prompted by new revelations that Andrew Wheeler, the acting head of the Environmental Protection Agency whom Mr. Trump had appointed to succeed disgraced EPA chief Scott Pruitt, had "liked" a racist depiction of President and Michele Obama (in addition to having supported various right-wing conspiracy theories online).<sup>142</sup></p>	<p>17 (6)</p>

<p>10-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Pennsylvania.</u></b> At a campaign rally for congressional candidates in Erie, Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump again warned of the "radical Democrat mob."<sup>143</sup> He said: <i>"What the radical Democrats did to Brett Kavanaugh and his beautiful family is a national disgrace."</i> He added that Democrats want to <i>"impose socialism and take over and destroy American health care."</i> Also: <i>"Democrats want to abolish America's borders and allow drugs and gangs to pour into our country."</i><sup>144</sup></p> <p>On another topic, he mocked the "MeToo" movement.<sup>145</sup> And with an unusual directness, but as ever without evidence, he accused Hillary Clinton of having colluded with Russia to affect the 2016 election, drawing chants of "Lock her up!"<sup>146</sup></p> <p>CSD's members live in Pennsylvania. What with the rage, fear and falsehood that Mr. Trump unleashed in Erie, we could not recognize what had become of civic life in our heretofore moderate, sustaining and commonsense state.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>10-10-18, 10-11-18</p>	<p><b><u>The great health care debate.</u></b> On October 10, The Huffington Post reported that the Trump administration was planning to shorten the upcoming open enrollment period for the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") and shut down its online portal for maintenance during peak sign-on times, just as it had done the previous year<sup>147</sup> – presumably, once again, to <u>sabotage the ACA for personal and political purposes without having created a viable alternative, and all at the expense of the health of Americans.</u></p> <p>On the same day, in an opinion column published by USA Today, Mr. Trump falsely claimed that Democrats wanted to gut Medicare and that he himself had championed the ACA's pre-existing conditions protections.<sup>148</sup> Remarkably, the newspaper's online version linked those statements to earlier news articles refuting them; and the following day it published a fact-check refuting them further.<sup>149</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's USA Today column – an extended exercise in falsehood, fury and fear-mongering – also included a diatribe against Democrats' plans for "open border socialism." Echoing his rally speeches, Mr. Trump wrote: <i>"The new Democrats are radical socialists who want to model America's economy after Venezuela."</i><sup>150</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>10-10-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Saudi disappearance.</u></b> On October 2, a Virginia-based Washington Post columnist and Saudi Arabian dissident, Jamal Khashoggi, had disappeared in the Saudi consulate in Istanbul and was believed to have been assassinated there. Both Republican and Democratic senators had expressed alarm.<sup>151</sup> But Mr. Trump's own response had been only tepid. He finally acknowledged on October 10 that a full investigation was required; but the next day he cited America's "excellent" relations with Saudi Arabia and flatly refused to halt his much boasted-of arms sales to that country, which he said secured American manufacturing jobs.<sup>152</sup> He repeated that refusal in a CBS interview released on October 13,<sup>153</sup> as bi-partisan concerns continued.<sup>154</sup></p> <p>Some critics also pointed to Mr. Trump's indulgence of ongoing Saudi war atrocities in Yemen; the Saudi government's kidnapping of Lebanon's prime minister in 2017; its arrest, beating and confiscation of the assets of many prominent businessmen and royal family members; its blockade of Qatar; its recent imprisonment of hundreds of women's rights and other liberal activists within the country; and its diplomatic insults of Canada in August following Canada's protest of the imprisonments – all perpetrated by the country's young and authoritarian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS).<sup>155</sup> Those critics connected Mr. Trump's indulgence to MBS's having lavishly feted Mr. Trump in Riyadh; the Saudis having conspicuously patronized the Trump International Hotel in Washington; the Saudi promise of arms purchases in exchange for Mr. Trump's promise not to interfere in Saudi human rights; and Mr. Trump's own disdain for the free press.<sup>156</sup></p> <p>On October 15, speaking with reporters and without evidence, Mr. Trump speculated that the journalist may have been murdered by "rogue killers" rather than by the Saudi regime, prompting ridicule from critics.<sup>157</sup> In his remarks, he appeared to give great, even enthusiastic weight to the denials by the accused (here the Saudi government) – "<i>The king firmly denied any knowledge of it!</i>" – as he had previously done with other known or alleged malfeasors: Russian President Vladimir Putin, North Korean leader Kim Jong-un, campaign chairman Paul Manafort, Supreme Court nominee (now Justice) Brett Kavanaugh, and various other men accused of sexual wrongdoing. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>12</p>



<p>10-10-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As of the date of this Addendum, the widespread, bipartisan concerns about Mr. Trump's response to the incident hadn't abated.<sup>158</sup></p> <p>CSD, for its part, acknowledges that, for diplomatic and strategic reasons, countless human rights offenses on the part of both allies and enemies have gone unchallenged or only lightly challenged by American presidents. In addition, rightly or wrongly, Mr. Trump appears to have materially built his Middle East policy around deepening U.S.-Saudi ties. With any other president, we would appreciate the careful reserve that Mr. Trump now appeared to display. But given his apparent indifference to human rights violations within multiple authoritarian regimes (Russia, North Korea, the Philippines, Egypt, Saudi Arabia), we too found that reserve to be suspect.</p> <p>Saudi Arabia, of course, in addition to violating human rights internally, nurtures and globally exports the intolerant, misogynistic and often militant Wahhabi version of Sunni Islam that gave rise to Osama bin Laden and the September 11, 2001 attacks on the U.S. American leaders and diplomats have long struggled to reconcile the grave terrorist and jihadist peril that flows from the desert kingdom with their desire to cultivate relations with its leaders. To CSD's knowledge, Mr. Trump has indulged the Saudis on that subject as well.<sup>159</sup></p>	<p>12</p>
<p>10-14-18</p>	<p><b><u>On Sixty Minutes.</u></b> Responding to questions posed by Sixty Minutes host Lesley Stahl, Mr. Trump said:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• As to whether he had treated Brett Kavanaugh's primary accuser with respect after she had testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee in connection with his confirmation as a Supreme Court Justice: <i>" I'm not gonna get into it because we won. It doesn't matter. We won."</i></li> <li>• Regarding climate change: <i>"I don't know that it's manmade. I will say this. I don't wanna give trillions and trillions of dollars. I don't wanna lose millions and millions of jobs. I don't wanna be put at a disadvantage."</i> And besides, <i>"It'll change back again."</i></li> <li>• Regarding North Korean dictator and butcher Kim Jong-un: <i>"I trust him."</i> Also: <i>"I get along with him really well. I have a good energy with him."</i></li> </ul> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14</p>

<p>10-14-18</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Whether North Korea is building more nuclear missiles (as concluded by U.S. intelligence agencies): <i>"Well, nobody really knows."</i></li> <li>• Regarding the media: a lengthy jeremiad, ending in <i>"I'm president and you're not."</i></li> <li>• Regarding the proposition that the Western alliance has kept the peace for 70 years: <i>"You don't know that."</i></li> <li>• Regarding NATO and Jim Mattis, currently Secretary of Defense and formerly Commander of the United States Central Command: <i>"I think I know more about it than he does."</i></li> <li>• Regarding the European Union: <i>"What's an ally? ... Nobody treats us much worse than the European Union. ... [It] was formed in order to take advantage of us on trade."</i></li> <li>• Regarding Russia: Its government probably has assassinated people in other countries, but that's not problematic because <i>"It's not in our country."</i> Its government meddled in the 2016 American election, <i>"But I think China meddled too."</i></li> <li>• Regarding cutting arms sales to Saudi Arabia following its likely assassination of a U.S.-based Saudi journalist: <i>"They are ordering military equipment. Everybody in the world wanted that order. ... Boeing, Lockheed, Raytheon ... . I don't want to hurt jobs. I don't want to lose an order like that."</i></li> <li>• Regarding in-fighting in the White House: <i>"I don't trust everybody in the White House ... . Washington, D.C., is a vicious, vicious place."</i></li> <li>• Regarding national unity: <i>"It was very polarizing under President Obama, unbelievably polarized under President Obama I can see the country uniting. I can see it."<sup>160</sup></i></li> </ul> <p>The Washington Post's "Fact Checker" counted at least 14 false, misleading or exaggerated assertions, some of which Mr. Trump reversed when challenged by Stahl. The Post Wrote: <i>"His rhetoric is fundamentally based on making statements that are not true, and he will be as deceptive as his audience will allow."<sup>161</sup></i></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 14</p>

<p>10-14-18, 10-15-18</p>	<p><b>Squeezing protesters.</b> Concerns over the National Park Service's proposal to tax and to limit the size of Washington, D.C. protests mounted, as the deadline for public comments neared. Critics viewed the measure as an effort to protect President Trump and his agenda from large protest crowds.<sup>162</sup></p>	<p>3</p>
<p>10-15-18, 10-16-18</p>	<p><b>Nevertheless, she (Pocahontas) persisted.</b> After Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren produced DNA evidence confirming her claims to having a small level of Native American ancestry, on October 15 Mr. Trump responded, "<i>So what? ... She'll make our country into Venezuela.</i>"<sup>163</sup> The next day he tweeted that the test was a fraud and that "Pocahontas" should apologize to the American people.</p> <p>CSD likewise doesn't care about Warren's lineage, if (as appears to have been the case) she was raised believing that she had Native American ancestors. It's true that Warren had overstated her Native American lineage 30 years ago as a law professor. But by Twitter, at rallies, and otherwise, Mr. Trump had long and relentlessly derided her as "Pocahontas" for what he had maintained was her false genetic claim. Although that derision had offended Native American groups, he had continued and escalated it. His refusal to now acknowledge or apologize for error and cruel insult would have been startling – but for his known incapacity to either acknowledge or apologize.</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-16-18</p>	<p><b>Winning: with radically early money.</b> CNN reported that Mr. Trump's re-election campaign had raised \$106,000,000 – 26 to 32 times what Presidents Obama and George W. Bush had raised two years into their presidencies. Mr. Trump's take was attributable to his having begun his re-election campaign the day he was sworn in rather than waiting two years – a radical break from tradition that both raided congressional candidates' funding opportunities and enhanced the unseemly optics of Mr. Trump's commitment to winning over governing.<sup>164</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

10-16-18	<p><b>Winning: with radical robocalls.</b> A Republican member of CSD received a robocall from Mr. Trump's campaign that began, forebodingly, "<i>THEY do not want ME to be elected.</i>" There was no positive or even substantive message, no vision or promise for the listener: only a dire warning that "the other" was persecuting Mr. Trump (and, implicitly, the listener). The message not only played to listeners' fears, but it demonized and delegitimized Mr. Trump's opponents, all in a manner not recalled by our listener in any other presidential election.</p>	9
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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/09/10/how-rudy-giuliani-turned-into-trumps-clown>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-again-lashes-out-at-sessions-1536010020?tesla=y> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/two-easy-wins-now-in-doubt-trump-renews-attack-on-sessions-citing-indictments-of-two-gop-congressmen-ahead-of-midterms/2018/09/03/e6f1356a-afac-11e8-9a6a-565d92a3585d\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.7852184a9ced&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/two-easy-wins-now-in-doubt-trump-renews-attack-on-sessions-citing-indictments-of-two-gop-congressmen-ahead-of-midterms/2018/09/03/e6f1356a-afac-11e8-9a6a-565d92a3585d_story.html?utm_term=.7852184a9ced&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/09/03/us/politics/trump-sessions-midterms.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>

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<sup>156</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-utter-amorality-was-exposed-this-weekend/2018/10/09/a4422bbe-cc05-11e8-a3e6-44daa3d35ede\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.6004ad1b0d5b&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-utter-amorality-was-exposed-this-weekend/2018/10/09/a4422bbe-cc05-11e8-a3e6-44daa3d35ede_story.html?utm_term=.6004ad1b0d5b&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/too-close-of-an-embrace-of-prince-mohammed/2018/10/09/dacd8658-cbe0-11e8-a360-85875bac0b1f\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.439b6752d116&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/too-close-of-an-embrace-of-prince-mohammed/2018/10/09/dacd8658-cbe0-11e8-a360-85875bac0b1f_story.html?utm_term=.439b6752d116&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jamal-khashoggis-alleged-murder-represents-a-new-kind-of-depravity/2018/10/11/38a0f784-cd89-11e8-920f-dd52e1ae4570\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.7fbb78f7a365&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/jamal-khashoggis-alleged-murder-represents-a-new-kind-of-depravity/2018/10/11/38a0f784-cd89-11e8-920f-dd52e1ae4570_story.html?utm_term=.7fbb78f7a365&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/15/opinions/how-the-saudis-played-trump-bergen/index.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/14/us/politics/trump-saudi-arabia-arms-deal.html?rref=collection%2Fissuerecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=1&pgtype=collection>

<sup>157</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/10/15/pompeo-meets-saudi-king-900193> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/saudis-to-allow-turkish-investigators-to-search-consulate/2018/10/15/4f1fd074-d000-11e8-a4db-184311d27129\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.b5dac92aef43&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/saudis-to-allow-turkish-investigators-to-search-consulate/2018/10/15/4f1fd074-d000-11e8-a4db-184311d27129_story.html?utm_term=.b5dac92aef43&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>158</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/we-must-demand-accountability-for-saudi-arabias-behavior/2018/10/15/b4b5ecc8-d0ac-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.6026e2e8cbd7&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/we-must-demand-accountability-for-saudi-arabias-behavior/2018/10/15/b4b5ecc8-d0ac-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0_story.html?utm_term=.6026e2e8cbd7&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/10/16/graham-sanction-saudi-arabia-905641>

<sup>159</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/saudi-arabia-just-played-donald-trump/2017/05/25/d0932702-4184-11e7-8c25-44d09ff5a4a8\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.1860c6f5a683](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/global-opinions/saudi-arabia-just-played-donald-trump/2017/05/25/d0932702-4184-11e7-8c25-44d09ff5a4a8_story.html?utm_term=.1860c6f5a683)

<sup>160</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/donald-trump-60-minutes-interview-moments\\_us\\_5bc39a63e4b040bb4e836a40](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/donald-trump-60-minutes-interview-moments_us_5bc39a63e4b040bb4e836a40) and <https://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-60-minutes-lesley-stahl-1168982> and <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2018/10/the-dumbest-moments-from-trumps-60-minutes-interview.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/putin-is-probably-involved-in-assassinations-and-poisonings-but-its-not-in-our-country-trump-says/2018/10/14/d745e21c-cff2-11e8-83d6-291fceed2ab1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c06c33653d49&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/putin-is-probably-involved-in-assassinations-and-poisonings-but-its-not-in-our-country-trump-says/2018/10/14/d745e21c-cff2-11e8-83d6-291fceed2ab1_story.html?utm_term=.c06c33653d49&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/10/14/trump-60-minutes-899281> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/15/takeaways-trumps-minutes-interview/?utm\\_term=.64933cb4e7bc&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/15/takeaways-trumps-minutes-interview/?utm_term=.64933cb4e7bc&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/16/how-trump-bobs-weaves-avoid-truth/?utm\\_term=.745ded92a827&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/16/how-trump-bobs-weaves-avoid-truth/?utm_term=.745ded92a827&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>161</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/16/how-trump-bobs-weaves-avoid-truth/?utm\\_term=.745ded92a827&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/16/how-trump-bobs-weaves-avoid-truth/?utm_term=.745ded92a827&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>162</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/pressure-builds-as-national-park-service-considers-proposals-to-change-how-protests-are-done-in-dc/2018/10/15/96b0806c-d0a7-11e8-83d6-291fceed2ab1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.843ddd3377cb](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/pressure-builds-as-national-park-service-considers-proposals-to-change-how-protests-are-done-in-dc/2018/10/15/96b0806c-d0a7-11e8-83d6-291fceed2ab1_story.html?utm_term=.843ddd3377cb) and [http://www2.philly.com/philly/columnists/will\\_bunch/trump-rosie-odonnell-aclu-national-park-service-20181014.html](http://www2.philly.com/philly/columnists/will_bunch/trump-rosie-odonnell-aclu-national-park-service-20181014.html)

<sup>163</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/15/politics/donald-trump-elizabeth-warren-dna-1-million/index.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/warren-releases-dna-test-suggesting-distant-native-american-ancestor/2018/10/15/187ce196-d060-11e8-8c22-fa2ef74bd6d6\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.40b75e24cc90&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/warren-releases-dna-test-suggesting-distant-native-american-ancestor/2018/10/15/187ce196-d060-11e8-8c22-fa2ef74bd6d6_story.html?utm_term=.40b75e24cc90&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>164</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/16/politics/donald-trump-fundraising/index.html>





**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 20 – November 25, 2018*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>10-15-18, 10-16-18, 10-23-18</p>	<p><b><u>Knocking the Fed.</u></b> On October 15, former Federal Reserve Board chair Janet Yellen said that Mr. Trump's by then relentless harangues against the Fed's raising of interest rates, and his attempts to thwart the Fed's independence, were not only unusual and unwise but were <u>"damaging to the Fed and to financial stability."</u> Still that didn't silence him. The next evening he told Fox News, <u>"The Fed is my biggest threat."</u><sup>1</sup> He likely meant that for the Fed to keep inflation at bay and thus to keep the economy stable by raising interest rates could reduce the growth of jobs and the stock market, <u>thus injuring him politically.</u> That is, he appeared (characteristically) to place his personal fortunes ahead of those of the country.</p> <p>On October 23 Mr. Trump reiterated to The Wall Street Journal that "the Fed is the biggest risk" and that he disapproved of the current path of interest rate raises. The Journal wrote: <u>"Mr. Trump repeatedly described the economy in personal terms. He referred to economic gains during his time in office as 'my numbers,' saying, 'I have a hot economy going.'</u> He described his push for growth as a competition with former President Obama's record, saying that increases in growth under his Democratic predecessor were skewed because of low interest rates."<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>

<p>10-16-18</p>	<p><b>"Horseface" and "Tiny."</b> Mr. Trump tweeted an epithet describing Stormy Daniels – the adult entertainment star, his former extra-marital girlfriend, and now his litigation antagonist: he called her "Horseface." News outlets were quick to recount the many other occasions on which he had disparaged prominent women for their looks or their bodily functions.<sup>3</sup> (Each episode had seemed scandalous at the time, but they all now blended into the new, seemingly acceptable normal.) Daniels promptly responded by calling Mr. Trump "Tiny" – referring to the size of his genitals, which she had described in greater detail in her recent book. The exchange reflected yet a further degradation of the office of the president, unthinkable only two years ago.</p>	<p>6, 10, 11; Making America Great (Again)</p>
<p>10-16-18</p>	<p><b>Telling the AP.</b> In an interview with the Associated Press, Mr. Trump:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Opined, <i>"I've had the most successful two years in the history of this country as a president."</i> Also: <i>"Who is the one, who's the one president that percentage-wise has done better than me? There's only one. George Washington — 100%. Nobody has gotten that yet."</i></li> <li>• Repeatedly accorded credibility to the Saudi Arabian regime's denial of having recently assassinated the American-based, dissident Saudi journalist Jamal Khashoggi in Istanbul – despite a vocal bipartisan uproar in the Senate expressing a contrary view. Also expressed his reluctance to give up arms sales to the Saudis. (See CSD's entry of October 10 +.)</li> <li>• Spoke of the special counsel's "witch hunt" against him relative to Russian meddling in the 2016 election, and protested accusations of complicity or misjudgment on the part of his son Donald, Jr.</li> <li>• Disparaged his attorney general Jeff Sessions yet again. "He should be ashamed" for having recused himself from the special counsel's investigation.</li> <li>• Claimed (falsely) to have produced "the greatest economy in the history of our country."</li> <li>• Claimed (falsely) that the Democrats enjoy a natural advantage in the Electoral College.</li> <li>• Claimed (exaggeratedly) to have defeated ISIS (which is still active in multiple countries).</li> <li>• Claimed (falsely) to have had "tremendous success in North Korea." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>7, 8, 11, 12, 14; plus gratuitous cruelty</p>

10-16-18	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Contradicted his former attorney Michael Cohen's sworn testimony that Cohen had paid hush money to adult entertainment star and former Trump girlfriend Stormy Daniels at Mr. Trump's direction. (No other explanation for the payment had appeared.)</li> <li>• Explained, relative to human-induced climate change, and possibly to his storied germaphobia, "<i>I am truly an environmentalist. ... Everything I want and everything I have is clean. Clean is very important – water, air. But I also want jobs for our country.</i>" Also: "<i>My uncle was a great professor at MIT for many years. ... <u>I have a natural instinct for science</u>, and I will say that you have scientists on both sides of the picture.</i>"</li> <li>• Expressed no regret for having separated migrant children from their families at the Mexican border.</li> <li>• Boasted incessantly, and acknowledged no errors or deficiencies.<sup>4</sup></li> </ul> <p>The New York Times identified 11 false or misleading statements made by Mr. Trump in the interview.<sup>5</sup></p>	7, 8, 11, 12, 14; plus gratuitous cruelty
10-17-18, 10-22-18	<p><b><u>Two more treaties succumb.</u></b> On October 17, Mr. Trump announced that the U.S. would withdraw from the 144-year-old Universal Postal Union treaty, an arrangement that subsidizes inbound shipping fees from certain developing countries.<sup>6</sup> On October 22, he announced his withdrawal from the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces treaty (the INF), an arms-limitation arrangement with Russia, while expressly threatening to engage in a new nuclear arms race with Russia and China.<sup>7</sup></p> <p>Europeans were alarmed, as Russia threatened counter-measures.<sup>8</sup> CSD does not take a position on either development, nor do we hazard how to square the INF withdrawal with Mr. Trump's general Russophilia. But we note the pattern: the continued toll of the wrecking-ball that Mr. Trump has taken to international order and comity.</p>	14
10-18-18	<p><b><u>Race bating goes national.</u></b> The Huffington Post listed <u>17 Democratic candidates of color across the country who had been disparaged on racial grounds during their current midterm campaigns.</u><sup>9</sup> CSD believes that the development is new since at least the 1960s, and is directly attributable to Mr. Trump's pointed racial divisiveness.</p>	17 (6)

<p>10-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>The FBI building: It's mine.</u></b> Newly revealed emails confirmed that Mr. Trump had personally directed the General Services Administration to abandon long-standing plans to move the FBI's operations to a suburban location from their current spot across the street from the Trump International Hotel in Washington. Mr. Trump reportedly stood to lose money if the building were vacated then re-let to tenants that would compete with his hotel. Democrats, in a letter to the GSA, alleged that the GSA administrator – a Trump appointee – had misled Congress about the matter.<sup>10</sup> (CSD had first reported concerns on August 27.)</p>	<p>15, 17 (7)</p>
<p>10-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Montana: Punching reporters; slandering Soros.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Missoula, Montana for Congressman Greg Gianforte, Mr. Trump <u>warmly praised Gianforte for having body slammed and punched a peaceable reporter from The Guardian</u> (a major British news publication) in an episode the previous year that had gained international attention and had earned Gianforte criminal punishment. Mr. Trump's comments drew loud cheers and laughter from the crowd. The praise came at a time when he was still temporizing over the recent torture-murder of the Washington-based Saudi reporter Jamal Khashoggi in Istanbul by Saudi agents, as congressional leaders of both parties had blanched at his delay. The British government rebuked Mr. Trump for his praise of Gianforte's assault.</p> <p>At the same rally, Mr. Trump chastised Democrats for having mistreated his nominees Brett Kavanaugh (Supreme Court Justice – confirmed) and Ronny Jackson (Veterans Administration Secretary – rejected), each of them "a fine, high-quality, handsome guy." He said that the accusations of Kavanaugh's sexual transgressions had been a "con job." <u>He went so far as to repeat his canard that the anti-Kavanaugh protestors had been funded by George Soros – the pro-democracy philanthropist who had become the whipping boy of authoritarian Eastern European anti-Semites and who more recently had become the target of American anti-Semites as well.</u><sup>11</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>10-18-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Soros slander was of particular significance. As a child, Soros had survived the Nazi occupation of Hungary and had gone on to succeed in the U.S. as an investor. An admirer of Ronald Reagan, he had become a hero to American pro-freedom advocates, both Democratic and Republican, for his ground-breaking, self-funded efforts to help bring democracy and "open societies" to Eastern European countries after the fall of communism in the 1990s. Among many other things, his foundations had distributed computers and photocopiers in the region and had encouraged civic engagement and free speech. More recently, Soros had taken up the cause of refugees in Europe, and he had become a major Democratic donor in the U.S.<sup>12</sup></p> <p>But throughout, authoritarians and xenophobes in the region had despised him. In particular, Hungarian Prime Minister Victor Orban had long scapegoated him relative to refugee rights and other matters. For example, using age-old anti-Semitic tropes, in March 2018 Orban had said: <i>"We are fighting an enemy that is different from us. Not open, but hiding. Not straightforward, but crafty. Not honest, but base. Does not believe in working but speculates with money. Does not have its own homeland but feels it owns the whole world."</i><sup>13</sup></p> <p>During the last days of his own electoral campaign in 2016, Mr. Trump had run an advertisement depicting Soros and two other prominent Jewish Americans as financiers bent on secretly dominating America. And on October 5, 2018, he had first (falsely) charged Soros for funding the anti-Kavanaugh protests (see CSD's entry of September 18 +). Although Mr. Trump is not anti-Semitic, <u>he now appeared to be fully joining Orban in the Soros project, for personal political gain.</u> (Grave consequences would follow: see CSD's entries of October 24 + and 27, below.)</p> <p>At the Montana rally, Mr. Trump also said – without evidence – that the current caravan of frightened and destitute Central Americans headed for the American border included "hardened, bad people," and he suggested that Democrats were paying them to come here. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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10-18-18	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] More routinely, he bashed the "fake news," the "deep state" and Hillary Clinton; he called Senator Elizabeth Warren "Pocahontas"; he took sole credit for having "created" the currently strong economy; and he boasted about his 2016 electoral victory. He also repeated his now recurring refrains that the Democratic party is a "mob" and the "party of crime," and that he could trounce former Vice President Joe Biden in a fistfight.<sup>14</sup></p>	1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11
10-19-18	<p><b><u>In Arizona, racially.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Mesa, Arizona, Mr. Trump falsely argued that Democrats wanted to give benefits to undocumented migrants to entice them to immigrate here and to vote for Democrats. He said, "<i>That's why Democrats want to give illegal aliens free welfare, free health care and free education. Give them a driver's license, next thing you know, they'll want to buy them a car. Then they'll say the car's not good enough — how about a Rolls Royce?</i>"<sup>15</sup></p>	6, 7, 9
10-19-18 +	<p><b><u>Zinke grifting, again.</u></b> On October 19, media reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke had recently been investigated for causing the government to improperly pay for his wife's travel when accompanying him on official business. That brought to at least 18 the number of ethics investigations that Zinke had sustained in less than two years (many of them described above by CSD in this document.) The report came on the heels of revelations that Zinke had attempted to wrongfully hire a political crony as the department's inspector general – its ethics watchdog.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>On October 30, media reported that the inspector general had referred one of the Zinke matters to the Justice Department for possible prosecution.<sup>17</sup> On November 9, The Washington Post reported that Zinke had taken off 66 personal days during his first year and a half in office.<sup>18</sup></p>	17 (11)
10-19-18 +	<p><b><u>Dancing with MBS (over Khashoggi's remains).</u></b> Still reluctant to condemn Saudi Arabia and its Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) for having murdered and dismembered Jamal Khashoggi, the Washington Post columnist and Washington-based Saudi dissident, in Turkey on October 2 (see CSD's report of October 10), on October 19 Mr. Trump broke with his intelligence advisors and declared "credible" and a "good first step" the Saudi government's latest (improbable and inconsistent) white-washing of Khashoggi's death.<sup>19</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 10, 11, 12

10-19-18 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On October 20, he praised MBS as “a strong person” who “has very good control.” Emphasizing America's economic ties with Saudi Arabia, he said, “<i>He’s seen as a person who can keep things under check. I mean that in a positive way.</i>”<sup>20</sup> (He had meanwhile been wildly inflating the number of jobs that Saudi-American commerce stood to create.<sup>21</sup>) Some weeks later, as investigations progressed, disturbing developments began arising daily.</p> <p>On November 13, national security advisor John Bolton said that there was no evidence that MBS was culpable.<sup>22</sup> On November 15, the Saudis re-told the murder story yet differently (a third or fourth version), and still implausibly.<sup>23</sup></p> <p><u>On November 16, the CIA revealed its conclusion that MBS had ordered Khashoggi's murder.</u><sup>24</sup></p> <p>But Mr. Trump questioned that conclusion, and he called Saudi Arabia a “spectacular ally.”<sup>25</sup> On November 18, he said that MBS had repeatedly and personally denied to him any involvement, and that no one might ever know the truth about the murder.<sup>26</sup> <u>On November 20, in a written statement filled with falsehoods and exclamation points, he smeared Khashoggi; repeated that the truth about his murder might never become known; and pledged – regardless of whether MBS were to be found culpable – to always stand by Saudi Arabia. His reasons: that country's arms purchases from and investments in the U.S. (which he continued to wildly inflate), its provision of cheap oil, and its hostility to Iran.</u><sup>27</sup></p> <p><u>Later that day he denied to reporters his extensive personal business dealings with wealthy Saudis and the Saudi government – which he had once boasted about, and which had included their stays at the Trump International Hotel in Washington during his presidency.</u><sup>28</sup></p> <p>Shock in Washington ensued. In a bi-partisan letter to Mr. Trump, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee demanded detail on MBS's involvement.<sup>29</sup> On November 21, Mr. Trump spat back, tweeting his thanks to Saudi Arabia for lowering oil prices and calling it “a big Tax Cut for America and the World.” <u>On November 22, he falsely denied that the CIA had blamed MBS for the murder; he defended MBS; and he said that he would rather protect American jobs than challenge the Saudi prince.</u><sup>30</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 10, 11, 12
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<p>10-19-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD acknowledges that other presidents had declined to call out ruthless dictators for the sake of perceived American interests. But for Mr. Trump, that practice seemed habitual, ornery, pandering, beyond reckless, and deeply corrupt; also, as to MBS, a refusal to admit error;<sup>31</sup> a submission to having been feted by him in Riyadh; <u>an ignorant and damaging proclamation to the world that America's ideals are for sale, or that our only ideal is money;</u><sup>32</sup> <u>an open invitation to despots to trample human rights, kidnap dissidents overseas and murder journalists, particularly if they flatter an American president and patronize his business enterprises; a knee-capping of our intelligence agencies' morale and credibility – choosing to believe a deceitful murderer rather than them; and a resounding declaration that truth is irrelevant.</u></p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12</p>
<p>10-20-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Nevada, racially.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Elko, Nevada, Mr. Trump preposterously said that Californians were "rioting" to be able to escape sanctuary cities. He also said, <i>"The Democrat party is openly inviting millions of illegal aliens to break our laws, violate our borders and overwhelm our nation. The Democrats want caravans. They like the caravans. A lot of people say, 'I wonder who started that caravan.'"</i> He again said, without evidence, that the Central American caravan that was now nearing the U.S. was filled with criminals. And he again called California Congresswoman Maxine Waters (an African American) a "low-IQ individual."<sup>33</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump also said that Republicans would implement a "very major tax cut" for middle-income individuals before November – even though Congress would be in recess until then, and Republican congressional leaders were stumped at the announcement.<sup>34</sup> (A month later, even the beginnings of such legislative discussions had not appeared.)</p> <p>In addition, he prompted the audience to jeer the reporters at the event; and he said that if the media were on his side, his approval rating would be "100%."<sup>35</sup> CSD believes that that last statement could be true: that nominal 100% popular approval often attends authoritarian governments such as Mr. Trump would seemingly like to realize in the U.S.</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9</p>



10-20-18	<p><b><u>Denying a Democratic mandate?</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted: "<u>All levels of government and Law Enforcement are watching carefully for VOTER FRAUD, including during EARLY VOTING.</u>"</p> <p>Mr. Trump had long claimed that Hillary Clinton had stolen the popular vote victory from him in 2016 by way of massive voter fraud, and he had attempted to prove that fraud by empowering an investigatory commission – which fell apart after operating obscurely and after ultimately finding no material fraud anywhere. <u>With Mr. Trump's new tweet, CSD and others became concerned that he could deny the legitimacy of Democratic congressional victories in 2018 under a range of circumstances.</u><sup>36</sup> (In fact Mr. Trump would soon raise false allegations of Democratic voter fraud relative to the results of several Congressional races; see our entry of November 8+ below.)</p>	4, 9
10-22-18	<p><b><u>"I'm a nationalist."</u></b> At a rally in Houston, Texas, Mr. Trump proclaimed unabashedly, "<i>You know, they have a word – it's sort of became old-fashioned – it's called a nationalist. And I say, really, we're not supposed to use that word. You know what I am? I'm a nationalist, okay? I'm a nationalist. Nationalist. Nothing wrong. Use that word. Use that word.</i>" The statement could have been benign, possibly a synonym for "patriot," but for its facial association with the rabid white nationalism in the U.S. that had been rising under Mr. Trump's presidency (of which Mr. Trump was certainly aware) and the hyper-nationalism in Europe that had led to two world wars<sup>37</sup> (of which he may not have been). He did not walk back the statement despite the media firestorm that ensued.<sup>38</sup></p>	6, 9, 10
10-22-18, 10-25-18	<p><b><u>National emergency at the border.</u></b> On October 22, Mr. Trump tweeted (and later told reporters) without evidence that a Central American migrant caravan headed toward the U.S. border included "criminals and unknown Middle Easterners." He also tweeted that Democrats were to blame; that he would be cutting aid to three Central American countries as punishment; and that he had "<u>alerted Border Patrol and Military that this is a National Emergency [sic].</u>"<sup>39</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	6, 7, 9

<p>10-22-18, 10-25-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The tweets appeared to be intended to arouse voters racially in advance of the upcoming midterm elections, as evidenced by Mr. Trump's exhortation within one of them: "<u>Remember the midterms!</u>" <u>CSD believes that announcing a national emergency (whatever that may have meant) for racist and political purposes amounted to the height of demagoguery.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump reiterated those themes that night at a rally in Houston, Texas. He accused Democrats of "encouraging millions of illegal aliens to break our laws, violate our borders and overwhelm our nation" and of having "launched an assault on the sovereignty of our country."<sup>40</sup></p> <p>Indeed, as multiple news outlets reported, <u>Mr. Trump's campaign messaging had been marked increasingly by non-stop falsehoods, racial xenophobia and other fear-mongering.</u><sup>41</sup> (The falsehoods pertained not only to Democrats' alleged complicity in illegal migration, but to the size of his rally crowds<sup>42</sup> and his purported support for requiring health insurance plans to cover pre-existing conditions.<sup>43</sup>)</p> <p>As for the caravan specifically, Mr. Trump had not participated in the ongoing, reasoned national discussion by both Democrats and Republicans about immigration or about limiting Central American migrations effectively and humanely.<sup>44</sup> He had only called for a border wall, foreign aid cuts, and the deployment of troops – all "solutions" decried by critics in both parties as brutish, incendiary and devoid of effectiveness; i.e., fantastical.</p> <p>On October 25, as the midterms neared, Mr. Trump doubled-down. He tweeted: "<i>I am bringing out the military for this National Emergency.</i>" (This was bluster: by law neither the National Guard nor active duty troops may perform actual enforcement activities at the border.)</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>10-23-18</p>	<p><b><u>Politicizing veterans' judges.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the Trump administration had begun to select judges for the traditionally non-partisan Board of Veterans' Appeals – a body that rules on veterans' benefit claims – on the basis of party affiliation and general political ideology.<sup>45</sup></p>	<p>2</p>

<p>10-23-18, 10-24-18</p>	<p><b>Scrambling.</b> Several news reports characterized Mr. Trump's staff as having to desperately keep up with and cover for his seat-of-the-pants policy pronouncements.</p> <p>On October 23, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's recent promises during midterm congressional campaigning that the Republican Congress was about to enact a middle class tax cut sent aides spinning in search of a credible plan. The Post wrote: <i>"The mystery tax cut is only the latest instance of the federal government scrambling to reverse-engineer policies to meet Trump's sudden public promises — or to search for evidence buttressing his conspiracy theories and falsehoods."</i> Other scramble-inducing examples cited by The Post: Mr. Trump's announcements of plans for a military parade, for a Space Force, for auto tariffs, and for a ban on transgenders in the military; also his claims that "unknown Middle Easterners" were part of a Central American migrant caravan headed for Texas, which baseless statement the White House was then forced to defend.<sup>46</sup></p> <p>The following day, The Wall Street Journal and Politico reported that the Justice Department had given the Departments of Homeland Security and Health and Human Services no advance notice of, and that those two agencies had thus done no advance planning for, the "zero tolerance" policy on border crossings that had resulted in the separation of several thousand migrant Hispanic children from their families during the spring – a calamity that DHS and HHS then had had to scramble to un-do.<sup>47</sup></p>	<p>10</p>

<p>10-24-18</p>	<p><b>Wide open communications.</b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's calls on unsecured cell phones that he had been warned by security officials not to use were being listened to by Russian and Chinese agents. (Mr. Trump denied using the phones.) The Times also reported that China had been seeking to spy on and influence Mr. Trump through several of his billionaire friends with whom he often spoke and whom China had identified through the cell phone hacking.</p> <p>The Times noted that Mr. Trump was using cell phones to bypass the White House switchboard so as to hide from senior aides his communications with friends and Fox News hosts; that Russian and Chinese leaders Vladimir Putin and Xi Ji Ping had avoided using cell phones, for security reasons; and that Mr. Trump had once lost one of his phones in a golf cart. The silver lining: Mr. Trump was not believed to have spilled many outright classified secrets, because he had not shown an interest in knowing any.</p> <p>The Times wrote: <i>"The issue of secure communications is fraught for Mr. Trump. As a presidential candidate, he regularly attacked his Democratic opponent, Hillary Clinton, during the 2016 campaign for her use of an unsecured email server while she was secretary of state, and he basked in chants of 'lock her up' [for that security infraction] at his rallies."</i><sup>48</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 11</p>

<p>10-24-18 +</p>	<p><u><b>Pipe bombs.</b> Pipe bombs were sent or delivered to former President Obama and his wife Michelle, Former President Bill Clinton, former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, pro-democracy philanthropist George Soros, Congresswoman Maxine Waters, former CIA director John Brennan (care of CNN's New York studio), former Attorney General Eric Holder, and Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz – all of whom were Democrats, and all of whom Mr. Trump and many of his supporters had venomously attacked – some with increasing frequency.</u></p> <p>The bombs did not explode. And at a campaign rally in Mosinee, Wisconsin shortly afterward the news broke, Mr. Trump offered platitudes about conducting the country's political discourse in "peace and harmony." But he then (disharmoniously) blamed the media for the hostility and the divisiveness wracking the nation – while taking no responsibility himself. At the same rally he went on to evoke racial hostility against Central American migrants, as well as chants of "Lock her [Hillary Clinton] up!"<sup>49</sup></p> <p>The following day, by way of Twitter, Mr. Trump again blamed the "Fake News" for the "Anger" that had led to the bomb scares. Also, <u>similar packages were discovered as having been sent or delivered to additional Trump enemies: former Vice President Joe Biden and the actor and film maker Robert DeNiro.</u><sup>50</sup></p> <p><u>On October 26, similar packages addressed to (Democratic) Senator Corey Booker, Senator Kamala Harris, activist Tom Steyer and former National Intelligence Director James Clapper (c/o CNN) were intercepted also.</u><sup>51</sup></p> <p>A startling re-cap of Mr. Trump's many recent, wildly divisive, inaccurate, fear-mongering attacks on Democrats appeared in The Washington Post's "Fact-Checker" that day and can be viewed at the link at this endnote.<sup>52</sup> To CSD's knowledge, the mainstream media had never called for physical violence against or for the punishment of its political adversaries; but Mr. Trump consistently had. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 9, 11</p>
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<p>10-24-18 +</p>	<p>[<u>Continued.</u>] Disturbingly, numerous Trump supporters in multiple media venues (including Fox News, Mr. Trump's close collaborator) instantly speculated that Democrats had planted the bombs as "false flags" meant to undercut Mr. Trump – thus creating and closing an impenetrable loop of fury and unreason with yet another conspiracy theory.<sup>53</sup> On October 25, The New York Times attributed the growing dissemination of such conspiracy theories in part to Mr. Trump's own conduct as the "conspiracist-in-chief."<sup>54</sup></p> <p>On October 26, Mr. Trump began a speech to an assemblage of supporters with a call for national unity in the face of the bomb threats, but <u>he soon started railing against "globalists" (a white nationalist code word for Jews). When someone yelled "George Soros!", the crowd chanted, "Lock him up!" Mr. Trump then reprised, "Lock him up."</u><sup>55</sup> (Regarding the Soros trope generally, see CSD's entries of September 18+ and October 18 above. Regarding the grave, hate-motivated events that ensued, see our entry of October 27, below.)</p> <p><u>Later that day, a Trump zealot and conspiracy theorist<sup>56</sup> living in Florida was arrested on suspicion of having mailed the pipe bombs. He was characterized by acquaintances as emotionally troubled;<sup>57</sup> by another as virulently racist, anti-Semitic and homophobic.<sup>58</sup> (Three of his pipe bomb addressees were of Jewish descent, and six were black or brown.) The perpetrator had appeared in a video at a Trump rally, chanting with others in derogation of the press.<sup>59</sup> After the arrest, when reporters asked Mr. Trump whether he felt his divisive rhetoric had been at all to blame for the terroristic acts, he said, "There's no blame, there's no anything."<sup>60</sup></u></p>	<p>1, 6, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>In North Carolina.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Charlotte, North Carolina on the evening after the pipe-bomb mailer had been apprehended, Mr. Trump again called for national unity and a de-escalation of political rhetoric. But he promptly followed by warning that <i>"the Democrat Party is openly encouraging millions of illegal aliens to break our laws, violate our borders, and bankrupt our country. . . . Democrats' extreme immigration policies will overwhelm your schools, your hospitals, and communities, and strain public resources to the breaking point."</i><sup>61</sup> [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9</p>

<p>10-26-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] He also castigated the media for criticizing him and for dividing the country, drawing from the crowd the chant "CNN sucks!" He called out his perennial targets House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi, Senate Minority Leader "Cryin' Chuck Schumer," Congresswoman Maxine Waters, and "Crooked Hillary" Clinton (two of whom had received pipe bombs). And he evoked and savored the crowd's chant of "Lock her up!" after berating Clinton.<sup>62</sup> Some Nazi-like salutes appeared in a photo of the audience.<sup>63</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9</p>
<p>10-27-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pittsburgh massacre.</u></b> A gunman killed 11 worshippers at a synagogue service in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Anti-Defamation League said that it was "<u>likely the deadliest attack on the Jewish community in the history of the United States.</u>" <u>The gunman's declared motives were hatred for Jews and hatred for immigrants and refugees.</u> He had connected the two in his social media posts: accusing Jews of orchestrating the "invasion" by a Central American migrant caravan that was bent on killing U.S. citizens.<sup>64*</sup></p> <p><u>Mr. Trump is not anti-Semitic. But throughout his presidency, for purposes of political expediency, he had condoned, played to, and arguably encouraged those who are<sup>65</sup> – including, in recent weeks, by railing against "globalists" (often an anti-Semitic code word for rapacious Jews) and accusing the Jewish pro-democracy philanthropist George Soros of devious anti-American schemes (see our entries of September 18 +, October 18 and October 24 +, above). During 2017, Mr. Trump's first year in office, anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. rose almost 60%, the largest single-year increase on record.<sup>66</sup> Racial, religious and other hate crimes in the aggregate rose 17%.<sup>67</sup></u></p> <p><u>And as to the gunman's anti-immigrant animus generally and his rage over the Central American caravan specifically, Mr. Trump – intentionally and preeminently among his recent themes – had stoked that furor.</u></p> <p><b><u>Although the Pittsburgh shooter had acted on his own – and although Mr. Trump had not urged the massacre, wished it to occur, taken pleasure in or derived benefit from its having occurred, or in any way empowered the perpetrator – CSD believes that through presidential incitement Mr. Trump likely bore a material portion of the responsibility for the tragedy. [Continued below.]</u></b></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 17 (6)</p>

<p>10-27-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In the immediate wake of the massacre, Mr. Trump strongly condemned it, and he condemned hatred in general. But contrary to custom under such circumstances, he continued his congressional campaigning that day, at events in Indianapolis, Indiana and Murphysville, Illinois. From the podium there he attacked or referred to some of his usual targets (Nancy Pelosi, Maxine Waters, Elizabeth Warren – that day all women, no Jews); and at his mention of Hillary Clinton he drew the usual chant from the crowd, "Lock her up!"<sup>68</sup> He did ask the audience in Illinois if it would be alright for him to "tone it down just a little bit" that evening, presumably in deference to the synagogue massacre; but the crowd resoundingly shouted "No!"<sup>69</sup> Several in the Illinois audience, subscribing to Mr. Trump's claim, also voiced to a reporter their conviction that Soros was behind the caravan.<sup>70</sup></p> <p>In the days following the massacre, many observers wondered whether Mr. Trump was even capable of uniting the country in moments of trauma or crisis.<sup>71</sup> But a Washington Post columnist posited that Mr. Trump's presidential mandate was <i>fundamentally and intentionally</i> divisive: <i>"His grip on power depends entirely on splitting the nation in two. Angry division — rooted in race, gender, immigration status, religion and ideology — allowed Trump to become president. Absent a politics of us-versus-them, Trumpism makes no sense at all."</i><sup>72</sup> A Wall Street Journal columnist reached a similar conclusion.<sup>73</sup></p> <p>In that regard, when Mr. Trump visited Pittsburgh to express his condolences on October 30, local (non-Jewish) political leaders refused to meet him, and some 2000 residents of varying faiths assembled to protest<sup>74</sup> – a response to a presidential condolence event that was unprecedented in recent memory. But the next day he said that he had been "treated very nicely" in Pittsburgh, and that the "disgraceful" "Fake News" media had inflated the "small" size of the protests.<sup>75</sup> He repeated that allegation against the press at a rally in Fort Myers, Florida that evening.<sup>76</sup></p> <p>Also on October 31, he again suggested to reporters that Soros was funding the caravan.<sup>77</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 17 (6)</p>
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<p>10-27-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p>* The perpetrator had specifically denounced HIAS, the Jewish refugee agency. HIAS, together with eight other national agencies – five of them Christian and thus likewise faith-based – resettles refugees of all beliefs from Asia, Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere in the U.S. for the State Department and otherwise advocates for immigrants. Several of CSD's members work closely with HIAS and one of the other eight national refugee agencies, in their own efforts at assisting refugees.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 17 (6)</p>
<p>10-28-18</p>	<p><b>Corruption round-up.</b> A New York Times columnist re-capped episodes of the corrupt behavior of Mr. Trump and his top aides in the first two years of his presidency: taking money from U.S. taxpayers and from foreign and domestic flatterers at his various properties; using his own frequent visits to his properties to promote them; facilitating overseas business opportunities for his company through his presidential position; quashing the demolition and reconstruction of the FBI building in order to protect his own nearby hotel; rampant self-dealing on the part of cabinet members and son-in-law/senior advisor Jared Kushner; and so forth.<sup>78</sup> (Most or all of the episodes have appeared above in this Chronology as they arose. We cite to The Times's column as a reference and reminder.)</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>10-28-18</p>	<p><b>Closeting the climate data.</b> The news journal The Hill reported that, for the first time in 26 years, the State Department, despite litigation, had declined to issue a periodic report on emissions and government climate policy as required by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.<sup>79</sup></p>	<p>8, 14</p>
<p>10-29-18</p>	<p><b>Mueller illegal.</b> Mr. Trump told Fox News that special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of Russian election meddling in 2016 was "illegal."<sup>80</sup></p>	<p>12</p>
<p>10-29-18</p>	<p><b>Terrorism and the media.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"There is great anger in our Country caused in part by inaccurate, and even fraudulent, reporting of the news. The Fake News Media, the true Enemy of the People, must stop the open &amp; obvious hostility &amp; report the news accurately &amp; fairly. That will do much to put out the flame of Anger and Outrage and we will then be able to bring all sides together in Peace and Harmony. Fake News Must End!"</i> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 7</p>

<p>10-29-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The tweet issued only days after an unhinged Trump supporter had mailed a spate of pipe bombs to prominent Democratic figures, and then a gunman had massacred 11 Jewish congregants at a Pittsburgh synagogue; and the tweet appeared to be referring to those events. It is difficult for CSD to imagine how a president could be more baldly hypocritical; or how much more authoritarian Mr. Trump's presidency would be, and how much more deadly the outcomes of his vicious demagoguery would be, but for the accurate reporting of the mainstream media.</p>	<p>1, 7</p>
<p>10-29-18</p>	<p><b><u>Pence: hitting on all cylinders.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Waterford, Michigan, Vice President Mike Pence warned of Democratic "mobs" and the approaching Central American caravan – both tropes that were by now standard fare for Mr. Trump and his supporters.<sup>81</sup></p> <p>More remarkable was Pence's insult to the memory of the recent victims of the Pittsburgh synagogue massacre. Himself an Evangelical Christian, Pence called on a Messianic Jewish "rabbi" – as "a leader of the Jewish community" – to pray for the victims.</p> <p>Messianic Judaism is viewed by most of the American Jewish faithful as a Christian sect that attempts to convert Jews to Christianity – and thus as both heretical and threatening. The clergyman, garbed in Jewish religious attire, promoted Pence's designated electoral candidates, an act of questionable legality for a non-profit clergyman. But he also prayed for the Pittsburgh victims in theological terms that were so disturbing to Jewish ears that the event instantly gained national notoriety.<sup>82</sup> Of course the clergyman was free to express his faith when offered the opportunity. It was Pence who was tone-deaf, or worse.</p>	<p>17 (6, 7, 9)</p>
<p>10-29-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>The invasion.</u></b> On October 29, as the Central American migrant caravan approached the U.S., Mr. Trump tweeted, without evidence:<sup>83</sup> "<i>Many Gang Members and some very bad people are mixed into the Caravan heading to our Southern Border. Please go back, you will not be admitted into the United States unless you go through the legal process. <u>This is an invasion of our Country and our Military is waiting for you!</u></i>" [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>

10-29-18 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As CSD previously observed, most or all of the "invaders" were hapless figures fleeing poverty and violence. Most were women, children and families. Few if any were likely carrying firearms. Many or most were expected to drop out of the caravan before it arrived in the U.S. Of those who arrived, most were expected to present themselves to U.S. authorities lawfully and request asylum. They would represent a fraction of a percentage of all migrants that year. And the 5,200 active duty troops that would now be stationed at the border, together with the 2,000 existing reservists – a total equal to those stationed in Iraq and Syria – could not by law engage directly in enforcement activities. Rather, <u>critics, including within the Pentagon and among retired military leaders, said that the new deployment was a mere prop; a deviation from the custom of instead deploying the National Guard in such circumstances; an unnecessary burden on active duty troops and troop strength; and a waste of up to several hundred million dollars in taxpayer money for the sake of Mr. Trump's political gain in the upcoming midterm elections.</u><sup>84</sup></p> <p><u>Mr. Trump also threatened to unilaterally issue executive orders that would bar Central Americans from seeking asylum in the U.S. altogether (illegal); direct the construction of a tent city at the border to house migrant families long term (also illegal); and ban birthright citizenship (unconstitutional).</u><sup>85</sup> He also falsely said that the U.S. is the only country that grants birthright citizenship; but in fact 33 do.<sup>86</sup> Even many Republicans objected to the birthright ban threat.<sup>87</sup></p> <p>On October 31, Mr. Trump tweeted twice about the violent behavior of a second Central American migrant caravan that was heading north. In the second tweet he wrote: <u>"Our military is being mobilized at the Southern Border. Many more troops coming. We will NOT let these Caravans, which are also made up of some very bad thugs and gang members, into the U.S. Our Border is sacred, must come in legally. TURN AROUND!"</u> That day he tripled the number of active duty troops he said he was considering sending to the Mexican border, from 5,200 to 15,000 (the troop strength in Afghanistan); and he tripled his claimed figure of actual undocumented migrants here.<sup>88</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	6, 7, 9
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10-29-18 +	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> Also on October 31, <u>Mr. Trump's campaign tweeted to his 55 million followers an incendiary video showing an undocumented migrant laughing about having killed two American police officers, plus a mob of unruly caravan participants. The video falsely alleged that Democrat administrations alone were responsible for the killer's having been present and at liberty in the U.S., and that Democrats were now helping Central Americans overrun the U.S. for violent purposes.</u><sup>89</sup> <u>Neo-Nazi and other racist web sites exulted at the ad's publication.</u><sup>90</sup> <u>A CNN commentator characterized the video as "the most racially charged national political ad in 30 years," and "the most extreme step yet in the most inflammatory closing argument of any campaign in recent memory."</u><sup>91</sup> CNN refused to run the ad; and on November 5 even Fox News (Mr. Trump's collaborative news outlet) pulled it.<sup>92</sup> The video advertisement appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>93</sup></p>	6, 7, 9
10-30-18	<p><b><u>Praise for Bolsonaro.</u></b> National Security Advisor John Bolton praised Brazil's new, radically nationalist, racist, sexist, homophobic, authoritarian and anti-environmental president Jair Bolsonaro as a "like-minded" partner.<sup>94</sup></p>	17 (6, 9, 12)
10-30-18	<p><b><u>The stock market – and me.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the stock market's recent pull-back owed to its fear of Democratic gains in the imminent congressional midterm elections – comparing Democrats' goals to those of the dictatorial, socialist and ruinous Venezuelan regime. Virtually all economists and market-watchers disagreed, attributing the market drop instead to peaking economic growth, slowing in global demand, weakening of corporate earnings, Mr. Trump's trade war with China, and Federal Reserve Bank rate increases (imposed precisely because of the economy's success).<sup>95</sup> Curiously, the next day he boasted of the stock market's sudden rise – which had occurred despite the continuing Democratic electoral threat.<sup>96</sup></p>	7, 9, 11
10-31-18	<p><b><u>Letting them meddle.</u></b> Politico reported that the White House had continued to refuse to lead or coordinate the competing and sometimes discordant efforts of multiple federal agencies in preventing foreign meddling in the upcoming midterm elections – now only a week away – and this despite nearly two years of awareness, warning, opportunity, and requests from senior aides.<sup>97</sup> CSD speculates that Mr. Trump did not want to know whether or how the Russians might still be interfering.</p>	12, 13

<p>11-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>Squeezing asylum seekers.</u></b> <u>In a speech at the White House that blazed with fear-mongering,</u><sup>98</sup> <u>Mr. Trump announced two changes to long-established immigration policy in the U.S.</u> First, asylum seekers – those seeking protection from persecution or abuse in their countries of origin – may not apply for asylum if they are apprehended after crossing the border irregularly rather than having applied for asylum when first entering the country at an official port of entry. But many of the current irregular crossings owed to inadequate processing facilities at ports of entry, according to the United Nations;<sup>99</sup> and the policy change breached international law, American statutes, and treaties to which the U.S. is a party. Second, Mr. Trump said that asylum seekers would now be detained indefinitely pending their deportation, contrary to a 2001 Supreme Court ruling limiting detention to 180 days absent special circumstances.</p> <p><u>In the same speech Mr. Trump hinted strongly that many of the members of the Central American migrant caravan were rapists,</u><sup>100</sup> <u>and that he would order the military to shoot any rock-throwers.</u><sup>101</sup> The speech was riddled with falsehoods.<sup>102</sup></p> <p>The fear-mongering continued at a rally in Columbia, Missouri that evening. A Washington Post reporter characterized that event and the entire tenor of Mr. Trump's last days of his midterm campaigning as overtly racial.<sup>103</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>11-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>6,410 and counting.</u></b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker updated its cumulative tally, stating that Mr. Trump had now made 6,410 false or misleading statements since taking office. These had accelerated, coming at the rate of 30 per day in the seven weeks leading up to the midterm elections, and 84 on October 1 alone. He had falsely denied having imposed tariffs. Some 25 times he had misstated Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh's class rank in college and law school, despite having been corrected. The Post wrote: <i>"The president's proclivity to twist data and fabricate stories is on full display at his rallies. He has his greatest hits: 120 times he had falsely said he passed the biggest tax cut in history, 80 times he has asserted that the U.S. economy today is the best in history and 74 times he has falsely said his border wall is already being built."</i><sup>104</sup></p>	<p>7</p>

<p>11-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Indiana.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Indianapolis, Indiana, Mr. Trump responded to former President Obama's recent criticisms of him by calling out the latter's middle name (Hussein), as a dog-whistle to bigots and xenophobes. It was reminiscent of his own long and leading role in the "birther" movement that had falsely cast the former president as a foreigner and his election as illegitimate.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>11-2-18</p>	<p><b><u>The apocalypse.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Huntington, West Virginia, Mr. Trump said of Democrats, "<i>A blue wave equals a crime wave.</i>" The Huffington Post, citing statistics, reported that <u>Mr. Trump's narrative had inspired a torrent of anti-crime Republican campaign advertisements</u> for the upcoming midterm elections – many of them attack ads, many of them exaggerated or inaccurate, and, in the aggregate, the most frequent and incendiary anti-crime ads in decades – even though the national crime rate had remained low.<sup>105</sup> The New York Times similarly reported that <u>Republican candidates across the country had been following Mr. Trump's lead of demonizing Democrats, minorities and immigrants, and of posing the election in apocalyptic, cultural, racial and "us against them" terms.</u><sup>106</sup></p> <p>The Washington Post concurred, reporting that <u>many Republican candidates (stark examples were given) were running "overtly on racially tinged messages" and were "running a campaign built on blunt, race-based attacks on immigrants and minorities," "at a level not seen since the 1950s and 1960s."</u><sup>107</sup></p> <p>In a separate article, The Post cited late-breaking examples of Mr. Trump's closing venom and call to hysteria, which it described as "unmoored from reality": "<i>In Columbia, Mo., the president suggested that Democrats 'run around like antifa' demonstrators in black uniforms and black helmets, but underneath, they have 'this weak little face' and 'go back home into mommy's basement.'</i> <i>In Huntington, W.Va., Trump called predatory immigrants 'the worst scum in the world' but alleged that Democrats welcome them by saying, 'Fly right in, folks. Come on in. We don't care who the hell you are, come on in!' ... 'They want to invite caravan after caravan, and it is a little suspicious how those caravans are starting, isn't it?' Trump asked at a Saturday night rally in Pensacola, Fla. ... . At his Saturday rally in Belgrade, Mont., Trump told a cheering crowd, without a hint of irony, 'I'm the only one that tells you the facts.'</i>"<sup>108</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 17 (6, 9)</p>

<p>11-3-18, 11-4-18</p>	<p><b><u>Inciting violence.</u></b> On November 3, news media began reporting that – <u>incited by Mr. Trump's anti-caravan rhetoric – armed, right-wing vigilante militias were heading for the Mexican border.</u><sup>109</sup></p> <p>On November 4, ABC News reported that <u>16 criminal defendants across the country who were accused of threatening or committing racial, religious or gender-based violence had expressly cited Mr. Trump as their inspiration.</u><sup>110</sup> (The count claimed to be conservative: it excluded incidents as to which charges were never brought, instances of vandalism, and instances of charges brought against pro-Trump defendants who had not expressly cited him as their lodestar.)</p>	<p>5, 6, 17 (6)</p>
<p>11-5-18</p>	<p><b><u>Closing out the campaign.</u></b> In the final day of his non-stop campaigning for the midterm elections, Mr. Trump continued and amplified his high-pitched motifs: falsehoods, fear and intimidation.</p> <p>In Washington, D.C. he falsely told reporters, <i>"There are a lot of people ... that try and get in illegally and actually vote illegally, so we just want to let them know that there will be prosecution at the highest level."</i> In doing so, he seemed to be urging state authorities to suppress brown voting, or to appear to his supporters to be doing so. (Already that election season, state Republican administrations had been attempting, notoriously, to disenfranchise black voters in Georgia and Native American voters in North Dakota.)<sup>111</sup></p> <p>In Fort Wayne, Indiana, he said, <i>"The Democrat agenda will deliver a socialist nightmare."</i><sup>112</sup></p> <p>In Cleveland, Ohio, he falsely told a crowd: <i>"The Democrat platform is a 2018 socialism, open borders edict. ... Democrats are inviting caravan after caravan [into the country]."</i> He falsely said that Democrats were trying to give health care benefits to undocumented migrants, and were encouraging them to vote.<sup>113</sup></p> <p>That evening, at a rally in Cape Girardeau, Missouri, he implied that Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh's primary accuser relative to youthful sexual transgressions had recanted her testimony – when in fact it was a little known accuser who had recanted.<sup>114</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 17 (1, 6)</p>

<p>11-5-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Also in Cape Girardeau, Mr. Trump was introduced by the right-wing radio host and conspiracy theorist Rush Limbaugh. Mr. Trump subsequently called onto the stage Sean Hannity and Jeanne Pirro, two Fox News hosts who had long served effectively as his advisors, propagandists and fellow inciters. Such overt electioneering by media commentators had not occurred in recent history.<sup>115</sup> Hannity took the opportunity to denounce the mainstream press at the back of the hall as "fake news."<sup>116</sup></p> <p>On the eve of the election, former Ku Klux Klan leader David Duke tweeted, "<i>Go, Trump, go.</i>"<sup>117</sup></p> <p>The New York Times wrapped up the overall tenor. It described "<i>an us-against-them midterm election campaign that was built on dark themes of fear, nationalism and racial animosity ...</i> ." It characterized Mr. Trump as "<i>not only taking on individual Democratic officeholders by name, which most presidents avoid, but also ridiculing them and insulting them with playground-style taunts. Describing himself as a 'nationalist,' Mr. Trump has vilified immigrants, both legal and illegal, in racially charged language that was once considered unacceptable in national politics.</i>"</p> <p>But most disturbingly, The Times wrote: "<u><i>Mr. Trump's fiery, invective-filled campaigning produced what may be the most polarized midterm contest in modern times as he played to tribal rifts in American society in a way that no president has done since before the civil rights era. The divisions exposed and expanded over the past few weeks seem certain to last well beyond Election Day.</i></u>"<sup>118</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 17 (1, 6)</p>
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### The Midterm Elections

In the November 6, 2018 midterm elections, Democrats took control of the House of Representatives by a substantial margin, and Republicans slightly increased their hold on the Senate. Democrats also gained seven governorships, six legislative chamber majorities, the majority of state attorney general positions, and hundreds of state legislative seats.<sup>119</sup>

The elections were widely viewed as a referendum on Mr. Trump's presidency – as Mr. Trump had boasted they would be – and almost two-thirds of voters so indicated in exit polls.<sup>120</sup> Turn-out was the highest for midterm elections in the modern era.<sup>121</sup> Both Democrats and Mr. Trump claimed victory, and both were correct: many of the races were very close, and the country remained bitterly polarized under Mr. Trump.

For example, a New York Times analysis found many of the country's voters embracing racial diversity, but many rejecting it.<sup>122</sup> A Politico analysis credited Mr. Trump's anti-immigrant invective with having bolstered many Republican candidates and thus having stemmed Republican losses.<sup>123</sup>

Unusually, the Democrats' gains occurred despite a strong economy, low unemployment and Mr. Trump's tax cuts, reflecting a rebuke by many voters to Mr. Trump on other grounds.<sup>124</sup>

### A Reminder of Our Premises

On November 21, 2018, those members of Citizens for a Strong Democracy who are engaged in ongoing international human rights advocacy received, in a newsletter, a commentary on the mechanisms of dictatorship. Referring to a wide range of recent African dictators, the writer began:

"Dictators are not all the same. They use different tools of repression and survival. '*Divide and rule*,' however, is one of the oldest, most widely used, and most effective of their strategies. It involves creating, maintaining, and even enforcing divisions, distrust, and enmity among ethnic, religious, regional, and socio-political groups. This helps ensure that no unified movement can coalesce to overthrow a dictatorial regime. From Siad Barre of Somalia to Juvenal Habryimana of Rwanda, Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire, and many others, the African continent is not short of examples of dictators who have obtained and/or retained power through these divisive tactics.

"One aspect of divide and rule is that most dictators retain some domestic support by offering privileges to members of their own ethnic or religious groups in return for their political support, while systematically excluding others."<sup>125</sup>

As CSD has maintained throughout this Chronology, "divide and rule" is hardly Mr. Trump's only tool in asserting and maintaining his authority. But it is indicative. And we find it more than ironic that the particular illustration above derives from a region of the world that Mr. Trump so disdains as inferior to our own.

<p>11-7-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>In the elections' wake.</u></b> Hard on the heels of the midterm elections, Mr. Trump gave a lengthy news conference in which he (without presidential precedent) ridiculed by name those Republican candidates who had not fully embraced him and who appeared to have lost their respective races. He also boasted of a "very close to complete victory" – despite the Democrats' many gains, including their having taken control of the House and its investigatory committees that were likely to hold him to account for his misconduct. When asked by a reporter what lesson he had learned from the election, Mr. Trump said, <i>"I think people like me."</i> And he called himself "a great moral leader."</p> <p>Also at the news conference, he threatened an escalated war on the Democrats, including counter-investigations, if they were to investigate him. He repeated his false claim that the Mexican border wall was already under construction. He said yet again that the Russia investigation was a "hoax," and he boasted of his ability to unilaterally end it. He said that CNN was the "enemy of the people." He called an African American reporter a "racist" for asking whether his having recently identified himself as a "nationalist" could embolden white nationalists.<sup>126</sup></p> <p>Later that day Mr. Trump tweeted that any suggestion that he had not won a great victory was being perpetrated by the "FAKE NEWS!"</p> <p>And – in yet another unprecedented move – the White House revoked the press credentials of CNN's White House correspondent Jim Acosta. Acosta, an aggressive-to-flamboyant journalist, had asked Mr. Trump questions at the news conference politely but persistently. Mr. Trump called him a "terrible person" and an "enemy of the people." Later, deploying an apparently doctored video, the White House falsely accused him of having assaulted a young female White House aide who had tried to take the microphone from him.<sup>127</sup> CNN sued to reinstate Acosta's credentials, and it was joined by the White House Correspondents' Association, Fox News, Politico, The New York Times, The Washington Post, NBC, CBS, USA Today, Bloomberg and The Associated Press, among others. On November 16, a federal judge issued a temporary restraining order directing that Acosta's press pass be restored, on due process grounds.<sup>128</sup> Soon Acosta's pass was restored.</p>	<p>1, 7, 11</p>
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<p>11-7-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Sessions gone; Whitaker in.</u></b> On November 7, <u>at Mr. Trump's direction, and after having long been publicly and privately humiliated by him, Jeff Sessions resigned his position as attorney general.</u> The departure, widely expected, was attributable to Sessions having recused himself from – and having thus been unable to limit – special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of Russia's interference in the 2016 presidential election and Mr. Trump's possible role in that interference.</p> <p>Matthew Whitaker – Sessions's chief of staff – was named acting attorney general. Despite Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein being next in line for the attorney general position by default, Whitaker was designated for the job, and was directed to take on Rosenstein's role as Mueller's overseer.</p> <p><u>Whitaker's selection alarmed good-government advocates.</u> His resume was negligible, compared to most recent attorneys general. But he was a Trump loyalist; <u>he had publicly disparaged and delegitimized the investigation multiple times; he had once said that the president had the categorical right to dismiss any federal investigation;</u> and he was close friends with Mr. Trump's campaign co-chairman who had testified before a Mueller grand jury. Whitaker nevertheless refused to promise to recuse himself from overseeing Mueller.</p> <p>Whitaker was also a political extremist. He had once radically challenged the Supreme Court's authority to decide constitutional law; and had once radically proposed that all federal judges have a Christian Biblical view of the law. He had headed a conservative dirt-and-attack advocacy group, and he now struck critics as more of a partisan zealot than an accomplished and fair-minded prosecutor. Indeed, he was <u>viewed by many as professionally and ethically unqualified, and as a crony installed to protect Mr. Trump's personal interests, including by throttling Mueller.</u> (Several previous presidents had likewise appointed cronies as attorneys general; but except for Richard Nixon, those presidents had not been under threat of investigation.)  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>
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<p>11-7-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In addition, Whitaker had served as an advisor and as a sometimes brutal defense lawyer for a company whose business had been patenting its customers' inventions. It had promoted such exotic concepts as Bigfoot and time travel, and his own Justice Department was investigating it for allegedly bilking some of the customers.</p> <p>Critics questioned whether Mr. Trump was even able lawfully to appoint an acting attorney general without the person having been approved by the Senate for that or a prior position; it had never before occurred in American history.</p> <p><u>The resignation and replacement were widely seen as imperiling the special prosecutor's investigation. On November 8, tens of thousands of people took to outdoor public spaces to protest in cities and towns across the country.*</u> [For news sources for all the above paragraphs, see this endnote.<sup>129</sup>]</p> <p>Sessions's resignation came less than a day after the 2018 midterm elections. Mr. Trump appeared to have delayed it until then, so as not to stoke perceptions of his disdain for the independence of the Justice Department and thus jeopardize Republican candidates' races.<sup>130</sup> (Indeed, after a nearly two-month, pre-election hiatus, on the day after the election Mr. Trump resumed his Twitter attacks on the investigation, calling it "a disgusting Witch Hunt, led by 17 Angry Democrats."<sup>131</sup>)</p> <p>Sessions had long drawn the ire of civil libertarians for having, in their view, broadly abused the rights and well-being of immigrants and minorities, as well as having lied to Congress; but they too feared that his dismissal endangered Mueller's investigation.<sup>132</sup></p> <p>In the bipartisan firestorm that followed Whitaker's appointment, Mr. Trump repeatedly and falsely denied that he knew Whitaker – similar to his having denied close relations with his campaign manager Paul Manafort and his personal attorney Michael Cohen once their criminal conduct had become established.<sup>133</sup></p> <p>*Protests occurred at multiple venues in Southeastern Pennsylvania. Four members of Citizens for a Strong Democracy participated.</p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>
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<p>11-7-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>North Korea: unrequited love.</u></b> On November 7, a high-level negotiating session between the U.S. (to include Secretary of State Mike Pompeo) and North Korea was canceled, amid multiple reports that the relationship was going nowhere due to both personality and substantive conflicts. This transpired despite Mr. Trump's recent declarations that he and North Korean leader Kim Jong-un had achieved peace and "fell in love."<sup>134</sup></p> <p>On November 12, The New York Times reported in detail, and with satellite images, how North Korea had continued to build its ballistic missile and nuclear warhead programs. Mr. Trump had proclaimed his success in neutralizing that country's nuclear threat as recently as November 7; and on November 18 he told Fox News that he didn't believe the report.<sup>135</sup> Meanwhile, international sanctions against North Korea were collapsing, under cover of Mr. Trump having blessed the country's intentions.<sup>136</sup> So far, the North Koreans seemed to have fooled him, and to have "won" – although still affording him fodder for his credulous supporters.</p>	<p>7, 12</p>
<p>11-8-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>"Election corruption."</u></b> Without evidence, and in separate communications, on November 8 Mr. Trump and his attorney Rudy Giuliani <u>suggested that Democrats were fraudulently tampering with the November 6 election results in close (and as yet unresolved) senatorial and gubernatorial races in Florida.</u><sup>137</sup> On November 9, in a tweet, <u>Mr. Trump suggested that Democrats were "finding votes" in the close Florida and Georgia elections.</u> He also <u>alleged "election corruption" as a Democrat pulled ahead in the senatorial race in Arizona.</u><sup>138</sup> On November 10, he tweeted, of the Democrats: <u>"Trying to STEAL two big elections in Florida!"</u> On November 12, again without any evidence of improprieties, he tweeted that, contrary to law, <u>the ongoing Florida recount should end, absentee ballots (including those representing tens of thousands of Florida-based troops) be ignored, and Republicans be declared the winners, all due to Democratic fraud.</u><sup>139</sup> On November 14, he told The Daily Caller, without evidence, that many people vote, then go into a car and disguise themselves, then return to vote again.<sup>140</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>4, 7, 17 (4, 7)</p>

<p>11-8-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Contemporaneously, and following Mr. Trump's by now two-year-long theme, Republican administrations in both Georgia and Florida, sometimes with racial overtones, were baselessly alleging Democratic fraud in the close voting there, and were attempting to restrict vote counts.</u><sup>141</sup></p> <p>By challenging the legitimacy of the elections, critics charged that Mr. Trump had compromised America's faith in its electoral system more than the Russians could have done by meddling in the midterms.<sup>142</sup></p> <p>Through all of the allegations of fraud, Mr. Trump remained silent about well-publicized efforts by the Republican administrations in Georgia and North Dakota to suppress minority voting in the 2018 elections there. (See CSD's entry of November 5, above.)</p>	<p>4, 7, 17 (4, 7)</p>
<p>11-9-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>World War I remembered (or not).</u></b> In France, commemorating the 100th anniversary of the end of World War I, Mr. Trump drew negative attention for skipping one ceremony on account of rain; arriving late at another ceremony and at a meeting; foregoing a conference among world leaders on the promotion of peace; being seen (together with the authoritarian leaders of Russia and Turkey) as bent on the destruction of a united Europe; and (implicitly) being publicly upbraided and educated by French President Emanuel Macron for having recently called himself a "nationalist" – nationalism having been one of the principal causes of the devastating war, and of the Second World War that followed it.</p> <p>Macron said: <i>“Patriotism is the exact opposite of nationalism. Nationalism is a betrayal of patriotism. In saying ‘Our interests first, whatever happens to the others,’ you erase the most precious thing a nation can have, that which makes it live, that which causes it to be great and that which is most important: Its moral values.”</i><sup>143</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>

<p>11-9-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] As described by CSD on July 11 +, at the recent NATO summit Mr. Trump had likewise skipped and been late for important events intended to showcase international comity. Now in France, while skipping the meetings, he had reportedly spent much of his time alone: fuming, watching television, and tweeting.<sup>144</sup> Overall, he was seen as having been utterly isolated and disengaged, and having contributed nothing to the gathering of leaders – a humiliation for America, and an abrogation of our traditional role in the world.<sup>145</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump had begun his French adventure on November 9 by disparaging French President Emmanuel Macron. Citing Macron's recent proposal to build a European military (in response to Mr. Trump's threats to leave NATO), he falsely accused Macron of wanting that army to protect Europe from aggression by the U.S., and he tweeted that that proposal was "very insulting."</p> <p>Back in Washington on November 13, and again by Twitter, Mr. Trump said it again: <i>"Emmanuel Macron suggests building its own army to protect Europe against the U.S., China and Russia. But it was Germany in World Wars One &amp; Two - How did that work out for France? They were starting to learn German in Paris before the U.S. came along. Pay for NATO or not!"</i> In a tweet, he also ridiculed Macron's low approval rating among French voters. His tweets were at once insulting to France, insulting to Germany, and incoherent as to whether he wished the U.S. to help protect Europe or not. (Indeed, just on November 12 he had tweeted a renewed threat to withdraw from NATO if Europe didn't pay its share of defense costs.<sup>146</sup>)</p> <p>On November 14, the French government condemned Mr. Trump for having abandoned "common decency" in his tweets.<sup>147</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
<p>11-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>Pants on fire.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the deadly wild fires that were newly raging in California were the result of incompetent (Democratic) governance in the state. He did not offer condolences to the families of the fires' victims, or acknowledge the role of climate change in the fires' genesis. But he did – astonishingly, and vituperatively – threaten to withhold federal funds from California programs by way of punishment.<sup>148</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 8, 9, 11</p>

<p>11-10-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The tweet echoed Mr. Trump's sentiments about a previous spate of California fires, as reported by CSD on August 5. One commentator noted Mr. Trump's warm attention to and sympathy for disasters and victims in red states, and his chilliness (and even inhumanity) toward them in blue states – despite (nominally) being president for all.<sup>149</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 9, 11</p>
<p>11-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>Medals for sale.</u></b> The White House announced that Mr. Trump would shortly award the Presidential Medal of Freedom – a citation heretofore reserved for distinguished public servants, cultural figures and the like – to Miriam Adelson, the wife of casino magnate Sheldon Adelson.</p> <p>The Adelsons were two of Mr. Trump's strongest donors and supporters. They had given tens of millions of dollars to him, and hundreds of millions to other Republican candidates, but they lacked medal recipients' typical accomplishments. In a number of stunning commentaries, critics compared the award to Mr. Trump having granted presidential pardons to political favorites, and, more categorically, to his having redefined age-old notions of merit and truth as things that benefit him personally.<sup>150</sup> (Previous presidents too had given the medal to some of their donors; but the recipients had also been deserving luminaries in their own right.<sup>151</sup>)</p>	<p>11, 16</p>
<p>11-11-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>The military: politicized, pushing back, and used.</u></b></p> <p><i>Politics and push-back.</i> In a November 11 report on the on-the-ground experience of thousands of active duty soldiers newly deployed to the Mexican border, The New York Times recounted some of Mr. Trump's showy, politically motivated, costly and ill-conceived military initiatives that the Pentagon itself appeared to have resisted, albeit with mixed success: the border deployment, the Washington military parade, the banning of transgender troops, and the Space Force.<sup>152</sup> A week later, reports appeared that once the border deployment had been confirmed, Defense Secretary James Mattis had refused the (illegal) request of Mr. Trump and the Homeland Security Department to send armed troops to directly stop the migrants; and Mattis had prevailed.<sup>153</sup> Then on November 21, Mattis expressly refused to arm most of the deployed troops, despite a new presidential order directing them to defend the border patrol.<sup>154</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>



<p>11-11-18 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <p><u>Props and put-downs.</u> On November 12, The Huffington Post recapped (and CSD now augments) incidents of Mr. Trump having used the military as a prop while insulting those who had actually served. Recent insults: skipping a visit to a military cemetery in France on account of rain; foregoing Veterans Day commemorations upon his return to the U.S.; and calling for the annulment of military absentee votes in the close Florida midterm elections. Recent props: flying to midterm campaign events in, and holding those events in front of, military aircraft; and needlessly and expensively sending thousands of active duty troops to intercept the Central American migrant caravan at the Mexican border.</p> <p>Previous insults: blaming "the generals" for a combat death in Yemen in early 2017 during an unsuccessful military operation that he had personally approved; disparaging the late Senator John McCain's Vietnam war record; disparaging a Gold Star Muslim family; and not having visited deployed troops in combat theatres. Previous props: promoting military spending, and seeking the lavish military parade in Washington "honoring himself" (in the words of a Washington Post columnist).<sup>155</sup></p> <p>On November 16, citing security officials, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had not even attempted to understand his role as commander in chief.<sup>156</sup></p> <p>On November 18, in an interview with Fox News, Mr. Trump disparaged the much venerated retired Admiral William McRaven – who had overseen the elimination of Osama Bin Laden – as a Democratic partisan and as having performed inadequately in the Bin Laden operation.<sup>157</sup> (The remark followed Mr. Trump's deprecation, on October 14, of Defense Secretary Mattis – a highly respected former general with whom he had had many disagreements at the White House on military matters and whom he might have been preparing to fire – as "sort of a Democrat."<sup>158</sup>) The belittling of McRaven drew a firestorm of criticism from former security officials, who found it mean-spirited, unnecessary, dangerous and uninformed.<sup>159</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>11-11-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On November 19, The Washington Post published its own list of Mr. Trump's insults to decorated military officers and Gold Star families. (To one such family he had promised a \$25,000 personal gift, but then had forgotten it until reminded months later by The Post.)<sup>160</sup></p> <p>On November 20, The Post reported on the growing controversy about Mr. Trump having not visited deployed troops. <u>The Post noted that most recent presidents had visited the troops, often multiple times. And it cited knowledgeable sources who said that Mr. Trump – a man who had built his political success in part on projecting a brutish virility, readiness for physical fights, and commitment to military strength – hadn't traveled to war theatres out of fear for his personal safety.</u><sup>161</sup> (Although conceivably, CSD speculates, his failure to have visited the troops had been due to his admitted fear of germs.)</p> <p>Also on November 20, CNN reported that deployment of active duty troops to the Mexican border would cost taxpayers \$72 million – initially; and that the deployment of National Guard troops had already cost \$138 million.<sup>162</sup> (The cost of separating and reuniting the migrant families there had risen to \$80 million.<sup>163</sup>)</p> <p>CSD gives greater weight to some of those charges than to others. For example, we are less concerned about the no-showing (out of callousness, indiscretion or cowardice) than the show-boating (a genuine penchant for demagoguery and autocracy). At the same time, we continue to note that Mr. Trump had avoided service during the Vietnam War. Many others of his generation had done the same; and many for good reasons. But we see in his militaristic rhetoric a unique cynicism, and a dark twisting of the notion of patriotism.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>11-12-18</p>	<p><b><u>The stock market – and me (again).</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the stock market's recent decline reflected its fear of investigations that the new Democratic majority in the House of Representatives expected to mount against his conduct while in office. But in fact the stock market had risen sharply after the Democrats' midterm electoral victory the previous week. And market analysts disagreed with Mr. Trump's evaluation, instead identifying many other causes for the overall market pull-back since early October.<sup>164</sup> (See also CSD's October 30 reporting on Mr. Trump and his stock market calls.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

11-12-18	[Continued.] Mr. Trump had previously linked a rise in the stock market to his performance as president – something that wiser presidents had declined to do, in part because of the market's inherent volatility.	7, 9, 11
11-13-18	<b><u>The caravan: no longer an emergency?</u></b> Since the November 6 midterm elections, Mr. Trump appeared to commentators to have gone almost completely silent relative to the criminal and cultural threats that he saw in the Central American caravan that was approaching the Mexican border and that he had sent active duty military forces to interdict. (Exception: on November 16 he tweeted that the migrants were engaged in a "con" that was costing American taxpayers money.) Possibly he was awaiting further developments. Or possibly his political need to stoke fear and hatred had simply abated. But the sequence of clamor, elections then silence about a "national emergency" seemed unprecedented in American politics. <sup>165</sup>	6, 9
11-14-18	<b><u>"Vast" criminal exposure.</u></b> New York Magazine recapped Mr. Trump's legal peril: <i>"The breadth of Trump's legal exposure exceeds that of any president in American history. It is so vast that it is hard to comprehend. Some, and possibly all, of the following appear to have colluded with Russia on behalf of the Trump campaign: Michael Flynn, Roger Stone, Paul Manafort, Donald Trump Jr., and Michael Cohen. Trump has been doing business with the criminal underworld in Russia and elsewhere for years, the secrets of which may be revealed by Mueller, or by House Democrats obtaining his tax returns. Federal prosecutors are investigating whether he violated campaign-finance laws by directing hush money to various mistresses. The state of New York is investigating the Trump Foundation for alleged misappropriation of funds and the Trump Organization for decades-long tax fraud. He is being sued for violating the Constitution's Emoluments Clause. He is also being sued for fraud. And this is just the information we know so far, which has come out despite a Congress dedicated to protecting him from investigation, a benefit he will enjoy for only a few more weeks."</i> <sup>166</sup>	9, 17 (9)

<p>11-15-18</p>	<p><b>No witches here.</b> After an election-period hiatus, Mr. Trump resumed his attacks on special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of the 2016 Russian election meddling. He tweeted: <i>"The inner workings of the Mueller investigation are a total mess. They have found no collusion and have gone absolutely nuts. They are screaming and shouting at people, horribly threatening them to come up with the answers they want. They are a disgrace to our Nation and don't care how many lives the [sic] ruin. These are Angry People, including the highly conflicted Bob Mueller, who worked for Obama for 8 years. They won't even look at all of the bad acts and crimes on the other side. A TOTAL WITCH HUNT LIKE NO OTHER IN AMERICAN HISTORY!"</i> Almost none of those statements were true.</p>	<p>7, 12</p>
<p>11-15-18</p>	<p><b>Again, little is true.</b> As news media reported that Mr. Trump was contemplating firing his Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen, his chief of staff John Kelly and others, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"The White House is running very smoothly and the results for our Nation are obviously very good. We are the envy of the world. But anytime I even think about making changes, the FAKE NEWS MEDIA goes crazy, always seeking to make us look as bad as possible! Very dishonest!"</i> Almost none of those statements were true.</p>	<p>1, 7, 10</p>
<p>11-16-18</p>	<p><b>And still, little is true.</b> The Washington Post identified nine falsehoods that Mr. Trump advanced in a "wild" November 14 interview with The Daily Caller. They included spurious claims of Democratic voter fraud; an exaggeration of Republican midterm electoral victories; the purported start of construction on the Mexican border wall; non-existent corruption within the special prosecutor's team; and the demise of the Affordable Care Act (which despite Mr. Trump's unlawful efforts was still alive, and popular with most voters).<sup>167</sup></p>	<p>4, 6, 7, 12</p>
<p>11-18-18</p>	<p><b>Potty-mouth.</b> Referring to Congressman Adam Schiff – soon to be the chair of the House Intelligence Committee since the Democrats won control of the House of Representatives and its committees – Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"So funny to see little Adam Schitt [sic] (D-CA) talking about the fact that Acting Attorney General Matt Whitaker was not approved by the Senate, but not mentioning the fact that Bob Mueller (who is highly conflicted) was not approved by the Senate!"</i> [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>7, 11, 12</p>

11-18-18	[Continued below.] In addition to launching his juvenile trash-talk, Mr. Trump lied or was mistaken: Mueller's appointment as special prosecutor didn't by law require Senate approval; and the Senate had vetted and approved Mueller to be FBI director in 2001 anyway.	7, 11, 12
11-18-18	<b>Telling it to Fox.</b> In an astonishing interview with Fox News, Mr. Trump said that the "fake news" was "disgusting"; publicly all but predicted the demise of two of his highest ranking appointees (chief of staff John Kelly and Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen); said that the (chaotic) White House was "running like a well-oiled machine"; denied the accuracy of satellite imagery showing North Korea's continuing nuclear arms build-up; preposterously claimed to be writing his own answers to the questions that special prosecutor Robert Mueller had formally submitted to him in his "witch hunt" – i.e., without material help from his (Mr. Trump's) own counsel; falsely accused his critic, the decorated retired Admiral William McRaven, of partisanship and derogated McRaven's service in overseeing the elimination of Osama Bin Laden; ridiculously said that the Republicans having held their Senate majority in the recent midterm elections was "historic"; denied that the midterm elections had been substantively about himself (having insisted before his overall defeat in those elections that they would be); and gave himself an "A+" for his performance as president. <sup>168</sup>	1, 7, 11
11-19-18	<b>Crowd size and "truthful hyperbole."</b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker detailed Mr. Trump's persistent, excited and wildly inaccurate boasts during campaign rallies in the recent midterm elections about the crowds in attendance. <sup>169</sup>  CSD believes that as a rhetorical device – promoting buyer enthusiasm by fabricating the support of other buyers – those claims compared to the inflated claims of Trump Organization condominium unit sales that his daughter and senior advisor Ivanka Trump had for a period of years made to investors, as was exposed in October 2018 – e.g., claiming that a property was "virtually sold out" when in fact it was 75% unsold. Ms. Trump and her brother Donald, Jr. were reportedly close to being indicted for fraud in connection with such sales tactics, until the elder Mr. Trump's lawyer succeeded in causing the Manhattan district attorney to drop the case, while becoming one of that official's top campaign donors. <sup>170</sup> [Continued below.]	7, 9

11-19-18	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] We have long reported on Mr. Trump's hucksterism. We now continue to implore buyers to beware.	7, 9
11-19-18 +	<p><b><u>Ivanka's emails.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's daughter and senior advisor Ivanka Trump had sent hundreds of emails relating to her White House duties from a personal account during much of 2017, many of them in violation of federal rules. Although the activity was apparently not as extensive, determined or risky as that of Hillary Clinton while she was serving as secretary of state, it was shocking for its audacity: Mr. Trump had demonized Clinton for her email misdeeds during his 2016 electoral campaign; and he had continued to do so throughout his presidency, including during his many 2018 midterm election campaign rallies ("Lock her up!"). When first questioned internally at the White House about her own email conduct, Ms. Trump reportedly (and astoundingly) claimed to have not been familiar with the rules.<sup>171</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump, naturally, proclaimed that Ms. Trump was "very innocent," and he invented an additional 100,000 emails that he said Clinton had deleted.<sup>172</sup></p> <p>CSD doubts that Ms. Trump's email activity caused any damage. But her husband and senior White House advisor Jared Kushner had also used personal email accounts for official business. Combined with her conflicted business dealings and those of Kushner, as well as other Kushner behavior and that of Ms. Trump's brother Donald, Jr. – all as reported above in this document – in light of the Clinton vendetta, The Post's email revelation fueled CSD's perception of a Trump family outlook that they, and they alone, stood above not only the law, but ordinary decency and common sense.</p>	7, 17 (9, 11)
11-19-18 +	<p><b><u>Anti-asylum order blocked; Roberts speaks; Trump refutes.</u></b> On November 19, a federal district judge in San Francisco issued a temporary restraining order blocking Mr. Trump's executive order to deny asylum to migrants who might seek it after having crossed the Mexican border at locations other than regular ports of entry. The judge said that the executive order violated explicit Congressional legislation.<sup>173</sup> (See CSD's November 1 entry on Mr. Trump's announcement of the order.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	2, 6, 9, 11

<p>11-19-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] The next day, Mr. Trump ranted against the "Obama Judge" at the district court, as well as the generally liberal Ninth Circuit court of appeals to which any appeal of the judge's ruling would be taken. Misconstruing statistics as to how often the Supreme Court had reversed the Ninth Circuit's decisions,<sup>174</sup> he called it a "disgrace," and he threatened obliquely that "it's not going to happen like this anymore."<sup>175</sup></p> <p>To that, the Supreme Court's Chief Justice John Roberts – a Republican appointee – fired back on November 21: <u>"We do not have Obama judges or Trump judges, Bush judges or Clinton judges. What we have is an extraordinary group of dedicated judges doing their level best to do equal right to those appearing before them. That independent judiciary is something we should all be thankful for."</u> The presidential rebuke by a Supreme Court justice was extraordinary.</p> <p>The American Bar Association likewise objected, stating that questioning a court's motives, mocking its legitimacy and threatening retaliation eroded the Constitution.<sup>176</sup></p> <p>But determined to have the last word, Mr. Trump tweeted a lengthy lecture to Roberts, persisting in his claim that the Ninth Circuit was biased.<sup>177</sup> <u>And in a Thanksgiving Day telephone conference call with American military officers overseas on November 22, he continued to lash the Ninth Circuit (and implicitly Roberts) – thus further attempting to politicize the military, both as to the substance of judicial rulings and as to the independence of the judiciary under the Constitution.</u><sup>178</sup> (See also CSD's entries of November 11+ and 22 about politicizing the military.)</p> <p><u>Mr. Trump also tweeted on Thanksgiving Day that the Constitution forbids law enforcement professionals (and thus seemingly himself) from being subject to any sort of judicial restraint. He wrote: "Justice Roberts can say what he wants, but the 9th Circuit is a complete &amp; total disaster. It is out of control ... . Judges must not Legislate Security and Safety at the Border, or anywhere else. They know nothing about it and are making our Country unsafe. Our great Law Enforcement professionals MUST BE ALLOWED TO DO THEIR JOB! If not there will be only bedlam, chaos, injury and death. We want the Constitution as written!"</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 6, 9, 11</p>
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<p>11-19-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] As to Mr. Trump's objections to the liberal rulings of the Ninth Circuit's judges, on November 22 The Washington Post reported that some 40 to 50 federal courts, all over the country and in decisions issued by both Democratic and Republican appointees, had overruled Mr. Trump's orders as exceeding his authority – a string of losses so extensive as to reflect a "new phenomenon." His defeats had included the Muslim travel ban, the transgender military ban, the sanctuary cities crackdown, the cut-off of teen pregnancy prevention funding for programs that failed to preach abstinence, the family separation adventure at the Mexican border, the banning of CNN's Jim Acosta from the White House (blocked by Mr. Trump's own appointed judge), and several environmental rulings.<sup>179</sup></p> <p>For its part, CSD notes that one of Mr. Trump's signature accomplishments as president had been to appoint dozens of federal judges who were ideologically sympathetic to him. With all due respect to Justice Roberts, we struggle to discern a distinction between Mr. Trump's crusade to appoint "his" people and the right of other presidents to appoint "theirs" – except in the context of a dictatorship.</p>	<p>2, 6, 9, 11</p>
<p>11-20-18</p>	<p><b><u>Omniscience.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist collected statements by Mr. Trump pursuant to which he had claimed to have commanded much more knowledge than seemed humanly possible. Among other things, since becoming president, he had claimed to know more about ISIS and about how to eliminate Osama Bin Laden than our military; more about Saudi dissident Jamal Khashoggi's murder and Russia's election interference than the CIA; more about medicine than his doctor; more about steelworkers than "anybody"; more about North Korea's growing nuclear arms program than was revealed by satellite imagery; and more about climate change, hurricanes, and the risks of staring at the sun than scientists. (The pattern was not new. Before becoming president he had contradicted medical scientists on such matters as the value of vaccines and exercise.)<sup>180</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 11</p>
<p>11-20-18</p>	<p><b><u>Prosecuting Comey and Clinton.</u></b> The New York Times reported that in the spring of 2018 <u>Mr. Trump had wanted to order the Justice Department to prosecute his political enemies – his vanquished election opponent Hillary Clinton and his fired FBI director James Comey</u> – and that he would have done so if White House lawyers, fearing his impeachment, had not dissuaded him.<sup>181</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>



11-20-18	<p><b>On top of the Fed.</b> Mr. Trump yet again blamed the Federal Reserve Bank's interest rate increases for the turbulent stock market; and again market analysts widely disputed that.<sup>182</sup> (As CSD has noted before, recent presidents had eschewed political meddling with Fed decision-making.)</p>	7, 9
11-21-18	<p><b>It's so cold.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>Brutal and Extended Cold Blast could shatter ALL RECORDS - Whatever happened to Global Warming?</i>" His implication that temporary cold weather belied global climate change was either ignorant or fraudulent.</p>	8
11-22-18	<p><b>Giving thanks to one's self; befuddling the military.</b> On Thanksgiving morning, in attempting to deflect a recent torrent of criticism that he had not visited American troops deployed overseas, Mr. Trump spoke to military officers around the world by way of a televised conference call from his comfortable Mar-a-Lago resort in Florida. But instead of merely conveying holiday tidings, he used the call, unusually and politically, to rail against the Ninth Circuit federal appeals court; renounce the CIA's finding that Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman (MBS) had ordered the killing of the Saudi dissident and Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey; falsely attack Hillary Clinton for her email practices (while defending his daughter and senior advisor Ivanka for her own); boast about having attended the Wharton School; boast about having sent troops to the Mexican border; complain about America's trade treaties; ask the officers to comment publicly about developments in their respective theatres; and falsely trash the country's economic performance under President Obama. The Post, apparently on information, reported that <u>the officers were left scratching their heads.</u><sup>183</sup></p> <p>After the call, when asked by a reporter what he was thankful for on the Thanksgiving holiday, Mr. Trump responded that he was most thankful for his family, and for own accomplishments.<sup>184</sup></p>	2, 6, 7, 10, 11, 12

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/16/economy/trump-fed-threat-fox-interview/index.html> and <https://www.wsj.com/articles/presidents-sustained-criticism-of-the-federal-reserve-complicates-a-tricky-balancing-act-1539727808?tesla=y>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-steps-up-attacks-on-fed-chairman-jerome-powell-1540338090>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-calls-stormy-daniels-horseface-cheers-judges-dismissal-of-defamation-suit/2018/10/16/8441f0c4-d155-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.70639be89b0d](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-calls-stormy-daniels-horseface-cheers-judges-dismissal-of-defamation-suit/2018/10/16/8441f0c4-d155-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0_story.html?utm_term=.70639be89b0d) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/16/us/politics/trump-women-insults.html> and <https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-attacks-looks-of-stormy-daniels-1539708673?tesla=y>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/17/politics/donald-trump-ap-interview/index.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/17/trumps-fanciful-falsehood-filled-ap-interview-annotated/?utm\\_term=.59db173fc641&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/17/trumps-fanciful-falsehood-filled-ap-interview-annotated/?utm_term=.59db173fc641&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/17/us/politics/fact-check-trump-ap-interview.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=5&pgtype=collection>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/10/17/trump-withdraws-from-postal-treaty-910675>

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/22/what-the-inf-treaty-means-for-the-u-s-and-europe-and-why-trump-mentioned-china/?utm\\_term=.c0129270267b](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2018/10/22/what-the-inf-treaty-means-for-the-u-s-and-europe-and-why-trump-mentioned-china/?utm_term=.c0129270267b)

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/24/world/europe/putin-russia-us-nuclear-treaty.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=2&pgtype=collection>

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/racist-attacks-candidates-of-color-midterm-elections\\_us\\_5bc0e7b5e4b0bd9ed559f1d7](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/racist-attacks-candidates-of-color-midterm-elections_us_5bc0e7b5e4b0bd9ed559f1d7)

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/18/us/politics/fbi-headquarters-building-trump.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=8&pgtype=collection> and [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-hotel-fbi-headquarters-pennsylvania-ave\\_us\\_5bc8a70de4b0a8f17eea199c](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-hotel-fbi-headquarters-pennsylvania-ave_us_5bc8a70de4b0a8f17eea199c) and <https://www.cnn.com/videos/tv/2018/10/18/lead-tom-foreman-dnt-trump-fbi-hq-jake-tapper.cnn>

<sup>11</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/explosive-device-targets-george-soros-amid-escalating-political-attacks-against-billionaire-hedge-fund-founder/2018/10/24/7d387982-d79b-11e8-aeb7-ddcad4a0a54e\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.40a289761559](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/explosive-device-targets-george-soros-amid-escalating-political-attacks-against-billionaire-hedge-fund-founder/2018/10/24/7d387982-d79b-11e8-aeb7-ddcad4a0a54e_story.html?utm_term=.40a289761559)

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/17/magazine/george-soros-democrat-open-society.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/31/us/politics/george-soros-bombs-trump.html>

<sup>13</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the\\_americas/for-european-jews-a-horrifying-sight-on-the-other-side-of-the-atlantic/2018/10/28/0556d282-dad0-11e8-8bac-bfe01fcdc3a6\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.e97f362cf41c&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/for-european-jews-a-horrifying-sight-on-the-other-side-of-the-atlantic/2018/10/28/0556d282-dad0-11e8-8bac-bfe01fcdc3a6_story.html?utm_term=.e97f362cf41c&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>14</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/at-montana-rally-trump-praises-congressman-for-assaulting-reporter/2018/10/18/1e1d0d1e-d304-11e8-8c22-fa2ef74bd6d6\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.cc4c95b8dd69&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/at-montana-rally-trump-praises-congressman-for-assaulting-reporter/2018/10/18/1e1d0d1e-d304-11e8-8c22-fa2ef74bd6d6_story.html?utm_term=.cc4c95b8dd69&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-greg-gianforte\\_us\\_5bc92ea7e4b0d38b58767374](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-greg-gianforte_us_5bc92ea7e4b0d38b58767374) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/10/18/trump-migrant-caravan-montana-rally-915044> and <https://www.politico.eu/article/uk-no-10-responds-to-donald-trump-praise-for-congressman-greg-gianforte-who-body-slammed-reporter/> and <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/19/politics/donald-trump-montana-speech/index.html>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/trump-anybody-who-votes-democrat-now-crazy-n922361>

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- <sup>16</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-administration-does-about-face-on-its-own-announcement-that-top-aide-at-hud-would-be-interiors-watchdog/2018/10/18/d90bbf7a-d2fb-11e8-8c22-fa2ef74bd6d6\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.bba45e462b99&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-administration-does-about-face-on-its-own-announcement-that-top-aide-at-hud-would-be-interiors-watchdog/2018/10/18/d90bbf7a-d2fb-11e8-8c22-fa2ef74bd6d6_story.html?utm_term=.bba45e462b99&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/18/climate/interior-ryan-zinke-violated-travel.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=9&pgtype=collection> and [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ryan-zinke-travel-inspector-general-report\\_us\\_5bc92eb4e4b0d38b58767382](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/ryan-zinke-travel-inspector-general-report_us_5bc92eb4e4b0d38b58767382) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2018/10/18/zinke-wife-interior-dept-probe-914313>
- <sup>17</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/energy-environment/2018/10/30/zinkes-own-agency-watchdog-just-referred-him-justice-department/?utm\\_term=.6994570638a9&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/energy-environment/2018/10/30/zinkes-own-agency-watchdog-just-referred-him-justice-department/?utm_term=.6994570638a9&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and <https://www.cnn.com/2018/10/30/politics/zinke-justice-department/index.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/30/climate/interior-zinke-justice.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/31/climate/zinke-investigations.html>
- <sup>18</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/zinke-is-the-cabinet-official-most-vulnerable-to-democratic-probe-white-house-fears/2018/11/09/b9d3fd48-e368-11e8-ab2c-b31dcd53ca6b\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.05e3a7e4b248](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/zinke-is-the-cabinet-official-most-vulnerable-to-democratic-probe-white-house-fears/2018/11/09/b9d3fd48-e368-11e8-ab2c-b31dcd53ca6b_story.html?utm_term=.05e3a7e4b248)
- <sup>19</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/19/us/politics/trump-saudi-arabia-journalist-khashoggi.html>
- <sup>20</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/in-post-interview-trump-calls-saudi-crown-prince-mohammed-a-strong-person-who-truly-loves-his-country/2018/10/20/1eda48c0-d4d5-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.eb32e18df7ad&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/in-post-interview-trump-calls-saudi-crown-prince-mohammed-a-strong-person-who-truly-loves-his-country/2018/10/20/1eda48c0-d4d5-11e8-b2d2-f397227b43f0_story.html?utm_term=.eb32e18df7ad&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>21</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/22/trumps-claim-jobs-saudi-deals-grows-by-leaps-bounds/?utm\\_term=.494573f33696&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2018/10/22/trumps-claim-jobs-saudi-deals-grows-by-leaps-bounds/?utm_term=.494573f33696&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/10/22/opinion/khashoggi-saudi-trump-arms-sales.html?rref=collection%2Fissuecollection%2Ftodays-new-york-times&action=click&contentCollection=todayspaper&region=rank&module=package&version=highlights&contentPlacement=3&pgtype=collection>
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- <sup>159</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/19/us/politics/mcraven-trump-pakistan.html> and <https://www.cnn.com/2018/11/20/politics/donald-trump-william-mcraven-military/index.html>
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**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 21 – January 13 , 2019*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

11-25-18	<b><u>Right-wing violence soars.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that incidents of right-wing violence had soared under Mr. Trump's presidency, eclipsing all other categories of politically-motivated violence, including from the left and from radical Islamists. <sup>1</sup>	17 (5, 6)
11-25-18 +	<b><u>Russian aggression in Crimea.</u></b> As world leaders denounced Russia for firing on and seizing three Ukrainian vessels in Crimea on November 25, Mr. Trump declined to join them. <sup>2</sup>	12
11-26-18	<b><u>Caravan lies.</u></b> Following the first violent altercation between Central American caravan migrants and the American border patrol, Mr. Trump – possibly to deflect from criticisms of the use of tear gas against a group that included women and children <sup>3</sup> – fabricated much: that the caravan included over 500 "serious criminals and gang members," that three border patrol officers had been "very badly hurt," and that many migrant children had been stolen and were being exploited by kidnappers in the latter's own quest for asylum. <sup>4</sup>	6, 7, 9

<p>11-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Mississippi. (What?!) </u></b>At a campaign rally in Tupelo, Mississippi for a racially controversial white candidate in a senatorial run-off election, Mr. Trump boasted of his success as a campaigner in the recent midterm elections – even though Democrats had won the popular vote for the House by the largest margin of any party in history,<sup>5</sup> 41 House seats had flipped Democrat, Democrats had made major gains in state legislatures and governorships, and 37 Republicans whom Mr. Trump had endorsed lost<sup>6</sup>. He also falsely said that foreign leaders extolled him; falsely hinted that Democrats stole some of the elections; falsely said that Republicans generally supported mandatory insurance coverage for pre-existing medical conditions; falsely said that construction had begun on his proposed Mexican border wall; falsely said that undocumented criminals commit more crimes than others in America; falsely said that steel mills were being built "all over the country"; and (truly or falsely) said that he was "winning, winning, winning" against the "deep state." He had advanced all of those falsehoods before.</p> <p>Mr. Trump added, <i>"Nobody has ever done so much in the first two years of a presidency as this administration. Nobody. Nobody."</i> Also: <i>"[T]his is the greatest political movement in the history of our country. There's nothing like this. Nothing like this has ever happened."</i><sup>7</sup> He had sold that soap before as well; but his false, strident and historically ignorant braggadocio still astounded CSD and other observers.</p>	<p>1, 4, 5, 7, 11</p>
<p>11-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>Trump TV.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the U.S. should create a global news network that would counter CNN's "unfair" and "false" news coverage, and that would instead promote a positive view – presumably his view – of America worldwide. In fact Congress had already long funded an editorially independent, multi-media, global news outlet in Voice of America, which promotes democracy and the free press, and which has been widely valued for having brought truth and hope to millions living under authoritarian regimes.<sup>8</sup> Was Mr. Trump aware of VOA at the time of his tweet? Possibly: his administration had been breaking tradition by filling VOA's leadership with partisan political appointees drawn from outside the community of mainstream journalists, including from the ethno-nationalist Breitbart News.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>1, 9</p>



<p>11-26-18 +</p>	<p><b>Mega-climate report.</b> On November 26, Mr. Trump said that he didn't "believe" the forecast of economic cataclysm contained in the Fourth National Climate Assessment, a blockbuster quadrennial report issued by 13 of his own federal agencies and over 300 leading climate scientists. The next day he went further, expressly denying man-made climate change in an interview with the Washington Post. He indicated no plans to protect the country or the planet from global warming, nor to discontinue his policies that advanced global warming. On November 28, acting EPA Administrator Andrew Wheeler, a former coal lobbyist, said that the administration might intervene in the scientists' development of the next National Climate Assessment so as to make its warnings less dire.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>Critics widely charged that the Trump administration had unsuccessfully attempted to bury the report from public scrutiny by releasing it on Black Friday, the day after Thanksgiving.</p> <p>CNN documented 23 other occasions on which Mr. Trump had dismissed the idea of global warming and/or climate change.<sup>11</sup></p>	<p>8</p>
<p>11-26-18 +</p>	<p><b>Threatening GM.</b> Beginning on November 26, Mr. Trump repeatedly threatened to punish General Motors for its newly announced plan to close several plants in the U.S. – including by cutting their federal subsidies. The threats represented a continuation of his practice of attacking named businesses that ran afoul of his political agenda.<sup>12</sup> But in addition, in the case of GM, he lacked authority to un-do certain subsidies; and to single out one company for retribution under a federal subsidy program would be illegal.<sup>13</sup> Withdrawing the subsidies also would likely eliminate even more jobs at GM.<sup>14</sup> Never one to admit error, on December 13 Mr. Trump told Fox News that GM was not "going to be treated well."<sup>15</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>11-27-18</p>	<p><b>Greater than Reagan!</b> The Hill reported that in a new book by two of Mr. Trump's loyalists, Mr. Trump told the authors that he was "far greater than Ronald Reagan" and "the greatest president in history and I blow Ronald Reagan away."<sup>16</sup></p>	<p>11</p>

<p>11-27-18</p>	<p><b><u>A pox on objectivity.</u></b> In a series of tweets, Mr. Trump raged against special prosecutor Robert Mueller and his office's investigation of Russia's election meddling in 2016 (which he again called a "Witch Hunt"). Among other things, in Mr. Trump's continuing efforts to disparage (and thus, in CSD's view, to obstruct) the investigation, he wrote that Mueller <i>"is doing TREMENDOUS damage to our Criminal Justice System."</i></p> <p>On the same day, Mr. Trump reiterated in a Washington Post interview that he was unhappy with Federal Reserve Bank chairman Jerome Powell, whom he had appointed; and he blamed the Fed's interest rate hikes for the decline in the stock market (mostly untrue<sup>17</sup>) and for the recent decision by General Motors to close several U.S. plants (completely untrue). <i>"I'm doing deals, and I'm not being accommodated by the Fed,"</i> he said – apparently viewing the Fed as his servant, and oblivious to its chartered independence. He also said that he trusted his "gut" about interest rates over other people's training and intellect.</p> <p>Mr. Trump also told The Post that he didn't believe the dire findings and cautions relative to global warming contained in the new, blockbuster National Climate Assessment, or the conclusions of environmental scientists generally. He said that <i>"a lot of people like myself, we have very high levels of intelligence but we're not necessarily such believers."</i></p> <p>He also repeated his skepticism about the CIA's determination that Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) had ordered the murder of The Post's columnist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey that fall.<sup>18</sup></p> <p>Thus in a single day Mr. Trump had publicly and brazenly rejected the independent, objective operations and evaluations of four extraordinarily credible national institutions, all in the service of his personal political goals: the Justice Department, the Federal Reserve Bank, the National Climate Assessment, and the CIA.</p> <p>The Post counted nine other false or misleading statements in its interview.<sup>19</sup> It also later reported on Mr. Trump's many uninformed, fallacious and incoherent statements about the Fed, the economy and fiscal policy – too many to include in this Addendum.<sup>20</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>

<p>11-27-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>A pardon for Manafort? A release of classified information?</u></b> On November 27, The New York Times reported that <u>lawyers for former Trump campaign chairman and now convicted felon Paul Manafort were feeding the content of his confidential plea bargain discussions with the special prosecutor's office to Mr. Trump's lawyers.</u><sup>21</sup> Observers guessed that Manafort may have ordered that practice so as to win a pardon from Mr. Trump; and some wrote that Mr. Trump's dangling of such a pardon could have amounted to <u>witness tampering and obstruction of justice.</u><sup>22</sup> On November 28, <u>Mr. Trump told The New York Post that he was in fact considering a pardon.</u><sup>23</sup></p> <p><u>Mr. Trump also told The New York Post that if the Democrats "play tough" with him in 2019 once they had come to control the House of Representatives' oversight committees, he would release classified information that would be "devastating" to them.</u> Mr. Trump had previously made threats to release classified information for political and retaliatory purposes.<sup>24</sup> <u>CSD believes that any such action would be treasonous; and that the mere threat to do so constituted both extortion and treason.</u></p> <p>In addition, Mr. Trump told The New York Post that the special prosecutor's pursuit of several of Mr. Trump's former associates amounted to "McCarthyism."<sup>25</sup> He tweeted the same that day and the next. The reference to McCarthyism was an invocation of a senatorial inquisition of suspected communists in the early 1950s that, ironically, had been largely orchestrated by Senate committee counsel Roy Cohn, who was to become Mr. Trump's personal attorney and Machiavellian mentor for years.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>11-28-18</p>	<p><b><u>All the traitors.</u></b> Mr. Trump re-tweeted an image of 11 people behind bars, with these words superimposed on the image: <i>"Now that Russia collusion is a proven lie, when do the trials for treason begin?"</i> The 11: special prosecutor Robert Mueller, Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, former FBI Director James Comey, former President Obama, former President Clinton, former Secretary of State and presidential contender Hillary Clinton, her aide Huma Abedin, her campaign chairman John Podesta, former Attorney General Eric Holder, former National Intelligence Director James Clapper, and former Attorney General Loretta Lynch. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12</p>

11-28-18	<p>[Continued.] But "Russia collusion" was <i>not</i> a proven lie – the special prosecutor's investigation was continuing. And, in CSD's view, in a democracy casually naming one's legitimate adversaries as traitors was itself treasonous.</p>	7, 9, 11, 12
11-28-18	<p><b>The alpha male.</b> In the November 28 New York Post interview (see above), Mr. Trump referred derogatorily to former New York City mayor and potential presidential candidate Michael Bloomberg as "Little Michael."<sup>26</sup> He had previously referred to his critics, respectively, as "Liddle [<i>sic</i>] [Republican Senator] Bob Corker," "Little [Republican Senator] Marco Rubio," and "Little [Democratic Congressman] Adam Schiff." That is, for demagogic purposes, he now continued to insinuate that he could physically best his opponents, in the manner of a playground bully, a medieval warlord, a gangster, a skinhead, an alpha gorilla, or Russian President Vladimir Putin. (Putin is a judo practitioner who had often posed bare-chested for photographs depicting his virility. Notably, CSD believes that Putin is about the same height as Corker, Rubio and Schiff; that Mr. Trump was unlikely to refer to his Russian idol as "little"; and that Putin could thrash Mr. Trump if he did.)</p> <p>A Washington Post columnist detailed how Mr. Trump had likewise, repeatedly expressed more reliance in his decision-making on "gut" primitive instincts than on intellect – including, most recently, in his criticism of the Federal Reserve Bank's interest rate policy. (See CSD's November 27 entry about interest rates, above.)<sup>27</sup></p> <p>No other president in at least a century had so behaved. CSD draws a direct line between Mr. Trump's primitive assertions of instinct and male dominance, on the one hand, and his derogation of the recent National Climate Assessment, on the other: in each case, thumbing his nose at civilization (as it were; and as we have known it).</p>	9, 11

<p>11-28-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Saudi cover-up.</u></b> On November 28, Mr. Trump appeared to have prevented CIA director Gina Haspel from joining Secretary of Defense James Mattis and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in briefing the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on the Saudi Arabian regime's murder and dismemberment of Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey. Haspel had traveled to Turkey to investigate the matter, and she was reportedly the only top Trump administration official to have had the stomach (and the integrity) to listen to the audio tape of the torture and execution; both Mr. Trump and national security advisor John Bolton had declined to do so.</p> <p>The CIA – and presumably Haspel herself – had concluded that Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) had ordered the murder; but Mr. Trump had repeatedly denied that the CIA's conclusion was absolute, and he had otherwise defended MBS. Critics charged that Haspel's absence from the Senate briefing was unprecedented under the circumstances, possibly beyond the president's authority to have directed, and a cover-up.<sup>28</sup> The outrage within both parties was so strenuous that Haspel then did meet with the leaders of three Senate committees on December 4,<sup>29</sup> after which Republican Senate attendees confirmed their view that MBS had been complicit in the crime, and that Mr. Trump was covering that up.<sup>30</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 12</p>
<p>11-29-18</p>	<p><b><u>The Russia deal.</u></b> In a series of statements to reporters, Mr. Trump issued a remarkable response to <u>new allegations of a secret business relationship of his with Russia during the 2016 presidential campaign, at the very time when Russia was meddling with the election.</u> Specifically, he was responding to the revelation that his former attorney Michael Cohen had admitted to special prosecutor Robert Mueller that he and Mr. Trump were pursuing a hotel licensing project in Moscow until June 2016 – well into the campaign – despite Mr. Trump having repeatedly told the public that he had no current Russian business dealings. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 10, 12, 15</p>

<p>11-29-18</p>	<p>[Continued.] Cohen had told Mueller about the project in connection with admitting that he had lied to Congress on that topic when he had testified that negotiations for a Moscow deal had ended in January 2016. (Cohen had already pleaded guilty in August 2018 to tax evasion and to campaign finance violations, in having paid adult video actress and former Trump extra-marital girlfriend Stormy Daniels hush money at Mr. Trump's direction for purposes of influencing the election.) Cohen's new account of the Russia deal was reportedly corroborated by emails and other witnesses.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's response: Cohen was lying, so as to avoid further prison time (lying in what respect was unclear); the Moscow project wasn't a "deal" – only an "option" (but an option is in fact a deal, as every real estate professional and every entertainment personality knows); and even if Cohen was telling the truth, continuing to operate the Trump business during the campaign was technically legal (true). But most directly pertinent to this Chronology – Mr. Trump's behavior during his actual presidency – he falsely told the reporters that the secret Moscow deal had been widely known during his campaign. <u>That is, he was now lying to the American people about having lied to the American people in 2016.</u><sup>31</sup> <u>CSD and other observers also believed that he had been and now remained vulnerable to Russia blackmailing him over these and other untruths; and that he continued to place his business hopes with Russia ahead of his sworn obligations as president. As in some of Mr. Trump's other infractions, we would call that breach of duty treasonous.</u></p> <p>After the news of Cohen's latest admission broke, Mr. Trump abruptly postponed his imminent meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin at the G-20 summit in Argentina, purportedly because of recent Russian-Ukrainian tensions. But the true reason was likely the political fall-out for Mr. Trump from Cohen's admission – which Russia, apparently miffed, noted after having learned of the postponement through Mr. Trump's Twitter feed. That is, blaming the Russia-Ukraine crisis was seemingly yet another falsehood on the part of Mr. Trump, and yet another diplomatic fumble.<sup>32</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 12, 15</p>
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<p>11-29-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Still gunning for Obamacare.</u></b> On November 29, the Trump administration issued new advice to states, urging them to use federal insurance subsidies for policies other than the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") policies for which they had been statutorily intended – thus further undermining the ACA.<sup>33</sup> The administration had also again reduced the "navigator" program that offered help to subscribers during the year-end open enrollment period, and it had again starved open enrollment of an advertising budget.<sup>34</sup></p> <p>On December 14, The Huffington Post reported that the administration had cut advertising with the actual knowledge that that action would likely reduce enrollment, and it recapped some of the administration's many attempts to cripple the ACA.<sup>35</sup></p> <p>The same day, in a lawsuit brought by red state governments which Mr. Trump's Justice Department – contrary to nearly all department precedent – had declined to defend, a federal district judge ruled the ACA to be unconstitutional, thus threatening havoc for the nation's health care and health insurance systems.<sup>36</sup> As millions of Americans stood to lose insurance coverage should the court's decision survive the expected appeals, Mr. Trump gloated on Twitter.</p> <p><u>By the close of the open enrollment period, new enrollments had dropped 18% from the prior year, and overall enrollments had dropped 4%.<sup>37</sup></u></p> <p>As ever, CSD does not take a position for or against the ACA. <u>But we have long characterized Mr. Trump's war on that program – without having a substitute plan in place – as a personal vendetta against President Obama, effected for retributive and demagogic purposes, and likely to cause very real injury to the health of thousands of Americans.</u></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
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<p>11-30-18</p>	<p><b><u>Putin and MBS, brothers in glee.</u></b> Russian President Vladimir Putin and Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) engaged in overtly warm camaraderie before cameras at the G-20 meeting in Argentina, including by exchanging laughter, grins and a high-five while other attendees were greeting one another more soberly.<sup>38</sup> Both men were being treated as pariahs by many Western countries for their recent notorious actions: MBS for having ordered the torture, murder and dismemberment of The Washington Post journalist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey, and Putin for having fired on and impounded three Ukrainian naval vessels. The two leaders did not share a great deal geopolitically; Russia was aligned with Saudi enemies Syria and Iran. But both men had ordered the murders of journalists and expatriates, and in that they appeared to share an exceptional vision of governance. To CSD (and others), they also appeared to share and to rejoice in having, in recent days, seriously embarrassed and hog-tied Mr. Trump, who – to much U.S. domestic outrage – had declined to bring either of them to task for their misdeeds, as though in slavish servility toward both. A remarkable video of the MBS-Putin encounter appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>39</sup></p>	<p>12; Making America Great (again)</p>
<p>11-30-18</p>	<p><b><u>Hatch Act round-up.</u></b> NBC News recapped recent and earlier Hatch Act violations by Mr. Trump's staff. The Hatch Act forbids most federal employees from engaging in electoral campaign activities. Altogether the Office of Special Counsel (which is different from the office of the special counsel/prosecutor investigating Russian election meddling) had received well over a dozen Hatch Act complaints about Mr. Trump's staff; it had found violations in seven of those cases, including that of Mr. Trump's surrogate Kellyanne Conway; and it had issued warnings to the offenders.<sup>40</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>



<p>12-1-18</p>	<p><b><u>A confederacy of scoundrels.</u></b> In the wake of breathtaking new developments in the criminal prosecutions of Mr. Trump's former campaign chairman Paul Manafort and his former attorney Michael Cohen, a Washington Post reporter listed a sordid array of senior advisors to Mr. Trump's 2016 presidential election campaign that seemed to have been drawn from a dark fantasy universe of liars and scoundrels as their misdeeds had been uncovered after the election, one by one: Manafort (international grifter and felon); Cohen (legal fixer and felon); Roger Stone (political trickster, conspiracy theorist and possible felon); Jerome Corsi (conspiracy theorist and possible felon); Rick Gates (a more garden variety felon); and George Papadopoulos (political wannabe and felon).<sup>41</sup> Citing the same list – plus Michael Flynn (felon) and a raft of additional aides – a New York Times reporter wrote, "<i>Mr. Trump surrounded himself throughout 2016 and early 2017 with people to whom lying seemed to be second nature.</i>"<sup>42</sup> The Los Angeles Times wrote similarly.<sup>43</sup></p> <p>CSD hesitates to project onto Mr. Trump any guilt-by-association with his many associates. But his own never-ending mendacity had spoken for itself; and an odor did emanate.</p>	<p>17 (7; and Making America Great, yet again)</p>
<p>12-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Immigrants in the military.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the Trump administration's enhanced security screening of eager and able non-citizen recruits who held green cards had come to threaten low troop strength and even mission failure; had been enjoined by a federal judge as pointless; and at last had been suspended by the Pentagon.<sup>44</sup></p>	<p>6</p>
<p>12-3-18</p>	<p><b><u>Obstruction.</u></b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump praised long-time friend, dark political trickster and conspiracy theorist Roger Stone<sup>45</sup> – now under investigation by special prosecutor Robert Mueller in connection with Russia's interference with the 2016 election – for having told ABC News the previous day that he (Stone) would never testify against Mr. Trump.<sup>46</sup> Mr. Trump also tweeted that his former attorney Michael Cohen, who was now cooperating with Mueller adversely to Mr. Trump, "should serve a full and complete sentence" for the felonies Cohen had committed in Mr. Trump's service.<sup>47</sup> In addition, Mr. Trump tweeted that in general Mueller was seeking lies, not the truth, from witnesses.<sup>48</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 12, 17 (9)</p>

<p>12-3-18</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] CSD believes that in all three tweets Mr. Trump, as the nation's chief law enforcement officer, was plainly and improperly reacting to processes and events that had placed him in legal jeopardy. More specifically, we found in those tweets attempts to criminally obstruct justice for his own benefit – by disparaging Mueller and his investigation; by encouraging a witness (Stone) to not cooperate with the special prosecutor; and by suggesting to a federal court, out of retribution, how it should punish a criminal (Cohen). The Stone and Cohen matters also evidenced Mr. Trump's continuing practice of dangling pardons in front of loyalists and seeking punishment for turncoats.</u></p> <p>The same morning, Mr. Trump's lawyer Rudy Giuliani denounced special prosecutor and Vietnam war hero Robert Mueller for "oppressive tactics that are un-American."<sup>49</sup> CSD believes that he was trying to discredit (and thus to obstruct) Mueller's discreet and painstaking investigation, which in earlier days Giuliani himself – once a federal prosecutor – would have almost certainly found exemplary.</p>	<p>2, 9, 12, 17 (9)</p>
<p>12-4-18</p>	<p><b><u>China trade madness.</u></b> After Mr. Trump boasted only days previously at the G-20 summit in Argentina that China had acceded to all of his trade demands, and after the American stock market rose mildly in response, the Chinese disagreed with his claims; the administration waffled on them; the Chinese became confused; Mr. Trump threatened sharper tariffs; and the stock market suffered sharp losses.<sup>50</sup></p> <p>CSD does not take a position on trade policy. But as for Mr. Trump's negotiating <i>style</i>, one former trade official said, “<i>You don’t do this with the Chinese. You don’t triumphantly proclaim all their concessions in public. It’s just madness.</i>”<sup>51</sup> As for the stock market, of course anything goes. But its sharp drop had nothing to do with Democratic electoral victories or Federal Reserve Bank interest rate hikes as Mr. Trump had been claiming in recent weeks. Rather, the drop was widely viewed as having resulted from Mr. Trump's exaggerated claims, chaotic pronouncements and injudicious threats relative to China, plus (according to Mr. Trump's own staff) from a slowing of global growth.<sup>52</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 11</p>

<p>12-4-18</p>	<p><b>Pompeo versus Europe.</b> Speaking in Brussels, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo lauded Mr. Trump's antagonism toward multilateralism, cryptically insisting that an each-country-for-itself philosophy somehow makes the world safer and advances a liberal world order. Some of Pompeo's hallucinatory morsels: <i>“This is the type of leadership that President Trump is boldly reasserting.”</i> Also: <i>“This is what President Trump is doing. He is returning the United States to its traditional central leadership in the world.”</i> European diplomats scratched their heads and took offense.<sup>53</sup></p>	<p>17 (14)</p>
<p>12-5-18</p>	<p><b>Saudi fees for service?</b> The Washington Post reported that the Saudi Arabian government had spent lavishly to house an American veterans group at the Trump International Hotel in Washington during the months after Mr. Trump's election, in connection with a sustained, pro-Saudi congressional lobbying campaign in which the veterans had naively participated.<sup>54</sup></p> <p>Those expenditures had come on top of lavish expenditures for stays by actual Saudi delegations at that hotel and at one of Mr. Trump's New York hotels, as chronicled by CSD on October 19 +. Mr. Trump had had many other business dealings with wealthy Saudis and the Saudi government as well.<sup>55</sup> He and his son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner appeared also to be positioned to receive major Saudi funding for their respective real estate ventures long after his presidential term would end. In all, the wide range of business conflicts of interest seemed to inform and to implicate Mr. Trump's kid glove treatment of the Saudi leadership following its recent murder of Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey.</p>	<p>12, 15</p>
<p>12-5-18 +</p>	<p><b>Behaving, but not welcome.</b> On December 5, Mr. Trump was reportedly pleased that he had behaved politely at the memorial ceremony at the Washington National Cathedral for the recently deceased President George H.W. Bush – that is, pleased for having silently shaken hands as he had joined a string of living past presidents in their pew.<sup>56</sup> But despite their amity with one another, the past presidents received Mr. Trump coldly;<sup>57</sup> video showed him to be as isolated from them as he had been from world leaders in venues such as Paris and Argentina, having repeatedly and viciously insulted most of them (both past presidents and world leaders). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 11, 12</p>

<p>12-5-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Apparently bristling at the cold shoulder, at having endured praise of the late President Bush's character and the many coded rebukes for his own character that that praise had contained,<sup>58</sup> and at having not been the center of the country's attention during the ceremony, Mr. Trump soon afterwards tweeted a highly suspect statistic showing that his public approval rating had risen.<sup>59</sup> The next day, he tweeted that he would be even more popular but for "the phony Russia Witch Hunt."</p>	<p>7, 11, 12</p>
<p>12-6-18, 1-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>Undocumented at Bedminster.</u></b> On December 6, The New York Times reported that a housekeeper who worked at Mr. Trump's Bedminster, New Jersey golf club, made his bed there and washed the orange makeup from his white shirts was an undocumented Guatemalan migrant. She said that many other undocumented migrants worked there as well, and The Times subsequently spoke with several of them.</p> <p>The workers' immigration status could have been determined had the club used the E-Verify electronic database that Mr. Trump had long urged all businesses to deploy – and that he had said throughout his election campaign that he used at all his properties – in connection with his incessant railing against irregular migration. "<i>We don't have one illegal immigrant on the job,</i>" he had said. Reportedly, however, many of his clubs had foregone E-Verify – willfully turning a blind eye to the employment of undocumented workers, with a view to profiting from that.<sup>60</sup></p> <p>On January 3, The Times reported that yet another undocumented worker at the club had come forward – this time a woman from Ecuador – claiming that club management had knowingly hid her undocumented status from the Secret Service during Mr. Trump's 2016 presidential campaign. The Times also wrote that, since its December report, the club (apparently diving for cover) had terminated about a dozen undocumented workers.<sup>61</sup></p> <p>In recent decades, other national political figures had been found to have employed undocumented workers, and for that they had paid a political price.<sup>62</sup> But Mr. Trump seemed immune from even chagrin – despite having built the very core of his political message on combating undocumented immigration. CSD attributes his immunity to the climate of presidential entitlement and infallibility that Mr. Trump had worked to create for himself within parts of the electorate.</p>	<p>7, 9; and violation of immigration laws</p>

12-6-18	<p><b><u>Tillerson tells.</u></b> Former Secretary of State Rex Tillerson told a crowd at a charity event that, while in office, he had had to frequently convince the uneducated, incurious and impulsive Mr. Trump to not break treaties and to not break the law. Mr. Trump lashed back, tweeting that Tillerson was "dumb as a rock" and "lazy as hell."<sup>63</sup></p>	9, 10, 11, 13, 14
12-7-18	<p><b><u>Twitter vs. Mueller.</u></b> In a series of five scathing tweets, Mr. Trump, in detail, denounced Deputy Attorney General Rod Rosenstein, special prosecutor Robert Mueller, and the "Witch Hunt" of their investigation into Russia's 2016 election interference – all as conflicted, corrupt, and blind to the offenses that he alleged against former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, former FBI Director James Comey, former Director of National Intelligence James Clapper, former CIA Director John Brennan, and others.</p>	9, 11, 12
12-7-18	<p><b><u>Barr and Nauert.</u></b> <u>Mr. Trump announced the appointment of William Barr as Attorney General,</u> to replace former Attorney General Jeff Sessions and Acting Attorney General Matthew Whittaker. Barr had previously served as attorney general under President George H.W. Bush, and he thus was seen generally as a mainstream selection. But he had facilitated the undercutting of an earlier special prosecutor; he had written that Congress must not be allowed to usurp presidential power; like Mr. Trump, he had criticized special prosecutor Robert Mueller for hiring so many Democrats as staffers; he had spoken favorably about Mr. Trump's firing of former FBI Director James Comey and investigating Hillary Clinton – at one point stating that there was more basis to investigate Clinton than there was to investigate Mr. Trump for potential collusion with Russia; and just in June he had actually written a memorandum to the Justice Department criticizing the premises of Mueller's obstruction of justice investigation.<sup>64</sup> <u>CSD feared that Mr. Trump chose Barr with a view to enhancing presidential authority, curtailing or ending Mueller's investigation of the 2016 Russian election meddling, and skewering if not prosecuting Clinton instead.</u></p> <p>Barr was also later revealed to have made the largest campaign donations of any Justice Department official in recent history – almost \$600,000, to Republicans – despite having criticized some of Mueller's staff for having made far smaller donations to Democrats.<sup>65</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 11, 12, 13, 16 17 (6)

<p>12-7-18</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] On the same day, Mr. Trump announced the appointment of Heather Nauert, a telegenic former Fox News pundit, to serve as ambassador to the United Nations – a position normally reserved in the U.S. and most major countries for distinguished scholars, diplomats and political figures. Her appointment was viewed as transforming the position in the U.S. from one of depth, diplomacy and respect for the UN's mission to one of communication, branding and loyalty to Mr. Trump.</u><sup>66</sup> Critics also pointed to prior Islamophobic comments and associations of hers.<sup>67</sup> At the time of the announcement, she was serving in a senior communications role in the State Department, having joined a list of at least eight Trump appointees drawn from Fox.<sup>68</sup> She also joined a long list of Trump supporter-appointees having no obvious qualifications for their positions.<sup>69</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 12, 13, 16 17 (6)</p>
<p>12-7-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Prosecutors accuse the president of a felony.</u></b> On December 7, <u>federal prosecutors in the Southern District of New York implicitly accused Mr. Trump of a federal felony.</u> Specifically, in a sentencing memorandum relating to his former attorney Michael Cohen, they alleged that Mr. Trump had directed Cohen to secretly pay hush money to adult film actress Stormy Daniels and to Playboy model Karen McDougal to suppress his affairs with them, with the intent of influencing the 2016 presidential election – a serious campaign finance violation. <u>All other presidents who had been found by prosecutors to have committed a felony had either resigned under threat of impeachment (President Nixon) or had been impeached (President Clinton).</u><sup>70</sup></p> <p>Some observers also characterized the secret payments as <u>a fraud on the American electorate, which may have helped procure Mr. Trump's 2016 victory.</u><sup>71</sup></p> <p>A contemporaneously released sentencing memorandum by special prosecutor Robert Mueller indicated that Cohen had been discussing with a Russian national a possible partnership with his government in influencing the election in November 2015, a substantially earlier date than had been previously known to the public. Mueller's memorandum also indicated that Cohen had discussed with Mr. Trump Cohen's continuing negotiations to build a Trump-branded hotel in Moscow well into the presidential campaign<sup>72</sup> – seemingly when Mr. Trump was publicly denying any current business dealings with Russia and while Russia was attempting to influence the election. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p><u>An alleged presidential felony; alleged electoral fraud</u></p> <p>Also 7, 12, 17 (12)</p>

<p>12-7-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Following those revelations, Mr. Trump falsely and incomprehensibly tweeted that the two memoranda had totally exonerated him. The next day he tweeted, "<i>Time for the Witch Hunt to END!</i>" On December 10 – by now seeming to acknowledge having secretly directed the hush money payments that he had originally denied having known about<sup>73</sup> – he tweeted that those payments amounted to "a simple private transaction," not a crime. On December 13, he tweeted that any campaign finance violation was (at worst) technical in nature and the fault of his lawyer (Cohen), whom he now claimed not to have directed to break the law.</p> <p>By Twitter and in speaking with reporters during that period, Mr. Trump repeatedly said that Cohen was lying in having stated that the purpose of the hush money had been to influence the election. But on December 12, federal prosecutors revealed that David Packer, the CEO of American Media Inc., had corroborated Cohen's allegation of intent to influence the election.<sup>74</sup> (AMI is the publisher of The National Enquirer, a lurid and theretofore pro-Trump tabloid that had facilitated and intermediated the payment to McDougal by arranging to "catch-and-kill" her story.) Both Cohen and Packer, formerly inveterate disinformation collaborators of Mr. Trump's, had thus now turned on him.</p> <p>Meanwhile, on December 9, The Washington Post had reported that <u>some 14 of Mr. Trump's associates</u> – including his campaign chairman, his longest serving political advisor, two of his children and one of his lawyers – <u>were now known to have had contacts with Russian nationals about business and campaign matters during the campaign period.</u> The Post found the nature and multiplicity of such contacts with an adversarial foreign power to have been extraordinary for a presidential campaign. (In public statements, Mr. Trump had long denied any and all such contacts.<sup>75</sup>) On December 10, CNN reported that the number of associates having had contact was 16, counting contacts during the transition period that had followed the electoral campaign.<sup>76</sup> On December 11, Mr. Trump told Reuters that he hadn't heard of the contacts before, but that in any event they had been "just peanut stuff."<sup>77</sup></p>	<p><u>An alleged presidential felony; alleged electoral fraud</u></p> <p>Also 7, 12, 17 (12)</p>

<p>12-8-18 +</p>	<p><b>Kelly going; "my generals" almost gone.</b> On December 8, Mr. Trump announced that retired Marine Corps general John Kelly – his chief of staff and former Homeland Security Secretary – would be leaving the White House. Reportedly the two men had long been feuding and had sometimes engaged in profane shouting matches. Mr. Trump had tired of Kelly's attempts to bring discipline to the White House, and Kelly had drawn the ire of numerous White House competitors, including Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka and her husband Jared Kushner, both senior advisors. Despite having committed a number of public blunders regarding race and immigration, Kelly had been widely credited with providing a steadying hand and protecting national security from Mr. Trump's petulant, uninformed and capricious whims.</p> <p>Kelly was the second of Mr. Trump's chiefs of staff to depart, amid a historically high rate of overall staff turnover in an administration marked by instability and infighting.<sup>78</sup> In addition, out of four generals whom Mr. Trump had cumulatively appointed to Cabinet-level positions and whom he had referred to as "my generals," Kelly was the third to leave, following the departures of National Security Advisors Michael Flynn and then of Flynn's replacement H.R. McMaster. The fourth general, Defense Secretary James Mattis, was expected to leave shortly. For Mr. Trump to have appointed so many generals had been unusual; he reportedly had done so out of his infatuation with the military and its muscular leaders that he had selected "from central casting"; but in the end he couldn't abide their professionalism, even as he had compromised most or all of their reputations.<sup>79</sup></p> <p>On the same day, Mr. Trump announced that he would replace the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, swapping out Marine General Joseph Dunford for Army General Mark Milley. Disturbing to the Pentagon was that Mattis had recommended a different general to replace Dunford; that Mr. Trump had made his announcement before telling Mattis, Dunford and Milley that he would do so; and that Dunford's term still had ten months remaining – a breach of protocol and national security in that it rendered Dunford a lame duck.<sup>80</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>12-8-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On December 12, a Washington Post columnist recapped the sordid fates of many of Mr. Trump's top aides to date: the three generals and one Wall Street titan (chief economic advisor Gary Cohen) who had been compromised and humiliated; five men (Flynn, attorney and fixer Michael Cohen, campaign chairman Paul Manafort, and campaign associates Rick Gates and George Papadopoulos) who had pleaded to or been found guilty of felonies; five aides (Cohen, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, Attorney General Jeff Sessions, and senior strategists Stephen Bannon and Omarosa Manigault Newman) whom Mr. Trump had publicly insulted after removing them; three Cabinet members (Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price, Veterans Affairs Secretary David Shulkin, and Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt) who had been caught with their hands in the till; and three lawyers (John Dowd, Ty Cobb and Donald McGahn) who had been ingloriously dismissed.<sup>81</sup> More casualties were widely expected.</p> <p>On December 14, Mr. Trump named budget director and loyalist Mick Mulvaney to serve as acting chief of staff, after – very publicly and chaotically – having been unable to find anyone willing to take on the permanent (?) position as Kelly's replacement. Reportedly, candidates feared ineffectiveness, humiliation, dismissal and legal liability should they assume the position, as Mr. Trump's own legal exposure for various alleged misdeeds mounted.<sup>82</sup></p> <p>On January 11, The New York Times reported that the turnover among Mr. Trump's top appointees was the highest of any president in history at the two-year point of the administration.<sup>83</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
<p>12-8-18</p>	<p><b><u>French protests, terrorism.</u></b> Mr. Trump gratuitously tweeted that street protests in France over taxes and the economy there were attributable to the international climate accord from which he had withdrawn but in which France had remained, and that the protestors were chanting "We want Trump!" None of that appeared to be true; and in any event it violated diplomatic decorum. The French government urged Mr. Trump to shut up.<sup>84</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 13</p>

<p>12-9-18</p>	<p><b>Blocking the UN climate report.</b> At an international climate summit in Poland, Mr. Trump's negotiators joined those from authoritarian Russia, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia in blocking the endorsement of the recent study by the United Nations' Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change that had projected cataclysmic outcomes of continuing global warming.<sup>85</sup> (Mr. Trump had previously expressed skepticism about the study, as reported by CSD on October 9 +.)</p>	<p>8, 12</p>
<p>12-9-18</p>	<p><b>The greatest.</b> Under what many observers thought to be materially increased pressure from the special prosecutor's investigation of Russian election meddling, Mr. Trump tweeted, delusionally: <i>"The Trump Administration has accomplished more than any other U.S. Administration in its first two (not even) years of existence, &amp; we are having a great time doing it! All of this despite the Fake News Media, which has gone totally out of its mind-truly the Enemy of the People!"</i></p>	<p>1, 7, 11</p>
<p>12-10-18</p>	<p><b>"The Bottomless Pinocchio."</b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker coined a new term to characterize some of Mr. Trump's persistent misstatements: "the Bottomless Pinocchio," which The Post said consisted of a falsehood that Mr. Trump had uttered at least 20 times – even after the falsehood had been exposed – with his presumed goal of seeking to establish it as reality.<sup>86</sup> The Post identified 14 Bottomless Pinocchios to date:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintaining that the Trump tax cut was the biggest in history (123 iterations).</li> <li>• Overstating the size of U.S. trade deficits (117 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that the U.S. economy had never been stronger (99 iterations).</li> <li>• Inflating our NATO spending (87 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that the U.S. had started building his proposed Mexican border wall (86 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that the U.S. had the loosest immigration laws in the world – and thanks to Democrats (52 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that Democrats colluded with Russia during the 2016 election campaign (42 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that the border wall would stop drug trafficking (40 iterations). [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>7 (!)</p>

<p>12-10-18</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Maintaining that U.S. Steel was building many new plants here (37 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that the U.S. had spent \$6 trillion or more on Middle East wars (36 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that he had removed thousands of MS-13 gang members from the country (33 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that Senator John McCain's vote was the only thing that had blocked the repeal of the Affordable Care Act (30 iterations).</li> <li>• Maintaining that special prosecutor Robert Mueller was biased because of conflicts of interest (30 iterations).</li> <li>• Inflating gains from Mr. Trump's 2017 trip to Saudi Arabia (23 iterations).</li> </ul> <p>CSD continues to note, with the gravest concern, that much of the country had come to take this persistent fabrication in stride.</p>	<p>7 (!)</p>
<p>12-10-18</p>	<p><b><u>Global migration compact: Never.</u></b> Some 165 countries formally adopted the new United Nations' Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration – a non-binding document designed to reduce migrant chaos and suffering. The compact was not pro-migration, and it recognized countries' sovereignty and their rights to establish their own immigration policies. Still the Trump administration refused to sign, having rejected the initiative some months previous.<sup>87</sup> (See CSD's entry of July 13.)</p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>12-10-18, 12-15-18</p>	<p><b><u>Zinke going.</u></b> On December 10, The Huffington Post reported that Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke had appointed David Jorjani, a political operative, to head his department's Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) compliance program. Jorjani, like Zinke, was known to favor the interests of extraction industries over the preservation of public lands, and he had written that his new job was to protect Zinke. But FOIA compliance is a statutory obligation for federal agencies; it's meant to be administered apolitically, and with a view to releasing information, not hiding it.<sup>88</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>17 (9, 15, 16)</p>

<p>12-10-18, 12-15-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The appointment, however, was too late to protect Zinke. On December 15, Mr. Trump announced Zinke's resignation, under a cloud of almost 20 investigations for self-dealing while in office, including a potentially criminal one.<sup>89</sup> In reporting the development, news media detailed Zinke's incessant ethical offenses and his affronts to the country's interior while serving as secretary (most or all of which CSD had previously logged in this Chronology).<sup>90</sup></p> <p>Zinke's departure on self-dealing grounds followed that of Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt, and Veterans Affairs Secretary David Shulkin. Politico wrote: <i>"The high turnover rate at the Cabinet level flows directly from President Donald Trump's own mixing of business and politics, said Walter Shaub, who stepped down as director of the Office of Government Ethics in July 2017 .... 'My experience with them was they said, 'Show me the exact rule that says you have to do exactly what you're saying,' and of course there's never an exact rule that says don't get into a land deal in Montana with an oil company [such as Zinke had done],'</i> Shaub said."<sup>91</sup></p> <p>The unprecedentedly high turnover among Mr. Trump's senior advisors was expected to continue.<sup>92</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 15, 16)</p>
<p>12-11-18</p>	<p><b><u>Ignoring intelligence.</u></b> The Washington Post reported on the "mounting concern" and "extraordinary frustration" within American intelligence agencies over Mr. Trump's having ignored and discounted their findings on numerous topics: Russia's election interference, North Korea's nuclear missile program, Iran's ambitions, global climate change, the (non) threats posed by Latin American migrants, and the role of Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) in the recent murder of a Post columnist in Turkey. Intelligence officials who interfaced with the White House found that "the disconnect between spy agencies and the president is without precedent." Officials who had briefed Mr. Trump had found his attention to wander, and had cited a "lack of comprehension."<sup>93</sup></p>	<p>10, 13</p>
<p>12-11-18</p>	<p><b><u>Revoluting.</u></b> Mr. Trump told Reuters that "the people would revolt" if he were impeached.<sup>94</sup> CSD viewed this as an early, conditional call for insurrection. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>5, 12, 13</p>

12-11-18	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] He also reiterated to Reuters his support for Saudi Arabia's Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman, accused by the CIA and senators from both parties of having ordered the murder of Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey.<sup>95</sup></p>	5, 12, 13
12-11-18	<p><b>Javanka's opportunity.</b> The Associated Press reported that presidential advisors Ivanka Trump and her husband Jared Kushner could profit handsomely from a tax break known as the Opportunity and Revitalization program that Congress had established in 2017. The program allows real estate investors to escape certain income taxes if they invest in properties located in distressed urban zones. A Kushner company owned and was acquiring properties in such zones. Ms. Trump and Kushner had championed the program's proposed creation while serving in the White House.<sup>96</sup></p>	17 (15)
12-11-18	<p><b>Unqualified judges.</b> Vice President Mike Pence cast a tie-breaking vote in the Senate to confirm the appointment of a federal circuit court judge whom the American Bar Association had found to be unqualified for the position. That was the seventh of Mr. Trump's judicial nominees that the ABA had found to be unqualified; and other nominees of his had been scored for alleged racial or gender-related bigotry.<sup>97</sup> CSD assumes that the nominees had had attributes other than fair-minded jurisprudence that drew Mr. Trump to them.</p>	2, 16
12-11-18 +	<p><b>Intervening in justice.</b> On December 11, for purposes of coaxing the Chinese government toward a favorable trade agreement, Mr. Trump suggested that he might stop the Justice Department's efforts to extradite from Canada a Chinese business executive whose company had allegedly violated U.S. trade sanctions on Iran.</p> <p>On December 16, Mr. Trump tweeted that he wanted to "review" the military proceedings being brought against a former Special Forces soldier who had admitted to murdering a prisoner in Afghanistan.</p> <p>Both interventions in the judicial process were extraordinary for a sitting president in recent decades (since President Nixon's abuses along those lines); and they exemplified Mr. Trump's disregard for traditional notions of separation of powers.<sup>98</sup></p>	2, 10

<p>12-11-18 +</p>	<p><b>The wall; Pelosi and Schumer; winning.</b> In a remarkable, live, televised negotiation and shouting match in the Oval Office on December 11, Mr. Trump threatened House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi and Senate Democratic Leader Chuck Schumer that he would be "proud" to shut down the government shortly if they didn't agree to fund his proposed Mexican border wall. He claimed that terrorists, criminals and contagion-carrying migrants were streaming into the U.S., and that he had already built large portions of the wall. None of that was true; and Pelosi and Schumer repeatedly challenged his factuality.<sup>99</sup> Mr. Trump had surprised Pelosi and Schumer with the live telecast, and he had insisted that it proceed over their televised objections<sup>100</sup> – presumably thinking that he would best them before a live global audience. But in fact they appeared to have gotten the better of him; and he reportedly stormed out of the office afterwards, flinging his briefing papers across the room.<sup>101</sup> Regardless of who may have "won," the episode diminished the office of the presidency, for the world to see.</p> <p>The following day, in reaction to a murderous terrorist attack in Strasbourg, France, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Another very bad terror attack in France. We are going to strengthen our borders even more. Chuck and Nancy must give us the votes to get additional Border Security!"</i> He did not publicly offer the French either consolation or assistance;<sup>102</sup> rather, he appeared to remain fixed mainly upon (in his own frequent words) winning and winning.</p> <p>On December 13, Mr. Trump claimed an alternative victory relative to the wall. He tweeted, as he had long sworn to his campaign rally audiences, that Mexico would pay for the wall's construction – although now through "the money we save" by way of the United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement (USMCA). That compact, which he had recently negotiated, had not yet been approved by Congress. In any event, he did not suggest how the savings (whose?) would translate into free U.S. government revenues necessary to fund the \$25-60 billion construction project, and his claim failed a New York Times fact-check.<sup>103</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>12-13-18</p>	<p><b><u>The Senate rebukes the president on MBS.</u></b> The Senate adopted a unanimous resolution condemning Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) for ordering the murder of The Washington Post's columnist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey. The resolution was an extraordinary rebuke of Mr. Trump's continued embrace of the authoritarian MBS. On the same day, a majority of Senators resolved to cut American funding of Saudi Arabia's atrocity-riddled war in Yemen. That too was an extraordinary rebuke of Mr. Trump's embrace of the man.<sup>104</sup></p>	<p>12</p>
<p>12-13-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Inaugural crimes (and many others) investigated.</u></b> On December 13, The Wall Street Journal reported that federal prosecutors were investigating Mr. Trump's inaugural committee for having misspent funds and having promised political favors to donors.<sup>105</sup> On the same day, The New York Times reported that prosecutors were investigating whether donors from Qatar, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates had secretly and illegally funded Mr. Trump's inaugural committee and a pro-Trump SuperPAC in hopes of buying influence with the president.<sup>106</sup> On December 14, ProPublica reported that the Trump Organization was alleged to have sought to illegally overcharge the inaugural committee for event space at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, possibly violating tax laws forbidding self-dealing by a non-profit's insiders (in this case, Mr. Trump).<sup>107</sup></p> <p>CSD does not speculate as to the outcome of the investigations; and the reports do not allege that Mr. Trump was personally involved in the three affairs. But across all three, we sense a common thread, or environment, of graft and unlawful self-enrichment.</p> <p>In the days following the reports, news media noted <u>the breathtaking number of Trump-related entities and individuals that had drawn investigations or lawsuits since the 2016 election: Trump University, the Trump Organization, the Trump election campaign, the Trump transition team, the Trump inauguration committee, the Trump Foundation, many individual figures in the Trump campaign and administration, and Mr. Trump himself. The topics included Russian election meddling; violations of tax, charity and campaign finance laws; self-dealing; consumer fraud; and lying about sexual adventures.</u><sup>108</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11, 15, 16, 17 (9, 11, 15, 16)</p>

<p>12-13-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Here too we don't speculate on the outcomes (except as to the "university," which had settled its fraud suit); but we note the breadth and pervasiveness of the scrutinized activities.</p> <p>We also note that Mr. Trump had been resisting many of the pertinent investigations – rather than embracing them, as an innocent man might have done. But the above activities that may have violated or closely skirted the law were even more troubling, given Mr. Trump's many campaign boasts in which he had promised to become the "law and order president," as captured in a CNN video appearing at the link at this endnote.<sup>109</sup> To be clear, CSD is troubled less by Mr. Trump's hypocrisy than by his authoritarian view of the law: that it exists to punish others, and to insulate himself.</p> <p>We also note a December 6 report by Forbes magazine that Mr. Trump – unconventionally but openly – had enriched himself handsomely through donations to his 2020 re-election campaign. Forbes wrote: <i>"On the day Donald Trump became president of the United States, while inauguration festivities were still in full swing, he officially launched his 2020 reelection campaign. Donations poured in from more than 50,000 people across the country. But according to the latest federal filings, Trump still has not donated a penny of his own, while his businesses continued to charge the campaign for hotels, food, rent and legal consulting. That means the richest president in American history has turned \$1.1 million from donors across the country into revenue for himself."</i><sup>110</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 15, 16, 17 (9, 11, 15, 16)</p>
<p>12-15-18, 12-29-18</p>	<p><b><u>Witch-hunting the FBI.</u></b> Continuing his own witch hunt against the Justice Department's investigations of his activities, on December 15 Mr. Trump tweeted that the department had deliberately erased 19,000 text messages by department staff who had been critical of him. In fact the FBI's office of inspector general and an assistant attorney general appointed by Mr. Trump himself had determined that the deletion had resulted from an inadvertent technological glitch, and that the texts had been recovered. On December 29, again via Twitter, Mr. Trump repeated the canard.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>



<p>12-15-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Stop the presses!</u></b> On December 15, Mr. Trump tweeted his elation that the Weekly Standard – a respected, mainstream conservative publication that had frequently criticized him – had closed.</p> <p>The following day, he tweeted that the "unfair news coverage" of him by some television networks "should be tested in courts, can't be legal?" His clear implication was that <u>mainstream networks should be censored and prosecuted, while he would continue to use Fox News as his personal propaganda arm.</u></p>	<p>1, 9</p>
<p>12-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>Another whipping.</u></b> Mr. Trump warned the Federal Reserve Bank that it would be making a "mistake" if it proceeded with its program of raising interest rates – a continuing breach on his part of the presidential practice of staying out of the Fed's business.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>12-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>Good luck for a felon.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted "good luck" to his former national security advisor Michael Flynn in advance of the latter's sentencing hearing. Flynn had pleaded guilty to having lied to the FBI about having secretly and illegally communicated with Russian officials while serving on Mr. Trump's transition team. In that tweet, Mr. Trump also suggested that Flynn had been railroaded by the Justice Department. Mr. Trump thereby derogated the Justice Department, the requirement that citizens tell the truth to the FBI, and the obligation of federal officials to serve only one country: the United States. He also appeared, unconstitutionally, to be trying to influence Flynn's sentencing.</p>	<p>2, 9, 12, 17 (7, 12)</p>
<p>12-18-18</p>	<p><b><u>"Deep state" (jailhouse) blues.</u></b> The New York Times reported that an increasing number of low-level officials around the country, recently accused of criminal behavior, had been following Mr. Trump's lead in blaming the "deep state" for wrongly persecuting them.<sup>111</sup> To CSD's mind, Mr. Trump's conspiracy theory had thus become not only a motivation or excuse for illegal behavior and fertile ground for bad faith forensic defenses, but a cultural and political movement with anarchic potential.</p>	<p>7, 9, 17 (7, 9)</p>

<p>12-19-18</p>	<p><b>Asylum remains.</b> On December 19, a federal judge struck down a recent Trump administration policy that had categorically barred Central American migrants from seeking asylum based on domestic or gang violence. Another judge had previously struck down Mr. Trump's recent order to deny asylum to migrants who had crossed the border irregularly; and on December 21 the Supreme Court let that ruling stand.<sup>112</sup> (The irregular crossings appeared at least in part to be due to processing slow-downs experienced by migrants at official ports of entry, whether intentional or for want of federal resources.)</p>	<p>6, 9, 14</p>
<p>12-19-18</p>	<p><b>Truth vs. the wall.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Mexico is paying (indirectly) for the Wall through the new USMCA, the replacement for NAFTA! Far more money coming to the U.S. Because of the tremendous dangers at the Border, including large scale criminal and drug inflow, the United States Military will build the Wall!"</i> None of that was true: the new trade agreement with Mexico (not yet approved by Congress) had not remotely promised that greater commercial revenues for U.S. enterprises would translate to funds for building the wall; no credibility had adhered to Mr. Trump's promise that the wall would stop the flow of drugs; and Mr. Trump lacked the funding and the authority to direct the military to build the wall.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>12-19-18</p>	<p><b>The Russia letter.</b> CNN revealed a non-binding letter of intent to build a Trump-branded hotel in Moscow signed by Mr. Trump and a Russian. The letter was dated October 28, 2015, when Mr. Trump was campaigning for the presidency and denying that he had any business dealings in Russia.<sup>113</sup> The letter stood as further evidence that the Russian government had ammunition with which to blackmail Mr. Trump, and that he had thus treasonously cultivated and appeased Russia relative to its foreign aggression and American election interference for his personal self-interest.</p>	<p>7, 12, 15</p>

<p>12-19-18</p>	<p><b><u>Persecuted, at the foundation.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that he had been victimized by political persecution the previous day when New York's attorney general had shut down his family foundation for its "shocking pattern of illegality." The foundation was found to have served Mr. Trump and his family – for years, up through the 2016 election – as a funnel for self-dealing and illegal political activities, and to have been operated with flagrant fiduciary dereliction.<sup>114</sup> The state took over the foundation's assets for distribution to legitimate charities, rather than allowing Mr. Trump himself to make further self-serving distributions.</p> <p>CSD again reminds itself and its readers that Mr. Trump is the nation's chief law enforcement officer.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>12-19-18 +</p>	<p><b><u>Leaving Syria (to Russia); Leaving Afghanistan.</u></b> On December 19, Mr. Trump tweeted that he was immediately pulling all American troops out of Syria, because ISIS had been defeated there. The tweet reportedly blindsided the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, the national security advisor, the American envoy to Syria, and Republican leaders in the Senate, all of whom had publicly advocated for the troops to remain in theatre. They had also disagreed that ISIS, with 30,000 fighters still at large, had been defeated. The 70 countries that were partners with the U.S. in its Syria effort also were taken by surprise, as was the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Israel too was alarmed. But the Turkish government had been notified and was pleased, in that it could now obliterate Kurdish forces in Syria that the U.S. had been supporting. The precipitous removal of U.S. forces was widely viewed as an invitation to chaos and atrocity, as well as the ascent of Russia, Iran and ISIS in Syria – and all for the benefit of Mr. Trump's appeal to isolationist elements within his political base.<sup>115</sup></p> <p>Republican and Democratic senators erupted with shock and concern.<sup>116</sup> Other commentators and analysts viewed Mr. Trump's decision as a gift to Russia, which had been ruthlessly propping up Syria, both militarily and diplomatically.<sup>117</sup> Indeed, Russian President Vladimir Putin was quick to praise Mr. Trump's decision and his conclusion that ISIS had been defeated. <i>"On this, Donald is right. I agree with him,"</i> Putin fraternally said.<sup>118</sup> A Russian foreign affairs analyst wrote, <i>"Trump is God's gift that keeps on giving."</i><sup>119</sup> CSD fears that (but cannot know whether) Mr. Trump's gift was intentional. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 10, 12, 13</p>

<p>12-19-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On December 20, news media reported that Mr. Trump had ordered the reduction of American troop strength in Afghanistan by half – surprising and alarming Afghan and American commanders and, as in Syria, threatening chaos on the ground. The move seemed impulsive and unplanned, particularly relative to newly promising peace talks that were occurring with Taliban militants in that country.<sup>120</sup> America's allies in Asia expressed alarm at the loss of U.S. leadership in advancing stability in the region.<sup>121</sup></p> <p>The announced withdrawals from Syria and Afghanistan were so unplanned that as of December 23, top generals still had no idea what the actual withdrawal plans were.<sup>122</sup> On January 6, National Security Advisor John Bolton flatly contradicted Mr. Trump, stating that the U.S. wouldn't leave Syria until ISIS was eradicated and Turkey had guaranteed the safety of Kurdish forces.<sup>123</sup> Mr. Trump appeared to concede the point, but denied that his position had changed.<sup>124</sup> On January 8, Turkish President Recep Erdogan expressly threatened to attack the Kurds; in what was considered a snub, he refused to meet with Bolton, who was in-country for talks about the withdrawal; and the entire diplomatic situation fell into disarray.<sup>125</sup> On January 11, a New York Times report characterized the withdrawal itself, which by then had hastily begun, as occurring in "a climate of chaos."<sup>126</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 12, 13</p>

<p>12-20-18 +</p>	<p><u><b>Mattis going.</b> On December 20, Defense Secretary James Mattis – the last of the four senior aides whom Mr. Trump had described as "my generals" – submitted his resignation, in a letter in which he detailed some of his disagreements with Mr. Trump.</u> Those disagreements had previously been reported as including Mr. Trump's coddling of Russia and China, his militarization of the Mexican border, his ban on transgender troops, his insulting of NATO allies, his embrace of North Korea, his choice of a new chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, his call for torture during military interrogations, his quest for a military parade, his proposal for a Space Force, his withdrawal from the Iran nuclear accord, and just the previous day – reportedly the last straw for Mattis – his announced withdrawal from Syria.<sup>127</sup> <u>Mattis's resignation letter made clear that he thought Mr. Trump threatened the world order that the U.S. had helped create decades ago. Never before had a defense secretary publicly resigned on policy principles. Commentators characterized Mattis's letter as being of historic proportion.</u><sup>128</sup></p> <p>Senators from both parties reeled from what they considered to be the loss of a moderating voice in the White House amid the mounting chaos there. The chaos involved the departures of so many senior officials (including the chief of staff); the multiform investigations and legal actions being brought against Mr. Trump and his associates (and the sordid revelations those investigations and actions had generated); the ethical and legal scrutiny that Mr. Trump was expected to face from the new Democratic House majority; the ceding of Syria to Russia; an imminent partial shutdown of the government precipitated by Mr. Trump's insistence that Congress fund his border wall; and a plummeting stock market (itself widely attributed in part to Mr. Trump's trade provocations and his shutdown threats). Many times before, the administration's chaos had alarmed observers; but with Mattis leaving, the alarm grew. <u>Mr. Trump now appeared to have rid himself of all independent-minded advisors, leaving him ever more likely to isolate the U.S., abandon international principles, and otherwise run amok – all for purposes of his domestic political self-aggrandizement, and his personal psychological needs.</u><sup>129</sup> <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 10, 13</p>
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<p>12-20-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On December 21, in another extraordinary development, Brett McGurk, the American envoy to the international coalition fighting ISIS, likewise resigned in protest over Mr. Trump’s decision to withdraw from Syria.<sup>130</sup> In response to that resignation, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"The Fake News is making such a big deal about this nothing event!"</i> He also tweeted that he didn't know McGurk, a derisive charge that he had commonly leveled against people whom he considered unimportant and inferior. But in that McGurk had led the effort against ISIS that Mr. Trump had claimed was so successful, his assertion that he didn't know McGurk seemed at once ignorant, incoherent, ungracious – and if true, a reflection of dereliction of duty on the part of the commander in chief.<sup>131</sup></p> <p>On December 23, incensed by Mattis's letter, Mr. Trump ordered him to leave almost immediately – two months before his scheduled departure date – thus depriving the Pentagon, the White House and Mattis's successor of a transition period.<sup>132</sup></p> <p>On December 31, in a valedictory memorandum to the armed forces, Mattis urged them to <i>"keep the faith in our country and hold fast, alongside our allies, aligned against our foes."</i> That reflected the traditional role of the military in its foreign operations; and it was a rebuke of Mr. Trump's rejection of our allies. But in addition, <u>Mattis urged the troops "to support and defend the Constitution while protecting our way of life."</u><sup>133</sup> <u>To CSD's mind that message was pointedly domestic. Although we could be mistaken, we could only read it as an admonition that the military could be called upon to stand in the way of Mr. Trump's assault on our democracy.</u> We didn't know whether to be more disturbed by the illness, or by the potential cure.</p> <p>On January 2, Mr. Trump reacted by publicly disparaging Mattis.<sup>134</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 10, 13</p>
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<p>12-20-18 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] A January 9 column in The Washington Post undertook to explain why the marriage between Mr. Trump and "his" generals had so grandly failed. The (conservative) columnist wrote that generals read, analyze, prepare, live by an honor code, and are dedicated to America and our allies; while Mr. Trump had eschewed all of that. The writer continued: "<i>With his insufferable boastfulness, Trump claimed, 'I think I would have been a good general.' Actually, he would never have made it to first lieutenant, because his me-first ethos is so at odds with the military's stress on service and sacrifice. All that Trump knows about the military seems to come from movies such as 'Patton' and 'Bloodsport.'</i>"<sup>135</sup></p>	<p>1, 10, 13</p>
<p>12-20-18</p>	<p><b>Whitaker unchained.</b> Acting Attorney General Matthew Whitaker cleared himself to supervise the special prosecutor's investigation of Russian election meddling, rejecting the advice of career Justice Department ethics specialists that he recuse himself due to his past comments on the matter. Because he had been antagonistic to the investigation, it seemed to have become newly imperiled.<sup>136</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>12-21-18</p>	<p><b>The sage of technology.</b> In arguing that only a physical wall and not technological tools would keep migrants from crossing the border, Mr. Trump tweeted, "<i>I know tech better than anyone ....</i>" The remark hearkened back to his campaign boast that he knew "more about ISIS than the generals." Mr. Trump does not use a computer or email, and CSD believes that he likely knows less about technology than the average American.</p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>12-21-18 +</p>	<p><b>The sage of economics.</b> News media began reporting that Mr. Trump – enraged by the stock market's continuing fall – had asked aides whether he lawfully could fire Federal Reserve Bank Chairman Jerome Powell for having raised interest rates and thus having arguably contributed to the fall. (Other contributing factors often cited in the general and financial news: Mr. Trump's trade wars, Mr. Trump's government shutdown, Mr. Trump's mega-deficit budget, the waning sugar-high of Mr. Trump's tax cuts, slowing corporate profits, and slowing global growth.<sup>137</sup>) Mr. Trump's desire to fire Powell was doubly discordant: he was Mr. Trump's own appointee; and in his position he was legally tasked with independence from political and executive pressure. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>8, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>12-21-18 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Business and political figures reacted to the reports of Powell's peril with alarm, believing that any such firing would be illegal; would amount to a rejection of economic science; would compromise domestic and foreign faith in the American government's management of its economy; would signal that that economy was in worse condition than was otherwise believed; and thus would likely depress the market even more. In all, the idea of firing Powell was seen as authoritarian, counterproductive and even idiotic. But it was also seen as a baldly cynical political endeavor: to blame Powell for the down market (after Mr. Trump had long claimed credit for the up market during most of his presidency), and to replace him with a low-interest-rate servant (even at the risk of sparking a ruinous inflation). That is, Mr. Trump – once again, as in countless other areas – was seen as seeking to advance his own short-term political interests even if that would devastate the country.<sup>138</sup></p>	<p>8, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>12-21-18 +</p>	<p><b>The shutdown.</b> Having forced a government shutdown over his demand that Congress fund part of his proposed Mexican border wall, on December 21 Mr. Trump continued to lash out at undocumented migrants – now in a scaremongering video that he tweeted about gang members and traffickers. In another tweet, following his custom of blaming anything and everything on others, he faulted Democrats for the shutdown – even though only days earlier he had explicitly told Democratic Senator Chuck Schumer in a televised White House meeting that he (Mr. Trump), not the Democrats, would be "proud" to own any such debacle.</p> <p>He now expressed no regret as to the federal workers who were losing pay over the Christmas holidays, the tremendous dollar cost of the shutdown, the interruption in the delivery of federal services to the American people, or the risk to American securities markets and the economy that the shutdown could portend. Rather, in the view of many commentators, the shutdown was entirely about Mr. Trump's wall; his hopes for reelection; his fear of impeachment if he were to lose face with his base; and his inveterate refusal to back down, on anything. For CSD, it was also proof of the xenophobic and racially-driven core of his presidency.<sup>139</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11</p>



<p>12-24-18, 1-11-19</p>	<p><b>Information enterprises hurting.</b> On December 24, The Wall Street Journal reported that Mr. Trump's hostility to immigrants had contributed to a sharp drop in the number of foreign students seeking college and university educations in the U.S., with dangerous consequences for both research and national security.<sup>140</sup> Previous reports – also linking the drop to Mr. Trump's anti-immigrant stance – had noted that the loss of foreign students paying full-freight tuition had come to threaten scholarship funding for American students; had even threatened the solvency of some colleges; and had enriched and otherwise benefited colleges and universities in other countries which the foreign students had begun attending instead.</p> <p>Similarly, on January 11, The Washington Post reported that American tech industries were in a "panic" because Mr. Trump's proposals to limit tech visas was driving tech workers to Canada.<sup>141</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10</p>
<p>12-24-18, 12-25-18</p>	<p><b>The president's Christmas.</b> Isolated, nearly alone in the White House, and under pressure on many political, economic, strategic, legal and ethical fronts, Mr. Trump spent much of the morning before Christmas, on Twitter, blaming others: Defense Secretary James Mattis (whom he had just fired) for "subsidizing" allied militaries; Republican Senator and Trump critic "Little Bob Corker" and ISIS point man Brett McGurk (who had just resigned in protest over Mr. Trump's Syria withdrawal) for President Obama's Iran nuclear deal; Federal Reserve Bank chair Jerome Powell for the stock market's continuing plunge; and congressional Democrats for the continuing government shutdown that he himself had forced over his demand for Mexican border wall funding. The stock market responded to the tweets by plunging even further, reportedly out of fear for Mr. Trump's capricious meddling with the Fed's operations.<sup>142</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>12-24-18, 12-25-18</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On Christmas Day, speaking to reporters at the White House, Mr. Trump continued to lobby for his border wall, blame Democrats for the shutdown, and falsely insist that the wall was already being built. He (improbably) said that furloughed federal workers supported him in the shutdown. He blasted the special prosecutor's investigation of Russian election meddling, repeating his frequent claims that he had not colluded with the Russians but that Democrats had. He said that investigations by congressional oversight committees to be newly controlled by Democrats could amount to "presidential harassment," which he knew "how to handle better than anybody else." He closed: <i>"It's a disgrace what's happening in this country. But, other than that, I wish everybody a Merry Christmas."</i><sup>143</sup></p> <p>CSD reminds itself and its readers that Mr. Trump, during his presidency, had yet to admit his own error in anything.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>
<p>12-26-18</p>	<p><b><u>In Iraq.</u></b> After months of public pressure to visit America's deployed troops, Mr. Trump flew to Iraq. The visit was marred by a number of irregularities:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• His failure to entirely protect the secrecy of his flight itinerary, thus creating a security risk for the U.S.</li> <li>• His insult to Iraqi leaders by having entered their sovereign territory without coordinating or meeting with them.</li> <li>• His complaint that the flight into the country was nerve-wracking (he had previously boasted about his physical courage, and he seemed insensitive to the routinely nerve-wracking life of a soldier in theatre).</li> <li>• His signing Trump campaign hats and condemning Democrats over his proposed Mexican border wall when addressing the troops (an improper politicization of a military address, such as he had done often before).</li> <li>• His revelation of a covert Navy Seal deployment (he had also spilled classified information several times in the past).</li> <li>• His wild overstatement of pay raises that he claimed to have procured for the armed forces.<sup>144</sup></li> </ul> <p>In sum, notwithstanding the bombast and photo-ops, when he finally traveled to the field Mr. Trump betrayed his signature amateurism, insincerity, counter-productivity, demagoguery, selfishness, and aversion to physical risk.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>12-27-28, 12-28-18</p>	<p><b><u>A-twitter over the wall.</u></b> On December 27, Mr. Trump tweeted excitedly that the U.S. needed his proposed border wall "to stop Drugs, Human Trafficking, Gang Members &amp; Criminals from coming into our Country." Presumably referring to the federal shutdown pursuant to which he had caused hundreds of thousands of workers to be furloughed and hundreds of thousands more to work without pay – all as a means to secure congressional funding for the wall<sup>145</sup> – he then added, without evidence: <i>"Do the Dems realize that most of the people not getting paid are Democrats?"</i> However devoid of fact, the comment appeared to CSD to be a signal to his Republican base that they themselves were not being hurt by the shutdown; that is, that the shutdown was a political but legitimate punishment for his and their antagonists, and that his base should rejoice rather than worry. Any such partisan punishment, of course, would be unconstitutional; and the very idea of it was repellent.</p> <p>On December 28, again by Twitter, Mr. Trump threatened that if the wall were not built he would "close the southern border." But whatever such an undertaking might mean relative to the border's lawful, routine and vast level of personal and commercial cross-traffic, it could clearly not sustain legal scrutiny.<sup>146</sup> He also threatened to cut off aid to Honduras, Guatemala and El Salvador – the migrants' countries of origin – which undertaking most observers believed would actually spur more migration to the U.S. He also railed against Mexico for stealing American jobs.</p> <p>On December 29, Mr. Trump tweeted that the recent deaths of two migrant children in the custody of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) – an agency operating under his own two-year-long border enforcement policies – were <i>"strictly the fault of the Democrats and their pathetic immigration policies that allow people to make the long trek thinking they can enter our country illegally. They can't. If we had a Wall, they wouldn't even try!"</i> Absent from his messaging was any expression of regret or condolence relative to the tragedies – only a gaming of the children's deaths, politically.<sup>147</sup></p> <p>Taken as a whole, the series of tweets indicated to CSD that Mr. Trump was not just confused and inflammatory but genuinely, personally enraged: and at large categories of people (Democrats and brown migrants).</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>12-29-18 +</p>	<p><b>Triple untruths.</b> On December 30, The Washington Post's Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now told almost three times as many untruths in 2018 as in 2017, for a cumulative total of over 7,600 during his presidency, or an average of 15 per day. Yet, frighteningly, a full 36% of voters still found him to be "honest" – in CSD's view, the ultimate index of his success as a demagogue. The Post's stark analysis of the nature and content of the falsehoods appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>148</sup></p> <p>The Post's report followed a December 29, year-end analysis in The New York Times of Mr. Trump's patterns in falsehood, including his repeating his own falsehoods until they might appear to many to be true, and embellishing them into ever greater untruths.<sup>149</sup></p> <p>On December 31, Politico reported statistics on Mr. Trump's profligate tweeting to his 56.6 million followers: 2843 tweets in 2018, including 22 on August 29 alone. He had promoted himself or his administration in 52% of the instances, attacked adversaries in 32%, and in many other instances both. Favorite Twitter themes (hundreds of instances for most of the following) included his proposed Mexican border wall (good), Fox News (good), his relations with China and North Korea (good), President Obama (bad), Hillary Clinton (bad), the "Fake News" (bad), and special prosecutor Robert Mueller's "Witch Hunt" (bad). Some 440 times he tweeted in ALL CAPITAL LETTERS.<sup>150</sup></p> <p>Politico also published a more general statistical compendium of Mr. Trump's 2018 experience, which included 44 campaign rallies, 67 golf outings, and an 18% increase in the trade deficit that he had so demonized.<sup>151</sup></p> <p>The above statistics were complemented by yet another startling array of numbers, as compiled by Bustle: 41 senior firings and resignations from Mr. Trump's administration; 17 investigations related to Mr. Trump and his campaign; and 36 charges and 10 guilty pleas or convictions issuing from special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigations alone.<sup>152</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (12, 15)</p>

<p>12-31-18</p>	<p><b><u>New Year's revelry.</u></b> Guests paid \$1,000 per ticket to attend a New Year's Eve party at Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump's home and commercial resort in Florida. Mr. Trump himself had planned to attend; he did not; but presumably most or all of the guests had hoped to see him there. That is, he stood to gross for his business tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars by selling presidential celebrity and access.<sup>153</sup></p>	<p>15</p>
<p>1-1-19</p>	<p><b><u>New Year's tidings.</u></b> On New Year's Day, Mr. Trump blazed away on Twitter: thrashing Democrats for not agreeing to fund his proposed border wall; praising his former white nationalist advisor Sebastian Gorka; congratulating Brazil's new racist, sexist, anti-environmental and proto-fascist President Jair Bolsonaro<sup>154</sup> on his inauguration; and insulting the former Afghanistan commander, retired general Stanley McChrystal (for having publicly called Mr. Trump untruthful and immoral).</p> <p>After having once declared himself "the most militaristic" president, and having initially surrounded himself with three decorated generals in cabinet-level positions, Mr. Trump had now dismissed and/or disparaged not just McChrystal, but also his former defense secretary (and a retired general) James Mattis, his former homeland security secretary then chief of staff (and a retired general) John Kelly, his former national security advisor (and a retired general) H.R. McMaster, retired admiral William McRaven, and retired general John Allen – all of whom had disagreed with him in public and/or in private. At issue had been not only Mr. Trump's violation of codes of honesty and integrity to which those distinguished military leaders had dedicated their lives, but Mr. Trump's perilous refusal to grasp issues, and to heed the advice of national security experts if they had challenged his thinking or sought to rein him in.</p> <p>But through all of this, Mr. Trump had continued to support his first national security advisor (and a retired general) Michael Flynn, who had pleaded guilty to lying to Congress in connection with his dealings with foreign governments while serving on Mr. Trump's campaign and transition teams.<sup>155</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17 (6)</p>

<p>1-1-19</p>	<p>[Continued.] The implications, for CSD:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mr. Trump valued military figures for decoration, not for advice.</li> <li>• He valued loyal but corrupt figures more than independent and honorable ones.</li> <li>• He ultimately had no respect for the military (or American security) whatever.</li> </ul>	<p>6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17 (6)</p>
<p>1-2-19</p>	<p><b>With the Cabinet.</b> Mr. Trump held a televised meeting with his Cabinet members. Remarkably, the group included five acting members who were filling in for departed officials. The attendees were mostly silent, although some spoke adoringly of the president. But Mr. Trump distinguished himself as well. He:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Conducted the session with a poster oddly depicting himself as an action-movie hero and planted oddly before him on the conference table.</li> <li>• Spoke disparagingly to the Cabinet members of their former colleague, Defense Secretary James Mattis – gone from his position for only a day since resigning over what he had perceived as Mr. Trump's incompetence and absence of principle – including by asking rhetorically as to Mattis, "<i>What's he done for me?</i>" (To CSD, the scene resembled the aftermath of a Soviet purge, in which surviving apparatchiks witnessed the denunciation of the most recent victim.)</li> <li>• Preposterously claimed that he was popular with European leaders.</li> <li>• Turned American policy on its head by stating that the Soviet Union had been right to have invaded Afghanistan in 1979, and by implicitly inviting Russia to replace the U.S. in that country today (comparable to his having ceded Syria to Russia).</li> <li>• Offered free rein to Iran in Syria (at extraordinary peril to Israel, among other things).</li> <li>• Mocked U.S. allies for what he considered to be their paltry contributions to America's wars in the Middle East.</li> <li>• Said that he knew more about drones than anyone (thus adding to the long list of topics as to which he had claimed to know more about than anyone else, as compiled by NBC on video at the link at this endnote<sup>156</sup>) . [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 13</p>

<p>1-2-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Said that he would have been a good general (despite having avoided the draft in his youth, and having reportedly shown little interest in the details of military strategy or tactics as president).</li> <li>• Spoke of this military episode: <i>"I had a meeting at the Pentagon with lots of generals. They were like from a movie. Better looking than Tom Cruise, &amp; stronger. And I had more generals than I've ever seen ...."</i></li> <li>• Complained about having spent the holidays alone at the White House (as he had done by Twitter some days earlier).</li> <li>• Claimed that there were 30 million undocumented immigrants in the U.S. – nearly triple the actual number.</li> <li>• Said that he worked harder than other presidents (when in fact he had taken more vacation days than any other recent occupant of the White House).</li> </ul> <p>CSD feels compelled to observe that while all of this had come to seem normal during Mr. Trump's presidency, in fact it was abnormal. No previous president had so boasted, preened, insulted, wandered, erred and misled before a televised Cabinet meeting.<sup>157</sup> And as one Washington Post editor compellingly wrote afterwards, it was difficult to imagine that the leaders of China and Russia were not smirking and shrewdly calculating for geopolitical advantage in the face of Mr. Trump's isolation, ignorance, impulsiveness, administrative chaos, indulgence of our enemies, disdain for our allies, rejection of expert strategic advice, and (CSD would add) domestic political turmoil, market and economic uncertainties, and diplomatic and national security vacancies.<sup>158</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 13</p>
<p>1-3-19, 1-4-19</p>	<p><b><u>The stock market and me (again).</u></b> On January 3, a Democratic majority officially took control of the House of Representatives. By coincidence that day, fears of a U.S. and global economic slowdown (caused in part by Mr. Trump's trade wars, commentators widely believed) sent the American stock market plunging.<sup>159</sup> Tweeting at 8:00 the following morning, Mr. Trump blamed the market's drop on the Democrats' ascent to power. But within hours the market rose sharply, more than erasing the previous day's losses, and oblivious to Democratic control of the House.</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>1-3-19, 1-4-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump's flawed market analysis reflected his ongoing practice of blaming others for the market's bad days, after having taken credit himself for its string of good days earlier in his term. CSD had described that pattern – within this Addendum alone – in our entries of November 27, December 4, December 20, December 21 and December 24-25 above. Previous, wiser presidents had mostly declined to comment on the market's vicissitudes.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>1-4-19</p>	<p><b><u>The hotels of Mississippi.</u></b> The Washington Post provided an update on the attempts by Mr. Trump's real estate company, currently led by his sons Donald Jr. and Eric, to develop a chain of hotels in parts of the country where Mr. Trump was politically popular. (See p. 6 of CSD's original Specific Concerns at the beginning of this Chronology.) The Post's update indicated that Mr. Trump's legal and political problems had confined the projects so far to Mississippi, where he indeed had remained popular.<sup>160</sup> For CSD, the project's poor performance re-confirmed its underlying premise: that the plan was to trade on Mr. Trump's presidency, wherever possible – even though that had proven to be not widely possible.</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>1-4-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Over the top (of the wall).</u></b></p> <p><i>Brave new threats.</i> In the midst of an already prolonged government shutdown that Mr. Trump had forced over his demand that Congress fund his proposed Mexican border wall, on January 4 he said – in what The Washington Post characterized as a "rambling" and "chaotic" news conference – that <u>he would maintain the shutdown for a year or more if Congress didn't approve the funding of the wall.</u> Just as remarkably, he said that he didn't need congressional approval at all, in that <u>(in the style of a tin-pot dictator) he could declare a national emergency and unilaterally order the wall's construction.</u> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (7)</p>



<p>1-4-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p><u>No new empathy.</u> Throughout the shutdown controversy, Mr. Trump still displayed no concern for the many millions of citizens who were being deprived of federal services (including many low-income rural Americans<sup>161</sup>); the many millions of dollars that the shutdown and restart would cost the government administratively<sup>162</sup>; the potential of the shutdown to injure financial markets and the broader economy<sup>163</sup>; the alarm expressed by airline pilots and Transportation Safety Authority workers regarding in-flight security and anti-terrorism efforts;<sup>164</sup> the alarm expressed by prison guards for their own safety;<sup>165</sup> the dangerous suspension of FDA food inspections and EPA pollution inspections;<sup>166</sup> the suspension of government payments that had been promised to farmers hurt by Mr. Trump's trade policies;<sup>167</sup> the many American businesses that the shutdown was injuring (in the view of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce);<sup>168</sup> the objections to the wall and the shutdown by borderland residents and their members of Congress;<sup>169</sup> or – not the least – the lives of the 800,000 federal workers who were now furloughed or working without pay (including border protection officers<sup>170</sup>). Indeed, h</p> <p>improbably<sup>171</sup> stated, as he had done some days before, that many of the workers were gladly sacrificing their paychecks for the wall.<sup>172</sup> (He had also previously stated that most of the workers were Democrats ... which didn't appear to compute.)</p> <p><u>Five ways to pay.</u> Altogether, Mr. Trump had now promised or proposed – and he continued to promise or propose – four different mechanisms for funding his wall: (1) making Mexico pay for it (an incessant campaign assurance, proclaimed by Mr. Trump 212 times, which Mexico had repeatedly rejected as insulting and ridiculous, and which Mr. Trump now denied having ever literally meant<sup>173</sup>); (2) making taxpayers pay for it (the subject of the current government shutdown); (3) making the military pay for it under Mr. Trump's purported emergency authority (out of the military's existing budget – thus depriving the military of those funds for true national security purposes); and (4) making American companies and their customers pay for it, by somehow attributing as payment, or even actually taxing, corporate revenues that he projected would flow from his new USMCA trade agreement with Canada and Mexico (if Congress were to ratify that agreement).<sup>174</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (7)</p>
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<p>1-4-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On January 6, acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney identified a fifth funding mechanism: he said that Mr. Trump had directed <u>all</u> Cabinet secretaries to search their existing budgets for ways to fund the wall.<sup>175</sup> As a fiscal and policy phenomenon, the five payment approaches made for a sprawling redundancy, and a confusion, and a desperation, that Mr. Trump declined to acknowledge. Rhetorically, he seemed to be grasping at straws in order to claim a personal "win" – any form of payment for the wall could do. But in truth only one form seemed potentially realistic: the express congressional and taxpayer funding that he was demanding, and that had precipitated the government shutdown.</p> <p><u>More mystery.</u> Why Mr. Trump would force a government shutdown over taxpayer funding was unclear, given that the \$5.7 billion he was seeking from Congress would pay for only a fraction of the \$25 to \$60 billion wall anyway. He had meanwhile declined to seriously address critics' contentions that the wall would do little to stop undocumented migration at the Mexican border; to stop overall undocumented migration (which had largely derived from visa over-stays); or to stop drug trafficking (which had largely occurred through other routes). Nor had he acknowledged that even border patrol agents, when surveyed, had shown little belief in a wall.<sup>176</sup></p> <p><u>Simplifying it.</u> But as is often the case with chaos, and very much to the point of this Chronology, simpler explanations for Mr. Trump's recalcitrance appeared.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First, as observers widely concurred, Mr. Trump was desperately playing to his base, so as to preserve his presidency. In recent days he had dug in in direct response to the demands of right-wing media personalities. <u>His fulminations about the wall, and thus about the shutdown, appeared to be more symbolic than practical. The symbol was that of an ethno-nationalist America on which he had staked his popular vision and his political survival.</u> (That was likely the single largest reason that congressional Democrats so contested the relatively minor expenditure – even more than what they saw as its problem-solving deficiencies.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (7)</p>
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<p>1-4-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Second, a New York Times analysis concluded that the wall – which had begun during Mr. Trump's campaign as an easy, vivid metaphor and mnemonic for border control – had metastasized into not only a promise to his supporters that he felt he dare not break, but <u>a vision of a vast and enduring physical monument to its creator, the New York developer, the master builder, himself.</u><sup>177</sup> In fact on January 7, CNN televised a series of at least four video clips in which Mr. Trump had explicitly called for the construction of a "beautiful" wall that would be called "The Trump Wall."</li> </ul> <p><u>Add-on inaccuracies.</u> In the same January 4 news conference, Mr. Trump falsely<sup>178</sup> stated that previous presidents had supported the building of a wall. He also repeated his frequent false claim that the construction of the wall had already begun.<sup>179</sup> Ordinarily, such falsehoods would have made for major news headlines. That they had become so routine and non-newsworthy illustrated for CSD, yet again, the extent to which empirical truth in public discourse, the stature of the American presidency, and the credibility of American democracy had degraded during Mr. Trump's tenure.</p> <p><u>Yet more fables.</u> On January 5-7, news media (including Fox News) documented and challenged the wildly erroneous nature of the Trump administration's repeated claims of having apprehended thousands of suspected terrorists at the Mexican border, and related figures. Both press secretary Sarah Sanders and Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen had badly erred in their use of statistics, then they had declined to correct their errors. In truth no terrorists had been apprehended at the border.<sup>180</sup> CNN television commentators on January 6 speculated that the false claims were an effort to give cover to Mr. Trump should he attempt to declare a national emergency at the border so as to be able to build the wall without congressional approval.</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (7)</p>
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<p>1-4-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]  <i>Goosing opinion.</i> Seemingly ever more frantic to have his win, on January 5 Mr. Trump wrote on Twitter that the wall was "something which everyone, other than drug dealers, human traffickers and criminals, want very badly!" In fact no poll had shown that most Americans wanted the wall;<sup>181</sup> and most of the millions who did <i>not</i> want it were not drug dealers, human traffickers and criminals. For CSD, the falsehood sounded of conspiracy theory, with Democrats cast as the criminal conspirators. We also found Mr. Trump's inflation of the popularity of his wall to be comparable to his inflation of the size of crowds at his rallies, and to his children's inflation of condominium sales in their past development projects: manipulative, fraudulent, and possibly even criminal. (See CSD's entry of November 19, 2018.) Frantic, yes. But also a way of life.</p> <p><i>A national emergency: the implications.</i> On January 12, in a Times opinion column, a pair of scholars traced the recent history of authoritarian-minded leaders overseas seizing extraordinary powers when genuine national security crises had arisen. They wrote: "[A]ny reckless use of emergency powers [to build the Mexican border wall] would set a dangerous precedent for overriding the legislative branch. Unlike other national emergency declarations [in the U.S.], this one would openly defy the will of Congress. This raises a terrifying question: How would a president who is willing to fabricate a national emergency over a simple legislative impasse behave during a real security crisis?"</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (7)</p>
<p>1-8-19</p>	<p><b>And another whipping.</b> In an early morning tweet, Mr. Trump yet again struck at the (independent) Federal Reserve Bank for raising interest rates, which actions he had been claiming were depressing the stock market. But in the same breath he boasted that overall the stock market had risen "BIG" since his election.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>1-8-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Television fraud.</u></b> As of January 8, the federal government shutdown was now approaching the longest in history, and its sole cause was the impasse over Mr. Trump's Mexican border wall. As dysfunction, suffering and grievance mounted, political risks did as well. (See CSD's entry of January 4 +, above.) In an extraordinary live evening address carried by most of the country's major television networks, Mr. Trump pitched his wall to the people. In order to do so, he had pre-empted the networks' entertainment and news programming. Other presidents had occasionally done that, to unify the American people around truly urgent national crises. But <u>Mr. Trump used the broadcast and his executive prerogative in a divisive, non-crisis situation, and in an attempt to defraud, intimidate and fund-raise for domestic political purposes.</u><sup>182</sup></p> <p>1. <u>Fraudulent content; fear-mongering; atrocity stories.</u> In the address, Mr. Trump reiterated many of his demonstrably false statements about the wall, saying or strongly implying: that the new, proposed USMCA trade agreement among the U.S., Mexico and Canada would somehow pay for the construction (it contained no mechanism for that); that the flow of undocumented migrants was at record levels (it had been much higher in previous years); that the wall would stop the flow of drugs, including fentanyl, into the U.S. (most drugs are smuggled in containers at legal ports of entry, and most fentanyl comes from China); that undocumented migrants were taking Americans' jobs (they often took jobs that Americans didn't fill); and that vast numbers of undocumented migrants were rapists, murderers and child smugglers (examples of which he described in graphic detail).<sup>183</sup></p> <p>2. <u>Fraudulent solicitation; intimidation.</u> Earlier in the day Mr. Trump had texted and emailed his supporters, asking them to each send \$5.00 – toward a \$500,000 goal – to a so-called "Official Save the Border Fund." He asked that they send the money prior to his 9:00 p.m. address, and that he would personally take the names of those "patriots" who contributed. But in reality the fund was simply part of his reelection campaign fund.<sup>184</sup> And immediately after the address, he re-sent to those who had not contributed, noting (menacingly, in CSD's view), that he had kept their names too, and that they were not yet among the "patriots" who had contributed.<sup>185</sup> [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9</p>
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<p>1-8-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]  3. <i>Fraudulent and authoritarian pre-emption.</i> Mr. Trump had used the presidential prerogative to effectively commandeer the airwaves at least in part to raise funds for his reelection campaign.<sup>186</sup></p> <p>But his television performance did not appear to have had an immediate effect on either public opinion or congressional negotiations to re-open the government. In the days following, by Twitter, Mr. Trump – seemingly flustered – took to blaming "Cryin [<i>sic</i>] Chuck" Schumer and the "Mainstream Media" for misrepresenting the continuing stalemate. That in itself was a misrepresentation: Mr. Trump had instigated the shutdown, and had claimed at the outset that he himself would own it.</p> <p>On January 12, the shutdown became the longest in U.S. history, at 22 days.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9</p>
<p>1-9-19</p>	<p><b>Lawyering up.</b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's White House counsel, at taxpayer expense, had hired 17 new lawyers to resist investigations by the newly empowered Democratic majority in the House of Representatives and by special prosecutor Robert Mueller, as well as to resist the release of Mueller's eventual report to Congress.<sup>187</sup></p> <p>Previous White Houses likewise had employed many lawyers. But the task here appeared to be specifically to protect the president from investigations. The battalion-strength effort to withhold, conceal, obfuscate and obstruct that Mr. Trump now seemed to be advancing plainly represented to CSD an escalation of his continuing efforts along those lines. It was the opposite of transparency and a quest for truth, relative to the interests of the country and the growing collection of legal and ethical pressures that had come to besiege him. That is to say, it seemed the strategy of a man with much to hide.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>1-10-19</p>	<p><b>Loving theirs, hating ours.</b> In back-to-back statements, Mr. Trump at the White House praised Chinese dictator, human rights abuser, technology thief and American antagonist Xi Jinping as "far more honorable" than Democratic congressional leaders "Cryin [sic] Chuck" Schumer and Nancy Pelosi; and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo in Cairo discredited President Obama at length while lauding the Egyptian and Saudi Arabian dictatorships.<sup>188</sup></p> <p>Pompeo's obsession with President Obama appeared to mirror Mr. Trump's, as did his utter indifference to human rights abuses overseas. But his platitudes in Cairo lauding America's aggressive, international moralism flatly conflicted with the amoral, transactional isolationism of Mr. Trump – further evidencing an administration at dangerously loose ends with respect to coherence.<sup>189</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 12, 17 (9, 12, 14)</p>
<p>1-11-19</p>	<p><b>The invasion.</b> Visiting the Mexican border, Mr. Trump televised a video of himself flanked by beefy, uniformed border patrol officers, presumably cherry-picked, at least one of whom spoke out in sympathy with Mr. Trump's border agenda. The episode represented a continuation of Mr. Trump's efforts to politicize in his own favor the images of the border patrol, other law enforcement bodies and national security agencies, as well as politicizing the agencies' actual staff.<sup>190</sup></p> <p>Upon his return to Washington, he tweeted that "<i>... it is a far worse situation than almost anyone would understand, an invasion! I have been there numerous times - The Democrats, Cryin' [sic] Chuck and Nancy don't know how bad and dangerous it is for our ENTIRE COUNTRY... Without [the wall] our Country cannot be safe. Criminals, Gangs, Human Traffickers, Drugs &amp; so much other big trouble can easily pour in. It can be stopped cold!</i>"</p> <p>Among other things, those television and Twitter communications implied that Mr. Trump was a canny, inquiring, tough and physically courageous commander. Nothing in that messaging, either explicit or implicit, was fact-based.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>1-11-19, 1-12-19</p>	<p><b><u>Holding fast: against the law, and for the wall.</u></b> On January 11, The New York Times reported that directly after Mr. Trump had fired then FBI Director James Comey in 2017 and before the appointment of special prosecutor Robert Mueller days later, the FBI had begun investigating whether Mr. Trump was working for Russia. The following morning, for two hours and via six tweets, Mr. Trump reacted – by raging and misleading on Twitter.<sup>191</sup> He attacked the FBI, "Lyin' [sic] James Comey" (a "Crooked Cop"), Mueller, "Crooked Hillary" Clinton, the Democratic National Committee, and the "Witch Hunt" against him. At the same time he wrote of his hope for friendly relations with Russia.</p> <p>How did Mr. Trump have time for such Twitter activity amid the now record-setting and increasingly damaging government shutdown, which reportedly his advisors had no clue how he planned to end?<sup>192</sup> Easily: he then tweeted 13 times about the shutdown and the wall, invoking such regular themes as these: "Thousands of illegal aliens who have committed sexual crimes against children"; "Drugs, Crime and so much that is bad"; "Cryin' [sic] Chuck [Schumer] and Nancy Pelosi"; "I won the election"; and "a Fake reporter from the Amazon Washington Post".</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12</p>
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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/elections/democrats-smash-watergate-record-house-popular-vote-midterms-n940116>

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<sup>7</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2018/11/27/politics/donald-trump-biloxi-cindy-hyde-smith/index.html>

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/12/us/politics/voice-of-america-trump.html>



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- <sup>184</sup> [https://secure.donaldjtrump.com/official-secure-the-border-fund?utm\\_medium=sms&utm\\_source=ta&utm\\_campaign=20190108\\_official-secure-border-fund-pre-speech\\_djt\\_djt&utm\\_content=gop\\_direct-ask](https://secure.donaldjtrump.com/official-secure-the-border-fund?utm_medium=sms&utm_source=ta&utm_campaign=20190108_official-secure-border-fund-pre-speech_djt_djt&utm_content=gop_direct-ask) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/08/us/politics/donald-trump-speech.html> and <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/424356-trump-fundraising-on-national-address-on-border> and <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-6571017/Watch-speech-donate-Presidents-campaign-turns-Oval-Office-address-fundraiser.html>
- <sup>185</sup> <https://www.msnbc.com/the-last-word/watch/trump-uses-oval-office-speech-to-raise-money-for-reelection-1422371907630>
- <sup>186</sup> <https://www.msnbc.com/the-last-word/watch/trump-uses-oval-office-speech-to-raise-money-for-reelection-1422371907630>

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<sup>187</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-beefed-up-white-house-legal-team-prepares-aggressive-defense-of-trumps-executive-privilege-as-investigations-loom-large/2019/01/09/066b8618-1045-11e9-84fc-d58c33d6c8c7\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.555df16f0657](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-beefed-up-white-house-legal-team-prepares-aggressive-defense-of-trumps-executive-privilege-as-investigations-loom-large/2019/01/09/066b8618-1045-11e9-84fc-d58c33d6c8c7_story.html?utm_term=.555df16f0657)

<sup>188</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/10/us/politics/trump-pompeo-china-cairo.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-doesnt-know-the-meaning-of-the-word-honorable/2019/01/11/288bfa58-15c6-11e9-b6ad-9cfd62dbb0a8\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.299a34adc59c&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-doesnt-know-the-meaning-of-the-word-honorable/2019/01/11/288bfa58-15c6-11e9-b6ad-9cfd62dbb0a8_story.html?utm_term=.299a34adc59c&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>189</sup> <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2019/01/11/pompeo-cairo-speech-trump-foreign-policy-middle-east-223913>

<sup>190</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-seeks-to-enlist-a-key-surrogate-in-political-fight-over-his-wall--border-patrol-agents/2019/01/11/83f60d5c-15c1-11e9-803c-4ef28312c8b9\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.38f951b1e9e7&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-seeks-to-enlist-a-key-surrogate-in-political-fight-over-his-wall--border-patrol-agents/2019/01/11/83f60d5c-15c1-11e9-803c-4ef28312c8b9_story.html?utm_term=.38f951b1e9e7&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>191</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/12/us/politics/trump-fbi-counterintelligence-investigation.html>

<sup>192</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/12/trump-government-shutdown-plan-1098681>



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 22 – March 2, 2019*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>1-12-19</p>	<p><b><u>Threatening Cohen.</u></b> Speaking to Fox News, Mr. Trump disparaged the credibility of, and hinted at blackmailing, his former attorney (and now admitted felon) Michael Cohen if Cohen were to testify negatively about him in an upcoming House Oversight Committee hearing that Cohen had sought. The blackmail: that Mr. Trump would expose Cohen's father-in-law relative to questionable business practices.<sup>1</sup> <u>Intimidating a congressional witness is a felony; blackmail is another felony.</u> CSD believes that both of those felonies occurred in the Fox interview.</p>	<p>9; Blackmail; Obstruction of Justice</p>
<p>1-13-19</p>	<p><b><u>A Russian asset?</u></b> A (conservative) Washington Post columnist compiled a list of <u>18 extraordinary ways (and hundreds of individual incidents) in which Mr. Trump had been directly or indirectly connected to or sympathetic toward Russia,</u> from his days as a real estate developer through the present.<sup>2</sup> The column was sparked by revelations, only days earlier, that <u>the FBI had opened an investigation of Mr. Trump as a possible Russian asset after he had fired then FBI Director James Comey in 2017,</u><sup>3</sup> and that <u>Mr. Trump had kept secret from his own staff all details about his dealings as president with Russian autocrat Vladimir Putin, to the point of confiscating his interpreter's notes.</u><sup>4</sup></p>	<p>12, 15</p>

<p>1-13-19</p>	<p><b>Turkey in the straw, Turkey in the hay.</b> Mr. Trump threatened on Twitter to "devastate Turkey economically" if it attacked America's Kurdish allies in Syria after the U.S. troop withdrawal that Mr. Trump had recently and capriciously announced. The tweet came just as Secretary of State Mike Pompeo was trying to reason with Turkey on the matter, a NATO sometimes-ally on which the U.S. had long relied for military bases and intelligence. Turkey objected strenuously.<sup>5</sup></p> <p>Turkey's volatile and authoritarian leader, Recep Erdogan, had long been a troubling figure. His human rights record was miserable; his bodyguards had beaten up demonstrators in Washington in 2017 as he had looked on; he had recently threatened to obliterate Kurdish forces in Syria; he had openly feuded with NATO, the U.S. and Israel off and on; and his alliances in the region had often shifted unpredictably. Any American president would have had his hands full with Erdogan. But in 2017 Mr. Trump had rhetorically embraced him, to the dismay of both human rights and security observers. For CSD, this new threat toward Turkey smacked of capriciousness.</p>	<p>10, 12, 13</p>
<p>1-13-19</p>	<p><b>Still riding with the Enquirer.</b> On Twitter, Mr. Trump praised The National Enquirer for its headline exposing lurid details of the recently announced divorce of Amazon founder Jeff Bezos (Mr. Trump calling him "Bozo"). He also tweeted that The Enquirer was "far more accurate" than The Washington Post, now owned by Bezos. The frivolous, indecorous, dishonest and anti-democratic tweet occurred at an unseemly moment – amid the now record-setting and gravely serious federal shutdown that Mr. Trump had forced over his demand for funding the construction of a wall at the Mexican border. But it was not just unseemly: it also raised questions as to Mr. Trump's relationship with The Enquirer.</p> <p>By way of background, Mr. Trump had long hated Bezos for The Post's persistent criticisms of Mr. Trump; for Bezos's legendary status within the technology industry (an industry that Mr. Trump reportedly resented); and for Bezos having vastly more money than Mr. Trump. For all of that, Mr. Trump had sought during his presidency to punish Amazon with debilitating taxes and anti-trust enforcement. (See CSD's entry of April 6, 2018 regarding the source of his animus; also our eight other entries above regarding his vendetta against Bezos.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 10, 11; Obstruction of Justice</p>

<p>1-13-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Enquirer, for its part, is a supermarket tabloid that traffics in scandalous reporting and is a laughingstock among real journalists and the mainstream reading public. It had long collaborated with Mr. Trump in promoting him and publicizing disinformation in his favor, particularly during his 2016 campaign for the presidency. The Enquirer had also facilitated Mr. Trump's felonious hush money payments to Karen McDougall, his one-time extra-marital girlfriend, by buying her story in a "catch-and-kill" operation. That David Pecker, the Enquirer's CEO and Mr. Trump's personal friend, had agreed some months prior to cooperate with the Department of Justice in the McDougall matter – and possibly in many matters, given Pecker's presumed familiarity with other sordid details of Mr. Trump's life – had seemed to strike a blow to Mr. Trump's relationship with him.</p> <p>But Mr. Trump now appeared to still have an affinity for the fact-challenged and inflammatory Enquirer – his fellow traveler both in cynically deceiving portions of the public (many of the same portions) and in general amorality and avarice. CSD speculates that Mr. Trump, ever taking the long view on commercial opportunities, might hope to once again partner with The Enquirer after his presidency. A New York Times analysis speculated further: that Mr. Trump's resurgent praise for the Enquirer suggested his hope that he could dissuade Pecker from revealing too much to the Justice Department – that is (to CSD's mind) the commission of yet more obstruction of justice.<sup>6</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 10, 11; Obstruction of Justice</p>
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**Some good news: Democracy survives.**

This Chronology is dedicated to reporting on Mr. Trump's anti-democratic and authoritarian behaviors, and to registering our deepest concerns about them. But we are pleased to point to a more hopeful observation. On January 14, 2019, a New York Times columnist compellingly wrote that – despite the chaos and suffering caused by Mr. Trump's ongoing shutdown of the government over his demands for funding a Mexican border wall – American democracy was surviving:

*"To be clear, we're very far from a worst-case scenario version of a Trump administration. Last year the president sent nearly 6,000 active-duty American troops to the border based on racist propaganda about a migrant caravan, but there haven't been tanks in the streets. The administration winks at foreign governments who kill journalists, but its own threats against the media are mostly empty. I feared, at the beginning of this administration, that Trump would try to exploit American intelligence capabilities against his personal enemies, but instead he gets his intelligence from Fox News. The fact that so many high-level Trump associates have pleaded guilty to crimes is a sign of his corruption, but it also shows he hasn't corrupted our entire system. ... From his fantasy world in the White House, he barks dictatorial and often illegal orders, floats conspiracy theories, tweets insults and lies unceasingly. But much of the time he's not fully in charge. He has the instincts of a fascist but lacks both the discipline and the loyal lieutenants he'd need to create true autocracy."<sup>7</sup>*

CSD is heartened by this reminder of what remains of our country's strength, goodness and sanity. But we also note that what has saved America from the abyss is not any deficit in Mr. Trump's authoritarian urges, but the resistance to them by right-minded journalists, voters, judges and members of Congress.

<p>1-14-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>The art of the deal.</u></b> As Mr. Trump single-handedly forced the federal government shutdown to continue well past a record-setting length, and as he refused to budge on his demand that the Democratic-majority House agree to fund a small, symbolic piece of his Mexican border wall, critics pointed to the failure of his negotiating skills that for decades he had proclaimed to be legendary. Those professed skills were proving to be a fraud, on multiple counts.</p> <p>First, the very premise of the negotiation was fraudulent: to the extent Mr. Trump was purporting to negotiate for the benefit of the American people, in reality he was negotiating only for his vanity and to preserve his political fortunes with his electoral base. Second, long into the process he was still not negotiating at all – only making implacable demands. Third, <u>his "negotiation" amounted to cynically and even sadistically holding hostage the American government and people, as though a terrorist were holding airline passengers hostage while attempting to negotiate free passage to a safe destination.</u> Fourth, after weeks of the shutdown, it had become clear that – however and whenever it would end – significant damage to the American economy and people would have accumulated.</p> <p>More specifically, in addition to the many injuries described in CSD's entry of January 4 +, new or expanded elements of the shutdown's damage had come to appear in news reports daily:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Airport security checkpoints were closing.<sup>8</sup></li> <li>• Farmers – already damaged by Mr. Trump's trade wars – were now losing access to federal subsidies, loans and other services.<sup>9</sup></li> <li>• Regulatory investigations affecting the environment, financial abuse and taxes were suspended.<sup>10</sup></li> <li>• State Department staff in the U.S. and abroad had been furloughed or were working without pay, often in stressful and delicate circumstances essential to America's international interests, thus straining U.S. diplomacy. Many furloughed abroad had no opportunity to pick up short-term substitute employment.<sup>11</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>1-14-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Individuals and businesses were canceling travel plans; business permits were being delayed; IPO and M&amp;A approvals from the SEC were not being issued; businesses were unable to obtain EIN numbers for opening bank accounts and filing tax returns; furloughed and unpaid government workers were cutting down on their consumer spending; and altogether the country's economic growth was being depressed.<sup>12</sup></li> <li>• The country's air safety system had come under stress.<sup>13</sup></li> <li>• Scientists were being deprived of climate data.<sup>14</sup></li> <li>• 43,000 Coast Guard members were defending the country without pay, as was the Secret Service.<sup>15</sup></li> <li>• School lunches were being rationed.<sup>16</sup></li> <li>• The government's ability to attract top-notch talent was compromised, possibly for the long term.<sup>17</sup></li> <li>• Government functions and economic efficiency were predicted as likely to take months or years to recover.<sup>18</sup></li> <li>• Sundry, low-profile but important activities such as research, training, forest protection, cyber-security, drug approvals and the collection of economic data were stalled.<sup>19</sup></li> <li>• The IRS had become hamstrung – in helping taxpayers (including through the recent tax law changes), in collecting taxes, and in processing refunds.<sup>20</sup></li> <li>• Federal courts were running out of money.<sup>21</sup></li> <li>• Consumer confidence was dropping, a portent of recession.<sup>22</sup></li> <li>• Disaster planning was slowing.<sup>23</sup></li> <li>• FBI agents said their agency had been neutered.<sup>24</sup></li> <li>• National Science Foundation grants, touching on all manner of scientific inquiry, were halted.<sup>25</sup></li> </ul> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>1-14-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] An additional flaw in Mr. Trump's negotiating skills had appeared: his heavy reliance on false statements and on <i>ad hominem</i> attacks against his counter-parties – mechanisms that negotiating experts had long identified as generally ineffective and counter-productive. On January 15, for example, he continued that pattern by falsely claiming that most Americans saw a crisis at the Mexican border and supported the construction of a wall; falsely claiming (yet again) that Democrats wanted an "open border" and thus had become the "Party of Crime"; disingenuously claiming that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, more than himself, were "playing political games" with and were responsible for the impasse; and gratuitously blaming Pelosi for receiving her taxpayer-funded salary while rank-and-file government workers were going unpaid.<sup>26</sup></p> <p>On January 19, Mr. Trump again commandeered the airwaves (see CSD's entry of January 8 +) to press his border wall "negotiation." Under pressure from the damage he had caused by the shutdown, in his live television address he now advanced a new "compromise" plan for the border wall. But it was still not a negotiation; he had not consulted with the Democrats in advance. Rather, it was another harangue, strong on fear-mongering (attacking Hispanic drug smugglers/rapists/diseases and "open border," "radical" Democrats) – gratuitously offensive to many of those whose help he needed to make a deal. Not surprisingly, the shutdown went on.</p> <p>On January 21, Mr. Trump tweeted that Pelosi – the ultimate centrist, who had recently been heralded for her acumen in overcoming her left wing and some other Democratic dissenters to regain the House speakership – had "lost control" and was a "Radical Democrat."</p> <p>At last, on January 25, Mr. Trump – the master negotiator – agreed to re-open the government (temporarily) without having won any funding for his border wall. That is to say, he had surrendered, and had acceded to Pelosi's demand that the government be re-opened as a prelude to discussions about border security.<sup>27</sup> But meanwhile hundreds of thousands had suffered from his cruelty, demagoguery and vanity. The shutdown had also cost the country from \$3 billion to \$11 billion in lost productivity and lost economic activity.<sup>28</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>1-14-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Yet even in announcing his agreement to re-open, Mr. Trump repeated his inaccurate claims about border security; and he threatened to either shut down the government again or to declare a national emergency if Congress would not have authorized his border wall by February 15.<sup>29</sup> (For the denouement as to that deadline, see CSD's entry of February 15, below.)</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>1-14-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Self-dealing, unbound.</u></b> Beginning on January 14, these developments quickly accumulated:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mr. Trump's inaugural committee was reported to have spent \$1.5 million on a lavish gala at his Trump International Hotel in Washington (that is, placing money in his pocket); and multiple friends of Mr. Trump were reported to have been paid large sums under inauguration-related contracts.<sup>30</sup></li> <li>• Numerous T-Mobile executives were reported to have patronized the Trump International Hotel while seeking federal approval for their company's merger with Sprint.<sup>31</sup></li> <li>• Mr. Trump's daughter Ivanka, initially rumored to have been considered (without qualifications) to be named by him to head the World Bank, was revealed to now be in his inner circle for selecting a non-family member for the post, despite her business conflicts of interest relative to the operations of the Bank.<sup>32</sup></li> <li>• The General Services Administration's inspector general reported that the GSA's lawyers had wrongfully ignored the constitution's anti-emoluments clause when deciding whether to allow the Trump International Hotel to continue to lease the GSA's Old Post Office Building in Washington after Mr. Trump's inauguration.<sup>33</sup></li> </ul>	<p>15, 16, 17 (9)</p>

<p>1-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>Citizenship question on census? "Egregious."</u></b> A federal district court in Manhattan rejected Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross's controversial attempt to add a question to the upcoming 2020 decennial census asking respondents whether they were U.S. citizens. The judge slammed Ross's behavior as "egregious," procedurally illegal, and utterly dishonest relative to his true (political) justifications for the addition.<sup>34</sup> (See CSD's entries of December 29, 2017, March 26, 2018, and October 3, 2018 + as to Ross's likely intent to under-count minorities and thus to skew voting districts, commercial marketing research and the availability of social benefits against them.)</p>	<p>17 (6, 8, 9)</p>
<p>1-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>President to Cohen: "Fix the polls."</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that, at Mr. Trump's direction, during his 2015-2016 election campaign his then attorney and fixer Michael Cohen had paid the operator of two online polls to skew the polling results in favor of Mr. Trump.<sup>35</sup></p> <p>CSD sees in this gambit a reminder of Mr. Trump's youthful practice of feeding his made-up social conquests to New York tabloids under an assumed name; his overstatement of his crowd sizes since his election; his and his family's practice of falsifying condominium sales figures in order to sell more units (see CSD's entry of November 19, 2018); a campaign finance violation; and above all, felonious election tampering – that is, <u>one attempt, possibly among others, to steal the 2016 election.</u></p>	<p>9; Electoral fraud</p>
<p>1-17-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>President to Cohen: "Lie to Congress."</u></b> BuzzFeed reported that, according to federal law enforcement officials, when Mr. Trump's former attorney Michael Cohen had lied to Congress in 2017 about Mr. Trump's and his children's continuing business dealings with Russia during the 2016 presidential campaign, Cohen had done so at the instruction of Mr. Trump.<sup>36</sup> The following day, the special prosecutor's office issued an extraordinary but cryptic notice that at least some of what BuzzFeed had written was inaccurate. But if materially accurate, <u>Mr. Trump's encouragement of Cohen to lie to Congress could amount to witness tampering, subornation of perjury and obstruction of justice, all federal felonies.</u><sup>37</sup> (CSD drew no conclusions at the time as to the report's accuracy; but Cohen later corroborated them to Congress, as we report below in our entry of February 27.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 17 (7); Subornation of perjury; Obstruction of justice</p>

<p>1-17-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump responded to the allegation by tweeting obliquely that Cohen's father-in-law was vulnerable to criminal charges. The tweet echoed Mr. Trump's threat to expose the in-law, which threat CSD, on January 12 (above), had identified as amounting to both obstruction of justice and blackmail – yet more felonies.</p>	<p>9, 17 (7); Subornation of perjury; Obstruction of justice</p>
<p>1-17-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pelosi flight grounded.</u></b> On January 17, Mr. Trump publicly canceled the long-planned but theretofore secret military aircraft flight of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, House Intelligence Committee chair Adam Schiff, House Foreign Affairs Committee chair Eliot Engel, and other Democrats who were headed to meet NATO commanders in Belgium and American troops in Afghanistan. Mr. Trump and his staff then publicized that the group had made plans to salvage their trip by flying a commercial airline, thus causing them to cancel those plans as well. The moves reportedly came in retaliation for Pelosi's suggestion days earlier that Mr. Trump postpone his scheduled January 29 State of the Union Address in House chambers due to security issues associated with the continuing government shutdown. (Mr. Trump's stated, and disingenuous, reasoning for his actions: Pelosi should stay in the U.S. to attend to the shutdown.) The cancellation of the military flight occurred while some of the travelers had already boarded the bus to Andrews Air Force Base – a unique disruption and humiliation for Pelosi and her group.</p> <p>In fact shutdown negotiations had already been totally stalled, and Mr. Trump himself had traveled to Afghanistan earlier during the shutdown; and so his rationale for cancelling the military flight was false. The cancellation, rather, disrupted legitimate and perfunctory Congressional fact-finding operations. And the publication of the commercial flight was a clear breach of security protocols, in that it revealed the intended itinerary of Pelosi – who was second in the line of succession to the presidency, after the vice president.<sup>38</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>1-17-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD believes that Mr. Trump's motive, in addition to petty vengeance, was to forestall Democratic photo ops overseas that could have illustrated that their party was more supportive of America's diplomatic and military missions overseas than he was. (Pelosi, for example, had visited war zones many times in the past.<sup>39</sup>) Another motive was to cast further blame on Democrats for the shutdown – even though he had initially announced on television that he himself was "proud" to initiate and to own the shutdown. ("I will take the mantle," he had told Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer, on-camera.) In other words, Mr. Trump had aborted a legitimate congressional prerogative, unconstitutionally and dictatorially, for self-serving political purposes.</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>1-17-19, 1-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>More ACA sabotage.</u></b> On January 17, the Trump administration proposed rules to make premiums and out-of-pocket maximum expenses under the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") even more expensive for subscribers, thus <u>continuing Mr. Trump's relentless effort to sabotage the law.</u><sup>40</sup> (CSD has long refrained from taking a position on the ACA – only on Mr. Trump's efforts to kill it, for vindictive purposes, and without an alternative plan being in place – at the expense of the well-being of thousands of Americans.)</p> <p>On January 23, a Gallup survey revealed that <u>the proportion of Americans who were then uninsured had become the highest since 2014.</u><sup>41</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>1-19-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>No asylum.</u></b> On January 19, Mr. Trump announced a plan to deny asylum to Central American children who had entered the U.S., and instead grant it only to a limited number who had applied from their home countries. Within days, the proposal had become part of his bill to end the continuing government shutdown precipitated by his demand for border wall funding. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 14</p>



<p>1-19-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Under international law, asylum (or, more commonly, refugee status) can certainly be granted based on applications from afar; indeed, that's how the U.S. refugee program has long been structured and administered overseas by the United Nations refugee agency. But denying asylum to those who had managed to reach our border would violate established international law, as would arbitrarily capping the numbers of asylum grants based on country of origin. Cynically, Mr. Trump characterized the proposal as a humanitarian measure that would somehow benefit the Central American children at issue.<sup>42</sup></p> <p>On January 24, the Trump administration ordered that some asylum seekers be returned to Mexico before their asylum claims were heard in the U.S. – also contrary to American and international law. The Mexican government protested, expressing concern about the scope of the order, its details, and its impact on Mexican society. Not incidentally, northern Mexico was seen as an unsafe place for the migrants to abide.<sup>43</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 14</p>
<p>1-20-19</p>	<p><b><u>With Russia, throughout.</u></b> Mr. Trump's attorney Rudy Giuliani told The New York Times that Mr. Trump now acknowledged that he had been negotiating with Russia to build a Trump-branded hotel in Moscow through the very date of his 2016 election, contrary to all prior denials by Mr. Trump. The Times wrote: <i>"The new timetable means that Mr. Trump was seeking a deal at the time he was calling for an end to economic sanctions against Russia imposed by the Obama administration. He was seeking a deal when he gave interviews questioning the legitimacy of NATO, a favorite talking point of President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia. And he was seeking a deal when, in July 2016, he called on Russia to release hacked Democratic emails that Mr. Putin's government was rumored at the time to have stolen."</i><sup>44</sup></p> <p>The next day, Giuliani attempted to walk back his and his client's admission. That was true to Giuliani's habit of making gratuitous, flamboyant, reckless and preposterously inconsistent statements in Mr. Trump's defense. Overall, CSD continued to see in Giuliani's representation of Mr. Trump a mockery of the legal system, as well as an attempt to obstruct justice by telling falsehoods and by cynically undertaking to sway voter and congressional opinion in Mr. Trump's favor.<sup>45</sup></p>	<p>7, 12, 15, 17 (Obstruction of Justice)</p>

1-21-19	<p><b>Fact Checker update.</b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker now counted 8,158 false or misleading statements that Mr. Trump had made since taking office – over 6,000 of them in his second year. That averaged 5.9 episodes per day overall, and 16.5 per day in the second year. The largest number of episodes involved Mr. Trump's furious resistance to brown people's immigration here – the issue that had most come to define his presidency and his appeal to his supporters. For CSD, it seemed not coincidental that that issue was not only his most shrill and his most racist, but his most laden with falsehood – in all, adhering to the primal archetype of anti-democratic demagoguery.<sup>46</sup></p>	6, 7
1-21-19, 1-22-19, 2-20-19	<p><b>Prep Boys and Indians.</b> Beginning on January 21, Mr. Trump twice tweeted his support for a group of white students from a private high school who were filmed wearing Trump campaign hats while jeering a Native American demonstrator and Vietnam War veteran on the National Mall in Washington, DC. The circumstances of the episode – the physical convergence of three ethnic and religious demonstrations at once, with resulting tensions – were ambiguous. But as news media and the school's administration were attempting in good faith to sort out what had happened, Mr. Trump instinctively and gratuitously took one side – for the white students, and against the news media.<sup>47</sup> On February 20, in a tweet he cheered on the students for suing the Washington Post over its "fake news" coverage of the episode.</p>	1, 6
1-22-19	<p><b>No more press briefings.</b> Mr. Trump directed his press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders to stop conducting press briefings because of the media's hostility to her. The briefings had already become increasingly rare. From the media's point of view, Sanders (and Mr. Trump, through her) had routinely stonewalled and/or spoken falsely during the sessions, so the briefings had become of questionable value anyway.<sup>48</sup> Whether the briefings would in fact stop completely was unclear.</p>	1
1-23-19	<p><b>Dictators, adversaries soar with Trump.</b> A Washington Post reporter described in vivid detail how dictators across the world were increasing their repressive behavior while citing Mr. Trump as their inspiration, and sometimes as their friend, protector or patron.<sup>49</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	10, 12, 14

1-23-19	[Continued.] A New York Times reporter described a new U.S. intelligence assessment that America's enemies were expected to take advantage of the weakening world order and America's isolationism under Mr. Trump. <sup>50</sup>	10, 12, 14
1-25-19	<b><u>Kushner's security clearance fudged.</u></b> NBC reported that Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner, as well as 30 other Trump appointees, had failed their security clearances that had been conducted by career security experts, but that that failure had then been overridden by another Trump appointee. The FBI had twice denied Kushner's clearance due to fears of foreign influence arising from his overseas business dealings. <sup>51</sup> (See also CSD's entry of March 1, below, regarding Mr. Trump's personal intervention in Kushner's clearance.)	10, 11
1-25-19	<p><b><u>Stone indicted.</u></b> A federal grand jury empowered by special prosecutor Robert Mueller indicted Roger Stone, a self-proclaimed political "dirty trickster"; an inveterate admirer of disgraced President Richard Nixon (with a tattoo of Nixon on his back); an incessant showman and attention-seeker; a notorious liar; a brazen conspiracy theorist; a former political consulting partner of Mr. Trump's one-time campaign chairman and now convicted felon Paul Manafort; and Mr. Trump's decades-long friend and advisor. The charges included lying to Congress, witness tampering and obstruction of Mueller's probe. Those charges arose from Stone's contacts – for the benefit of the 2016 Trump election campaign – with WikiLeaks, the organization which, in advance of the election, had published embarrassing Democratic campaign organization emails that the Russian government had hacked. They indicated that Mr. Trump's senior campaign officials had been affirmatively seeking to learn how to use the Russia-hacked emails against candidate Hillary Clinton.</p> <p>After his indictment, Stone defiantly flashed for cameras Nixon's signature, two-raised-arm "victory" salute. For his part, Mr. Trump tweeted furiously that the indictment was part of Mueller's "Witch Hunt" against himself and his associates.<sup>52</sup></p>	9, 17 (Election corruption)

<p>1-26-19</p>	<p><b>More undocumented workers at Trump golf clubs.</b> The Washington Post reported that on January 18 the Trump National Golf Club in Westchester, New York had fired a dozen undocumented workers.<sup>53</sup> The move came on the heels of revelations by The New York Times that Mr. Trump's Bedminster, New Jersey golf club had routinely hired undocumented workers. (See CSD's entries of December 6, 2018 and January 3, 2019.) Mr. Trump had made a crusade since his election campaign of demonizing undocumented migrants; but he was now seen as having profited from them at at least three of his clubs while breaking the law.<sup>54</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>1-28-19</p>	<p><b>Dear Earth: Please fry.</b> Mr. Trump, a climate science denier and a man apparently oblivious to the human wreckage and political instability that global warming had already sown in the U.S.<sup>55</sup> and across the world by way of droughts, storms and rising sea levels, tweeted: <i>"In the beautiful Midwest, windchill temperatures are reaching minus 60 degrees, the coldest ever recorded. In coming days, expected to get even colder. People can't last outside even for minutes. What the hell is going on with Global Waming [sic]? Please come back fast, we need you!"</i></p>	<p>8</p>
<p>1-28-19</p>	<p><b>Making it true.</b> A Washington Post columnist recapped the many ways in which the Trump administration had been spending tax dollars to come up with data to support Mr. Trump's untrue statements. The most recent (known) episode involved an effort to prove that sex traffickers were tying up captive Central American women with duct tape in order to silence them while driving them across the Mexican border. Previous efforts and expenditures had included proving that: the crowd size at Mr. Trump's inauguration had been larger than it was; widespread voter fraud existed in the U.S.; Central American migrant caravans had been infiltrated by Middle Eastern terrorists; and CNN's Jim Acosta had assaulted an administration press aide.<sup>56</sup></p> <p>CSD would add to the list Mr. Trump's extensive, taxpayer-funded efforts (through White House and Justice Department attorneys and otherwise) to obstruct special prosecutor Robert Mueller's investigation of Russian election meddling and of Mr. Trump himself.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>1-28-19</p>	<p><b>White House tours.</b> The Washington Post reported that on some of the many boastful White House tours that Mr. Trump had been giving to friends and strangers, he had made a point of disparaging the personal lives of previous presidents whom he considered to be his enemies. In particular, he had falsely told visitors that President Obama had watched basketball on television all day in his private dining room; and he had repeatedly and bawdily pointed out where President Clinton had engaged in sexual acts with his intern Monica Lewinsky.<sup>57</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>1-29-19 +</p>	<p><b>Intelligence agencies: "You're wrong, as ever."</b> On January 29, a major new written national intelligence assessment, plus top national intelligence officials speaking individually to the Senate Intelligence Committee, contradicted Mr. Trump on at least four fronts. They said that North Korea was not planning to abandon its nuclear weapons program; that Iran was not currently advancing its nuclear bomb-making capability; that ISIS was far from defeated; and (implicitly) that the migration of Central Americans across the Mexican border was not a high level security threat.<sup>58</sup></p> <p>Incensed, on the following day Mr. Trump tweeted that the intelligence officials – several of whom he himself had appointed – were "extremely passive and naive," and he suggested they "should go back to school." Mr. Trump's ongoing disdain for intelligence data, as well as this new public rebuke of his own intelligence agencies, was extraordinary for a sitting president. Critics claimed that the episode would damage national security.<sup>59</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>
<p>1-30-19</p>	<p><b>Chosen by God.</b> Mr. Trump's perpetually untruthful press secretary, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, told a Christian news outlet that God had chosen Mr. Trump to be president.<sup>60</sup></p> <p>Although many people of many faiths commonly attribute events to the will of God, the statement from Mr. Trump's chief communicator troubled observers, in that autocrats the world over have long claimed to have been divinely anointed. (That Mr. Trump, in CSD's view, is in truth a consistent liar, bully, racist, law-breaker, traitor, lecher, adulterer, deadbeat and con-man is a separate matter, relative to his personal profession of faith.)</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>1-30-19</p>	<p><b>Secrets with Putin.</b> News media reported that Mr. Trump had spoken with Russian President Vladimir Putin at the Buenos Aires summit in November without staff or an American interpreter present.<sup>61</sup> The episode represented a continuation of Mr. Trump's pattern in that regard with Putin. Indeed, The Washington Post had recently reported that Mr. Trump had gone to "extraordinary lengths" to keep his conversations with Putin secret.<sup>62</sup> The practice represented a significant breach of security protocols (and in CSD's belief, a suggestion of treachery relative to American interests). No one else will ever know what they discussed.</p>	<p>10, 12, 13</p>
<p>2-4-19</p>	<p><b>Vacant.</b> The Washington Post detailed the continuing high churn among top Trump administration officials, the continuing high vacancy rates for top positions, and the administration's extreme reliance on acting (as opposed to regular) department heads. The vacancies were seen as threatening not only departmental efficiency but the legality of certain departmental actions taken under the acting chiefs. Reasons for the vacancies included various dynamics around the Senate's approvals of nominations. But they also included Mr. Trump's disinterest in the situation, and his belief that he could better control department heads if they were not fully vested with standard authority.<sup>63</sup></p>	<p>9, 10, 13</p>
<p>2-4-19</p>	<p><b>Freedom House report.</b> In its annual "Freedom in the World" report, Freedom House – the storied and largely government-funded NGO – attributed the continuing decline in democracy worldwide in part to the example set by the U.S. and Mr. Trump. The U.S. scored only 86 out of 100 points on the organization's freedom index. The organization's president wrote: "<u>[Mr. Trump] is straining our core values and testing the stability of our constitutional system.</u>" "<u>No president in living memory has shown less respect for its tenets, norms and principles,</u>" he added. "<u>Trump has assailed essential institutions and traditions, including the separation of powers, a free press, an independent judiciary, the impartial delivery of justice, safeguards against corruption and most disturbingly, the legitimacy of elections.</u>" Also: "<u>The current overall U.S. score puts American democracy closer to struggling counterparts like Croatia than to traditional peers such as Germany or the United Kingdom.</u>"<sup>64</sup></p>	<p>All</p>

<p>2-5-19</p>	<p><b>The State of the Union.</b> In his State of the Union address, Mr. Trump, reading from a teleprompter, as in his previous addresses to Congress called for bi-partisan unity. But reportedly a deep chill prevailed in the House of Representatives chamber over his ongoing brutality and divisiveness. For example, he continued to rail against the dangers to Americans' prosperity and physical safety at the hands of Hispanic migrants. And while advancing a highly partisan agenda, he ignored many of the largest issues (such as climate change and income inequality) to which many in the chamber had been dedicated. In those senses, the call for comity seemed a gigantic falsehood. The Washington Post's Fact Checker identified nearly 30 more specific factually dubious statements that Mr. Trump made as well.<sup>65</sup></p>	<p>6, 7</p>
<p>2-7-19 +</p>	<p><b>Border pushback.</b> On February 7, the city leaders of Nogales, Texas ordered the U.S. government to remove razor wire that the latter had just installed on an existing mid-city fence at the Mexican border, having found the wire unnecessary, dangerous, unsightly and inflammatory.<sup>66</sup> The following day, city leaders and residents of El Paso, Texas – a low crime city proud of its good interethnic relations – forcefully objected to Mr. Trump’s erroneous claim during his State of the Union address that a border fence there had reduced migrant crime; and they mounted a large protest when Mr. Trump held an anti-immigration rally there on February 11.<sup>67</sup></p>	<p>6, 10</p>
<p>2-8-19</p>	<p><b>Superhuman.</b> After administering Mr. Trump’s annual physical examination, Mr. Trump’s physician again broke from traditional practice and forewent issuing a complete report on the president’s health. Instead, he said of Mr. Trump that he <i>“is in very good health and I anticipate he will remain so for the duration of his Presidency, and beyond.”</i> The prediction echoed that of Mr. Trump’s former physician, who in the previous year had said that Mr. Trump could live to be 200. It also echoed the report of Mr. Trump’s campaign-era physician who had proclaimed that Mr. Trump would be "the healthiest individual ever elected to the presidency" if he won, in a statement that had appeared to have been written by Mr. Trump himself.  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>8, 9, 11</p>

2-8-19	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] While the various predictions of Mr. Trump’s future (and super-human) health may have been innocent colloquial figures of speech, in the aggregate they suggested instead that Mr. Trump had directed the physicians to issue the reports as campaign materials and authoritarian propaganda. One former White House medical official said that to predict the president’s future health defied medical science and professional ethics.<sup>68</sup></p>	8, 9, 11
2-11-19	<p><b><u>In El Paso, violently.</u></b> At a rally in El Paso, Texas in which he promoted his proposed border wall, Mr. Trump reiterated his false claims that the wall was already being built and that a wall had reduced violent crime in El Paso. He also exaggerated the crowd size. Most disturbingly, he incited the heated crowd against both Hispanic migrants and the media. One attendee was inspired to violently attack the BBC’s press crew.<sup>69</sup></p>	1, 5, 6, 7, 9
2-13-19	<p><b><u>Manafort: Once more, with feeling.</u></b> A federal judge found Mr. Trump’s former campaign manager Paul Manafort – already convicted of multiple felonies in connection with his foreign business activities – to have lied to federal officials about his contacts with Russians in performing his campaign work for Mr. Trump. That brought to four the number of Trump campaign officials who had been found to have lied about Russian contacts during the course of federal investigations.<sup>70</sup></p>	17 (7, 12)
2-13-19	<p><b><u>False again on the Koreans.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced that he had caused South Korea to pay an additional \$500 million toward the support of American troops in that country, when in fact the agreed-upon increase was only \$70 million. He had previously stated that the U.S. had 40,000 troops stationed there, when the true number was 28,500.<sup>71</sup> (As recorded above in this Chronology Mr. Trump had also overstated his progress in nuclear negotiations with North Korea on multiple occasions.) He thus likely continued to compromise his credibility on the world stage.</p>	7
2-14-19 to 2-17-19	<p><b><u>Stumbling, internationally.</u></b> Within a period of a few days:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Vice President Mike Pence insulted and frightened Western European allies by traveling to and lauding relationships with Eastern European autocrats while bashing the Western countries for continuing to support the Iran nuclear accord.<sup>72</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	10, 11, 14, 17 (12, 14)



<p>2-14-19 to 2-17-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• At an annual security meeting in Munich, Western European leaders roundly condemned Mr. Trump's antagonism toward a unified West, including relative to his unilateral withdrawals from the Syrian conflict and the Iranian nuclear accord. The Washington Post called it "a full-scale assault on the Trump administration's foreign policy."<sup>73</sup> The New York Times wrote that Russia was thrilled by the very public divisions as between America and its allies.<sup>74</sup></li> <li>• Heather Nauert, a former Fox News personality and Mr. Trump's nominee to replace U.N. Ambassador Nikki Haley following the latter's resignation, withdrew from consideration over having hired an undocumented migrant as a nanny in years past – thus at once re-confirming the Trump administration's ineptitude at vetting its appointees, its staggering hypocrisy on the topic of employing undocumented migrants, and its disinterest in filling the U.N. ambassadorship with someone professionally fit for it.<sup>75</sup> (Mr. Trump would subsequently nominate for the position Kelly Craft, a woman with marginally stronger diplomatic credentials, but also having the principal credential – together with her billionaire husband – of being Kentucky's largest Republican contributor.<sup>76</sup>)</li> <li>• By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump threatened to release 800 ISIS prisoners back into theatre if European governments wouldn't agree to take them and try them – thus both shocking the Europeans and threatening to shoot American security interests in the head (presumably for the sake of "winning" his ongoing negotiations with Europe).<sup>77</sup></li> </ul>	<p>10, 11, 14, 17 (12, 14)</p>
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<p>2-14-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Russian tales.</u></b> In a series of interviews on multiple television channels in which he promoted his new memoir, former acting FBI Director Andrew McCabe – whom Mr. Trump had named acting director after firing Director James Comey, and whom he had then in turn fired – described to reporters what he had considered during and after his tenure to be a number of shocking circumstances:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mr. Trump's heeding Russian President Vladimir Putin's advice about North Korean nuclear capabilities over the advice of U.S. intelligence agencies.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump's wholesale disparagement of the integrity of the FBI.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump's broad attempts to quash the Justice Department's investigations of Russia's election meddling.</li> <li>• The unprecedented level of contacts between Trump associates and Russian government agents, which had caused McCabe to initiate an investigation of Mr. Trump for fear that he might be a Russian asset (see CSD's entry of January 13, above).</li> <li>• Mr. Trump's having fired McCabe for having opened that investigation. (After Mueller was appointed special prosecutor, Mueller took over the investigation.)</li> </ul> <p>Mr. Trump reacted by accusing McCabe of treason.<sup>78</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 12, 13</p>
<p>2-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>The "national emergency."</u></b> Having failed yet again to convince Congress to fund his border wall – that is, after Congress agreed (without Mr. Trump's participation) to avert another government shutdown by funding government operations without a material allocation for the wall – Mr. Trump agreed to sign the legislation. But, as he had threatened (see CSD's entry of January 25, above), <u>he declared a national emergency, pursuant to which he would draw money from other budgetary items to fund the wall's construction.</u> He said that the emergency lay in "an invasion of our country with drugs, with human traffickers, with all types of criminals and gangs." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>2-15-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued below.</i>] The move was unprecedented, in that (a) it defied the prerogative and the will of Congress relative to a fully-debated spending decision; (b) it invoked the president's statutory emergency powers on a ginned-up non-emergency; (c) the wall's efficacy in stopping the dangers that Mr. Trump had cited had been widely discredited; and (d) the declaration derived from purely political and personal motives: to fulfill Mr. Trump's uninformed, racist and demagogic campaign promise (to build the wall), and to impress upon the public that he would never back down from anything. Mr. Trump's boastful, rambling announcement to reporters was also riddled with his usual falsehoods about Hispanic migration. <u>In all, the declaration resembled the emergency declarations commonly promulgated by dictators abroad.</u></p> <p>The emergency declaration was expected to be challenged both by congressional action and by litigation, such that the spending of the "emergency" funds would almost certainly be delayed, if not blocked altogether, and more lawyers than construction workers could be paid. Nevertheless, <u>critics in both parties feared that the declaration could serve as precedent to justify dictatorial actions by future presidents.</u><sup>79</sup></p> <p>Administering the "emergency" response meanwhile promised to be costly. Not only would funds be commandeered from other congressionally mandated programs – including military programs – but the "emergency" endeavor threatened to divert the energies of military and other security officials from true security crises, such as those emanating from China, Russia and the Middle East.<sup>80</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>2-15-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pursuing Justice.</u></b> In the days that followed William Barr's February 15 swearing-in as the country's new attorney general, Mr. Trump launched more than a dozen tweets scalding the Justice Department for such alleged misdeeds as its "witch hunt" and its "coup" attempt against him, the "treason" on the part of some of its leaders, and its "conflicted, illegal and rigged" conduct. The tweets seemed to be a message to Barr, that he toe the Trump line in the administration (or non-administration) of justice.<sup>81</sup>  <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11;  Obstruction of Justice</p>

<p>2-15-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In a lengthy investigative report on February 19, The New York Times published fresh details about Mr. Trump's relentless inside attempts over the course of two years to prevent the Justice Department from investigating himself and his associates. One notable episode consisted of him asking acting Attorney General Matthew Whitaker to put a Trump loyalist in charge of the federal investigation of his hush-money payments to his former extra-marital girlfriends.<sup>82</sup> Mr. Trump responded by tweeting that The Times was "a true ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE." The Times replied by pointing to evidence that Mr. Trump's incendiary, anti-press rhetoric was grossly deviating from fundamental American principle and was endangering the lives of journalists around the world.<sup>83</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11; Obstruction of Justice</p>
<p>2-20-19, 2-21-19</p>	<p><b><u>The wall's construction, in (phony) video.</u></b> In a series of tweets, Mr. Trump posted video clips that he claimed or implied portrayed his completed construction of new sections of a wall at the Mexican border. In fact the videos portrayed the replacement of old, damaged barriers, undertaken months earlier with previously authorized funding – that is, before Congress had recently authorized minor new construction funding, and before Mr. Trump had recently declared a national emergency pursuant to which he could fund additional new construction by executive fiat.<sup>84</sup></p>	<p>6, 7</p>
<p>2-21-19, 2-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>Science denier-in-chief.</u></b> Mr. Trump was reported on February 21 to have named William Happer – a climate science denier with no climatological expertise – to chair the new Presidential Committee on Climate Security. The apparent purpose of the committee would be to refute prior determinations by the Pentagon, the director of national intelligence, multiple scientific advisory panels and Congress that climate change is a national security threat.<sup>85</sup> On February 24, Mr. Trump was reported to now be contemplating the formation of a more secretive committee for this purpose than he had originally planned.<sup>86</sup></p> <p>CSD views the creation of the committee as comparable to Mr. Trump's quixotic empowerment in 2017 of a Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity, to attempt to prove massive electoral fraud during the course of Hillary Clinton's popular vote victory in the 2016 presidential election. That committee was ultimately disbanded without having proven anything, other than the depravity of its mission and leadership.</p>	<p>8, 13</p>

<p>2-25-19</p>	<p><b><u>Ivanka to the rescue.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that his daughter and senior adviser Ivanka had "created millions of jobs." She had not. The closest she had come was to promote a White House jobs training program, in which many of the participating companies had already scheduled trainings.<sup>87</sup></p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>2-27-19</p>	<p><b><u>Cohen confirms.</u></b> Michael Cohen – Mr. Trump's former attorney and self-described "fixer," now an admitted and convicted felon for (among other things) having committed tax fraud, bank fraud, campaign finance violations, and perjury before Congress – confirmed to the House Oversight Committee many things that he and others had previously alleged and/or that had already seemed to observers to have been obvious:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That Mr. Trump (through Cohen) had personally directed, at Mr. Trump's expense, felonious 2016 campaign hush money payments to Mr. Trump's former extra-marital girlfriends for the purpose of influencing the presidential election.</li> <li>• That as president Mr. Trump had omitted those payments from his 2017 financial disclosure forms.</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump's long-time friend, campaign associate and self-described political "dirty trickster" Roger Stone had alerted Mr. Trump in advance that WikiLeaks was going to publish compromising Hillary Clinton campaign emails (which federal officials later determined had been hacked by Russia). See also CSD's entry of January 25, above.</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump had implicitly instructed Cohen to falsely tell Congress in 2017 that Mr. Trump had had no real estate projects in Russia in 2016, when in truth the two men (and Mr. Trump's children) had continued to pursue a Moscow hotel project throughout the 2016 election campaign in hopes of making hundreds of millions of dollars from it.</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump had frequently characterized Africans and African Americans as inferior people.</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump had been a bully and a cheat in his business dealings, having ordered Cohen to threaten Mr. Trump's adversaries over 500 times.</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump had inflated his wealth to obtain business financing while deflating it in his tax reporting (both practices possibly fraudulent).</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump was smug about having avoided service in Vietnam. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 15; Tax fraud; Bank fraud; Election fraud; Subornation of perjury; Obstruction of justice</p>

<p>2-27-19</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That Mr. Trump had rigged an auction to bid up the price of a portrait of himself, then had had his foundation buy the portrait (a likely illegal course of conduct).</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump had had Cohen warn educational institutions not to reveal Mr. Trump's grades or standardized test scores, even though they were already ethically constrained from doing that.</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump's run for the presidency in 2016 was at its core a business-branding and money-making scheme rather than an undertaking on behalf of the public interest, and that Mr. Trump had not wanted to be president.</li> <li>• That Mr. Trump had lied in having denied many of the above behaviors.</li> </ul> <p>In his prepared opening statement, Mr. Cohen had summarized his views of Mr. Trump: <i>"He is a racist. He is a conman. He is a cheat."</i><sup>88</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump, in Hanoi preparing to meet with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un, predictably, tweeted that Cohen was a known liar, and thus not to be believed.</p>	<p>6, 7, 15; Tax fraud; Bank fraud; Election fraud; Subornation of perjury; Obstruction of justice</p>
<p>2-27-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>My friend Kim.</u></b> Beginning his new round of de-nuclearization meetings with the savagely brutal North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un on February 27 in Hanoi, Mr. Trump referred to him as his "friend," as he had done repeatedly after his meetings with Kim in Singapore in 2018. (Among other things, Mr. Trump had said at that time that the two men had "fallen in love.") He then called Kim a "great leader," and said that the U.S. and North Korea enjoyed a "very special relationship." Subsequently, in terminating the meetings on February 28 after their failure, he spoke of the "warmth" he continued to shared with Kim. He also said that he trusted Kim's denial of having known that American student Otto Warmbier was being mortally mistreated while in North Korean detention. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>10, 11, 12</p>

<p>2-27-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Mr. Trump's remarks were consistent with his favorable personal words for such butchers as Chinese President Xi Jinping, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Egyptian President Abdel Fatah al-Sissi, and for such election campaign felons (convicted, admitted or indicted) as Paul Manafort, Roger Stone, and (until he flipped on Mr. Trump) Michael Cohen.<sup>89</sup> Whether any or all of those expressions of warmth had been strategic or genuine, they suggested an instinctive affinity for butchers and felons never before displayed by an American president. By way of example, CSD continues to question whether under any circumstances a previous American president would have referred to, say, the then Soviet Union's savage dictator Josef Stalin as his "friend."</p> <p>Another dissonant note in Mr. Trump's praise of Kim's communist regime lay in his ongoing, furious denunciations of "socialism" as it had appeared (rabidly) in Venezuela and (mildly) among some Democratic members of Congress and contenders for the 2020 presidential nomination.<sup>90</sup> CSD believes that the contradiction can be squared by contrasting foreign regimes (Venezuelan) and domestic politicians (Democrats) who might try to redistribute the wealth of persons such as himself with a regime (North Korean) where he had publicly implied that he could someday add to his fortune as a real estate developer.</p> <p>As for the collapse of the de-nuclearization talks, it revived the appearance that Mr. Trump's glowing report on the Singapore talks the previous year had been either naive or outright fraudulent. It also further discredited his long-standing, avowed belief that he could succeed in complex negotiations through the force of his personality and his ability to build "relationships" rather than by relying on information, preparation and strategy.</p> <p>Reportedly, North Korea's nuclear threat was now greater than ever.<sup>91</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 12</p>
<p>2-28-19</p>	<p><b>ISIS claim.</b> Mr. Trump falsely stated that the U.S. had captured "100%" of the territory in Syria held by ISIS. <i>"The Pentagon scrambled to catch up with Mr. Trump's comments,"</i> The New York Times reported.<sup>92</sup> The complete capture did indeed appear to be imminent; but Mr. Trump's continued exaggerations and fabrications broadcast to world leaders, both friendly and hostile, his utter unreliability.</p>	<p>7, 13</p>

<p>3-1-19</p>	<p><b>Kushner's special clearance.</b> Media reported that in 2018 Mr. Trump had ordered that his son-in-law and senior adviser Jared Kushner be granted a top secret security clearance, over the objections of his then chief of staff John Kelly, his then White House Counsel Don McGahn, the CIA, and various career security officials. Mr. Trump had publicly denied similar reports to that effect in January 2019. The episode gave rise to serious questions both about Kushner's security defects and Mr. Trump's nepotistic, authoritarian defiance of national security norms.<sup>93</sup> (See also CSD's entry of January 25 on this topic.)</p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 13</p>
<p>3-2-19</p>	<p><b>Down on Mueller.</b> In a speech before a conservative political group in Maryland, Mr. Trump said that special prosecutor Robert Mueller had "perhaps the worst reputation of any human being I have ever seen." (In fact Mueller's reputation among law enforcement professionals and Washington politicians was generally impeccable.) He also called former FBI Director James Comey a liar, and Mueller's investigation a "witch hunt."<sup>94</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11; Obstruction of justice</p>

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/us/politics/trump-cohen-testimony.html>

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/here-are-18-reasons-why-trump-could-be-a-russian-asset/2019/01/13/45b1b250-174f-11e9-88fe-f9f77a3bec6c\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.e2854f519517](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/here-are-18-reasons-why-trump-could-be-a-russian-asset/2019/01/13/45b1b250-174f-11e9-88fe-f9f77a3bec6c_story.html?utm_term=.e2854f519517)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/11/us/politics/fbi-trump-russia-inquiry.html?module=inline>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-didnt-deploy-note-takers-at-putin-meeting-11547419186?mod=itp\\_wsj&ru=yahoo](https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-didnt-deploy-note-takers-at-putin-meeting-11547419186?mod=itp_wsj&ru=yahoo) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-has-concealed-details-of-his-face-to-face-encounters-with-putin-from-senior-officials-in-administration/2019/01/12/65f6686c-1434-11e9-b6ad-9cfd62dbb0a8\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.2b1e6a0008e3](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-has-concealed-details-of-his-face-to-face-encounters-with-putin-from-senior-officials-in-administration/2019/01/12/65f6686c-1434-11e9-b6ad-9cfd62dbb0a8_story.html?utm_term=.2b1e6a0008e3)

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-warns-turkey-not-to-attack-kurds-in-syria-11547423353?mod=itp\\_wsj&ru=yahoo](https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-warns-turkey-not-to-attack-kurds-in-syria-11547423353?mod=itp_wsj&ru=yahoo) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/13/us/politics/trump-turkey-kurds.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trumps-vow-to-devastate-turkey-rattles-negotiations-over-syria-withdrawal/2019/01/14/1a61049c-17ff-11e9-88fe-f9f77a3bec6c\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.3ceb5f4c6d1a&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trumps-vow-to-devastate-turkey-rattles-negotiations-over-syria-withdrawal/2019/01/14/1a61049c-17ff-11e9-88fe-f9f77a3bec6c_story.html?utm_term=.3ceb5f4c6d1a&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/business/media/trump-bezos-national-enquirer-pecker-twitter.html>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/opinion/trump-government-shutdown.html>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/nyregion/tsa-shutdown-airport.html>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/us/politics/trump-defends-trade-policies-to-farmers-feeling-the-pinch.html>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/15/shutdown-impact-inspection-finance-investigation-1079014>



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- <sup>11</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/15/government-shutdown-foreign-policy-state-department-1102349>
- <sup>12</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/travel-ipos-shutdown-upsetting-us-economy-60411171> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/15/us/politics/government-shutdown-economy.html>
- <sup>13</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/trafficandcommuting/for-now-the-skies-remain-safe-officials-say-but-the-shutdown-is-stressing-the-nations-air-safety-system/2019/01/15/d5fcca82-1819-11e9-8813-cb9dec761e73\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.1982364f4803&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/trafficandcommuting/for-now-the-skies-remain-safe-officials-say-but-the-shutdown-is-stressing-the-nations-air-safety-system/2019/01/15/d5fcca82-1819-11e9-8813-cb9dec761e73_story.html?utm_term=.1982364f4803&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/23/us/shutdown-airports-security.html>
- <sup>14</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/15/climate/government-shutdown-climate-change.html>
- <sup>15</sup> <https://www.cNBC.com/2019/01/17/the-us-coast-guard-is-working-through-the-shutdown-without-pay.html>
- <sup>16</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/17/government-shutdown-victim-school-lunches-1096437>
- <sup>17</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/surprise-we-need-the-federal-government/2019/01/17/48fcd60e-1a8a-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.63ad12f993d0&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/surprise-we-need-the-federal-government/2019/01/17/48fcd60e-1a8a-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081_story.html?utm_term=.63ad12f993d0&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>18</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/18/shutdown-long-term-damage-1092556>
- <sup>19</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/shutdowns-invisible-costs-cyberthreats-untrained-firefighters-bug-invasions/2019/01/18/e619f5b6-1a71-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.f4f6c77d4979&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/shutdowns-invisible-costs-cyberthreats-untrained-firefighters-bug-invasions/2019/01/18/e619f5b6-1a71-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081_story.html?utm_term=.f4f6c77d4979&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)
- <sup>20</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/the-shutdown-is-undercutting-the-irs-just-in-time-for-a-particularly-difficult-tax-season/2019/01/18/6b649ed8-1b53-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c8f8c2535d3f&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/the-shutdown-is-undercutting-the-irs-just-in-time-for-a-particularly-difficult-tax-season/2019/01/18/6b649ed8-1b53-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081_story.html?utm_term=.c8f8c2535d3f&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/irs-tax-refunds-shutdown\\_us\\_5c4836a3e4b025aa26be64b5](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/irs-tax-refunds-shutdown_us_5c4836a3e4b025aa26be64b5) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/hundreds-of-irs-employees-are-skipping-work-that-could-delay-tax-refunds/2019/01/22/1885e74e-1e7d-11e9-8e21-59a09ff1e2a1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.d65e10eb3010&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/economy/hundreds-of-irs-employees-are-skipping-work-that-could-delay-tax-refunds/2019/01/22/1885e74e-1e7d-11e9-8e21-59a09ff1e2a1_story.html?utm_term=.d65e10eb3010&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>21</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/18/us/politics/courts-money-government-shutdown.html>
- <sup>22</sup> [https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-consumer-sentiment-falls-11547825356?mod=itp\\_wsj&ru=yahoo](https://www.wsj.com/articles/u-s-consumer-sentiment-falls-11547825356?mod=itp_wsj&ru=yahoo) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/18/business/economy/government-shutdown-polls-economy.html>
- <sup>23</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/18/us/government-shutdown-hurricanes-disasters.html>
- <sup>24</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/22/fbi-shutdown-report-1119526>
- <sup>25</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-shutdown-science-grants-national-academy-of-science\\_us\\_5c4873c6e4b083c46d645281](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/trump-shutdown-science-grants-national-academy-of-science_us_5c4873c6e4b083c46d645281)
- <sup>26</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/15/trump-shutdown-pelosi-schumer-1100142?cid=apn>
- <sup>27</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/25/trump-government-shutdown-over-1128594>
- <sup>28</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-shutdown-s-p/u-s-economy-lost-at-least-6-billion-to-government-shutdown-sp-idUSKCN1PJ2MU> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/28/us/politics/shutdown-cost-us-economy-11-billion-cbo-says.html> and [https://www.wsj.com/articles/cbo-shutdown-will-cost-government-3-billion-of-projected-2019-gdp-11548688574?mod=itp\\_wsj&ru=yahoo](https://www.wsj.com/articles/cbo-shutdown-will-cost-government-3-billion-of-projected-2019-gdp-11548688574?mod=itp_wsj&ru=yahoo)

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- <sup>29</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/25/us/politics/trump-shutdown-border-wall-fact-check.html>
- <sup>30</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/president-donald-trumps-inaugural-fund-spent-lavishly-dc/story?id=60361242> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/us/politics/trump-inauguration-spending.html>
- <sup>31</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-place-i-feel-very-comfortable-t-mobile-executives-seeking-government-approval-for-merger-stayed-at-trumps-hotel-repeatedly/2019/01/15/6a114d3e-142c-11e9-b6ad-9cfd62dbb0a8\\_story.html?noredirect=on&utm\\_term=.b1f222e068c0](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-place-i-feel-very-comfortable-t-mobile-executives-seeking-government-approval-for-merger-stayed-at-trumps-hotel-repeatedly/2019/01/15/6a114d3e-142c-11e9-b6ad-9cfd62dbb0a8_story.html?noredirect=on&utm_term=.b1f222e068c0)
- <sup>32</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/14/us/politics/ivanka-trump-world-bank-president.html>
- <sup>33</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/16/watchdog-gsa-ignored-emoluments-trump-hotel-lease-1106581?cid=apn> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/federal-agency-improperly-ignored-constitutional-concerns-before-allowing-trump-to-lease-building-for-his-hotel-internal-watchdog-says/2019/01/16/9488548a-19cd-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.d2e6195ba48e&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/federal-agency-improperly-ignored-constitutional-concerns-before-allowing-trump-to-lease-building-for-his-hotel-internal-watchdog-says/2019/01/16/9488548a-19cd-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081_story.html?utm_term=.d2e6195ba48e&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)
- <sup>34</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/15/citizenship-question-2020-census-1100772>
- <sup>35</sup> <https://www.wsj.com/articles/poll-rigging-for-trump-and-creating-womenforcohen-one-it-firms-work-order-11547722801>
- <sup>36</sup> [https://www.buzzfeednews.com/amphhtml/jasonleopold/trump-russia-cohen-moscow-tower-mueller-investigation?\\_twitter\\_impression=true](https://www.buzzfeednews.com/amphhtml/jasonleopold/trump-russia-cohen-moscow-tower-mueller-investigation?_twitter_impression=true)
- <sup>37</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/justice-department/if-latest-report-true-which-crimes-might-trump-have-committed-n960406>
- <sup>38</sup> [https://www.wsj.com/articles/house-speaker-pelosi-house-to-vote-on-more-bills-next-week-to-end-shutdown-11547741569?mod=itp\\_wsj&ru=yahoo](https://www.wsj.com/articles/house-speaker-pelosi-house-to-vote-on-more-bills-next-week-to-end-shutdown-11547741569?mod=itp_wsj&ru=yahoo) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-says-hes-canceling-pelosis-foreign-trip-a-day-after-she-asked-him-to-delay-his-state-of-the-union-speech/2019/01/17/75acf6c2-1a8d-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.48738f298679&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-says-hes-canceling-pelosis-foreign-trip-a-day-after-she-asked-him-to-delay-his-state-of-the-union-speech/2019/01/17/75acf6c2-1a8d-11e9-9ebf-c5fed1b7a081_story.html?utm_term=.48738f298679&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/01/17/trumps-letter-pelosi-accomplished-its-main-goal-owning-libs/?utm\\_term=.8341d986acfb&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/01/17/trumps-letter-pelosi-accomplished-its-main-goal-owning-libs/?utm_term=.8341d986acfb&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/17/us/politics/trump-pelosi-letter-trip.html> and <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/01/18/pelosi-afghanistan-trip-canceled-1112593>
- <sup>39</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/19/opinion/sunday/trump-ocasio-cortez-dowd.html>
- <sup>40</sup> [https://www.wsj.com/articles/trumps-proposed-aca-rules-could-lift-costs-for-millions-of-people-11547775475?mod=itp\\_wsj&ru=yahoo](https://www.wsj.com/articles/trumps-proposed-aca-rules-could-lift-costs-for-millions-of-people-11547775475?mod=itp_wsj&ru=yahoo)
- <sup>41</sup> [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/health-care-uninsured-rate-5-year-high\\_us\\_5c474b2de4b027c3bbc5ed7a](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/health-care-uninsured-rate-5-year-high_us_5c474b2de4b027c3bbc5ed7a)
- <sup>42</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/01/23/president-trump-spins-asylum-restrictions-humanitarian-relief/?utm\\_term=.0aee069806e7&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/01/23/president-trump-spins-asylum-restrictions-humanitarian-relief/?utm_term=.0aee069806e7&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>43</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-administration-to-start-sending-asylum-seekers-back-to-mexico/2019/01/24/53961fb0-2022-11e9-8e21-59a09ff1e2a1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.aa09555b4109&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/trump-administration-to-start-sending-asylum-seekers-back-to-mexico/2019/01/24/53961fb0-2022-11e9-8e21-59a09ff1e2a1_story.html?utm_term=.aa09555b4109&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/24/us/politics/migrants-blocked-asylum-trump.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/25/world/americas/mexico-asylum-seekers.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the\\_americas/asylum-seekers-are-being-sent-back-to-mexico-as-trump-administration-rolls-out-new-policy/2019/01/29/a0a89e9c-233b-11e9-b5b4-1d18dfb7b084\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.ad25cd81022e&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/the_americas/asylum-seekers-are-being-sent-back-to-mexico-as-trump-administration-rolls-out-new-policy/2019/01/29/a0a89e9c-233b-11e9-b5b4-1d18dfb7b084_story.html?utm_term=.ad25cd81022e&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

- <sup>44</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/01/20/us/politics/trump-tower-moscow-cohen-giuliani.html>
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<sup>79</sup> [https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-set-to-declare-national-emergency-at-border-sign-legislation-to-fund-government-11550241799?mod=itp\\_wsj&ru=yahoo](https://www.wsj.com/articles/trump-set-to-declare-national-emergency-at-border-sign-legislation-to-fund-government-11550241799?mod=itp_wsj&ru=yahoo) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/15/trump-national-emergency-border-wall-1170988?cid=apn> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/14/declaring-national-emergency-build-border-wall-is-out-step-with-history-unpopular/?utm\\_term=.018ade3acdd6&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/14/declaring-national-emergency-build-border-wall-is-out-step-with-history-unpopular/?utm_term=.018ade3acdd6&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/an-emergency-declaration-by-trump-will-lead-to-lawsuits-lots-of-them/2019/02/14/4aef5828-3098-11e9-8781-763619f12cb4\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.e907d5c81729&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/an-emergency-declaration-by-trump-will-lead-to-lawsuits-lots-of-them/2019/02/14/4aef5828-3098-11e9-8781-763619f12cb4_story.html?utm_term=.e907d5c81729&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trumps-border-emergency-the-president-plans-a-10-am-announcement-in-the-rose-garden/2019/02/15/f0310e62-3110-11e9-86ab-5d02109aeb01\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.dc9c6d24aae7&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trumps-border-emergency-the-president-plans-a-10-am-announcement-in-the-rose-garden/2019/02/15/f0310e62-3110-11e9-86ab-5d02109aeb01_story.html?utm_term=.dc9c6d24aae7&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/15/fact-checking-trumps-announcement-national-emergency/?utm\\_term=.0b40c5943a7a&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/15/fact-checking-trumps-announcement-national-emergency/?utm_term=.0b40c5943a7a&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/15/us/politics/trump-presidency-national-emergency.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/15/us/politics/fact-checking-trump-emergency-border.html>

<sup>80</sup> CNN television commentary, February 17, 2019.



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- <sup>81</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/enjoy-your-life-trump-puts-new-attorney-general-in-an-awkward-position-from-the-start/2019/02/19/aa9bc492-3466-11e9-af5b-b51b7ff322e9\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.12e7d4cdce0e&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/enjoy-your-life-trump-puts-new-attorney-general-in-an-awkward-position-from-the-start/2019/02/19/aa9bc492-3466-11e9-af5b-b51b7ff322e9_story.html?utm_term=.12e7d4cdce0e&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>82</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/19/us/politics/trump-investigations.html>
- <sup>83</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/press/new-york-times-publisher-a-g-sulzberger-responded-to-president-trumps-continued-attacks-on-a-free-press/>
- <sup>84</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/21/us/politics/new-mexico-wall-fact-check.html> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-border-wall-video-months-old\\_n\\_5c6fd5afe4b00eed083300af](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-border-wall-video-months-old_n_5c6fd5afe4b00eed083300af)
- <sup>85</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/20/climate/climate-national-security-threat.html> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/william-happer-climate-jews\\_n\\_5c6e0f2be4b0f40774cbfa70](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/william-happer-climate-jews_n_5c6e0f2be4b0f40774cbfa70)
- <sup>86</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/white-house-to-select-federal-scientists-to-reassess-government-climate-findings-sources-say/2019/02/24/49cd0a84-37dd-11e9-af5b-b51b7ff322e9\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.fe860c7e40fe&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/health-science/white-house-to-select-federal-scientists-to-reassess-government-climate-findings-sources-say/2019/02/24/49cd0a84-37dd-11e9-af5b-b51b7ff322e9_story.html?utm_term=.fe860c7e40fe&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)
- <sup>87</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-ivanka-trump-millions-of-jobs-claim\\_n\\_5c74e895e4b0bf16620293a4](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-ivanka-trump-millions-of-jobs-claim_n_5c74e895e4b0bf16620293a4) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/27/did-ivanka-trump-create-millions-jobs/?utm\\_term=.427f8ad2a53f&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/27/did-ivanka-trump-create-millions-jobs/?utm_term=.427f8ad2a53f&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>88</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/26/us/politics/michael-cohen-trump-congress.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/27/us/politics/donald-trump-wealth.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/cohen-tells-congress-trump-knew-about-wikileaks-plans-directed-hush-money-payments/2019/02/27/f2784a20-3acd-11e9-a2cd-307b06d0257b\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.1d8acbaa94e9](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/cohen-tells-congress-trump-knew-about-wikileaks-plans-directed-hush-money-payments/2019/02/27/f2784a20-3acd-11e9-a2cd-307b06d0257b_story.html?utm_term=.1d8acbaa94e9) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/michael-cohen-donald-trump-investigation\\_n\\_5c771555e4b010e7c563a5f3](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/michael-cohen-donald-trump-investigation_n_5c771555e4b010e7c563a5f3) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/michael-cohen-how-many-times-meme\\_n\\_5c772d59e4b010e7c563baf2](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/michael-cohen-how-many-times-meme_n_5c772d59e4b010e7c563baf2)
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- <sup>90</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/02/27/trump-socialism-vietnam-1192854>
- <sup>91</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/02/28/trumps-hubris-inexperience-set-up-failure-hanoi/?utm\\_term=.a015e2186ec2&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/02/28/trumps-hubris-inexperience-set-up-failure-hanoi/?utm_term=.a015e2186ec2&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>92</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/28/world/middleeast/trump-isis-territory.html>
- <sup>93</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/02/28/us/politics/jared-kushner-security-clearance.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-sought-top-secret-security-clearance-for-jared-kushner-last-year-despite-concerns-of-john-kelly-and-intelligence-officials/2019/02/28/2eacc72e-3bae-11e9-aaae-69364b2ed137\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.8875cb7e473f&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-sought-top-secret-security-clearance-for-jared-kushner-last-year-despite-concerns-of-john-kelly-and-intelligence-officials/2019/02/28/2eacc72e-3bae-11e9-aaae-69364b2ed137_story.html?utm_term=.8875cb7e473f&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/house-panel-kushner-clearance-records\\_n\\_5c79ed35e4b0e1f776519ee1](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/house-panel-kushner-clearance-records_n_5c79ed35e4b0e1f776519ee1)
- <sup>94</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-fumes-following-cohen-testimony-mueller-investigation-bullshit\\_n\\_5c7acc95e4b0e5e313caf1d9](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-fumes-following-cohen-testimony-mueller-investigation-bullshit_n_5c7acc95e4b0e5e313caf1d9)



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 23 – May 31, 2019*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

3-2-19	<b><u>Golf, anyone?</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that his financially troubled Trump International Golf Links property in Scotland was " <i>perhaps the greatest golf course anywhere in the world. Also furthers U.K. relationship!</i> " The tweet drew immediate condemnation from watchdog organizations as an attempt to profit financially from his presidency. As for the U.K. relationship, Mr. Trump had recently lost his long-standing lawsuit against the Scottish government in which he had sought to bar wind turbines from coastal waters visible from his course; and a Scottish court had recently ordered that he reimburse the government for its legal fees. <sup>1</sup>	7, 15
3-2-19	<b><u>Hotel Kuwait.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that on February 26 the government of Kuwait had hosted a gala event at the Trump International Hotel in Washington, thus lining Mr. Trump's pockets with income – contrary to constitutional proscription – and causing a Democratic member of Congress to decline the invitation. <sup>2</sup>	15

<p>3-2-19 +</p>	<p><b>Jared of Arabia.</b> On March 2, a New York Times columnist drew a disturbing line between (a) presidential advisor and son-in-law Jared Kushner's attempts to enable Westinghouse Electric to sell nuclear power plant technology to Saudi Arabia and (b) Westinghouse's parent company having bailed out Kushner from a Manhattan real estate investment that had threatened to bankrupt him. The power plant sale was being opposed by nearly everyone else in government – as an invitation to nuclear weapons proliferation on the part of a rogue Saudi regime that had already distinguished itself as the premier destabilizing force and human rights abuser in the Gulf region.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Observers believed that Kushner's international business conflicts of interest and his lack of transparency about them had constituted at least one likely cause of the revocation of his security clearance in early 2018<sup>4</sup> – a clearance that was subsequently restored and upgraded, at Mr. Trump's insistence, over the objections of many ranking administration officials (as reported by CSD on March 1, 2019). On March 4, the White House refused a request by the House Oversight Committee to release records relating to the security clearance process for Kushner and others.<sup>5</sup></p> <p>On March 5, CNN reported that Mr. Trump had personally granted his daughter and advisor Ivanka a security clearance after then chief of staff John Kelly and White House counsel Don McGahn had refused to do so. Three weeks before the report, Ms. Trump had publicly denied that her father had been involved in her clearance or in Kushner's.<sup>6</sup> Like Kushner's, her clearance denial had presumably involved business conflicts of interest; that is to say, the potential for corruption – a risk that had long appeared to attend authoritarian, nepotistic regimes worldwide.</p>	<p>9, 11, 13, 17 (15)</p>



<p>3-4-19</p>	<p><b>Fact Checker update.</b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker counted a cumulative 9,014 false or misleading statements that Mr. Trump had made since taking office. Having averaged 16.5 such claims per day in 2018, he was averaging 22 per day in 2019. He made over 100 such claims (including with respect to his inauguration and rally crowd sizes, the status of the Mexican border wall's construction, how wind farms operate, and how the Justice Department was persecuting him) in his bitter, boastful, name-calling, extemporaneous, disconnected, two-hour-plus speech to the annual Conservative Political Action Conference on March 2 in National Harbor, Maryland – at which he hugged the American flag and proclaimed that the hall was filled with "love."<sup>7</sup></p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>3-5-19</p>	<p><b>Fox propaganda.</b> A lengthy New Yorker article posed that Mr. Trump's relationship with Fox News was so extensive and so unusual as to amount to the network serving as his captive and intentionally inflammatory propaganda arm, and something approaching state TV. Fox had been closely collaborating with Mr. Trump's messaging on a daily basis; Fox had often disseminated false conspiracy theories that appealed to Mr. Trump's base; Mr. Trump had been deriving much of his policy information from watching Fox; staffers frequently moved from Fox's payroll to the White House's, or the reverse; and Fox had even killed the story of Mr. Trump's campaign pay-off to extra-marital girlfriend Stormy Daniels before it was published elsewhere. The New Yorker attributed the genesis of the Fox-Trump relationship to the long-standing relationship and affinities as between Mr. Trump and Fox's owner, Rupert Murdoch. Both men, wrote the reporter, were fundamentally "devoid of almost any ideology besides self-interest," and both had derived their success from "fear-based, anger-based politics that has to do with class and race."<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>3-5-19</p>	<p><b>Hush money at the White House.</b> The New York Times reported that not only did Mr. Trump direct and reimburse his then lawyer Michael Cohen's illegal campaign hush money payments to one of Mr. Trump's former extra-marital girlfriends, and later deny any knowledge of the payments, but he made the reimbursements from the White House itself between performing official presidential duties. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9; Debasing the presidency</p>

<p>3-5-19</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] The Times wrote: " The president hosted a foreign leader in the Oval Office, then wrote a check. He haggled over legislation, then wrote a check. He traveled abroad, then wrote a check. On the same day he reportedly pressured the F.B.I. director to drop an investigation into a former aide, the president's trust issued a check to Mr. Cohen in furtherance of what federal prosecutors have called a criminal scheme to violate campaign finance laws at the direction of Mr. Trump."</i><sup>9</sup></p>	<p>7, 9; Debasing the presidency</p>
<p>3-6-19, 4-5-19</p>	<p><b>Census question blocked, again, and again.</b> On March 6, a federal court in California found that Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross's fervent attempts to include within the constitutionally mandated 2020 decennial census a question about the respondent's citizenship would violate the very purpose of the census, in that it would cause an undercounting of (minority) American residents. The court enjoined the inclusion of the question, stating that the question "threatens the very foundation of our democratic system."<sup>10</sup></p> <p>On April 5, a federal court in Maryland blocked the inclusion of the question. The judge wrote: "<i>The unreasonableness of [the government's] addition of a citizenship question to the Census is underscored by the lack of any genuine need for the citizenship question, the woefully deficient process that led to it, the mysterious and potentially improper political considerations that motivated the decision and the clear pretext offered to the public.</i>"<sup>11</sup></p> <p>The rulings followed similar rulings by a federal court in New York, as reported by CSD on January 15. (Many previous entries in this Chronology have pointed to the apparently racist and anti-democratic implications of the question's inclusion.)</p>	<p>17 (6, 9)</p>
<p>3-6-19</p>	<p><b>The Trump boys, employing illegally.</b> The Washington Post reported that the president's sons Donald, Jr. and Eric Trump had until recently employed an undocumented Mexican national as the caretaker of their private hunting preserve in New York State, and that they had dismissed him only following the revelation by The Post and The New York Times of considerable undocumented employment at several of Mr. Trump's golf clubs. (See CSD's entries of December 6, 2018, January 3, 2019 and January 26, 2019 concerning the golf clubs.)</p>	<p>17 (Crime and hypocrisy)</p>

<p>3-6-19, 3-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Trump dad, employing recklessly.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist on March 6 summarized the stunning array of senior Trump administration officials who had (a) departed, (b) publicly contradicted Mr. Trump, (c) been publicly faulted by Mr. Trump while serving, (d) disparaged Mr. Trump before serving or after leaving office, (e) written books about Mr. Trump after leaving office, or (f) been indicted for or convicted of crimes in connection with serving Mr. Trump. <i>"It's a personnel problem of incalculable dimensions, but with a common denominator: Trump. Either he's a bad judge of talent, or nobody with talent wants to work for him, or he's a terrible boss — or all three,"</i> the columnist wrote.<sup>12</sup></p> <p>On March 8, Bill Shine, who was serving as the fifth or sixth White House communications director during Mr. Trump's two-year presidency (the counts vary), resigned — seemingly due to the impossibility of managing Mr. Trump's capricious statements.<sup>13</sup> On the same day, Heather Wilson resigned as Air Force Secretary.<sup>14</sup></p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>3-8-11</p>	<p><b><u>Who hates whom?</u></b> Spurred by comments by a Muslim, freshman, Democratic member of Congress that were critical of Israel and that some Democrats and Republicans viewed as anti-Semitic, Mr. Trump reacted. First he told reporters, <i>"Democrats have become an anti-Israel party. They've become an anti-Jewish party, and that's too bad."</i> Then he told a group of Republican donors that Democrats "hate Jewish people." The statements were not only preposterous, but they evidenced Mr. Trump's worst attempts to scapegoat the Democrats, incite anti-Muslim animus, and divide the country. They also ignored his own election campaign's anti-Semitic tropes and his reluctance to denounce racist and anti-Semitic extremists such as those within his own party and those who had marched in Charlottesville in 2017.<sup>15</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>3-8-19, 3-13-19</p>	<p><b>No collusion.</b> Following a federal judge's sentencing of Mr. Trump's initial campaign manager Paul Manafort to 47 months in prison for tax and bank fraud, on March 8 Mr. Trump tweeted that the judge had ruled that "there was no collusion with Russia" – thus reprising Mr. Trump's nearly continuous cries to that effect during special prosecutor Robert Mueller's ongoing investigation of him. In fact the judge had explicitly stated in his ruling that the question of whether Manafort had colluded with Russia in the latter's tampering with the 2016 presidential election had not been before him.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>On March 13, a second federal judge sentenced Manafort to an additional 43 months in prison for other crimes: illegally lobbying for Ukraine, hiding his lobbying earnings, and encouraging witnesses to lie on his behalf. Afterwards his attorney told the press that the judge had found "no collusion" – something that again the judge had expressly declined to rule on.<sup>17</sup> Noting the synchrony between the stories of Mr. Trump and Manafort's lawyer, observers speculated that Manafort was continuing to angle for a pardon from Mr. Trump, and that Mr. Trump might well grant it.</p>	<p>7; 17 (Something fishy)</p>
<p>3-11-19, 3-12-19</p>	<p><b>Gutting refugee relief.</b> On March 11, the Trump administration submitted to Congress a proposal for the FY 2020 budget that would virtually eliminate the State Department's Bureau of Population, Refugees and Migration – the unit that arranges for the admission of refugees to the U.S. The proposal would also cut humanitarian aid and refugee assistance overseas, thus giving the lie to the administration's own stated reasoning for having chopped refugee admissions here to a record low – that it's more cost-effective to help refugees in venues closer to their home countries than here. A group of former military officers said that the abatement of such overseas programs would compromise U.S. security.<sup>18</sup></p> <p>On March 12, the administration announced that it would close the overseas operations of the Department of Homeland Security's U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, thus further slowing the lawful admission to the U.S. of refugees and others.<sup>19</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 14</p>

<p>3-11-19, 3-12-19</p>	<p><b><u>Shredding science and technology.</u></b> Mr. Trump's March 11 budget announcement included further funding cuts for the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, and a technology program within the Department of Energy.<sup>20</sup></p> <p>On March 12, following the tragic crash of a Boeing 737 passenger aircraft in Ethiopia, Mr. Trump's only public reaction yet again betrayed his astonishing ignorance of and antipathy toward technology. In lieu of expressing condolences to the families of the victims, he tweeted (without knowledge of or relevance to anything): <i>"Airplanes are becoming far too complex to fly. Pilots are no longer needed, but rather computer scientists from MIT. I see it all the time in many products. Always seeking to go one unnecessary step further, when often old and simpler is far better. ... All this cost for very little gain."</i></p> <p>CSD found it hard to fathom how the president of the United States, or for that matter any contemporary person of purported education and intellect, could so casually and ignorantly disparage the fields of endeavor that have brought us modern medicine (of which Mr. Trump reportedly had taken advantage), computing (of which he had not), space travel (which he had proposed to militarize), and Twitter itself.</p>	<p>8</p>
<p>3-13-19, 3-14-19</p>	<p><b><u>Threatening violence against "the left."</u></b> On March 13, Mr. Trump told the incendiary, right-wing Breitbart News in an interview: <i>"You know, the left plays a tougher game, it's very funny. I actually think that the people on the right are tougher, but they don't play it tougher. Okay? <u>I can tell you I have the support of the police, the support of the military, the support of the Bikers for Trump – I have the tough people, but they don't play it tough — until they go to a certain point, and then it would be very bad, very bad.</u>"<sup>21</sup></i></p> <p>The next day, The Washington Post reported that Venezuela's authoritarian strongman Nicolas Maduro was using armed motorcycle gangs to sow terror and to enforce his will.<sup>22</sup></p>	<p>5</p>

<p>3-13-19, 3-14-19</p>	<p><b><u>Does Congress begin to stand?</u></b> On March 13, the Republican-controlled Senate voted 54 to 46 to curtail Mr. Trump's military support for the atrocity-soaked Saudi Arabian war in Yemen. (The Democratic-controlled House of Representatives had passed a similar measure earlier in the year.)<sup>23</sup> On March 14, the Senate voted 59-41 to overturn Mr. Trump's declaration of a national emergency at the Mexican border – a declaration which he had claimed would enable him to fund the construction of a border wall without a congressional appropriation. (The House had passed a similar measure in February.)<sup>24</sup> Also on March 14, the House resolved 420 to 0 that Attorney General William Barr release special prosecutor Robert Mueller's report to the public when issued, amid concerns that Mr. Trump and Barr would block that release.<sup>25</sup> In the aggregate, those developments raised <u>the possibility that Congress could draw more lines against Mr. Trump's authoritarian abuses.</u><sup>26</sup></p> <p>As expected, on March 15 <u>Mr. Trump vetoed the bill overturning his national emergency declaration. It was his first veto; and – as compared to all possible vetoes available to a president – he exercised it specifically to preserve extraordinary powers that he had claimed for himself.</u><sup>27</sup> As to the resolution on the special prosecutor, he tweeted that "there should be no Mueller report," and that the investigation was "illegal and conflicted."</p>	<p>9, 12; Obstruction of Justice</p>
<p>3-15-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>New Zealand massacre.</u></b> On March 15, a white nationalist slaughtered 51 Muslim worshippers at two mosques in Christchurch, New Zealand, claiming that he had been inspired in part by Mr. Trump.<sup>28</sup></p> <p>Whether Mr. Trump's Islamophobia, his appeals to white nationalists or his occasional veiled calls for civil violence had in fact helped inspire the New Zealand gunman was indeterminable. But the episode recalled the recent Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania synagogue massacre (see CSD's entry of October 27 +, 2018), the recent pipe bomb threats by an American Trump devotee (see our entry of October 24 +, 2018), the car attack by a white nationalist in Charlottesville, Virginia (see our entry of August 12, 2017), and the many other episodes of white nationalist and anti-Muslim violence that had arisen in the U.S. since Mr. Trump's election and that he had declined to criticize.<sup>29</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>5, 6</p>

<p>3-15-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] When questioned by reporters about the Christchurch massacre, <u>Mr. Trump said that he did not believe that white nationalism was a significant problem</u><sup>30</sup> (<u>contradicting the FBI's view</u><sup>31</sup>). <u>And after condemning the shooting in perfunctory remarks, he quickly followed by blasting the "invasion" of the U.S. by Hispanic criminals.</u><sup>32</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump also declined to condemn anti-Muslim bigotry and violence, or to express sympathy for the Muslim community at home and abroad relative to the Christchurch massacre, despite a public outcry that he do so.<sup>33</sup> And on March 17, three times he tweeted his support for Jeanine Pirro, an incendiary Fox News commentator who had recently been disciplined by Fox itself for her most recent anti-Muslim statements.</p>	<p>5, 6</p>
<p>3-15-19 to 3-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>Tweeting the weekend away.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted 50 times over the weekend – a substantial increase from his weekend average of 16. The messages, although thematically disconnected from one another, contained not only his usual invective: against the mainstream media, Democrats, special prosecutor Robert Mueller and the "Witch Hunt," others in the government who had resisted his will, "Crooked Hillary" Clinton, and former Vice President and potential 2020 campaign competitor Joe Biden ("a low-I.Q. individual"); but also against two Fox News anchors who he felt were not sufficiently loyal to him, and even the late Senator John McCain. He meanwhile took time to tout his poll numbers. Pundits speculated as to the president's mental stability.<sup>34</sup></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>3-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>Exploiting sex trafficking.</u></b> The Washington Post's editorial board exposed how hollow Mr. Trump's fierce claims of support for anti-trafficking measures had proven to be: that fewer traffickers had been prosecuted than under his predecessors; that fewer trafficking victims had been granted humanitarian visas; and that it had become significantly more difficult for victims to come forward – thus forcing them further into the shadows. All of this had occurred while Mr. Trump, as part of his anti-migrant demagoguery, had been fabricating and publicizing lurid stories of trafficked sex victims being dragged here from across the Mexican border. An anti-trafficking activist told The Post: "<i>The administration appears to view trafficking as a convenient tool to justify its border policies, rather than as a human tragedy to be seriously addressed.</i>"<sup>35</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 14</p>

<p>3-18-19</p>	<p><b><u>Putin outlaws "fake news."</u></b> Russian President Vladimir Putin signed into law a series of measures that outlawed and punished "fake news" – thus enabling prosecutors, not courts (that is, Putin's administrative apparatus) to block the dissemination of information that “exhibits blatant disrespect for the society, government, official government symbols, constitution or governmental bodies of Russia,” and to punish the purveyors of such information with fines and imprisonment. The new laws represented Russia's first major constraints on Internet freedom.<sup>36</sup></p> <p>CSD struggled to sort out, as between Putin and Mr. Trump, who was the student and who the teacher.</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>3-18-19</p>	<p><b><u>Disappearing the UN.</u></b> The American Civil Liberties Union complained to the United Nations' Human Rights Council in Geneva that the Trump administration had repeatedly ignored data requests from the HRC's special rapporteur on migrant rights, and had failed to deliver to that body routine reports on racial discrimination and torture. The ACLU wrote: “[T]he Trump administration has escalated its hostility toward human rights bodies including the apparent severing of relationships with independent experts appointed to monitor and report on human rights violations.” It added: “These issues raise serious concerns regarding the U.S. commitment to human rights and the international rule of law.”<sup>37</sup></p>	<p>14</p>
<p>3-19-19</p>	<p><b><u>Disappearing the Congress.</u></b> The chair of the House Oversight Committee wrote in The Washington Post that <u>the White House had refused to produce a single document that the committee had requested since coming under Democratic control in January.</u> Document requests had addressed such matters as suspect security clearance procedures, illegal hush money payments to Mr. Trump's former extra-marital girlfriends, efforts to share nuclear technology with Saudi Arabia, and other suspected patterns of corruption. Previous administrations had amply complied with such requests.<sup>38</sup></p> <p>For his part, the chair of the House Judiciary Committee reported that few of the 81 individuals and entities connected to Mr. Trump (mainly outside the administration) had timely complied with document requests in connection with the committee's investigation of obstruction of justice for the benefit of Mr. Trump.<sup>39</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9</p>



<p>3-19-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] (See CSD's entry of April 16 + in this Addendum below, for extensive additional developments in Mr. Trump's rejection of congressional information requests and demands.)</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>3-19-19</p>	<p><b>The loser.</b> The Washington Post reported that in the two years of his presidency, Mr. Trump had lost a remarkable 63 court cases challenging the legality of his administrative actions. Observers said that he hadn't even tried to follow the law, and that he had often undercut the enforceability of his actions by betraying unlawful intent through his tweets and other public statements. Many of the decisions were issued by Republican-appointed judges.</p> <p>The Post wrote: <i>"In case after case, judges have rebuked Trump officials for failing to follow the most basic rules of governance for shifting policy, including providing legitimate explanations supported by facts and, where required, public input. ... [T]he rulings ... paint a remarkable portrait of a government rushing to implement far-reaching changes in policy without regard for long-standing rules against arbitrary and capricious behavior."</i><sup>40</sup></p> <p>CSD is reminded of Mr. Trump's litigiousness during his business career, pursuant to which he was reputed to have sought to defeat his opponents by way of obstinacy, attrition and brute legal force rather than abiding by principled dealings or principled use of the court system. From all appearances, as president he had continued to view the legal system as something to be exploited rather than respected.</p>	<p>9, 10</p>
<p>3-19-19</p>	<p><b>Bolsonaro feted at the White House.</b> Mr. Trump feted Brazil's recently elected racist, misogynistic, homophobic, proto-fascist President Jair Bolsonaro and his entourage at the White House. There they publicly praised one another and decried the "fake news." Mr. Trump's current and former nationalist/populist advisors – Steve Bannon, Sebastian Gorka and others – reacted by urging and heralding a global nationalist/populist movement.<sup>41</sup></p>	<p>6, 12</p>

<p>3-20-19</p>	<p><b><u>Defiling the dead.</u></b> For at least the third time in recent days, Mr. Trump pointedly and personally attacked the recently deceased Senator John McCain. This time he went on for five minutes. Mr. Trump said that his ire arose from McCain's 2017 vote against repealing the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") and from his turning over to the FBI the Steele "dossier" about Mr. Trump's suspected unseemly activities in Russia. But there was no policy gain to be had. Rather, the tirades appeared to represent an incitement against establishment Republicans generally, and a vendetta – motivated by Mr. Trump's inclination toward vanity, vengeance and sadism, and by his jealousy over McCain's honorable military service and principled political life.<sup>42</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>3-21-19</p>	<p><b><u>Two Kushners of Arabia.</u></b> The New York Times reported that in October 2017 presidential son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner was conducting diplomacy with the leaders of Saudi Arabia in Riyadh at the same time that his brother Josh was there promoting business ventures.<sup>43</sup></p>	<p>17 (15)</p>
<p>3-21-19</p>	<p><b><u>Javanka's private communications.</u></b> The chairman of the House Oversight Committee revealed that Ivanka Trump and Jared Kushner – Mr. Trump's senior advisors and his daughter and son-in-law – had continued routinely to abuse communications security protocols, even after having been called out for that before, and even while Mr. Trump continued to evoke chants from his followers to the effect that former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton should be jailed for having violated such protocols. One of Kushner's abuses was using a private, encrypted WhatsApp account to communicate with foreign figures in a manner that could avoid the content (possibly including classified information) ever being subject to oversight scrutiny.<sup>44</sup></p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>3-21-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Marines at the border.</u></b> The Los Angeles Times reported that Marine Corps Commandant Robert Neller was strongly objecting to Mr. Trump's deployment of troops to the Mexican border, in that, together with domestic deployments for disaster relief, it would degrade Marine Corps combat readiness – and all in the service of Mr. Trump's domestic political priorities.</p> <p>The rebuke was considered extraordinary. For CSD, it indicated that Mr. Trump was sacrificing real American security for the benefit of his fallacious, demagogically motivated agenda for migrant exclusion.<sup>45</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

3-22-19	<p><b>Reversing on North Korea.</b> A day after the Treasury Department imposed new sanctions against two Chinese shipping companies that were helping North Korea evade existing sanctions, Mr. Trump announced by Twitter that he was reversing the new sanctions. The White House press secretary said that the decision was a favor to Mr. Kim: <i>“President Trump likes Chairman Kim, and he doesn’t think these sanctions will be necessary.”</i> Policy analysts were stunned that a president would so publicly and abruptly reverse the carefully crafted sanctions of his own advisors.<sup>46</sup></p>	10, 12, 13
3-22-19	<p><b>Sent by God.</b> Secretary of State Mike Pompeo told a Christian audience that God may have sent Mr. Trump to the presidency in order to save the Jewish people from Iran.<sup>47</sup></p>	17 (9)
3-22-19	<p><b>ISIS defeated?</b> For at least the tenth time, Mr. Trump stated that ISIS had been thoroughly defeated (by him). Critics concurred that all or virtually all of the extremists' territory had been recaptured; but they pointed to continuing fighting and an ongoing threat of resurgence.<sup>48</sup></p>	7
3-22-19, 4-4-19 +	<p><b>Moore and Cain for the Fed.</b> On March 22, Mr. Trump announced that he would nominate Stephen Moore – a former Trump campaign adviser, and a highly visible and partisan Trump supporter, flatterer and apologist since then – to serve on the Federal Reserve Board. That body had long been populated mainly by highly esteemed, centrist economists and bankers dedicated to the science of economics and the welfare of the country; and Moore's appointment was widely seen as an attempt to politicize the Fed by inserting erratic and unprincipled advocacy. Like Mr. Trump, for example, Moore had castigated the low-interest rate environment during President Obama's tenure and the Great Recession, but under Mr. Trump's tenure had come to castigate the current board for raising interest rates. Like Mr. Trump, he had developed a reputation for falsifying data. Among credible economists, he had developed a reputation for having routinely been wrong in his economic predictions.<sup>49</sup> He had called for a return to the gold standard; had called for the elimination of the corporate and federal income tax, the minimum wage, Medicaid and Social Security, and many major federal government departments; and had said that he was "not a big believer in democracy," but rather that capitalism was more important than democracy.<sup>50</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	8, 11, 16, 17 (9)

<p>3-22-19, 4-4-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On April 4, Mr. Trump announced that he would nominate Herman Cain – the former Godfather's Pizza executive, former Republican presidential primary candidate, and current Trump re-election campaign fundraiser – to serve on the Fed's board. Cain was widely viewed as a grifter and an economic crackpot; but like Mr. Trump, he appeared to favor a lowering of interest rates as a means for juicing short-term economic growth (versus long-term economic stability) and thus juicing Mr. Trump's reelection campaign.<sup>51</sup></p> <p>Ordinarily, Fed nominees had had conservative personal profiles and had kept them low pending their confirmation hearings. But Cain's personal (sexual/marital) history had been unseemly, Moore's was now revealed to have been also, and both now uniquely talked and talked to the media about themselves in what The New York Times likened to a "reality show."<sup>52</sup></p> <p>Even the Republican Senate was appalled, and confirmations came to appear impossible. On April 22, Cain withdrew his nomination.<sup>53</sup> On May 2, Moore withdrew his.<sup>54</sup> A summary of Mr. Trump's remarkable 62 withdrawn nominations, and the dysfunctional vetting process that had given rise to the withdrawals, appears at the link at this endnote.<sup>55</sup></p>	<p>8, 11, 16, 17 (9)</p>
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## The Mueller Report

### The Barr Report on the Mueller Report.

On March 22, 2019, special prosecutor Robert Mueller delivered his report on Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election campaign to Mr. Trump's Attorney General William Barr.

On March 24, Barr issued a summary of the report. He stated that Mueller had found that Mr. Trump and his associates had not conspired in the 2016 Russian election tampering; but that Mueller had said that he (Mueller) had lacked sufficient evidence to determine whether Mr. Trump had engaged in any related acts of obstruction of justice, and that the report "does not exonerate " Mr. Trump in that regard, quoting Mueller. Barr – a Trump appointee who had denounced the investigation prior to (and possibly in order to win) his appointment – nevertheless quickly and formally exonerated Mr. Trump, and he closed the investigation.<sup>56</sup> Mr. Trump promptly tweeted, "*No Collusion, No Obstruction, Complete and Total EXONERATION,*" which was flatly untrue. Shortly afterwards Mr. Trump repeated those words to reporters, and he called the investigation "an illegal take-down that failed."

### The Triumphal Parade.

On March 25, Mr. Trump tweeted: "*The Mainstream Media is under fire and being scorned all over the World as being corrupt and FAKE. For two years they pushed the Russian Collusion Delusion when they always knew there was No Collusion. They truly are the Enemy of the People and the Real Opposition Party!*"

Mr. Trump's allies widely repeated the "total exoneration" trope. They promptly called for investigations of the Justice Department for having embarked on the investigation from the outset, as well as for renewed investigations of Mr. Trump's presidential rival Hillary Clinton, whom he had long demonized.<sup>57</sup> The Trump reelection campaign began selling T-shirts and other sundries featuring one of Mr. Trump's tweets decrying the investigation as a "WITCH HUNT!" The campaign also decried the probe as a fraud perpetrated on the American people by the Democratic party, and it urged television networks to boycott leading Democratic figures who had prominently urged the investigation.<sup>58</sup> Mr. Trump's press secretary posted to Twitter a long "enemies" list of some of Mr. Trump's most prominent critics within the media, entertainment and political fields.<sup>59</sup> Mr. Trump himself accused his critics of treason.<sup>60</sup> Russian commentators crowded jubilantly.<sup>61</sup>

### In Michigan: Going for Schiff.

Mr. Trump and his supporters began a campaign particularly demonizing California Congressman Adam Schiff, the current chair (and former ranking member) of the House Intelligence Committee and a fervent Trump investigator – pointedly calling for Schiff's resignation.<sup>62</sup> To CSD's mind, Schiff was a man of exceptional intellect, honor, civility, eloquence, patriotism and courage – qualities foreign to Mr. Trump, and thus a natural target for that scapegoating. Mr. Trump's son Donald, Jr. tweeted, "*Has anyone heard from slimy Adam*

*#fullofschiff Schiff today? I mean it must be embarrassing to have have [sic] spent the last 2 years as the leader of the tinfoil hat brigade and have it all come crashing down so quick."* Mr. Trump himself, in a lengthy attack on the investigation at a March 28 reelection campaign rally in Grand Rapids, Michigan,<sup>63</sup> taunted Schiff as *"Little pencil-necked Adam Schiff.... He's got the smallest, thinnest neck I've ever seen. He is not a long-ball hitter."*<sup>64</sup> The campaign then issued a T-shirt featuring Schiff with a pencil in the place of his neck.<sup>65</sup>

In a marked episode of egotism, tastelessness and confusion, at the Michigan rally Mr. Trump repeated his familiar broadside against "the elite": "I have a better education than them, I'm smarter than them. I went to the best schools. They didn't .... Much more beautiful house, much more beautiful apartment. Much more beautiful everything. And I'm president, and they're not."<sup>66</sup> In so doing he forgot that although Schiff, unlike Mr. Trump, had not dedicated his life to aggrandizing an inherited fortune by bilking banks, investors and consumers and to pursuing an ostentatiously materialistic and libidinous life devoid of all moral value, Schiff had indeed graduated from Stanford University and Harvard Law School.

Also, from the Michigan rally: *"The Russia witch hunt was a plan by those who lost the election to try and illegally gain power by framing innocent Americans. Despite this phony corrupt disgusting cloud we've done more together in the first two years than any administration in history."* And so on, including attacks on the "fake news media."<sup>67</sup> As he ripped his Democratic tormentors by name, the excited crowd chanted, *"Lock them up!"*<sup>68</sup> The crowd also reprised its familiar chant about Hillary Clinton: *"Lock her up!"*<sup>69</sup> Those choruses had followed the chant that had arisen during Trump Jr.'s warm-up speech, in which the crowd cried of the progressive Latina Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez: *"OAC sucks!"*<sup>70</sup> The incitement of visceral, nearly violent hatred toward named Democrats thus appeared to be entering a new phase of competing targets.

### The Triumph Pales.

But no one other than top Justice Department officials had actually seen Mueller's report. Recalling the House of Representatives' 420-0 vote on March 14 that the report be made public once issued,<sup>71</sup> House Democrats now demanded its immediate release, so that the public could evaluate it without having to rely on Barr's hasty interpretation.<sup>72</sup> In addition, on April 3, The New York Times and The Washington Post reported that several members of Mueller's team had expressed dismay at Barr's characterization of the report, indicating that they had found substantial evidence of Mr. Trump's culpability (for something). Mr. Trump now was reported to be concerned. Having initially shown satisfaction with the investigation's outcome (as summarized by Barr), he now resumed his attacks on the inquiry. He repeatedly accused the investigation's staff and supporters of having committed treason.<sup>73</sup> On April 6, he tweeted that the investigators had been Democratic partisans but that they nevertheless had found nothing and had merely wasted taxpayer money in conducting the probe.<sup>74</sup> On April 10, he told reporters: *"It was an illegal investigation. It was started illegally. Everything about it was crooked ... . This was an attempted coup. This was an attempted takedown of a president, and we beat them."* On April 15 he tweeted that "Crooked Hillary, the DNC [and] Dirty Cops [at the Justice Department]" were the real criminals: "INVESTIGATE THE INVESTIGATORS!" (See CSD's entry of May 4 + in this Addendum, below, for his subsequent pursuit of this theme.)

The Second Barr Summary.

On April 18, in a nationally televised address, Barr delivered his second summary of the Mueller report, which was much like the first, only longer. Without detail, he acknowledged that he disagreed with some of Mueller's conclusions that as a matter of fact and law some of Mr. Trump's behavior could constitute obstruction of justice.<sup>75</sup> His presentation was highly partisan, in that (a) he characterized Mr. Trump as having fully cooperated with the investigation (even though Mr. Trump had refused to be interviewed by Mueller's team, had evaded written questions, and had continuously attempted to discredit and scuttle the investigation); (b) he expressed sympathy for Mr. Trump's motives and victimhood in having resisted the investigation; (c) he made no mention of the endless stream of falsehoods issued by Mr. Trump and his associates around the investigated events; (d) he made no mention of the criminal activity of Mr. Trump's many campaign associates that had already been established; and (e) he made no mention of Mr. Trump's extraordinary pandering to and secrecy in dealing with the Russian government. It was a whitewash.

The Redacted Report.

Within hours after concluding his remarks, Barr delivered a redacted version of the Mueller report to Congress and to the public. CSD's summary of the report follows.

1. As for "colluding" (Mr. Trump's word, not Mueller's) with the Russian government to influence the presidential election, the report confirmed that Russia had interfered with the American election, that it had wanted to help Mr. Trump's campaign, that the campaign had sought that help, and that the campaign had had 140 secret contacts with the Russian government, but that the evidence was insufficient to prove actual conspiring or coordinating.

2. As for obstruction of justice, the report described ten areas in which evidence of obstruction had amply appeared to the investigators.

3. One such area: the report confirmed that Mr. Trump had repeatedly attempted to fire Mueller, to intimidate ranking Justice Department officials, and to otherwise throttle the investigation – which was saved only because Mr. Trump's aides had refused to obey some of his directives.

4. Mr. Trump and his subordinates also repeatedly misled the public relative to the subject matter of the investigation. Events reported by the mainstream media that he had denied as "fake" proved to have been generally accurate.

5. In responding to Mueller's written questions, Mr. Trump wrote at least 37 times – following his custom in the course of business litigation<sup>76</sup> – that he couldn't remember, and at other times he gave incomplete answers.

6. One of Mr. Trump's apparent motives: to hide potential criminal or embarrassing revelations on other matters that could emerge from the investigation, including as might pertain to his pursuit of a hotel project in Moscow during his election campaign. (The report did not expressly address counter-intelligence issues themselves, such as whether Mr. Trump had sought to cultivate the favor of the Russian government or had actually fallen under the influence of Russia.<sup>77</sup>)

7. Mueller concluded that a president can indeed, as a matter of law, be found to have obstructed justice (contrary to Barr's own previously stated belief); but because he believed that he could not indict a sitting president, and because the president thus could not rebut allegations in a court of law, Mueller appeared to have directed any actual determination of culpability to Congress.

(The report also revealed that Mr. Trump had urged his one-time Attorney General Jeff Sessions to prosecute Hillary Clinton – complementing the baying of the crowds at Trump rallies to "Lock her up!"<sup>78</sup>)

In short, Mueller's report stated that he had found substantial evidence that Mr. Trump had obstructed justice; but Barr, a Trump loyalist, had concluded and announced – pursuant to unspecified reasoning – that no obstruction had occurred.<sup>79</sup> Absent a full disclosure of Barr's reasoning – or even if it were to someday be disclosed – CSD and others believed that Barr's interpretation was highly vulnerable to charges of cynicism, disingenuousness, partisanship, cronyism, and disdain for the Constitution. Barr also flatly misrepresented Mueller's report in numerous ways.<sup>80</sup> In addition, CSD believes that the report itself demonstrated, in a wholly epochal manner for America, the boundless dishonesty, corruption, and antipathy to the rule of law on the part of Mr. Trump and his highest ranking supporters.

Of special significance, we understand Mueller as having not expressly charged Mr. Trump with committing either conspiracy or obstruction due to what were essentially legal technicalities: that Mueller was not certain he could sufficiently prove some items notwithstanding the evidence, and that he saw his prosecutorial role to be limited. Mr. Trump nevertheless, on the strength of Barr's televised interpretation, promptly declared total victory on the substance of the investigation.<sup>81</sup>

#### Other Reactions.

Commentators instantly noted that the report re-confirmed the Trump White House's profile – including as to aides' reluctance to obey Mr. Trump's most audacious orders<sup>82</sup> – as a place of "chaos, intrigue and deception," "chaos, dishonesty and malfeasance," and "a hotbed of conflict infused by a culture of dishonesty — defined by a president who lied to the public and his own staff, then tried to get his aides to lie for him."<sup>83</sup> But on April 19, a day after the report's release (and revealed by The Washington Post on May 2), loyal White House counsel wrote a letter to Mueller complaining about the report: that Mueller had exceeded his authority in commenting on Mr. Trump's culpability beyond the bare minimum.<sup>84</sup>

For his part, Mr. Trump again tweeted that the investigation was a "hoax," that some of his enemies had committed "Treason," and that some of the witnesses' statements were "total bullshit." In the days and weeks that followed, Mr. Trump commented non-stop on the report: continuing to claim complete "exoneration," while fulminating over the damning statements made about him by witnesses and over Mueller himself.<sup>85</sup> On April 26 he accused former Justice Department officials of an "attempted coup," "an attempted overthrow of the United States government," and "the greatest political scandal in the history of our country. ... Bigger than Watergate."<sup>86</sup>



But although Mr. Trump's popularity ticked downward in some polls, for the most part neither his supporters nor his critics seemed immediately to have changed their views about him.<sup>87</sup>

Barr under the Glare.

On April 30, media reported that, in late March, Mueller had written an extraordinary letter to Barr objecting to Barr's initial four-page, public characterization of Mueller's report as having distorted Mueller's views. They then had a disagreement by telephone.<sup>88</sup> On May 1, Barr testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee in a manner that was widely regarded by the mainstream press as evasive, dishonest, and protective of Mr. Trump rather than of the country. Some Democrats on the panel, as well as the Democratic speaker of the House, went so far as to accuse Barr of having lied to Congress on April 9 when he had testified that Mueller had expressed no concerns about Barr's letter.<sup>89</sup> Other critics now felt confirmed in their concerns that Barr was Mr. Trump's lapdog and that Barr broadly supported an authoritarian presidency.<sup>90</sup> On May 2, Barr canceled his scheduled appearance before the House Judiciary Committee for that day, on technical procedural grounds, prompting Democrats there to consider holding him in contempt of Congress.<sup>91</sup> In the days following, Mr. Trump and Barr repeatedly defied congressional subpoenas for information and testimony regarding the Mueller report, as described in greater detail below in CSD's entry dated April 16 +.

Yet More.

- On May 6, several hundred former federal prosecutors who had served in Democratic and Republican administrations published a letter asserting that, based on Mueller's findings about Mr. Trump's behavior, a government official ordinarily would have been charged with multiple felonies, and that Mr. Trump escaped such charges only because of the Justice Department's pre-existing policy that it would not indict a sitting president. Eventually over 1000 signed the letter.<sup>92</sup>
- On May 9, Mr. Trump yet again charged Mueller with having been biased by personal disputes with the president, and to have overseen an utterly corrupt investigation – which he claimed had nevertheless exonerated him.<sup>93</sup>
- On May 14, mainstream media reported that Barr, at Mr. Trump's insistence, had appointed a prosecutor to investigate the genesis of the Mueller investigation of Trump campaign figures. The predicate was the assertion by Mr. Trump and his supporters that the Mueller investigation had been politically motivated and illegal. The development had arisen despite the in-plain-view evidence of Russian meddling and Russian links to the Trump campaign that had existed at the Mueller investigation's outset; hence the unquestionable legal and national security necessity to conduct it. It had also arisen despite Mueller's restrained but ample findings, ultimately, that Russia had concertedly meddled in the 2016 election for the benefit of Mr. Trump; that Mr. Trump's campaign had welcomed that meddling; and that substantial evidence pointed to Mr. Trump's having obstructed the investigation.<sup>94</sup> (The pursuit of that new investigation is detailed in CSD's entry of May 4 + below in this Addendum.)

Mueller Speaks.

On May 29, Mueller broke his (oral) public silence of two years. Addressing live television cameras, he summarized the report's findings; defended the integrity of his team (implicitly, as against Mr. Trump's allegations of a partisan "witch hunt"); announced his resignation from the Justice Department; said he would not elaborate on his written report if called to testify before Congress; made clear that Congress could yet find Mr. Trump culpable of obstruction; subtly but unmistakably contradicted Barr on at least three of Barr's Trump-friendly characterizations of the report; and cautioned the American public with great urgency that the Russian government was continuing to be bent on disrupting our elections – a charge that Mr. Trump had stood almost alone in disputing.<sup>95</sup>

Mr. Trump responded the following morning by way of Twitter and in remarks to reporters: ignoring the Russian election tampering charges and alarms, denigrating Mueller, and grossly mischaracterizing Mueller's public statement.<sup>96</sup> Broad portions of the American public remained oblivious to Mueller's nuanced rebukes, and instead remained anchored to the Trump-Barr "total exoneration" spin on the Mueller report. Mr. Trump's supporters claimed victory.<sup>97</sup>

Democracy's Prospect.

Any remedy for Mr. Trump's misdeeds now lay entirely in the hands of Congress, where the Republican Senate was certain to block any Democratic House attempt at impeachment. In addition, based on Barr's handling of the Mueller report, there now appeared to be nothing standing in the way of Mr. Trump and his family continuing to develop foreign business opportunities while praising and befriendng foreign authoritarian regimes, to submit to foreign blackmail for unbecoming behavior, or to otherwise engage in audaciously anti-democratic conduct. There also appeared to be few if any ways in which the Justice Department could or would take measures to rein in this president or any future president, under the theory advanced by Mr. Trump, his legal advisors and Barr, that the president may direct the department in any way he wishes, including by firing anyone who might seek to check him – contrary to the understandings that had held since President Richard Nixon's scandalous departure from office in 1974.<sup>98</sup> Fresh concerns arose that Mr. Trump, now emboldened, could corruptly exercise his power to pardon his associates and himself relative to alleged and proven crimes.<sup>99</sup> And the very idea that this president or future presidents would be bound by basic ethical norms – not consorting with international adversaries for personal gain, consistently purveying falsehoods, consistently flaunting the rule of law and the design of the Constitution – had come into question.<sup>100</sup>

Categories of anti-democratic behavior: 1, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 17

<p>3-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>More T-shirts.</u></b> Drawing criticism from a former White House ethics official, Mr. Trump was reported to be selling T-shirts and other sundries bearing images of the White House at his Trump Store and his Trump International Hotel in Washington.<sup>101</sup> CSD believes that this latest episode of his monetizing his presidency went to more than the (negligible) value of the sundries; it was part of an ongoing pattern of promoting all of his company's consumer-facing enterprises on the strength of his office.</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>3-25-19</p>	<p><b><u>The wall's presidential funding begins.</u></b> The Pentagon announced that it had transferred \$1 billion to an account to build fencing along the Mexican border, contrary to the appropriations powers of and the will of Congress.<sup>102</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>3-25-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>DOJ batters the ACA.</u></b> Mr. Trump – not satisfied with his many efforts to destroy the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare") by way of regulatory action – now had his Justice Department write a letter to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals. The court was then hearing a challenge to the statute brought by a number of Republican-led states, <u>claiming that the entire statute, not just parts of it, was illegal</u> (including such overwhelmingly popular features as coverage for pre-existing conditions and for children to age 26). In fact the Justice Department is obligated to defend duly enacted congressional legislation unless it is utterly indefensible; the Department had acknowledged in June 2018 that the ACA was defensible; it now was reversing itself; and in so doing it was <u>violating the rule of law.</u><sup>103</sup></p> <p>Any overturning of the ACA, while giving Mr. Trump his long sought vengeance against President Obama (as amply described above in this document), was seen as <u>likely to sow wreckage throughout the American healthcare system and the well-being of millions of Americans.</u><sup>104</sup> One observer said that to invalidate the ACA now, after it had been law for nine years, would compare to invalidating the interstate highway system. Another called the potential wreckage "breathhtaking."<sup>105</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>3-25-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] But the Justice Department's move was also seen as so preposterous as to be unlikely to prevail in court. CSD views it as consistent with Mr. Trump's continuing abuse of the court system by bringing frivolous litigation, as he had made a career of doing as a businessman, and as CSD described in our March 19 entry, above.</p> <p>Those developments occurred during the same week as two federal courts found certain of Mr. Trump's attempts to eviscerate the ACA to be illegal.<sup>106</sup></p> <p>On May 1, Mr. Trump followed through. <u>The Justice Department formally joined with a number of states in appellate court litigation to expressly demand the repeal of the whole of the ACA. If the suit were successful, over 20 million Americans stood to lose their health insurance.</u><sup>107</sup></p> <p>(CSD has not taken a position on the ACA itself; only on Mr. Trump's reckless, demagogic, unlawful and vindictive attempts to destroy it without having an alternative plan in place.)</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>3-28-19</p>	<p><b>Saving Puerto Rico.</b> After having long been accused of a feeble and inadequate response to Puerto Rico's twin 2017 hurricane disasters, Mr. Trump reportedly complained that the island was receiving too much federal recovery aid, and he boasted, <i>"I've taken better care of Puerto Rico than any man ever."</i> For the avoidance of doubt, he added, <i>"Puerto Rico has been taken care of better by Donald Trump than by any living human being."</i><sup>108</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 11</p>
<p>3-29-19 +</p>	<p><b>Caprice at the border.</b> On March 29, Mr. Trump threatened to close the Mexican border at all ports of entry.<sup>109</sup> The next day he threatened to terminate all foreign aid to El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras as a means of coercing those countries' governments to restrain their nationals from migrating north to the U.S.<sup>110</sup> Both threats were widely viewed by policy experts as impulsive, uninformed, demagogic, and unlikely to be effective. They were also viewed as likely to be counter-productive: closing the border for the economic chaos it would cause the U.S., and terminating aid for its potential to exacerbate the conditions driving the migrants northward and thus provoking more migration.<sup>111</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10</p>

<p>3-29-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Confronted with a firestorm of Republican criticism, on April 4 Mr. Trump said he would not close the border, but would instead give Mexico a one-year warning to stop drug traffic – then would "tariff their cars" and close the border.<sup>112</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10</p>
<p>3-29-19. 4-4-19, 4-5-19</p>	<p><b>Still down on the Fed.</b> On March 29, Mr. Trump yet again blamed the Federal Reserve Board for causing a slowdown in the economy, and his top economic advisor urged that the Fed immediately lower interest rates.<sup>113</sup> On April 4, Mr. Trump said that the Fed's interest rate policies were "unnecessary and destructive."<sup>114</sup> On April 5, he explicitly called for a rate cut.<sup>115</sup> The episodes thus continued – for political purposes and with perilous economic implications – Mr. Trump's unprecedented interference with Federal Reserve monetary policy, and his unparalleled hypocrisy after having slammed low interest rates during President Obama's administration.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>3-30-19 +</p>	<p><b>Selling out on security: at Mar-a-Lago.</b> On March 30, a Chinese national who had been allowed to enter Mr. Trump's home and commercial resort in Palm Beach, Florida as a guest was arrested for carrying malware on portable electronic devices; she was suspected of seeking to install the malware on the resort's computers. The episode raised serious security questions about Mr. Trump's practice of letting hundreds of paying resort members and guests enter the property, for Mr. Trump's personal profit and political advantage. The FBI began an investigation.<sup>116</sup></p> <p>On April 9, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's golf clubs were continuing to cull undocumented workers from the payroll, having hired them pervasively before that practice had been exposed by the press. At Mar-a-Lago in particular, their easy ability to falsify their identity papers and work credentials suggested yet another element of the national security threat at that property.<sup>117</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>

<p>4-1-19 +</p>	<p><b>Selling out on security: at the White House.</b> On April 1, the House Oversight Committee reported that a White House personnel staffer had told the committee that the Trump administration had "systematically" ignored security issues in granting top secret clearances. She said that 25 White House staffers were granted clearances after initial denials under those circumstances, and that she had been disciplined for her whistle-blowing on the topic. The White House meanwhile had refused to honor the committee's requests for pertinent documentation.<sup>118</sup> Several days later, Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner was identified as one of those whose clearances had been denied due to serious security concerns, and who was then cleared on Mr. Trump's orders.<sup>119</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 13</p>
<p>4-1-19</p>	<p><b>The census expert.</b> Pursuing his administration's drive to depress the minority census tally by adding a question about citizenship to the 2020 decennial survey, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Can you believe that the Radical Left Democrats want to do our new and very important Census Report without the all important Citizenship Question. Report would be meaningless and a waste of the \$Billions (ridiculous) that it costs to put together!"</i> As CSD has repeatedly observed, adding the question would undermine survey science and would disadvantage states, communities and businesses where migrant minorities are concentrated.</p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 9</p>
<p>4-1-19</p>	<p><b>Fact Checker update.</b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made 9,451 false or misleading statements since taking office, with the pace increasing to an average of 22 per day over the prior 200 days. The Post cited as exemplary Mr. Trump's March 28 rally in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he made 64 such claims.<sup>120</sup> CSD commends the article to its readers as a staggering indication of how what is wildly untrue has likely come to be believed by many.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>4-2-19</p>	<p><b>Wind turbine cancer.</b> In his latest fusillade against renewable energy, Mr. Trump falsely stated at a Republican fundraising event that the sound of wind turbines causes cancer.<sup>121</sup> A leading Republican senator called Mr. Trump's comment "idiotic."<sup>122</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 10</p>
<p>4-2-19</p>	<p><b>Voter fraud: still at it.</b> Mr. Trump suggested to a group of supporters that Democrats would attempt to steal the 2020 election by way of ballot fraud.<sup>123</sup></p>	<p>4</p>

4-4-19	<p><b><u>Children struggling with arithmetic.</u></b> A watchdog group reported that Mr. Trump's White House advisors – daughter Ivanka Trump and son-in-law Jared Kushner – had between themselves amended their financial disclosure forms ten times in recent weeks, suggesting either poor mathematical skills or outright monkey business. The couple had flunked repeatedly in their prior submissions as well, such that the Office of Government Ethics had refused to certify their filings for almost a year, despite dozens of amended filings.<sup>124</sup></p>	17 (7, 15)
4-4-19 +	<p><b><u>Serving (one's self) in the Cabinet.</u></b> On April 4, the Office of Government Ethics announced that it would not certify Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin's 2018 financial disclosure filings, due to his trickery in having transferred his holdings in a film company to his then fiancée and now his (third) wife.<sup>125</sup> (As reported above in this Chronology, Mnuchin had drawn attention in 2017 for the improper use of government aircraft for personal travel with his new wife.)</p> <p>On the same day, The New York Times reported that David Bernhardt, President Trump's nominee for Interior Secretary, had continued to lobby for a major agribusiness client several months after he had promised to end such activities.<sup>126</sup> In his recent confirmation hearing, Bernhardt had already come under withering scrutiny for his ties to extractive industries and other conflicts of interest.<sup>127</sup></p> <p>On April 11, the Republican Senate nevertheless confirmed Bernhardt's appointment.<sup>128</sup> On April 15, the Interior Department's Office of Inspector General announced that it had launched an investigation into his suspected conflicts of interest and other ethical lapses.<sup>129</sup> On April 23, media reported that that office was investigating whether six more of Mr. Trump's Interior appointees had breached conflict of interest rules by engaging with former employers or clients.<sup>130</sup></p>	17 (15)

<p>4-4-19, 4-5-19, 4-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>The tax man: in his pocket?</u></b> On April 4, The New York Times reported that in February, shortly after the Democratic takeover of several House committees that could compel the production of his income tax returns, Mr. Trump had unusually and successfully pressed the Senate for rapid approval of a former tax advisor of the Trump Organization as chief counsel at the Internal Revenue Service.<sup>131</sup> On April 5, The Washington Post wrote that Mr. Trump's appointee as IRS Commissioner had written in 2016 that Mr. Trump should not release his tax returns, and that Mr. Trump had otherwise appeared to have been staffing top government positions with individuals who, prior to their selection, had expressed favor for his personal interests.<sup>132</sup></p> <p>On April 10, the Treasury Department refused to promptly honor a congressional request of the IRS to produce Mr. Trump's tax returns – despite his campaign promises to produce them, the decades-long practice of presidents voluntarily producing them, and Congress's statutory authority to demand them.<sup>133</sup></p> <p>Lurking in the returns could have been evidence of conflicts of interest, illegal receipts from foreign governments, a revelation that Mr. Trump was not as wealthy as he had claimed, and outright tax fraud. Mr. Trump was now seen as hiding from Congress and the public not only the Mueller report, but this. For CSD, the secrecy was extraordinary not only for its anti-democratic non-accountability, but for the dark data that the documents seemed almost certainly to contain. (For more developments on Mr. Trump's refusal to disclose information to Congress, see our April 16 + entry below in this Addendum.)</p>	<p>9, 16, 17 (15)</p>
<p>4-5-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Calexico.</u></b> Largely unwelcome by local residents (as he had been during his recent trip to El Paso, Texas), Mr. Trump traveled to Calexico, California to publicly address, and inflame, the Mexican border "crisis." There he said of Hispanic migrants, <i>"Can't take you anymore. Can't take you. Our country is full. Our area is full, the sector is full. Can't take you anymore. I'm sorry. So turn around. That's the way it is."</i><sup>134</sup> [<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	<p>2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14</p>



<p>4-5-19</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] He then privately told border patrol officers that they should turn away all migrants; that is, not give any an opportunity to claim asylum – which would be illegal. The officers' supervisors then ordered them to disregard Mr. Trump's directive.<sup>135</sup> CNN subsequently reported that Mr. Trump had offered that day to pardon Kevin McAleenan, the then head of Customs and Border Patrol (soon afterwards named acting head of DHS), if McAleenan followed Mr. Trump's orders and was jailed for violating the law by denying asylum seekers entrance to the U.S.<sup>136</sup> Earlier in the day, Mr. Trump had called for Congress to "get rid of the whole asylum system" and "get rid of immigration judges."<sup>137</sup> Those episodes appeared to demonstrate not only Mr. Trump's general disdain for the rule of law, but his long-suspected readiness (as reported by CSD amply in this Chronology) to dangle pardons as a means to influence individuals' behavior – in itself a grievous violation of the law and of judicial authority.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump then went to the border. In a stunning visual maneuver<sup>138</sup> that combined falsehood, racial hatred and demagoguery, he showed off a plaque commemorating the commencement of construction of "his" border wall. In fact the plaque was attached to a section of replacement fencing that had been authorized by President Obama. No work had yet begun on Mr. Trump's wall.<sup>139</sup></p> <p>By then many Americans not in Mr. Trump's camp had in fact come accept the term "crisis" as accurately describing the situation at the border. But they saw it as a humanitarian crisis, involving thousands of migrants who had fled poverty and gang violence in Central America and were now languishing on both sides of the border, often with inadequate means of sustenance and protection. During Mr. Trump's trip to the border, he was not reported to have visited with any migrants, or to have even seen them, let alone acknowledged their condition.</p>	<p>2, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14</p>

<p>4-5-19</p>	<p><b><u>Flips and flops.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist recounted Mr. Trump's many rapid and capricious changes of heart within the past week: calling for the Special Olympics to <i>not</i> be defunded; calling for Congress to <i>delay</i> attempting to repeal the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) until after the 2020 election; suggesting that the public <i>not</i> be allowed to see the report on Russian election meddling recently issued by special prosecutor Robert Mueller; declaring that he would <i>not</i> imminently close the Mexican border; and all without the slightest acknowledgement of his rampant and disconnected impulsiveness.<sup>140</sup></p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>4-6-19</p>	<p><b><u>MAGA: a global bonfire.</u></b> The Huffington Post, citing research data, reported that <u>Islamaphobes and white nationalists around the world had commonly taken to wearing Mr. Trump's signature Make America Great Again campaign hats and using the MAGA slogan in rally banners and social media.</u><sup>141</sup> That is to say, for some, <u>under Mr. Trump's leadership America had become not a beacon for democracy but a beacon for racial hatred.</u></p> <p>Adherents included a Canadian gunman who had killed six Muslims in a mosque in January 2017. Also, an American arrested on April 5, 2019 for having threatened on March 21 to kill Ilhan Omar, a Muslim member of Congress, had told the FBI that he "loves the president."<sup>142</sup> See also CSD's entry of March 15+, above, noting that the perpetrator of the recent massacre at a New Zealand mosque had expressed admiration for Mr. Trump. To the date of this entry, Mr. Trump had not disowned the phenomenon.</p>	<p>6, 17 (5)</p>
<p>4-7-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Nielsen gone; and a broader purge of DHS.</u></b> On April 7, Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen abruptly and involuntarily resigned, after a disastrous tenure in which Central American migrants and asylum seekers had tested the U.S.'s ability to process and care for them, and in which Nielsen – at Mr. Trump's behest – had presided over the harsh separation of migrant families and over various new limitations on traditional asylum rights. She had also stood by many of Mr. Trump's most preposterous statements about border security, race and extremism, and all while incurring numerous humiliations at his hands.<sup>143</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>4-7-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Mr. Trump nevertheless removed her because he believed she was not tough enough on the Central Americans.<sup>144</sup> He reportedly ambushed her with the removal;<sup>145</sup> and he reportedly fired her by Twitter (as he had fired Secretary of State Rex Tillerson by Twitter in March 2018), in that his tweet announcing her removal preceded her tendering her letter of resignation.<sup>146</sup> In all, her many humiliations paralleled those of other top Trump officials.<sup>147</sup></p> <p>Nielsen's removal appeared to be part of a broader purge of top DHS leadership. Only days earlier, Mr. Trump had removed Ronald Vitiello, the acting director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), after concluding (and later publicly stating) that <i>he</i> wasn't tough enough.<sup>148</sup> On April 8, the White House announced that Randolph Alles, the director of the Secret Service (also part of DHS) had stepped down.<sup>149</sup> The Washington Post and The New York Times reported that yet others, particularly those (like Nielsen and Alles) who had been allied with former chief of staff John Kelly, were targeted for removal as well.<sup>150</sup> That the elimination of leadership should occur in the midst of what Mr. Trump had deemed a national emergency at the Mexican border was confounding.</p> <p>The Post wrote: <i>"Since the department's creation in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, successive presidents have viewed stability at DHS as a top priority for national security, counterterrorism efforts and, more broadly, the country's collective peace of mind. ... No president before Trump has pushed the country's security agencies into such a state of churning confusion, current and former DHS officials said Monday."</i><sup>151</sup></p> <p>A Democratic senator cautioned: <i>"DHS is now without a secretary, deputy secretary, ICE director, FEMA director, Secret Service director, inspector general, undersecretary for policy, undersecretary for science and technology, chief financial officer and chief privacy officer. That's at least 10 top positions filled by someone in an acting capacity."</i><sup>152</sup> Republican senators also decried the looming chaos created by the purge, and they found Nielsen to be a scapegoat.<sup>153</sup></p> <p>On May 24, Mr. Trump forced the resignation of Francis Cissna, the director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services (yet another major DHS entity), for Cissna's being too law-abiding.<sup>154</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>4-7-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Apart from the disarray that Mr. Trump had unleashed on DHS, more systemically these were the latest in a record-setting string of high level departures from the Trump administration.<sup>155</sup> The departures, widely documented by CSD in the past, had flowed variously from scandal and from Mr. Trump's pique at anyone who might challenge him – including, in Nielsen's case and others', by advising him of the legal limitations on his authority.<sup>156</sup></p> <p>In addition, the new departures, again like many previous ones, occurred without a replacement having been designated – only an "acting" official, whom Mr. Trump could name and direct without the Senate having approved him or her, and thus bypassing even that small congressional check on Mr. Trump's exercise of executive power. The temporary nature of the appointments was also expected by some to knee-cap and intimidate top management, such that management would more readily bend to Mr. Trump's will.<sup>157</sup> And it was expected, probably <i>not</i> intentionally, to keep the respective agencies in a rudderless state until the positions were permanently filled.<sup>158</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10, 11, 13</p>
<p>4-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Iranian Revolutionary Guard ... and me.</u></b> Mr. Trump named the Iranian Revolutionary Guard as a terrorist organization, thus subjecting it and its representatives to economic, travel and criminal sanctions. Calling a foreign governmental unit a terrorist organization was unprecedented; it occurred over the objections of the Pentagon and the CIA; and it was criticized by administration officials as having issued from a "chaotic and rushed process." Iran responded by declaring the U.S. Central Command a terrorist organization, and other countries were seen as now likewise able to declare U.S. military and other governmental units and individuals to be terrorists and thus subject to criminal proceedings overseas.<sup>159</sup></p> <p>CSD does not dispute that the Revolutionary Guard commits terrorist atrocities. But we note that, as reported in 2017 by The New Yorker, Mr. Trump knowingly (and perhaps criminally) had relied on their financing for a hotel project in Azerbaijan – which Mr. Trump withdrew from only after winning the 2016 presidential election.<sup>160</sup></p>	<p>10, 13</p>

<p>4-8-19</p>	<p><b>Judge blocks "Remain in Mexico" order.</b> A federal judge in California issued a nationwide preliminary injunction barring the implementation of Mr. Trump's recent order that Central American asylum seekers who had crossed into the U.S. must wait – insecurely and without access to counsel – in Mexico (rather than in the U.S.) while their asylum claims were being processed. The judge ruled that the order didn't follow statutory procedures for ensuring the safety of migrants.<sup>161</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>4-8-19 +</p>	<p><b>More family separations; more everything.</b> On April 8, major media outlets reported that Mr. Trump had been seeking to reinstate his policy of separating Central American children from their parents at the Mexican border as a means of deterring migration. In 2018 a court had ruled that policy to be unconstitutional. For Mr. Trump to reinstate the policy now would be a bald violation of the law.<sup>162</sup></p> <p>The New York Times wrote: <i>"In addition to urging Mr. Trump to revisit the idea of family separation, several of the president's closest immigration confidants have been pushing him to consider even harsher measures. Those include further limits on who can seek asylum; stronger action to close ports of entry along the Mexican border; an executive order to end birthright citizenship; more aggressive construction of a border wall; and a more robust embrace of active-duty troops to secure the border against illegal immigration. ... [B]y removing Ms. Nielsen, Mr. Vitiello and perhaps others, Mr. Trump is getting rid of voices who sometimes cautioned him against taking actions they believed to be illegal or unwise."</i><sup>163</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump denied that he wanted to resume family separations. Rather, he (falsely) stated, it was President Obama who had instituted the wholesale separations.<sup>164</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11, 14</p>
<p>4-9-19</p>	<p><b>El-Sisi aglow in the White House.</b> Ignoring a bi-partisan plea from the Senate, Mr. Trump for the second time warmly welcomed Egyptian President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi in the White House, without noting his increasingly authoritarian rule and his broad human rights abuses.<sup>165</sup></p>	<p>12</p>
<p>4-10-19</p>	<p><b>Beating up migrants.</b> Mr. Trump publicly hinted that he would like American security forces to "get a little rough" with undocumented migrants at the border.<sup>166</sup></p>	<p>6, 14; Torture</p>

<p>4-11-19</p>	<p><b>Jamming the agencies.</b> The Trump administration issued a memorandum expanding the White House's powers to review (and to veto) rule-making on the part of a range of independent agencies that could affect large areas of the economy, such as the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Federal Reserve Bank and the National Labor Relations Board.<sup>167</sup> In other words, expertise and objectivity could now be superseded more fully by politics, caprice, and presidential self-dealing. CSD believes that while striving to make rule-making more efficient and less onerous is not inherently authoritarian, in Mr. Trump's case it is.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>4-11-19</p>	<p><b>WikiLeaks? "I know nothing!"</b> After the arrest in London of WikiLeaks founder and accused rapist Julian Assange for his role in hacking U.S. government computers so as to publish secret information, Mr. Trump said, <i>"I know nothing about WikiLeaks. It's not my thing and I know there is something having to do with Julian Assange."</i></p> <p>But Mr. Trump did know about WikiLeaks. In over 140 instances during his presidential campaign he had colorfully professed his love for the organization (e.g., <i>"I love WikiLeaks!"</i>), after it had released embarrassing information about his then opponent Hillary Clinton. WikiLeaks had developed that information in collaboration with Russian military intelligence (which had stolen it with a view to defeating Clinton); and Assange, a Clinton opponent, had collaborated with the Trump campaign in disseminating it.<sup>168</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>4-11-19 +</p>	<p><b>Vengeance against sanctuary cities.</b> On April 11, The Washington Post reported that for months Mr. Trump had (unsuccessfully) urged the Department of Homeland Security to bus Hispanic migrants to sanctuary cities such as San Francisco, then to release them there on the streets. The plan was to punish those cities for their policies of not routinely turning over undocumented petty criminals and suspects to DHS for removal.<sup>169</sup> DHS promptly stated that it had rejected the concept. But on April 12, Mr. Trump confirmed by Twitter that he was still considering it<sup>170</sup> – that is, using distressed migrants as pawns against his political enemies, which would be illegal. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>

<p>4-11-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In implying that the migrants were vermin, and their presence in a given city a calamity, Mr. Trump's inspiration, once again, seemed to amount to a combination of racism, sadism, vengeance, and demagogic political play, rather than a humanitarian response to the border situation or even practical problem-solving. Notably, the plan would be costly. In addition, if bused to a given city, migrants presumably could simply bus themselves somewhere else. Or they might stay, without incident, in that those were cities that many of the migrants might have been headed to anyway. In fact mayors of many of the cities said they welcomed the idea.<sup>171</sup> And placing the migrants in those cities would actually make it easier for them to find legal help for winning asylum and to otherwise avoid deportation.<sup>172</sup> In sum, Mr. Trump was blowing smoke, for the harsh pleasure of his admirers.</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
<p>4-12-19</p>	<p><b><u>No to the UN, again.</u></b> The Trump administration declined to nominate any American to serve on the United Nations' Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, thus distancing itself yet further from international institutions and commonplace forms of global cooperation.<sup>173</sup></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>4-12-19</p>	<p><b><u>Treason.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist detailed in stark array <u>the many times, recently quite frequent, that Mr. Trump had accused his critics of treason</u> – including special prosecutor Robert Mueller, Democrats, and so on. The columnist noted that the Constitution names treason as a crime punishable by death, and that <u>the idea that criticizing a head of state amounts to treason is a hallmark of dictatorships.</u><sup>174</sup></p> <p>For its part, CSD stands by its own assessment, advanced above in this Chronology, that it was Mr. Trump's bizarre and persistent displays of favoritism toward America's antagonist Russia – manifestly intended to protect his business opportunities, reputation and/or other personal interests – that had amounted to treason.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>4-12-19</p>	<p><b>DOJ ignoring congressional will.</b> For the second time in two weeks, Mr. Trump's Department of Justice declined to defend a federal statute that was in litigation, despite its obligation to do so. The first instance had involved the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"), in which the DOJ actually joined in attacking the statute (see CSD's entry of March 25 +, above). The new instance involved the DOJ's refusal to defend a statute forbidding female genital mutilation. Critics feared the establishment of precedent that a presidential administration, on partisan grounds, could cherry-pick which statutes it chose to defend when they were challenged in court and which it chose to abandon, thus usurping congressional law-making authority.<sup>175</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>4-12-19 +</p>	<p><b>Muslim bashing, again.</b> On April 12, after Ilhan Omar, a freshman Muslim congresswoman, condemned post-9-11 Islamophobia before a Muslim advocacy group, Mr. Trump issued an incendiary tweet juxtaposing her photo with a video of the burning World Trade Center.<sup>176</sup> She quickly encountered a torrent of death threats, many of them referring specifically to Mr. Trump's tweet.<sup>177</sup> (Some of the more graphic threats were reported verbatim in the news.<sup>178</sup> And the death threats continued for many weeks.<sup>179</sup>) But Mr. Trump, having found a new (brown, female) scapegoat for his demagoguery, continued to demonize her – and by extension all Democrats – claiming on April 15 that Omar controlled the Democratic speaker of the House, Nancy Pelosi.<sup>180</sup></p>	<p>5, 6, 9</p>



<p>4-16-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Defying subpoenas and document requests.</u></b> <u>On April 16, the Washington Post and CNN independently reported on Mr. Trump's unwillingness to comply with, and his efforts to stop other private and governmental bodies from complying with, the numerous subpoenas and other document requests that various House committees (controlled by Democrats since January) had issued in recent weeks: for the full, un-redacted report of special prosecutor Robert Mueller; for Mr. Trump's income tax filings; and for documents relating to his abnormal practices in granting security clearances to family members and others, his meetings with foreign leaders (including Russians), his formulation of immigration policies, his involvement with the AT&amp;T/Time Warner merger (suspected of advancing a vendetta against Time Warner subsidiary CNN), and his company's overall business activities. <u>A historically ruthless litigator, Mr. Trump was seen as possibly able to block the information requests for years, by which time they could become effectively moot</u> – and he had recently hired many new White House attorneys for that purpose, at taxpayer expense.<sup>181</sup></u></p> <p>As the weeks passed, the struggle between the House committees and Mr. Trump escalated.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On April 22, Mr. Trump and his businesses – without precedent – sued the chairman of the House Oversight and Reform Committee to try to quash its subpoena of financial records.<sup>182</sup></li> <li>• On April 23, the White House instructed a staffer to defy a subpoena from that committee regarding security clearances (the White House later agreed to limited testimony after the staffer was threatened with a contempt citation).<sup>183</sup></li> <li>• Also on April 23, Mr. Trump told The Washington Post that he would categorically resist allowing current or former White House aides to testify before Congress on the subject of the Mueller report.<sup>184</sup> Most notably, his defiance pertained to former White House Counsel Donald McGahn – who had cooperated extensively and damningly with special prosecutor Robert Mueller, had told Mueller's team that Mr. Trump had ordered him to fire Mueller and to publicly lie about that conversation, and had now been subpoenaed by the House Judiciary Committee<sup>185</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>7, 9, 11; Obstruction of Justice</p>
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<p>4-16-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Also that day, the Treasury Department missed the second deadline imposed by the House Ways and Means Committee for producing Mr. Trump's tax returns. The committee has a statutory right to demand such returns.<sup>186</sup></li> <li>• On April 24, the Justice Department refused to allow an official to testify as to the administration's motive in seeking to include a controversial question about citizenship in the 2020 decennial census.<sup>187</sup></li> <li>• On April 25, the White House informed the House Oversight Committee that Stephen Miller, the principal architect of Mr. Trump's anti-immigration agenda, would not honor the committee's request that he testify.<sup>188</sup></li> <li>• On April 29, Mr. Trump sued two commercial lenders to restrain them from complying with House Financial Services and Intelligence Committee subpoenas for his financial records.<sup>189</sup> The legal action was seen as adding to the tally of over 4,000 lawsuits, many of them frivolous and abusive on Mr. Trump's part, that he had engaged in during his career.<sup>190</sup></li> <li>• On May 1, the White House rejected the House Oversight Committee's request for documents pertaining to security clearances.<sup>191</sup></li> <li>• On May 2, Attorney General William Barr canceled his scheduled appearance before the House Judiciary Committee to discuss his handling of the Mueller report, after having drawn fire for his evasive and inappropriately partisan (pro-Trump) testimony before the Senate's committee the previous day.<sup>192</sup> Barr had also thus far refused to honor the House committee's subpoena to produce the full, un-redacted report.<sup>193</sup></li> <li>• On May 5, Mr. Trump said that Mueller should not be allowed to testify before Congress about his report, reversing his own previous statements in that regard – possibly as he increasingly came to fear Mueller's testimony.<sup>194</sup></li> <li>• On May 6, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin formally stated that the IRS would not produce Mr. Trump's tax returns. As noted above, the committee has a statutory right to demand such returns.<sup>195</sup></li> </ul> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 11; Obstruction of Justice</p>
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<p>4-16-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On May 7, White House Counsel forbade McGahn from complying with the House Judiciary Committee's subpoena for McGahn's documentary records relating to the Mueller investigation.<sup>196</sup></li> <li>• On May 8, the Justice Department notified the House Judiciary Committee that the White House, claiming executive privilege, would not release to Congress any redacted portions of the Mueller report, notwithstanding the committee's subpoena, whereupon the committee voted that Barr was in contempt of Congress.<sup>197</sup></li> <li>• On May 11, The Washington Post listed 20 separate investigations of Mr. Trump that he was now blocking, an unprecedented number for a president to attempt to throttle.<sup>198</sup></li> <li>• On May 15, the White House's top lawyer told the House Judiciary Committee chairman that he would broadly defy congressional document requests and demands relating to the subject matter of the Mueller investigation, claiming – radically, and contrary to all recent precedent – that Congress lacked that oversight authority.<sup>199</sup></li> <li>• On May 17, Mnuchin rejected a formal subpoena for Mr. Trump's tax returns that had been issued by the House Ways and Means Committee.<sup>200</sup></li> <li>• On May 20, the White House forbade McGahn from testifying before the House Judiciary Committee, thus defying the committee's subpoena.<sup>201</sup></li> </ul> <p>The extent of the ever greater resistance to congressional inquiries was unprecedented, and, as stated above in this entry, it seemed headed for protracted litigation.<sup>202</sup></p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 11; Obstruction of Justice</p>
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<p>4-16-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> CSD and others had come to believe that the various records and testimonies that were being blocked could be expected to reveal unethical, illegal or treasonous activity. Previous presidential administrations too had occasionally, and controversially, resisted congressional subpoenas and document requests; but none had appeared to have had anywhere near as much to hide as Mr. Trump; never had the refusal to cooperate been more repeated and categorical; and none of the requests (at least in recent years) appeared to have been about a sitting president's personal corruption. <u>Mr. Trump's wholesale defiance of Congress's quest for information suggested not only the breadth of that corruption, but an authoritarian, undemocratic undertaking to hide it; new acts of obstruction of justice in themselves; a blatant trashing of congressional prerogatives; and thus a profound challenge to representative government and to the most fundamental structural tenets of the Constitution.</u><sup>203</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11; Obstruction of Justice</p>
<p>4-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>No bond for some asylum seekers.</u></b> Attorney General William Barr announced that, contrary to previous law, many people who crossed the Mexican border into the U.S. other than at regular border checkpoints and who then applied for asylum would not be eligible for bond and parole pending their asylum hearings, but rather would face indefinite, possibly years-long detention. Observers believed that the Trump administration's imposition of (or its failure to manage) increasingly lengthy delays at border crossings was actually contributing to the irregular crossings. They also believed that punishing asylum seekers, and using that punishment as a deterrent relative to other potential asylum seekers, violated international law.<sup>204</sup></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>4-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>Ivanka and the World Bank.</u></b> Presidential daughter and advisor Ivanka Trump confirmed rumors that her father had offered to nominate her to lead the World Bank. It was a position of immense responsibility for which she lacked all qualifications, except that, in Mr. Trump's words, she was "good with numbers." Mr. Trump had also touted his daughter as a potential ambassador to the United Nations and a potential presidential candidate.<sup>205</sup></p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>4-19-19</p>	<p><b><u>More violent threats.</u></b> A Trump supporter in Florida was arrested for addressing threats of violence to multiple Democratic members of Congress, particularly railing against blacks and Muslims.<sup>206</sup></p>	<p>5, 6</p>

4-21-19	<p><b><u>Raking it in.</u></b> News outlets reported that Mr. Trump's hotels and other properties had received nearly \$5 million in fees from Republican candidates, members of Trump-supporting PACs and the Republican National Committee since he took office.<sup>207</sup></p>	15
4-23-19	<p><b><u>Not meeting the press.</u></b> The New York Times reported that White House press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders had just set a record by having not held press briefings for 43 consecutive days. That record had now been broken three times in a row, over various periods during Mr. Trump's presidency. Since January 1, Sanders herself had conducted only two formal briefings. Prior to this administration, daily briefings had been the norm. The recently released Mueller report had also exposed that on several occasions Sanders had flagrantly lied to the press.<sup>208</sup></p>	1
4-23-19 +	<p><b><u>Watching social media – ominously.</u></b> In a meeting at the White House on April 23, Mr. Trump complained to the CEO of Twitter that that social media platform had limited or removed some followers of Mr. Trump and other conservatives – not withstanding Mr. Trump's phenomenal use of Twitter in conveying his political messages to the public. Mr. Trump had previously threatened to regulate Silicon Valley companies so as to reduce what he claimed was their bias against him.<sup>209</sup></p> <p>On May 3, Mr. Trump threatened to "monitor" social media platforms for anti-conservative bias after Facebook and Instagram de-platformed a number of incendiary, far-right conspiracy theorists.<sup>210</sup></p> <p>On May 15, Mr. Trump asked the American public to report to him any censorship that it experienced on Facebook, Google or Twitter. Although the White House invited reports from persons of all political persuasions, clearly Mr. Trump's goal was to critique, and possibly to regulate, those social media giants on grounds of censoring his supporters and others holding views that coincided with his own. On the same day, the Trump administration declined to join in a new international campaign to crack down on incendiary online hate speech that had arisen following the recent massacre of Muslims at a mosque in New Zealand.<sup>211</sup></p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	9

4-23-19 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump's conflicting positions were consistent only in that they favored government censorship of social media to protect right-wing views, but not to protect against them.</p>	9
4-23-19 +	<p><b><u>Tweeting to kill.</u></b> On April 23, Mr. Trump tweeted 50 times, mainly excoriating the mainstream media.<sup>212</sup> On May 1, he tweeted extensively in objection to the International Association of Firefighters' recent endorsement of Joe Biden for the 2020 presidential election.<sup>213</sup> On May 3 and 4, he tweeted repeatedly in objection to Facebook and Instagram having recently de-platformed a number of incendiary, far-right conspiracy theorists. He also attacked the media, and promoted one of his golf courses.<sup>214</sup> On May 10, he re-tweeted 60 posts within 45 minutes that were flattering toward himself.<sup>215</sup></p> <p>In addition, in the aggregate as of April 24, Mr. Trump had tweeted about the final Mueller report more than 50 times, in some instances with an apparent attempt to intimidate witnesses relative to pending prosecutions and congressional inquiries, and often making blatantly untrue statements about the investigation and its findings.<sup>216</sup></p>	1, 9, 11, 15
4-24-19	<p><b><u>Some truth about the census.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the real reason for his seeking to include a citizenship question in the 2020 decennial census was that "<i>The American people deserve to know who is in this Country [sic].</i>" That is, he wanted to "out" illegal immigrants; and that admission contradicted the repeated statements by Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross that the purpose of including the question was to protect voter rights. Three federal courts had already blocked the question, on grounds that it was poorly conceived and/or racially motivated. Survey scientists had also found it likely to compromise the census's accuracy, as reported above in this Chronology.<sup>217</sup></p>	6, 8
4-24-19	<p><b><u>Seeing the Court in his pocket.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that if the Democrat-controlled House of Representatives tried to impeach him, he "would first head to the U.S. Supreme Court." What he believed even the Republican-dominated Supreme Court could do to intervene in congressional impeachment proceedings was unclear, as a constitutional matter; but his assumption that he could not only go to the Court but could also stir the Court to save his presidency was breathtaking.<sup>218</sup></p>	6, 9

<p>4-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>Visa overstays targeted: if you're black.</u></b> Finally acknowledging that unlawful visa overstays (in addition to Mexican border crossings) constitute a major source of undocumented migrants in the U.S., Mr. Trump said that he would consider limiting visa issuances for citizens of some 20 countries – most of them African – even though far larger numbers of visa over-stays emanate from large (and strategically significant) countries such as China and India.<sup>219</sup></p>	<p>6</p>
<p>4-24-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Election Security.</u></b> On April 24, media reported that Mr. Trump's staff had forbidden former Homeland Security Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen from raising with him concerns about looming Russian interference in the 2020 American elections; that she had finally given up on attempting to coordinate the government's election security efforts or to publicize the security threats; and that the White House was deeply disinterested in the issue. Similar reports subsequently ensued.<sup>220</sup></p>	<p>4, 12</p>
<p>4-26-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Palliating North Korea; then not.</u></b> On April 26, media reported that Mr. Trump had acceded to North Korea's demand that the U.S. reimburse that country \$2,000,000 for expenses it had incurred in caring for American citizen Otto Warmbier, whom it had mortally mistreated before returning him to the U.S. in a coma. The report came amid a continuous stream of news indicating that North Korea was testing ballistic missiles, turning to Russia as an ally, insulting American diplomats, and otherwise abnegating any positive outcomes from Mr. Trump's much-ballyhooed summits and professed friendship with North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un.<sup>221</sup> Mr. Trump denied having rendered any payment for Warmbier's care.</p> <p>On May 9, after North Korea fired a second missile within a week, the U.S. for the first time seized a North Korean cargo vessel with a view to enforcing international economic sanctions against that country.<sup>222</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15</p>

<p>4-26-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On May 25, shortly after breaking hallowed Japanese cultural tradition by presenting his own gargantuan "President's Cup" trophy to a Sumo wrestler in a ring in Japan, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"North Korea fired off some small weapons, which disturbed some of my people, and others, but not me. I have confidence that Chairman Kim will keep his promise to me, &amp; also smiled when he called Swampman Joe Biden a low IQ individual, &amp; worse. Perhaps that's sending me a signal?"</i> He thus at once diminished the North Korean threat, unnerved his Japanese hosts, contradicted his own advisors, slandered Biden, and took the side of a foreign dictator in mocking his top 2020 re-election contender ... after having associated himself with a sport based on brute strength.<sup>223</sup></p> <p>On May 27, still in Japan, Mr. Trump contradicted both his advisors and the Japanese government by denying that North Korea had launched ballistic missiles, and he said that instead he agreed with Kim's denials.. He also praised the intelligence of Kim and re-doubled his claim that Biden was dimwitted. He also again referred to North Korea's potential (and his own?) to develop beachfront resorts in that country.<sup>224</sup></p> <p>On May 31, media reported that Kim had executed his U.S. envoy over the latter's failure to have made progress during the two countries' most recent summit.<sup>225</sup></p> <p>CSD continues not to criticize the Trump administration's specific foreign policy positions and efforts, except to the extent that they may plainly offend our Statement of Principles – such as befriending dictatorships, withdrawing from international security and human rights accords, or evidencing racism, capriciousness, falsehoods, science denial, self-serving demagoguery, business conflicts of interest, and so forth. But we note that the new tensions with North Korea, combined with a contemporaneous spike in tensions with China (over Mr. Trump's trade war), Iran (over Mr. Trump's hard line toward Iran's nuclear program), and Venezuela (to the point of his encouraging regime change) appeared to display the vulnerabilities inherent in his impetuosity, his saber-rattling, his reported ignorance about foreign affairs, and his disconnects with his advisors. They also appeared, disturbingly, to pile one significant international risk upon another, and to renew skepticism about his much-professed deal-making skills.<sup>226</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15</p>
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<p>4-27-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Wisconsin.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Green Bay, Wisconsin, among other familiar themes, Mr. Trump attacked immigrants, Democrats, and the "scum" in the Justice Department that had investigated him. He also boasted at length (again) about the crowd size; referred (again) to presidential contender Senator Elizabeth Warren as "Pocahontas"; called the Mueller investigation (again) "the greatest political hoax in American history"; claimed (again) to be "draining the swamp" (despite presiding over the most self-dealing and conflict-of-interest-ridden administration in recent history); falsely accused Democrats (again) of seeking to "take your guns away" and "to allow children to be ripped from their mother's womb" or to be "executed" immediately after birth; and (again) categorically praised the ruthless Saudi Arabian regime.<sup>227</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 12</p>
<p>4-29-19</p>	<p><b><u>Huger and huger.</u></b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made 10,111 false or misleading statements during his presidency, for an average of 23 per day during the immediately preceding seven months – up from an initial average of five per day. One explanation for (or characterization of) the rise in the rate: in recent weeks, Mr. Trump had routinely made dozens of false or misleading statements at a time in each of many interviews, rallies and Twitter barrages; that is to say, in non-stop torrents of untruths.<sup>228</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>4-29-19</p>	<p><b><u>Guilfoyle to the rescue.</u></b> Media reported that Kimberly Guilfoyle, the girlfriend of Mr. Trump's son Donald, Jr., had joined the White House staff as a senior advisor.<sup>229</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>4-29-19</p>	<p><b><u>Making them pay.</u></b> In a blow to the international principle of humanitarian asylum, Mr. Trump ordered the drafting of regulations that would require that asylum seekers pay the government to process their asylum claims. He also ordered that the regulations deny asylum seekers work permits. Because asylum seekers in the U.S. already are not entitled to receive any public benefits, many of those who were not in pre-hearing detention would seemingly have to resort to begging, crime, or self-expulsion in order not to starve.<sup>230</sup></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>4-30-19</p>	<p><b><u>Cheating the vulnerable.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's golf clubs had frequently cheated their undocumented workers out of overtime pay, insurance, and vacation time.<sup>231</sup> The workers of course were not in a position to challenge that treatment in courts of law.</p>	<p>6; Barbarity</p>

4-30-19 +	<p><b><u>More for the Fed.</u></b> On April 30, Mr. Trump intensified his calls on the Federal Reserve Board to lower interest rates.<sup>232</sup> On May 3, Vice President Mike Pence called for the same.<sup>233</sup> CSD has reported many times previously on Mr. Trump's unconventional attempts to politicize the Fed's decision making, for his own political benefit.</p>	9, 11
5-1-19 +	<p><b><u>Hatch Act flaunted.</u></b> For the third and fourth times, White House advisor Kellyanne Conway was reported on May 1 to have violated the Hatch Act in recent days by campaigning for Mr. Trump in the course of her official duties – specifically, in these instances, by denigrating other current presidential contenders, including Joe Biden. CSD had documented the previous episodes earlier in this Chronology. The White House had never disciplined Conway for her previous infractions.<sup>234</sup></p> <p>On May 7, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin addressed a Trump campaign fundraiser. In the audience were business executives whom he was tasked with regulating. He purported, preposterously, to have appeared as a private citizen, and thus to have been exempt from the Hatch Act.<sup>235</sup></p> <p>On May 22, Lynne Patton – a former event planner for the Trump business and family, a notoriously unqualified Trump HUD appointee, and a repeated Hatch Act offender – violated the statute again, and boasted that she didn't care if she did.<sup>236</sup></p> <p>On May 29, Conway pointedly and extensively criticized Joe Biden. When challenged by a reporter about previous government findings that she had violated the Hatch Act, she said, <i>"If you're trying to silence me through the Hatch Act, it's not going to work. Let me know when the jail sentence starts."</i><sup>237</sup></p> <p>Politico reported on the unusual volume of Hatch Act violations within the Trump administration – and on the public having acquiesced to it, after having grown accustomed to the non-stop breaches of laws and ethical norms by Mr. Trump and his administration.<sup>238</sup></p>	17 (9)

<p>5-2-19</p>	<p><b><u>Sent by God.</u></b> Following frequent claims by officials and key supporters that Mr. Trump had been sent to America by God,<sup>239</sup> Mr. Trump said at the White House during a National Day of Prayer service that he had relied on God to get him through the Mueller investigation.<sup>240</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>5-4-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Spygate.</u></b> On May 4, The Washington Post reported that a major emerging theme in Mr. Trump's 2020 re-election campaign consisted of accusations that the FBI had unlawfully and undemocratically spied on his 2016 campaign, and that the Justice Department should now "investigate the investigators" with a view to bringing criminal charges against some of them.<sup>241</sup> The theme was not new; but the campaign's fervor was. And Attorney General William Barr appeared to be leading the charge.<sup>242</sup></p> <p>In truth the FBI did gather intelligence on Russia's election meddling in 2016, which did cause the agency to examine Russian contacts within Mr. Trump's campaign – all of which was utterly essential to protect our democracy, and far from unlawful; had they not done so they would have been derelict. Former FBI Director James Comey's retort in The Post – he had been in charge at the time – was compelling, as were his characterizations of the cynicism and mindlessness of the conspiracy theories.<sup>243</sup> But whether the demagogic scapegoating of the FBI would now rival in persistence and in fury the demagogic scapegoating of Hillary Clinton in Mr. Trump's campaigning remained to be seen.</p> <p><u>On May 13, Mr. Trump claimed by Twitter, as he had claimed before, that the investigation had amounted to an attempted "coup," and that the current FBI director Chris Wray was trying to protect the culprits. On May 17, Mr. Trump tweeted: "My Campaign for President was conclusively spied on. Nothing like this has ever happened in American Politics. A really bad situation. TREASON means long jail sentences, and this was TREASON!"</u>  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>5-4-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] On May 23, Mr. Trump authorized Barr to declassify intelligence information relating to the alleged spying so that Mr. Trump could publicize it. Never before had a president given an official who was not in charge of an intelligence agency the authority to reveal the agency's secrets.</u> And he did this at the very time that he was refusing to allow Justice Department officials to cooperate with congressional requests and demands for data about the substantive findings of the Mueller report itself (see CSD's entry of April 16 + above in this Addendum, for details on that refusal). That is, <u>Mr. Trump was seeking to release classified information that he believed to be in his own favor while suppressing non-classified information that he believed would injure himself politically.</u><sup>244</sup> Mr. Trump's own Director of National Intelligence, Dan Coats, said that the move threatened national security.<sup>245</sup></p> <p>On May 24, Mr. Trump told reporters, yet again, that the Mueller investigation was "a hoax perpetrated on the country" and <u>"an attempted coup or an attempted takedown of the president of the United States."</u><sup>246</sup> No prior president had so slandered his adversaries, his subordinates, or the Justice Department.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>5-4-19</p>	<p><b><u>Hilarity with Putin.</u></b> Mr. Trump revealed that the previous day he had <u>spoken for an hour by telephone with Russian President Vladimir Putin, who had orchestrated the massive attempts at American election interference in Mr. Trump's favor in 2016 and was expected to do the same in 2020. Mr. Trump reported that, on the call, they had joked about the Mueller report being a "hoax," and about the report's conclusion that Mr. Trump had not "colluded" with Russia in 2016, but that they did not otherwise discuss Russia's prior or forthcoming election tampering efforts.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump also reported that he had not discussed Russia's current, massive financial and political support for Venezuela's rogue dictator, Nicolas Maduro (whom Mr. Trump wanted to oust), and that Russia had no such involvement there – directly contradicting recent remarks and diplomatic activities by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo. Rather, Mr. Trump extolled the good relations that he had cultivated with Putin, one of America's principal, most deceptive, and most menacing adversaries. And he blamed the "Fake News Media" for mischaracterizing U.S.-Russia relations.<sup>247</sup></p>	<p>12</p>

5-5-19	<p><b><u>Tiger Woods to the rescue.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced that he would bestow the Presidential Medal of Freedom – the nation's highest civilian honor – upon his business partner and political supporter, the celebrity golfer Tiger Woods. Woods had already been promoting Mr. Trump's golf resorts, and he was now seen as being rewarded for that and being positioned to promote the resorts even more effectively. Previous presidents had granted the honor to supporters, but seemingly not to business partners, and rarely to individuals who were mid-career.<sup>248</sup></p>	15, 16
5-7-19	<p><b><u>Silence on Arctic climate change.</u></b> Secretary of State Mike Pompeo blocked the Arctic Council – an organization of eight countries bordering on Arctic waters – from including in its annual declaration a caution about the perils of climate change that were widely seen as endangering those waters and, as a consequence, the world's population. The action thus served as a rejection of both science and international cooperation.<sup>249</sup></p>	8
5-7-19, 5-8-19	<p><b><u>Knee-capping asylum.</u></b> On May 7, The Washington Post reported that the Trump administration had directed asylum officers to be more skeptical and confrontational with asylum applicants, by aggressively challenging their claims that they (the asylum seekers) feared being returned to their home countries.<sup>250</sup></p> <p>On May 8, NBC News reported that the Trump administration was blocking some detained asylum seekers from obtaining free, privately-funded legal services, to which they were entitled by law (if as a practical matter they were able to procure them).<sup>251</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	6, 14

<p>5-7-19, 5-8-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As to the first of these items, CSD believes that fair and careful vetting of asylum claims is appropriate. But the two new developments followed a flurry of other recent ones which, in the aggregate, demonstrated yet again Mr. Trump's concerted attempt to deter Central Americans (and possibly others) from applying for asylum and to limit asylum rights that have long been enshrined in U.S. and international law. CSD has reported on the other recent developments above in this Addendum: requiring asylum seekers to unsafely "remain in Mexico" pending their hearings (April 8); denying bond to and imposing indefinite detention upon some asylum seekers pending their hearings (April 17); and requiring application fees from asylum seekers and denying them work permits pending their hearings (April 29).</p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>5-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Dodging taxes.</u></b> Responding to a New York Times report that Mr. Trump had declared over \$1 billion in business losses to the IRS two decades ago, and that in some years his businesses had paid no income taxes at all, Mr. Trump boasted that aggressively avoiding taxes had been accepted "sport" among real estate developers.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's tax deductions may or may not have been lawfully declared; but through his boast he may have become the first president to have implicitly encouraged American citizens to dodge their tax obligations. Mr. Trump's tax compliance practices had long been suspect, and thus fertile ground for public and congressional inquiry. But at the time of this episode, his treasury secretary was unlawfully defying a House Ways and Means Committee request to produce his tax returns.<sup>252</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>5-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Press passes revoked.</u></b> The White House revoked the long-standing press passes held by many reporters representing mainstream media outlets such as The Washington Post, in an obvious attempt to disfavor and intimidate them.<sup>253</sup></p>	<p>1</p>
<p>5-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Shoot them!</u></b> At a campaign rally in Panama City Beach, Florida, Mr. Trump – referring to undocumented migrants – asked the crowd, "<u>How do you stop these people?</u>" "<u>Shoot them!</u>" <u>someone yelled, and the audience cheered and laughed uproariously.</u> Mr. Trump responded by signaling <u>his approval.</u><sup>254</sup></p>	<p>5, 6, 9</p>

<p>5-8-19, 5-10-19</p>	<p><b>Alfred E. Neuman.</b> At a campaign rally in Panama City, Florida on May 8, in the usual course Mr. Trump mocked a number of his potential 2020 election opponents through the nicknames he had given them – deriding "Sleepy Joe" Biden and "Crazy Bernie" Sanders. He also harshly mocked the pronunciation of candidate Pete Buttigieg's name, and he hinted that Buttigieg was insufficiently imposing a figure to negotiate with world leaders. In a video, supporters behind him laughed, applauded and leered.<sup>255</sup> On May 10, continuing the practice of mocking his adversaries' physical appearance and assigning them derogatory nicknames, Mr. Trump referred to Buttigieg as "Alfred E. Neuman," the funny-looking Mad Magazine mascot.<sup>256</sup></p> <p>CSD believes that those practices were not just juvenile, sadistic, insulting to his adversaries, insulting to the office of the president, and narcissistic in their demonstration of Mr. Trump's belief in his own physical and mental perfection; but through the president's ethical example, the practice could be assumed to encourage at least some in the country toward a comparable heartlessness, pack-like bullying of the "other," and overall self-debasement.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>5-9-19</p>	<p><b>Kerry to jail?</b> Mr. Trump revealed that he had instructed the Justice Department to consider prosecuting former Secretary of State John Kerry for having privately met with Iranian officials after leaving office – even though every former secretary of state had continued to meet with world leaders after serving.<sup>257</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>5-9-19 +</p>	<p><b>Giuliani to Ukraine?</b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani was planning to travel to Ukraine to seek that government's assistance in digging up dirt on the Justice Department's earlier investigation of the 2016 Trump election campaign. Giuliani was also seeking dirt on what the Trump camp had recently claimed was an improper intervention by Mr. Trump's leading 2020 re-election rival, Joe Biden, in an investigation of Biden's son's business activities in Ukraine. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 17 (9, 11)</p>

<p>5-9-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] The Times wrote: "Mr. Giuliani's plans create the remarkable scene of a lawyer for the president of the United States pressing a foreign government to pursue investigations that Mr. Trump's allies hope could help him in his re-election campaign. And it comes after Mr. Trump spent more than half of his term facing questions about whether his 2016 campaign conspired with a foreign power."<sup>258</sup> That is, Giuliani was effectively asking a foreign government to meddle in a second American presidential election.</p> <p>On March 10, following a media firestorm, Giuliani canceled his trip to Ukraine.<sup>259</sup> But on the same day, Mr. Trump told Politico that he could consider investigating Biden<sup>260</sup> – a stark reminder of how, when campaigning in 2016, he had vowed to investigate and imprison his then rival Hillary Clinton.</p>	<p>9, 17 (9, 11)</p>
<p>5-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Fourth of July, and me.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump was planning to insert himself in the annual Washington, DC July 4th celebration, including by making a televised speech at the Lincoln Memorial. The celebration had long been a non-partisan event.<sup>261</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>5-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>From Afghanistan, with love.</u></b> By executive fiat, Mr. Trump shifted \$1.5 billion in congressional appropriations for the war in Afghanistan to funding the construction of his Mexican border wall, thus not only defying Congress but shelving American security in favor of racist, domestic demagoguery – at taxpayer expense.<sup>262</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>5-13-19</p>	<p><b><u>Orban at the White House.</u></b> Mr. Trump met at the White House with Hungary's corrupt, authoritarian, radically anti-immigrant,<sup>263</sup> and (when useful<sup>264</sup>) anti-Semitic prime minister Viktor Orban – a leader who had called for an ethnically pure (white), Christian, Hungarian state, who had invited other European governments to join him in that call, and whom Presidents George W. Bush and Obama had shunned. In a warm, televised photo op with Orban, Mr. Trump termed the meeting "a great honor." He continued, "Viktor Orban has done a tremendous job in so many different ways. ... I know he's a tough man, but he's a respected man. Probably, like me, a little bit controversial, but that's OK. That's OK. You've done a good job, and you've kept your country safe."<sup>265</sup></p>	<p>12</p>



<p>5-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>Disappearing the ACA.</u></b> A new report on the government's deployment of Web content revealed that the Trump administration had <u>determinedly purged the Web of references to the Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"), with a continuing view to destroying it – contrary to law and to Americans' well-being.</u> (CSD does not take a position on the substance of the ACA: only on Mr. Trump's reckless, demagogic and vengeful obsession with dismantling it without having a substitute plan in place.)<sup>266</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>5-15-19, 5-18-19</p>	<p><b><u>I beg your pardon.</u></b> Continuing his practice of pardoning famous criminals for personal reasons, on May 15 Mr. Trump pardoned his friend, fellow billionaire and convicted swindler Conrad Black, following Black's publication of a book praising Mr. Trump.<sup>267</sup> On the same day, Mr. Trump pardoned Pat Nolan, a conservative Republican politician from California who had been convicted of bribery.<sup>268</sup> <u>On May 18, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump was preparing to pardon a number of accused and convicted American war criminals, such as soldiers who had murdered innocent civilians in the field.</u><sup>269</sup> Such pardons, if granted, <u>not only would further extend Mr. Trump's streak of granting clemency for self-serving political purposes, but would (as before) bypass the established protocol of the Justice Department initiating pardon requests; would defy American precedent (as during the Vietnam War) of holding our own war criminals accountable; would erode U.S. military discipline and justice; would advance Mr. Trump's agenda to establish the U.S. as a rogue and bellicose power unanswerable to any international norms; and would encourage other nations to do all of the same.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump had already pronounced some of the accused soldiers to be American heroes. The contemplated pardons would follow Mr. Trump's pardon of another convicted American war criminal on May 6.<sup>270</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 14</p>
<p>5-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>Protecting social media – for me.</u></b> Mr. Trump asked the American public to report to him any censorship that it experienced on Facebook, Google or Twitter. Although the White House invited reports from persons of all political persuasions, clearly Mr. Trump's goal was to critique, and possibly to regulate, those social media giants on grounds of censoring his supporters and others holding views that coincided with his own. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>5-15-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On the same day, the Trump administration declined to join in a new international campaign to crack down on incendiary online hate speech that had arisen following the recent massacre of Muslims at a mosque in New Zealand.<sup>271</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's two positions were at once inconsistent (favoring and disfavoring government censorship) and consistent (both positions promoting media access for extreme right-wing views).</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>5-16-19, 5-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>The vanity wall.</u></b> On May 16, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had been micro-managing the design of new lengths of barrier to be built along the Mexican border, as he had micro-managed the designs of his hotels and resorts. In doing so, he was adopting the multiple roles of master builder, engineer, architect and security expert, while often overruling and stumping the real security experts, and even making unduly expensive decisions. In the process he had often summoned aides to his office on short notice, wakened them by phone in the early morning hours, and brought up the design issues during meetings about other topics ... as though obsessed. Among other things, after having frequently changed his design instructions, he was currently insisting that the metal barrier be tall, uniform, black (so as to be too hot to touch), and topped with sharp spikes (so as to injure a climber's hands). He also wanted the structure to be aesthetically pleasing. Observers viewed it as a vanity project – that is, as a monument to himself – funded with money he had diverted from military needs.<sup>272</sup></p> <p>On May 23, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump was actively pressing the Army Corps of Engineers to award a contract for the construction of the wall to a company whose CEO – a Republican donor and a colleague of prominent anti-immigration politicians – had frequently promoted his particular design for the wall on Fox News and other conservative media. The Army Corps had already rejected his design, and for that he was suing the Corps. The attempt by Mr. Trump to politically influence the selection of a contractor ran contrary to the Corps' hallowed reputation for probity.<sup>273</sup></p>	<p>6, 11</p>

<p>5-16-19</p>	<p><b><u>Demonizing the Dems.</u></b> In proposing from the White House lawn that more green cards be issued to highly educated English speakers and fewer to families of those already having legal status here (a position not at odds with that of some other democratic countries), Mr. Trump gratuitously and untruthfully said, <i>“Democrats are proposing open borders, lower wages and frankly, lawless chaos.”</i><sup>274</sup> Those allegations had become quite perfunctory for Mr. Trump. For CSD, it was as though he could not advance a straightforward policy concept without slandering those he considered to be his enemies; and as though no falsehood coming from him was any longer capable of attracting sustained media attention or popular condemnation.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>5-19-19</p>	<p><b><u>Obliterating Iran.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>“If Iran wants to fight, that will be the official end of Iran. Never threaten the United States again!”</i> Days earlier he had indicated that he was actually less hawkish toward Iran than some of his advisors. He had made a similar threat toward Iran the previous year; also toward North Korea. Whether he was now tweeting to frighten Iran, to impress voters, or to satisfy his own craving to bully and provoke was unknowable, as was whether he knew what he was doing.<sup>275</sup></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>
<p>5-19-19</p>	<p><b><u>Bringing Ireland to heel?</u></b> The Irish prime minister's office publicly voiced objections to Mr. Trump's insistence that the planned meeting of the two men in Ireland in June be held at Mr. Trump's Irish golf course rather than a nearby Irish castle. Mr. Trump's undertaking to advertise his resort was seen as both insulting to Irish prerogatives and cravenly mercenary.<sup>276</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>
<p>5-20-19</p>	<p><b><u>Oh, The Times.</u></b> Mr. Trump went on a Twitter rampage against "The Failing New York Times" for its "Fake News" reporting about money laundering suspicions that had arisen out of transactions on his part and those of his son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner for compliance analysts at Deutsche Bank in 2016 and 2017. In the string of five tweets, he boasted repeatedly about his wealth.<sup>277</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 11; Possible money laundering</p>

<p>5-20-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Pennsylvania.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Montoursville, Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump: boasted about his (modest) crowd size; under-counted, by a factor of ten, the crowd size that Democratic 2020 electoral hopeful Joe Biden had recently drawn; repeated his false claim that he had passed the largest tax cut in American history; repeated his inaccurate claims that the Justice Department had spied on his 2016 campaign, that the Mueller investigation had been a "hoax," and that it had all amounted to "treason"; and repeated his prior statement, as to Central American migrants, that "our country is full."<sup>278</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>5-20-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>A thumb on the pollution scale.</u></b> On May 20, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's Environmental Protection Agency was using phony analytics to downplay the health threats caused by fossil fuel burning, and thus to ease pertinent regulations affecting energy utilities.<sup>279</sup> On May 27, The Times reported more broadly on the administration's war on climate science – driven mostly by business interests – including an effort to not project climate change beyond the year 2040.<sup>280</sup></p>	<p>8</p>
<p>5-20-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Losing again in court.</u></b> In quick succession, Mr. Trump lost three more federal court challenges to his authoritarian undertakings. On May 20, the DC district court ordered his personal accounting firm to turn over his business records to the House Oversight Committee.<sup>281</sup> On May 22, a New York district court ordered Deutsche Bank to turn over his business records to the House Intelligence and Financial Services Committees.<sup>282</sup> And on May 24, a California district court blocked his attempt to spend un-appropriated funds on his border wall.<sup>283</sup> The first two courts found preposterous Mr. Trump's claim that Congress lacked the constitutional authority to investigate the president before actually impeaching him.<sup>284</sup> Responding to the third ruling, Mr. Trump tweeted on May 25, from Japan: <i>"This is a ruling against Border Security and in favor of crime, drugs and human trafficking."</i></p> <p>Although Mr. Trump was likely to appeal all of the rulings, at a minimum they demonstrated the extent to which he had pushed to the limits the legality of his conduct as president.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>5-22-19</p>	<p><b><u>Golfing update.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump's golf outings during his presidency – all at his own golf courses in New Jersey, Florida, Los Angeles, Scotland, and soon at his course in Ireland – had so far cost taxpayers \$102 million. After having derided President Obama for playing golf frequently and after having promised never to play during his presidency, he had now played twice as often as his predecessor and had spent three times as much in taxpayer money at the same point in their respective presidential terms, while contemporaneously advertising his golf properties to the public – sometimes pointedly.</p> <p>HuffPost wrote: <i>"The \$102 million total to date spent on Trump's presidential golfing represents 255 times the annual presidential salary he volunteered not to take. It is more than three times the cost of special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation that Trump continually complains about. It would fund for six years the Special Olympics program that Trump's proposed budget had originally cut to save money."</i><sup>285</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>
<p>5-22-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>So, there!</u></b> On May 22, Mr. Trump stormed out of a meeting with Democratic congressional leaders that had been called for the purpose of striking a deal on an infrastructure bill. As pretext, he claimed to be reacting to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's accusation that morning that his resistance to congressional investigations (see above in this Addendum at April 16 + for detail on that resistance) amounted to a cover-up. He then proceeded to the Rose Garden, where he had quickly summoned reporters and where "No Collusion, No Obstruction" placards were already in place at the lectern. There he swore that he would not cooperate with the Democrats until they stopped their investigations. <i>"I don't do cover-ups,"</i> he said. <i>"It turns out I'm the most -- I think most of you would agree to this -- I'm the most transparent president probably in the history of this country."</i><sup>286</sup></p> <p>Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer said that Mr. Trump's blow-up was staged. For the political foolishness, the paranoia and the self-pity that had characterized his rambling address to the reporters, Pelosi and others said that Mr. Trump had seemed unhinged.<sup>287</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>5-22-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Some Democrats acknowledged that Pelosi had intentionally provoked Mr. Trump from the outset. In any event, she had now again touched a nerve. The next day at the White House, flanked by aides during an announcement about an aid package for farmers who had been injured by his trade wars, Mr. Trump railed at Democrats for nearly half an hour. He called Pelosi "a mess" and repeatedly called her "crazy"; he mocked her mannerisms and insinuated that she was impaired; he reiterated his claim of being an "extremely stable genius," adding that he was a "very capable person"; and he called on the aides serially to express to the television cameras how calm he had been the day before when the infrastructure meeting had collapsed – which they dutifully did.</p> <p><u>Mr. Trump also found a moment during his rant to accuse former FBI Director James Comey and former acting FBI Director Andrew McCabe of treason (a crime punishable by death).</u><sup>288</sup></p> <p>Later that day Mr. Trump re-tweeted a heavily doctored video of Pelosi speaking that falsely portrayed her as debilitated or drunk.<sup>289</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>5-24-19</p>	<p><b>Arms sales without Congress.</b> Secretary of State Mike Pompeo announced that, exercising "emergency" authority, Mr. Trump's administration would sell \$8 billion in military hardware to Saudi Arabia and other countries without the approval of Congress – a move that The Washington Post called a "rare step," and that outraged both Democrats and Republicans in Congress. The Saudi sales caused particular furor, in that the Saudi regime had murdered a Washington Post columnist the previous year, and in that Congress had been seeking to cut off U.S. military support for the regime due to the civilian atrocities it was committing, and the mass starvation it was facilitating, in the course of its ongoing intervention in Yemen's civil war.<sup>290</sup></p> <p>The episode followed The Washington Post's May 22 revelation that acting Secretary of Defense Patrick Shanahan on May 8 had approved a new policy establishing that his department could unilaterally reject congressional inquiries and oversight. Both Republicans and Democrats on the House Armed Service Committee had expressed alarm.<sup>291</sup></p>	<p>9</p>

<p>5-28-19 +</p>	<p><b>The president's military.</b> On May 28, The New York Times reported that sailors aboard a U.S. naval vessel that Mr. Trump visited while in Japan, contrary to regulation, had sewn patches on the arms of their uniforms bearing Mr. Trump's likeness and the phrase "Make Aircrew Great Again."<sup>292</sup></p> <p>On May 29, The Wall Street Journal (then other media) reported that the White House had asked the Navy to hide the U.S.S. John McCain with a barge, to cover up its name with a tarp while it lay in the Japanese naval base that Mr. Trump was visiting, and to bar sailors wearing the ship's cap from attending Mr. Trump's address – all so as not to offend Mr. Trump (who hated Vietnam war hero Senator John McCain and his memory).<sup>293</sup></p> <p>Although Mr. Trump was not known to have personally ordered either event, taken together they displayed his and his administration's continuing efforts to cause the military to reflect his egotism and his political interests. They also displayed his subordinates' dangerous efforts to withhold from his attention unpleasant data or experiences – for fear of being thrashed.<sup>294</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 11)</p>
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<sup>1</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/02/trump-tweet-touting-one-his-scotland-golf-courses-greatest-world-draws-criticism/?utm\\_term=.a9b274ccfc08&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/02/trump-tweet-touting-one-his-scotland-golf-courses-greatest-world-draws-criticism/?utm_term=.a9b274ccfc08&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/04/world/europe/trump-golf-uk-scotland.html>

<sup>2</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-international-hotel\\_n\\_5c7caf77e4b0e5e313cc5f35](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-international-hotel_n_5c7caf77e4b0e5e313cc5f35)

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/02/opinion/sunday/saudi-arabia-jared-kushner-nuclear.html>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/02/28/jared-kushner-has-gotten-away-with-security-clearance-omissions-that-typically-fell-less-influential-federal-employees/?utm\\_term=.00b18b030647](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-fix/wp/2018/02/28/jared-kushner-has-gotten-away-with-security-clearance-omissions-that-typically-fell-less-influential-federal-employees/?utm_term=.00b18b030647)

<sup>5</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/white-house-security-clearance-documents\\_n\\_5c7ed711e4b06ff26ba31f84](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/white-house-security-clearance-documents_n_5c7ed711e4b06ff26ba31f84)

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/05/politics/ivanka-trump-security-clearance-pressure/index.html>

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/04/president-trump-has-made-false-or-misleading-claims-over-days/?utm\\_term=.4832e296a159&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/03/04/president-trump-has-made-false-or-misleading-claims-over-days/?utm_term=.4832e296a159&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-unhinged-cpac-speech-should-concern-us-all/2019/03/04/96395a9e-3ecc-11e9-922c-64d6b7840b82\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.5639c3c87a01&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-unhinged-cpac-speech-should-concern-us-all/2019/03/04/96395a9e-3ecc-11e9-922c-64d6b7840b82_story.html?utm_term=.5639c3c87a01&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.newsweek.com/donald-trump-mental-cpac-msnbc-morning-joe-1352274> and <https://www.cnn.com/2019/03/04/politics/donald-trump-cpac-speech/index.html>

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- <sup>8</sup> <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2019/03/11/the-making-of-the-fox-news-white-house> and <https://www.newyorker.com/podcast/the-new-yorker-radio-hour/jane-mayer-on-the-revolving-door-between-fox-news-and-the-white-house>
- <sup>9</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/03/05/us/politics/trump-michael-cohen-checks.html>
- <sup>10</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/wilbur-ross-broke-law-violated-constitution-in-census-decision-judge-rules/2019/03/06/9d7962aa-404c-11e9-a0d3-1210e58a94cf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.4d7470303d2c&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/wilbur-ross-broke-law-violated-constitution-in-census-decision-judge-rules/2019/03/06/9d7962aa-404c-11e9-a0d3-1210e58a94cf_story.html?utm_term=.4d7470303d2c&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/census-citizenship-question-blocked\\_n\\_5c8020cfe4b0e62f69e95de8](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/census-citizenship-question-blocked_n_5c8020cfe4b0e62f69e95de8)
- <sup>11</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/federal-judge-in-maryland-blocks-trumps-administration-plan-to-add-citizenship-question-to-2020-census/2019/04/05/3db89fb0-57c7-11e9-9136-f8e636f1f6df\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.c641c710b961&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/social-issues/federal-judge-in-maryland-blocks-trumps-administration-plan-to-add-citizenship-question-to-2020-census/2019/04/05/3db89fb0-57c7-11e9-9136-f8e636f1f6df_story.html?utm_term=.c641c710b961&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)
- <sup>12</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/is-trump-running-a-white-house-or-a-temp-agency/2019/03/06/d50a22a8-4057-11e9-922c-64d6b7840b82\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.dcaa753bf158&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/is-trump-running-a-white-house-or-a-temp-agency/2019/03/06/d50a22a8-4057-11e9-922c-64d6b7840b82_story.html?utm_term=.dcaa753bf158&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
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<sup>293</sup> <https://www.wsj.com/articles/white-house-wanted-uss-john-mccain-out-of-sight-during-trump-japan-visit-11559173470?emailToken=a039147463aeb44ebad68ac7b1a83751HeVbLjmvPRft8W1BWtXk8YBuFIR48jSIHaXr0uvtglCBSqZZoFNTQoHWwS1nfg3M99vR5jQ+6C0VvwsEhxJ7mRwT3gkL1pKScMJrwmugdBdnyk6bS2J/fFS3wS5qHeuOn+H/qIdUvbY7a1NnJ89dNw%3D%3D&> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/30/us/politics/trump-mccain-ship.html>

<sup>294</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/05/30/opinion/donald-trump-john-mccain-navy-ship.html>



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

*Addendum 24 – July 8, 2019*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

5-30-19 +	<p><b><u>Kicking Mexico, the law, and the truth.</u></b> Citing statutory "emergency" authority, on May 30 Mr. Trump vowed to impose a 5% tariff on all imports from Mexico as punishment for Mexico's allowing Central American migrants to enter the U.S.<sup>1</sup> The move was not only racist and demagogic, but it threatened economic mayhem and as such was opposed by many members of both political parties.<sup>2</sup> Some observers also found the move illegal, in that no statute authorized the president to impose tariffs as a means to procure an immigration policy result.<sup>3</sup> The seizing of authority thus matched in its apparent illegality Mr. Trump's recent "emergency" expropriation of federal funds for his Mexican border wall, and his recent "emergency" arming of Saudi Arabia without congressional approval (both as described in Addendum 23 to this Chronology).<sup>4</sup></p> <p>Under severe pressure from the Republican Senate and from business leaders, on June 7 Mr. Trump rescinded his tariff threat, claiming that he had now successfully negotiated with Mexico to stop the migrant inflow: by Mexico deploying its national guard and agreeing to hold asylum seekers in Mexico while they awaited their asylum hearings in the U.S. But on June 8, The New York Times reported that Mexico had already agreed to most of those measures months previously.<sup>5</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	6, 7, 9, 10, 11
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<p>5-30-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued below.</i>] Mr. Trump also falsely claimed that Mexico had newly agreed to buy large quantities of U.S. agricultural products.<sup>6</sup></p> <p>Several observers characterized the "deal" as typical for Mr. Trump since the early days of his presidency: manufacture crises; deliver unreasonable ultimatums; and when they fail, claim victory, even though the underlying problems have not been solved.<sup>7</sup> Others noted that the tariff threat had not only proven to be hollow (thus arguably emboldening future targets of Mr. Trump's threats) but had risked a reciprocal withdrawal from the U.S.-Mexico-Canada (trade) Agreement that Mr. Trump himself had negotiated – thus making America's fidelity to its affirmative promises and treaties ever more suspect for foreign governments.<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>6-2-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pray for me.</u></b> Just as Mr. Trump was spontaneously entering an Evangelical church in Vienna, Virginia after golfing at his nearby club, the White House announced that he was going there to pray for the victims of a recent mass shooting in Virginia Beach. In fact no such prayer occurred: only a prayer for Mr. Trump. A mere 80 minutes before, the White House had notified the pastor that Mr. Trump would be coming and had asked the pastor to offer that prayer – as part of a national "Pray for Donald Trump Day" that had been organized by Franklin Graham, a prominent Evangelical leader and Trump supporter. The pastor subsequently apologized for offering the prayer, claiming that his church was non-partisan, and that he had been blind-sided by the surprise visit and the prayer request.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>6-2-19</p>	<p><b><u>Chao: not so clean.</u></b> On June 2, The New York Times published an extensive report on Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao's promotion of the business of her family's international shipping company while in office and on its (and her) close connections with the Chinese government. The company reportedly had benefited handsomely from its Chinese connections and from Chinese industrial policy. In addition, the Times found that some U.S. maritime policies that had arisen under her watch appeared to have benefited Chinese shipping interests while degrading American ones.</p> <p>Chao is married to Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, and her family's largesse had reportedly made McConnell and his electoral campaigns wealthy.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (15)</p>

6-2-19	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The article followed a May 28 report in The Times that Chao had profited from an investment in an American highway construction materials company after having promised but failed to divest from it. While she had recused herself from any decisions regarding that company specifically, she remained intimately engaged in overall infrastructure policies that could benefit the company.<sup>11</sup></p> <p>On June 10, Politico reported that Chao had appointed a special liaison from her office to steer Transportation Department grants to Kansas – McConnell's state – in connection with his 2018 reelection campaign.<sup>12</sup></p>	17 (15)
6-3-19 +	<p><b><u>Defying congressional inquiries.</u></b> (This entry continues CSD's entry of April 16 +, in which Mr. Trump's many and extraordinary refusals to comply with congressional information requests and subpoenas were described.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On June 3, the White House prevented disgraced election-fraud conspiracy theorist Kris Kobach from testifying candidly before the House Oversight Committee on his conversations with Mr. Trump about the proposed inclusion of the census question in the 2020 decennial census.<sup>13</sup></li> <li>• On June 4, Mr. Trump instructed former White House aides Hope Hicks and Annie Donaldson to defy a House Judiciary Committee document subpoena.<sup>14</sup></li> <li>• On June 6, the Justice and Commerce Departments defied House Oversight Committee document subpoenas relating to the administration's proposed inclusion of a citizenship question in the 2020 decennial census, days after news reports had emerged of new evidence pointing to a partisan (as opposed to a scientific, objective and socially useful) motive behind the inclusion.<sup>15</sup></li> <li>• On June 11, a former senior Commerce Department official refused to answer over 100 questions put to him by the House Oversight Committee relative to the formulation of the controversial citizenship question.<sup>16</sup></li> <li>• On June 12, Mr. Trump asserted executive privilege in blocking the release to the House Oversight Committee of documents relating to the citizenship question.<sup>17</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	9

<p>6-3-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On June 14, the Justice Department issued a legal opinion backing Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin's refusal to allow the IRS to turn over Mr. Trump's tax returns to the House Ways and Means Committee, despite the committee's statutory right to obtain them.<sup>18</sup></li> <li>• On June 19, former communications director Hope Hicks, when meeting in closed session with the House Judiciary Committee, but honoring objections raised repeatedly by Justice Department lawyers accompanying her – refused to answer questions about any events whatever that had occurred while she was serving in the White House. (She answered questions only about events that had arisen while she was serving in Mr. Trump's electoral campaign.) Afterwards, Mr. Trump tweeted that the "RIGGED" hearings amounted to "Presidential Harassment," he railed at "Crooked Hillary" Clinton, and he accused Democrats of obstructing justice.<sup>19</sup></li> <li>• On June 21, Felix Sater – a felon and a former business associate of Mr. Trump who had had a role in Mr. Trump's proposed Moscow hotel development in the run-up to the 2020 election – failed to appear before the House Intelligence Committee despite having previously agreed to do so.<sup>20</sup></li> <li>• On June 24, the White House announced that it would bar Mr. Trump's senior advisor and prominent political surrogate Kellyanne Conway from testifying before the House Oversight Committee relative to the findings of the Office of Special Counsel that she had repeatedly violated the Hatch Act by engaging in partisan political campaigning in connection with her official government duties.<sup>21</sup> (See CSD's entry of June 13 + below for details of Conway's and others' Hatch Act offenses.) <u>[Continued below.]</u></li> </ul>	<p>9</p>
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<p>6-3-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On June 26, in an obverse phenomenon, Mr. Trump lashed out at special prosecutor Robert Mueller (no longer employed by the federal government or under Mr. Trump's control) for having agreed the previous day to testify publicly before the House Judiciary and Intelligence Committees pursuant to a subpoena with which he had been served and with which he was thus bound by law to comply. Specifically, Mr. Trump accused Mueller of having acted criminally when (apparently unbeknownst to Mueller) the text messages of two Mueller staffers were deleted after Mueller terminated the two for ethical reasons.<sup>22</sup></li> <li>• On July 8, former Deputy White House Counsel Annie Donaldson, on White House instructions, declined to answer more than 200 written questions posed by the House Judiciary Committee.<sup>23</sup></li> </ul>	<p>9</p>
<p>6-3-19 +</p>	<p><b>Across the pond.</b> Mr. Trump went to Europe with a view to honoring the 50th anniversary of D-Day. He started his visit in the U.K. He began that visit by trading insults with London's mayor Sadiq Khan, who had called him a fascist, and whom Mr. Trump, by Twitter, now called a "stone cold loser" and mocked his modest height. He created further controversy by calling for a quick British exit from the European Union, referring to a royal duchess as "nasty," and endorsing a particular candidate to lead Britain's Conservative Party as prime minister.<sup>24</sup></p> <p>In London he was greeted by 75,000 protesters, a fact he labeled "fake news," and he preposterously claimed that instead thousands had massed in his support. As before in the U.K., his staff had carefully avoided exposing him to displays of his vast unpopularity within that nation, so it was unclear whether he even knew about it.<sup>25</sup></p> <p>Also in London, Mr. Trump, via Twitter, bashed CNN for its "fake news." Once again picking winners and losers among American businesses for personal political gain, and once again directly attacking the First Amendment to the Constitution, he urged that Americans boycott CNN's parent AT&amp;T until CNN became less critical of him. (Pursuant to the same motive, Mr. Trump had sought to block AT&amp;T's acquisition of CNN by way of a merger with Time Warner, then CNN's parent – an illegal move foiled in federal court.)</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15</p>



<p>6-3-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] He also denied global climate change in a press interview.<sup>26</sup></p> <p>A Washington Post columnist detailed Mr. Trump's frequent (and often breathtakingly false) tweets and other statements during his stay in the U.K., in which he lavishly boasted about himself and trashed his American adversaries. Some of the most outlandish statements included disparaging entertainer Bette Midler, the "Corrupt Media," the special prosecutor's "Witch Hunt," 2020 presidential contender "Sleepy Joe Biden," and "Cryin' [Senate Minority Leader] Chuck Schumer" (a "disaster" and a "jerk"); claiming vast expertise about nuclear weapons; claiming to have created "the greatest [U.S.] economy ever"; touting his "big" 2016 electoral win and his "spectacular" inauguration; claiming to have a "very good relationship with the people in the United Kingdom" and its leaders; comparing himself to Winston Churchill; and excusing his Vietnam-era draft avoidance by pointing to his strong military budget as president.<sup>27</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump had made some of those comments during a Fox News interview in France, with an American war cemetery in the video behind him. At that time he also trashed House Speaker "Nervous Nancy" Pelosi as "horrible, nasty, vicious," and "a terrible person"; and he said that "crooked" Hillary Clinton should not have been permitted to run against him in 2016. He further boasted, improbably, of his "automatic chemistry" with Queen Elizabeth.<sup>28</sup> Those comments, combined with the cemetery setting, drew widespread condemnation not only for his having criticized American leaders while on foreign soil, but for his having desecrated the memory of the fallen on what had long been considered to be hallowed ground.</p> <p>Mr. Trump was vividly accompanied in the U.K. and elsewhere in Europe by his wife, three children, and two children-in law – all at least in part at government expense (that is, at a minimum, as to security expenses). Previous presidents had sometimes traveled abroad with children; but not so many children at once, none of whom were business people, and all of whom were minors. (Mr. Trump had previously criticized President Obama for his far less lavish travel expenses.)<sup>29</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15</p>
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<p>6-3-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Moving on from the U.K. to Ireland, Mr. Trump's visit with the Irish prime minister was downgraded to a brief encounter in the VIP lounge at Shannon Airport, thus avoiding Mr. Trump's insistence that it be held at his Irish golf club and the prime minister's insistence that it be held at a nearby, legendary castle. Mr. Trump nevertheless stayed two nights at his club – spending taxpayer dollars unnecessarily to fly there, while drawing promotional attention to the facility as well as hotel revenues from reporters, officials and others in attendance. It was the third time that Mr. Trump had visited – and promoted – his overseas properties while traveling abroad. (Curiously, news reports noted that Mr. Trump was awaiting a decision by local planning authorities on whether he could build a sea wall to prevent part of the golf course from eroding. In his application for the wall, he had cited climate change – a phenomenon he had otherwise claimed didn't exist – as a cause of the erosion.)<sup>30</sup> Mr. Trump's cumulative presidential golf outings (all to his own clubs) had now cost taxpayers well over \$100 million – three times what President Obama had spent at this point in his term, and across two and a half times as many outings (despite Mr. Trump having excoriated his predecessor for golfing often).<sup>31</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15</p>
<p>6-8-19, 6-13-19</p>	<p><b>Suppressing science (yet again).</b> On June 8, The Washington Post reported that White House officials prevented a State Department intelligence agency from informing the House Intelligence Committee days earlier of the agency's assessment that a failure to address climate change could be catastrophic for America's national security, after the White House had attempted to edit out that assessment from the agency's written submission.<sup>32</sup></p> <p>On June 13, media reported that Agriculture Secretary Sonny Perdue, another climate science skeptic, was moving several of his department's research units from Washington to Kansas City, with the possible intent and effect of politicizing or crippling the research.<sup>33</sup></p>	<p>17 (8)</p>
<p>6-10-19</p>	<p><b>Fact Checker update.</b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker counted 10,796 false or misleading claims that Mr. Trump had made in office as of June 7, for an average of 12 per day during his presidency and 16 per day since April 26. The largest number of such claims (20%) addressed immigration issues, followed by trade (10%) and the Russia election meddling investigation (10%).<sup>34</sup></p>	<p>7</p>

6-10-19 +	<p><b><u>On the Fed (once more, with feeling).</u></b> On June 10, Mr. Trump yet again berated the Federal Reserve Bank for having raised interest rates during his administration; he urged that it lower interest rates now; and he bemoaned the Fed's independence (contrasting it to China's state control of its own central bank). He thus continued to flaunt tradition and wisdom by undertaking to politicize the Fed's decisions for his personal political benefit (that is, risking an inflationary economy that could help him win reelection but spell longer-term economic damage).<sup>35</sup></p> <p>On June 18, Mr. Trump hinted to a reporter that he might try to remove Fed chair Jerome Powell, which would be illegal. Previous news reports had indicated that Mr. Trump had been investigating such a removal for months.<sup>36</sup></p>	9
6-11-19 +	<p><b><u>North Korean love.</u></b> On June 11, Mr. Trump, who had previously claimed to have "fallen in love" with North Korean dictator and butcher Kim Jong-un, said that he had received a new, "beautiful letter" from Kim. He also boasted of the (non-existent) progress he had made in U.S.-North Korean relations, stating, "<i>We have a very good relationship together.</i>"<sup>37</sup> The next day, Mr. Trump told reporters that Kim had "kept his word" relative to his promise not to conduct nuclear and missile testing – thus contradicting his own national security advisor, John Bolton, who had said just hours before that Kim had reneged, having recently tested a short-range ballistic missile.<sup>38</sup></p>	7, 12
6-12-19	<p><b><u>Infallible.</u></b> Mr. Trump finally articulated what he had been suspected to believe all along: in connection with his prior statements (contrary to intelligence reports) that Russia was not intervening in Venezuela, he told a reporter, "<i>Ultimately, I'm always right.</i>"<sup>39</sup></p>	11, 13

<p>6-12-19 +</p>	<p><u>Still wanting it.</u> On June 12, Mr. Trump told ABC News that he would welcome receiving opposition research from a hostile foreign power if it were to be offered during the course of his 2020 re-election campaign, and that he might or might not report such an incident to the FBI. In so doing, he effectively invited further foreign meddling in American elections; compromised many months of FBI work directed toward stopping such foreign activity; and defied his own appointed FBI director, Christopher Wray, who had told a Senate panel on May 7 that such conduct by a president would be illegal. Mr. Trump also thus flaunted one of the core controversies of the Mueller investigation – whether it had been improper for his campaign to seek and accept such election assistance from Russia – as though that investigation, which had so rent the nation, had never occurred; or as though, as indeed he had repeatedly claimed in recent months, the investigation had totally exonerated him and his campaign relative to seeking Russian assistance.<sup>40</sup></p> <p>During and after the interview, Mr. Trump justified his attitude by stating that politicians routinely accept opposition research (not acknowledging that they don't accept it from hostile foreign powers) and that he himself had routinely spoken with foreign leaders without notifying the FBI (not acknowledging that he had not spoken with them about American election strategies).<sup>41</sup> Whether he had failed to grasp the distinctions, was simply following his creed of refusing to admit error, or instead was attempting to deceive the American public was unknowable; but regardless, in the view of many observers, what he said displayed a grievous unfitness for office.</p> <p>A firestorm of criticism erupted, including on the part of several prominent Republican senators.<sup>42</sup> The following day, the chair of the Federal Election Commission wrote unequivocally that for Mr. Trump to accept election help from a foreign government would be illegal.<sup>43</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11, 12, 13</p>

6-13-19 +	<p><b>Garroting the Hatch Act.</b> On June 13, the government's Office of Special Counsel – an ethical watchdog agency unrelated to special prosecutor Robert Mueller – ruled that Mr. Trump's senior advisor Kellyanne Conway had repeatedly violated the Hatch Act, which forbids political campaigning by most federal officials during the course of their official duties, and it recommended that Mr. Trump discipline her by firing her.<sup>44</sup> The following day, he publicly refused to do so, thus yet again baldly violating the law. Instead he praised Conway.<sup>45</sup> The chief of the Office of Special Counsel, himself a Trump appointee, blasted Mr. Trump for unethically interfering with the actions of the office.</p> <p>On June 15, a CNN analysis noted that at least a dozen senior Trump administration officials had been cited for Hatch Act violations, and that Mr. Trump himself, although exempt from the statute's restrictions, had to an extraordinary extent mixed campaign and other political messaging with official functions (including by attacking his adversaries while traveling overseas) – to the point of blurring the distinction between the two types of activities beyond recognition.<sup>46</sup></p>	9, 17 (9)
6-14-19 +	<p><b>Multi-tasking the grab.</b> Media reported that Mr. Trump would shortly be holding a re-election fundraiser at his Doral golf resort in Miami, Florida. His campaign would be paying the resort a rental fee; the government would be paying his travel and security expenses; and he himself would be playing golf. Thus in one fell swoop Mr. Trump would be promoting his property while using both taxpayer and donor money to line his pockets and enjoy a day on the links – thereby adding to the staggering sums he had personally netted from political events since becoming president, and the staggering amounts of golf he had played at his clubs.<sup>47</sup></p>	11, 15
6-14-19, 6-15-19	<p><b>Wrapped in the flag.</b> On June 14, the White House issued a Flag Day tweet that featured an odd photograph from March in which Mr. Trump was depicted beatifically hugging the American flag. The following day, Mr. Trump tweeted his support for a constitutional amendment that would criminalize the burning of the flag, as had been newly proposed by two Republican senators.<sup>48</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 11

<p>6-14-19, 6-15-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Of all the possible constitutional amendment initiatives to support, this seemed to CSD the most thoughtless, the most unnecessary, the most inflammatory, the most demagogic, the most ethno-nationalist ... and the most ironic, given Mr. Trump's unprecedented attacks on American legal, cultural and political traditions, his lifelong disdain for true patriotism, and his likely willingness to sell American interests out for the sake of Russian, Saudi Arabian and other for-profit opportunities.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>6-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>Hiding cyber-operations from the president.</u></b> In reporting on the development of <u>massive new U.S. cyber-warfare capabilities</u> that can be deployed against Russia, The New York Times wrote: <i>"Pentagon and intelligence officials described broad hesitation to go into detail with Mr. Trump about operations against Russia for concern over his reaction — and the possibility that he might countermand it or discuss it with foreign officials, as he did in 2017 when he mentioned a sensitive operation in Syria to the Russian foreign minister."</i><sup>49</sup> The stunning report appeared to indicate that <u>top officials considered the commander-in-chief to be an utter nincompoop, a potential traitor, or both; and, as previous news reports had long speculated, that they were actively attempting to protect the country from him.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump quickly tweeted that The Times had committed "a virtual act of Treason," that the story wasn't true, and that The Times was "THE ENEMY OF THE PEOPLE." But what was treasonous: that The Times had embarrassed the president? (it had); that The Times had embarrassed Russia? (it had); that The Times had disclosed classified information? (it had not: The Times responded that its sources had expressly acquiesced to the publication of the story<sup>50</sup>). What was untrue: that the program existed? (it did); that the president was a nincompoop and/or a traitor? (he was). Might Mr. Trump's reaction have arisen from surprise or fury in learning from The Times of the cyber program's extent or even its existence? (That, CSD was not able to determine).</p>	<p>7, 10, 12, 13; Treason</p>
<p>6-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>The coming crash.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the stock market would experience an unprecedented crash if he were not re-elected in 2020.</p>	<p>9</p>

6-16-19	<p><b><u>President for life.</u></b> For at least the fourth time, Mr. Trump mused (jokingly or not) about <u>servicing as president for more than two terms</u> – which would be unconstitutional.<sup>51</sup></p>	9, 11
6-17-19	<p><b><u>The Space Force: for sale.</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump's 2020 re-election campaign was hawking hats, T-shirts, pens and other sundries that promoted, as being in progress, Mr. Trump's much vaunted Space Force initiative. The concept of a unit specializing in orbital operations had long been discussed within the military. But Mr. Trump had expropriated it as his own, had vacuously re-characterized it as requiring the creation of a separate and co-equal branch of the military, and had gotten no buy-in for any of that from Congress.<sup>52</sup> That is, his claim to be already building the Space Force seemed even more megalomaniacal and less accurate than his claim to be already building the wall at the Mexican border.</p> <p>Still, he was managing to monetize the Space Force idea for his campaign's coffers. The Space Force sundries were being offered for sale at various Trump properties, along the lines of previous sales of Trump steaks, Trump deodorant, Trump vitamin kits, Trump water, Trump vodka, Trump wine, Trump mattresses, Trump pillows, Trump eyeglasses, Trump chandeliers, Trump coffee, and Trump neckties.<sup>53</sup></p>	7, 9, 11
6-17-19	<p><b><u>Flipping and flopping.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist recounted some 18 of the many instances in which Mr. Trump had contradicted himself almost contemporaneously with voicing his own original statements. Topics included national security threats, his attitudes toward the Justice Department, the status of ISIS, border security, nuclear proliferation, Russian election meddling, and immigration policy.<sup>54</sup></p> <p>The same evening, one of Mr. Trump's biographers told an MSNBC interviewer that Mr. Trump seemed friendless; increasingly incapable of articulating a sustained or considered position about anything; and increasingly unable to distinguish fact from fiction, having gone from lying 20%-30% of the time to 80%-90%.<sup>55</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 10

6-17-19	[ <i>Continued.</i> ] Of course those were only opinions. But they were opinions widely held. CSD believes that even if many American voters didn't hold them, surely many of America's allies and enemies abroad did. And even if they were only a little bit true, they would be a grave and unprecedented danger to our country.	7, 10
6-17-19 +	<b>The trouble with Fox.</b> Having recently (and falsely) denied his 2020 re-election campaign's leaked finding that he was polling poorly, on June 17 Mr. Trump now criticized Fox News for objectively reporting on that network's own poor polling results for him. He had similarly criticized Fox in recent weeks for airing Democratic voices, and for otherwise reporting the news objectively – all of which he seemed to feel had violated his understanding that he effectively owned the editorial policies of Fox. <sup>56</sup> On July 7, Mr. Trump again ranted against Fox, for interviewing Democrats and for quoting The New York Times. <sup>57</sup>	7, 9, 11
6-17-19	<b>Manafort saved from Rikers.</b> Mr. Trump's Justice Department made the unusual move of directing New York State prison officials to not hold convicted federal felon Paul Manafort in the state prison at Rikers Island pending a state felony trial, because they felt that, for Manafort, sitting in a federal prison would be more humane. The intervention was unusual; the outcome (not sitting in Rikers at that stage in a state criminal case) was unusual; and the episode gave rise to continuing concerns that Mr. Trump could pardon Manafort. <sup>58</sup>	2
6-18-19	<b>Saudis licensed to kill and to use child soldiers.</b> Secretary of State Mike Pompeo blocked the inclusion of Saudi Arabia in a State Department list of countries that deploy child soldiers, thereby dismissing his own department's conclusion that Saudi forces were exploiting children in their murderous war in Yemen. <sup>59</sup>	17 (7, 14)
6-18-19	<b>Mis-appointment round-up.</b> On June 18, Mr. Trump dismissed his acting Secretary of Defense Patrick Shanahan, who had come under criticism for his too-close relations with his former employer Boeing, as well as for his lack of military experience, his seeming ineffectiveness in his acting role, and his prior personal circumstances involving domestic abuse. Mr. Trump then appointed Secretary of the Army Mark Esper to fill the position – his third Defense Secretary in less than three years. <sup>60</sup> [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	10



<p>6-18-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On the same day, Ann Marie Buerkle, who was acting chair of the Consumer Product Safety Commission and Mr. Trump's nominee for chair, resigned over her stewardship of several children's toy recall scandals.<sup>61</sup></p> <p>Those developments took their place in the continuing cavalcade of Mr. Trump's senior nominations and appointments starting askew and/or going bad, as documented above in this Chronology. They recently followed or shortly preceded:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The appointment on May 28 of the under-experienced Mark Morgan as acting director of Immigration and Customs Enforcement – a key unit of Homeland Security – reportedly because he had praised Mr. Trump repeatedly on Fox News when a vacancy in the position had appeared and because few other people wanted a senior post in the department under Mr. Trump.<sup>62</sup></li> <li>• The resignation on June 2 of Kevin Hassett, the White House's top economist and long-time opponent of tariffs.<sup>63</sup></li> <li>• The appointment on June 11 of arch-immigration foe Ken Cuccinelli as acting director of the U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, another key unit of the Department of Homeland Security, over the objections of prominent Republican and Democratic senators who vowed to block him from achieving a permanent appointment. Cuccinelli replaced Lee Francis Cissna, a career immigration professional whom Mr. Trump had recently dismissed for being too soft on migrants.<sup>64</sup></li> <li>• The appointment on June 14 of former hard-line ICE acting director Thomas Homan to serve as Mr. Trump's White House "border czar," without Homan having agreed to serve.<sup>65</sup></li> <li>• The revelation on June 17 that Mr. Trump's nominee for Ambassador to the United Nations – Kelly Craft, an inexperienced diplomat but a wealthy political donor – had been absent from her job as ambassador to Canada most of the time.<sup>66</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>10</p>
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<p>6-18-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The announcement on June 25 that Mr. Trump's acting commissioner of Customs and Border Protection (yet another key unit of Homeland Security), John Sanders, would resign. The development came at a moment of crisis – when Mr. Trump was threatening mass Hispanic deportations and the public was expressing fury over DHS's harsh treatment of migrant children at the Mexican border.<sup>67</sup> Sanders would be replaced by acting ICE director Mark Morgan, and Matt Albence would become acting ICE director. Every top position at DHS had thus gone through one or more changes in recent months, and none of those top positions – all "acting" – had been approved by the Senate.<sup>68</sup></li> <li>• The announcement on June 25 that Stephanie Grisham would become Mr. Trump's third press secretary (replacing Sarah Huckabee Sanders; he had had seven communications directors).<sup>69</sup></li> </ul> <p>Following the Shanahan debacle, a June 18 analysis by Politico recapped Mr. Trump's considerable churn in cabinet positions, his penchant for poorly vetting his appointees, his trouble in finding people willing to serve, and his preference for naming acting officials so as to avoid Senate confirmation and to more readily control and dismiss his hirelings.<sup>70</sup></p> <p>On June 23, Axios published a leaked Republican National Committee analysis of its own chaotic and irresponsible vetting process for top appointees during Mr. Trump's post-election transition period. RNC staffers had characterized the effort as a "disaster," a "shit show," and a "clown show," in which many appointees' known or easily knowable background defects had been ignored.<sup>71</sup></p>	<p>10</p>
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6-18-19	<p><b>Kicking it off in Florida.</b> Mr. Trump, who had in fact (and without precedent) begun his 2020 re-election campaign within days after being sworn in for his first term of office in 2018 – he had been conducting rally after rally since then – now officially kicked off the campaign at a rally in Orlando, Florida. There, The New York Times wrote, <i>"Mr. Trump unleashed a torrent of attacks, falsehoods, exaggerations and resentments that were the trademark of his first campaign and have been on almost daily display during his time in the White House."</i> The Times called the crowd "raucous" and "frenzied."<sup>72</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump boasted in superlative terms about the crowd size and about his accomplishments as president. He called his slogan "Make America Great Again" "the greatest theme in the history of politics." He demonized migrants, falsely accused Democrats of seeking "open borders," and called that "the greatest betrayal of the American middle class and, frankly, American life." He termed the Mueller investigation a "witch hunt," a "hoax," and "an all-illegal attempt to overturn the results of the election, spy on our campaign, which is what they did -- and subvert our democracy." He falsely accused President Obama of tolerating the Russian election interference. He said that Democrats "want to destroy our country" and characterized them as an "angry, left-wing mob" bent on seeking to "undermine our great democracy." He attacked "Crooked Hillary" Clinton extensively (bringing his public denunciations of her, by one count, to an average of 2.56 per day since taking office, and drawing the predictable cries from the crowd to <i>"Lock her up!"</i>). He proclaimed, <i>"They are really going after you. They tried to erase your vote, erase the legacy of the greatest campaign and the greatest election probably in the history of the country."</i> And he thundered, <i>"A vote for any Democrat in 2020 is a vote for the rise of radical socialism, and the destruction of the American dream."</i><sup>73</sup></p> <p>CNN counted 15 false statements in Mr. Trump's address, including with respect to U.S. energy production, the special prosecutor's Russia investigation, the status of the border wall's construction, Mr. Trump's stewardship of the environment, the effect of his China tariffs on consumer prices, employment rates, his healthcare policies, and much more.<sup>74</sup> The Washington Post presented its own list of 17 false statements.<sup>75</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 9
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<p>6-18-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Huffington Post reported on large contingents of neo-fascists and conspiracy theorists in attendance.<sup>76</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>6-20-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Foreign non-policy.</u></b> After Mr. Trump had clamored to confront Iran (including militarily) for years, in quick succession: (a) Iran was revealed to have built up its nuclear capabilities substantially since Mr. Trump had withdrawn the U.S. from the Iranian nuclear accords; (b) Iran mined a Japanese oil tanker; and (c) it shot down a U.S. drone. <u>Our country appeared to be on the brink of war with Iran.</u> But Mr. Trump reacted by expressing doubt that Iran had done some of those things (or that it had done them intentionally); he declined to retaliate; soon afterwards he said that he did not want a war with Iran and blamed his advisors for fomenting one ("<i>These people want to push us into a war, and it's so disgusting</i>"); then he threatened to "obliterate" Iran; then he said (improbably, and contrary to the assessments of his advisors) that any war with Iran would be brief and would not escalate.</p> <p>The events followed other recent stunning reversals by Mr. Trump, each occurring shortly after he had launched a dire threat: levying a 5% tariff on all Mexican imports in order to force Mexico to better stanch the flow of migrants into the U.S.; deporting "millions" of undocumented migrants following a swift dragnet; and seeking regime change in Venezuela.</p> <p>Observers noted some common characteristics among many of the episodes of threats followed by reversals:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An impulsiveness, capriciousness, and seeming lack of prior planning – in the reversals as well as in the original threats.</li> <li>• The likelihood that Mr. Trump's threats (and his internal coordination with his hapless advisors) were losing credibility among both foreign enemies and foreign allies.</li> <li>• America's spurned allies having lost confidence in their strategic alignment with the U.S. and with the candor of U.S. intelligence assessments.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump's claims to have rescued groups, countries or the entire world from dire crises that he himself had created. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>10, 11, 13, 14</p>

6-20-19 +	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The churn and/or absence of top advisors while the crises were unfolding (for example, at the time of the Iran crisis Mr. Trump had not had a United Nations ambassador for six months, and he dismissed his acting defense secretary mid-stream).<sup>77</sup></li> </ul> <p>Previous presidents as well had pulled back from their own threats; but not so often, so erratically, or so quickly. For its part, CSD does not know what could or should be done about Iran or Venezuela; but we believe we know chaos, hollow bluster and baloney when we see it; and that even baloney can spark a calamitous war.</p>	10, 11, 13, 14
6-21-19 +	<p><b>Sub-humans.</b> By June 21, a cascade of reports had appeared decrying the conditions under which migrant children were being held by the Department of Homeland Security at the Mexican border.<sup>78</sup> On June 22, New Yorker magazine reported in graphic detail that unaccompanied children at a particular facility in Texas were being held in filthy, disease-ridden and unsafe conditions.</p> <p>Mr. Trump, naturally, blamed Democrats.<sup>79</sup> (At the time, impassioned House Democrats were promoting a bill for child migrant protection that was more exacting than a competing Senate bill. In the end, on June 27, the Senate bill prevailed.<sup>80</sup>)</p>	6, 7, 9, 14
6-23-19	<p><b>Thank you (i.e., me).</b> Mr. Trump thanked himself for the recent stock market rally – unintentionally directing his Twitter followers to a fake Russian Twitter account for support of the proposition.<sup>81</sup></p>	10, 11
6-23-19	<p><b>Meeting the Press.</b> Repeating his own familiar themes, Mr. Trump said in an NBC "Meet the Press" interview that Saudi Arabia's murder of Saudi dissident and Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi was irrelevant as long as that country was buying U.S. weapons and other goods; he falsely accused President Obama of having initiated Mr. Trump's own harsh family separation policies at the Mexican border; he attacked Federal Reserve Board chairman Jerome Powell for not lowering interest rates; he threatened to "obliterate" Iran; and he indicated continued ambivalence as to whether to confront Russian President Vladimir Putin about ongoing Russian efforts to interfere in the American election process.<sup>82</sup></p>	7, 9, 10, 12, 14

<p>6-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>No climate change for farmers.</u></b> Politico reported that Secretary of Agriculture Sonny Perdue, a pro-agribusiness partisan and climate science skeptic, had buried the department's public reporting on the impact of climate change on agriculture and agricultural products so that it was difficult for farmers, consumers, scientists and policy makers to access that information, sometimes with potentially widespread adverse health effects.<sup>83</sup></p>	<p>17 (8)</p>
<p>6-27-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Supreme Court quashes citizenship question (sort of).</u></b> On June 27, the Supreme Court ruled that the 2020 decennial census could not contain a question asking respondents to declare whether they were U.S. citizens, unless Mr. Trump's Justice Department were to come forward with a better justification for including the question within days after the ruling. Chief Justice John Roberts (Republican-appointed) and four Democratic-appointed Justices effectively found Mr. Trump's administration to have lied about its motives for including the question when claiming that it was for the protection of the Voting Rights Act.</p> <p>(As CSD has reported extensively above in this Chronology, the inclusion of the question was designed instead to undercount immigrant communities and thus to deprive them of political representation and social benefits, with the likely ancillary result of depriving them of some commercial services. Recent evidence had more specifically revealed that the question's inclusion was intended to skew political districting in favor of white Republicans.)</p> <p>Mr. Trump promptly vowed to keep fighting for the inclusion of the question, to the point of possibly seeking to administratively extend the statutorily mandated census start date.<sup>84</sup> On July 2, however, the Justice and Commerce Departments formally conceded that the census would proceed without the citizenship question.<sup>85</sup> But the following day, chaotically, Mr. Trump called the report of that concession "FAKE," and he pledged to include the question in the census.<sup>86</sup> Justice Department lawyers, summoned by the federal trial court in Maryland to explain, confessed that they didn't know the president's reasoning, or under what legal grounds the question could be included. Exasperated, the judge suggested that further advocacy by the attorneys could be senseless unless Mr. Trump accompanied them in the courtroom to corroborate their stated positions.<sup>87</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10</p>

<p>6-27-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On July 7, the Justice Department announced that it had appointed a new team of attorneys to represent the administration in the matter, seemingly because the original attorneys appeared to have balked in moving forward.<sup>88</sup></p> <p>For CSD, that passionate advocacy for what would ordinarily have been a highly objective and technical matter (that is, what questions to include in a census) on the part of Mr. Trump – who was not a technical man – on its face appeared to demonstrate the political and racist underpinnings of the proposed question. (His having repeatedly blocked Congress from gaining documents and testimony about the motivation for including the question was equally telling.)</p> <p>A New York Times analysis advanced that, regardless of the Court's decision and the government's plans for the census, Mr. Trump's anti-immigration policies would already likely effect an under-count of migrants, due to their fear of federal authorities coming to their doors.<sup>89</sup></p> <p>As to Mr. Trump's threat to defy the Supreme Court's ruling, a subsequent Washington Post analysis placed it within the context of his overall approach to the court system as president. He had lost over 60 cases in two years as president, including those pertaining to his efforts to strip money from sanctuary cities, block congressional inquiries into his finances, overturn certain environmental regulations, and fund the Mexican border wall without congressional approval. But there had been a method to his madness:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Favoring hostility and theatre over a careful legal strategy – in order to gin up his voter base, even if it meant losing the case.</li> <li>• Upon a court win, claiming victory; upon a loss, claiming that the system was rigged.</li> <li>• Never conceding defeat; rather, defying, or appealing to, a Supreme Court that he, through his appointments, had made friendly to himself.<sup>90</sup></li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10</p>

<p>6-28-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>In Japan and Korea.</u></b> Seated with Russian President Vladimir Putin before television cameras on June 28 at a G-20 conference in Osaka, Japan, Mr. Trump joked with Putin. Referring to reporters, he said, "Get rid of them." He added, "Fake news is a great term, isn't it? You don't have this problem in Russia, but we do." (Some 26 journalists had been murdered in Russia under Putin's reign.) Asked by a reporter if he would tell Putin not to meddle in American elections, Mr. Trump smiled, wagged his finger at Putin, and said, "Don't meddle in the election," drawing a laugh from the man who had grievously meddled in 2016 and was expected to meddle again in 2020.<sup>91</sup></p> <p>That sardonic camaraderie followed Mr. Trump's attacks the previous day on American allies Japan and Germany for not spending enough on their own military protection, while implying that he might abandon our military treaties with them.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, Mr. Trump spent most of his time at the conference huddling with dictators and ethno-nationalists, not with America's democratic allies. Of Putin in particular he said, <i>"We've had great meetings. We have had a very, very good relationship. And we look forward to spending some pretty good time together. A lot of very positive things going to come out of the relationship."</i> Putin, for his part, told the press that the liberal international order was obsolete, that multiculturalism was "no longer tenable," and that "migrants can kill, plunder and rape with impunity." Mr. Trump did not dispute any of that.<sup>93</sup> In fact on June 29, still in Osaka, he expressly acknowledged to American reporters that he had been getting along with the dictators better than with the reporters.<sup>94</sup></p> <p>Also on June 28, Mr. Trump said that Saudi Arabian Crown Prince Mohammad bin Salman – widely suspected of having ordered the murder of Saudi dissident journalist and Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi – was his "friend" and was innocent of the murder. He also heralded the "great honor" of being with the prince, noting that Saudi Arabia was a "good purchaser of American products." Addressing the prince, he said, <i>"I want to just thank you on behalf of a lot of people, and I want to congratulate you. You've done, really, a spectacular job."</i><sup>95</sup></p> <p>On the topic of climate change, Mr. Trump stood alone among the attending democratic leaders in resisting a joint communiqué calling out the peril.<sup>96</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-28-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On the topics of sex, power, ignorance, brutality and nepotism, the presidential daughter, senior advisor and former fashion model Ivanka Trump – a woman of no known diplomatic capability but of sometimes embarrassing diplomatic pretense<sup>97</sup> – appeared prominently throughout the Asian adventure, at one point eliciting joyous whoops of something (what?) from American troops as Mr. Trump paraded her on stage during their side visit to the Korean de-militarized zone. (Mr. Trump had just met with and gratuitously flattered North Korean dictator and butcher Kim Jong-un there).<sup>98</sup></p> <p>Further on entertaining the troops, Mr. Trump told them that he had given them their first pay raise in ten years, a statement that was flagrantly false.<sup>99</sup> He also continued to betray the custom of not delivering political speeches to uniformed service members: he berated Democrats, claiming that they had not funded purchases of new military equipment for the troops in attendance.<sup>100</sup></p> <p>Finishing up in Seoul, South Korea, Mr. Trump crowed that while he himself had met with Kim three times, President Obama had repeatedly begged for such a meeting and had been rebuffed – another fabrication.<sup>101</sup> (By all credible news accounts, despite his meetings, Mr. Trump had not yet demonstrably achieved anything of substance with Kim toward the singular goal of North Korean denuclearization. In fact Kim's nuclear capabilities appeared to have increased despite Mr. Trump's negotiations. But Mr. Trump had certainly elevated Kim's domestic and international stature by having met with and befriended him.)</p> <p>A New York Times analysis encapsulated Mr. Trump's demagogic, egomaniacal expedition in East Asia as follows: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-28-19 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "The man who emblazoned his surname on buildings, golf courses, airplanes and even bathrobes, cuff links, steaks, neckties and men's fragrances appears intent on inscribing 'Trump' in large, bright letters in the history books as well. His whirlwind 72 hours in Japan and South Korea could be seen as his pitch for posterity. He had, in his telling, built 'the best economy in the world.' The deal he hoped to reach with China 'could be very historic.' And when he went where no president had gone before by stepping across the border into North Korea, 'historic' was not good enough. Even before the visit was over, he was characterizing it as 'legendary.' More than most presidents, Mr. Trump appears driven by a quest for superlatives — whatever he is doing must be the first, the most, the biggest — and it shapes his policy choices even as he frames his own narrative with the branding skills of a career in business and entertainment. During one news conference on the trip, he used the word 'best' nine times, 'incredible' 16 times, 'tremendous' 28 times and 'great' or 'greatest' 50 times. 'We're the hottest show in town,' he told reporters</i>  <i>....</i><sup>102</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
<p>6-29-19, 7-1-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pampered, insouciant, or just plain out of it?</u></b> Mr. Trump – a lifelong urban resident, albeit a coddled one – unintentionally revealed in a series of media interviews that he did not know that, for decades, (a) minority children had been bussed from poor urban areas to wealthier ones as a means of remediating school segregation and (b) urban homelessness had been a well-recognized and much-addressed humanitarian problem. In fact he seemed shocked to learn of urban homelessness, and he vowed to "clean up" the cities for the benefit of the non-homeless who had to encounter the homeless on work days. Naturally, and nonsensically, he blamed Democrats for the problem.<sup>103</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>7-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>Court bars Barr.</u></b> A federal district court in Seattle ruled that Attorney General William Barr's April order to categorically deny bond to, and thus to indefinitely detain, certain apprehended asylum seekers unconstitutionally deprived them of their right to due process. (The judge expected the government to appeal her ruling.)<sup>104</sup></p>	<p>2, 6</p>

<p>7-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>A champion for war crimes.</u></b> In a stunning and gratuitous demonstration of Islamophobia, sadism, militarism, inappropriate judicial intervention, disdain for the principles of American and international law, an aspirational machismo, and simply mouthing off on a matter in which he had no knowledge or constitutional prerogative, Mr. Trump, by way of Twitter, congratulated a Navy Seal upon being found not guilty of war crimes by a military tribunal. (The charges had included murdering a captive in Iraq and attempting to murder civilians there.) Mr. Trump also boasted about having helped the accused man: through presidential intercession, the accused had been moved from an uncomfortable prison.<sup>105</sup> Ironically, the court-martial outcome was not viewed favorably within the SEALs by either commanders (who felt that the unit's mission and reputation had been compromised by the reprieve) or witnesses (who now feared retaliation from within the ranks). That is, Mr. Trump was viewed by many SEALs as having been fighting against them, not for them.<sup>106</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 17 (14)</p>
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### **Independence Day, 2019**

On July 4, Mr. Trump was the featured speaker at a controversial Independence Day extravaganza of his design at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC. Mr. Trump managed to read faithfully from his non-partisan script, for which critics damned him with faint praise. But unusual features of the over-the-top event still abounded, including the following:

- Mr. Trump's starring role. (Recent presidents had spent the July 4 holiday visiting hospitalized service members and the like.)
- Mr. Trump's having arrogated to himself the memory of Abraham Lincoln (whose stony figure loomed in the background) and of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (whose 1963 civil rights speech at the same site had become historically sacred).
- Mr. Trump's having ordered the positioning of armored military vehicles near where he was speaking, including some tanks that were no longer being deployed and others that were barely useful in current military campaigns. (He had keenly sought to have the vehicles roll over the streets and the Mall, as in the Bastille Day parade that had so impressed him in Paris in 2017, but their treads would have wrecked the lawn and paving, and reportedly they might have gotten stuck in the soft earth.)
- Mr. Trump's having ordered military aircraft fly-overs of the event.
- Mr. Trump's having awarded many VIP seating tickets to his donors and political appointees.
- Mr. Trump's having spent millions in National Park Service and other federal monies to mount the spectacle – which included not only the expensive fly-overs but a military band and a military chorus, plus extensive security and logistical arrangements – while the White House had refused to disclose the total cost.
- Mr. Trump's actual speech consisting in great measure of a banal, jingoistic and sometimes faulty recitation of historical American military glories – extolling a martial past while ignoring America's socially and politically troubled present and its challenging future.
- Mr. Trump's having promised in the run-up to the event that it would be "the show of a life-time."
- The crowd having divided itself between Mr. Trump's supporters (at the Lincoln Memorial) and his opponents (at the other end of the Mall), with occasional verbal and even physical hostilities arising when they intersected.
- Shortly after his speech, Mr. Trump's having taken to Twitter to attack his critics, rail at flag-burning "communist" protestors, and post photos demonstrating what he claimed to be a large crowd size.

The event was not only the most martial Independence Day celebration in the nation's capital in recent memory. It also amounted, at taxpayer expense, to a political rally for Mr. Trump, and to his expropriation of the military for his personal demagogic purposes. Although some ranking Pentagon figures appeared with him on the stage (on command), overall the nation's military leadership did not seem to support it. Rather, they seemed to be mindful of and to seek a distance from the military parades and similar pageantry that had routinely been mounted by ruthless modern dictatorships.

For the avoidance of doubt, CSD here reiterates its grave concerns about Mr. Trump's attempts to wed his political persona with the nation's military establishment: from time immemorial, that has been a tyrant's errand. Recent presidents of genuine military experience and valor, such as Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, Jimmy Carter and George H.W. Bush had universally declined to do so. Of course Mr. Trump himself had not served in the military; and he had long been accused of nursing a schoolboy's fascination with it rather than any genuine understanding of or appreciation for military operations, military strategies, or the lives or hardships of military service members, let alone the horrors of war.

Mr. Trump also reportedly profited handsomely at his Trump International Hotel in Washington, as supporters flocked to patronize it for the holiday weekend.

The last Independence Day celebration at the Mall that was polarized and politicized had been directed by Richard Nixon in 1970.

But what disturbed CSD most was Mr. Trump's desecration of the memory of George Washington, the city's namesake, who more than any other individual had been responsible for the nation having gained and consolidated its democratic independence nearly 250 years previous. Washington was a man of vision, eloquence, courage, duty, sacrifice, integrity and modesty. He was horrified at any suggestion of governmental pomp, and he warned his countrymen about the dangers of despotism, phony patriotism, and "mountebanks" who would defy the Constitution. Unlike Mr. Trump, he had lived the grueling life of a soldier, had prevailed in leading a seven-year military conflict for freedom, then had pointedly declined to become America's dictator or king when invited by the new country's political leaders to do so. After serving two terms as president, he retired to his estate to attend to his crops, his trees and a life of reflection, thereby saving the nation from becoming just one more autocracy.

Had Washington been captured by the British, he could have been drawn and quartered for his manifest acts of treason.

Mr. Trump in the recent past had compared himself favorably to Washington. But Mr. Trump had taken no such risks as Washington had taken; he had performed no such service to the country; he had demonstrated no such philosophical vision; and he had incurred no such sacrifice. CSD speculates that he could not even conceive of what any of that in his or Washington's life would mean. Prior to his presidency, Mr. Trump's greatest exploits had been as a self-promoter and a philanderer. He had never even served the community in prosaic ways: even his charitable foundation had operated without any apparent philanthropic mission, but rather as a sort of personal slush fund, and it had come under investigation for systemic tax fraud.

As for leading our democracy, Washington had been handed the opportunity become a dictator, and he had declined, for moral and philosophical reasons. Mr. Trump had been persistently seeking the opportunity to become a dictator, on grounds that appeared to be informed by neither morality nor philosophy.

Independence Day celebrations around the country in 2019 reflected an appreciation for the high-minded, death-defying, democratic vision of Washington and the other early patriots. Some of CSD's members attended one such celebration, in a small village in rural Pennsylvania, where they found the plain-spoken tributes to the heroism and the idealism of the signers of the Declaration of Independence to be emotionally compelling. But Mr. Trump's celebration did not reflect any of that. George Washington's sort of thinking and moral designs were beyond the current president's petty, sadistic, self-absorbed, uninformed, ahistorical, vainglorious and grifting ways. The best Mr. Trump could do on July 4 was to urinate on the spirit of President Washington, the way a dog urinates on a tree to leave its passing mark on the landscape.

*Categories of anti-democratic behavior:* 9, 11, 15

*Notes for this section:*

<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/04/opinion/trump-tanks.html> and <https://nationalinterest.org/blog/buzz/trump-claims-brand-new-world-war-ii-sherman-tanks-will-be-part-july-4th-salute-us-military> (inutility of Abrams tanks; non-existence of Sherman tanks)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-salute-to-america-was-a-made-for-television-reelection-event/2019/07/04/b58c9b34-9eaa-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.f3ab1310fa7f&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-salute-to-america-was-a-made-for-television-reelection-event/2019/07/04/b58c9b34-9eaa-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html?utm_term=.f3ab1310fa7f&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) (Nixon comparison)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/fourth-of-july-celebrations-to-draw-thousands-to-the-nations-capital/2019/07/03/a6d2adb8-9da1-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.28255611d0e1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/fourth-of-july-celebrations-to-draw-thousands-to-the-nations-capital/2019/07/03/a6d2adb8-9da1-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html?utm_term=.28255611d0e1) (the divided crowd)

[https://www.huffpost.com/entry/proud-boys-trump\\_n\\_5d1f608ee4b01b834735577c](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/proud-boys-trump_n_5d1f608ee4b01b834735577c) (extremist fights)

[https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/07/05/turns-out-there-werent-airports-back-then/?utm\\_term=.c82b0ed239e9&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2019/07/05/turns-out-there-werent-airports-back-then/?utm_term=.c82b0ed239e9&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) (the speech's historical errors)

[https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-july-4th-speech\\_n\\_5d1e7978e4b01b834733ce0b](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-july-4th-speech_n_5d1e7978e4b01b834733ce0b) (secrecy on costs, number of VIP tickets)

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Eric Rutkow, *American Canopy*, Scribner 2012 at 50-53 (George Washington's character)

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<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/01/us/politics/trump-tanks-july-4th.html> (Pentagon reluctance)

[https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-fourth-hijacking-rnc-tickets\\_n\\_5d1a6e06e4b07f6ca5821251](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-fourth-hijacking-rnc-tickets_n_5d1a6e06e4b07f6ca5821251) (VIP tickets to donors and political appointees)

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[https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-hotel-washington-july-4th\\_n\\_5d0c56eee4b0aa375f4a23d6](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-hotel-washington-july-4th_n_5d0c56eee4b0aa375f4a23d6) {Trump International Hotel bonanza)

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- <sup>88</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-changing-lawyers-on-census-case/2019/07/07/18ba6650-a112-11e9-b732-41a79c2551bf\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.13dba7aca4a3&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/justice-department-changing-lawyers-on-census-case/2019/07/07/18ba6650-a112-11e9-b732-41a79c2551bf_story.html?utm_term=.13dba7aca4a3&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/doj-lawyers-2020-census-citizenship\\_n\\_5d22e1f4e4b0f312568662d4](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/doj-lawyers-2020-census-citizenship_n_5d22e1f4e4b0f312568662d4)
- <sup>89</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/27/us/supreme-court-citizenship-census-immigrants.html>
- <sup>90</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-willingness-to-fight-win-or-lose-trumps-push-for-a-citizenship-question-in-the-census-is-red-meat-for-his-base/2019/07/06/4950889c-9f5c-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.bbf35a04b17b&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/a-willingness-to-fight-win-or-lose-trumps-push-for-a-citizenship-question-in-the-census-is-red-meat-for-his-base/2019/07/06/4950889c-9f5c-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html?utm_term=.bbf35a04b17b&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>91</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/facing-off-against-world-leaders-in-japan-trump-fires-salvos-at-his-democratic-critics-back-home/2019/06/27/3b434dd6-98f7-11e9-8d0a-5edd7e2025b1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.d4ac213dbace](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/facing-off-against-world-leaders-in-japan-trump-fires-salvos-at-his-democratic-critics-back-home/2019/06/27/3b434dd6-98f7-11e9-8d0a-5edd7e2025b1_story.html?utm_term=.d4ac213dbace) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-jokes-with-putin-about-fake-news-on-capital-gazette-shooting-anniversary\\_n\\_5d161683e4b082e553681137](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-jokes-with-putin-about-fake-news-on-capital-gazette-shooting-anniversary_n_5d161683e4b082e553681137) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/06/28/trump-putin-relationship-g20-1386490> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/28/us/politics/trump-putin-election.html>
- <sup>92</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/06/27/world/asia/trump-g20.html>
- <sup>93</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-appears-more-at-ease-with-strongmen-than-democratic-leaders-at-g-20-summit/2019/06/28/dc2fac88-99b7-11e9-8d0a-5edd7e2025b1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.79a4f7882124&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-appears-more-at-ease-with-strongmen-than-democratic-leaders-at-g-20-summit/2019/06/28/dc2fac88-99b7-11e9-8d0a-5edd7e2025b1_story.html?utm_term=.79a4f7882124&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)
- <sup>94</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-dictators-jim-acosta-reporters\\_n\\_5d17fee4e4b07f6ca57e7974](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-dictators-jim-acosta-reporters_n_5d17fee4e4b07f6ca57e7974)
- <sup>95</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/at-summit-in-japan-trump-calls-saudi-crown-prince-a-friend-but-stays-mum-in-public-on-killing-of-washington-post-journalist/2019/06/28/0b60d66a-99bf-11e9-8d0a-5edd7e2025b1\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.cbf54e019915&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/at-summit-in-japan-trump-calls-saudi-crown-prince-a-friend-but-stays-mum-in-public-on-killing-of-washington-post-journalist/2019/06/28/0b60d66a-99bf-11e9-8d0a-5edd7e2025b1_story.html?utm_term=.cbf54e019915&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/06/29/trump-mbs-khashoggi-g20-1390412>
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- <sup>97</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/01/us/politics/ivanka-trump-north-korea-g20.html> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/unwanted-ivanka-trump-g-20-twitter\\_n\\_5d1a81e8e4b082e5536e1ca2](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/unwanted-ivanka-trump-g-20-twitter_n_5d1a81e8e4b082e5536e1ca2)
- <sup>98</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/surreal-ivanka-trump-plays-a-prominent-role-in-her-fathers-historic-korea-trip/2019/06/30/98695704-9b58-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.f330eaa06812&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/surreal-ivanka-trump-plays-a-prominent-role-in-her-fathers-historic-korea-trip/2019/06/30/98695704-9b58-11e9-b27f-ed2942f73d70_story.html?utm_term=.f330eaa06812&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/07/01/france-ivanka-trump-reaction-1392084>
- <sup>99</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/01/politics/trump-didnt-give-troops-first-raise/index.html>
- <sup>100</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-fourth-hijacking-rnc-tickets\\_n\\_5d1a6e06e4b07f6ca5821251](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-fourth-hijacking-rnc-tickets_n_5d1a6e06e4b07f6ca5821251)
- <sup>101</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/07/02/no-obama-didnt-beg-kim-jong-un-meeting/?utm\\_term=.925339290eb1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/07/02/no-obama-didnt-beg-kim-jong-un-meeting/?utm_term=.925339290eb1)
- <sup>102</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/01/us/politics/donald-trump-japan-north-south-korea.html>
- <sup>103</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/02/us/politics/trump-homeless.html>



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<sup>104</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/02/us/politics/federal-judge-asylum-seekers.html>

<sup>105</sup> <https://splinternews.com/trump-gloats-about-helping-navy-seal-dodge-war-crimes-r-1836078485>

<sup>106</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/03/us/Edward-Gallagher-acquitted.html>



**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 25 – August 29, 2019*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

<p>7-9-19</p>	<p><b><u>Environmental fraud.</u></b> Mr. Trump conducted a press briefing during which, with an apparent view to winning votes in the 2020 election, he touted his record as a strong steward of the environment. A New York Times analysis, however, pointed out that none of it was true – that all of the claimed achievements were those of his predecessors in office; that he had long been a fervent champion of polluting industries; that he didn't even mention climate change during the session; and that he himself had hobbled environmental protection in many ways: such as by encouraging the commercial exploitation of public lands and coastal waters, and by rolling back clean water, coal-burning and auto emission regulations. Critics called the presentation "surreal" and "a 1984 moment."<sup>1</sup></p> <p>A second Times analysis reported that, contrary to Mr. Trump's claims during the session: air pollution in the U.S. had actually increased under his watch; the U.S. remained one of the world's biggest air polluters and had reduced emissions less than other Western nations had during his administration; and he had consistently sought to cut funding for super-fund site clean-up.<sup>2</sup></p>	<p>7, 8</p>



<p>7-9-19, 7-11-19</p>	<p><b>On free speech.</b> On July 9, the Second Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Mr. Trump's practice of blocking critics from access to his otherwise open Twitter account that he had routinely used for official purposes – that is, barring them from viewing, replying to, liking, or re-tweeting his posts – was unconstitutional, on First Amendment grounds.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>At a conclave for right-wing social media provocateurs that Mr. Trump convened at the White House on July 11, he effectively stated that his critics should not enjoy First Amendment protections.<sup>4</sup> In addition, he falsely stated that the major social media platforms had been wrongfully culling his supporters.<sup>5</sup></p>	<p>3, 7</p>
<p>7-9-19 +</p>	<p><b>Down with the U.K.! (And up with me!).</b> After internal emails by British ambassador Kim Darroch criticizing Mr. Trump as "inept," "insecure," "incompetent" and "dysfunctional" were leaked, Mr. Trump tweeted on July 9 that he would no longer deal with the man, calling him "wacky," a "very stupid guy" and a "pompous fool." For good measure, in the same Twitter episode, he criticized British Prime Minister Theresa May for her failed Brexit negotiations, writing, <i>"I told [her] how to do that deal, but she went her own foolish way – was unable to get it done. A disaster!"</i> He added: <i>"Tell [Darroch] the USA now has the best Economy &amp; Military anywhere in the World, by far, and they are both only getting bigger, better and stronger.....Thank you, Mr. President [sic]!"</i></p> <p>The next day Darroch resigned, amid praise from the British Foreign Office for his decades of distinguished service and for doing his job properly.<sup>6</sup> The foreign secretary then chided Mr. Trump for disrespecting the U.S.-U.K. alliance – which for a century had been America's strongest.<sup>7</sup> On July 10, citing diplomatic sources, The New York Times wrote that many other foreign diplomats had likely expressed similar opinions about Mr. Trump internally; and that they had been bristling about having been virtually shut out from communications with the administration since its beginning; but that Mr. Trump's advisors themselves often knew little about his plans and intentions anyway.<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>

<p>7-9-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Defying congressional inquiries.</u></b> (This entry continues CSD's entries of April 16 + and June 3 +, reporting the many and extraordinary refusals to comply with congressional information requests and subpoenas on the part of Mr. Trump, his subordinates and his associates.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On July 9, The New York Times reported that the Justice Department had instructed two of special prosecutor Robert Mueller's deputies not to appear before the House Intelligence and Judiciary Committees, even though they had left the government's service.<sup>9</sup></li> <li>• On the same day, Politico reported that Felix Sater – a felon and former business associate of Mr. Trump's who had sought to promote Mr. Trump's Moscow hotel project during the run-up to the 2016 election – had stonewalled during his closed-door interview with the House Intelligence Committee that day, after having skipped a previously scheduled hearing entirely.<sup>10</sup></li> <li>• On July 15, on the White House's instructions, presidential advisor and political surrogate Kellyanne Conway defied a subpoena from and refused to appear before the House Oversight Committee to testify about her alleged violations of the Hatch Act (which forbids most senior federal employees from participating in political campaigns).<sup>11</sup></li> <li>• On July 24, the Justice Department announced that it would not prosecute Attorney General William Barr or Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross for having criminally defied subpoenas issued by the House of Representatives relative to their attempts to fix the U.S. decennial census so as to favor Republicans and disfavor immigrant minorities.<sup>12</sup></li> <li>• On July 31, the inspector general for all of the country's intelligence organizations refused a congressional request to investigate the highly suspicious granting of security clearances to presidential relatives/advisors Jared Kushner and Ivanka Trump, unless he were to be so directed by Mr. Trump.<sup>13</sup></li> <li>• On August 20, CNN reported that Mr. Trump's Justice Department was opposing a House subpoena of his financial records directed to two banks with which he had personally done business.<sup>14</sup></li> </ul>	<p>9</p>

<p>7-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>Ranting.</u></b> In a sequence of more than 20 rambling and seemingly disconnected morning tweets, Mr. Trump yet again: denigrated the "Fake News"; hinted that he could serve more than two terms in office; falsely claimed that many banks had been willing to lend to his troubled real estate business; and referred to Democratic primary candidate Elizabeth Warren as "Pocahontas," to candidate Pete Buttigieg as "Alfred E. Neuman," and to himself as "so great looking and smart, a truly Stable Genius."<sup>15</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>7-11-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Conceding.</u></b> Flanked by his Attorney General William Barr and his Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross, on July 11 Mr. Trump publicly conceded that, by order of the Supreme Court, the 2020 decennial census would not contain the notorious question – inquiring about respondents' citizenship – that the three of them had been battling to insert. The concession brought to an end days of chaotically inconsistent messages from the administration on the topic, following the Supreme Court's determination that the question could not be inserted unless the administration quickly advanced a legitimate reason for doing so. (The court found the administration to have lied about its actual reasons for wishing to include the question.)</p> <p>In announcing the concession, Mr. Trump said that he would learn how many non-citizens live in the U.S. (which had never even been the actual or professed purpose of inserting the question) through other, existing federal resources (which had always been available to him anyway and which the Census Bureau had expressly offered him months ago), even though (he stated falsely) Democrats had been determined to hide that information from the public. Obsequiously, Barr then congratulated him on his decision, and, dubiously, Barr boasted that he could have convinced the Supreme Court to allow the question's inclusion if there were more time to re-litigate the matter and to re-print the census forms.<sup>16</sup> The next day, Mr. Trump denied having conceded anything, and he claimed somehow to have been victorious and to have invented a better solution – as he had typically done after taking a drubbing.<sup>17</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 8</p>

<p>7-11-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD felt that all of that amounted to putting lipstick on a pig. Neither man acknowledged that the Supreme Court had found that the Trump administration had lied about its motives for including the question in the census – to depress the count of Hispanics for the political benefit of white Republicans – and had desperately tried to conceal its motives from congressional investigations. (See CSD's most recent recounting of those motives and efforts in our entries of June 3 + and June 27 +.)</p>	<p>6, 7, 8</p>
<p>7-12-19</p>	<p><b><u>Acosta out.</u></b> Labor Secretary Alex Acosta resigned amid scrutiny of his having, as a U.S. attorney in Florida, agreed to a light sentence for a wealthy, accused pedophile, Jeffrey Epstein, in 2007 without the consent of the victims and thus illegally. The scrutiny, which had arisen previously, resumed as Epstein, a former partying friend of Mr. Trump, was arrested on July 6 for having committed additional sex crimes. Mr. Trump praised Acosta on his way out the door, and he denied having ever been friendly with Epstein.</p> <p>Acosta joined the ranks of Mr. Trump's cabinet members who had left office, belatedly, on ethical grounds: Health and Human Services Secretary Tom Price, Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Scott Pruitt, Veterans Affairs Secretary David Shulkin, and Interior Secretary Ryan Zinke – all as described above in this Chronology. Mr. Trump had now lost more cabinet members to corruption and other ethical issues in his first term than any other president in history. And he had often replaced them with former lobbyists for the industries that they would now regulate.<sup>18</sup></p> <p>While it was not necessarily Mr. Trump's fault that he had chosen corrupt and unethical men to serve as some of his highest ranking officials, or had chosen sexual deviants and misogynists as many of his political and partying friends,<sup>19</sup> CSD is convinced that birds of a feather, instinctively, often do flock together; that somehow they are preternaturally drawn toward and comfortable with one another, through a common code of (or possibly common pheromones that advertise) charisma, narcissism, sexual appetite, avarice, and/or utter amorality. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 17 (All manner of debasement)</p>

<p>7-12-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Notably, the overall churn rate for Mr. Trump's top advisors was now measured at 74% – far in excess of any other modern president. (The churn rate included not only separations prompted by ethical scandal, but those prompted by the officials' having insufficiently adhered to Mr. Trump's chaotic, unsupportable, and sometimes brutal policy demands.)<sup>20</sup></p>	<p>7, 17 (All manner of debasement)</p>
<p>7-12-19, 7-13-19</p>	<p><b><u>Ruling by tirade.</u></b> On July 12, Mr. Trump ranted to the press for half an hour about a good number of his critics, now including former House Speaker Paul Ryan, presidential contenders Joe Biden and Bill De Blasio, several Democratic members of Congress, and especially The New York Times, which he called "very dishonest" and "truly the enemy of the people."<sup>21</sup></p> <p>On July 13, Mr. Trump spent part of his Saturday morning sending over two dozen re-tweets, including messages demonizing former electoral opponent Hillary Clinton and special prosecutor Robert Mueller, as well as one message brazenly promoting his golf courses in Ireland and Scotland.<sup>22</sup></p>	<p>1, 9, 11, 15</p>
<p>7-14-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Minority congresswomen: "Go home."</u></b> On July 14, Mr. Trump provoked a firestorm of criticism by tweeting that four progressive freshmen Democratic members of Congress who were women of color and who had been highly critical of him and of moderate Democrats should go back to their countries of origin. He wrote: "<i>So interesting to see 'Progressive' Democrat Congresswomen, who originally came from countries whose governments are a complete and total catastrophe, the worst, most corrupt and inept anywhere in the world (if they even have a functioning government at all), now loudly and viciously telling the people of the United States, the greatest and most powerful Nation on earth, how our government is to be run. <u>Why don't they go back and help fix the totally broken and crime infested places from which they came.</u> Then come back and show us how it is done.</i>" [Emphasis added.] [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>7-14-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] His targets were Ilhan Omar, Rashida Tlaib, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, and Ayanna Pressley, who together had dubbed themselves "the Squad." In fact three of the four had been born in the U.S., and the family of one of those three – an African American – had been here for generations, possibly longer than Mr. Trump's. Later he tweeted that the women were "disgusting" and "a bunch of communists."<sup>23</sup> On July 16, amid the clamor he had generated, Mr. Trump doubled-down, tweeting that the women were "vile," "anti-USA" and "pro-terrorist," and he <u>again invited them to leave the country.</u></p> <p>White nationalists celebrated.<sup>24</sup> Mr. Trump's senior advisor and political surrogate Kellyanne Conway said that the four congresswomen "represent a dark underbelly of this country."<sup>25</sup></p> <p>But many or all Democrats in Congress, a number of Republicans there, leading British government officials and others around the world expressed disgust with Mr. Trump's demagogic remarks, in that they treated people of color and naturalized citizens as foreigners and treated critics as traitors.<sup>26</sup> A prominent presidential historian said on MSNBC that Mr. Trump's behavior had now established him as <u>the most racist president since Andrew Johnson</u> (President Lincoln's slave-holding vice president and the first president to have been impeached).<sup>27</sup> A New York Times reporter wrote of the episode: "<i>While others who occupied the White House at times skirted close to or even over the line, finding ways to appeal to the resentments of white Americans with subtle and not-so-subtle appeals, none of them in modern times fanned the flames [of racism] as overtly, relentlessly and even eagerly as Mr. Trump.</i>"<sup>28</sup></p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
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<p>7-14-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump complained privately that more Republicans hadn't vocally defended his provocative tweets.<sup>29</sup> But he also privately exulted that he had found a core theme for his 2020 reelection campaign: demonizing the four congresswomen as foreign, traitorous and racially unwelcome, while tarring the entire Democratic party as their supporters.<sup>30</sup> Indeed, at a reelection campaign rally in Greenville, North Carolina on July 17, he railed at the four by name: inviting them to leave the country, eliciting from his (mostly white) audience loud jeers, and – as to one of the four, Omar, who had been born in Somalia – drawing from the crowd the chant, "<i>Send her back!</i>" The chant continued for 10 to 15 seconds (counts varied, but video records abounded<sup>31</sup>), as Mr. Trump silently and imperiously basked in the clamor.</p> <p>Utter nonsense was afoot. Mr. Trump's attacks on the four women for criticizing elements of America's circumstances ignored the fact that he himself (like all politicians) had routinely criticized America as well. He condemned Omar for her alleged anti-Semitism, despite having previously declined to condemn whites who were much more flagrantly anti-Semitic. He condemned the four as "communists," but he himself had wildly touted his affection and respect for the truly (and brutally) communist leaders of North Korea and China. And he had never suggested that any white or Asian critic of his who (or whose recent family) had immigrated here leave the country.</p> <p>The nonsense was categorical. Also at the rally, Mr. Trump claimed that any vote for a Democrat in 2020 would be a vote for "radical socialism" and "the destruction of the country." CNN counted 20 false statements in his address.<sup>32</sup></p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
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<p>7-14-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The day after the rally, under a barrage of criticism for eliciting and then tolerating the xenophobic chant, Mr. Trump falsely claimed that he had disliked it and had tried to stop it. But thereafter he continued his attacks on the four women almost daily; he said that no American should be allowed to criticize our country; and – flipping back to the original – he praised those who had participated in the chant as "incredible patriots."<sup>33</sup> On July 22, he tweeted that the four were a "very Racist group of troublemakers," thus deftly projecting onto them his own moral stain. As of July 23 he had not let up: he tweeted that Omar was an "America-hating anti-Semite"; and in a speech to a conservative youth conference, he raged at the women; he especially mocked the foreign surname of Tlaib, then shook his head in disgust, drawing jeers from the crowd. He also again drew the chant, "<i>Send her back!</i>"<sup>34</sup> (He had previously mocked the foreign surname of Ocasio-Cortez.<sup>35</sup>)</p> <p>CSD's members do not agree with many of the statements and policy positions of the four congresswomen. We nevertheless condemn their demonization on racial grounds and their use as props for Mr. Trump's demagoguery – wholly extraordinary developments coming from the party of Abraham Lincoln, and from a man with family ties (through his daughter's marriage) to Holocaust survivors.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>7-15-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>No asylum; no refugees.</u></b> On July 15, the Trump administration announced that it would almost categorically deny asylum to anyone who sought to enter the U.S. from Mexico after having traveled through other countries to get there. The order defied international asylum law.<sup>36</sup> On July 24, a federal court temporarily enjoined the order.<sup>37</sup></p> <p>On July 18, Politico reported that the White House was considering virtually ending the admission of refugees to the U.S. in 2020. (Refugees are migrants who are approved and processed for resettlement in the U.S. by the U.N., the State Department and U.S. security agencies while they are still overseas.) Observers noted with alarm that even a one-year hiatus in the program could unwind the entire American refugee resettlement mechanism, to the point of crippling any effort to reestablish it later.<sup>38</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 14</p>



7-15-19 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump had already cut refugee admissions to a fraction of what they had been prior to his presidency. The further evisceration of the American refugee admissions program would amount to a radical break from post-World War II policy and practice; it would defy the spirit and letter of multiple international compacts; and, in the view of CSD and many other observers, it would compromise America's long-term moral and political stature, our military security and our economic growth.</p>	6, 14
7-15-19	<p><b>Hacks vs. scientists.</b> The Government Accountability Office, a leading federal watchdog agency, ruled that the Environmental Protection Agency under disgraced former administrator Scott Pruitt in 2018 had violated ethics rules when replacing scientists with pro-industry partisans on its advisory panels.<sup>39</sup></p>	17 (8, 9)
7-16-19	<p><b>International religious freedom: grow it or stow it?</b> Amid a major conference on international religious freedom in Washington that the Trump administration had convened and promoted, the International Rescue Committee – a prominent American relief and refugee agency – called out the administration for having radically slashed the number of persecuted religionists abroad (such as Iraqi and Iranian Christians) that it was willing to receive as refugees here.<sup>40</sup> That is to say, even in its high-minded promotion of religious freedom here and abroad, the administration had drawn the line: effectively not allowing the persecuted to contaminate American soil if they were from poor countries.</p>	6, 14
7-23-19, 8-19-19	<p><b>Voter fraud (still?).</b> Speaking to a conservative youth conference in Washington, on July 23 Trump stated falsely that in California the voting would be "rigged" against him in 2020, and that Democrats did well in the 2018 midterm congressional elections because undocumented migrants fraudulently voted, and voted many times.<sup>41</sup></p> <p>On August 18, he repeated to reporters his unsubstantiated claim that massive voter fraud had robbed him of New Hampshire's electoral votes in 2016.<sup>42</sup></p> <p>On August 19, Mr. Trump – following a Fox News report on the subject – falsely tweeted that Google had "manipulated" millions of votes in favor of his 2016 rival Hillary Clinton.<sup>43</sup></p>	4, 7

<p>7-23-19</p>	<p><b>It's good to be the king.</b> At the same conservative youth conference, Mr. Trump notably said that Article II of the Constitution provides that "<i>I have the right to do whatever I want as president.</i>"<sup>44</sup> He apparently had not read the rest of the Constitution.</p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>7-24-19 +</p>	<p><b>Mueller testifies before Congress.</b> Appearing reluctantly before the House Judiciary and Intelligence Committees on July 24 pursuant to subpoena, special prosecutor Robert Mueller adhered to his vow to say little in hindsight about the investigation of Russian election meddling that didn't already appear in his public report. He seemed tired, sometimes unfamiliar with the details of the report, and occasionally forgetful. Republicans on the two panels savagely attempted to portray him as politically motivated, unfair, and even "un-American." Democrats were disappointed that he didn't score a media splash in condemning Mr. Trump. But in numerous areas he did unmask the president:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He confirmed that the Russian government had attempted to influence the 2020 presidential election; that that had been one of the most serious challenges to our democracy that he had ever seen; that the Trump campaign had welcomed it; and that Russia was continuing such attempts to this day (a fact that Mr. Trump had and has long sought to obscure and ignore).</li> <li>• He said that receiving campaign assistance from a foreign country – as the Trump campaign had sought to do – was "unpatriotic" and "wrong."</li> <li>• He confirmed that his report did <i>not</i> find Mr. Trump to have <i>not</i> obstructed justice, and did not "exonerate" Mr. Trump from that, contrary to Mr. Trump's claims.</li> <li>• He said that Mr. Trump could be indicted after he leaves office.</li> <li>• He said that Mr. Trump's written answers under oath to Mueller's questions had not always been true.</li> <li>• He said that calling Mr. Trump's encouragement of the WikiLeaks releases of stolen Democratic campaign emails "problematic" would be an "understatement" – that is, that Mr. Trump had flatly promoted illegal activity.</li> <li>• He said that, contrary to Mr. Trump's endless refrain, the investigation had been neither a "witch hunt" nor a "hoax." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>7-24-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He acknowledged that the investigation had not targeted Mr. Trump's questionable business dealings with Russians, and thus had not reported on them or blessed them.</li> <li>• He denied that he had hired his staff based on their political views, contrary to Mr. Trump's frequent claims.<sup>45</sup></li> </ul> <p>In the days prior to the testimony, and by Twitter in the hours before the event,<sup>46</sup> Mr. Trump had disparaged Mueller and the upcoming hearing relentlessly.<sup>47</sup> He indeed had urged that Mueller not testify at all, and his Justice Department had demanded that Mueller not testify to anything beyond what had already appeared in his published report.<sup>48</sup> Patently, Mr. Trump had feared what Mueller might reveal to Congress and the public.</p> <p>But after the testimony, notwithstanding Mueller's damning statements bulleted above, Mr. Trump claimed a complete victory, charging (as often before) that the investigation had been a "hoax" and a "witch hunt," mischaracterizing Mueller's testimony on points he found threatening, and – true to his orientation as an entertainer – blasting Mueller for "one of the worst performances in the history of our country." He also viciously tweeted that the testimony was "a disaster for the Democrats and a disaster for the reputation of Robert Mueller." When a Fox News commentator asked Mr. Trump about the Justice Department's Russia investigations generally, he called them "treason" and "high crimes." When a reporter asked him whether he was worried about the possibility of a post-presidency indictment, he called the person "fake news."<sup>49</sup></p> <p>On July 27, Mr. Trump was still at it, tweeting about the "Witch Hunt Hoax," the "sick and disgusting" Democrats, and Mueller's "ineptitude and incompetence."</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>7-26-19, 8-16-19, 8-28-19</p>	<p><b>Fox as turncoat.</b> By way of Twitter, on July 26 Trump again cast Fox News as a turncoat for objectively reporting on him – this time for publishing its new poll results showing that voters widely favored Democratic presidential contender Joe Biden over him. When on August 16 Fox reported that any one of four Democratic contenders would beat Mr. Trump in 2020, he again attacked Fox.<sup>50</sup> On August 28, he attacked Fox yet again, now for failing to sufficiently chastise Democrats, tweeting, "<i>We have to start looking for a new News Outlet. Fox isn't working for us anymore!</i>"<sup>51</sup></p>	<p>1</p>
<p>7-26-19 +</p>	<p><b>The Guatemala deal.</b> Under threat of punitive tariffs, on July 26 the Trump administration forced the outgoing Guatemalan government to sign an agreement pursuant to which migrants from El Salvador and Honduras could seek – and would have to be granted – asylum in Guatemala in the course of passing northward through that country; and if they failed to do so, U.S. border authorities could send them back to Guatemala, which the Trump administration had now characterized as a "safe" country.</p> <p>Because Guatemala is in fact not safe, such that even many of its own citizens had been seeking asylum in the U.S., the agreement likely violated American and international asylum law.<sup>52</sup> Indeed on August 13 the newly elected Guatemalan president withdrew from the agreement, stating that he couldn't even protect Guatemalans, let alone other nationals.<sup>53</sup></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>7-27-19, 8-3-19 +</p>	<p><b>Selecting one's terrorists: El Paso, Portland.</b> On July 27, Mr. Trump tweeted his support for a pending Republican resolution in the Senate that would designate the sometimes violent Antifa (a loose collection of ad hoc, anti-fascist protestors) as a domestic "terror" organization for purposes of law enforcement; and he did this while remaining silent about the surge in white supremacist violence under his watch. Antifa had not yet killed anyone. White supremacists had recently killed dozens across multiple incidents.<sup>54</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (6)</p>

<p>7-27-19, 8-3-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In fact on August 3, a white nationalist perpetrated a mass murder targeting Hispanics in El Paso, Texas. Mr. Trump initially and instinctively responded by condemning "the Media," "Fake News" and "hate" for the crime, but not white nationalist violence or domestic terrorism. Many critics in turn condemned Mr. Trump's anti-immigrant demagoguery as having seeded the atrocity.<sup>55</sup> Breathtaking listings of Mr. Trump's previous racially-themed, incendiary rhetoric and actions quickly appeared in The Washington Post and The New York Times.<sup>56</sup></p> <p>On August 5, Mr. Trump delivered a more formal and "presidential" condemnation of the massacre and of racism and white supremacy in general, and he called for unity to replace division within the country. But he did so without any acknowledgement of, or any indication that he would discontinue, his incendiary tweets and rally speeches.<sup>57</sup> And he read the address from a teleprompter, in a passionless, stilted and uncomfortable manner ... resembling, CSD believed, a forced and inauthentic public confession by a prisoner of war – much as he had done when (temporarily) repudiating white supremacists after their Charlottesville, Virginia protest march in 2017.</p> <p>True to form, on August 7, as he had done following the Charlottesville repudiation, Mr. Trump reverted. He deflected a reporter's question about white supremacists, equated all hate groups one to the next, and specifically denounced Antifa only.<sup>58</sup> Traveling to El Paso that day to comfort hospitalized victims (immediately after doing the same in Dayton, Ohio, another recent mass shooting site), he lashed out both at the news media and at Dayton's mayor and an Ohio senator who had criticized his divisive rhetoric. In El Paso, most of the hospitalized victims refused to meet with him (possibly an unprecedented rebuff of a president by crime victims); and many in the community protested his presence. (As chronicled above in this document, it was Mr. Trump's third unwelcome and inflammatory visit during his presidency to largely Hispanic El Paso.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (6)</p>
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<p>7-27-19, 8-3-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Still, Mr. Trump claimed afterwards that he had been met with "love" and "respect"; also that the "Fake News" was treating him unfairly.<sup>59</sup> In a graphic display of his self-absorption and inability to empathize with others' anguish, at the El Paso hospital he was filmed boasting to a group of first responders about his crowd sizes and disparaging a 2020 presidential election rival.<sup>60</sup> He also posed for photos while grinning and giving a "thumbs up" amid scenes of the tragedy.<sup>61</sup></p> <p>White House aides shortly admitted that the Dayton and El Paso visits together amounted to a narcissistic "debacle."<sup>62</sup></p> <p>Meanwhile, after being lashed by Mr. Trump, Dayton's mayor received a string of hate-filled and threatening messages such that she had to increase her security protections.<sup>63</sup></p> <p>Ironically, although Mr. Trump declined to take any responsibility for the El Paso rampage, in the midst of the imbroglio news media reported, on August 5, that the defense attorneys for Cesar Sayoc – the Trump devotee convicted of sending pipe bombs to numerous Democratic figures in 2018 – had argued that Sayoc deserved a lenient sentence precisely because Mr. Trump's rhetoric had contributed to Sayoc's violent animus.<sup>64</sup></p> <p>On August 14, ABC News reported that in 36 criminal cases nationally defendants had explicitly invoked Mr. Trump as their reason for violence or threats of violence; and that of those, 29 had been Trump supporters. Most of the perpetrators were white men, and most of the victims were religious, racial or gender minorities. ABC could not find any criminal records inspired by other recent presidents.<sup>65</sup></p> <p>On August 17, in anticipation of a white nationalist march in Portland, Oregon, Mr. Trump again threatened to designate Antifa as a domestic terror organization, and again without commenting on the often violent white nationalists whom Antifa was expected to confront.<sup>66</sup> (A chilling photo of the hulking, gloating, defiant white nationalists at the Portland march appears at the link at this end note.<sup>67</sup>)</p> <p>On August 20, yet another incident arose: a neo-Nazi who was an avid Trump supporter was arrested for planning to massacre Hispanics in Miami.<sup>68</sup></p>	<p>1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (6)</p>
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<p>7-27-19 +</p>	<p><b>Rodents.</b> On July 27, Mr. Trump Twitter-attacked Elijah Cummings, the African American congressman who chairs the House Oversight Committee and who had been aggressively investigating him on myriad counts and criticizing him for the suffering of migrants at the Mexican border. He wrote that Cummings's majority-black Baltimore district was a “disgusting, rat and rodent infested mess” and a "very dangerous and filthy place" where “no human being would want to live.” Mr. Trump contrasted the city to American detention facilities and practices at the border, which he described as “clean, efficient &amp; well run, just very crowded” – thus overlooking the many well-documented cases of personal distress occurring at the border, particularly among detained children. In addition, without evidence, he deflected Cummings's critiques of his policies and practices by accusing the Baltimore government (and seemingly Cummings himself) of massive corruption.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's information appeared, not atypically, to have been drawn from programming that he had just watched on Fox News. It also appeared to reflect his pampered, entitled, supercilious and racially insulated worldview and his admitted germophobia. Indeed his using the word "infested" to describe minority communities was not the first time he had so dehumanized the ethnic objects of his scorn – a rhetorical mechanism historically used by other demagogues worldwide. He meanwhile had initially expressed no sympathy for Baltimore's troubles or any desire to help its people. Rather, he had sought merely to defend, blame, disparage and divide.<sup>69</sup></p> <p>On July 28, facing intense media backlash for the previous day's episodes, Mr. Trump once again by way of Twitter projected onto others his own deficiencies, calling Cummings (and Democrats generally) divisive racists who had done nothing to help African Americans while "wasting time on the Witch Hunt Hoax." On July 29 he tweeted further attacks on Baltimore, Cummings and (<i>ad hominem</i>) the African American activist Al Sharpton, who was protesting Mr. Trump's comments. On July 30 he again targeted Baltimore, Cummings and Sharpton, just after a ceremony in Jamestown, Virginia celebrating democracy. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>7-27-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Earlier that day Mr. Trump had preposterously told reporters, "I am the least racist person there is anywhere in the world. What I've done for African-Americans in two and a half years, no president has been able to do anything like it." He also dubiously said that he had received large numbers of letters and calls from African Americans praising his attacks on Baltimore's corruption. "The African American people have been calling the White House. They have never been so happy as [sic] what a president has done. They're so happy that I pointed out the corrupt politics of Baltimore. It's filthy, dirty. It's so horrible, and they are happy as hell." In fact polling data indicated that 80% of African Americans viewed Mr. Trump as a racist.<sup>70</sup></p> <p>On August 2, in a tweet, he mocked Baltimore and Cummings by pointing to an attempted burglary at Cummings's home.<sup>71</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>7-28-19 +</p>	<p><b>Experts leaving; sycophants rising.</b> On July 28, Dan Coats – the Director of National Intelligence who had long attempted to check Mr. Trump on the latter's wild disregard for objective intelligence operations and reporting – announced his resignation. Mr. Trump promptly announced that he would replace Coats with Congressman John Ratcliffe: a man with no background in intelligence gathering, and a highly partisan accomplice in Mr. Trump's mugging of the reputation of our intelligence agencies and in his pursuit of perceived enemies and conspiracies within the Justice Department. Critics termed Ratcliffe colossally unqualified, and the nomination an attempt by Mr. Trump not just to politicize the DNI position but to use it as an instrument to crush his political enemies.<sup>72</sup></p> <p>On July 30, Mr. Trump admitted his goal. He told reporters that he wanted Ratcliffe to "rein in" the various intelligence agencies under him that had "run amok." "Running amok" presumably referred to investigating Russian support of Mr. Trump's 2016 presidential candidacy, investigating Russian plans to interfere in the 2020 election, and disagreeing with Mr. Trump in assessing security situations relative to North Korea, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan, Iran, and the Islamic State.<sup>73</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 9, 13</p>



<p>7-28-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Ratcliffe was then revealed to have falsely claimed on his resume as a federal prosecutor to have investigated and imprisoned terrorists and to have rounded up undocumented migrants.<sup>74</sup> On August 2, confronted with bipartisan congressional resistance to the nomination, Mr. Trump abruptly withdrew it, and he blamed the media.<sup>75</sup></p> <p>On August 9, he removed Coats's deputy, Sue Gordon, from office, and he named Joseph Maguire as acting DNI in her stead. Gordon was a career intelligence officer; Maguire was not, and he was seen by critics as likely more pliable than Gordon.<sup>76</sup></p>	<p>1, 9, 13</p>
<p>7-29-19</p>	<p><b>Corrupt nuclear sales to Saudi.</b> The House Oversight Committee issued a report revealing that the Trump administration's secret and repeated transfers of nuclear technology to Saudi Arabia between 2017 and 2019 had corruptly advanced certain corporate interests without regard to America's security interests.<sup>77</sup> The transfers also violated federal rules requiring that Congress be advised of such transactions.<sup>78</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 15)</p>
<p>7-29-19 +</p>	<p><b>The Fed: I never get enough.</b> On July 29 Mr. Trump, in two separate tweets, demanded that the Federal Reserve Board lower interest rates – thus continuing his unprecedented, months-long attempt to control and politicize the Fed's independent decision-making. In fact he had sent more than a dozen similar tweets since formally announcing his candidacy for re-election in June. The clear implication was that he wanted to gin up the economy's short-term performance in time for the 2020 election, at the risk of its longer-term economic health; or failing that, to be able to blame the Fed for any economic slow-down prior to the election.<sup>79</sup></p> <p>On July 31, the Fed did lower interest rates slightly, in part due to worldwide economic risks that Mr. Trump's trade wars themselves had unleashed.<sup>80</sup> But on many days following, Mr. Trump complained that the rate cut wasn't steep enough.<sup>81</sup> On August 19 he went so far as to tweet the exact degree of interest rate reduction he sought, to chastise Fed chair Jerome Powell for a "horrendous lack of vision," and to blame Democrats for trying to sabotage the economy for political purposes.<sup>82</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10</p>

<p>7-29-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Then in a new twist, on August 18, amid increasingly common expressions of concerns by the financial community that the U.S. and global economies could be headed for recession, and amid the associated American stock market gyrations, Mr. Trump blamed the American press for attempting to engineer a recession as a means of subverting him.<sup>83</sup> On August 21, in a string of tweets he again blamed the press for attempted sabotage and the Fed for incompetence.</p> <p>On August 27 he tweeted that the Fed delighted in manufacturers' struggles, and on August 28 he tweeted that the Fed (Powell?) was "mentally unfit" to enable the U.S. to compete with other countries.<sup>84</sup></p> <p>Although most economists were blaming Mr. Trump's tariffs at least in part for the potential downturn, he had never acknowledged that. Rather, after having long faulted the Fed, then Democrats, and finally the press for a potential recession, through the haze of his own erratic statements he now appeared to CSD to see in his rhetorical tactic a win-win: that he could ride to re-election on his laurels if the economy flowered, and ride on demagoguery if it tanked.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10</p>
<p>7-31-19</p>	<p><b><u>Humiliating our war crimes prosecutors.</u></b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump revoked commendatory medals that had been given to a group of Navy prosecutors who had recently lost a war crimes trial of a Navy SEAL.<sup>85</sup> (See CSD's entry of July 3, 2019.) Humiliating those prosecutors and the Navy command above them seemed to CSD likely to terrorize military prosecutors generally and to chill future war crimes courts martial.</p> <p>The episode occurred only days after the SEALs' top officer had directed his commanders to address systemic discipline and ethics problems within the unit.<sup>86</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 14</p>
<p>8-1-19</p>	<p><b><u>Out for Amazon.</u></b> Shortly before the Defense Department was expected to award a very large cloud computing contract, Mr. Trump intervened in the procurement process so as to prevent the contract's award to Amazon – a company he despised because its owner, Jeff Bezos, was wealthier than he, and also owned Mr. Trump's persistent critic, The Washington Post (as described often above in this Chronology).<sup>87</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>8-1-19</p>	<p><b>In Ohio.</b> At a campaign rally in Cincinnati, Ohio, Mr. Trump pointedly avoided a repeat of the <i>"Send her back!"</i> chants that had recently been directed toward Somali-American Congresswoman Ilhan Omar. Instead he just as pointedly elicited a repeat of the <i>"Lock her up!"</i> attacks on his former electoral rival Hillary Clinton. He goaded, <i>"Crooked Hillary. She is a crooked one. She's crooked. She is crooked,"</i> and the crowd's response followed.<sup>88</sup> CSD wondered if a Trump entertainment spectacle could now be complete without the figurative savaging of a woman, as at an ancient Roman circus or the Salem witch trials.</p> <p>At the rally, Mr. Trump boasted repeatedly about the crowd size; also about America having the largest economy in the world, as though that were his doing (it had been the largest since 1871); also that "America is not being pushed around anymore" (mentioning nothing about continuing Russian election interference – although, after all, that was happening essentially by his invitation). In addition, he mocked special prosecutor Robert Mueller's recent congressional testimony; reiterated his continuing falsehood that China (rather than American consumers) were paying the tariffs he had imposed on imports from that country; falsely said that Democrats "want virtual immunity for illegal aliens who have committed horrible crimes and murder, horrible crimes and murder"; falsely said that the current visa lottery system awards immigration status to murderer after murderer; and questionably said that he would soon be ending AIDs and curing childhood cancer. He also elicited excited jeers when he slammed the "fake news."</p> <p>In an increasingly familiar theme pitting his largely white and non-urban base against diverse and liberal urbanites – while ignoring the robust renaissance of nearly every American city as corporate employers and educated young people were flocking to them – he blamed the poverty and crime in Baltimore and other named cities on privileged but corrupt Democrats having stolen all the money.<sup>89</sup> He as usual referred to campaign rival Elizabeth Warren as "Pocahontas," and without irony he claimed that she was "lying and cheating her way to the presidency."<sup>90</sup> He also said, <i>"No matter what label they use, a vote for any Democrat in 2020 is a vote for the rise of radical socialism and the destruction of our great, our beautiful, our wonderful American dream."</i><sup>91</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9</p>
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8-4-19	<b><u>Golf, anyone?</u></b> The cumulative cost to taxpayers of Mr. Trump's golf outings (much of which had been paid to his own golf resorts, where he would stay) was reported to have reached \$110,000,000 in 2-1/2 years. The sum was larger than the total eight-year cost of President Obama's golf outings, which Mr. Trump had bitterly campaigned against while promising to never himself play golf as president. <sup>92</sup>	11, 15
8-7-19	<b><u>Nixing foreign assistance.</u></b> On August 7, the Trump administration froze foreign aid expenditures that Congress had appropriated for the rest of the September 30 fiscal year, including for development assistance, global health, contributions to international organizations, international narcotics control and peacekeeping activities. The move unlawfully defied Congress's appropriations powers while capriciously defunding programs that advanced America's international goodwill and security. <sup>93</sup> Following a bipartisan outcry in Congress, two days later the administration temporarily halted the freeze. <sup>94</sup> As of August 20 the administration appeared to still be considering imposing it (the freeze), notwithstanding congressional objections. <sup>95</sup> But on August 22 it gave up the ghost. <sup>96</sup>	9, 10, 13, 14
8-8-19	<b><u>Draining the experts, not the swamp.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist summarized how, despite Mr. Trump's campaign pledge to "drain the swamp" in Washington, he and his aides had in fact been persistently growing the swamp (appointing business insiders to regulatory positions, indulging self-dealing by cabinet members, receiving Trump hotel revenues from petitioners, etc.) while actually draining his agencies of scientific and other subject matter experts – most recently at the Agriculture Department, as reported by CSD on June 13. <sup>97</sup>	17 (8, 15)
8-8-19 +	<b><u>Foreign service officer resigns.</u></b> On August 8, Chuck Park, a mid-level foreign service officer, publicly resigned from the State Department by way of a column he wrote in The Washington Post. He was protesting how Mr. Trump's racism and cruelty to migrants and minorities had made it difficult for him, as a diplomat, to espouse traditional American values overseas. <sup>98</sup> [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	6, 10, 13

<p>8-8-19 +</p>	<p>[[<i>Continued.</i>] It was a radical move for an American diplomat. The following evening, in a televised CNN interview, Park elaborated. He said that the Trump administration was distinguishable for its "naked unapologetic cruelty" and "sheer managerial incompetence." He also said that Mr. Trump often tweeted ideas that contradicted talking points that diplomatic staff had been tasked with espousing, or took actions without having forewarned diplomatic staff – all of which made it difficult to conduct diplomacy, and which drew ridicule from foreign diplomats.<sup>99</sup></p> <p>On August 26, in a column in The New York Times, another foreign service officer – Bethany Milton – similarly announced her resignation in print, scoring Mr. Trump for his "worldview characterized by bigotry, fear and small-minded chauvinism," which she wrote made it difficult for our diplomats to advance a favorable view of our country abroad.<sup>100</sup></p>	<p>6, 10, 13</p>
<p>8-9-19</p>	<p><b>Hiring the undocumented.</b> The Washington Post reported that despite Mr. Trump's continuous railing against undocumented migrants, and despite the previous year's revelations that Mr. Trump's company itself had consistently staffed its resorts with undocumented migrants (which crime the company had then claimed it had fixed), a construction unit of the company was still knowingly relying upon undocumented labor.<sup>101</sup> Journalists quickly raised questions as to whether Mr. Trump's company was the subject of an Immigration and Customs Enforcement investigation; if not, why not; and whether the Trump administration's general failure to prosecute illegal employers as well as migrants could evidence a nod to Mr. Trump's personal interests.<sup>102</sup></p>	<p>15; Criminal hiring; hypocrisy of the highest order</p>
<p>8-9-19</p>	<p><b>Squeezing the immigration judges.</b> The Trump administration moved to decertify the labor union that represents the nation's immigration judges and that had been critical of Mr. Trump's treatment of the judges and of asylum due process.<sup>103</sup> CSD saw unlawful retaliation in the move.</p>	<p>2, 17 (9)</p>

<p>8-9-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Still loving Kim.</u></b> On August 9, Mr. Trump boasted of having just received a "very beautiful letter" from North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un. Hours later, for the second time in a week, North Korea test-fired several projectiles, in protest of joint military exercises between the U.S. and South Korea. Mr. Trump took Kim's side. He said that the U.S. exercises were "ridiculous and expensive" (although the Pentagon felt they were necessary). He also maintained that North Korea's continued test firings had not violated U.N. resolutions (although South Korea and analysts had disagreed). Meanwhile, denuclearization talks with North Korea had completely stalled since Mr. Trump's hyperbolic promotion of his meetings with, and his "love" for, Kim.<sup>104</sup> On August 16, North Korea launched two more projectiles, for which analysts believed Mr. Trump had effectively given the green light.<sup>105</sup></p>	<p>7, 12</p>
<p>8-9-19, 8-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>Schoolboy-in-chief.</u></b> On August 9, at an event for wealthy donors in The Hamptons, New York, Mr. Trump mocked the accent of South Korean leader Moon-Jae-in while describing how Mr. Trump had crushed him in negotiations. He also mocked the accent of Japanese leader Shinzo Abe. And he reiterated his profession of love for North Korean leader Kim Jong-un.<sup>106</sup></p> <p>On August 11, Mr. Trump tweeted an astonishingly petty, humiliating and boastful broadside against a cable news critic and one-time guest on Mr. Trump's television show "The Apprentice" – provided here in full so as to convey the depths of Mr. Trump's vanity, his self-absorption, and his debasement of the office of the presidency:</p> <p><i>"So funny to watch Little Donny Deutsch on TV with his own failing show. When I did The Apprentice, Donny would call me (along with @ErinBurnett &amp; others) and BEG to be on that VERY successful show. He had the TV 'bug' &amp; I would let him come on though he (&amp; Erin) had very little...TV talent. Then, during the 2016 Election, I would watch as Joe Scarborough &amp; his very angry Psycho wife(?) would push Donny to the point of total humiliation. He would never fight back because he wanted to stay on TV, even on a very low rated show, all in the name of ambition!"</i></p>	<p>6, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>

<p>8-10-19</p>	<p><b>Epstein death conspiracy.</b> Hard on the news of the prison suicide of Jeffrey Epstein –a serial child molester and Mr. Trump's former party friend – Mr. Trump re-tweeted others' postings suggesting that fellow former-Epstein friend President Bill Clinton had conspired to murder Epstein.<sup>107</sup> The insinuation represented a baseless continuation of Mr. Trump's propagation of false and inflammatory conspiracy theories, unprecedented for an American president<sup>108</sup>; and in this instance a demagogic deflection of Mr. Trump's own tawdry social association with Epstein into the laps of some of his favorite whipping dogs, the Clintons.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-12-19</p>	<p><b>Fact Checker.</b> The Washington Post's Fact Check reported that Mr. Trump had made over 12,000 false or misleading claims during his presidency, now (with election season approaching) averaging 20 per day.<sup>109</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>8-13-19</p>	<p><b>Whites only.</b> Kenneth Cuccinelli, the acting director of U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, supported Mr. Trump's newly proposed merit-based immigration overhaul regulation by stating that the famous Emma Lazarus poem ("Give me your tired, your poor ...") at the base of the Statue of Liberty was intended to welcome only immigrants who would not become public charges – that is, who would not need or seek government support. He later doubled-down by implying that the poem was intended to welcome only European immigrants.<sup>110</sup></p> <p>CSD acknowledges that during the course of U.S. history immigration laws have often favored Europeans; that at times "public charge" restrictions have applied; and that some other developed countries impose education and other merit criteria on immigration. But the new immigration proposal clearly would operate to exclude brown people<sup>111</sup>; and it thus dovetailed with Mr. Trump's broad, cynical, divisive and anachronistic history of reviling certain races and nurturing racial animosities.</p>	<p>17 (6)</p>

<p>8-13-19</p>	<p><b>Cuomo.</b> Mr. Trump laced into CNN commentator and Trump critic Chris Cuomo for Cuomo's off-hours explosion at a right-wing heckler who had been taunting him in a bar, and who had apparently set up the altercation to be videotaped. (The videotape had been publicly released the previous evening). Among other things, the heckler had referred to Cuomo as "Fredo," an inept Mafia character in "The Godfather" novel and movie, which Cuomo took as an ethnic slur, and Cuomo threatened to throw the man down the stairs. Mr. Trump tweeted and told reporters that Cuomo was an "animal," "nuts," "filthy," and a liar. He even tweeted, <i>"I thought Chris was Fredo also."</i><sup>112</sup> On cue, the Trump re-election campaign promptly launched the sale of T-shirts bearing the phrase "Fredo unhinged."<sup>113</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 11</p>
<p>8-13-19</p>	<p><b>In Pennsylvania, again.</b> Appearing at a chemical plant in Monaca, Pennsylvania to speak about energy policy – an event which the company paid its workers overtime to attend<sup>114</sup> – Mr. Trump (at taxpayer expense) conducted a campaign rally: blasting Democratic rivals President Obama, Hillary Clinton, Elizabeth Warren ("Pocahontas") and Joseph Biden ("Sleepy Joe"); complaining about his financial sacrifices as president ("\$5 billion") and his treatment by the news media; boasting about his skills as a builder, his claim to having boosted Pennsylvania's economy, his 2016 electoral victories in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, his 2020 re-election prospects, and his having deployed 27,000 troops to the Mexican border; rhapsodizing about his lifelong love of trucks (although he may never have driven one) and about the size of industrial workers' hands (CSD won't go there); disparaging the low television ratings of the Academy Awards and attributing that to the celebrities' aversion to himself and to blue collar workers; demanding that union workers vote their leadership out of office if they don't support his re-election; and telling numerous falsehoods.<sup>115</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-14-19</p>	<p><b>Hunting for profit.</b> Politico reported that Secret Service agents had stayed at a Trump hotel in Vancouver on multiple occasions when accompanying Mr. Trump's children on hunting and business trips – enriching Mr. Trump by thousands of dollars, at government expense.<sup>116</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>



8-15-19	<p><b><u>Hong Kong? No Problem.</u></b> The New York Times recapped Mr. Trump's continuing refusal to support Hong Kong's two-month-long pro-democracy protests in the face of China's attempt to impose its authoritarian reach over that open society. Mr. Trump was opposed in his silence by leading Democrats, Republicans and administration officials. Undeterred, and without obvious knowledge, he said that if Chinese leader Xi Jinping (a "great leader" in whom he "had a lot of confidence") would meet with protest leaders, "things could be worked out pretty easily."<sup>117</sup></p>	12, 13, 14
8-15-19	<p><b><u>Harassment at State.</u></b> The State Department's inspector general issued a report detailing the illegal harassment and punishment of career staff who were perceived as being disloyal to the Trump administration's agenda.<sup>118</sup></p>	17 (9)
8-15-19	<p><b><u>In New Hampshire: "Built on Love."</u></b> At a campaign rally in Manchester, New Hampshire, Mr. Trump told his supporters that Democratic victories in 2020 would destroy the economy and their 401(k) retirement accounts. He boasted about the economy, his past electoral performance, and what he said was a likely cure for AIDs on his watch. As in Pennsylvania two days before, he mercilessly attacked and mocked his rivals Hillary Clinton (the "<i>Lock her up!</i>" chanting ensued), Elizabeth Warren ("Pocahontas") and Joseph Biden ("Sleepy Joe"). He also mercilessly mocked and commandingly directed the removal of a man in the crowd whom he took to be a protestor and whom he savaged for being overweight (?!). Directly after the man's removal he said that the Trump campaign was "built on love."<sup>119</sup> Although the attendees seemed to be in Mr. Trump's thrall, whether they believed (or even wanted) the "love" part wasn't reported.</p>	4, 9, 11

<p>8-15-19, 8-20-19+</p>	<p><b>Banned in Israel.</b> At Mr. Trump's urging, the Israeli government banned two Muslim American members of Congress who were highly critical of Israel – Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib – from entering that country. Both women are Democrats whom Mr. Trump had relentlessly and demagogically attacked some weeks previously for their political views and their immigrant heritage. (See CSD's entry of July 14 +, above.) Mr. Trump's action regarding Israel not only undercut the prerogatives of Congress but wrongfully deployed presidential power overseas to injure his domestic enemies, to sow divisions within the Democratic party, to boost his own electoral fortunes, and/or to influence upcoming Israeli elections. In urging a foreign state to interfere in the American political process, it also echoed his previous urging of Russia, during his 2016 election campaign, to interfere in that election – both firsts for an American president.</p> <p>The new development drew sharp criticism not only from Democrats but from a number of prominent Republicans and major, pro-Israel American Jewish organizations. But it also, by his design, further polarized the American electorate, including the Jewish American piece of that.<sup>120</sup></p> <p>In fact on August 20, Mr. Trump said that any Jewish Americans who now vote for Democrats – because of Omar's and Tlaib's anti-Zionism and alleged anti-Semitism – would demonstrate "either a total lack of knowledge or great disloyalty" – thus raising a storm. The next day he repeated the charge, clarifying that he meant disloyalty to the Jewish people and to Israel. In sum, he effectively suggested that the majority of American Jews were ignorant and that they should feel a loyalty to Israel.</p> <p>American Jewish organizations did not appear to be troubled by the allegations of Jewish ignorance (coming as they did from Mr. Trump). But they expressed outrage that he would dabble with questions of Jewish loyalty toward another government, given historical anti-Semitic tropes in that regard.<sup>121</sup> Others saw in the dust-up Mr. Trump's primitive and insulting concepts of ethnicity, his delusional views that most Jewish Americans were single-issue (pro-Israel voters), and his apparent assumption that he could buy their affection by going over-the-top for Israel.<sup>122</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
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<p>8-15-19, 8-20-19+</p>	<p>[Continued.] But back to the banning of the congresswomen: An analysis in The Washington Post placed the episode more generally within the context of Mr. Trump's style of governing: <i>"By pressuring the Israeli government to bar entry by two members of Congress, President Trump once again used the power and platform of his office to punish his political rivals. It's a pattern that has intensified during the first two and a half years of Trump's presidency, as he has increasingly governed to the tune of his grievances. The president has grounded a military jet set for use by the Democratic House speaker, yanked a security clearance from a former CIA director critical of him, threatened to withhold disaster aid from states led by Democrats, pushed to reopen a criminal investigation targeting Hillary Clinton and publicly called for federal action to punish technology and media companies he views as biased against him. Taken as a whole, Trump's use of political power to pursue personal vendettas is unprecedented in modern history."</i><sup>123</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-20-19</p>	<p><b>Russia, come back!</b> Mr. Trump said that he would like to see Russia readmitted to the Group of 7 (formerly, with Russia, the Group of 8) – a continuing forum for the world's largest advanced economies, consisting of France, Italy, the U.S., Japan, Germany, Canada and the U.K. Russia had been evicted from the group in 2014 for having annexed Crimea.<sup>124</sup></p>	<p>12</p>
<p>8-20-19</p>	<p><b>Tax chaos.</b> Confronting widespread concerns that the economy was cooling, within a period of days Mr. Trump expressed both concern about and confidence in it (the economy). His office denied that he was considering cutting payroll taxes as a preventative, then he said he was considering such cuts, then he said he was no longer considering them.</p> <p>He also said that he could unilaterally cut capital gains taxes, which would principally benefit the wealthy, and which in truth required an act of Congress.<sup>125</sup></p>	<p>9, 10</p>

<p>8-20-19 +</p>	<p><b>Buying Greenland.</b> Four days after The Wall Street Journal revealed that Mr. Trump was thinking of asking Denmark if the U.S. could buy its territory Greenland, and two days after the Danish government dismissed the idea as "absurd," on August 20 Mr. Trump, by Twitter, canceled an upcoming state visit to Denmark – a NATO ally – on grounds that Denmark wouldn't sell. He had not previously told the Danes that the purpose of his trip was to buy Greenland.<sup>126</sup> The next day he called the Danish prime minister "nasty" and slammed Denmark for what he considered to be its inadequate level of financial support for NATO. Danish lawmakers found his intentions and remarks to be juvenile, undiplomatic and insulting.<sup>127</sup> No modern president had done anything like any of that before.</p> <p>The media lit up with protests about Mr. Trump's ignorance of history, protocol and the respective worldviews of the people of Denmark and Greenland (the latter mostly indigenous people whom Mr. Trump would ordinarily disdain). It also brimmed with speculations as to reasons for the cancellation and for Mr. Trump's rage: seeing an excuse to spend less time in Europe; having planned to visit Denmark principally to tender the offer and now having no reason to visit; seeking an excuse to bash NATO members; fearing protests and humiliation on the ground in Denmark, in advance of an adulatory reception that President Obama was expected to receive there shortly afterwards; or merely retaliating impulsively for a perceived slight and for the international mockery that Mr. Trump's proposal had already incurred (his staff reportedly did not know in advance that he would be cancelling the trip) – none of that having to do with advancing America's national interests.<sup>128</sup></p> <p>The New York Times' editorial board wrote: <i>"That the president of the United States would demonstrate such willful ignorance of how the world works, that he would treat a territory and its independent people like goods and chattel, that he would so readily damage relations with an old and important ally out of petty pique, is frightening."</i><sup>129</sup></p> <p>For its part, CSD had no doubt that Mr. Trump had seen something for himself, post-presidency, in the proposed purchase – what he had characterized as "essentially ... a large real estate deal" – and that he was miffed at the loss of a personal opportunity.</p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 15</p>

8-21-19	<p><b>The end of birthright?</b> Mr. Trump said that with a simple executive order he could end the doctrine of birthright citizenship, so as to deprive that right to the children of migrants who are born here. His doing so would violate a right that – forever and near-universally in the U.S. – had been viewed as guaranteed by the Constitution.<sup>130</sup></p>	6, 9
8-21-19	<p><b>President for life.</b> Mr. Trump told reporters that he might stay in the White House for an additional 10 or 14 years; that is, in violation of the Constitution. He had now repeated that speculation multiple times, and less and less jokingly.<sup>131</sup></p>	9
8-22-19	<p><b>Friends at Fox.</b> Mr. Trump's former press secretary Sarah Huckabee Sanders became the third high-ranking Trump communications official to join Fox News or its corporate parent after leaving the White House, thus further cementing the unprecedented symbiosis between a private news network and the presidency.<sup>132</sup></p> <p>As described previously in this Chronology, the door had revolved in many directions, in that numerous Fox alumni had also come to work for Mr. Trump in the White House; Mr. Trump had looked to Fox commentators for daily political advice; Mr. Trump drew much of his information and inspiration in real time from Fox televised commentary; and Mr. Trump and Fox each infected the other with consistently paranoid, divisive and fact-challenged views. CSD saw in the symbiosis not only the cultivation of a dangerously state-affiliated media outlet and an instrument for Mr. Trump's rabid demagoguery, leadership cult and double-think, but a future profit center (somehow) for Mr. Trump as a private citizen.</p>	9, 15
8-23-29 +	<p><b>Enemies.</b> Referring to thunderclouds over the country's economic horizon, on August 23 Mr. Trump tweeted, "<i>My only question is, who is our bigger enemy, Jay Powel [sic] or Chairman Xi?</i>" After having battered and intruded upon the independence of Federal Reserve chairman Jerome Powell for months, Mr. Trump compared him to China's dictator (with whom Mr. Trump was in a trade war), now finally identifying Powell as an American enemy for having not lowered interest rates at Mr. Trump's behest. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 10, 11, 15

<p>8-23-29 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump also tweeted, “<i>Our great American companies are hereby ordered to immediately start looking for an alternative to China, including bringing your companies HOME and making your products in the USA.</i>” That directive likewise was well beyond his authority. The stock market dropped 600 points.<sup>133</sup> Doubling-down in the face of outrage, Mr. Trump subsequently argued that he had the "absolute right" to give the order, under the Emergency Economic Powers Act of 1977.<sup>134</sup> (He had often – as in the case of his border wall – claimed or threatened to exercise extraordinary powers on grounds of national "emergencies," much as other authoritarian leaders routinely have done.)</p> <p>On August 24, The Washington Post reported that if the Fed continued to lower interest rates (as Mr. Trump was insisting), he stood to save millions of dollars per year on a number of variable-rate loans owed by his real estate and resort businesses.<sup>135</sup></p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 15</p>
<p>8-24-19 - 8-26-19</p>	<p><b><u>With the G-7, redux.</u></b> Mr. Trump joined the other leaders of the Group of 7 – an association of highly industrialized nations – at their annual meeting in Biarritz, France. At the previous year's meeting, he had been radically hostile and incendiary (see CSD's entry of June 8, 2018 +). But this year, despite being at odds with Mr. Trump (regarding trade, Iran, North Korea, Russia and climate change), the other attendees were reportedly careful to flatter him; he said he was "treated beautifully" by them; and he did not publicly make a scene – in part because the group forewent attempting to issue a joint closing communiqué, which Mr. Trump had blown up the previous year and which he seemed prepared to blow up again.<sup>136</sup></p> <p>Still he did raise eyebrows:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He admitted to having had "second thoughts" about his trade war with China, thus instantly affecting global financial markets; but then his Washington staff quickly denied any change of heart; and he himself, within hours, reversed by saying he wished he had imposed even higher tariffs on China. Accompanying that volatility were his alternating expressions of demonization of Chinese President Xi Jinping (the "enemy") and beatification of him (a "great leader" and a "brilliant man.")<sup>137</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15</p>

<p>8-24-19 - 8-26-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He announced that next year's G-7 meeting, scheduled to be in the U.S., would likely be held at his own (financially struggling and physically insecure) Doral golf resort in Miami. He publicly and brazenly advertised the qualities of the Doral, and he claimed that after his staff had conducted a nationwide search for a suitable venue they just happened to determine that the Doral would be the very best. But in truth convening the conference at the Doral would earn him millions in foreign emoluments, in defiance of the Constitution. In addition, the attendance by foreign leaders would amount to his forcing them (as well as U.S. taxpayers) to line his pockets. He reportedly had been pursuing the idea for months, despite his advisors' contrary advice, on ethical grounds.<sup>138</sup></li> <li>• As he had done the previous year, he suggested that Russian President Vladimir Putin be re-admitted to the group (formerly the "Group of 8") despite having been evicted after seizing Crimea from Ukraine, and he said that he would personally invite Putin to attend next year.<sup>139</sup></li> <li>• He disagreed with Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe as to whether North Korea's recent missile tests had violated its stand-still agreement with Mr. Trump. (Mr. Trump, dubiously, said that they didn't.)</li> <li>• He skipped the session on Brazilian forest fires and climate change, as he had skipped the previous year's climate change session.<sup>140</sup></li> <li>• At a press conference following the close, he said, "<i>I love the UK. I own great property in the UK.</i>" He then explicitly advertised his golf resorts in Scotland and in Ireland (which is not in the UK). Also, when dodging a question about climate change, he (preposterously) professed to be "an environmentalist"; in the same breath he bragged about his support for oil pipelines; and he said, "<i>I think I know more about the environment than most people,</i>" because as a builder he had filed many environmental impact statements (presumably to game the environmental laws for personal profit – which is a perfunctory part of many builders' operations).<sup>141</sup> [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15</p>
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<p>8-24-19 - 8-26-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>At the same press conference, Mr. Trump reprised his incessant disparagement of President Obama,<sup>142</sup> which (to CSD's understanding owed to his jealousy of the latter's literacy, cultural sophistication, ethical soundness and ongoing popularity. Specifically, he charged that Putin had "embarrassed" and "outsmarted" his predecessor when seizing Crimea. Those remarks followed at least a dozen other attacks on President Obama during the conference, and they advanced Mr. Trump's persistent projection onto President Obama that President Obama, not Mr. Trump, had been soft on Russia. They also continued Mr. Trump's habit of breaching American presidential protocol by criticizing his political opponents while overseas.<sup>143</sup></li> <li>His public comments about the conference – who was friendly with whom, who had agreed with whom, who had communicated with whom (including his claim that his wife Melania had come to know North Korean leader Kim Jong-un) – were otherwise filled with trivial but patent falsehoods.<sup>144</sup></li> </ul> <p>Reportedly bored, Mr. Trump also found time during the conference to tweet birthday greetings to several American entertainment celebrities, to re-tweet false far-right conspiracy theories about some of his Democratic rivals, and to repeatedly bash the American press.<sup>145</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15</p>
<p>8-27-19</p>	<p><b><u>Blessing the Amazon forest fires.</u></b> Mr. Trump praised Jair Bolsonaro, the proto-fascist leader of Brazil, after the latter had rejected foreign offers of assistance in combating the raging forest fires that threatened to destroy the Amazon ecosystem and the human race's ability to survive.<sup>146</sup></p>	<p>12, 17 (8)</p>
<p>8-27-19</p>	<p><b><u>Merry Christmas to me!</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Attorney General William Barr had booked a private \$30,000 holiday party at the Trump International Hotel in Washington. Critics observed that the country's top defender of our laws and Constitution was thus effectively putting money into Mr. Trump's pocket in order to curry favor with him – essentially bribing him – even while officially defending him in lawsuits that alleged the unconstitutionality of his accepting foreign governmental emoluments at the hotel.<sup>147</sup></p>	<p>15, 17 (9)</p>



<p>8-27-19</p>	<p><b>Speeding the wall, illegally.</b> Mr. Trump directed that contractors building his wall at the Mexican border ignore environmental restrictions and private property rights so as to speed their progress, and he said that he would pardon them if they were charged with illegal actions.<sup>148</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump had previously ordered the construction of the Keystone XL Pipeline in violation of permit requirements and a court order,<sup>149</sup> and as a private sector developer and property owner he had repeatedly flaunted permitting requirements.<sup>150</sup> He had also, as president, previously pardoned political friends and hinted that he would pardon others, as described frequently above in this Chronology and at the link at this end note.<sup>151</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>8-27-19, 8-28-19</p>	<p><b>Puerto Rico: nasty.</b> As a new hurricane approached Puerto Rico – an island populated by Hispanic Americans and still reeling from the last two hurricanes to which Mr. Trump had notoriously failed to adequately respond – on August 27 the Department of Homeland Security shifted \$271 million from its disaster assistance budget to enforcement efforts at the Mexican border.<sup>152</sup></p> <p>On August 28, Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>“Puerto Rico is one of the most corrupt places on earth. Their political system is broken and their politicians are either Incompetent or Corrupt. Congress approved Billions of Dollars last time, more than anyplace else has ever gotten, and it is sent to Crooked Pols. No good! And by the way, I’m the best thing that’s ever happened to Puerto Rico!”</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump had long inflated the amount of relief money he had provided to the island for the earlier disasters, had claimed that the death toll there had been exaggerated to embarrass him, and had charged the islanders with ingratitude toward him.<sup>153</sup></p> <p>Providentially, the new hurricane missed Puerto.</p>	<p>6, 7, 11</p>
<p>8-28-19. 8-29-29</p>	<p><b>Throwing Ukraine to the bear.</b> Politico reported that Mr. Trump, contrary to Pentagon views, was slow-walking the release of congressionally authorized military assistance to Ukraine for its defense of its territory from Russian aggression – seemingly owing to his fondness for Russia.<sup>154</sup></p>	<p>9, 12, 13</p>

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- <sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/08/us/politics/trump-environment-climate-change.html>
- <sup>2</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/08/us/politics/trump-environmental-record-fact-check.html>
- <sup>3</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/07/09/trump-first-amendment-blocking-twitter-critics-1403910> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/legal-issues/president-trump-cannot-block-his-critics-on-twitter-federal-appeals-court-rules/2019/07/09/d07a5558-8230-11e9-95a9-e2c830afe24f\\_story.html?utm\\_term=.ef51c6e2f6bc&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/legal-issues/president-trump-cannot-block-his-critics-on-twitter-federal-appeals-court-rules/2019/07/09/d07a5558-8230-11e9-95a9-e2c830afe24f_story.html?utm_term=.ef51c6e2f6bc&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/09/us/politics/trump-twitter-first-amendment.html>
- <sup>4</sup> <https://www.politico.com/magazine/story/2019/07/12/the-trump-bill-of-rights-227356> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/11/us/politics/white-house-social-media-summit.html> and <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2019/07/trump-free-speech-twitter-google-facebook-authoritarianism.html>
- <sup>5</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/11/politics/donald-trump-social-media-summit-census-fact-check/index.html>
- <sup>6</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/uk-ambassador-resigns-trump\\_n\\_5d249fb2e4b07e698c412a2c](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/uk-ambassador-resigns-trump_n_5d249fb2e4b07e698c412a2c)
- <sup>7</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/07/10/british-ambassador-to-us-resigns-after-calling-trump-administration-inept-1405019>
- <sup>8</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/10/world/europe/kim-darroch-trump.html>
- <sup>9</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/07/09/us/politics/mueller-testimony-justice-department.html>
- <sup>10</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/07/09/felix-sater-house-panel-obstruction-1404624?cid=apn>
- <sup>11</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/07/15/kellyanne-conway-subpoena-oversight-hearing-1416132?cid=apn>
- <sup>12</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/07/24/politics/doj-contempt-wont-prosecute-barr-ross/index.html> and <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/07/24/justice-william-barr-wilbur-ross-1432595?cid=apn>
- <sup>13</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/national-security/watchdog-tells-democrats-he-can-t-probe-white-house-security-n1037486>
- <sup>14</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/08/19/politics/justice-trump-financial-records/index.html>
- <sup>15</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-latest-twitter-rant-even-worse\\_n\\_5d275f04e4b0bd7d1e18feca](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-latest-twitter-rant-even-worse_n_5d275f04e4b0bd7d1e18feca)
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**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 26 – November 2, 2019*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

**The current Addendum appears in two parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p. 42, chronicles events surrounding the impeachment inquiry brought against Mr. Trump by the House of Representatives.**

<p>8-29-19, 9-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>Down on G.M.</u></b> On August 29, Mr. Trump trashed General Motors for maintaining manufacturing plants overseas.<sup>1</sup> On September 17, the White House intervened in a labor strike at General Motors, taking the side of the union workers, in an apparent bid to shore up Mr. Trump's flagging standing with industrial workers in advance of the 2020 election.<sup>2</sup></p> <p>As reported above in this Chronology, Mr. Trump had frequently, and inappropriately, singled out other American businesses for censure before in the service of his personal and political goals.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>8-29-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>In the Hurricane's eye.</u></b> As Hurricane Dorian bypassed Puerto Rico and appeared to bear down on southern Florida, on August 29 and 30 Mr. Trump pledged boundless support for Floridians, canceled a planned trip to Poland, and declared a state of emergency. He had not done any of that days earlier when hurricane devastation had threatened Puerto Rico: instead, he had raged at the (Hispanic) islanders. (See CSD's entry of August 27-28 above in this Chronology on the topic of the hurricane.) Notably, two of Mr. Trump's luxury resorts lay in the path of the projected Florida landfall.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>But despite the continuing emergency, Mr. Trump found time on the morning of Saturday, August 31 to tweet about his friends, his enemies and his accomplishments: attacking former intelligence officials James Comey, James Clapper and John Brennan; praising numerous Republican congressional allies; extolling friendly cable news pundits for their high television ratings; touting the success of his prior television program "The Apprentice"; taking personal credit for low gasoline prices; announcing that one recently terminated aide had apologized to him and that he was suing "disgusting and foul mouthed" Omarosa Manigault Newman and "numerous other" ex-aides for breaching their confidentiality agreements with him; maintaining that he loved his daughter Tiffany despite others' comments criticizing her weight; falsely claiming success in his trade war with China; and dubiously boasting, "We are winning again, and we are respected again!"<sup>4</sup></p> <p>That day – still amid the emergency – he also played golf at one of his resorts, at taxpayer expense, bringing the number of his golf outings as president to 213 – far eclipsing the number of President Obama's outings, which he had mocked while campaigning in 2016 while promising to not play at all if elected.<sup>5</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15</p>
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<p>8-29-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On September 1, with the hurricane still raging offshore and threatening the eastern seaboard, Mr. Trump again took to Twitter petulantly: hounding Comey, the AFL-CIO's president, a New York Times columnist, the "LameStream Media" and the four Democratic congresswomen of color known as "The Squad" (see CSD's entry of July 14 + regarding Mr. Trump's invective against The Squad.) He also played golf again. On Tuesday, September 3, he attacked the Federal Reserve Board, the mayor of London, President Obama, and "the whole Witch Hunt against me." A Washington Post columnist presented that breathtaking synopsis of events with considerable effectiveness.<sup>6</sup></p> <p>One of the most chaotic developments around the hurricane arose from Mr. Trump's September 1 misstatement that Alabama was at risk of incurring major storm damage. After being corrected by the National Weather Service, he repeatedly doubled-down on his error. On September 4 he televised an official National Weather Service storm map that he had personally (and criminally) doctored with a black Sharpie marker so as to falsely show Alabama as lying within the storm's path.<sup>7</sup> He shortly denied having been the one wielding the Sharpie.<sup>8</sup> Through September 6 he continued – seemingly obsessively – to maintain that he had not erred in his forecast.<sup>9</sup></p> <p>Also on that date, the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NWS's parent) issued a tweet vaguely supporting his Alabama claim and rebuking the agency's own scientists – a communication that was promptly denounced by the president of the national weather services union as "utterly disgusting and disingenuous."<sup>10</sup> Many others in the weather reporting community expressed outrage as well, with one former NOAA head calling NOAA's tweet "a major breach of scientific integrity that damages the NWS and stains the agency's leadership."<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile NOAA had gagged its current staff from speaking publicly about the matter.<sup>12</sup> On September 9, The New York Times reported that NOAA's disingenuous tweet had been precipitated by a threat on the part of Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross to fire top NOAA employees for having allowed the NWS to contradict the president.<sup>13</sup> On September 11, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump, through his chief of staff, had directed Ross on that path.<sup>14</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15</p>
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<p>8-29-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump's initially trivial misstatement about the storm's projected path had thus mushroomed into (1) an epic fray over his practice of denying scientific reality, speaking counter-factually, and pretending to infallibility, and (2) the exposure of another effort on the part of Ross to undermine scientific data gathering and reporting for political purposes (compare his having engineered the proposed addition of the racially motivated "citizenship question" to the decennial U.S. census – see above in this Chronology).</p> <p>Who else in the government stood to contradict Mr. Trump and Ross? Through all of this, as previously noted in this Chronology, both the Department of Homeland Security and its subordinate agency the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) were being directed by temporary, "acting" chiefs – not approved by Congress, and perilously perched in their respective careers as Mr. Trump's servants. (Fortunately, for them and for all Americans, after demolishing the Bahamas the hurricane largely skirted the southeastern coast of the U.S.)</p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15</p>
<p>8-30-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Like a sieve.</u></b> Possibly with a view to intimidating or embarrassing Iran, on August 30 Mr. Trump tweeted an aerial photo of an explosion at an Iranian missile launch pad, apparently without the approval of his intelligence advisors. Observers said that he could have thereby unwittingly revealed secret American intelligence-gathering methodologies and operations. Mr. Trump responded to the criticism by saying that he had "an absolute right" to release the photo (which of course was not the point).<sup>15</sup></p> <p>On September 9, CNN reported that in 2017 the U.S. had extracted a high-level intelligence asset from Russia at least in part to prevent Mr. Trump from intentionally or inadvertently outing him while he was still in-country.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>Indeed, as detailed above in this Chronology, Mr. Trump had repeatedly spilled classified data in an effort to look knowledgeable and strong to his listeners; and national security officials had revealed that they were reluctant to share some classified information with him for fear of such recklessness. Observers now voiced concern that America's reliability as a custodian of classified data might forever be suspect by our allies, even following Mr. Trump's exit.<sup>17</sup></p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 13</p>



<p>8-30-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On September 18, immediately after Mr. Trump revealed on live television that his wall at the Mexican border was wired to detect intrusions, the commander of the Army Corps of Engineers told him (still on camera) not to discuss that classified information. Mr. Trump nevertheless persisted in boasting about it to the cameras.<sup>18</sup></p>	<p>10, 13</p>
<p>9-2-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Multi-tasking (we always knew he was a polymath!).</u></b></p> <p><i>The Vice President and golf.</i> While visiting Ireland's prime minister and president in Dublin on September 2, Vice President Mike Pence and his retinue – at Mr. Trump's "suggestion" – stayed hours away at Mr. Trump's golf resort in Doonberg, Ireland. Pence thus at once (1) did his job, (2) wasted money, (3) wasted time, (4) advertised the resort, (5) enriched Mr. Trump with taxpayer funds, and (6) obsequiously flattered Mr. Trump, presumably for Pence's own professional benefit. (At the same time, Mr. Trump, for his part – and also at taxpayer expense – was playing golf at his resort in Virginia.)<sup>19</sup></p> <p><i>The mafia and golf.</i> One former federal organized crime prosecutor found in the Pence-Doonberg episode, and in Attorney General William Barr's recent booking of a large holiday party at Mr. Trump's Washington hotel (see CSD's entry of August 27 above in this Chronology), a mafia phenomenon known as "kicking up" or "paying tribute" – giving a portion of all criminal earnings to the mob boss. <i>"From the member's point of view, 'kicking up' is a way to show respect, curry favor, and reinforce the hierarchical power structure. From the boss's point of view, it's a way to get rich."</i><sup>20</sup> When asked about the seeming irregularities in both episodes by reporters, Mr. Trump responded, <i>"People like my product, what can I tell you? They can't help it."</i><sup>21</sup>  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>11, 15</p>

<p>9-2-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p><i>The Air Force and golf.</i> On September 7, Politico reported that the House Oversight Committee was investigating an Air Force crew having paid to stay at Mr. Trump's golf resort in Turnberry, Scotland during serial refueling stops at a nearby airport, and the military having spent large sums in making use of the airport. As details emerged, more and longer such stays by Air Force crews appeared, together with an aggregate spend of nearly \$200,000 at the resort. In fairness, the airport's arrangement to steer hotel business to Mr. Trump had dated from 2014 (well before his presidency); and the Air Force claimed that it had paid market rates for the crews' rooms. Nevertheless, the stays had increased dramatically during the Trump presidency; they appeared to have filled otherwise vacant Trump beds, and thus were a boon to Mr. Trump regardless of market price; the airport's Air Force revenues had helped keep the financially vulnerable airport (and thus the resort) afloat; and both Air Force "deals" thus enriched Mr. Trump's business – all without public disclosure.<sup>22</sup></p> <p><i>The "routine."</i> Also on September 7, The New York Times reported that foreign and domestic figures who wished to curry Mr. Trump's favor now <i>routinely</i> patronized his properties. CSD has previously chronicled many episodes of that corruption. But to convey its staggering breadth, we now quote extensively from The Times:</p> <p><i>"To ethics lawyers, the most extraordinary aspect of the daily merging of Mr. Trump's official duties and his commercial interests both in Washington and around the world is that it has now become almost routine. Since Mr. Trump became president, there have been thousands of visits to his properties, not only by Mr. Trump himself, but by foreign leaders, lobbyists, Republican candidates, members of Congress, cabinet members and others with ties to the president. At least 90 members of Congress, 250 Trump administration officials and more than 110 foreign officials have been spotted at Trump properties since 2017 ....</i></p> <p><i>"It reflects the normalization of corruption — this is just how business works in Trump's Washington, D.C.," said Robert Weissman, the president of Public Citizen, a nonprofit ethics group. 'We have witnessed a stunning degradation of ethical norms.' ... [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>11, 15</p>
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<p>9-2-19 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "Current and former White House officials insist they have never witnessed Mr. Trump making any explicit demand, or suggestion, that his cabinet members or Republican allies stay at a Trump property or use one to host an event. But they have noted that a president who is extremely effective at communicating between the lines does not have to be explicit.</i></p> <p><i>"Mr. Trump, they said, spends more time talking about his properties in private than he does in public, and even as president, remains intimately involved with club minutiae, like knowing all the names on his Mar-a-Lago membership roll. ...</i></p> <p><i>"[The] visits to Trump venues include 24 of the 32 people who have served in Mr. Trump's cabinet. And that in a way understates the pattern, as a number of these cabinet members have been to Trump properties again and again, like Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, who has been spotted at a Trump-owned venue at least 21 times.</i></p> <p><i>"Since he was sworn in, Mr. Trump himself has spent 293 days at one of his family businesses — that is nearly a third of his time in office. These visits have generated hundreds of thousands of dollars in federal government payments to cover the lodging expenses of the Secret Service and other personnel who accompany him."<sup>23</sup></i></p>	<p>11, 15</p>
<p>9-3-13 +</p>	<p><b>"Emergency" raid of military funds.</b> Claiming emergency powers, on September 3 Mr. Trump directed the Pentagon to move \$3.6 billion in congressionally appropriated funding for military construction projects to the construction of his wall along the Mexican border. That diversion of funding violated congressional powers and thus the Constitution.<sup>24</sup></p> <p>International diplomacy was shortly violated as well. Sticking a thumb in Europe's eye, on September 6 Defense Secretary Mark Esper urged European allies to fund the Pentagon's European-sited construction projects that he and Mr. Trump had just ripped money from.<sup>25</sup></p> <p>On September 18, The Washington Post reported that the Pentagon had earlier warned of dire outcomes if Congress didn't fund the construction projects that were now to be raided, including projects to mitigate fire and explosives risks that were threatening troops and their families.<sup>26</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 13</p>

<p>9-6-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Gunning for California.</u></b> On September 6, news media reported that Mr. Trump's Justice Department, on antitrust grounds, was investigating four auto-makers for tentatively agreeing among themselves to partner with the State of California in reducing auto emissions. Not only did the investigation fly in the face of the public interest, and figure into Mr. Trump's vengeful and demagogic campaigns against both California and President Obama's environmental protection legacy, but it contrasted starkly with Mr. Trump's general laxity in antitrust enforcement.<sup>27</sup></p> <p>(Mr. Trump's other high-profile antitrust effort had been a failed attempt in 2017 to block AT&amp;T's acquisition of Time Warner with a view to punishing his critic, CNN, a Time Warner subsidiary – all as described above in this Chronology.<sup>28</sup> That episode had amounted to an equally political abuse of the Justice Department's antitrust authority.)</p> <p>On September 17, media reported that Mr. Trump, in a further act of vengeance, would imminently revoke California's right to set stricter air pollution standards for vehicles than those imposed by the federal government.<sup>29</sup></p> <p>On September 24 and 26, Andrew Wheeler, Mr. Trump's administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency – no friend of the environment – accused California of violating clean air and water standards and threatened to withhold federal highway funding on those grounds, while not accusing or threatening any other noncompliant state.<sup>30</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>9-7-19 +</p>	<p><b>No Afghan deal for Bolton.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted that he had canceled a secretly planned peace negotiation at Camp David among the U.S., the Taliban and the Afghan government. Irregularities in the episode included (a) his having invited the Taliban to U.S. soil at all, thus catapulting upwards the credibility of the enemy organization; (b) his public disclosure of a state secret for no apparent reason other than to appear in control; (c) the possibility that by doing so he had jeopardized future negotiations; (d) reports that he had planned the meeting as abruptly as he had canceled it, and without the usual circumspection or statecraft; (e) reports that he had planned the meeting's Camp David venue so as to promote his own role as the deal-maker (even though he had had none); (f) the consternation that he had left among his advisors in his wake; and (g) the possibility that violence and destabilization in Afghanistan would ensue.<sup>31</sup></p> <p>On September 10, seemingly due in part to the Afghan fiasco, Mr. Trump unceremoniously fired John Bolton – his third, and ultra-hawkish, national security advisor, whose views he had come to disdain. (Or he claimed to have fired him – Bolton insisted he had resigned.)<sup>32</sup> How Mr. Trump would reconcile what was once his dangerously belligerent international rhetoric with his increasing ardor to accommodate any and all hostile actors remained to be seen. Although Bolton had been strongly disliked both within and without the administration, critics now observed that Mr. Trump had eliminated his last strong and informed foreign policy voice; that he would no longer be connected to any traditional foreign policy thinking; and that he would likely be flying solo going forward.<sup>33</sup></p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
<p>9-9-19</p>	<p><b>President for life (again and again); in North Carolina.</b> Mr. Trump twice in one day repeated his by now familiar "joke" that he might seek to extend his tenure as president beyond eight years: first at the White House, and then at a congressional candidate's rally in Fayetteville, North Carolina.<sup>34</sup> However hilarious (or not), the "joke" struck CSD as deliberately seeding and wooing his supporters for an eventual move in that direction. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 11</p>

<p>9-9-19</p>	<p>[Continued.] Also at the North Carolina rally, as characterized by The Washington Post, Mr. Trump delivered <i>"a wide-ranging speech that mirrored his usual campaign rally fare. He defended his tariffs on Chinese goods, took aim at the media, denounced energy-efficient lightbulbs and warned that Democrats are 'not big believers in religion.'"</i><sup>35</sup> Although Mr. Trump and other recent presidents had long spoken to audiences' religious beliefs, CSD was not aware of any having previously denounced their perceived enemies as heathens.</p> <p>A broader portrait of the North Carolina demagoguery appeared in The New York Times, which characterized it as a pep rally for voters who felt persecuted as Christians and as whites, some of whom had travelled long distances to attend and to become fired up. The Times wrote:</p> <p><i>"North Carolina has released thousands of dangerous criminal aliens into your communities and you see it,' Mr. Trump said. 'The charges against these free criminals include sexual assault, robbery, drug crimes and homicide. Murder!' Of Democrats, Mr. Trump said: 'Your way of life is under assault by these people.' . . .</i></p> <p><i>"Mr. Trump brought his signature brand of identity politics — steeped in racial division and fears of white Christian replacement — to a crowd that was eager to embrace those themes. They cheered loudly, urging Mr. Trump on, as he talked about mass deportations, 'foreign refugees' overrunning communities and unproven allegations of voter fraud in California. They booed on cue with every mention of the Democratic enemies, all women or people of color: House Speaker Nancy Pelosi; Hillary Clinton; former President Barack Obama; and the group of freshman congresswomen nicknamed 'the squad.' Democrats were branded the 'America-hating left.'</i></p> <p><i>"In conversations with more than a dozen attendees before and after the rally, they made clear that their support for the president was not in spite of his inflammatory rhetoric, but because his chosen targets often match their own . . . .</i></p> <p><i>"[One attendee] said he felt Mr. Trump understood 'the people who experience most discrimination right now are us, Christians.' . . . [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 11</p>
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<p>9-9-19</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "[M]any of Mr. Trump's rally-going supporters said the outings were equally defined by the carnival-like atmosphere that greets attendees even before Mr. Trump speaks. It's in the hours before the rally, in the lines for refreshments and sunscreen and knockoff Make America Great Again merchandise, where Mr. Trump's crowds are ripened for the coming spectacle. Fears of illegal immigration are swapped over popcorn, and anecdotal stories about voter fraud and food stamp fraud committed by noncitizens and black Americans are rampant. A man wearing a 'Communism News Network' shirt with the CNN logo as a hammer and sickle said he wanted to see a more respectful political climate. A 'build the wall' chant broke out suddenly, after another man walked through the crowd carrying a large sign that said an immigrant killed one of his family members.</i></p> <p><i>"Trisha Hope, 55, was attending her 23rd rally for Mr. Trump. Ms. Hope sells a book of all the president's tweets since Inauguration Day. They are 'history that needs to be preserved,' she said, and have 'never been inaccurate.' Ms. Hope estimated that she's read every tweet about 50 times. 'President Trump touched something inside me,' Ms. Hope said. 'He speaks like me and he talks like me.'"<sup>36</sup></i></p> <p>By CNN's count, Mr. Trump made 22 false claims at the rally, including his oft-repeated and utterly baseless charge that Democrats had engaged in massive voter fraud in California; that China (rather than American consumers) was paying for his Chinese tariffs; that labor unions were supporting his proposed USMCA trade agreement with Mexico and Canada; that Democrats wanted "open borders"; that most released asylum seekers don't show up for their asylum hearings; that he had been putting up "miles and miles" of border wall; that "100,000 people a year die from what comes across our southern border [i.e., drugs]"; that he was responsible for the recent dramatic growth in U.S. energy production (it had begun under President Obama); and that he had forever embraced the requirement that health insurance cover pre-existing conditions (he in truth never had, except rhetorically).<sup>37</sup></p> <p>On the plus side, Mr. Trump boasted that he had created "the greatest economy in the history of our country," and that his hair was "a lot better than most of my friends who are the same age."<sup>38</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 8, 9, 11</p>
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9-11-19	<p><b>Throttling science.</b> The Union of Concerned Scientists identified 120 instances in which Mr. Trump and his administration had attacked scientific procedures and findings – thus intimidating government scientists from telling the truth, and thus threatening Americans' health, their safety, and their belief in what government says.<sup>39</sup></p>	8
9-11-19 +	<p><b>Honoring 9-11.</b> On the morning of the observance of the anniversary of the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks on the U.S., Mr. Trump defied the somberness of the day by railing at the mainstream media for publishing opinion polls that showed him trailing multiple Democratic presidential contenders. He called the polls "phony" and "fixed."</p> <p>Later, in commemorating the attack on the World Trade Center, he repeated his falsehood that he and many of his employees had assisted in the emergency response in Manhattan's financial district.<sup>40</sup></p> <p>On September 18, The Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump had re-tweeted a video of the Muslim Congresswoman Ilhan Omar dancing at a party allegedly held on September 11. In fact the party was a Congressional Black Caucus event held on September 13.<sup>41</sup></p>	1, 6, 7, 11
9-11-19 +	<p><b>Boneheads at the Fed.</b> On September 11, Mr. Trump radically called upon the Federal Reserve bank to lower interest rates to less than zero, thus continuing his very public jawboning of the Fed – an institution that had long prized its independence from politics. He also called the bank's leaders "Boneheads."<sup>42</sup> On September 16, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's public calls for the Fed to lower rates had now been appearing almost daily.<sup>43</sup></p> <p>On September 18, the Fed finally did lower rates; but Mr. Trump charged that the drop wasn't enough.<sup>44</sup> He tweeted, "<i>{Fed chair} Jay Powell and the Federal Reserve Fail Again. No 'guts,' no sense, no vision!</i>" (Mr. Trump's demands were seen by many as efforts to stoke the economy for his own benefit in advance of the 2020 election, regardless of the longer term economic impact.)</p>	9



<p>9-13-19</p>	<p><b>Purge of the immigration court system.</b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump's Justice Department had purged four of the top officials at its Executive Office for Immigration Review, the unit that operates immigration courts. Immigration judges had been protesting that, under Mr. Trump, they had been pressured to routinely order the deportation of Central American and other asylum seekers rather than giving them fair asylum hearings.<sup>45</sup> With the departure of EOIR's highly professional and sympathetic leadership, the judges' calls for their own ability to render justice independently now seemed even more imperiled.</p>	<p>2, 6</p>
<p>9-14-19 +</p>	<p><b>Kavanaugh: the wound still oozes.</b> On September 14, a New York Times op-ed revealed a newly discovered episode of Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh's youthful history of sexual misconduct – a history that CSD believes he had falsely and thus unlawfully denied when testifying before Congress during his 2018 confirmation hearing, and that Mr. Trump and his allies had unlawfully prevented the FBI from investigating in full. The Times erred in some details, then published a correction of the new discovery. Mr. Trump's September 15 Twitter response to the error: <i>“Brett Kavanaugh should start suing people for liable [sic], or the Justice Department should come to his rescue.”</i><sup>46</sup></p> <p>Of course the Constitution, as interpreted by the Supreme Court, bars such suits by public figures in the event of a good faith newspaper error; and the Justice Department, at Mr. Trump's heavy-handed direction, had already come to Kavanaugh's rescue by preventing a full FBI investigation in the first instance. But Mr. Trump's attacks on the media regarding The Times' fleeting error continued, notwithstanding his own incessant and deliberate misstatements, none of which he ever corrected. By September 19 he had tweeted about the episode nine times, including this: <i>“I call for the Resignation of everybody at The New York Times involved in the Kavanaugh SMEAR story, and while you're at it, the Russian Witch Hunt Hoax, which is just as phony!”</i><sup>47</sup></p>	<p>1, 9</p>

<p>9-14-19 +</p>	<p><b>Saudi oil facility is attacked; the U.S. flails.</b> Drones and cruise missiles attacked and largely destroyed the world's largest oil processing facility, in Saudi Arabia, thus disrupting the world's oil supply. The attack also inflamed Gulf tensions – tensions that had already soared due to the civil war in Yemen, in which American and Saudi military support for the Yemeni government was pitted against an Iranian-backed insurgency, and through which catastrophic famine had come to threaten the Yemeni people. Mr. Trump and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo were quick to blame Iran for the attack, and both hinted that the U.S. would go to war with Iran (although seemingly neither of them in truth wanted war, especially in the run-up to the 2020 American election).<sup>48</sup></p> <p>While the U.S. was certainly not responsible for Iranian aggression, a New York Times analysis posed the acute diplomatic and strategic maelstrom that Mr. Trump – through his capricious, unreliable and bellicose behavior – had created for himself:</p> <p><i>"For a president with a loose relationship with the facts and poisonous relationships with allies, the attack on the Saudi oil fields poses a challenge: how to prove the administration's case that Iran was behind the strike and rally the world to respond.</i></p> <p><i>"President Trump must now confront that problem as he struggles with one of the most critical national security decisions of his presidency. Over the next few days or weeks, he will almost certainly face the reality that much of the world — angry at his tweets, tirades, untruths and accusations — could be disinclined to believe the arguments advanced by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and others that Iran bears responsibility for the attack.</i></p> <p><i>"If Mr. Trump tries to gather a coalition to impose diplomatic penalties, tighten sanctions to further choke off Iranian oil exports or retaliate with a military or cyberstrike, he may discover that, like President George W. Bush heading into Iraq 16 years ago, he is largely alone. ... [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>7, 10, 13, 14</p>
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<p>9-14-19 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "Even if American and other experts who are now in Saudi Arabia to conduct a forensic study conclude that Iran built the drones or cruise missiles, they may have a hard time establishing — especially for the public — where the weapons were launched from, or who shot them toward the Saudi oil fields. ...</i></p> <p><i>"For Mr. Trump, the suspicions about any American assessment of responsibility will be colored by another problem: European officials blame him, as much as the Iranians, for creating the circumstances that led to the attack. In their telling, it was Mr. Trump's decision, soon after he fired [then Secretary of State Rex] Tillerson, to abandon the 2015 nuclear deal[signed by President Obama] that set in motion the events that culminated in the crippling of the two Saudi oil fields."<sup>49</sup></i></p> <p>Politico made similar observations.<sup>50</sup></p>	<p>7, 10, 13, 14</p>
<p>9-16-19 +</p>	<p><b>More testimony blocked.</b> News media reported that Mr. Trump had blocked two more of his former senior aides – Staff Secretary Rob Porter and Deputy Chief of Staff Rick Dearborn – from testifying before the House Judiciary Committee on the subject of special counsel Robert Mueller's investigation of Mr. Trump's complicity in and cover-up of Russian election interference. He had also ordered that the testimony of a third former subordinate – campaign director Corey Lewandowski – be limited. The move followed Mr. Trump having previously blocked or limited the testimony of his former White House Counsel Don McGahn and his former communications director Hope Hicks. In response, the committee charged that Mr. Trump had no authority to so restrict private citizens and thus was in violation of the Constitution's separation of powers.<sup>51</sup></p> <p><i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>9, 17 (9)</p>

<p>9-16-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Lewandowski – already known for his deviousness and pugnacity – then appeared before the committee on September 17. But as a consequence of the limitations imposed by Mr. Trump, he avoided all questions about the probe except to denounce “this fake Russia collusion narrative [as] the greatest crime committed against the American people in our generation, if not ever.” More generally, he treated the proceedings with contempt, using them as a platform for insulting and denouncing Democrats and for launching his campaign to run in New Hampshire for the U.S. Senate. As he was holding forth, Mr. Trump tweeted from aboard Air Force One: “<i>Such a beautiful Opening Statement by Corey Lewandowski!</i>”<sup>52</sup></p> <p>Critics, and CSD, considered all of that to amount to obstruction of justice.</p>	<p>9, 17 (9)</p>
<p>9-18-19</p>	<p><b><u>Videos don't lie (but presidents do).</u></b> Sparked by three recent episodes, a Washington Post columnist listed dozens of instances in which Mr. Trump had denied doing or saying something that had been plainly captured on video recordings. The recent episodes, only days past: disdainfully denying that he had ever met the late journalist Cokie Roberts (Mr. Trump had often claimed to have not known individuals as a means of disparaging them, implying that they had not merited his attention); denying that he had accused Iran of attacking the Saudi oil refineries; and denying that he had offered to meet with Iran's leaders without pre-conditions.<sup>53</sup> CSD encourages readers to review, and to attempt to absorb, the columnist's complete listing of video-captured statements that Mr. Trump had claimed had never occurred. As Chico Marx, playing a scoundrel, had protested in the movie <i>Duck Soup</i>, “<i>Who ya gonna' believe, me or your own eyes?</i>”<sup>54</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>9-19-19</p>	<p><b><u>Climate denial revealed.</u></b> Democrats in the Senate Agriculture Committee released a reported documenting dozens of instances in which the Trump administration had censored or minimized client science across the Department of Agriculture, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Homeland Security. The implications were profound, including for farmers who had to rely on accurate climate reporting in their operations.<sup>55</sup></p>	<p>8</p>

<p>9-23-19</p>	<p><b>The prize.</b> Mr. Trump told reporters that he deserved the Nobel Peace Prize, and that he would win it but for the selection process being rigged against him.<sup>56</sup> – Harmless foolishness, except for Mr. Trump's continuing success in convincing substantial portions of the American electorate of his genius, his grandeur, his accomplishments ... and his victimization by his enemies.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>9-24-19</p>	<p><b>At the UN.</b> Addressing the United Nations General Assembly, Mr. Trump spoke in favor of nationalism and national cultural identity, and against immigration and multi-lateral collaboration.<sup>57</sup></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>9-26-19</p>	<p><b>No to refugees.</b> The White House proposed (and effectively established) a ceiling of 18,000 refugee admissions for fiscal year 2020 (that is, beginning October 1, 2019). During his term, Mr. Trump had thus steadily cut the annual figure from 110,000 to 50,000 to 45,000 to 30,000 and now to this, once again the lowest figure since the current refugee admissions program had begun in 1980.<sup>58</sup> But the reality was even worse: in each of those recent years, the actual refugee admissions had been far less than the authorized amount. And the cuts had come amid the continuing world refugee crisis, when some 26,000,000 refugees – a record number – were now struggling to survive outside of their home countries. Mr. Trump thus abandoned America's global leadership since World War II in welcoming refugees. He even gave the lie to his own calls to protect foreign victims of religious persecution – most recently at the United Nations on September 23 – by effectively denying all but a handful of them refuge here.<sup>59</sup></p> <p>In announcing the cut, he also explicitly, fallaciously and gratuitously demonized refugees as drains on the economy and as security risks, while cynically titling his public release <i>"President Donald J. Trump's Humanitarian and Responsible Approach On Refugees Protects the Welfare of American Citizens."</i><sup>60</sup> And contemporaneously with establishing the new, lower-than-ever refugee resettlement ceiling, Mr. Trump ordered that states and municipalities could elect to ban the resettlement of refugees within their territories – a radical move that enabled those governments to further demonize refugees, and to chill or even strangle the refugee admissions program generally.<sup>61</sup></p>	<p>6, 14</p>

<p>9-28-19</p>	<p><b>Savages.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted that six members of the House were "Do Nothing Democrat Savages." Four of those named were women of color (the self-described "Squad" whom Mr. Trump had previously mocked and demonized, consisting of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Ayanna Pressley, Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib), and two were Jewish men (Judiciary Committee chair Jerry Nadler and Intelligence Committee chair Adam Schiff). In fact Nadler and Schiff were not doing nothing: they were leading the impeachment inquiry against him.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>9-28-19 +</p>	<p><b>Lock her up! (with the help of State).</b> The Washington Post reported on September 28 that the State Department had resumed its probe of the unsecured emails of former secretary of state, former presidential contender and ongoing Trump whipping-girl Hillary Clinton, having contacted up to 130 department officials in recent weeks to that end.<sup>62</sup> The probe had been closed in 2016, without a finding of culpability. Possible motives appeared now to include tarnishing the careers of diplomats associated with Democratic administrations; revivifying Mr. Trump's anti-Clinton demagoguery in his 2020 re-election campaign; and establishing a "what about them?" defense relative to Mr. Trump's own repeated breaches of confidentiality protocols.</p> <p>On October 2, writing in The New York Times, a former leading diplomat recounted Mr. Trump's many efforts to intimidate, debilitate, demoralize and politicize the State Department: probing Clinton's email communications; firing and then threatening the U.S. ambassador to Ukraine for not facilitating his own corrupt undertakings there (see CSD's September 24 and 25 reports on the impeachment inquiry, below); telling U.S. diplomats at the United Nations that American whistleblowers were traitors (see CSD's September 26 report on the impeachment inquiry); directing his attorney Rudy Giuliani to hijack Ukraine policy from State for Mr. Trump's personal benefit (see our report on the impeachment inquiry generally); trying to slash the department's budget; failing to appoint senior career diplomats to important White House positions; and granting proportionately fewer ambassadorships to career diplomats (as opposed to political friends) than other administrations had done. The diplomat wrote: <i>"The State Department is in crisis. Mr. Trump has done enormous harm to its mission and self-confidence."</i><sup>63</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13</p>

<p>9-28-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On October 7, The Washington Post similarly reported on the demoralization of the department caused by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo's abandonment of American interests in favor of those of Mr. Trump, and by his failure to defend American diplomats against Mr. Trump's corrupt wrath and Giuliani's smear campaigns – particularly in regard to the Ukraine scandal.<sup>64</sup></p> <p>On October 13, Politico reported on the demoralizing effects of Mr. Trump's many politically-appointed ambassadors, who displayed not only an ignorance of diplomacy but an entitled arrogance toward career diplomats.<sup>65</sup></p>	<p>9, 10, 11, 13</p>
<p>9-30-19, 10-4-19</p>	<p><b>An international conspiracy.</b> On September 30, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump, at the suggestion of Attorney General William Barr, had asked Australia's prime minister to investigate his own government's 2016 tip-off to the FBI that Russians were seeking to meddle in the American election, with a view on Barr's part to discovering foul play in the tip-off. The White House had hidden the transcript of that call.<sup>66</sup></p> <p>Similarly, on September 30, The Washington Post reported that Barr had held private meetings overseas with British and Italian intelligence officials, seeking their help in discrediting U.S. intelligence agencies' 2016 investigations of Russian election meddling.<sup>67</sup></p> <p>On October 4, Mr. Trump told reporters outright that the British, Italian and Australian governments may have conspired with U.S. intelligence agencies to foil his election in 2016. In reporting the episode, The Times wrote that Barr had broken all Justice Department protocols by personally traveling abroad in pursuit of the conspiracy, personally leading the investigation, and refusing to inform Congress about any of it.<sup>68</sup></p> <p>The apparent motive for all of the foregoing was Mr. Trump's and Barr's attempt to discredit the Mueller investigation of Russian election meddling in Mr. Trump's favor as having been politically motivated by a "deep state" conspiracy to deny the validity of his election. The narrative typified Mr. Trump's demagoguery: in this case, seeking to overcome charges that he had conspired with a foreign country in the election by accusing his adversaries of having done the very same thing.</p>	<p>4, 9</p>

10-1-19	<p><b>For communism.</b> Notwithstanding his declared war on "radical socialist" (Democratic) politicians in the U.S., Mr. Trump tweeted his congratulations to Chinese dictator Xi Jinping on the 70th anniversary of Communist Party rule in China. His tweet came shortly after Chinese police had shot a democracy protester in Hong Kong, to huge negative international publicity.</p>	12
10-3-19	<p><b>In Florida.</b> Announcing a new executive order on health care at the large (and largely conservative) retirement community The Villages near Orlando, Florida, Mr. Trump gave a campaign-style speech at taxpayer expense. Among other things, he bad-mouthed undocumented immigrants and his electoral opponents Elizabeth Warren and Joe Biden, and he repeatedly branded Democrats as socialists and the "radical left."<sup>69</sup></p>	6, 9
10-3-19, 10-4-19	<p><b>The tax returns.</b> On October 3, Manhattan prosecutors charged that the Justice Department was slowing down New York state court proceedings to get at Mr. Trump's tax returns in connection with their investigation of various criminal allegations against him. They said that the slow-down risked the running of the statute of limitations on the cases.<sup>70</sup> That is, Mr. Trump was not only abusing the court system (as he had long done as a private litigant before becoming president) but also corruptly deploying the full weight of the Justice Department to do so, and on personal matters.</p> <p>Separately on that date, media reported that an IRS whistleblower had privately told Congress in July that senior Trump political appointees at the Treasury Department had improperly interfered with the IRS's audit of Mr. Trump's tax returns.<sup>71</sup></p> <p>On October 4, The Washington Post detailed the many court cases in which the Justice Department was serving the personal interests of Mr. Trump – both as plaintiff and as defendant.<sup>72</sup></p>	9, 11



10-6-19 +	<p><b><u>Throwing the Kurds to Turkey, and Syria to Russia.</u></b> On October 6, following a telephone call with Turkish strongman Recep Erdogan – whose authoritarian practices Mr. Trump had previously condoned – <u>Mr. Trump announced that U.S. forces would pull out from Kurdish (northern) Syria and allow Turkey to swallow that region.</u> The details of the call were not made public. But the announcement raised an uproar among both Republicans and Democrats in Congress, who feared not only that the Turks would massacre the Kurds – America's most loyal allies in the fight against ISIS – but that ISIS would regenerate in Syria. Russia, Iran and Syria's dictator-butcher Bashar al-Assad could also benefit from the U.S. pull-out. <u>Mr. Trump had not consulted with his national security advisors, Congress or U.S. allies; and top American military and diplomatic officials were aghast not only at the potential chaos and slaughter but at the blow to American credibility and strategic planning that Mr. Trump had just landed.</u><sup>73</sup></p> <p>Turkey's enmity toward the Kurds was founded on the latter's alleged support of Kurdish separatists and terrorists within Turkey. Syria's enmity toward the Kurds was founded on the latter's struggle for an autonomous Kurdish territory in Syria, as they had achieved in Iraq during the civil war there. The Kurdish authorities in those areas had long been widely seen as the most democratic and humane in the region. <u>Only a year earlier, Mr. Trump had publicly assured the Kurds of his loyalty.</u><sup>74</sup></p> <p><u>That Mr. Trump had previously boasted of a Trump-branded hotel located in Turkey was not lost on critics.</u><sup>75</sup></p> <p>In fact, within three days, Turkey began an air offensive against the Kurds, followed by a ground assault.<sup>76</sup> On October 10, as they mowed down the Kurds, the Kurds announced the suspension of their operations against ISIS.<sup>77</sup> <u>On October 11, Turkish artillery lobbed shells near U.S. troop positions in Syria, with the apparent goal of intimidating them and even pushing them back; but Mr. Trump didn't publicly object.</u><sup>78</sup> <u>On October 13, Turkish troops cut U.S. supply lines and forced U.S. troops to abandon a base. The Kurds switched their alliance from the U.S. to Russian-backed Syrian forces – sworn enemies of the U.S.</u><sup>79</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15
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<p>10-6-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] As Turkish, Russian and Syrian regular troops as well as Syrian militias moved in, Mr. Trump reacted by confirming his order of a virtually complete withdrawal, ignoring public assurances advanced only a day or so earlier by Secretary of Defense Mark Esper and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo that that wouldn't happen.<sup>80</sup> The U.S. withdrawal was so hasty that, contrary to plan, dozens of high-profile ISIS detainees were left behind. By October 13, over 130,000 civilians in Syria had been displaced, and hundreds of ISIS supporters had escaped detention.<sup>81</sup> On October 15, Russian units were patrolling the region as peacekeepers.</u></p> <p><u>In sum, after years of vast military expenditure and the loss of thousands of lives, America's adversaries in the region – Russia, Syria and Iran – were all strengthened.<sup>82</sup> On October 16, Mr. Trump publicly and casually ceded the terrain to Russian operations and influence, abandoning decades of American policy in the Middle East.<sup>83</sup></u></p> <p>America's allies in the region reacted with shock at Mr. Trump's impulsive betrayal of the Kurds and the pandemonium it had unleashed.<sup>84</sup> Several Green Berets told The Times that they felt ashamed for abandoning the Kurds, with whom they had long fought side by side.<sup>85</sup> <u>Officer after officer told a columnist for The Post that that abandonment was a "dagger to the heart" and a "disgrace" that "would go down in infamy."<sup>86</sup></u></p> <p>On October 16, Mr. Trump said that his abrupt withdrawal of American forces from Syria had been "strategically brilliant," because U.S. troops were out of harm's way (which they weren't yet) and would be returning home (which they wouldn't be at all – they were being re-deployed in the region). He also falsely said that Americans at home were not at risk from ISIS terrorists because the latter were so far away; that the Kurds were now far safer than before; that his former defense secretary James Mattis (who had overseen the final push against ISIS, who had resigned over Mr. Trump's desire to quit Syria after that, and whom Mr. Trump had once lionized) wasn't sufficiently "tough" and was "the world's most overrated general"; and that he personally (not Mattis or anyone actually commanding American troops) had been responsible for the battlefield defeat of ISIS earlier in the year.<sup>87</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>10-6-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On the same day, to display his own would-be toughness, Mr. Trump cited an astonishingly crude, impulsive, threatening and gratuitously insulting letter that he had sent to Erdogan on October 9 with a view to deterring Erdogan from invading Syrian. "<i>Don't be a fool,</i>" the letter read in part. But it did not deter him; and Erdogan's staff claimed that he had thrown it in the trash.<sup>88</sup> Based on historical experience, the public insult of Turkey and Erdogan in fact appeared capable of damaging U.S.- Turkey relations for decades to come.<sup>89</sup></p> <p>On the same day, Mr. Trump casually revealed that the U.S. had deployed 50 nuclear weapons in Turkey, thus violating a long-standing American tradition of not acknowledging where such arms were located.<sup>90</sup></p> <p>Still on October 16, the House voted 354-60 to condemn the withdrawal.<sup>91</sup></p> <p>On October 17, Turkey announced that it would pause its assault on the Kurds for five days to allow them to surrender their heavy weapons and to flee – all pursuant to a vague and hastily arranged agreement with U.S. negotiators (Vice President Mike Pence and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo) to which the Kurds had acquiesced, having had no other option. <u>Mr. Trump thanked and lavishly praised Erdogan, whom he called his "friend" and a "hell of a leader."</u> <u>He said that Turkey needed to have a swath of Syria "cleaned out" in view of Kurdish terrorist threats (aka ethnic cleansing), and that by applying "a little rough love" Turkey had saved "millions and millions of lives" (from an onslaught that Mr. Trump himself had permitted and thus precipitated.)</u> <u>He also said, "We've gotten everything we've ever dreamed of," and that the Kurds are "incredibly happy with the solution."</u> <u>He called it a "great day for the United States. It's a great day for Turkey ... The Kurds were great. Great day for the Kurds. It's really a great day for civilization."</u><sup>92</sup> <u>At a campaign rally in Dallas, Texas that evening, he called Erdogan a "gentleman" and said, "Sometimes you have to let them fight like two kids in a lot, you gotta let them fight, and then you pull them apart."</u><sup>93</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>10-6-19 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] In sum, Mr. Trump made clear that (a) he supported Turkey's assault against and ethnic cleansing of the Kurds (hundreds of thousands had fled) – he hadn't merely acquiesced to it; (b) he did not believe that he had erred in allowing the assault to proceed and in abandoning the Kurds, notwithstanding the bipartisan congressional condemnation and U.S. military objections to the contrary; (c) he approved of Turkey's threat of committing genocide against the Kurds; and (d) he was incapable of telling the truth about the Kurds' own view of their abandonment.</u></p> <p>Not surprisingly, pursuant to the "deal" of which Mr. Trump now boasted, he said that he would not impose on Turkey the economic sanctions that he had threatened (although Congress still appeared to be poised to do so). <u>But observers characterized the "deal" as a near-total win for Erdogan and a complete capitulation on the part of the U.S. – the second one in two weeks. Many said that Erdogan had "rolled" Mr. Trump. The Pentagon, as well as Republicans and Democrats in Congress, remained stunned – by Turkey's effective annexation of northern Syria; the displacement of huge numbers of Kurds; the evisceration of years worth of counterterrorism gains against ISIS; the ceding of U.S. influence (and bases) to Russia, Syria and Iran; and the destruction of America's credibility as an ally.</u><sup>94</sup></p> <p>Incidentally or not, Mr. Trump's "friend" Erdogan also had nuclear weapons ambitions, which he had been pursuing in partnership with Russia.<sup>95</sup></p> <p>On October 21, Mr. Trump abruptly changed course, announcing that, at the request of Israel and Jordan, he would keep 200 American troops in Syria, to protect those countries' interests and to safeguard oil fields from falling under Syrian or ISIS control.<sup>96</sup></p> <p>Also on that day, Kurdish civilians were filmed throwing rocks and rotten vegetables at U.S. troops as they withdrew.<sup>97</sup> CSD struggled to reconcile that scene with Mr. Trump's earlier boasts that he would make and had made America more respected around the world. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>
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<p>10-6-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On October 22, media reported that Syrian militias under Turkish control had committed war crimes (murder and torture) against Kurds, and that Russia and Turkey had agreed to jointly patrol the region and to remove and disarm Kurdish fighters.<sup>98</sup></p> <p>On October 23, Mr. Trump said that achieving the ceasefire between Turks and Kurds – relative to fighting that he himself had precipitated – was a "very special" accomplishment of his.<sup>99</sup> But from what CSD was able to draw from the news reporting, so far the winners and losers of Mr. Trump's withdrawal appeared to be the Assad regime in Syria (whose Kurdish adversaries had now been knee-capped); Turkey (which had gained a safe zone between its border and the Kurds); Russia (which had swiftly taken over the regional power-broker role from the U.S.); Iran (which was allied with Russia and Syria); and possibly ISIS.<sup>100</sup> The losers were the democracies: the Kurds, Israel and the U.S.</p>	<p>7, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15</p>

<p>10-7-19</p>	<p><b><u>Closing the skies over Russia.</u></b> Democrats on the House and Senate foreign relations committees exposed and denounced Mr. Trump's apparent intention to withdraw from a 1992 "Open Skies" treaty with Russia that allowed each nation to deploy surveillance flights over the other's territory. They expressed fear that the withdrawal could aid Russia in its military operations against Ukraine. Mr. Trump had reportedly signed a document the previous week stating his intention to withdraw, without having consulted any military officers, diplomats or members of the intelligence community.<sup>101</sup></p>	<p>12, 13, 14</p>
<p>10-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Minnesota, profanely.</u></b> Opening a campaign rally in Minneapolis, Minnesota – which The Washington Post characterized as "raucous ... interrupted frequently by pro-Trump chants, cheers and boos as protesters were hauled out of the arena" – Mr. Trump's son Eric led a "<i>Lock him up!</i>" cheer directed at presidential contender Joe Biden and his son Hunter. During the main event, Mr. Trump himself said:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Of the impeachment investigation that had recently begun in the House, falsely: "<i>From day one, the wretched Washington swamp has been trying to nullify the results of a truly great and democratic election, the election of 2016. ... They want to erase your vote like it never existed, they want to erase your voice and they want to erase your future. But they will fail because in America the people rule again.</i>" Also: "<i>Democrats are on a crusade to destroy our democracy. That's what's happening. We will never let it happen. We will defeat them.</i>" Of Democrats generally, he alleged their "<b><u>brazen attempt to overthrow our government.</u></b>" (Neither President Nixon nor President Clinton had resorted to such incendiary and demagogic public statements when defending themselves against impeachment.)</li> <li>• Of presidential contender Joe Biden, falsely: "Sleepy Joe Biden" "got rich" and "sold out America" during the last administration. Also: "<i>He was never considered smart. He was only a good vice president because he understood how to kiss Barack Obama's ass.</i>"</li> <li>• Of Biden's son Hunter (whom Mr. Trump and his allies, but no one else, had been falsely accusing of corruption in Ukraine): "<i>[Y]ou're a loser.</i>" [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>10-10-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Of Minnesota Congresswoman Ilhan Omar, in whose district the rally occurred: an "America-hating socialist" and "a disgrace to our country."</li> <li>• Of Somali refugees in Minnesota, such as Omar: <i>"Leaders in Washington brought large numbers of refugees to your state from Somalia [at which point, The Post reported, a sizable portion of the crowd booed] without considering the impact on schools and communities and taxpayers."</i></li> <li>• Of his recent order that states and municipalities may veto refugee resettlement within their borders (thundered while flashing a photo of Omar on a large overhead screen, which drew jeers from the crowd): <i>"You should be able to decide what is best for your cities and for your own neighborhoods, and that's what you have the right to do right now. And believe me, no other president would be doing that."</i></li> <li>• Of the House's impeachment investigation leader: "Crooked Adam Schiff."</li> <li>• Of Minneapolis's Democratic mayor and Trump critic, Jacob Frey: "a bad mayor."</li> <li>• Of the press, for contesting his corruption allegations against the Bidens: <i>"[Y]ou crooked son of a guns."</i></li> <li>• Of political polls (such as the recent Fox poll showing that the majority of Americans wanted him impeached and removed from office): <i>"Polls are no different than crooked writers."</i></li> <li>• Of the country's future: <i><u>"We are in a struggle for the survival of democracy in America."</u></i></li> <li>• <u>Of former FBI agents Lisa Page and Peter Strzok: Mr. Trump simulated their orgasms in coitus.</u><sup>102</sup></li> </ul>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Trump boys on a tear.</u></b> The New York Times reported on the overseas real estate development projects that Mr. Trump's sons Eric and Donald Jr. had been pursuing during Mr. Trump's presidency, for their own benefit and his – in Scotland, India and Indonesia. All of those endeavors involved obtaining foreign government approvals and/or enlisting high-level foreign political connections. The manifest conflicts of interest and abuse of power had appeared – astonishingly – as the boys were joining their father in publicly flogging presidential contender Joe Biden's son Hunter for leveraging his family's name in business dealings in Ukraine and China.<sup>103</sup></p>	<p>15, 17 (15)</p>

<p>10-11-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Fox submits; One America rises.</u></b> On October 11, Shepard Smith, a Fox News anchor who had incurred Mr. Trump's wrath for occasionally criticizing him, announced his resignation from the network. The announcement followed a meeting that Attorney General Barr had had at the home of Fox's owner, Rupert Murdoch.<sup>104</sup></p> <p>On the same day, The Washington Post reported on Mr. Trump's growing fondness for the One America News Network – a competitor of Fox that was even more pro-Trump, and even more embedded in the trafficking of conspiracy theories. Of One America, Mr. Trump had recently tweeted, <i>“Thank you to @OANN One America News for your fair coverage and brilliant reporting. It is appreciated by many people trying so hard to find a new, consistent and powerful VOICE!”</i><sup>105</sup></p> <p>On October 13, The New York Times detailed Mr. Trump's demand for complete loyalty from Fox, notwithstanding their already symbiotic relationship (also detailed by The Times).<sup>106</sup></p>	<p>1, 9</p>
<p>10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>McAleenan out.</u></b> Acting Secretary of Homeland Security Kevin McAleenan resigned, after having served only six months. Observers speculated on the reasons: he had publicly criticized the "tone" of Mr. Trump's immigration policy; he was not liked by hard-line anti-immigration actors; and he was not trusted by Mr. Trump. McAleenan was the fourth person to head the department during the less than three years of the Trump presidency, following John Kelly, Elaine Duke and Kirstjen Nielsen.<sup>107</sup></p>	<p>6, and Chaos</p>
<p>10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Louisiana, profanely.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Lake Charles, Louisiana, Mr. Trump denounced the impeachment inquiry profanely, to the crowd's delight. He called it "a lot of crap" and "bullshit." He condemned the "unholy alliance of corrupt Democrat politicians, deep-state bureaucrats and the fake news media." He attacked the Bidens (still without evidence) for alleged corrupt activities with respect to Ukraine, and he said that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi "hates the United States of America."<sup>108</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 9</p>
<p>10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>An "absolute right" to rule.</u></b> A Washington Post columnist compiled <u>the many times Mr. Trump and his surrogates had claimed that he had the "absolute right" to govern as he wished.</u><sup>109</sup> CSD urges readers to review the episodes.</p>	<p>9</p>



10-11-19	<p><b><u>Here comes the judge.</u></b> Mr. Trump lost five federal court cases in one day: three barring his restrictions on issuing green cards for immigrants who draw public benefits; one rejecting his raiding of military funds to build his border wall; and one allowing Congress to subpoena his business records from his accounting firm.<sup>110</sup></p> <p>As a businessman Mr. Trump had litigated extensively and often abusively; and as president he had extensively and abusively tested the limits of presidential authority in ways that had delivered unprecedented amounts of court losses. Predictably, he planned to appeal all five of this day's rulings.<sup>111</sup></p>	9
10-12-19	<p><b><u>Barr preaches.</u></b> In a speech at Notre Dame Law School, Attorney General William Barr, a practicing Catholic, blamed progressives and secularists for a concerted attack on religion and "traditional moral values," which in turn (he said) had generated violence, mental illness, suicide, drug abuse, broken families, and so forth. Specifically, he said: <i>"This is not decay. It is organized destruction. Secularists, and their allies among the 'progressives,' have marshaled all the force of mass communications, popular culture, the entertainment industry, and academia in an unremitting assault on religion and traditional values."</i> The country's chief law enforcement officer, he said that only the Judeo-Christian tradition can save us – thus cutting out not only Hindus, Buddhists, Muslims and members of other faiths, but the religiously unaffiliated – who had come to comprise a fifth of Americans (the same number as Catholics).<sup>112</sup> He ignored Mr. Trump's simulation of coitus at the October 10 rally in Minnesota.</p>	17 (6, 9)
10-13-19	<p><b><u>The bloody video.</u></b> At a conference for supporters at Mr. Trump's Doral resort in Miami, Florida, right-wing provocateurs showed a fanciful video depicting Mr. Trump shooting and stabbing his media and political adversaries.<sup>113</sup></p>	17 (1, 5)
10-14-19	<p><b><u>Just the facts.</u></b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made 13,435 false or misleading statements during his 1,000 days in office, for an average of 13.5 untruths per day. Some 250 of those claims pertained to the Ukraine scandal (which had begun only weeks previous) and the associated impeachment inquiry.<sup>114</sup></p>	7

<p>10-16-19</p>	<p><b>The meltdown.</b> At a White House news conference with the visiting Italian president haplessly looking on, Mr. Trump reacted to reporters' questions on various topics by attacking: the Kurds (the direct victims of the withdrawal); Senator Lindsey Graham (who had criticized it); James Comey, Andrew McCabe, James Clapper, John Brennan, Lisa Page and Peter Strzok (former Justice Department and national security figures whom he had long accused of corruptly targeting him); President Obama (now accusing his predecessor explicitly of trying to rig the 2016 election); NATO members (for what he considered to be their inadequate military spending); Pelosi and Schiff (who were leading the impeachment investigation in Congress); ABC News; and Google and Amazon (easy scapegoats for any mob). In answering questions about his withdrawal of American troops from Syria, he did not criticize Turkey or Russia.<sup>115</sup></p> <p>Later that day, and for the third time in less than nine months, a meeting between Mr. Trump and Pelosi ended in incivility and with one of them walking out. In this instance, the purpose of the meeting was to seek a solution for the chaos that had erupted in northern Syria after Mr. Trump's troop withdrawal. Pelosi and other Democrats in attendance said that Mr. Trump, under pressure from both the Syria crisis and the impeachment inquiry, had a "meltdown" and resorted to a derogatory rant, aimed mainly at Pelosi, after which Pelosi left the room.</p> <p>True to form, Mr. Trump quickly reacted by accusing his adversary of his own shortcomings. He tweeted: <i>"Nancy Pelosi needs help fast! There is either something wrong with her 'upstairs,' or she just plain doesn't like our great Country. She had a total meltdown in the White House today. It was very sad to watch. Pray for her, she is a very sick person!"</i><sup>116</sup></p> <p>Who in fact had melted down? One of them was not telling the truth.</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>

<p>10-17-19 +</p>	<p><u><b>G-7 to the Doral.</b></u> On October 17, <u>The White House announced that the 2020 G-7 meeting for world leaders would be held at Mr. Trump's Doral resort in Miami, Florida.</u> Mr. Trump had drawn sharp criticism when floating that idea at the last G-7 meeting (see CSD's entry of August 24-26); but now he confirmed the plan. The resort was struggling financially, vacant rooms would now be filled during the slow summer season, and Mr. Trump stood to enjoy not only the revenues from the event but an international advertisement of the property at taxpayer expense.</p> <p><u>Ethics experts found the decision to be Mr. Trump's most obvious violation of the Constitution to date. The Washington Post reported pithily: "That decision is without precedent in modern American history: The president used his public office to direct a massive contract to himself."</u> That is to say, it was a blatant act of self-dealing, a violation of the Constitution's emoluments clause, and a seemingly gratuitous and defiant taunt directed toward his critics – effectively, that he could act as corruptly as he wished with impunity, while branding others (such as the Bidens, President Obama, Hillary Clinton and the previous Justice Department) as corrupt. Indeed, Mr. Trump's acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney righteously said shortly afterwards that the White House would "absolutely not" reveal how the selection of the Doral for the event had occurred.<sup>117</sup> As the news sunk in, observers noted that <u>if any other federal employee had awarded himself such a contract, he likely would have been convicted of a felony and jailed.</u><sup>118</sup></p> <p>Reacting to the fierce outcry that ensued, including criticisms from some of the anticipated foreign attendees, on October 19 Mr. Trump reversed, announcing that the summit would not be held at the Doral. He blamed Democrats and the media; but in fact it was congressional Republicans who had forced him to withdraw his plan.<sup>119</sup> Mulvaney meanwhile said of him, <i>"At the end of the day, he still considers himself to be in the hospitality business"</i><sup>120</sup> – remarkably appearing to characterize that outlook as a benign justification for the attempted self-dealing, rather than as evidence of its colossal wrongheadedness.</p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>15</p>
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<p>10-17-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] All of this fit the pattern (earlier reported in this Addendum on September 2 +) of Mr. Trump promoting his businesses while in office. On October 20, Politico detailed how Mr. Trump had been "constantly" boasting about his hotel and resort properties to foreign and domestic leaders, and how they had routinely flattered him by mentioning and patronizing those properties. <i>"The remarks are permeating every membrane of his presidency so much that they've left aides and allies mastering verbal jiu-jitsu to defend his unprecedented approach to fusing personal business interests with his position in high office,"</i> Politico wrote. <i>"He talks up his properties every chance he gets with anyone — with staff, with members of Congress, with the press, with the public, with foreign leaders, with anyone,"</i> said a former White House official. <i>"That's what he has done. He's been a salesman. He's been a PR person for his properties for the last 50 years, so almost out of force of habit, that's what he does."</i></p> <p>But the problem went beyond mere self-promotion: it had threatened (or conceivably achieved) actual self-enrichment, by way of swapping diplomatic favors for foreign patronage of or assistance to his businesses. As president (Politico continued), by now Mr. Trump had met with leaders of at least 20 countries where he had had or was developing a property, and in three of those cases state-owned companies were involved in the development plans. Officials from up to 57 foreign countries had spent money at Trump properties. One member of Congress posed that Mr. Trump's foreign dealings could expose him to blackmail and to associated intelligence risks. But asked by reporters to explain, Mr. Trump denied any improprieties, instead responding, <i>"I have a lot of hotels all over the place, and people, they use them because they're the best."</i></p> <p>As for Mr. Trump's own use of what was his, at taxpayer expense he had by now visited his properties more than 300 times since his presidency began.</p> <p>The White House had recently defied congressional requests for details on not only the Doral fiasco but Vice President Mike Pence's stay at a Trump resort in Ireland (see CSD's report of September 2 + on the Irish incident).<sup>121</sup></p>	<p>15</p>

<p>10-18-19</p>	<p><b>Down the Hatch.</b> Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, a watchdog organization, reported that Mr. Trump's surrogate Kellyanne Conway had by now violated the Hatch Act more than 50 times in 2019 by campaigning for Mr. Trump through her official Twitter posts alone – and that Mr .Trump had declined to discipline her. When previously confronted by a reporter with the pattern of those Hatch Act offenses, Conway had said, <i>"Blah, blah, blah ... Let me know when the jail sentence starts."</i><sup>122</sup></p>	<p>9, 17 (9)</p>
<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>
<p>10-21-19</p>	<p><b>One fumes; one's Cabinet submits.</b> Mr. Trump conducted a televised Cabinet meeting. As measured by his chaotic, self-serving streaming and the other attendees' silent servility, it appeared to surpass even his June 2017 Cabinet session in which the attendees had serially and fawningly praised him, at his invitation. The Washington Post wrote of the new episode: <i>"Under Trump, Cabinet meetings have become less about the business of his Cabinet than an opportunity for the president to invite in the assembled press to boast of his own accomplishments, lash out at his critics and to hear the praise flow forth from advisers seated around a large oval table."</i> As reported by The Post, highlights of this day's meeting included the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A large cardboard poster titled "CHAMPIONS" appeared behind Mr. Trump's head.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump again boasted of personally being responsible for the capture if ISIS soldiers. <i>"I'm the one who did the capturing,"</i> he said. <i>"I'm the one who knows more about it than you people [the press] or the fake pundits."</i></li> <li>• He advertised his Doral resort in Miami, Florida at length. <i>"I'm very good at real estate,"</i> he said. He denied receiving constitutionally forbidden "emoluments" through his hotel and resort properties, calling either the emoluments clause or the charge against him "phony" (interpretations varied). He said that holding the summit at the Doral "would have been the best G-7 ever" had he not been forced to withdraw the plan. He denied that he would have benefited from the property's promotion had the summit been held there, claiming, <i>"I don't need promotion. I get more promotion than any human that's ever lived."</i> He falsely stated that a benefit of holding the event at the Doral would have been that the Miami airport is the world's largest – when in fact it's not even in the top 20. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>10-21-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He repeated his claim that his presidency was costing him between \$2 billion and \$5 billion – a claim for which there was neither evidence nor reasoned explanation.</li> <li>• For his ability to draw crowds at rallies, he said, <i>"I can set a world record for somebody without a guitar."</i></li> <li>• He implied that House Intelligence Committee chair Adam Schiff had conspired with the Ukraine scandal's whistleblower to unseat him.</li> <li>• He falsely accused President Obama of improperly making book and movie deals while still in office.</li> <li>• He mocked President Obama for not having succeeded in meeting with North Korean dictator Kim Jong Un (even though his own meetings with Kim appeared to have backfired thus far, by his having praised and legitimized the dictator while getting little if anything in return).</li> <li>• He said that "lowlifes" (including leading congressional Republicans?) were trying to keep him from extracting the U.S. from foreign wars, such as in Syria.<sup>123</sup></li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-21-19</p>	<p><b><u>Isolation, capriciously.</u></b> Following reports that in addition to unilaterally withdrawing troops from Syria Mr. Trump had been quietly and unilaterally withdrawing troops from Afghanistan, a New York Times analysis recounted the multiple occasions on which Mr. Trump had undertaken such grave actions: hastily, without the support of his advisors, without winning anything in return from America's adversaries, and without any apparent strategy other than to honor his campaign promise to end America's involvement in foreign wars. The Times wrote:</p> <p><i>"[V]eteran diplomats, foreign policy experts and key lawmakers fear that Mr. Trump is squandering American power and influence in the world with little to show for it. By pulling troops out unilaterally, they argue, Mr. Trump has emboldened America's enemies and distressed its allies.</i></p> <p>... [Continued below.]</p>	<p>10, 12, 13</p>

<p>10-21-19</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] Paraphrasing a former diplomat, The Times continued: "Mr. Trump ... often seems more interested in pleasing autocrats like Kim Jong-un of North Korea and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan of Turkey than in organizing any kind of coherent policymaking process to consider the pros and cons. 'When he canceled the South Korea military exercises, the only person he consulted was Kim Jong-un,' [the ex-diplomat] said. 'The decision to abandon the Kurds [in Syria] came after a brief phone call with Erdogan. So they weren't taken because he had personally reflected on the strategic disposition of American forces around the world. They were taken after he took the counsel of strongmen over that of his own advisers.'</i></p> <p>The Times then noted Mr. Trump's response to those charges, as expressed in his October 21 Cabinet meeting: <i>"You know what we're getting out of it? We're bringing our soldiers back home. That's a big thing. And it's going to probably work. But if it doesn't work, you're going to have people fighting like they've been fighting for 300 years. It's very simple. It's really very simple."</i><sup>124</sup> That is, in CSD's view, he ignored the benefits to American citizens of keeping foreign terrorism, nuclear adventurism and violent instability in check – all of which were indeed complicated.</p>	<p>10, 12, 13</p>
<p>10-22-19</p>	<p><b><u>The news: canceled.</u></b> The White House announced that it had canceled its subscriptions to The New York Times and The Washington Post.<sup>125</sup> Presumably if White House staffers were now to access those leading repositories of objective truth they would have to do so on their own.</p>	<p>1</p>
<p>10-22-19</p>	<p><b><u>The business of science.</u></b> After two years of latency, Mr. Trump revived the President's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology by appointing one member from academia and six from industry. Most recent presidents had placed academics in the majority.<sup>126</sup></p>	<p>8</p>

<p>10-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>Provoking in Pittsburgh.</u></b> Speaking at an energy industry event in Pittsburgh and backed on the podium by a phalanx of burly men wearing hardhats, Mr. Trump pointedly insinuated that a group of protesters at the event should be assaulted. The group was objecting to what it saw as Mr. Trump's racism and xenophobia having incited the massacre at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh a year previous. Mr. Trump said, with an exaggerated wink, and to laughter and applause from the crowd, <i>“Yeah, don’t hurt him. Don’t hurt him, please. They don’t know they’re dealing with very tough people in this room. Oh, they don’t know who they’re dealing with. They don’t know who they’re dealing with. They just don’t understand. All right. Go home to mom. Explain to mom that you tried to take on very powerful people, and many of them physically as well as mentally. That’s not a good thing to do — not in this room. Be careful. Make sure you don’t hurt them, please. Thank you.”</i><sup>127</sup></p>	<p>3, 5</p>
<p>10-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>A friend in Hungary.</u></b> The New York Times exposed David Cornstein, Mr. Trump's ambassador to Hungary, as a slavish enabler of Victor Orban, that country's authoritarian, xenophobic and anti-Semitic strongman. Like U.S. Ambassador Gordon Sondland in the EU (as described below relative to the impeachment inquiry), Cornstein was a wealthy businessman with no diplomatic experience who appeared, at Mr. Trump's instruction; to have hijacked the State Department's agenda in-country; to have kept State's regular officials in the dark about his activities; to have foregone briefings; to have spent government funds lavishly in the performance of his mission; and to have indulged in-country corruption. Cornstein's qualification for the position? – his decades-long friendship with Mr. Trump.<sup>128</sup></p>	<p>17 (12, 13)</p>
<p>10-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>Another judge "not qualified."</u></b> For the fifth time, at Mr. Trump's behest, the Republican-majority Senate approved his nomination, for a lifetime position, of a judge rated "not qualified" by the non-partisan American Bar Association. The latest appointee had never participated in a court-room trial but was a conservative ideologue.<sup>129</sup> Although all recent presidents had nominated at least some judges based at least in part on their ideologies, Mr. Trump had consistently done so, and sometimes, as now, without regard to their technical abilities – a purely political abuse of the judiciary. Many of Mr. Trump's record-breaking number of appointees were in their 30s and 40s, such that they could be expected to serve – with or without qualification – for up to 50 years.</p>	<p>2</p>



<p>10-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>Investigating the investigators – criminally.</u></b> The New York Times reported that <u>Attorney General William Barr's Justice Department had newly launched a criminal investigation into the origins of DOJ's earlier investigation of Mr. Trump's campaign, relative to the campaign's involvement with Russia's election tampering in the 2016 election.</u> Mr. Trump had long sought to prove an anti-Trump conspiracy within the DOJ in that regard – and that but for the conspiracy the large-scale Mueller investigation would never have arisen. Barr too had been keenly pursuing the theory; and now he apparently sought to put DOJ officials in jail for having properly done their jobs in investigating Russia's interference.<sup>130</sup></p> <p><u>Implications of the investigation included criminalizing federal law enforcement efforts for political purposes, and thus chilling the willingness of investigators and prosecutors to probe the activities of the current president, any president, any other politician, or any other individual whom the then current presidential administration might want to protect or seek vengeance for.</u></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>10-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>Lining one's pockets.</u></b> Open Secrets, a campaign finance watchdog organization, reported that Mr. Trump's properties had grossed approximately \$20 million from campaign fundraising events since the start of the 2016 election cycle. Most of those receipts – \$16.8 million – had come from Mr. Trump's own campaigns; that is, at Trump events, he had brought in not only donations but commercial revenues. Other receipts had come from the campaigns of some of Mr. Trump's congressional supporters.<sup>131</sup> (As to the latter phenomenon, see CSD's entry of September 2 + above, in which an observer had characterized such payments as mafia-style "tribute.")</p>	<p>15</p>
<p>10-25-19</p>	<p><b><u>No cloud for Amazon.</u></b> The Defense Department awarded a \$10 billion cloud computing contract to Microsoft rather than to industry leader and front-running bidder Amazon. As CSD had reported on August 1, Mr. Trump had personally intervened in the bidding with a suspected view to foiling Amazon's founder and leader Jeff Bezos, whom Mr. Trump detested. (Bezos also owned Mr. Trump's antagonist, The Washington Post, and he was wealthier than Mr. Trump.) Amazon was expected to contest the contract award as biased.<sup>132</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>10-27-19</p>	<p><b><u>Baghdadi "died like a dog."</u></b> In announcing the killing of ISIS leader Abu Bakr Al-Baghdadi by American troops in northwestern Syria – a significant military achievement – Mr. Trump risked ruining his moment by telling reporters that <u>Baghdadi "died like a dog. He died like a coward. He was whimpering, screaming and crying. ... He was a gutless animal."</u><sup>133</sup></p> <p>CSD and some other observers were alarmed at that language. First, it did not appear to be true: its accuracy was suspect from the beginning, and even days later journalists were not able to corroborate with any other officials Baghdadi's end-of-life behavior.<sup>134</sup> Second, Mr. Trump himself was not known to have ever shown physical valor; like many of his insults and boasts, his rant facially suggested that he would have been braver than Baghdadi, but actually suggested that he might be projecting onto Baghdadi a cowardice that was closer to home. Third, no other modern American president would have made such a vicious and inflammatory public statement when seeking to promote America's image as one of tolerance and reason, a national profile to be emulated. We doubt that the leaders of Europe, Russia or China would make such a boast in like circumstances. Rather, it was a statement such as might be uttered by a terrorist, a small-time dictator or a professional wrestler (the last of these roles being one that Mr. Trump had parodically aped on occasion); and Mr. Trump had now brought America down to those rhetorical levels.</p> <p>But most importantly, <u>the statement was almost certainly counterproductive, relative to winning hearts and minds in the military and diplomatic theater. The politics of insult and resentment, on which Mr. Trump had long played in the U.S. domestically, knows no bounds in securing ethnic and religious animosities for generations. We feared that his words could be remembered by many Muslims, worldwide, forever.</u><sup>135</sup></p> <p>Other significant features of Mr. Trump's remarks on the occasion of announcing Al-Baghdadi's death:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He described the death in gruesome detail, as no other world leader likely would have done. [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>10, 11</p>

<p>10-27-19</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He described the operation extensively and theatrically, as President Obama had not done when announcing the elimination of Osama bin Laden. For example, true to his history as a television showman, he said that watching the operation unfold in real-time video from the White House's Situation Room had been "like you were watching a movie" – and he recited the dramatic elements. The New York Times wrote, <i>"All presidents make military victories their own, but for Mr. Trump, that movie was a lot about him."</i></li> <li>• He said, with incoherent reasoning, that the outcome was more important than the elimination of Osama bin Laden.</li> <li>• He revealed what would ordinarily have been treated as classified information – such as the number of U.S. helicopters deployed in the raid and the method of breaching Al-Baghdadi's compound – drawing instant criticism from national security professionals.</li> <li>• He repeated his oft-told and highly exaggerated tale that in one of his books he had predicted Bin Laden's September 11, 2001 attacks on the U.S. He added, <i>"I wrote 12 books, all did very well."</i></li> <li>• He lavished praise on Russia for its cooperation in the action. But he criticized Europe for not taking back captive ISIS terrorists of European origin. And he gave only a nod to the Kurds (who reportedly had provided the most useful intelligence), pointedly downplaying their role.</li> <li>• He had advised Russia in advance of the operation, as well as some Republican congressional leaders, but no Democratic leaders, for fear that they (but not Russia) would leak the news.</li> <li>• He repeated his frequent and highly inflammatory call for the U.S. to (illegally) seize and exploit for itself the oil fields in Syria as earned spoils of war.</li> <li>• Of ISIS leaders, he said, <i>"They use the Internet better than almost anybody in the world, perhaps other than Donald Trump."</i><sup>136</sup> [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>10, 11</p>
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<p>10-27-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In his comments Mr. Trump did not undertake to square the important and successful military operation with his precipitous withdrawal of troops from the theater only weeks previous.<sup>137</sup> In fact The New York Times reported that the withdrawal had complicated the operation and had made it more risky; even that <i>"Mr. al-Baghdadi's death in the raid ... occurred largely in spite of, and not because of, Mr. Trump's actions."</i><sup>138</sup> The Times further wrote about Mr. Trump's strategic incoherence:</p> <p><i>"The death of the Islamic State's leader in a daring nighttime raid vindicated the value of three traditional American strengths: robust alliances, faith in intelligence agencies and the projection of military power around the world. But President Trump has regularly derided the first two. And even as he claimed a significant national security victory on Sunday, the outcome of the raid did little to quell doubts about the wisdom of his push to reduce the United States military presence in Syria at a time when terrorist threats continue to develop in the region."</i><sup>139</sup></p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>10-31-19</p>	<p><b><u>Jimmying the UK election.</u></b> Calling in to a U.K. radio show hosted by far-right politician Nigel Farage, Mr. Trump praised one candidate for prime minister (Conservative Boris Johnson) while disparaging another (Labour's Jeremy Corbyn). Many Britons were outraged by what they saw as foreign interference in their national election. Indeed, because Mr. Trump was widely reviled in the U.K., his disparagement of Corbyn was seen as a possible boost to Corbyn's campaign.<sup>140</sup></p>	<p>10</p>
<p>11-1-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Mississippi.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Tupelo, Mississippi, Mr. Trump told attendees that the House's recent vote to advance its impeachment inquiry against him was a "witch hunt" and an "attack on Democracy itself." He said that the charge that he had pressured Ukraine's president by phone to investigate presidential contender Joe Biden were preposterous. <i>"Now I'm an honest person anyway,"</i> he said, <i>"but do you think when I'm making a call to a newly elected president of a country that I would say something improper when I know so many people are listening on the line?"</i> He also said, <i>"The Democrats voted to potentially nullify the votes of 63 million Americans, disgracing themselves and bringing shame upon the House of Representatives. Make no mistake they are coming after the Republican Party and me because I'm fighting for you."</i> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>

11-1-19	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump also repeated without evidence that ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi had died cowering in fear; and he claimed that the press didn't sufficiently cover al-Baghdadi's elimination because a Republican administration had done it.</p> <p>As for his reelection campaign, Mr. Trump said that presidential contender Beto O'Rourke, "that poor bastard – poor, pathetic guy" who had just ended his candidacy, had "quit like a dog"; that contender Joe Biden was mentally deficient; and as for the Democrats generally, that "we're kicking their ass."<sup>141</sup></p>	1, 7, 9, 11
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**The Impeachment Inquiry**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 26)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 17 as defined in CSD's Statement of Principles.**

9-5-19	<p><b><u>A scheme is suspected.</u></b> The Washington Post's editorial board opined with conviction that Mr. Trump's continuing refusal to release \$250 million in congressionally appropriated military aid to Ukraine's new, reformist government was driven by two motives: Mr. Trump's well-known affection for and palliation of Ukraine's nemesis, Russian President Vladimir Putin; and his attempt to extort from Ukraine evidence of corruption on the part of Mr. Trump's presidential rival, Joe Biden, and Biden's son Hunter.<sup>142</sup> That is, <u>as in his prior encouragement of Russian election meddling, Mr. Trump was now seen as seeking a foreign government's help in skewing an American election, and as compromising America's national security to advance his personal interests.</u> (News media and CSD had originally reported on the withholding of the \$250 million in military aid on August 8 and 9. The actual figure would subsequently be reported to be \$391 million.)</p> <p>The corruption allegation had turned on Hunter having served for pay on the board of a Ukrainian gas company by having traded on his father's name to secure the position; and then on Joe (together with many other anti-corruption voices in the U.S. and Europe) having pressed Ukraine to remove a corrupt prosecutor who had been investigating that company. There had been no evidence that either Biden had acted corruptly. In fact for years Joe Biden had strenuously attempted to cleanse Ukraine of corruption.<sup>143</sup></p>
9-9-19	<p><b><u>An investigation begins.</u></b> Three House committees opened an investigation of the withholding of aid, and a Politico analysis advanced like suspicions.<sup>144</sup></p>
9-12-19	<p><b><u>Military aid funds are released.</u></b> Reacting to the uproar, the White House released the funds to Ukraine.<sup>145</sup></p>
9-13-19	<p><b><u>A whistleblower's complaint.</u></b> The House Intelligence Committee issued a subpoena to Joseph Maguire, the acting Director of National Intelligence, to produce to Congress <u>an unidentified whistleblower's complaint which the intelligence community's inspector general, Michael Atkinson, had received and had characterized as credible and of "urgent concern."</u> By law <u>the intelligence agencies are obligated to inform Congress of such complaints immediately, but Maguire had declined to do so;</u> instead he had improperly sought disclosure advice from Mr. Trump's highly partisan Justice Department; and so Atkinson had alerted the committee of the matter on his own.<sup>146</sup></p>

9-17-19	<b><u>A secret promise.</u></b> On September 17, media reported that the affair involved a leak and an inappropriate promise that Mr. Trump had recently made to a foreign leader. <sup>147</sup>
9-19-19	<b><u>The whistleblower is blocked.</u></b> CNN reported that both the White House and the Justice Department were blocking the delivery of the whistleblower's claim to Congress; also that the inspector general Atkinson and the whistleblower stood to be punished because of the Justice Department's willingness to second-guess the inspector general. <sup>148</sup>
9-19-19	<b><u>It's Ukraine.</u></b> The Washington Post and The New York Times reported that the episode involved Ukraine. <sup>149</sup>
9-19-19	<b><u>Giuliani admits.</u></b> Mr. Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani admitted on CNN television that he had asked the Ukrainian government to investigate presidential contender Joe Biden. <sup>150</sup> (News media and CSD had originally reported the same on May 9, above.)
9-20-19	<b><u>Pointing the finger.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted of the affair, " <i>The Radical Left Democrats and their Fake News Media partners, headed up again by Little Adam Schiff [the Intelligence Committee chair], and batting Zero for 21 against me, are at it again!</i> " But he then declined to deny to reporters that he had discussed Biden with a foreign leader, instead claiming that he could discuss anything he wanted. <sup>151</sup> He also alleged that the whistleblower was "partisan" (without knowing that person's identity), and that the charges were laughable. <sup>152</sup>
9-20-19	<b><u>The ask.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that <u>Mr. Trump had asked Ukraine's president, Volodymyr Zelensky, eight times to investigate Biden and his son.</u> The Washington Post reported similarly, specifically noting a July 25 conversation between Mr. Trump and Zelensky. <sup>153</sup>
9-20-19	<b><u>A quid pro quo?</u></b> The Washington Post <u>connected the dots among Giuliani's pressure on Ukraine, Mr. Trump's pressure on Ukraine, the withholding of the legislated military assistance, and an appearance of extortion for Mr. Trump's personal political gain; that is, that Mr. Trump had withheld the military assistance as a cudgel to force Ukraine to smear Biden, and had promised to deliver the aid only in exchange for the smear (soon to be widely referred to as a "quid pro quo.")</u> <sup>154</sup> The New York Times reported similarly. <sup>155</sup> The Post also detailed the likelihood that Mr. Trump's ridicule and intimidation of the whistleblower out of a political animus could chill future federal whistleblowing. <sup>156</sup>

9-20-19	<b><u>Blaming the press.</u></b> Mr. Trump blamed the news media for the Ukrainian affair. <sup>157</sup>
9-21-19	<p><b><u>Energized by the Mueller result.</u></b> The Post noted that the call with Zelensky had occurred only a day after special prosecutor Robert Mueller's congressional testimony, when the Republican congressional reaction to that testimony had demonstrated that Mr. Trump could act illegally and corruptly with impunity – a conclusion that The Post felt he appeared to be eager to take advantage of by promptly pressuring his Ukrainian counterpart to smear Biden. The Post reported:</p> <p><i>"Trump's sense of himself as above the law has been reinforced throughout his time in office. As detailed in the Mueller report, he received help from a foreign adversary in 2016 without legal consequence. He sought to thwart the Russia investigation and possibly obstruct justice without consequence. Through the government, he has earned profits for his businesses without consequence. He has blocked Congress's ability to conduct oversight without consequence. Now he is alleged to have leveraged taxpayer dollars and U.S. military might to extort a foreign government for opposition research on a political opponent, and it is unclear what consequences, if any, he may face. Legal experts said it is extraordinary that Trump allegedly sought political assistance from a foreign government after a tortured, nearly three-year national conversation about the illegality of doing so. Asked what the president had learned from the Mueller investigation, former Watergate prosecutor Nick Akerman said, 'Nothing. Zero.'"<sup>158</sup></i></p>
9-22-19	<b><u>Himself admits; and doesn't.</u></b> On September 22, Mr. Trump acknowledged that he had raised corruption accusations against Biden during his July 25 call with Zelensky. But he maintained that that had been appropriate, and that he had not demanded anything in return. <sup>159</sup>
9-23-19	<b><u>Closer to quid pro quo.</u></b> On September 23, The Post reported that Mr. Trump, without consulting pertinent senior advisors and agencies, had frozen \$391 million in military aid to Ukraine only days before his call with Zelensky. <sup>160</sup> Mr. Trump then confirmed that. <sup>161</sup>
9-24-19	<b><u>Attacking Biden at the U.N.</u></b> On September 24, The Post reported that Mr. Trump had made attacking Biden's alleged corruption (for which he had no evidence) his theme with reporters and foreign diplomats at the annual meeting of the United Nations General Assembly that was occurring at that time in New York. <sup>162</sup> (What he expected to gain by crusading on a domestic political matter with foreign leaders was unclear.)



<p>9-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Yovanovitch ouster (1).</u></b> <u>The Post reported that some months previous Giuliani had orchestrated the ouster of Marie Yovanovitch – the corruption-fighting U.S. ambassador to Ukraine, who apparently had balked at Giuliani's efforts to smear Biden. With Yovanovitch gone, and in pursuit of those goals, Giuliani seized for himself the management of the U.S.-Ukraine relationship, without any diplomatic qualification or official portfolio, and for Mr. Trump's personal benefit.</u><sup>163</sup></p>
<p>9-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>The impeachment inquiry begins.</u></b> <u>In a stunning move, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi announced that the House would begin an impeachment inquiry over the Ukraine matter.</u><sup>164</sup> <u>Mr. Trump decried the new "Witch Hunt."</u><sup>165</sup></p>
<p>9-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>The larger peril (1).</u></b> <u>A Post columnist pointed out the peril created by the vocal defense by Mr. Trump, Giuliani and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo of Mr. Trump's having asked Ukraine to investigate Biden. If left to stand, that behavior would create a precedent for future administrations to enlist the intelligence machinery of all manner of governments to spy on and denounce all manner of American citizens. It could even encourage those governments to initiate such spying, in the hopes of selling (for cash or otherwise) their findings to the then U.S. administration. The columnist asked rhetorically whether Pompeo would trust his own fate to a Ukrainian investigation.</u><sup>166</sup></p>
<p>9-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>The larger peril (2).</u></b> <u>Still on September 24, another Post columnist pointed out that to deprive a foreign soldier of congressionally authorized military assistance on the political whim of an American president could decimate any trust that that soldier's government (or any government) would ever again have for an American strategic promise.</u><sup>167</sup></p>
<p>9-25-19</p>	<p><b><u>The July 25 transcript; DOJ's blessing.</u></b> <u>The White House released a summary of the transcript of Mr. Trump's July 25 call with Zelensky. In it, Mr. Trump had persistently urged Zelensky to investigate Biden and to speak with Giuliani and Attorney General William Barr on that subject. Mr. Trump had also asked Zelensky to investigate and prove – baselessly<sup>168</sup> – that Ukrainians, not Russians, had hacked the Democratic National Committee's servers during his 2016 election campaign. In addition, Mr. Trump implied to Zelensky that he would further punish Yovanovitch – whom he considered to be an enemy but who still worked for the State Department – a new revelation that appalled and terrified American diplomats.<sup>169</sup> The summary also revealed Zelensky repeatedly flattering Mr. Trump and observing that he had stayed at the Trump Tower in New York.</u><sup>170</sup></p> <p><u>After the release, Mr. Trump's Justice Department acknowledged that it had previously found the conversation not to have violated any law. The DOJ also, without authority, contradicted the findings of Atkinson (the inspector general) that the whistleblower's report was "urgent."</u><sup>171</sup></p>

9-25-19	<p><b><u>An antecedent in April.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had called Zelensky in April within hours of Zelensky's election, urging him to speak with Giuliani about "corruption."</p>
9-26-19	<p><b><u>The whistleblower's complaint: out.</u></b> <u>The whistleblower's complaint, dated August 12, was released to the public. It had been sitting with Maguire (Mr. Trump's Director of National Intelligence) for over six weeks, notwithstanding Maguire's obligation under the law to send it to Congress within seven days. Congress had only learned of it and demanded to see it after Atkinson had told Intelligence Committee chair Adam Schiff of its existence in September.</u></p> <p><u>The complaint reported that (unnamed) White House officials had alerted the (still also unnamed) whistleblower to Mr. Trump's July 25 call with Zelensky and were "deeply disturbed" by it – that is, by Mr. Trump's apparent abuse of presidential power for personal gain. Those or other White House officials, however, then engaged in a concerted cover-up, as at least some of them had done before, according to the whistleblower. The complaint said that Mr. Trump “is using the power of his office to solicit interference from a foreign country in the 2020 U.S. election. This interference includes, among other things, pressuring a foreign country to investigate one of the President’s main domestic political rivals. The President’s personal lawyer, Mr. Rudolph W. Giuliani, is a central figure in this effort. Attorney General (William P.) Barr appears to be involved as well.”<sup>172</sup></u></p> <p><u>The complaint also reported that the telephone transcript was being stored in a stand-alone, code-protected computer system together with other politically-sensitive transcripts, and that many named White House officials knew about and participated in that secret storage.<sup>173</sup></u></p>
9-26-19	<p><b><u>Maguire testifies.</u></b> Maguire – a Trump appointee – testified before the House Intelligence Committee. Although he dodged questions about why he had withheld the whistleblower's complaint from Congress, he praised the whistleblower himself.<sup>174</sup></p>
9-26-19	<p><b><u>Intimidation.</u></b> <u>In a speech to US diplomats at the United Nations in New York, Mr. Trump shocked his audience by denouncing Biden, demanding to learn the whistleblower's identity, and accusing the whistleblower and/or his/her sources within the White House of treason, a capital offense – that is, in the Words of The Post, "alluding to violence and possible death." Mr. Trump thus not only turned the whistleblower's genuine patriotism on its head and demoralized diplomatic staff, but continued his pattern of attempting to intimidate witnesses and obstruct justice.<sup>175</sup> In a separate article, The Post reported that Mr. Trump and his allies had begun a "scorched-earth policy" "to attack the anonymous whistleblower, discredit the explosive accounts in their complaint, or malign the media for covering it."<sup>176</sup></u></p>

9-26-19	<b><u>A timeline.</u></b> The Post published a chronology of the Ukraine affair that it had assembled, demonstrating an alarming, months-long effort by Mr. Trump and Giuliani to pressure Zelensky into investigating Biden and into pinning the 2016 election interference on Ukraine rather than Russia. <sup>177</sup>
9-27-19	<b><u>A pass for Russian meddling.</u></b> The Post reported that, at a 2017 White House meeting, Mr. Trump had told two senior Russian officials that he would not <u>object to Russia's meddling in American elections, because the U.S. did the same in other countries' elections.</u> Aware of the seriousness of the episode, White House officials had hidden it from others, much as they more recently had hidden the Ukrainian transcript from others. <sup>178</sup>
9-27-19	<b><u>Volker resigns.</u></b> Kurt Volker, the State Department's Special Representative for Ukraine Negotiations, having been implicated in the scandal, resigned. <sup>179</sup>
9-28-19	<b><u>Other secrets.</u></b> CNN reported that the White House had also kept secret, to an extraordinary extent, the substance of phone calls between Mr. Trump and, respectively, Russian President Vladimir Putin and Saudi royalty. <sup>180</sup>
9-28-19	<b><u>Rage.</u></b> In a chilling news analysis, The Post wrote that Mr. Trump's rhetoric of victimization – how Democrats and the press had been relentlessly persecuting him – had grown inflamed in the course of the new Ukrainian scandal. For example, shortly after Pelosi announced the formalization of the impeachment inquiry, he had tweeted, <i>"There has been no President in the history of our Country who has been treated so badly as I have."</i> That type of rhetoric had served, and now continued to serve, as a major electoral theme that connected him to, and stoked the rage of, credulous voters who themselves felt persecuted by allegedly corrupt and conspiratorial government bureaucracies and by so-called cultural elites who allegedly looked down on them (regardless of whether his policies were actually helping them in any way). <sup>181</sup> Indeed, Mr. Trump's rage-based fundraising success was now reportedly turbo-charged. <sup>182</sup>
9-29-19	<b><u>Traitors.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted again that the whistleblower and/or his/her sources were "spies," now adding that Schiff should be "arrested for treason." Neither President Nixon nor President Clinton had resorted publicly to such demagogic and inflammatory allegations when defending themselves against impeachment.
9-29-19	<b><u>Civil war.</u></b> Mr. Trump re-tweeted this post by the fiery evangelical pastor and religious bigot Robert Jeffress: <i>"If the Democrats are successful in removing the President from office (which they will never be), it will cause a Civil War like fracture in this Nation from which our Country will never heal."</i> The tweet played to long-held right-wing conspiracy theories of an impending civil war initiated by the left. [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]

<p>9-29-19</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] A Times columnist wrote of that: "[T]he Trump-media conspiracy flow chart is circular. Outlandish theories burble up from the depths and are laundered up through increasingly mainstream channels until they reach the president. Once amplified by Mr. Trump, the idea is lent more credence and is cited more frequently in right-wing media, which ultimately leads Mr. Trump to amplify it more aggressively. We're no closer to a (frankly ridiculous) civil war than we were two days or two weeks or two years ago. But it feels to some like we could be, and that matters."<sup>183</sup></i>          Nevertheless: for its own part, CSD found it well within the realm of possibility that <u>Mr. Trump could call for or exploit civil violence as a means of remaining in office if he were to be removed, or even if he were to lose reelection in 2020.</u></p>
<p>9-30-19</p>	<p><b><u>A coup, and a bounty.</u></b> MSNBC television reported that Mr. Trump had attacked the whistleblower's report and the impeachment inquiry more than 75 times on Twitter within the past three days.<sup>184</sup> Media also reported that <u>Mr. Trump's campaign organization and several of his prominent supporters had come to publicly characterize the inquiry as a "coup d'état by elitist bureaucrats and Democrats" and an attempt to "steal" the 2020 presidential election.</u><sup>185</sup> Other Trump supporters were sleuthing the Internet with a view to <u>unmasking the whistleblower, and some were offering a reward for his or her identification. The whistleblower's lawyer said that his client's life was imperiled.</u><sup>186</sup></p>
<p>9-30-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo's fib.</u></b> The Wall Street Journal reported that Pompeo had himself participated in Mr. Trump's July 25 call with Zelensky, even though Pompeo had subsequently and publicly denied knowledge of the affair and had challenged the whistleblower's information as being second-hand.<sup>187</sup></p>
<p>10-1-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo's lock-down (1).</u></b> Pompeo ripped a September 27 House Foreign Affairs Committee subpoena that was directed to himself and five other State Department officials who appeared likely to have knowledge of the Ukraine scandal. Pompeo claimed that the subpoena was an attempt to intimidate them, and he barred the subpoena targets from complying. The committee responded that that defiance was illegal, would amount to obstruction of justice, and was an obvious attempt to cover up some manner of wrongdoing.<sup>188</sup> <u>Thus Pompeo, like Barr and Giuliani, appeared to be part of both the misdeeds and their cover-up. And thus, whether through servility or appetite, two top cabinet officials appeared to be directing their respective departments – State and Justice – in conducting high level undertakings for the personal benefit of Mr. Trump. For his part, Mr. Trump appeared to see those departments as his personal fiefdoms, comparable to the Trump Organization.</u></p>

<p>10-1-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>A coup and treason, again.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that the Democrats were attempting a "coup" against him. And for the third day in a row, he publicly demanded to learn the whistleblower's identity – contrary to the federal statute that expressly protects whistleblowers from being exposed and punished.<sup>189</sup> On October 2 he repeated that demand, and he again accused Schiff of "treason." As noted above, neither President Nixon nor President Clinton had resorted to such inflammatory and demagogic statements when defending themselves against impeachment.<sup>190</sup></p>
<p>10-2-19</p>	<p><b><u>Giuliani's dossier.</u></b> Giuliani delivered to the State Department's inspector general, Steve Linick, a package of documents advancing false conspiracy theories that attacked Biden and Yovanovitch. Linick then delivered them to Congress for its urgent attention – further demonstrating that Giuliani – presumably with Pompeo's consent – had commandeered the machinery of State to tarnish Mr. Trump's enemies and to advance his re-election campaign.<sup>191</sup></p>
<p>10-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>Enlisting China.</u></b> Doubling down despite the raging scandal, Mr. Trump publicly called for not only the Ukrainian government but also the Chinese government to investigate Biden – that is, for the ruthless Chinese dictatorship to influence a democratic American election.<sup>192</sup> Media then reported that Mr. Trump had raised the topic of Biden's candidacy directly with Chinese dictator Xi Jinping previously – by telephone, on June 18 – and had stored the record of that call in the same highly secured electronic system in which the record of the July 25 call with Zelensky would be stored.<sup>193</sup></p>
<p>10-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pharma at fault.</u></b> Without evidence, Mr. Trump accused the (unpopular) pharmaceutical industry of funding the Democrats' impeachment drive.<sup>194</sup></p>
<p>10-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>Ads against Biden (1).</u></b> CNN announced that it had refused to run Trump re-election campaign ads that falsely smeared Biden and CNN itself.<sup>195</sup></p>
<p>10-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>The texts; Sondland.</u></b> Three Democratic House committee chairs released texts by senior government officials from July and September making clear that Mr. Trump had planned to withhold from Zelensky both military assistance and an invitation to the White House unless he agreed to investigate Biden.<sup>196</sup> The main actor pressing Ukraine appeared to be Gordon Sondland, the U.S. ambassador to the European Union, who had had no previous diplomatic experience but whom Mr. Trump had appointed after he had given \$1,000,000 to Mr. Trump's inauguration fund. The conspirators had communicated secretly by WhatsApp rather than through official State Department email.<sup>197</sup></p>

<p>10-3-19</p>	<p><b>The Yovanovitch ouster (2).</b> The Wall Street Journal confirmed that Mr. Trump had removed Yovanovitch from her ambassadorship because she had resisted pressing Ukraine to investigate Biden.<sup>198</sup></p>
<p>10-4-19</p>	<p><b>Dangerous calls.</b> The Post reported that interviews with a dozen top administration aides had revealed that they had long dreaded Mr. Trump's calls with foreign leaders such as the now notorious July 25 call with Zelensky. They had worried that Mr. Trump would <i>"make promises he shouldn't keep, endorse policies the United States long opposed, commit a diplomatic blunder that jeopardized a critical alliance, or simply pressure a counterpart for a personal favor. There was a constant undercurrent ... [within senior staff] who were genuinely horrified by the things they saw that were happening on these calls," said one former White House official .... 'Phone calls that were embarrassing, huge mistakes he made, months and months of work that were upended by one impulsive tweet.'"</i> Mr. Trump would enter the phone calls without preparation, veer wildly from prepared talking points, and unnecessarily cozy up to foreign dictators. Gory details appear in The Post's report. For example, at one point in 2018 he had harangued then British Prime Minister Theresa May at length, insisting – contrary to overwhelming evidence – that the Russians had not poisoned a former Russian spy, Sergei Skripal, on British soil.<sup>199</sup></p>
<p>Various</p>	<p><b>Excuses and attacks.</b> As the days passed, Mr. Trump – seemingly unable to defend the July 25 call on substance – instead resorted to a series of rhetorical defenses and excuses: that his conduct on the telephone call had been "perfect"; that the whistleblower's report was fallacious; that a more complete transcript existed (but that he did not produce); that even if he had pressured Zelensky, protecting America from corruption was the right thing to do; that if he himself was at fault, so was Pence; that Energy Secretary Rick Perry had been the one to press for the phone call; that bureaucrats and Democrats were gunning for him. He soon began charging his adversaries with his own misdeeds, displaying characteristic deception and cruelty – once again, something that neither Presidents Nixon nor Clinton had done when defending themselves against impeachment. For example: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

<p>Various</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On October 5, responding to Senator Mitt Romney's criticism of the July 25 call and the invitation to China to investigate Biden, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>Somebody please wake up Mitt Romney and tell him that my conversation with the Ukrainian President was a congenial and very appropriate one, and my statement on China pertained to corruption, not politics. If Mitt worked this hard on Obama, he could have won. Sadly, he choked! ... Mitt Romney never knew how to win. He is a pompous 'ass' who has been fighting me from the beginning, except when he begged me for my endorsement for his Senate run (I gave it to him), and when he begged me to be Secretary of State (I didn't give it to him). He is so bad for R's! ... I'm hearing that the Great People of Utah are considering their vote for their Pompous Senator, Mitt Romney, to be a big mistake. I agree! He is a fool who is playing right into the hands of the Do Nothing Democrats! #IMPEACHMITTROMNEY.</i>"<sup>200</sup> (U.S. senators cannot be impeached.) (On October 11, Mr. Trump confirmed to reporters that his invitation for China to investigate Biden was not a joke.<sup>201</sup>) Also:</p> <p>On October 6, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>Nancy Pelosi knew of all of the many Shifty Adam Schiff lies and massive frauds perpetrated upon Congress and the American people, in the form of a fraudulent speech [in which Schiff, for effect, had plainly exaggerated the contents of the July 25 call<sup>202</sup>] knowingly delivered as a ruthless con, and the illegal meetings [by Schiff's staff] with a highly partisan 'Whistleblower' &amp; lawyer. ... <u>This makes Nervous Nancy every bit as guilty as Liddle' Adam Schiff for High Crimes and Misdemeanors, and even Treason. I guess that means that they, along with all of those that evilly 'Colluded' with them, must all be immediately Impeached!</u>" As noted above, neither President Nixon nor President Clinton had resorted to such inflammatory, demagogic statements when defending themselves against impeachment. Also:</i></p> <p>On October 7, Mr. Trump told reporters: "<i>What they [the Democrats] did to this country is unthinkable. It's lucky that I'm the president. A lot of people said very few people could handle it. I sort of thrive on it. You can't impeach a president for doing a great job. This is a scam.</i>"<sup>203</sup></p>
<p>10-4-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo's lock-down (2).</u></b> Pompeo failed to meet a deadline set forth in a House committee subpoena for turning over documents relating to the impeachment inquiry, and he indicated that he might not comply.<sup>204</sup></p>
<p>10-6-19</p>	<p><b><u>A first.</u></b> The Times reported that a broad survey of top aides to previous presidents confirmed that none had ever sought or would have even considered seeking political assistance from a foreign government.<sup>205</sup></p>
<p>10-7-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo's lock-down (3).</u></b> A State Department official failed to appear at a planned committee deposition.<sup>206</sup></p>

<p>10-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo's lock-down (4).</u></b> <u>Mr. Trump and the State Department blocked Sondland from testifying before Congress just hours prior to his scheduled deposition. The department also refused to turn over text messages from Sondland's personal electronic device. The department was patently hiding something about Sondland's involvement in the Ukraine scandal from Congress, and thus obstructing Congress.</u><sup>207</sup></p>
<p>10-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>A lawyer letter.</u></b> <u>In an invective-filled letter addressed to Pelosi and the (Democratic) chairs of three House committees that were investigating the Ukraine affair, White House counsel Pat Cipollone wrote that the Trump administration would not cooperate in the investigation.</u><sup>208</sup></p> <p>True to Mr. Trump's style, Cipollone charged the Democrats with his own client's misdeeds – acting politically and unconstitutionally, with a view to influencing the 2020 presidential election. His arguments: that the impeachment inquiry was proceeding without a House floor vote; without presentation of evidence; without an opportunity for Mr. Trump to confront witnesses, to have counsel at hearings, and to respond with his own evidence; without Republican committee members being allowed to issue subpoenas; and while threatening punishment for witnesses who refused to appear under claim of executive privilege. He also insisted that the July 25 phone call, as evidenced by the transcript, had been completely "appropriate." He claimed that Schiff's exaggerated parody of the transcript amounted to fraud; that Schiff had lied in publicly denying having had direct contact with the whistleblower before the whistleblower had filed his/her complaint with the inspector general; and that Schiff had actually orchestrated the complaint. Cipollone closed his letter with a salute to Mr. Trump's extraordinary leadership of the country, and a demand that Mr. Trump not be distracted from that honorable work by an impeachment inquiry.<sup>209</sup></p> <p>None of that was true. The transcript of the call showed Mr. Trump's plainly corrupt shake-down of Zelensky. Schiff himself had quickly made clear that his parody of the transcript was just that. Schiff's early involvement with the whistleblower had been quite indirect, having consisted of an Intelligence Committee staffer receiving the whistleblower's call and then directing him/her to the inspector general.<sup>210</sup> And Mr. Trump had not exhibited anything remotely resembling extraordinary leadership of the country.  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>



10-8-19	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As for Cipollone's technical characterization of the proceedings to date, it was largely accurate. But he had no legal or ethical grounds to demand that the House proceed otherwise: because impeachment is not a criminal proceeding, the president is not entitled to criminal standards of due process; rather, the Constitution allows the House to impeach as it will. Indeed, Cipollone did not claim executive privilege in declining to cooperate, or any other compelling legal doctrine – only, seemingly, the president's (claimed) right to decide what was constitutional relative to his own impeachment – which made no sense under the Constitution.<sup>211</sup> Most importantly, Cipollone's motive for objecting to the House proceedings appeared utterly corrupt – an attempt to politically disparage a legitimate inquiry, and to deploy abusive and dilatory forensic tactics comparable to those that Mr. Trump had relied on throughout his career to evade the law.</p> <p>Cipollone's characterization of the forensics also ignored the stonewalling that Mr. Trump and his supporters had proudly committed to throughout the Mueller investigation and the post-Mueller congressional investigations – well before the existence of any impeachment phenomenon. It ignored that Mr. Trump would have the opportunity to defend himself if and when he were impeached. It ignored that the very substance of the impeachment inquiry was Mr. Trump's own attempt to wrongfully influence the 2020 election. And of course it ignored the depraved and deeply unconstitutional behavior of Mr. Trump himself throughout his presidency, as documented in this Chronology.</p> <p>In reality, Mr. Trump's refusal to cooperate with the impeachment inquiry was simply one more <u>effort to hide the truth and to obstruct Congress with respect to the Ukraine scandal.</u> But through his many lawyers, and across many forensic proceedings – including this one, the Mueller investigation, the post-Mueller congressional investigations, and state financial and income tax investigations – he was also seen as advancing, sometimes to the horror of presiding judges, <u>a heretical and (for America) a potentially calamitous ideological outlook: that the president has absolute power and is immune from all legal and constitutional checks.</u><sup>212</sup> <u>Mr. Trump had expressly said as much on several occasions.</u><sup>213</sup> (See also CSD's entry of October 11 in the first portion of this Addendum for a discussion of Mr. Trump's repeated claim of an "absolute right" to govern.)</p>
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<p>10-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>Fruman and Parnas.</u></b> Federal agents arrested Igor Fruman and Lev Parnas at Dulles International Airport on charges of election finance violations as the two men were leaving the country on one-way air tickets. U.S. citizens, they had been born in Belarus and Ukraine, respectively. They were now accused of illegally contributing foreign money to American election campaigns through secret means; and their contributions appeared to be intended at least in part to buy influence for the benefit of their businesses (which included the sale of recreational marijuana) and of a Ukrainian political figure (later revealed to be the country's former chief prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko, who had wanted Yovanovitch removed from her ambassadorship).</p> <p><u>They were now also revealed to have been engaged by Giuliani to dig up dirt on Biden in Ukraine, to investigate Giuliani's claim that Democrats had conspired with Ukrainians in the 2016 election, and to advance the removal of Yovanovitch.</u></p> <p>Together the men had contributed nearly \$1,000,000 to Republican election campaigns, including at least \$50,000 to Mr. Trump's 2016 campaign. Some of their funds had allegedly come from an unnamed Russian national. Some of their illegal election contributions had gone to former Texas Congressman Pete Sessions, who had then joined in the campaign against Yovanovitch. The men had at least once met personally with Mr. Trump, and they had attended events at the White House and at his Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago. They had also been substantial clients of Giuliani's law practice (and were later revealed to have paid his firm \$500,000 in 2018 and 2019). They had been lunching with Giuliani only hours before their arrest.<sup>214</sup></p>
<p>10-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>A Fox poll.</u></b> Mr. Trump berated as inaccurate a Fox News poll showing that a majority of voters now wanted Mr. Trump impeached and removed from office. (He had previously praised the accuracy of Fox's polls when they had favored him.)<sup>215</sup></p>
<p>10-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>The demagogue (1).</u></b> At a campaign rally in Minneapolis, Minnesota, Mr. Trump said of the impeachment inquiry: <i>“Democrats are on a crusade to destroy our democracy. That’s what’s happening. We will never let it happen. We will defeat them.”</i><sup>216</sup></p>
<p>10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo's lock-down (5).</u></b> Politico reported that the State Department was on "lockdown" relative to answering reporters' questions about Ukraine.<sup>217</sup></p>
<p>10-10-19, 10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>Giuliani in trouble (1).</u></b> Media reported that federal prosecutors were investigating Giuliani's financial dealings with Fruman and Parnas, and his possible violation of lobbying laws that forbid covert foreign influence.<sup>218</sup></p>

<p>10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>Ads against Biden (2).</u></b> Politico reported that Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Fox and MSNBC were all running Mr. Trump's campaign ad that baselessly accused Biden of corruptly protecting his son Hunter in Ukraine. CNN had refused to air it.<sup>219</sup></p>
<p>10-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>The demagogue (2).</u></b> At a campaign rally in Lake Charles, Louisiana, Mr. Trump denounced the impeachment inquiry profanely, to the crowd's delight. He called it "a lot of crap" and "bullshit."<sup>220</sup></p>
<p>10-11-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Yovanovitch speaks.</u></b> On October 11, Yovanovitch defied Pompeo's order, honored a congressional subpoena, and testified privately to House impeachment investigators. She confirmed that she had been relieved of her ambassadorship in Ukraine suddenly and at Mr. Trump's direction, following Giuliani's concerted and unfounded smear campaign. In particular, she said that Giuliani had falsely accused her of badmouthing the president and of seeking to protect the interests of Biden and his son Hunter.<sup>221</sup> Yovanovitch's courageous, honorable and patriotic opening statement (which was made public) was gripping, and it contrasted sharply with the corrupt designs of those who caused her removal.<sup>222</sup></p> <p>Observers gradually pieced together the stunning implications of all this, that went well beyond the initially reported scandal:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. That evening, CNN television commentators observed that <u>Giuliani's campaign against Yovanovitch (for Mr. Trump's benefit) had come together with the Ukrainian campaign against her (due to her anti-corruption efforts); also that the Trump/Giuliani "shadow foreign policy" in Ukraine (tolerating corruption and favoring Russia) had been the dead opposite of official U.S. policy (fighting corruption and seeking to protect Ukraine from Russia).</u><sup>223</sup></li> <li>2. On October 12, a Times columnist detailed how <u>Mr. Trump and Giuliani had methodically allied themselves with some of Ukraine's most corrupt leaders and against the country's reformers. They thus had transformed the U.S. from a model for Ukraine's struggling but vibrant and forward-looking democracy into democracy's nemesis there.</u><sup>224</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ol>

<p>10-11-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]  3. On October 14, The Post's editorial board wrote: "[Parnas and Fruman] sought the removal of Ambassador Marie Yovanovitch, whom they saw as an obstacle to their scheme to change the management of Ukraine's state energy company and strike a deal to sell it liquefied natural gas. ... <u>[T]he bottom line is that there are now two dimensions to Mr. Trump's abuse of his office in Ukraine: his attempt to induce President Volodymyr Zelensky to launch investigations of former vice president Joe Biden and Ukraine's purported role in the 2016 election; and his removal of a competent and corruption-fighting ambassador who opposed a questionable venture by men who contributed to Mr. Trump's campaigns and did business with his personal lawyer. In one instance, Mr. Trump was attempting to advance his personal political interest. In the other, he was trashing the career of a distinguished Foreign Service professional and subverting U.S. foreign policy to serve shady private interests.</u>"<sup>225</sup></p>
<p>10-11-19, 10-12-19</p>	<p><b>Giuliani in trouble (2).</b> On October 11, The Times confirmed that federal prosecutors were investigating Giuliani for possible violations of lobbying laws that forbid covert foreign influence – specifically, for advocating for the removal of Yovanovitch as ambassador on behalf of a Ukrainian official. His financial ties to Fruman and Parnas were also being investigated.<sup>226</sup> Mr. Trump reacted the following day by tweeting that the "Deep State" was conducting a "Witch Hunt" against Giuliani.</p>
<p>10-12-19</p>	<p><b>Sue them!</b> Speaking to a conservative group in Washington, Mr. Trump threatened to sue Schiff and Pelosi, and (again, as on October 6) he called for their impeachment. He said he didn't care if he would lose the lawsuit.<sup>227</sup></p> <p>But no legitimate cause of action would lie in a lawsuit against the two; and thus Mr. Trump and his attorneys could incur penalties for abusing the court system by bringing such suits. And members of Congress are not subject to impeachment. Mr. Trump's threats nevertheless seemed intended to foment public fury against the two members of Congress – and, CSD feared, to jeopardize their physical security.</p>
<p>10-13-19</p>	<p><b>The whistleblower imperiled.</b> Schiff said that the initial whistleblower might not testify before Congress, out of fear for his or her physical safety – fears stoked by Mr. Trump's tirades against that (as yet unidentified) person.<sup>228</sup></p>

<p>10-14-19 +</p>	<p><b>Staffers speak.</b> On October 14, Fiona Hill, a ranking National Security Council staffer and the White House's former top Russia advisor, defied a State Department order, complied with a congressional subpoena, and confirmed in testimony before House impeachment investigators that Giuliani and Sondland had run a shadow foreign policy in Ukraine that circumvented U.S. officials and career diplomats in order to personally benefit Mr. Trump. She stated that she considered Sondland to be a national security risk.<sup>229</sup></p> <p>On October 15, George Kent, still the top State Department official tasked with Ukrainian Affairs – likewise defying State Department orders and complying with a subpoena – told the investigators much the same; also that he himself had been sidelined from Ukraine policy decision-making; also that Volker, Sondland, Mr. Trump's acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney, and Energy Secretary Rick Perry had taken over in that decision-making.<sup>230</sup></p> <p>On October 16, Michael McKinley, who had been one of Pompeo's top aides, told House impeachment investigators that he had resigned the previous week over Pompeo's mistreatment of Yovanovitch and over the administration's pressuring Ukraine to smear political adversaries.<sup>231</sup></p> <p>On October 17, Sondland defied State Department orders, complied with a subpoena, and confirmed in testimony that Giuliani had wrongly taken over in Ukraine and pressured Ukraine to investigate the Bidens and the 2016 election. He also defended Yovanovitch and (dubiously) himself.<sup>232</sup></p>
<p>10-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>More lock-downs.</u></b> <u>Pence, Giuliani, the Defense Department, the Office of Management and Budget all notified Congress that they would not cooperate with the impeachment investigation and would defy any congressional subpoenas.</u><sup>233</sup></p>
<p>10-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>Mulvaney admits.</u></b> Mulvaney casually admitted to reporters that Mr. Trump had withheld military aid from Ukraine in order to procure that country's help in the upcoming U.S. election. <i>"We do that all the time with foreign policy,"</i> he said. <i>"Get over it,"</i> he added later. <i>"There's going to be political influence in foreign policy."</i> Mr. Trump had previously denied that there was a "quid pro quo" as between his withholding of the aid and his pressure on Ukraine to investigate Democrats. Within hours, Mulvaney retracted his remarks and blamed the press for misrepresenting his (clear) statements.<sup>234</sup> But it barely mattered: the "quid pro quo" had already been amply established – by testimony, by documentary evidence, and by Mr. Trump's desperate attempts to block all pertinent fact-finding.</p>

<p>10-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>The demagogue (3).</u></b> At a campaign rally in Dallas, Texas, Mr. Trump tore into the impeachment investigation. He said that the Democratic Party (not he) had "betrayed our country"; that "[a]t stake in this fight is the survival of American democracy itself" (true); that the Bidens had acted corruptly in Ukraine (still no evidence for this); that Pelosi is "crazy"; that "what they're really, really doing is they're coming after and fighting you, and we never lose"; and that he had a right to learn the identity of the whistleblower who had flagged the Ukraine shake-down (which would be illegal – and for that reason, despite his public exhortations to his supporters, even as president he had not been able to force his subordinates to unmask the person).<sup>235</sup></p>
<p>10-18-19, 10-19-19</p>	<p><b><u>Still more lock-downs.</u></b> On October 18, Perry – reportedly one of the masterminds of the Ukraine shake-down – announced his refusal to comply with a congressional subpoena one day after announcing his resignation.<sup>236</sup></p> <p>On October 19, Russ Vought, the acting director of the Office of Management and Budget, announced that he would defy the subpoena that the House impeachment investigators had served on him.<sup>237</sup></p>
<p>10-21-19</p>	<p><b><u>Whispering in the (orange) ear.</u></b> Drawing on interviews and recent transcripts from the impeachment investigation, media reported that Mr. Trump appeared to truly believed that Ukraine had attempted to fix the 2016 American election against him by hacking the Democratic National Committee's computers and blaming that on Russia. He had come to that thinking from tales by Giuliani and from far-right American conspiracy websites; and his disdain for and suspicions about Ukraine had been further stoked by his conversations with two of Ukraine's anti-democratic adversaries – Russia's strongman Vladimir Putin and Putin's leading regional ally, Hungary's strongman Victor Orban. No one in the American intelligence community had believed any of the canards about Ukraine; and even Mr. Trump's staff had tried, unsuccessfully, to disabuse him of those views.<sup>238</sup></p>
<p>10-21-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Impeach Obama.</u></b> On October 21, Mr. Trump told a Fox News interviewer that President Obama, not he, should have been impeached.<sup>239</sup> On October 22, he tweeted that the impeachment inquiry was a "lynching," thus incensing African American members of Congress.<sup>240</sup></p>
<p>10-22-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Taylor speaks.</u></b> On October 22, William Taylor – the former ambassador to Ukraine, and now the chargé d'affaires and acting ambassador there – appeared privately before House impeachment investigators, in compliance with their subpoena and in defiance of Pompeo's prohibition. He confirmed in testimony that Mr. Trump had conditioned two things – delivering military aid to Ukraine and inviting Zelensky to the White House – on Zelensky announcing publicly that Ukraine would investigate both Biden and Ukraine's (non-existent) tampering with the 2016 U.S. election. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

<p>10-22-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Taylor also said that the Pentagon, the State Department, the CIA and the then national security advisor John Bolton had tried unsuccessfully to meet with Mr. Trump to convince him to release the aid. Taylor said that the White House's release of the transcript of Mr. Trump's July 25 call with Zelensky had blindsided and infuriated Zelensky. Taylor also confirmed that Sondland had directed the effort to smear Biden and to smear Democrats relative to the 2016 election, at Mr. Trump's instruction, and contrary to Sondland's recent congressional testimony. Giuliani, Perry, Mulvaney and Volker were also implicated in the scheme. The conspirators had originally attempted to keep Taylor from learning their plot, but when eventually they had let him in on it he had objected.</p> <p>A staunch advocate for the Ukrainian people and the democratization of their country, Taylor also said that it had been apparent to him that <u>if the military aid were withheld, Ukrainian soldiers would die.</u> Referring to other recent impeachment investigations, a Times reporter wrote: <u>"While the Watergate and Monica Lewinsky cover-ups involved the integrity of America's democracy and system of justice, the Ukraine scandal also extends to matters of life and death, as well as geopolitics on a grand scale."</u></p> <p>Taylor appeared to be a man of unassailable military, academic and diplomatic credentials, as well as unquestionable patriotism and integrity, who had served both Democratic and Republican administrations. Mr. Trump himself had appointed him to his current position in Kiev after removing Yovanovitch from her ambassadorship in June.<sup>241</sup></p> <p>The White House reacted to Taylor's testimony by calling it "a coordinated smear campaign from far-left lawmakers and radical unelected bureaucrats waging war on the Constitution."<sup>242</sup> Mr. Trump himself, by way of Twitter, called Taylor a "Never Trumper" (an anti-Trump Republican), and he called Never-Trumpers "human scum." He also said that he didn't know Taylor – his ultimate disparagement of someone whom he seeks to portray as insignificant.<sup>243</sup> On October 24, White House press secretary Stephanie Grisham heartily endorsed Mr. Trump's use of the word "scum" to describe Mr. Trump's adversaries.<sup>244</sup></p> <p>Also on October 24, The Times reported from the front line in Ukraine's war with Russian-supported separatists, in which 13,000 so far had died. The Times went on to describe the potentially bleak consequences of U.S. withholding military assistance from Ukraine, as well as Mr. Trump's coddling of Russia in the conflict.<sup>245</sup></p>
<p>10-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>Budget cuts for corruption.</u></b> The Post reported that the Trump administration had sought repeatedly to cut foreign aid programs directed to combating corruption in Ukraine. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

<p>10-23-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Throughout the impeachment investigation, Mr. Trump and his subordinates had been claiming that Mr. Trump's stalling of military aid to the country and his request for dirt on the Bidens had been motivated by a desire to root out corruption there, and that he was obligated to Americans to effect that rooting out. But neither on his July 25 phone call with Zelensky nor otherwise did he appear to have been interested in fighting corruption in Ukraine more generally. His removal of the corruption-fighting Yovanovitch from the ambassadorship also belied his general interest in that topic. Meanwhile several federal agencies had found that anti-corruption efforts in Ukraine were making headway – that beating corruption there was actually possible.<sup>246</sup> So in reality, Mr. Trump seemed to be only after the Bidens.</p>
<p>10-23-19</p>	<p><b><u>Above the law, radically.</u></b> One of Mr. Trump's lawyers argued that because and while he was serving as president, he constitutionally could not be subjected to any criminal investigation whatsoever – that only Congress could investigate (and then impeach) him. <u>Responding to a judge's question as to whether a president could avoid investigation if he literally shot someone on Fifth Avenue (as Mr. Trump had once boasted he could do without losing votes), the lawyer affirmed that Mr. Trump could not then be investigated.</u><sup>247</sup> At the same time, Mr. Trump's lawyers and congressional allies were arguing that the House's impeachment inquiry was unconstitutional unless Mr. Trump approved the procedural rules (see CSD's entry of October 8, above). That is, as the arguments went, Mr. Trump was immune from both a criminal investigation and an impeachment inquiry he didn't like.</p> <p>In a different proceeding, Mr. Trump's lawyers had recently argued that a unanimous 1974 Supreme Court decision, holding that the president may not exercise executive privilege to defy a subpoena, had been decided wrongly – an extraordinary attack on the doctrine of judicial precedent.<sup>248</sup></p> <p>Any litigant, of course, is entitled to argue the law creatively. But taken together, <u>the legal arguments proffered by Mr. Trump, his lawyers and his congressional supporters amounted to a direct and comprehensive attack on Mr. Trump's accountability under the law and the Constitution. CSD saw this undertaking not just as benignly creative lawyering, but as an affirmation of Mr. Trump's daily autocratic designs that are the subject of this Chronology.</u></p>



<p>10-23-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Storming the House.</u></b> <u>On October 23, approximately 30 Republican members of Congress – many or most of them appearing from photographs and videos to be burly white males – stormed the secure impeachment inquiry room as Laura Cooper, a witness from the Pentagon, was about to testify before the House Intelligence Committee. (Like the State Department officials, Cooper had been forbidden by her department to testify; but she complied with a subpoena and did so.) A shouting match between Democrats and Republicans ensued.</u></p> <p>The protesters were objecting to Democrat-imposed secrecy rules which, among other things, barred unrestricted media and congressional attendance at the hearings and the immediate release of transcripts. But Democrats credibly argued that the secrecy rules were intended to prevent one witness's testimony from influencing another's; that those rules were consistent both with grand jury proceedings and with the conduct of some prior non-presidential impeachment investigations (where judges had been the impeachment targets); that full transcripts would eventually be provided to all; that scores of Republicans – those who sat on the pertinent committees – had been attending (or entitled to attend) the hearings and to have had an equal amount of questioning time; and that <u>Mr. Trump and his Republican allies were now categorically denying the legitimacy of, and were attempting to subvert, the impeachment process – calling it a "lynching" and a "kangaroo court" – as the "defending" political parties had <i>not</i> done in the course of prior presidential impeachment inquiries.</u></p> <p>Nevertheless, other Republicans, including some of Mr. Trump's chief supporters, wanted in. They declared that the proceedings were illegal.<sup>249</sup> (On October 25, a federal judge would rule that they were legal.<sup>250</sup>) A verbatim description of the episode, as related by a Post columnist, follows:</p> <p><i>“We’re going to try to go in there,’ Rep. Matt Gaetz (Fla.), a leading Trump defender, announced to reporters.</i></p> <p><i>“We’re gonna go!’ somebody else announced.</i></p> <p><i>“Let’s do it!’</i></p> <p><i>“Yeah!’</i></p> <p><i>"With that, they rushed past Capitol Police officers and burst into the secure meeting room of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. ... The intruders shouted grievances about the process and defenses of the president — one reportedly got in Chairman Adam Schiff’s face — until Schiff [and Cooper] abandoned the room." [Continued below.]</i></p>
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<p>10-23-19 +</p>	<p>[<u>Continued.</u>] The protesters then ordered in pizza and held out in the room for hours.<sup>251</sup></p> <p>On October 24, Mr. Trump thanked and praised them.<sup>252</sup></p> <p>The development was shocking. First, it was illegal, in that the protesters had brought cell phones into the secure chamber – an offense for which a member of Congress who was a combat military veteran subsequently said a soldier would likely have been discharged dishonorably.<sup>253</sup></p> <p><u>Worse, to the cascades of untruths, anti-democratic demagoguery and unlawful evidentiary stonewalling<sup>254</sup> purveyed by Mr. Trump and his supporters relative to the impeachment inquiry, it added procedural disruption and physical intimidation.</u> CSD now foresaw the possibility of fistfights on the floor of the House, such as Americans commonly mock when they are captured in overseas legislatures and are broadcast in the U.S.</p>
<p>10-24-19, 10-25-19</p>	<p><b><u>Ukraine trade privileges strangled.</u></b> On October 24, The Post reported that the Trump administration had appeared to withhold certain trade privileges from Ukraine in August. Specifically, the administration had delayed a scheduled restoration of some of the tariff relief that had earlier been cut on grounds of Ukraine's improper intellectual property practices, which practices had since been corrected by the Ukrainian government. The delay in August of the restoration of tariff relief gave the appearance that the administration had conditioned even more than a White House visit and military assistance on Ukraine helping Mr. Trump politically.<sup>255</sup> The next day, seemingly in reaction to The Post's report, the subject trade privileges were restored.<sup>256</sup></p>
<p>10-25-19</p>	<p><b><u>Inspectors general revolt.</u></b> In a letter to the Justice Department, scores of inspectors general from other federal departments and agencies denounced the DOJ's determination earlier in the month that the whistleblower's complaint that had set off the impeachment inquiry did not have to be relayed to Congress right away. They wrote that that determination not only was legally wrong but operated to chill whistleblowing and governmental oversight generally.<sup>257</sup></p> <p>CSD found the letter to be extraordinary, in that it represented the collective view of most or all of the members of the Council of Inspectors General on Integrity and Efficiency; it criticized a federal department over which the signatories had no jurisdiction; and at least some of the signatories likely incurred professional risk in joining the letter. In itself it seemed a form of whistleblowing. In sum, it was an extreme response to what the signatories felt had been a plainly extreme and illegal event at DOJ.</p>

<p>10-26-19</p>	<p><b><u>Hounding the whistleblower.</u></b> The Post reported that, following Mr. Trump's goading of congressional Republicans for them to do more to defend him and (in at least 40 tweets so far) to unmask the whistleblower, many of those members of Congress were doing just that: questioning impeachment inquiry witnesses with a view solely to discrediting them rather than eliciting facts about Mr. Trump's behavior, and racing to identify and ultimately discredit the whistleblower. Outing the whistleblower would be illegal; would work to chill and eviscerate whistleblowers coming forward generally; appeared to be unprecedented as a presidential and congressional phenomenon; and was believed by the whistleblower's counsel to threaten the immediate whistleblower's physical security.<sup>258</sup></p>
<p>10-27-19</p>	<p><b><u>U.S.-Ukraine relationship in tatters.</u></b> Politico detailed the chaos that the Ukraine scandal had generated in the two countries' relationship. In particular, U.S. support for Ukraine in its struggles for democracy and against Russia had come to be seen as unreliable, politicized, and largely denuded of experienced U.S. diplomatic staff. Politico wrote:</p> <p><i>"The president's lawyer is under investigation, his days of moonlighting as a freelance diplomat now over. The donor who gave \$1 million for his inauguration, then helped run a backdoor channel from Ukraine to the Oval Office, has seen his credibility damaged.</i></p> <p><i>"His special envoy to Kyiv has resigned, as has the energy secretary who played a key role in the alleged military aid-for-dirt scheme. Former and current officials are providing lurid testimony on Capitol Hill in defiance of White House orders. ...</i></p> <p><i>"U.S. policy toward Ukraine is in shambles .... 'This is going to do lasting damage,' said [a former National Security Council staffer]. 'For the last five years it was a given that the U.S. had Ukraine's back. ... Now that's going to be far more complicated, with a lot more distrust and a lot more scrutiny.'"<sup>259</sup></i></p>
<p>10-29-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Vindman speaks.</u></b> On October 29, Lt. Colonel Alexander Vindman, an Army veteran who had been wounded in Iraq and who was now the top Ukraine expert serving the National Security Council, appeared before the impeachment investigators. In doing so, like other recent witnesses, he defied a White House directive not to cooperate with the investigators, and he honored a congressional subpoena. Vindman had attended Mr. Trump's July 25 phone call with Zelensky, and that was one of the topics that he now addressed. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

<p>10-29-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Born in Ukraine and brought to the U.S. as a child, he testified that he had been so alarmed by Mr. Trump's and Sondland's attempts to pressure Zelensky into investigating the Bidens, and had found that pressure so contrary to America's national security interests, that he had twice reported those concerns to the NSC's counsel. Vindman had also been alarmed at Mr. Trump's withholding of the promised military assistance to Ukraine; also at the efforts of Giuliani to smear the Bidens and to protect or rehabilitate Mr. Trump's now imprisoned (former) campaign manager Paul Manafort. His testimony was consistent with that of several other recent witnesses who had defied their superiors – at risk to their own careers.<sup>260</sup> It conflicted with Sondland's protestations during testimony of his own innocence.<sup>261</sup></p> <p>Vindman also testified that he had found the transcript of the July 25 phone call to be incomplete, and that his efforts to correct the record had been partly ignored by White House staffers.<sup>262</sup></p> <p>Vindman began his testimony by stating that he wasn't the whistleblower and didn't know the whistleblower's identity. Reportedly, however, the Republican members of Congress participating in the deposition spent significant time trying to extract from Vindman that identity, with a view to (illegally) outing and discrediting him or her.<sup>263</sup></p> <p>As evidence of the contra-factual hysteria into which much of the airwaves had descended, and in a grotesque perversion of patriotism, some of Mr. Trump's prominent media supporters quickly insinuated that Vindman was more loyal to Ukraine than to the U.S.; that he was possibly even a Ukrainian agent.<sup>264</sup> Mr. Trump himself slammed Vindman as a "Never Trumper" whom he had never heard of (and thus whose views, impliedly, were insignificant).<sup>265</sup> But to the credit of our country's better instincts, Republican leaders in Congress denounced those charges. Of course many of them still said (without explanation) that Vindman was mistaken; that is, that he had not properly heard what he claimed to have repeatedly heard in the White House.<sup>266</sup></p> <p>On October 30, news media reported that it was promptly after Vindman had alerted White House counsel for national security of his (Vindman's) alarm about the July 25 telephone call that the White House took the extraordinary step of moving the transcript of the call to the now notorious secret computer system.<sup>267</sup></p>
<p>10-30-19</p>	<p><b>Sullivan speaks.</b> In testimony before the impeachment investigators, Deputy Secretary of State John Sullivan confirmed that Giuliani had improperly smeared Yovanovitch (the former U.S. ambassador to Ukraine), and that he viewed any attempt by a president to demand foreign investigations of his domestic political opponents to be improper.<sup>268</sup></p>

<p>10-31-10</p>	<p><b>Morrison speaks.</b> National Security Council aide and Trump appointee Timothy Morrison testified to the impeachment investigators that the military assistance package to Ukraine appeared to have been conditioned on Ukraine investigating Mr. Trump's political rivals, and that he (Morrison) had drawn Mr. Trump's July 25 phone call with Zelensky to the attention of the NSC's chief counsel.<sup>269</sup></p>
<p>10-31-10</p>	<p><b>The House votes.</b> The House of Representatives voted to adopt rules for public hearings in Mr. Trump's impeachment and to formalize the impeachment inquiry. No Republicans voted with the majority.<sup>270</sup></p>

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.foxbusiness.com/politics/trump-gm-tweet-moving-plants-china>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.politico.com/story/2019/09/17/white-house-general-motors-strike-1735740>

<sup>3</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-canceling-trip-poland-stay-us-hurricane-dorian/story?id=65276140> and <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/trump-declares-emergency-florida-millions-clubs-dorians-path/story?id=65291915> and <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/08/30/hurricane-dorian-donald-trump-declares-state-emergency-florida/2164177001/>

<sup>4</sup> <https://deadline.com/2019/08/president-donald-trump-tweetstorm-the-saturday-edition-37-1202708711/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/09/02/politics/donald-trump-hurricane-dorian-golf/index.html> and <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2019/09/02/what-trump-doing-labor-day-monitoring-hurricane-dorian-golf-course/2190683001/> and <https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-golfing-video-before-hurricane-dorian-arrives-in-us-2019-9>

<sup>6</sup> [https://beta.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-dorian-response-par-for-the-course/2019/09/03/e0148242-ce8c-11e9-8c1c-7c8ee785b855\\_story.html?wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://beta.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trumps-dorian-response-par-for-the-course/2019/09/03/e0148242-ce8c-11e9-8c1c-7c8ee785b855_story.html?wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>7</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-hurricane-dorian-map-alabama\\_n\\_5d700be4e4b011080459301e](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-hurricane-dorian-map-alabama_n_5d700be4e4b011080459301e) and <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/why-does-trump-s-hurricane-map-look-different-others-n1049711> and <https://www.cnn.com/videos/politics/2019/09/04/trump-altered-dorian-map-alabama-vpx.cnn> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/weather/2019/09/04/president-trump-shows-doctored-hurricane-chart-was-it-cover-up-alabama-twitter-flub/?wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/weather/2019/09/04/president-trump-shows-doctored-hurricane-chart-was-it-cover-up-alabama-twitter-flub/?wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/09/04/us/politics/trump-hurricane-alabama-sharpie.html> and [https://beta.washingtonpost.com/politics/what-i-said-was-accurate-trump-stays-fixated-on-his-alabama-error-as-hurricane-pounds-the-carolinas/2019/09/05/32597606-cfe7-11e9-8c1c-7c8ee785b855\\_story.html](https://beta.washingtonpost.com/politics/what-i-said-was-accurate-trump-stays-fixated-on-his-alabama-error-as-hurricane-pounds-the-carolinas/2019/09/05/32597606-cfe7-11e9-8c1c-7c8ee785b855_story.html)

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-map-hurricane-dorian-sharpie-fake-doctored-alabama-noaa-storm-a9092521.html>

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- <sup>259</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2019/10/27/trump-impeachment-ukraine-policy-058529>
- <sup>260</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/28/us/politics/Alexander-Vindman-trump-impeachment.html>
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- <sup>262</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/29/us/politics/alexander-vindman-trump-ukraine.html>
- <sup>263</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/republicans-whistleblower-identity-impeachment-inquiry\\_n\\_5db8d96fe4b0bb1ea3712151](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/republicans-whistleblower-identity-impeachment-inquiry_n_5db8d96fe4b0bb1ea3712151) and Lawrence O'Donnell, MSNBC television, October 29, 2019
- <sup>264</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/alexander-vindman-trump-smear-impeachment\\_n\\_5db84a27e4b02ace7d36c12b](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/alexander-vindman-trump-smear-impeachment_n_5db84a27e4b02ace7d36c12b)
- <sup>265</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2019/10/29/donald-trump-alexander-vindman-testimony-061018>
- <sup>266</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2019/10/29/republicans-defend-impeachment-witness-vindman-061057>

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<sup>267</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/white-house-lawyer-moved-transcript-of-trump-call-to-classified-server-after-ukraine-adviser-raised-alarms/2019/10/30/ba0fbdb6-fb4e-11e9-8190-6be4deb56e01\\_story.html?wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/white-house-lawyer-moved-transcript-of-trump-call-to-classified-server-after-ukraine-adviser-raised-alarms/2019/10/30/ba0fbdb6-fb4e-11e9-8190-6be4deb56e01_story.html?wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>268</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/30/us/politics/trump-ukraine-senate.html>

<sup>269</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/morrison-testimony-impeachment.html>

<sup>270</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/house-impeachment-vote.html>



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 27 – December 29, 2019

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

**The current Addendum appears in two parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p. 25, chronicles events surrounding the impeachment of Mr. Trump by Congress.**

<u>Date</u>	<u>Episode</u>	<u>Category</u>
10-27-19, 11-13-19	<b><u>The oil.</u></b> Mr. Trump twice restated his desire to seize Syrian oilfields as spoils of war – contrary to Pentagon statements, international law, and diplomatic wisdom; a war crime. <sup>1</sup>	10, 13, 14
11-2-19	<b><u>Re-tweeting conspiracies.</u></b> The New York Times reported, in chilling and analytic detail, how Mr. Trump, while in office, had re-tweeted hundreds of false and inflammatory Twitter postings authored by fringe hate groups, conspiracy theorists and unverifiable sources. Reportedly he was susceptible to being duped by the original writers: often he had re-tweeted malicious messages without investigation because the content had been flattering to him. His re-tweets in turn had been re-tweeted by others, in a shrill and reality-defying cascade. And he had not expressed concern about any of this. In fact, at a White House conference in July, he had praised far-right social media provocateurs: " <i>The crap that you think of is unbelievable.</i> " <sup>2</sup> (Presumably he had used the word "unbelievable" figuratively and positively.)	6, 9, 10



<p>11-4-19</p>	<p><b><u>My son, the writer.</u></b> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump promoted sales of his son and surrogate Donald, Jr.'s soon-to-be-published book, titled <i>Triggered: How the Left Thrives on Hate and Wants to Silence Us</i>. Mr. Trump (the elder) tweeted to his 66.5 million followers, "Go order it today!" But for the president's statutory immunity to pertinent federal ethics rules, Mr. Trump would have been criminally liable for that tweet.<sup>3</sup></p>	<p>9, 16</p>
<p>11-6-19</p>	<p><b><u>Fomenting electoral violence?</u></b> The Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump's re-election campaign was advertising on Facebook that the "radical left" had "resorted to violence" to prevent Mr. Trump's election. Although there appeared to have been a few such episodes, the clear implication that the violence was widespread, coordinated, or orchestrated/sanctioned by the Democratic Party was false. It meanwhile was seen as giving rise to a risk of stoking violence on the part of Mr. Trump's supporters.<sup>4</sup></p>	<p>17 (5, 7)</p>
<p>11-6-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Litigation unchained.</u></b> On November 6, The New York Times reported on Mr. Trump's rampant litigation as president – both personal and official, both as plaintiff and as defendant. Matters included his alleged acts of defamation, his anti-abortion policies, his immigration policies, his tax returns, his self-enrichment versus the emoluments clause, and his attempts to prevent subordinates from testifying before Congress. The Times also noted his many (hollow) threats to bring meritless lawsuits against his political adversaries.</p> <p>Mr. Trump had previously boasted about the 4,000 + lawsuits that he had engaged in as a businessman. He had once even said, "Does anyone know more about litigation than Trump? I'm like a Ph.D. in litigation." In addition to reflecting a take-no-prisoners philosophy of governance where comity and compromise had traditionally held stronger sway, many or most of the pending matters appeared to have involved an overreach in presidential powers, and Mr. Trump's presumptions of constitutional unaccountability and legal immunity. But those attitudes and behaviors had cost him: he, his White House, his business and his foundation were all under investigation; one of his lawyers (Michael Cohen) was now in jail; and another (Rudy Giuliani) was under federal criminal investigation.<sup>5</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9 (overreaching in presidential powers; abuse of legal process; tax fraud)</p>



<p>11-6-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On November 7, a New York judge fined Mr. Trump \$2 million for having used his private foundation to commit tax fraud prior to his presidency, including to defraud veterans. No such finding of charitable fraud had been levied against any other sitting president.<sup>6</sup></p>	<p>9 (overreaching in presidential powers; abuse of legal process; tax fraud)</p>
<p>11-6-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Louisiana.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Monroe, Louisiana, Mr. Trump deployed his perennial tactic of accusing his opponents of his own misdeeds. He thundered, "<i>Democrats are becoming increasingly totalitarian. Suppressing dissent, defaming the innocent, eliminating due process, staging show trials and trying to overthrow the American democracy to impose their socialist agenda.</i>" He said that Democrats were trying to "rip the guts out of our country." He also elicited "<i>Lock her up!</i>" chants from the crowd – still, after years, scapegoating his previous electoral opponent Hillary Clinton – and with breathtaking effectiveness.<sup>7</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>11-7-19</p>	<p><b><u>Barr complicit.</u></b> The Washington Post recapped the many instances in which <u>Attorney General William Barr, within the short period since his appointment and presumably with Mr. Trump's encouragement, had abrogated his law enforcement mandate and had affirmatively enabled Mr. Trump's authoritarian activities:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He had written a misleadingly pro-Trump summary of the Mueller report on Russian election interference.</li> <li>• He had cleared Mr. Trump of obstruction of justice charges even though special prosecutor Robert Mueller had found substantial evidence of obstruction.</li> <li>• He had said that Mueller had found Mr. Trump not to have colluded with the Russians, even though Mueller had not concluded that.</li> <li>• He had launched an internal investigation as to whether Justice Department officials had initiated the original probe of Russian election interference for partisan (anti-Trump) purposes.</li> <li>• He had traveled to Europe to pressure foreign governments to cooperate with that investigation.</li> <li>• He had caused or allowed the Justice Department to prevent the Ukraine whistleblower's complaint from going to Congress, and he had declined to investigate the charges contained in the complaint.<sup>8</sup></li> </ul>	<p>17 (9)</p>

<p>11-7-19</p>	<p><b>The most.</b> A Washington Post columnist argued, by way of credible historical comparisons, that Mr. Trump had become America's most anti-immigrant president and the only one to have deployed demagoguery against immigrants. Of 10 types of anti-immigrant animus, Mr. Trump had vocalized all of them. In the columnist's words, <i>"They bring crime; they import poverty; they spread disease; they don't assimilate; they corrupt our politics; they steal our jobs; they cause our taxes to increase; they're a security risk; their religion is incompatible with American values; they can never be 'true Americans.'"</i><sup>9</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>11-8-19</p>	<p><b>Wildly.</b> Under pressure from the impeachment inquiry, Mr. Trump, speaking to reporters, lashed out in all directions: denying the obvious, inventing realities and insulting his adversaries. He said:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He had "never heard of most of these people" – senior officials who had been tasked with national security and Ukrainian affairs, and who had recently testified against him in connection with the impeachment inquiry. (Although possibly he had <i>not</i> in fact heard of them, being oblivious to normal governmental structure, staffing and operation.)</li> <li>• "There is no firsthand knowledge" of his extortion attempt in Ukraine. (In fact witness Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman had been on Mr. Trump's July 25 call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky.)</li> <li>• <i>"All that matters is one thing: the transcript. And the transcript is perfect."</i> (The transcript of Mr. Trump's July 25 phone call with Zelensky was actually damning, and the extortion scheme it revealed was corroborated by the testimony of many witnesses.)</li> <li>• <i>"[T]ake a look at Biden and you will see tremendous corruption."</i> (No credible person had identified any.)</li> <li>• <i>"I caught the swamp. I caught 'em all."</i> (He had not; rather, from the outset, his administration had become its own monumental swamp.)</li> <li>• <i>"My charity was great. I gave a lot of money away."</i> (He had just been personally fined \$2,000,000 for tax fraud in connection with the operation of his charity. Its charitable giving had been conducted mainly for his personal political purposes.)</li> <li>• <i>"I'm very transparent. Nobody is more transparent than me."</i> (He was the first recent president not to have released his tax returns.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>11-8-19</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>"I hardly know the gentleman."</i> (He was referring to Gordon Sondland, his handpicked ambassador to the EU and his hatchet man in Ukraine, whom he had previously praised but who had now delivered damning testimony in the impeachment inquiry.)</li> <li>• <i>"And if I asked Bill Barr to have a press conference I think he'd do it. But I never asked him to have a press conference."</i> (In truth, as had been recently reported, Mr. Trump had asked Barr to hold a press conference in which Barr would exculpate him from all wrongdoing in connection with the Ukraine scandal; and Barr had refused.)</li> <li>• <i>"They [Democrats] lost an election and they lost it big."</i> (Hillary Clinton had actually won 3,000,000 more votes than Mr. Trump in the 2016 presidential election.)</li> <li>• <i>"My polls are up."</i> (They were not.)</li> <li>• <i>"[T]he whistleblower gave a fake report of my [July 25] phone call [with Zelensky]."</i> (In truth, the whistleblower's report had been corroborated by others many times over.)</li> <li>• <i>"[T]he whistleblower is a disgrace to our country ... and should be revealed."</i> (That could be illegal and would imperil the whistleblower's safety.)</li> <li>• The whistleblower's lawyer should be "sued" for "treason." (None of that would be possible. And the treason in the Ukraine matter lay elsewhere.)</li> <li>• <i>"I'm leading in all of the states, in every swing state."</i> (Totally false.)</li> <li>• <i>"We're doing very well with African Americans."</i> (Some 86% of African American voters were polling against him.)</li> <li>• <i>"Little Michael [Bloomberg] [the former mayor of New York] will fail"</i> in his recently announced quest for the presidency. <i>"He's got some personal problems and he's got a lot of other problems."</i> (Pots versus kettles.)</li> <li>• <i>"They [the congressional impeachment investigators] shouldn't be having public hearings. That's a hoax."</i> (But Republicans in Congress had been clamoring for the hearings to become public.)<sup>10</sup></li> </ul>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

11-8-19	<p><b><u>Campaigning on the public nickel.</u></b> The New York Times recapped a pattern of events (some previously reported by CSD) in which Mr. Trump had illegally and profligately campaigned for himself at official events and at public expense. He had also expressly declined to enforce the Hatch Act against his staffers who had campaigned for him, citing their entitlement to freedom of expression.<sup>11</sup></p>	9
11-9-19	<p><b><u>Ethics at Interior (again).</u></b> The New York Times reported on how Interior Secretary David Bernhardt had been routinely skirting conflict of interest rules by making environmental policy that benefited his former lobbying clients, and by pressing his ethics attorney to bless that. As CSD had documented earlier in this Chronology, Bernhardt's predecessor, Ryan Zinke, had been ridden out of Washington on a rail for his repeated ethics violations.<sup>12</sup></p>	17 (15)
11-11-19	<p><b><u>"No" to health data at the EPA.</u></b> The New York Times reported that the Environmental Protection Agency was reviving and expanding its stalled 2018 effort to ban from agency consideration any medical and other studies – past and future – that did not make public the confidential patient information on which the studies were based. The effect would be to gut such scientific inputs from environmental policy making – to the benefit of industrial polluters and to the detriment of the public's health. (CSD had reported on the EPA's original gambit in 2018.)<sup>13</sup></p>	8
11-11-19 +	<p><b><u>Rogues: on the loose, and on the take.</u></b></p> <p><u>Giuliani.</u></p> <p>On November 11, CNN reported that Rudy Giuliani had met with senior figures in at least seven foreign governments while serving as Mr. Trump's personal lawyer during Mr. Trump's presidency, typically conducting rogue diplomacy outside of the State Department (opaque, unauthorized, unaccountable) while promoting his international consulting business on the strength of his relationship with Mr. Trump.<sup>14</sup> Those activities had likewise characterized Giuliani's orchestration of the events in Ukraine that had flatly contradicted American policy and principles there, for Mr. Trump's and Giuliani's personal benefit, and that had flowered into the extortion scandal and the impeachment proceedings against Mr. Trump.</p> <p>[<u>Continued below.</u>]</p>	9, 11, 13, 17 (15, 16)

<p>11-11-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On December 8, a riveting profile of Giuliani's wild and sordid forays into those realms, and into the realm of consorting with unsavory international characters, appeared in The New York Times. There he was characterized as needing cash to support a lavish lifestyle, and as seeking to be in the national limelight regardless of his message.<sup>15</sup> On the same day, The Washington Post reported on Giuliani's broadly suspicious profile as a paid advisor to foreign interests who contemporaneously was representing the president of the United States free of charge and had the president's ear on foreign policy.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>On December 13, The Times exposed Giuliani's staggering volume of free legal services for Mr. Trump as either a gift to the president in his capacity as president (in which case Mr. Trump had violated ethics rules by not reporting the gift's multi-million dollar value) or as legally permitted pro bono services for Mr. Trump's re-election campaign (in which case Giuliani and Mr. Trump had repeatedly lied in claiming that Giuliani's work relative to the Ukraine scandal had nothing to do with Mr. Trump's re-election).<sup>17</sup></p> <p>On December 29, The Post reported that in 2018 Giuliani had attempted to negotiate the resignation of Venezuelan President Nicolas Maduro – unaccountably, and from the shadows – to the outrage of legitimate American diplomats who were contemporaneously engaged in Venezuelan matters.</p> <p><u><i>Kushner.</i></u></p> <p>On November 12, The Times reported that Jared Kushner – a businessman, Mr. Trump's son-in-law, and a senior advisor of his – was active in orchestrating America's fraught relationship with Turkey. As he had been doing in Saudi Arabia, Kushner pursued his efforts through the family members of that country's leader – again without transparency or accountability. According to The Times, John Bolton – Mr. Trump's former national security advisor – had told a gathering since his recent departure that Mr. Trump had indeed often confused personal relationships with national relationships when setting policy. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11, 13, 17 (15, 16)</p>
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<p>11-11-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] A former ambassador to Turkey said, “Trump is replacing formal relations among nations in several cases with family-to-family relationship [sic], or crony-to-crony relationships. Certainly [Turkey's president Recep] Erdogan would prefer that kind of relationship as he runs a crony capitalist regime of his own. But it ought to be a matter of concern to all Americans.”<sup>18</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 13, 17 (15, 16)</p>
<p>11-12-19</p>	<p><b>Ivanka and dictators: winning and winning.</b> In a speech in New York, Mr. Trump said that his daughter Ivanka was personally responsible for creating 14 million jobs. In fact only 6 million jobs had been created during his presidency altogether, and none by his daughter.<sup>19</sup></p> <p>In the same speech, Mr. Trump said that all foreign dictators were welcome in the U.S., if it was "good for the United States" (whatever that may have meant).<sup>20</sup></p>	<p>7, 11, 12</p>
<p>11-12-19</p>	<p><b>The great wall video.</b> The Washington Post reported that the Trump administration had determined to deploy live-stream video showing the construction of the wall at the Mexican border, so as to demonstrate to voters that construction was indeed proceeding and thus to stir their confidence in Mr. Trump. Both the Army Corps of Engineers and Customs and Border Patrol had objected to the plan, on grounds of American-Mexican diplomacy and the protection of the construction contractors' proprietary building techniques.<sup>21</sup> CSD also saw in the move an expenditure of taxpayer funds for Mr. Trump's political campaign purposes, and a demagogic stirring of anti-immigrant sentiment.</p>	<p>6, 9, 11, 13</p>
<p>11-12-19, 11-13-19</p>	<p><b>Negative interest.</b> Mr. Trump continued his attacks on the Federal Reserve Bank and his demands for it to effect zero or even negative interest rates. The next day, the Fed's chair Jerome Powell called those attacks not only economically unsupportable but politically "inappropriate."<sup>22</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>11-13-19</p>	<p><b>One more DHS chief, for the road.</b> Chad Wolf was sworn in as acting Secretary of the Department of Homeland Security – the fifth person to lead the agency under Mr. Trump. As chief of staff for then Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen, Wolf had been instrumental in separating Central American children from their parents in 2018. But Mr. Trump reportedly still did not view him as sufficiently anti-immigrant to nominate him as permanent secretary.<sup>23</sup></p>	<p>6, 10</p>

<p>11-13-19</p>	<p><b><u>Erdogan at the White House.</u></b> Mr. Trump welcomed the authoritarian Turkish strongman Recep Erdogan to the White House, only months after Erdogan, over U.S. objections, had invaded Syria and had begun committing war crimes against America's Kurdish allies there. In connection with the meeting, Mr. Trump offered Erdogan a \$100 billion trade deal and a continued delay in imposing legally required sanctions stemming from Turkey's purchase of a Russian missile defense system, all to the outrage of both Republicans and Democrats in Congress. Of Erdogan, Mr. Trump told reporters, <i>"I'm a big fan of the president."</i> Also: <i>"The president and I are very good friends. We have been for a long time — almost from Day 1."</i></p> <p>For his part, Erdogan referred to Mr. Trump as "my dear friend." In fact Erdogan presented Mr. Trump with the threatening and juvenile letter that Mr. Trump had famously sent him on October 9 and that Erdogan had reportedly thrown in the trash. So it appeared not only that the letter had been saved but that the two authoritarian leaders had made up; also that Mr. Trump had been rolled by Erdogan – in Syria and beyond.<sup>24</sup></p>	<p>9, 12, 13</p>
<p>11-13-19</p>	<p><b><u>Miller hyped white nationalism.</u></b> Media widely relayed a new Southern Poverty Law Center report that, during Mr. Trump's 2016 presidential campaign, his current senior immigration advisor and speechwriter Stephen Miller had relentlessly promoted white nationalism, far-right extremism and anti-immigrant messaging through Breitbart's online news site. Miller had long been seen as the whisperer behind Mr. Trump's anti-immigrant demagoguery. The SPLC's report prompted dozens of members of Congress (all Democrats) to demand Miller's resignation.<sup>25</sup></p>	<p>17 (6)</p>
<p>11-14-19</p>	<p><b><u>Tax return question to the Supremes.</u></b> After a federal district court and then a federal appeals court ruled that Mr. Trump 's accounting firm must provide his tax returns to New York state criminal investigators, Mr. Trump asked the Supreme Court to overrule them, claiming that a sitting U.S. president enjoys immunity from all investigations while in office – that is, shielding him relative to any criminal charges whatever.<sup>26</sup></p>	<p>9</p>

<p>11-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>Stone guilty.</u></b> A federal court convicted Mr. Trump's long-time friend and associate Roger Stone of attempting to thwart the Mueller investigation of Russia's interference in the 2016 presidential election: by lying to investigators, obstructing a congressional investigation, and tampering with witnesses, all seemingly so as to protect Mr. Trump from the probe. The charges involved Stone's complicity in WikiLeaks' publication of the Democratic party emails stolen by Russia, for the benefit of the Trump campaign.</p> <p>Stone had arrived at the courthouse carrying a Bible.</p> <p>Stone was the latest associate of Mr. Trump to be convicted of or to have pleaded guilty to felonies in connection with Mr. Trump's election campaign or his transition into office. The others had been campaign manager Paul Manafort, Manafort's deputy Rick Gates, national security advisor Michael Flynn, Mr. Trump's attorney Michael Cohen, and campaign foreign policy advisor George Papadopoulos.<sup>27</sup></p> <p>Whether Mr. Trump would pardon Stone or commute his sentence was a subject of speculation – as it had been and remained relative to some of the other felons. In any event, he promptly came to Stone's defense, claiming that a double standard had spared a long list of Mr. Trump's adversaries from the punitive justice that <i>they</i> had deserved.<sup>28</sup></p> <p>Evidence in Stone's case also established that Mr. Trump appeared to have lied to Mueller's investigators in denying that he had discussed WikiLeaks with Stone; and a congressional investigation was promptly opened on that subject.<sup>29</sup></p> <p>CSD notes that Stone had previously worked for President Nixon as a self-acknowledged "dirty trickster," and that he famously wore a tattoo of Nixon's face on his back.<sup>30</sup></p>	<p>17 (9); a den of scoundrels</p>
<p>11-15-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Clemency for war criminals.</u></b> Heeding advocates outside the government such as Fox News and ignoring Pentagon advice, on November 15 – presumably for domestic political gain – <u>Mr. Trump pardoned two Americans who had been court-martialed for war crimes. He also restored the rank of a third, Eddie Gallagher, a SEAL who had been demoted after members of his unit in Iraq had found him to be a "psychopath" and (at peril to their own careers) had reported his atrocities.</u><sup>31</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17(9)</p>



<p>11-15-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] CNN wrote: "Defense Secretary Mark Esper and other senior military leaders had told the President that a presidential pardon could potentially damage the integrity of the military judicial system, the ability of military leaders to ensure good order and discipline, and the confidence of US allies and partners who host US troops."<sup>32</sup> Excusing American war crimes was also seen as placing American troops at risk of retaliation in-theater, and as denigrating the service of tens of thousands of troops who had served honorably.<sup>33</sup> Mr. Trump also was seen as sabotaging his own military command, as he had sabotaged the State Department's operations in Ukraine, and the CIA's and FBI's leadership.<sup>34</sup></p> <p>By way of justification, the White House said that Mr. Trump was the ultimate arbiter of military justice. But few if any other modern presidents had articulated that entitlement so roundly, even though some had extended clemency to service members (e.g., President Carter for Vietnam War deserters and draft evaders).<sup>35</sup> In any event, <u>it was the first time that a president had pardoned a service member for war crimes.</u><sup>36</sup></p> <p>Emboldened by the president, Gallagher himself then gave television interviews protesting the military's treatment of him, in extraordinary defiance of his chain of command.</p> <p>Chaos ensued. Defying the thunderous criticism that his actions had unleashed, on November 21 Mr. Trump countermanded the commander of the Navy SEALs and (by way of Twitter) announced that Gallagher would not be ousted from the SEALs.<sup>37</sup> On November 22, Richard Spencer, the Secretary of the Navy, appeared to defy Mr. Trump by resolving to proceed with Gallagher's disciplinary review.<sup>38</sup> On November 23, Spencer reportedly threatened to resign over the issue.<sup>39</sup> On November 24, Defense Secretary Mark Esper fired Spencer – purportedly for having bypassed Esper by attempting to cut a secret deal with the White House that the disciplinary review would allow Gallagher to remain in the SEALs if Mr. Trump allowed the review to proceed.<sup>40</sup> But in truth, Mr. Trump had ordered Esper to fire Spencer for having publicly questioned Mr. Trump's command and having threatened to resign. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17(9)</p>
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<p>11-15-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] In his resignation letter – clearly prepared in advance of his being fired – Spencer wrote: “I no longer share the same understanding with the commander in chief who appointed me, in regards to the key principle of good order and discipline. I cannot in good conscience obey an order that I believe violates the sacred oath I took ... .”<sup>41</sup> On November 25, Esper said that Mr. Trump had now directly ordered him (Esper) to halt disciplinary proceedings against Gallagher.<sup>42</sup></p> <p>On November 27, writing in The Washington Post, Spencer provided a chronology of the events – including the three times in which Mr. Trump had intervened on Gallagher's behalf, seemingly for political reasons. Spencer called Mr. Trump's intervention "shocking and unprecedented." A former Marine, he wrote: “[Mr. Trump] has very little understanding of what it means to be in the military, to fight ethically or to be governed by a uniform set of rules and practices.”<sup>43</sup></p> <p>At the end of the day, Mr. Trump and Esper had taken the knife to military justice and discipline. The Post's editorial board concluded that Esper had now joined the parade of Mr. Trump's authoritarian enablers, hitherto headlined by such senior officials as Secretary of State Mike Pompeo (for facilitating the Ukraine extortion), chief of staff Mick Mulvaney (similar), and Attorney General William Barr (for downplaying the Mueller report's damning conclusions, for bringing a politically motivated antitrust suit against auto manufacturers, and otherwise).<sup>44</sup></p> <p>Observers contended that future service members in the field could now think to commit atrocities with impunity. And those subject to disciplinary proceedings could now hope to prevail in their cases by appealing to the public, the president and other political actors. CSD does not maintain that politics and personal pleas have never figured into the rendering of American military justice. But commentators characterized the baldness and arrogance of Gallagher's protestations and of Mr. Trump's intervention as unprecedented.</p> <p>Gallagher's lawyers were former partners of Mr. Trump's personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani.<sup>45</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17(9)</p>
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<p>11-15-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] A CNN analysis placed the Gallagher controversy within the larger context of Mr. Trump's relationship with the military:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mr. Trump's references to service members as "my warfighters" during the Gallagher controversy – like his earlier, boastful references to "my generals" – highlighted his apparent view that that the military served him more than (or rather than) the country.</li> <li>• While troops had come to be split between embracing and rejecting Mr. Trump's style of command, ranking officers had widely disdained it, and the top command had been unanimous in rejecting his intervention in the Gallagher affair.</li> <li>• Dismay among senior officers had also attended Mr. Trump's impulsive pullback of troops in Syria; his subsequent return of troops to Syria without a clear statement of mission; his undermining of U.S. relationships with NATO, South Korea and Japan; his attacks on a uniformed impeachment inquiry witness, Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman; his expression of interest in visiting Moscow during its annual May Day military parade; and his call for "thank you" campaign donations on the occasion of Veteran's Day.</li> <li>• The dismay also extended more generally to Mr. Trump's mercurial moods, his impulsive tweeting and decision-making, his resistance to data, his politicization of the military, and his reliance on Fox News for the formulation of his military policies.</li> <li>• Some senior officers had been reluctant to appear alongside Mr. Trump during his public addresses, for fear that he would make partisan political remarks in their presence.<sup>46</sup></li> </ul> <p>A poll of active duty military personnel conducted by Military Times revealed additional resentments, especially among officers: for Mr. Trump's poor treatment of his former defense secretary James Mattis; his withholding of military aid to Ukraine; and his raiding of military construction funds to build the wall at the Mexican border.</p> <p>The New York Times characterized Mr. Trump's acts of clemency as reflecting his "finely-honed sense of grievance against authority" – here, against the military command that he had once lionized. The Times wrote: [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17(9)</p>
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<p>11-15-19 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "While he boasts of supporting the military, he has come to distrust the generals and admirals who run it. Rather than accept information from his own government, he responds to television reports that grab his interest. ...[T]he president finds himself more removed than ever from a disenchanted military command, adding the armed forces to the institutions under his authority that he has feuded with, along with the intelligence community, law enforcement agencies and diplomatic corps."<sup>47</sup></i></p> <p><u>Flaunting it all, on December 8 Mr. Trump brought two of those he had pardoned on stage at a political fundraiser in Florida,<sup>48</sup> And on December 21 he and First Lady Melania Trump hosted Gallagher and his wife at Mar-a-Lago.<sup>49</sup></u></p>	<p>2, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 17(9)</p>
<p>11-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>Stay at my hotel!</u></b> Mr. Trump re-tweeted an advertisement for the Trump International Hotel in Washington. The original tweet had been posted by ... his son, Eric Trump.<sup>50</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>
<p>11-20-19, 12-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Verma, grabbing.</u></b> On November 20, media reported that Mr. Trump's chief of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid, Seema Verma, had caused the agency to pay outside public relations contractors \$3,000,000 to promote herself and the agency.<sup>51</sup> On December 8, media reported that Verma had asked the agency to reimburse her for \$43,000 worth of uninsured jewelry that had been stolen from her during an official business trip.<sup>52</sup> Ethics experts criticized both actions.</p>	<p>17 (11)</p>
<p>11-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>The chosen one.</u></b> Energy Secretary Rick Perry said that Mr. Trump was "the chosen one" sent by God to govern America.<sup>53</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>11-28-19</p>	<p><b><u>Delay, by litigation.</u></b> The New York Times detailed how Mr. Trump, in multiple lawsuits and citing highly questionable legal theories, was delaying the release of information that could damage him in the House's impeachment proceedings and in the upcoming 2020 election. The actions included preventing former White House Counsel Donald McGahn from testifying; protecting Mr. Trump's financial records; and sequestering grand jury records relative to the Mueller investigation. In much or all of this, Mr. Trump's Justice Department was avidly pleading on his behalf. The Times reported: <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>11-28-19</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "The [legal] theories include asserting that Congress lacks legitimate legislative authority to conduct oversight of whether government officials are engaged in wrongdoing, even though lawmakers have done so for generations; that impeachment investigators cannot gain access to grand-jury evidence, even though an appeals court permitted just that during Watergate; and that senior presidential aides are immune from subpoenas, even though a judge rejected that theory in 2008."</i></p> <p>Despite losing lower court cases, Mr. Trump appeared to be prepared to take his arguments far higher. The Times wrote: <i>"Many administrations have sometimes made privilege and immunity claims to fend off or delay congressional attempts to pry information out of the executive branch .... But prior presidents, unlike Mr. Trump, were willing to resolve disputes through negotiation and compromise long before they could reach the Supreme Court."</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump claimed that he was protecting presidential prerogatives for all future presidents; but in truth he appeared simply to be trying to run out the clock on his own political exposure, in advance of the 2020 election.<sup>54</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>12-2-19, 12-12-19</p>	<p><b><u>The crony wall.</u></b> On December 2, the Defense Department awarded a \$400 million contract to build a span of Mr. Trump's border wall in Arizona to Fisher Sand and Gravel Company, a politically-active firm that had never before entered into a construction contract but that had vocally supported the wall-building enterprise on Fox News and elsewhere. Mr. Trump had been pushing for Fisher to win the award, despite resistance from the Army Corps of Engineers.<sup>55</sup> On December 12, the department's inspector general opened an investigation.<sup>56</sup></p>	<p>13, 16</p>
<p>12-3-19</p>	<p><b><u>The polls don't lie.</u></b> Media widely reported a late November survey conducted by The Economist magazine that found that <u>53% of Republicans now considered Mr. Trump to be a better president than Abraham Lincoln.</u><sup>57</sup> Media also reported an August survey conducted by Pew Research Center that had found that <u>43% of Republicans would prefer that Congress and the courts exert fewer checks on presidential powers.</u><sup>58</sup> On November 5, media had reported that <u>62% of Mr. Trump's supporters said that they would continue to support him, no matter what he did while in office.</u><sup>59</sup> Apparently Mr. Trump had convinced them.</p>	<p>9</p>

12-3-19	<b><u>No police for you.</u></b> Attorney General William Barr, the country's top law enforcement official, vaguely threatened urban communities to withhold police support if they wouldn't show respect for the police. <sup>60</sup> Barr meanwhile – as presented above in this Addendum – was viewed by critics as having broadly enabled Mr. Trump's legal and constitutional breaches.	17 (6, 9)
12-3-19	<b><u>No foundation for intelligence.</u></b> Susan Gordon – Mr. Trump's former deputy director of intelligence whom he had passed over for the director's position because he had questioned her loyalty – now proved him correct in an address to a foreign policy group in Washington. She said that he had no "framework or foundation" for understanding intelligence; that he routinely questioned the analyses of intelligence officials while instead routinely embracing those of right-wing news commentators; and that he tended to view international strategic issues mainly in terms of economic benefit rather than other policy considerations. <sup>61</sup>	10, 13
12-4-19	<b><u>Two-faced.</u></b> At a NATO meeting in the UK, a group of world leaders was caught on video mildly mocking Mr. Trump. He reacted by telling reporters that one of the participants, Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau, was "two-faced." <sup>62</sup>	10, 11
12-5-19	<b><u>Rocket Man vs. the dotard.</u></b> As Mr. Trump's heavily hyped breakthrough in relations with North Korea appeared to continue to be going nowhere, Mr. Trump again referred to North Korean President Kim Jung-un as "Rocket Man." Kim's staff retaliated by threatening to resume calling Mr. Trump a senile "dotard." Each man also resumed threatening the other with military hostilities. <sup>63</sup>	10
12-7-19	<b><u>The other quid pro quos.</u></b> Almost as though to confirm his extortion of a reluctant Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky – that is, withholding desperately needed military aid unless Zelensky agreed to slander the U.S. Democratic presidential contender Joe Biden – Mr. Trump demonstrated a similar zeal to forcibly extract electoral support from <i>Americans</i> who might be loath to give it. In a speech to a largely Jewish audience at the Israeli American Council in Boca Raton, Florida, Mr. Trump viciously said: [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	6, 9

<p>12-7-19</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] “A lot of you are in the real estate business, because I know you very well. You’re brutal killers, not nice people at all. But you have to vote for me — you have no choice. You’re not gonna vote for Pocahontas [Democratic presidential contender Elizabeth Warren], I can tell you that. You’re not gonna vote for the wealth tax. Yeah, let’s take 100 percent of your wealth away! Some of you don’t like me. Some of you I don’t like at all, actually. And you’re going to be my biggest supporters because you’re going to be out of business in about 15 minutes if they get it.”<sup>64</sup></i></p> <p>Mr. Trump had long been telling Evangelical Christians something similar: that even if they disliked his character, they had no choice but to vote for him, because his opponents were unfriendly on the political issues they cared about.<sup>65</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>12-7-19</p>	<p><b><u>Sobbing for the Saudis.</u></b> After a Saudi Arabian air force pilot massacred Americans at an air base in Pensacola, Florida where they all had been training, Mr. Trump publicized the Saudi regime's condolences before he extended his own condolences to the families of the murdered Americans. He offered no suggestion that the episode amounted to terrorism. And he offered no assurances that the Saudis would help investigate the episode. Observers noted that if a Muslim from any other foreign country had committed the crime, Mr. Trump instead would likely have been ranting against jihadists.<sup>66</sup> And in fact security officials evaluating the Pensacola incident quickly suspected a concerted act of terrorism and began an investigation.<sup>67</sup></p>	<p>12</p>
<p>12-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Barr vs. conservatism.</u></b> A New York Times analysis detailed William Barr's radical departure from the traditional role of attorney general – to the dismay of mainstream conservatives who, when he was nominated for the position, had expected him to perform in that role as one of them. Not only had he come to embrace and facilitate Mr. Trump's authoritarian view of executive power, but – vividly and increasingly – he had unabashedly advanced imposing sectarian cultural views on the nation.<sup>68</sup></p>	<p>17 (6, 9)</p>

<p>12-9-19</p>	<p><b><u>North Korea: the transaction continues.</u></b> Attempting to curry favor with the brutal North Korean regime, for the second year in a row the Trump administration blocked a discussion of that country's human rights abuses at the United Nations Security Council. The North Korean government nevertheless called Mr. Trump "a heedless and erratic old man."<sup>69</sup></p>	<p>14</p>
<p>12-9-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Barr vs. the inspector general.</u></b> On December 9, Michael Horowitz, the Justice Department's inspector general, issued a long-awaited and lengthy report on its investigation of the department's earlier investigation of Mr. Trump's election campaign. The report found a number of irregularities in the investigation that warranted systemic correction going forward. But – contrary to the shrill and ceaseless claims of Mr. Trump and his supporters – the report found (a) no political conspiracy within the department either to undermine Mr. Trump or to launch the initial investigation (which had begun directly after the FBI had received alarming tips about possible Russian election interference), and (b) no "spying" on the campaign by the Obama administration.</p> <p>Mr. Trump's attorney general, William Barr, had been one of those who had dramatically and falsely alleged the spying. Upon the release of the Horowitz report, much as he had cynically spun the Mueller report on Russian election meddling in Mr. Trump's favor upon that report's release, <u>Barr again leapt into spin action – now disagreeing with Horowitz, and insisting that the investigation had begun out of a political animus.</u> Indeed in July – remarkably, politically, and undemocratically – Barr had caused the department to hire its own special attorney to conduct a <i>criminal</i> investigation of his department's staff, with a view to second-guessing the inspector general. Barr now indicated that he was looking toward that special attorney's forthcoming report, which he expected to be more damning of the department's prior conduct, and more aligned with Mr. Trump's allegations.<sup>70</sup></p> <p>The following day, in an NBC News interview, <u>Barr more explicitly denounced the Horowitz report; he said that he suspected Horowitz of "bad faith"; and he reiterated his (and Mr. Trump's) claim that the FBI had "spied" on the campaign.</u><sup>71</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 17 (7, 9)</p>



<p>12-9-19 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Walter Shaub, who had resigned as the chief of the Office of Government Ethics early in Mr. Trump's tenure, now blasted Barr as a "threat to democracy" who was likely to raise unfounded allegations against department staff in the service of Mr. Trump's reelection campaign.<sup>72</sup> Former Attorney General Eric Holder, in an extraordinary rebuke of a successor in that office, wrote in The Washington Post on December 11 that Barr's recent behavior was "so plainly ideological, so nakedly partisan and so deeply inappropriate for America's chief law enforcement official" that it resembled "the tactics of an unscrupulous criminal defense lawyer"; was "fundamentally inconsistent with his duty to the Constitution"; and rendered him "unfit to lead the Justice Department."<sup>73</sup></p> <p><u>Mr. Trump, for his part, called the Justice Department's failings as detailed in the Horowitz report "far worse than I ever thought possible" and "an attempted overthrow of the government."</u><sup>74</sup> On December 10, he lashed out at the current FBI director, Christopher Wray – whom he himself had appointed – for endorsing the report.<sup>75</sup> At a campaign rally in Hershey, Pennsylvania that evening, Mr. Trump falsely claimed that the report proved that politically motivated FBI agents had spied on his campaign in "scandalous abuses of power."<sup>76</sup> He also said that the investigation of Russian election meddling resulted in the lives of (his) "great people" being "destroyed by scum."<sup>77</sup> On December 15, Mr. Trump hinted that former FBI Director James Comey, under whose watch the irregularities had occurred and who later had become Mr. Trump's adversary, should be jailed.<sup>78</sup> A New York Times columnist wrote, <u>"By the end of the week, Americans could be forgiven for thinking that the F.B.I. was indeed part of some sinister coup attempt — precisely the opposite of what Mr. Horowitz had concluded."</u><sup>79</sup></p> <p>Current FBI staffers reportedly expressed dismay that Wray and their former colleagues were being hunted by Barr and Mr. Trump for doing their jobs properly; that the apolitical reputation of the agency was being compromised; and that the campaign against law enforcement could have a chilling effect on the performance of sensitive investigations.<sup>80</sup> For CSD, <u>it now appeared questionable whether the agency could ever investigate Mr. Trump or those around him again, regardless of the nature or scope of suspected crimes.</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 17 (7, 9)</p>
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<p>12-10-19</p>	<p><b>Ripping out their hearts.</b> At the rally in Hershey, Pennsylvania described above, Mr. Trump launched his usual battery of boasts and insults. He also returned to his theme which, however shocking it once may have been, was barely even reported upon anymore: the demonization of migrants. He said, <i>“Thanks to Democrat immigration policies, innocent Americans in all 50 states are being brutalized and murdered by illegal alien criminals. Last summer, at least 19 illegal aliens were charged in connection with grisly homicides, including hacking victims to death and ripping out, in two cases, their hearts.”</i><sup>81</sup></p> <p>Also in Hershey, Mr. Trump told his cheering fans that the Democrats' impeachment proceedings were a "witch hunt" intended to "erase your votes, nullify the election, and overthrow our democracy."<sup>82</sup> He falsely said that the articles of impeachment proved his innocence and undercut the Democrats' own credibility – because they alleged "no crimes."<sup>83</sup> And he urged a security guard to use physical force in ejecting a protester, as he had done at multiple previous rallies.<sup>84</sup></p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>12-12-19</p>	<p><b>Giving it to Greta.</b> By way of Twitter, on December 12 Mr. Trump mercilessly mocked Greta Thunberg, the 16-year-old Swedish climate activist, promptly after she had won Time Magazine's person of the year designation.<sup>85</sup> His anger appeared to have derived both from jealousy (that is, from his desire to have won the designation himself) and from his disdain for climate activism. For many observers, the episode made for acute dissonance relative to first lady Melania Trump's campaign against cyber-bullying of children.<sup>86</sup> For CSD, the episode represented the merging of, and the apotheosis of, the politics of ignorance and cruelty.</p> <p>The tweet was part of barrage of more than 100 rage- and falsehood-filled dispatches that Mr. Trump unleashed that morning, just before the House Judiciary Committee was about to vote on articles of impeachment against him. Many of the tweets attacked the impeachment; another was an advertisement for Mr. Trump's Florida resort, Mar-a-Lago. <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15</p>

<p>12-12-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The tweet-storm followed a 105-message storm on December 8 that had featured attacks on the impeachment, Democrats and the media. That day's tweets had included praise for a mixed martial artist who supported Mr. Trump, plus a video of another martial artist offering to beat up Mr. Trump's political opponents. During the December 12 storm, Mr. Trump praised the latter fighter and yet another martial arts fighter who supported him, and he implied that the fighters could beat up any antifa agitators who might cross them.<sup>87</sup></p>	<p>1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15</p>
<p>12-14-19</p>	<p><b><u>Frying the press.</u></b> Mr. Trump issued a pair of excited attacks on the press, in which he called MSNBC communistic, upbraided Fox for interviewing his adversaries, highlighted his fixation with the press as ratings-driven entertainment, and viciously mocked an array of TV hosts and public officials, as follows:</p> <p><i>"Hard to believe that @FoxNews will be interviewing sleazebag &amp; totally discredited former FBI Director James Comey, &amp; also corrupt politician Adam "Shifty" Schiff. Fox is trying sooo hard to be politically correct, and yet they were totally shut out from the failed Dem debates! ... Both Commiecast MSNBC &amp; Fake News CNN are watching their Ratings TANK. Fredo [Chris Cuomo] on CNN is dying. Don't know why @FoxNews wants to be more like them? They'll all die together as other outlets take their place. Only pro Trump Fox shows do well. Rest are nothing. How's Shep [Shepard Smith, a sometimes Trump critic who had been forced out of Fox] doing?"<sup>88</sup></i></p>	<p>1, 9, 11</p>
<p>12-16-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Fact Checker.</u></b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made 15,413 false or misleading claims while in office, for an average of 15 per day. And the pace was quickening: in 2019 he had more than doubled the number of such claims over the previous two years.<sup>89</sup></p>	<p>7</p>

<p>12-18-19</p>	<p><b><u>In Michigan.</u></b> During the final impeachment voting in the House of Representatives, Mr. Trump scorned the proceedings by holding a campaign rally in Battle Creek, Michigan. Unlike the two previous modern presidents who had faced impeachment, he remained defiant. He slammed the impeachment process and the Democrats, boasted of his polling numbers (which were not strong, and no stronger than they had typically been), slandered the mainstream press, condemned former electoral opponent "Crooked Hillary" Clinton (and after three years still drawing the crowd's chant, "<i>Lock her up!</i>"), pounded former presidents Clinton and Obama, mocked special counsel Robert Mueller and several Democratic presidential contenders, and said of former FBI Director James Comey, "<i>Did I do a great job when I fired his ass?</i>" In a casual gesture of cruelty that thrilled his fans at the rally but gained notoriety elsewhere, he ridiculed a recently deceased Michigan congressman and his wife (who had succeeded him and had just voted to impeach).<sup>90</sup> Also, much as he had done at a rally in Pennsylvania on December 10, Mr. Trump urged the use of force against a protester, and he attacked her physical appearance.<sup>91</sup></p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>12-19-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>All roads to Putin.</u></b> At a news conference in Moscow on December 19, Russian President Vladimir Putin echoed a number of Mr. Trump's protestations of his innocence. He said that after the Democratic party had accused Mr. Trump of having colluded with Russia in American election tampering, "it turned out there was no collusion." He also said that the impeachment charges against Mr. Trump relative to the Ukraine scandal "were completely made up" and "completely fabricated."<sup>92</sup> The following day, Mr. Trump boasted about Putin's backing by re-tweeting an article reporting on it.<sup>93</sup></p> <p>Also on December 19, CNN reported that Mr. Trump was resisting a strongly bipartisan Senate bill meant to deter and punish Russian aggression and its interference in American elections.<sup>94</sup></p> <p>As House Speaker Nancy Pelosi had said on October 17, "<i>All roads seem to lead to Putin with the president.</i>"<sup>95</sup></p>	<p>12</p>

<p>12-21-19, 12-24-19</p>	<p><b>Tilting at windmills.</b> On December 21, Mr. Trump railed at "windmills" (actually wind turbines) in a lengthy and disjointed diatribe at a conservative student convention in West Palm Beach, Florida. <i>"You know, I know windmills very much. I've studied it better than anybody I know,"</i> he said. He complained that turbines kill birds (including "many bald eagles"), cause carbon emissions in their manufacture (he had not often objected to carbon emissions before), and – with their unmaintained exteriors and sometimes mismatched colors, were unsightly compared to his own buildings (<i>"I'm like a perfectionist; I really built good stuff."</i>) He had previously claimed, without evidence, that the turbines cause cancer. His obsession appeared to date from ten years previous, when he had brought a lawsuit in Scotland to prevent the installation of an offshore wind farm that he believed would ruin the sea view from one of his golf courses.</p> <p>During his speech, Mr. Trump took additional opportunities to boast, exaggerate, rage and insult. He claimed that he had brought back to American parlance the expression "Merry Christmas" and that his administration had "achieved more in this month alone than almost any president has achieved in eight years in office." He blasted "Crazy Nancy" Pelosi, "Crooked Hillary" Clinton, Hunter Biden, Beto O'Rourke, the "almost totally corrupt" media, the "Washington swamp," and the "illegal, unconstitutional and hyper-partisan impeachment."<sup>96</sup> As he stoked the crowd's fury, he said that his supporters included "the toughest people" – hinting that someday they may do violence to Democrats.<sup>97</sup></p> <p>As for the deaths of birds, on December 24 The New York Times reported that the Trump administration had stopped enforcing nearly all regulatory protections against bird deaths caused by industry, thus effectively causing untold numbers of avian deaths.<sup>98</sup></p>	<p>1, 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 15</p>
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<p>12-24-19</p>	<p><b><u>Pro-family?</u></b> Mr. Trump's campaign urged his supporters to fight with their Democratic relatives at upcoming Christmas dinners.<sup>99</sup> The call to action echoed that of his son and surrogate, Donald Trump, Jr. in advance of the recent Thanksgiving holiday.<sup>100</sup> An adventure that had initially struck CSD as merely obnoxious now appeared to be a concerted tactic to sow chaos and disorder within the very core of American society, in the belief that Mr. Trump could benefit from that.</p> <p>Pundits on the left and the right had long been opining that, at a policy level, Mr. Trump saw himself as thriving in chaos and sought to create it whenever he could. It is CSD's understanding that authoritarian leaders elsewhere have often risen to power that way.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>12-28-19</p>	<p><b><u>The war on science.</u></b> In a wide-ranging analysis, The New York Times summarized Mr. Trump's war on federally funded and conducted scientific programs. His assaults had included defunding scientific units and studies, squeezing scientists out of employment, gagging scientific reports and voices, replacing scientists with lobbyists and ideology-driven administrators, and flat-out changing scientifically derived conclusions. The affected areas of inquiry included climate change, broader environmental and public health themes, and agricultural science. The assaults had been conducted for the benefit of industry. Concerns included not only the immediate advancement of science and public health, but the loss of institutional knowledge; the many years it would take to recover from the hollowing-out of federal scientific investigation; and the slowdown in scientific momentum that had profoundly improved American life over decades in such areas as life expectancy, air pollution and farm productivity.<sup>101</sup> (CSD had previously reported on many of the specific anti-scientific episodes in this Chronology. We nevertheless commend this recap to our readers.)</p>	<p>8</p>

**The Impeachment**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 27)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 17 as defined in CSD's Statement of Principles.**

<b><u>Date</u></b>	<b><u>Episode</u></b>
11-1-19	<p><b><u>The real polls.</u></b> Mr. Trump disparaged both CNN and Fox News polls that showed that almost half of Americans wanted him impeached and removed from office. <i>"I have the real polls," he said. "The CNN polls are fake. The Fox polls have always been lousy; I tell them they ought to get themselves a new pollster."</i><sup>102</sup></p> <p>On the same day, The Washington Post reported that, since the emergence of the scandal about Mr. Trump extorting Ukraine's president to announce an investigation of American presidential contender Joe Biden, Mr. Trump had repeatedly tweeted poll numbers that exaggerated the extent to which Republican voters continued to support him.<sup>103</sup></p>
11-3-19 +	<p><b><u>Outing the whistleblower.</u></b> On November 3, Mr. Trump reiterated his calls to unmask the whistleblower who had reported his July 25 telephone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, and to discredit him or her as an allegedly Democratic partisan. (Whistleblowers' anonymity is protected by statute; and the attorneys for this particular whistleblower had made clear that outing him or her would imperil his or her safety.)<sup>104</sup> Mr. Trump also repeated to reporters – still without evidence, explanation or even reasoned argument – his claim that the whistleblower was a "fraud," even though the whistleblower's allegations had now been corroborated by more than a dozen witnesses.<sup>105</sup></p> <p><u>On November 6, Mr. Trump's son and surrogate, Donald, Jr. re-tweeted to his 4 million followers a Breitbart News article naming the supposed whistleblower, after that name had been posted by many other pro-Trump partisans and right-wing conspiracy theorists over the previous weeks.</u><sup>106</sup></p>
11-4-19	<p><b><u>More stones in the wall.</u></b> Four White House officials defied the subpoenas of congressional impeachment investigators – the latest in a chain of such stonewalling on the part of administration figures.<sup>107</sup> One of the officials was John Eisenberg, lead attorney for the National Security Council, who had repeatedly declined to challenge the Ukraine extortion scheme and had helped decide to hide the July 25 telephone transcript.<sup>108</sup></p>

<p>11-4-19 +</p>	<p><b>About Masha.</b> On November 4, House impeachment investigators released transcripts of recent witness testimonies revealing details of Mr. Trump's abrupt recall of Marie ("Masha") Yovanovitch from her post as the corruption-fighting ambassador to Ukraine. Specifically, Mr. Trump had (obliquely and indirectly) threatened her "security" if she didn't take the next plane home, without even packing her personal effects. (Subsequent revelations appeared to indicate that that meant he would destroy her career if she disobeyed. Mr. Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani and his son Donald, Jr. had already been publicly slandering her.)</p> <p>Transcripts also revealed that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had three times refused the entreaties of his senior aide Michael McKinley to stand by Yovanovitch, and that Pompeo had thus lied on television when he had denied that anyone had raised the topic with him.<sup>109</sup> (Pompeo had previously lied on television when implying that he knew nothing about Mr. Trump's July 25 telephone call with Zelensky. In fact Pompeo been on the call.)</p> <p>The Times reported that Pompeo was now seen by State Department staff as even more demoralizing than his predecessor Rex Tillerson had been: for abandoning Yovanovitch; for abandoning Yovanovitch's successor, William Taylor, in the face of Mr. Trump's attacks on Taylor's testimony about the Ukraine scandal; for forbidding diplomats from testifying before the impeachment investigators; for promoting Mr. Trump's unfounded theory that Ukraine rather than Russia had hacked the Democratic National Committee's emails; for allowing the State Department to be used to discredit Mr. Trump's political rival Biden; for empowering Giuliani's rogue diplomatic activities in Ukraine generally; and for traveling frequently to his home state of Kansas for personal political purposes at the department's expense.<sup>110</sup></p> <p>On November 23, media reported on newly released State Department emails and documents that further placed Pompeo in the midst of the Ukraine scheme.<sup>111</sup></p>
<p>11-5-19</p>	<p><b>Sondland remembers.</b> House impeachment investigators released a deposition transcript in which Gordon Sondland – Mr. Trump's wealthy inaugural celebration donor, ambassador to the European Union, and irregular envoy in Ukraine – had testified before the House impeachment investigators. As the document showed, just the previous day Sondland had corrected his testimony to acknowledge that he in fact had conveyed an implicit "<i>quid pro quo</i>" to Ukrainian authorities. Specifically, and contrary to his original testimony, he now "recalled" that he and others had conditioned inviting Zelensky to the White House and releasing congressionally appropriated military aid to Ukraine upon Zelensky publicly announcing an investigation into Biden and into allegations of Ukrainian tampering in the 2016 American election.<sup>112</sup></p>



<p>11-6-19</p>	<p><b><u>Defense by falsehood.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump's public defense of impeachment investigators' allegations to date had consisted largely of advancing, repeatedly, the following falsehoods, with no supporting evidence, and contrary to facts that were in plain view:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The whistleblower's characterization of the July 25 phone call with Zelensky was inaccurate, fraudulent, and inconsistent with the summary transcript of the call. (<i>Belied by</i> the transcript itself and by much corroborating evidence.)</li> <li>• Officials who had corroborated the scheme to extort Ukraine were "Never Trumpers" – politically motivated against him. (<i>Belied by</i> their records of probity, and by Mr. Trump having appointed a number of them himself.)</li> <li>• Various senators had proclaimed him "innocent." (<i>Belied by</i> them denying that.)</li> <li>• Opinion polls showing that popular support for his impeachment and removal were "fake." (<i>Belied by</i> the consistency of the polls.)<sup>113</sup></li> </ul>
<p>11-6-19 - 11-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Kent transcript.</u></b> The House impeachment investigators released the transcript of the October 15 testimony of Deputy Assistant Secretary of State George Kent, the government's top expert on Ukraine. (See CSD's entry of October 14 + for a report on his opening statement, which had been released at that time.) Kent described Mr. Trump's insistence that Zelensky publicly announce investigations of Biden, Hillary Clinton and the 2016 presidential election as a pre-condition for winning an invitation to the White House, and possibly also for receiving the \$391 million in congressionally mandated U.S. military assistance. Kent also described Giuliani's "campaign of lies" to discredit then ambassador Yovanovitch in the service of Mr. Trump's personal agenda, and the complicity of other State Department officials in going along with the Trump-Giuliani scheme.<sup>114</sup></p> <p>The newly released transcripts of the testimonies of Fiona Hill (until recently the top Europe and Russia expert at the National Security Council), Lt. Colonel Alexander Vindman (the current Ukraine expert at the National Security Council) and Taylor (the current acting U.S. ambassador to Ukraine) also corroborated and expanded upon their previously released opening statements – all describing the extortion scheme, as they had witnessed it.<sup>115</sup> (See CSD's entries from October.)</p>
<p>11-7-19</p>	<p><b><u>Saved by the bell.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Zelensky had been preparing to capitulate to Mr. Trump's extortion – i.e., imminently announcing on CNN that he was initiating the investigations that Mr. Trump had demanded in order to procure the release of the military aid that his country desperately needed – when a Congressional uproar over the scandal saved him from that disgrace. Some of Mr. Trump's supporters had been arguing that the absence of a "<i>quid pro quo</i>" was proven by Mr. Trump's having eventually released the military aid without Zelensky having launched or announced the investigations. But it now became even more clear that Mr. Trump's attempted extortion had failed only because the Democratic Congress and the American media had foiled it.<sup>116</sup></p>

<p>11-7-19, 11-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Bolton stalls; Mulvaney waffles, refuses.</u></b> On November 7, Mr. Trump's former national security advisor John Bolton refused to appear before the House impeachment investigators until a court might issue an order permitting him to honor a congressional subpoena while defying a presidential order that he not appear. Other witnesses had reported that Bolton had closely observed and keenly objected to Mr. Trump's extortion of Ukraine as it was unfolding.<sup>117</sup></p> <p>On November 8, Mr. Trump's acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney flatly refused to appear, on grounds that he enjoyed "absolute immunity," a mysterious doctrine that had no apparent basis in legal precedent. Later that day Mulvaney reversed, asking the same court as Bolton's to rule on his obligation to testify.<sup>118</sup> Apparently struggling to find his principles, on November 12 Mulvaney re-reversed, now refusing once again to testify.<sup>119</sup> Mulvaney had been implicated by other witnesses as having actively fostered the extortion scheme. He was also reportedly engaged in a raging feud with White House counsel as to which of them would manage Mr. Trump's impeachment defense.<sup>120</sup> And he had notoriously admitted Mr. Trump's "<i>quid pro quo</i>" threat to Zelensky in October – and then, under pressure from Mr. Trump, he had promptly reversed himself.<sup>121</sup></p> <p>For several weeks, <u>a principal defense to the allegations leveled against Mr. Trump, as advanced by Mr. Trump and his supporters, had consisted of disparaging those allegations for being based on second-hand information. Missing from that defense was an acknowledgement that Mr. Trump had forbidden those having first-hand knowledge from testifying.</u> A former federal prosecutor wrote compellingly in The Times how extraordinary that was: that (unlike in preceding impeachment inquiries) a president had now broadly blocked testimony by his subordinates who had actual knowledge of the subject events – Giuliani, Esper, Perry, Pompeo, Bolton, and others. The writer argued that that behavior in itself was impeachable.<sup>122</sup></p>
<p>11-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Making things up.</u></b> Mr. Trump wildly fabricated facts about the impeachment inquiry in response to reporters' questions. See CSD's entry of November 8 in the first part of this Addendum.</p>
<p>11-9-19</p>	<p><b><u>Fear and loathing.</u></b> The Times detailed the intimidation and disgust that the State Department's workface had widely come to feel as the Ukraine scandal – the shake-down of Zelensky, the hijacking of diplomacy, and the terrorizing of senior staff, all for Mr. Trump's personal political gain – had been revealed.<sup>123</sup></p>
<p>11-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>Parnas flips.</u></b> The Times reported that Lev Parnas, one of the indicted Soviet-born Americans who had collaborated with Giuliani in seeking dirt on the Bidens, had turned on Mr. Trump, at least in part. He now admitted that, in discussions with Ukrainian leadership as far back as May, he had linked U.S. military aid to their announcing an investigation of the Bidens, in a proposed <i>quid pro quo</i>.<sup>124</sup></p>

<p>11-11-19</p>	<p><b>Bailing.</b> The Times reported that as many as five senior American officials so far had resigned in connection with the Ukraine scandal: Kurt Volker, the special envoy to Ukraine; Tim Morrison, the National Security Council's Russia and Europe director; (possibly) Earl Matthews, another senior National Security Council official; Michael McKinley, a senior advisor to Pompeo; and (possibly) Rick Perry, Secretary of Energy.<sup>125</sup></p>
<p>11-11-19</p>	<p><b>Is there a doctor in the House?</b> Mr. Trump tweeted that Democrat Adam Schiff, who was managing the House's impeachment inquiry, would only release "doctored transcripts" of the proceedings, and thus that Republicans should put out their own versions of the transcripts. In fact Republicans and witnesses had already been approving all transcripts before being released by Schiff.<sup>126</sup></p>
<p>11-13-19</p>	<p><b>Taylor, live.</b> In the first live, televised testimony of the impeachment inquiry, Taylor recounted what mainstream news commentators considered to be a bombshell: that David Holmes, one of Taylor's staffers, had reported to Taylor on an overhead conversation between Sondland and Mr. Trump on July 26 – the day after Mr. Trump's infamous shakedown call with Zelensky. Holmes told Taylor that Mr. Trump had explicitly asked Sondland about the progress of the Ukrainian government announcing an investigation of the matters that interested Mr. Trump (the Bidens and the 2016 election meddling), and that Sondland had responded to Mr. Trump to the effect that the announcement would proceed. Immediately after the overheard call, Sondland told Holmes that <i>"President Trump cares more about the investigations of Biden [than he does about the welfare of Ukraine]."</i><sup>127</sup> Mr. Trump's expression of keen interest in the investigation announcement on that occasion confirmed what to many had seemed obvious: that Mr. Trump himself was actively engaged in the extortion scheme. It also confirmed that the extortion was producing results: that Zelensky was prepared to announce the investigations. The revelations came at a time when some of Mr. Trump's supporters appeared to be moving toward blaming the scheme entirely on others, such as Giuliani, Sondland and Mulvaney.</p> <p>Mr. Trump responded to the day's open testimonies by Taylor and Kent – from a podium that he was sharing with Turkey's authoritarian president, Recep Erdogan – by calling the impeachment hearings a "joke" and a "sham" that "shouldn't be allowed."<sup>128</sup></p>
<p>11-14-19, 11-16-19</p>	<p><b>Doing Schiff.</b> At a campaign rally in Bossier City, Louisiana on November 14, Mr. Trump amped up his mockery of the lead impeachment investigator, California Congressman Adam Schiff, to a feral level. As the crowd laughed, he called out, <i>"Little Shifty Schiff. He's got the little 10-inch neck. 'What size shirts do you need, Adam?' 'I wear a size nine.' Nine. He will not make the LSU football team, that I can tell you."</i><sup>129</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

<p>11-14-19, 11-16-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] CSD found in the slurs Mr. Trump's habitual, threatening identification of himself with burly and potentially violent workers and athletes; his habitual attempts to humiliate his adversaries; and his practice of doing so publicly – backed by a phalanx of supporters, rather than mano-a-mano.</p> <p>Schiff happened to be an active triathlon athlete. For his part, Mr. Trump could not navigate a golf course without riding a cart.</p> <p>On November 16, Mr. Trump resumed his insulting and juvenile parody of Schiff's name, first deployed in 2018, by misspelling his name "Schitt" in a tweet. He also tweeted that, if he were removed from office, the record-high stock market would plunge and a depression would ensue.<sup>130</sup></p>
<p>11-15-19. 11-22-19</p>	<p><b><u>Yovanovitch, live.</u></b> In the second day of live impeachment inquiry testimony, Yovanovitch appeared, in defiance of White House and State Department requests or directives that she not. Her parents had been refugees from the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany. Mr. Trump had now destroyed her diplomatic career. She now testified at likely risk to her professional future and possibly even her person. She nevertheless spoke compelling about:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Her unblemished, 33-year record as a diplomat and in fighting corruption abroad (she had often served under hardship and sometimes under fire).</li> <li>• Giuliani's efforts to smear and "knee-cap" her on fabricated grounds.</li> <li>• Giuliani's collaboration in that endeavor with Parnas, Parnas's partner Igor Fruman, and two corrupt Ukrainian prosecutors, as assisted and amplified by Donald Trump, Jr.</li> <li>• Giuliani's and his associates' "hijacking" of U.S. foreign policy in Ukraine, at an extraordinarily complex and sensitive time in U.S.-Ukraine-Russia relations.</li> <li>• The damage to U.S. interests threatened by such corrupt behavior.</li> <li>• Her sudden and inexplicable recall from her ambassadorship upon Mr. Trump's order.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump's shocking disparagement of and threats against her in his telephone conversation with Zelensky.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump's praise for one of the corrupt prosecutors in that conversation;</li> <li>• Pompeo's failure to defend her in his capacity as secretary of state, for fear of being undercut by a tweet from Mr. Trump.</li> <li>• Her dismay at how easy foreign actors might now feel it is to corruptly influence U.S. policy.</li> <li>• The courageous and selfless service of countless foreign service officers abroad.</li> <li>• Her concern that her colleagues now would fear retaliation for fighting corruption.</li> <li>• The unraveling of and loss of morale within the State Department under the Trump administration generally.</li> <li>• The unprecedented nature of all of this. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>

<p>11-15-19. 11-22-19</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Astonishingly, in what observers characterized as an unmitigated act of absurdity and character assassination, about an hour into Yovanovitch's testimony Mr. Trump tweeted: “Everywhere Marie Yovanovitch went turned bad. She started off in Somalia, how did that go? Then fast forward to Ukraine, where the new Ukrainian President spoke unfavorably about her in my second phone call with him. It is a U.S. President’s absolute right to appoint ambassadors.” Schiff interrupted the testimony to read the tweet to Yovanovitch. The audience gasped. She said she found it intimidating. Schiff observed that he considered the tweet to amount to witness intimidation – an impeachable offense.</u><sup>131</sup></p> <p>Following bi-partisan criticism of the tweet, Mr. Trump defended it on grounds of his freedom of speech.<sup>132</sup> In doing so, he ignored his own attacks on the freedom of speech of journalists. He also implied that, as a legal matter, <i>his</i> freedom of speech was <i>absolute</i>; i.e., overriding well-established proscriptions against anti-social speech such as may lie in acts of extortion, intimidation, defamation, incitement and treason.</p> <p>CSD also notes that several of the key witnesses to date – Vindman, Taylor, Yovanovitch – had courageously served the U.S. in physically perilous circumstances. Yet some of Mr. Trump's supporters had questioned their patriotism, and Mr. Trump had questioned their integrity. He himself, of course had never served. As a Post columnist put it, Yovanovitch's life-long agenda had been to serve her country; Mr. Trump's, to serve himself.<sup>133</sup></p> <p>On November 22, Mr. Trump once again attacked Yovanovitch, now during the course of a Fox News interview, alleging without evidence that she was partisan.<sup>134</sup></p>
<p>11-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>Holmes speaks.</u></b> Holmes, in private testimony before the impeachment investigators, corroborated Taylor's statements about what Holmes had told Taylor about the conversation between Sondland and Mr. Trump that Holmes had overheard. The report on the conversation was thus no longer second hand.<sup>135</sup></p>
<p>11-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>The first call with Ukraine.</u></b> The White House released a summary of a congratulatory call that Mr. Trump had had on April 21 with Zelensky upon the latter's election to Ukraine's presidency. In the call, Mr. Trump had made no mention of Ukrainian corruption. The summary thus contradicted the White House's April 21 read-out of the call to the effect that Mr. Trump had urged an end to that corruption. It also contradicted Mr. Trump's claim to have sought the investigations of the Bidens and of the 2016 election because of his deep antipathy toward corruption generally in Ukraine. As the press flagged the discrepancies, the White House promptly, fallaciously and remarkably blamed them on Vindman. In truth, Vindman had helped prepare the read-out (including a passage about corruption) in advance of the call; but on the actual call Mr. Trump had ignored the talking points that had been painstakingly prepared for him.<sup>136</sup></p>

<p>11-15-19</p>	<p><b><u>Barr fumes.</u></b> Attorney General William Barr – Mr. Trump's repeat enabler – made his first material comments about the impeachment inquiry.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>He said that "in waging a scorched earth, no-holds-barred war of resistance against this administration, it is the left that is engaged in the systematic shredding of norms and the undermining of the rule of law."</u></li> <li>• <u>He said that Democrats were "engaged in a war to cripple, by any means necessary, a duly elected government."</u></li> <li>• <u>He said that Republicans "tend to have more scruple over their political tactics [than Democrats] and rarely feel that the ends justify the means."</u></li> <li>• <u>He said that when elected, Mr. Trump "was up front about what he wanted to do and the people decided they wanted him to serve as president"; that is, that because the voters had elected Mr. Trump on his general agenda, Congress had no right to impeach him for being a scoundrel.</u></li> <li>• <u>Barr also said that the impeachment inquiry being conducted by the Democrats contravened the intent of the drafters of the Constitution, who wanted the president to enjoy sweeping authority.</u><sup>137</sup></li> </ul> <p>As to the first three of Barr's points, CSD finds them to be flatly false, revolting and demagogic. As to the fourth point, we regard it as well beyond reason that an official, because elected, could not be impeached under the Constitution.</p> <p>As to the fifth point, we believe that previous presidents had not viewed their powers under the Constitution to have been so sweeping as Mr. Trump and Barr now appeared to view Mr. Trump's. We also doubt that Mr. Trump and his supporters would be pleased with a Democratic president asserting such sweeping authority. And we doubt that Mr. Trump's seemingly instinctive attempts to seize and exercise extraordinary powers had come out of any sort of historical awareness, constitutional scholarship, or even experience as a political actor within our democracy – as opposed to his native avarice and brutishness, his pathological self-regard, and his life-long disdain and disregard for the law.</p> <p><u>Critics quickly called for Barr's impeachment and disbarment.</u><sup>138</sup></p>
<p>11-16-19, 11-17-19</p>	<p><b><u>Williams speaks.</u></b> Jennifer Williams, Vice President Mike Pence's special advisor for Europe and Russia, told impeachment investigators that she had attended the July 25 phone call between Mr. Trump and Zelensky and had found Mr. Trump's conduct on the call to have been politically motivated, "unusual and inappropriate." The next day, Mr. Trump – dismissing her and other witnesses as too insignificant for him to be acquainted with – tweeted: <i>"Tell Jennifer Williams, whoever that is, to read BOTH transcripts of the presidential calls, &amp; see the just released ststement [sic] from Ukraine [in which Zelensky, seemingly out of intimidation, had denied that Trump had pressured him]. Then she should meet with the other Never Trumpers, who I don't know &amp; mostly never even heard of, &amp; work out a better presidential attack!"</i><sup>139</sup></p>

<p>11-19-19</p>	<p><b><u>Vindman, live.</u></b> On live TV, Vindman testified that, on the infamous July 25 phone call in which he (Vindman) had participated, Mr. Trump had clearly demanded that Zelensky investigate Mr. Trump's adversaries. Vindman also said that Mr. Trump had evidenced no interest in Ukrainian corruption generally, despite Mr. Trump's recent claims to the contrary. Mr. Trump's Republican supporters in the House attempted to ridicule Vindman for wearing his military uniform to the hearing (even though that was typical for testifying officers); to question his loyalty to America (because he had been born in Ukraine); and to force him to reveal the identity of the whistleblower (contrary to statutory protections).<sup>140</sup> The White House and Donald Trump, Jr. attacked Vindman by twitter while he was testifying.<sup>141</sup> The Army was reportedly considering moving Vindman and his family to a secure military base for their protection.<sup>142</sup></p>
<p>11-20-19</p>	<p><b><u>Sondland, live.</u></b> On live TV, defying the White House's instruction not to appear, and materially augmenting and revising his initial closed-door statements, Sondland testified. He said that Mr. Trump – through Giuliani, and with the knowledge of Pence, Perry, Mulvaney and their top aides – had personally ordered that U.S. diplomats condition military assistance and a meeting for Zelensky in Washington on Zelensky announcing a Ukrainian investigation into Burisma (and implicitly the Bidens) and into the 2016 American election. He testified that he himself had likely articulated parts of that <i>quid pro quo</i> to the Ukrainians. He testified that he had found the <i>quid pro quo</i> to be inappropriate, and that Taylor's alarm about it had been merited. He testified that Mr. Trump didn't care about Ukrainian corruption, only about undermining Biden. He specifically confirmed his telephone call with Mr. Trump, the day after the July 25 call with Zelensky, in which Mr. Trump had demanded to learn the progress of the agreement to announce an investigation, and after which Sondland had told Holmes that Mr. Trump cared only about the investigation announcement and not about Ukraine. He also testified that the State Department was refusing to share with him records of his own communications. Sondland's testimony was particularly notable in that only he, among the witnesses to date, was Mr. Trump's hand-picked operative, and had had direct contact with Giuliani and Mr. Trump on the Ukraine affair.<sup>143</sup> In addition, he made clear that Mr. Trump and Giuliani had demanded only a televised announcement of the investigations, not necessarily actual investigations. Observers noted that Mr. Trump likely would have used the video of the announcement in an electoral contest against Biden.<sup>144</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump responded, delusionally, by telling reporters that Sondland's testimony had vindicated him (Mr. Trump), and that "it's all over" for the impeachment hearings.<sup>145</sup> But he also distanced himself from Sondland, claiming to barely know him, even though he had previously praised him as "a really good man and great American."<sup>146</sup> Aides to Pence, Pompeo, Perry and Mulvaney denied the allegations against those officials; but they did not offer alternative narratives.<sup>147</sup> The Times drew a damning portrait of the depths of Pompeo's complicity, and of his betrayal of his subordinates, his agency and his country.<sup>148</sup></p>

<p>11-21-19</p>	<p><b>Hill, live.</b> On live TV, Hill testified – electrically – that the Russia-Trump-Giuliani effort to establish that Ukraine but not Russia had meddled in the 2016 American election promoted a baseless conspiracy theory. <i>"Based on questions and statements I have heard, some of you on this committee appear to believe that Russia and its security services did not conduct a campaign against our country — and that perhaps, somehow, for some reason, Ukraine did,"</i> she said. <i>"This is a fictional narrative that has been perpetrated and propagated by the Russian security services themselves. ... I refuse to be part of an effort to legitimize an alternative narrative that the Ukrainian government is a U.S. adversary, and that Ukraine — not Russia — attacked us in 2016."</i><sup>149</sup></p> <p><i>"The impact of the successful 2016 Russian campaign remains evident today,"</i> Hill also said. <i>"Our nation is being torn apart. Truth is questioned. Our highly professional and expert career foreign service is being undermined."</i><sup>150</sup> <i>"Right now, Russia's security services and their proxies have geared up to repeat their interference. We are running out of time to stop them. In the course of this investigation, I would ask that you please not promote politically driven falsehoods that so clearly advance Russian interests."</i><sup>151</sup></p>
<p>11-21-19</p>	<p><b>Holmes, live.</b> On live TV, Holmes re-confirmed to the impeachment investigators his overhearing the July 26 Trump-Sondland telephone conversation, in which Mr. Trump had demanded to know the status of his extortion of Zelinsky, and after which Sondland had acknowledged to Holmes that Mr. Trump cared about damaging Biden, not about reducing corruption in Ukraine. Holmes noted the hypocrisy: <i>"While we had advised our Ukrainian counterparts to voice a commitment to following the rule of law and generally investigating credible corruption allegations, this was a demand that President Zelensky personally commit, on a cable news channel, to a specific investigation of President Trump's political rival."</i><sup>152</sup> By way of Twitter, in real time, Mr. Trump disparaged Holmes's credibility.<sup>153</sup></p>
<p>11-22-19</p>	<p><b>The Ukrainian server, and other myths.</b> Mr. Trump continued to pursue his (and his supporters') theory that Ukraine, not Russia, had hacked the Democratic National Committee's emails in 2016. The theory held that one forensic analysis of the hack had been performed by CrowdStrike, an American company with a remote Ukrainian connection; that CrowdStrike had come to possess and had refused to turn over to the FBI the DNC's server housing the hacked emails; that the server now resided in Ukraine; and that Mr. Trump thus was somehow justified in shaking down Zelensky for dirt on the Bidens. On his July 25 call with Zelensky, Mr. Trump had alleged that Ukraine held the server. Now, on November 22, Mr. Trump spoke at length during a Fox News interview about the server being in Ukraine. But in truth, the DNC's data resided in the cloud, not on a server; the FBI had been provided with the pertinent cloud data; Mr. Trump had been advised of all of that repeatedly; and separate analyses (performed by Congress, by intelligence agencies, and by special prosecutor Robert Mueller) had also concluded that Russia had committed the hack.<sup>154</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>



<p>11-22-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In the same lengthy and rambling Fox interview, Mr. Trump said that the telephone conversation with Sondland (as reported by Holmes and not rebutted by Sondland) had not occurred; that he had not given Sondland any authority in Ukraine; that he barely knew Sondland (<i>"I see him hanging around when I go to Europe"</i>); that the whistleblower's report (since corroborated many times over by witnesses) was "fake"; and that the Obama administration had spied on his campaign and had "tried to overthrow the presidency." He also leveled gratuitous, <i>ad hominem</i> attacks against Schiff, Pelosi and Yovanovitch. Shamelessly but characteristically, he spewed many other falsehoods as well.<sup>155</sup></p>
<p>11-22-19</p>	<p><b><u>Now bribing Congress.</u></b> Mr. Trump was reported to have been funding the reelection campaigns of Republican members of Congress and entertaining them in retreats at Camp David, in an unusually pointed effort to convince them to vote against impeaching and convicting him.<sup>156</sup></p>
<p>11-22-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Nunes in cahoots?</u></b> On November 22, CNN reported that, according to Parnas's attorney, Republican Congressman Devon Nunes had traveled to Vienna a year previous to meet with, and to seek dirt on Biden from, Victor Shokin – then the former, corrupt Ukrainian prosecutor general. Nunes was one of Mr. Trump's chief allies in the House in contesting first the Mueller investigation and now the impeachment inquiry, and one of the members most given to purveying wild conspiracy theories and to demonizing Democrats. Newsweek wrote: <i>"If accurate, the claim would implicate Nunes in the events his committee is investigating: president Trump and associates allegedly attempting to enlist a foreign government to dig up dirt on a domestic political opponent, while Congressionally approved aid was withheld until the request was met."</i></p> <p>Promptly after the publication, Nunes threatened to sue CNN.<sup>157</sup> (Nunes had previously sued a parody Twitter account that had purported to be Nunes's cow; but he had subsequently dropped that lawsuit.<sup>158</sup>)</p> <p>On November 23, media confirmed that Nunes and two aides had traveled to Vienna on the date Parnas had alleged, at a cost to taxpayers of \$63,000.<sup>159</sup></p> <p>For his high jinx, Nunes now faced a possible congressional investigation – his second in two years, both of them for his complicity in Mr. Trump's wrongdoings. The previous episode had involved his disclosing classified information to the White House in connection with the Intelligence Committee's investigation into Russian meddling in the 2016 election.<sup>160</sup></p> <p>As reported by CSD in our December 3 entry below, Nunes's participation in the broader Ukrainian extortion scheme was shortly thereafter exposed.</p>

<p>11-22-19, 11-26-19</p>	<p><b><u>Evidence? What evidence?</u></b> On November 22, A Post columnist decried the drumbeat of claims on the part of Mr. Trump and his supporters that impeachment investigators had produced only hearsay (if any) evidence, and no direct evidence, of Mr. Trump's extortion of Zelensky. First (wrote the columnist), those claims were fallacious: witnesses had produced ample direct evidence of the extortion. (CSD would add: one might shoot someone on Fifth Avenue in front of scores of witnesses and then roar hundreds of times that he had not done so, but that would not change the facts or the evidence of the crime.) Second, to the extent that evidence was missing, Mr. Trump had forbidden those who would likely know the most about the scheme – Pompeo, Giuliani, Mulvaney, Perry, Bolton – from both testifying and producing documents. (CSD would add: Mr. Trump's attempt to shield himself from the damning testimony of those officials might have been viewed almost universally by common sense Americans as being patent and preposterous – in another time.) Third, the categorical refusal to produce witnesses and documents was far broader than any other recent president of either party had dared deploy.<sup>161</sup></p> <p>But on November 26, Mr. Trump tweeted that his ban on senior aides testifying was selfless. He wrote, <i>"I am fighting for future Presidents and the Office of the President. Other than that, I would actually like people to testify. ... "</i> <i>"It is a Democrat Scam that is going nowhere but, future Presidents should in no way be compromised."</i></p>
<p>11-25-19, 11-27-19, 12-8-19</p>	<p><b><u>Giuliani's quids and quos.</u></b> On November 25, The Times reported that Giuliani appeared to have solicited dirt on Biden from two Ukrainian oligarchs in exchange for helping them to fight U.S. law enforcement operations that targeted the oligarchs on unrelated matters.<sup>162</sup></p> <p>On November 27, The Times and The Post reported that Giuliani, in early 2019, had been prospecting for lucrative legal engagements from Ukrainian officials at the same time as he was soliciting dirt on Biden from Ukrainian government figures. At least one of the officials targeted for a legal engagement, the corrupt top prosecutor Yuriy Lutsenko, had come to partner with Giuliani in smearing Biden. Giuliani had long publicly maintained that he had had no business dealings in Ukraine (just as Mr. Trump himself had long, and falsely, claimed to have had no business dealings in Russia during his electoral campaign).<sup>163</sup></p> <p>One implication of the endeavor was that Giuliani may have been, or may have been trying to become, a paid agent for the Ukrainian government (not just an unpaid one for his client Mr. Trump) in attempting to influence an American election – which would have been illegal. Another implication was that Giuliani may have been peddling his professed influence with Mr. Trump in exchange for Ukrainian legal fees – which would also have been illegal. (For a broader view of Giuliani's unconstrained corruption, see CSD's entry of November 11, November 12 and December 8 above, in the first portion of this Addendum.)</p>

<p>12-2-19</p>	<p><b>Misquoting Zelensky.</b> Orally and by Twitter, Mr. Trump falsely proclaimed that Zelensky had recently said that he (Mr. Trump) had done "nothing wrong" in their dealings. Mr. Trump appeared to be referring to an interview that Zelensky had just given to the American press. In that interview, as before, Mr. Zelensky had claimed that Mr. Trump had not pressured him to do anything and had not offered a <i>quid pro quo</i>; but he said that Mr. Trump did in fact do several things "wrong": publicly flagellating Ukraine for corruption, and suspending military aid.<sup>164</sup></p>
<p>12-3-19</p>	<p><b>No Ukrainian interference.</b> David Hale, the State Department's no. 3 official, said that Ukraine did not systematically interfere in the 2016 presidential election,<sup>165</sup> thus confirming the Senate Intelligence Committee's previous finding to that effect,<sup>166</sup> and utterly discrediting the claims of Mr. Trump and his supporters to the contrary.</p>
<p>12-3-19</p>	<p><b>The view from London.</b> Responding to a reporter's question at a meeting of NATO leaders in London, Mr. Trump laid out an astonishing, stream-of-consciousness broadside about his victimization at the hands of the House impeachment investigators. Ladling falsehood upon falsehood, he described their inquiry as "a fix." He also adhered to his custom of criticizing American political figures while abroad, in defiance of well-established American political protocol. Specifically, seeking to disparage the physical appearance of the leader of the impeachment inquiry (as he had done often before), he said, "<i>I think Adam Schiff is a deranged human being. I think he grew up with a complex for lots of reasons that are obvious. I think he's a very sick man and he lies.</i>" CSD encourages its readers to take in Mr. Trump's entire response, at the link that appears at this endnote.<sup>167</sup></p> <p>In other comments to the press, Mr. Trump called Democrats "unpatriotic," issued an additional torrent of casual but demonstrable falsehoods, and suggested that Europe befriend Russia.<sup>168</sup></p>
<p>12-3-19</p>	<p><b>The House Intel report.</b> <u>The House Intelligence Committee delivered its report on its impeachment investigation to the House Judiciary Committee and the press. The report included stark evidence of Mr. Trump's abuse of power in pressuring Zelensky to investigate Mr. Trump's political rivals – thereby placing Mr. Trump's personal political interests over those of the country. The report also included evidence of Mr. Trump's massive obstruction of Congress relative to the proceedings; his criminal intimidation of several witnesses; and the extensive incidence (although not the content) of telephone conversations among his band of conspirators (Giuliani, Nunes, Parnas, the White House, the Office of Management and Budget, and others).</u> Politico's summaries of the report appear at the link at this endnote.<sup>169</sup></p>

<p>12-4-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>Giuliani returns – to Europe.</u></b> On December 4, Giuliani returned to Europe, now with One America, a right-wing American cable network, to gather video testimony from several corrupt Ukrainian officials purporting to incriminate Biden and defend Mr. Trump. His trip appeared to mock the ongoing impeachment proceedings, and to further undercut both the State Department and Zelensky.<sup>170</sup> When the video was released later that month, a Post columnist found it not even vaguely credible.<sup>171</sup></p>
<p>12-6-19</p>	<p><b><u>Please spy on me.</u></b> The Post reported that, despite many prior warnings and tutorials by security officials, Mr. Trump had continued to use unencrypted cell phones to discuss likely sensitive matters with his personal attorney Rudy Giuliani and others – thus exposing his conversations to foreign intelligence gathering. He had apparently done that at least in part to hide his call logs from White House officials, who may have disapproved of his conversations.</p> <p>The Post noted Mr. Trump's practice as especially troubling in that Russia may have eavesdropped on conversations relating to the Ukraine extortion scandal. One former CIA officer said, "[I]t is so likely that Russia tracked the calls of Giuliani and others that the Kremlin probably knows more now about those conversations than impeachment investigators." The Post wrote: "U.S. officials said that Russia has benefited from nearly every aspect of the Ukraine controversy, including the strain it has placed on Ukraine's relationship with the United States, the attempt to divert attention from Russia's attacks on a U.S. election, and the paralyzing impact the impeachment inquiry has had on Washington." (The Times had reported over a year previously that Chinese spies were routinely eavesdropping on Mr. Trump's cell phone calls.<sup>172</sup>)</p> <p>The Post also found Mr. Trump's irregular telephone practices "particularly remarkable" in that he had repeatedly called for Hillary Clinton to be prosecuted for having used an insecure email account while serving as secretary of state – a charge that had given rise to crowds at his rallies chanting "Lock her up!"<sup>173</sup></p>
<p>12-7-19</p>	<p><b><u>The House Judiciary staff's report on constitutional grounds for impeachment.</u></b> The Democratic staff of the House Judiciary Committee released a paper laying out American constitutional history and intent as they pertained to the House's ongoing formulation of articles of impeachment against Mr. Trump. The paper delivered commonsense guidance for determining whether this president warranted impeachment, and whether his statements were lies and his motives corrupt. CSD found the document to be rigorous, eloquent, stirring, and possibly of historic proportion.<sup>174</sup></p>

<p>12-10-19</p>	<p><b><u>The articles of impeachment.</u></b> The Democrat-controlled House of Representatives released two articles of impeachment against Mr. Trump, limited to elements of the Ukraine scandal, for the Judiciary Committee to mark up and finalize: abuse of power (for Mr. Trump's having solicited foreign interference in the 2020 president election), and obstruction of Congress (for his having blocked the House's efforts to investigate the matter).<sup>175</sup></p>
<p>12-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>Outing the whistleblower, at last.</u></b> During a televised debate of the articles of impeachment within the House Judiciary Committee, <u>Republican Congressman Louie Gohmert from Texas publicly named the alleged whistleblower whose action had sparked the impeachment investigation.</u> Mr. Trump and his supporters had long been clamoring for that public outing – even though the whistleblower's identity had become superfluous to the proceedings (in that his or her allegations had long been amply corroborated by others' testimony and documentary evidence). And they had clamored even though exposing the person's identity would violate the intent if not the letter of the whistleblower protection statute and would endanger the whistleblower's life.<sup>176</sup> It is hard for CSD to characterize the thrust to out the official as anything but pointlessly, rabidly vicious; the <u>sadistic act of a seething mob.</u></p>
<p>12-11-19</p>	<p><b><u>The Inquirer votes.</u></b> The editorial board of The Philadelphia Inquirer – the newspaper of record in CSD's geographical area – called for Mr. Trump's impeachment.<sup>177</sup></p>
<p>12-13-19</p>	<p><b><u>Judiciary approves the articles.</u></b> The Democrat-controlled House Judiciary Committee approved the two articles of impeachment that the House had put before it. The committee vote followed a turbulent and indecorous debate in which Republicans mainly railed against the Democrats' alleged procedural unfairness and political motives, launched brutal and irrelevant <i>ad hominem</i> attacks, and advanced patently false characterizations of evidence – rather than defending Mr. Trump on the actual merits.<sup>178</sup></p>
<p>12-13-19</p>	<p><b><u>McConnell submits.</u></b> As the House neared a floor vote on the articles of impeachment, Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell told Fox News, relative to the procedures he would put in place for Mr. Trump's trial before the Republican-controlled Senate that would follow the House vote: <u>"Everything I do during this, I'm coordinating with the White House counsel. There will be no difference between the president's position and our position as to how to handle this. ... We'll be working through this process ... in total coordination with the White House counsel's office and the people representing the president in the well of the Senate."</u><sup>179</sup> [Continued below.]</p>

<p>12-13-19</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> Since Mr. Trump's election nearly three years previous, it had been apparent that Mr. Trump's ownership of the Senate was complete, in a subjective sense. But <u>McConnell's statement now established incontrovertibly and unabashedly that Mr. Trump had succeeded in causing the Republican Senate to abrogate its constitutional and historical mandate to decide the charges brought against him independently and objectively.</u></p> <p>Not incidentally, McConnell's undertaking, if acted upon, would also flatly violate the oath that he was required to take as an impeachment juror in the Senate: <i>"I solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that in all things appertaining to the trial of the impeachment of _____, now pending, I will do impartial justice according to the Constitution and laws: So help me God."</i><sup>180</sup> For a man who had long purported to value and to act on his faith, he was on the threshold of taking a false oath, and of committing sacrilege.</p>
<p>12-16-19</p>	<p><u><b>Bribery.</b> The House Democrats added detail to their impeachment charges, noting that the abuse of power article included allegations that, in extorting Zelensky, Mr. Trump had committed criminal bribery and wire fraud.</u><sup>181</sup></p>
<p>12-17-19</p>	<p><u><b>The letter.</b> On the eve of the House impeachment vote, Mr. Trump sent a six-page open letter to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, decrying the proceedings as illegitimate. The letter was filled with irrelevancies, rage, self-pity, boasting and untruths.</u></p> <p>In it, Mr. Trump wrote that Pelosi was "offending Americans of faith by continually saying 'I pray for the President.'" He fired off <i>ad hominem</i> attacks against his adversaries: Pelosi, Biden, former FBI director James Comey ("one of the dirtiest cops our Nation has ever seen"), Muslim Congresswoman Rashida Tlaib ("ranting and raving") and Schiff ("cheated and lied"). He presented a long list of his accomplishments as president, many of which were misstated or overstated. He charged Democrats, mostly falsely, with supporting "open borders, mass migration, high crime, crippling taxes, socialized healthcare, destruction of American energy, late-term taxpayer-funded abortion, elimination of the Second Amendment, radical far-left theories of law and justice, and constant partisan obstruction ... ." He decried the Mueller investigation.</p> <p>As for the impeachment itself, he called it "an unprecedented and unconstitutional abuse of power by Democrat Lawmakers, unequalled in nearly two and a half centuries of American legislative history." He wrote that Pelosi was "breaking [her] allegiance to the Constitution, and ... declaring open war on American Democracy." He called the proceedings an "election-nullification scheme." He addressed the forensic evidence of his guilt by writing falsehood upon falsehood, libeling the Bidens and misrepresenting the plain facts of his wrongdoings.</p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>

<p>12-17-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In the very epitome of projection, he wrote of the Democrats, "<i>You are the ones interfering in America's elections. You are the ones subverting America's Democracy. You are the ones Obstructing Justice. You are the ones bringing pain and suffering to our Republic for your own selfish personal, political, and partisan gain.</i>" He claimed to have been denied due process in the proceedings, writing "<i>More due process was afforded to those accused in the Salem Witch Trials.</i>" He called the proceedings an "attempted coup." He closed by writing, "<i>One hundred years from now, when people look back at this affair, I want them to understand it, and learn from it, so that it can never happen to another President again.</i>"<sup>182</sup></p> <p>The White House delivered a copy of the letter, together with a large "Merry Christmas" card, to each member of the Senate.<sup>183</sup></p> <p><u>To CSD's understanding, no previous president facing impeachment had made such a public statement, let alone such a vicious and preposterous one. But we agree with the historical significance of the letter.</u></p>
<p>12-18-19</p>	<p><b><u>Impeached.</u></b> <u>The House of Representatives, on an almost pure party-line vote, impeached Mr. Trump, on two counts: abuse of power and obstruction of Congress.</u></p> <p>But as a columnist for The Post observed, Mr. Trump in some ways had prevailed. He had swept the House's entire Republican delegation into a surreal orgy of loyalty. Its members had repeatedly jeered, falsified, inflamed and projected. They had accused the Democrats of "abuse of power," "collud[ing] with Russia and Ukraine," a "massive cover-up," an "assault on the Constitution," "interfering in America's election," "threaten[ing] the republic," "betrayal," "conspir[ing] to overthrow President Trump," and offenses equivalent to the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the crucifixion of Jesus. Some called for Schiff's indictment and Pelosi's expulsion from Congress. They called Democrats "phony," "fraudulent," "socialist," "Stalinist," "McCarthy[ist]," "delusional," "elitist"; and they called the proceedings a "sham," a "witch-hunt," a "coup," a "kangaroo court," a "joke," "rigged," a "hoax," a "charade," a "circus," a "stunt," "lies," "corruption," a "star chamber," "illegal," "illegitimate," and a "hit job." For the most part they did not contest the evidence against Mr. Trump, and they did not defend Mr. Trump's moral character.<sup>184</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

<p>12-18-19</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] A group of prominent Republican outliers wrote in The Times: <i>"Indeed, national Republicans have done far worse than simply march along to Mr. Trump's beat. Their defense of him is imbued with an ugliness, a meanness and a willingness to attack and slander those who have shed blood for our country, who have dedicated their lives and careers to its defense and its security, and whose job is to preserve the nation's status as a beacon of hope. Congressional Republicans have embraced and copied Mr. Trump's cruelty and defended and even adopted his corruption. Mr. Trump and his enablers have abandoned conservatism and longstanding Republican principles and replaced it with Trumpism, an empty faith led by a bogus prophet."</i><sup>185</sup></p>
<p>12-19-19</p>	<p><b>The wrath of God.</b> Protesting the House Democrats having voted to impeach him the previous day, Mr. Trump tweeted that they were un-American, that they were seeking to "overthrow" him, and that they would "feel the almighty wrath of God."<sup>186</sup></p>
<p>12-19-19 +</p>	<p><b><u>An Evangelical call for removal.</u></b> <u>On December 19, Christianity Today, the influential magazine founded by the late Evangelical leader Billy Graham, called for Mr. Trump to be removed from office – either by the Senate in the upcoming impeachment trial or in the 2020 presidential election.</u></p> <p>The magazine's editor found that although Mr. Trump had favorably advanced the Evangelical political agenda, he had indeed committed the offenses alleged in the House's articles of impeachment. The editor wrote: <i>"We believe the impeachment hearings have made it absolutely clear ... that President Trump has abused his authority for personal gain and betrayed his constitutional oath. The impeachment hearings have illuminated the president's moral deficiencies for all to see. This damages the institution of the presidency, damages the reputation of our country, and damages both the spirit and the future of our people. None of the president's positives can balance the moral and political danger we face under a leader of such grossly immoral character.</i></p> <p>The editor also found Mr. Trump to be morally repugnant more generally. Of the president, he wrote: <i>"He has hired and fired a number of people who are now convicted criminals. He himself has admitted to immoral actions in business and his relationship with women, about which he remains proud. His Twitter feed alone—with its habitual string of mischaracterizations, lies, and slanders—is a near perfect example of a human being who is morally lost and confused."</i> The editor also wrote that continued support of Mr. Trump by Evangelicals posed a grave danger not only to the country but to the credibility of the Evangelical movement.</p> <p>The op-ed represented a significant break in the support for Mr. Trump by white Evangelical Christians, who polls indicated had represented his single most loyal demographic group. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>



<p>12-19-19 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The following day, Mr. Trump defended by way of Twitter: yet again calling his July 15 phone call with Zelensky "perfect"; preposterously accusing the magazine's center-right editor of being "a Radical Left nonbeliever, who wants to take your religion and your guns"; and falsely claiming that the magazine was struggling financially.<sup>187</sup> (In fact immediately after the op-ed's publication, the magazine lost 2,000 subscribers and gained 5,000.)<sup>188</sup></p>
<p>12-23-19</p>	<p><b>Soros pulling the strings.</b> New York Magazine reported that, in a December 8 interview with Giuliani, he (Giuliani) had said that George Soros – the Hungarian-American investor, survivor of Nazi occupation, and visionary pro-democracy activist – was in control of Yovanovitch, three other American ambassadors who had served in Ukraine, a number of FBI agents working the Ukraine matter, eight "anarchist" district attorneys in the United States, and the mainstream American media that printed "lies" about Giuliani himself.<sup>189</sup></p> <p>Soros had long served as one of the leading whipping-boys of right-wing Europeans, who – deploying a time-worn anti-Semitic trope – claimed that he was nefariously pulling the strings of his puppets in high places. Mr. Trump and some other Republicans had recently jumped on board that wagon.<sup>190</sup></p>
<p>12-25-19</p>	<p><b>Meanwhile, back in Ukraine ....</b> The Post recapped the destruction of American diplomacy and diplomats in Ukraine in 2019:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yovanovitch, once the ambassador, had been banished from the Foreign Service to a teaching position at Georgetown.</li> <li>• With Taylor's recent announcement that on January 2 he would stand down as acting ambassador, there would be no one in that position.</li> <li>• Giuliani, unrepentant and bulldozing past Taylor in-country, had recently returned to Ukraine to film an exposé on Biden for a right-wing television network.</li> <li>• Hill, a woman of commanding dignity and integrity and now gone from the government, was receiving threatening phone calls. Conspiracy theorist and InfoWars chief Alex Jones had broadcast this about her in November: <i>"I want her ass indicted. I want her indicted for perjury. Today. Indict that whore."</i></li> <li>• Hill's short-lived replacement as Russia advisor at the White House, Tim Morrison, who likewise had testified against Mr. Trump, also was gone.</li> <li>• The new Russia adviser, Andrew Peek, arrived with no prior experience regarding Russia.</li> <li>• Volker too was gone from the government.</li> <li>• Vindman, a Purple Heart recipient and the only Ukraine expert serving in the White House, had been taunted and smeared by Mr. Trump and his allies.</li> <li>• The whistleblower was sometimes being driven to and from work by armed security officers.<sup>191</sup></li> </ul>

<p>12-27-19, 12-28-19</p>	<p><b><u>A presidential outing.</u></b> On December 27, Mr. Trump re-tweeted the name of the whistleblower, at last outing the person in a direct presidential statement: thus further jeopardizing the whistleblower's physical safety, and possibly violating the statute that protects whistleblowers. The whistleblower had previously been outed by Breitbart News, Fox News, Congressman Louie Gohmert, Donald Trump, Jr. and others. On December 28, Mr. Trump deleted his re-tweet.<sup>192</sup></p>
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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/10/27/trump-wants-to-make-a-deal-with-exxon-or-others-to-tap-syrian-oil.html> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2019/11/15/trumps-perplexing-insistence-keeping-middle-eastern-oil/> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/15/opinion/trump-war-crimes-pardons-gallagher.html>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/11/02/us/politics/trump-twitter-disinformation.html>

<sup>3</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Entertainment/wireStory/trump-plugs-sons-book-accusing-bidens-dealing-66751690>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-ad-facebook-violence-far-left\\_n\\_5dc324b5e4b0d8eb3c8efad4](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-ad-facebook-violence-far-left_n_5dc324b5e4b0d8eb3c8efad4)

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/06/us/politics/donald-trump-lawsuits-investigations.html>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2019/11/07/trump-charity-foundation-misuse-067411> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/08/opinion/sunday/trump-foundation-fine.html> and <https://theconversation.com/trumps-charity-woes-are-uncommon-if-not-unprecedented-and-could-get-more-costly-126652>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/06/us/politics/trump-louisiana.html> and <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-7657321/Trump-rallies-voters-Louisiana-one-day-Kentucky-loss.html>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/11/07/william-barr-will-do-anything-trump-he-wont-do-that/>

<sup>9</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/trump-has-spread-more-hatred-of-immigrants-than-any-american-in-history/2019/11/07/7e253236-ff54-11e9-8bab-0fc209e065a8\\_story.html?wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/trump-has-spread-more-hatred-of-immigrants-than-any-american-in-history/2019/11/07/7e253236-ff54-11e9-8bab-0fc209e065a8_story.html?wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/11/08/politics/donald-trump-press-conference/index.html> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-whistleblower-treason-sondland\\_n\\_5dc5e9c3e4b02bf5793fe160](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-whistleblower-treason-sondland_n_5dc5e9c3e4b02bf5793fe160)

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/08/us/politics/trump-campaign-rallies.html>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/09/climate/interior-secretary-ethics.html>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/11/climate/epa-science-trump.html>

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2019/11/11/politics/rudy-giuliani-us-foreign-policy-trump-lawyer/index.html>

<sup>15</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/08/us/politics/giuliani-trump-impeachment.html>

<sup>16</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-giulianis-dual-roles-power-broker-for-hire-and-shadow-foreign-policy-adviser/2019/12/08/f9ab9c4c-1773-11ea-9110-3b34ce1d92b1\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/inside-giulianis-dual-roles-power-broker-for-hire-and-shadow-foreign-policy-adviser/2019/12/08/f9ab9c4c-1773-11ea-9110-3b34ce1d92b1_story.html?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/us/politics/giuliani-trump-financial-disclosure.html>

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/12/us/politics/trump-erdogan-family-turkey.html>

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- <sup>19</sup> <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2019/11/trump-ivanka-created-14-million-jobs-lie.html>
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<sup>180</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/13/us/politics/mcconnell-white-house-impeachment-trial.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/mcconnells-vow-of-total-coordination-with-white-house-on-senate-impeachment-trial-angers-democrats/2019/12/13/9cb5a258-1dc7-11ea-b4c1-fd0d91b60d9e\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/mcconnells-vow-of-total-coordination-with-white-house-on-senate-impeachment-trial-angers-democrats/2019/12/13/9cb5a258-1dc7-11ea-b4c1-fd0d91b60d9e_story.html) and <http://www.msnbc.com/rachel-maddow-show/house-dem-makes-case-mcconnell-should-recuse-impeachment-trial>

<sup>181</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2019/12/16/judiciary-committee-impeachment-report-trump-committed-multiple-federal-crimes-086096> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-impeachment-live-updates/2019/12/16/3529da74-1ff1-11ea-bed5-880264cc91a9\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-impeachment-live-updates/2019/12/16/3529da74-1ff1-11ea-bed5-880264cc91a9_story.html?utm_campaign=evening_edition&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)

<sup>182</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/context/letter-from-president-trump-to-house-speaker-pelosi/fc9b1b07-c534-454a-afe3-8333910c9c87/> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/17/us/politics/trump-impeachment.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-rips-democrats-for-attempted-coup-on-eve-of-likely-impeachment/2019/12/17/f7e4d484-20db-11ea-bed5-880264cc91a9\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-rips-democrats-for-attempted-coup-on-eve-of-likely-impeachment/2019/12/17/f7e4d484-20db-11ea-bed5-880264cc91a9_story.html?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>183</sup> <https://thehill.com/homenews/senate/475159-white-house-delivers-trump-letter-christmas-card-to-senators-on-day-of>

<sup>184</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/18/trump-is-impeached-trumpism-prevails/?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/18/trump-is-impeached-trumpism-prevails/?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>185</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/17/opinion/lincoln-project.html>

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<sup>186</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/19/trumps-impeachment-provokes-deeper-descent-into-demagoguery/?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2019/12/19/trumps-impeachment-provokes-deeper-descent-into-demagoguery/?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>187</sup> [https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2019/december-web-only/trump-should-be-removed-from-office.html?fbclid=IwAR17b4-tpZTL\\_smT-vXkmoAk933UO9eyDhzIq7PRvACMYWUYd0WgqT4dAs](https://www.christianitytoday.com/ct/2019/december-web-only/trump-should-be-removed-from-office.html?fbclid=IwAR17b4-tpZTL_smT-vXkmoAk933UO9eyDhzIq7PRvACMYWUYd0WgqT4dAs) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2019/12/19/christianity-today-an-influential-evangelical-magazine-says-president-trump-should-be-removed-office/?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/religion/2019/12/19/christianity-today-an-influential-evangelical-magazine-says-president-trump-should-be-removed-office/?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/20/us/politics/christianity-today-trump-evangelicals.html>

<sup>188</sup> <https://www.cnbc.com/2019/12/22/christianity-today-receives-boost-in-subscriptions-after-call-for-trump-removal.html>

<sup>189</sup> <http://nymag.com/intelligencer/2019/12/a-conversation-with-rudy-giuliani-over-bloody-marys.html>

<sup>190</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/rudy-giuliani-doubles-down-antisemitic-attacks-george-soros\\_n\\_5e029713e4b0b2520d111912](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/rudy-giuliani-doubles-down-antisemitic-attacks-george-soros_n_5e029713e4b0b2520d111912)

<sup>191</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/in-aftermath-of-ukraine-crisis-a-climate-of-mistrust-and-threats/2019/12/24/03831e3e-2359-11ea-a153-dce4b94e4249\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/in-aftermath-of-ukraine-crisis-a-climate-of-mistrust-and-threats/2019/12/24/03831e3e-2359-11ea-a153-dce4b94e4249_story.html?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1)

<sup>192</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-retweets--then-deletes--a-post-naming-the-alleged-whistleblower/2019/12/28/aa518350-2989-11ea-9c21-2c2a4d2c2166\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-retweets--then-deletes--a-post-naming-the-alleged-whistleblower/2019/12/28/aa518350-2989-11ea-9c21-2c2a4d2c2166_story.html?utm_campaign=evening_edition&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpmm=1)





## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 28 – February 20, 2020

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

**The current Addendum appears in two parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p.28, chronicles events surrounding the impeachment of Mr. Trump by Congress.**

<u>Date</u>	<u>Episode</u>	<u>Category</u>
12-31-19	<b><u>Hiring the undocumented.</u></b> The New York Times published an update on the practice of Mr. Trump's businesses in hiring undocumented workers. By now dozens of the undocumented had surfaced and had been terminated. But some had been terminated only recently – and, at the Trump Winery, only after they had brought in the harvest. <sup>1</sup>	9, 11
12-31-19	<b><u>Still in love.</u></b> After North Korean dictator and butcher Kim Jong-un amped up his nuclear threats against the U.S., Mr. Trump reiterated his affection for the man, telling reporters, “He likes me, I like him, we get along. He’s representing his country, I’m representing my country, we have to do what we have to do. ... I think he’s a man of his word ....” <sup>2</sup>	11, 12

<p>1-3-20</p>	<p><b><u>Campaigning in church.</u></b> Mr. Trump conducted a campaign rally at an evangelical mega-church in Miami, Florida, in flagrant defiance of IRS rules prohibiting non-profit organizations from endorsing political candidates. His message itself was also in significant part sectarian. He falsely charged that Democrats were "tearing down crosses," "banning religious believers from public life," and seeking to "replace God with socialism." In another argument that would be difficult to prove or disprove, he alleged that God was "on our side" and against "radical left" Democrats.</p> <p>In addition, while mercilessly mocking the name and the appearance of Democratic presidential contender Pete Buttigieg, Mr. Trump called him a "pretend" Christian. It was an allegation that, for CSD, collided Mr. Trump's own much-photographed displays of (seemingly pretend) prayerful piety when in the company of evangelical pastors, including at the Miami rally.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>An evangelical critic writing in USA Today said that, at the event, Mr. Trump had boasted profusely and had shown no Christian kindness or humility. Rather, he had basked in the blessings and even the worship of many of the clergy and the congregation present, as well as in the crowd's "screaming" patriotism and anti-Democrat wrath. The critic wrote: "<i>Such a display by evangelicals is unprecedented in American history.</i>"<sup>4</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>1-3-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Suleimani assassination.</u></b> Upon Mr. Trump's direct order – issued between rounds of golf at his resorts in Florida – on January 3 <u>the U.S. assassinated Qassem Suleimani, a top Iranian general,</u> by way of a drone strike at an airport in Iraq.</p> <p><i>The target.</i> Suleimani had led Iran's efforts in spreading its military influence across Lebanon, Yemen, Iraq and elsewhere in the Middle East. Iran's proxies had killed thousands – including hundreds of American troops – and had destabilized the entire region. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14</p>



<p>1-3-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u>  <u>Background: the U.S. and Iran.</u> Iran's hostility to the U.S. was decades old. The country had long been seen as developing nuclear weapons, and the U.S. and others had imposed crippling economic sanctions with a view to forestalling that. In 2015 the Obama administration had joined with the European Union and the four other permanent members of the United Nations in signing an agreement pursuant to which Iran would halt its nuclear program in exchange for a lifting of the sanctions. But from the start of his presidency Mr. Trump had demonized Iran, and he had quickly withdrawn from the agreement – enraging Iran, Europe and many in the U.S.</p> <p>In recent months, Iranian forces had been provoking the U.S. with hostile actions. Most notably, Iran had conducted a series of rocket attacks against U.S. bases, including one that had killed a civilian American contractor. U.S. intelligence had now determined that Iran was planning additional – and possibly larger – attacks against Americans. Mr. Trump announced the assassination as a protective measure, then quickly ordered the deployment of several thousand more troops to the theater.</p> <p><u>The blowback: here and abroad.</u> After the assassination, American observers on the left and the right, in Congress and out, expressed satisfaction that Suleimani was gone. Democrats, strategic experts and mainstream media voices, however, were unnerved by the particular strike and its genesis. Mr. Trump had not consulted Congress in advance; his own advisors had been mixed in their advice; he had reportedly been eager to take the most radical retaliatory action offered to him; and he publicly released no detail on why the U.S. had struck now.</p> <p>Contemporaneously, massive street protests arose in Iran. The regime now threatened – and the U.S. military command expected – reprisal attacks and a potentially grave escalation of the conflict. The regime also announced the suspension of its commitments under the denuclearization agreement. European allies pulled back their troops in-theater. Iraq's government threatened to expel U.S. forces, and its parliament voted to do so. (An expulsion would amount to wins for Iran, Russia and ISIS.) What with the strategic pandemonium, the U.S.-led coalition suspended its fight against ISIS in Iraq. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14</p>
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<p>1-3-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <p><u>Evaluation.</u> As ever, CSD does not second-guess the wisdom of America's international diplomatic and military strategies. But <u>because Mr. Trump had long established himself in that area as capricious, uninformed and focused on domestic political gain, we note that a broad swath of observers did quickly question the assassination's wisdom and motives. Some also questioned whether the killing of an Iranian on Iraqi soil, and the attack in the (possible) absence of an imminent threat to the U.S., met U.S. and international legal standards. Concerns also arose over Mr. Trump entering the crisis saddled with a dearth of experienced advisors, strains he had caused with America's allies, and a reputation for unreliability.</u><sup>5</sup></p> <p><u>Indeed, other than Mr. Trump's followers, most observers, including foreign heads of state, seemed agitated by the sudden crisis and baffled as to whether any strategic logic underlay it.</u><sup>6</sup> <u>Some alleged that the strike may have been timed to distract from Mr. Trump's impeachment.</u><sup>7</sup> <u>One New York Times columnist wrote that Iran's likely retaliation, as now anticipated by the Pentagon, would demonstrate yet again – after Mr. Trump had already been outmaneuvered by North Korea and China – that his belief in the effectiveness of his bullying was delusional.</u><sup>8</sup> <u>Even America's closest allies in the Middle East were alarmed.</u><sup>9</sup></p> <p><u>In sum, regardless of the strategic and tactical merits of Mr. Trump's decision to strike, that decision was widely mistrusted (except by Trump acolytes); and the world was unnerved by suspicions that Mr. Trump was over his head, out of control, and flirting with cataclysm.</u></p> <p><u>The next loud noises.</u> Mr. Trump's rhetoric after the strike was disturbing as well. On January 4 he tweeted: <u>"Let this serve as a WARNING that if Iran strikes any Americans, or American assets, we have targeted 52 Iranian sites (representing the 52 American hostages taken by Iran many years ago), some at a very high level &amp; important to Iran &amp; the Iranian culture, and those targets, and Iran itself, WILL BE HIT VERY FAST AND VERY HARD. The USA wants no more threats!"</u> On January 5, speaking to reporters and responding to the international uproar that his tweet had drawn, <u>he doubled-down on his threat to destroy cultural sites.</u> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14</p>
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<p>1-3-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The incendiary language, probably unprecedented for an American president, smacked of the very sort of primal, vengeful, laughable, useless and ultimately counter-productive rhetoric that Middle Eastern dictators themselves had commonly flung at their enemies. It also explicitly <u>threatened the perpetration of war crimes – the destruction of Iranian cultural sites</u> – comparable to such crimes as had been committed in recent years by the Taliban in Afghanistan and by ISIS in Syria and Iraq, and as had been condemned worldwide on those occasions.<sup>10</sup> For CSD, Mr. Trump's threat to target those sites in retribution embodied not only his cruelty, volatility and diplomatic incompetence, and his utter disregard for domestic and international ethical and legal norms, but his incuriosity about and disdain for foreign cultures – an ignorance that had once seemed merely parochial, dull-witted and tasteless, but the barbarity and danger of which had now exploded in full daylight.</p> <p>On January 6, Defense Secretary Mark Esper rejected the targeting of cultural sites, acknowledging that doing so would be illegal.<sup>11</sup> But only after Secretary of State Mike Pompeo did the same on January 7 did Mr. Trump back off from that element of his threats.<sup>12</sup></p> <p><i>The strategic chaos after the strike.</i> Also on January 6, in another remarkable snafu illustrating the strategic and bureaucratic chaos that the assassination had generated within the U.S. command, the Pentagon released a letter suggesting that the U.S. would withdraw its troops from Iraq, and then quickly reversed itself. Not only was the reversal an embarrassment, but it further crippled the credibility of U.S. statements in and about the region.<sup>13</sup> <u>Commentaries condemning the bedlam underlying Mr. Trump's strategy, decision-making and communications proliferated, as did charges that that bedlam was compromising the reputation and the effectiveness of America's military more generally.</u><sup>14</sup></p> <p><i>Iran retaliates.</i> <u>On January 7, Iran retaliated. It fired over a dozen missiles at two bases in Iraq housing American troops. The U.S. and Iran appeared to be on the brink of war.</u> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14</p>
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<p>1-3-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]  <i>The truce; and additional noise.</i> But the attack (at that point) was seen to have caused no casualties, which American observers speculated and Iranian officials claimed had been intentional on Iran's part. Although Iran's intent to actually injure was later forensically demonstrated, and although eight injured service members were in fact soon evacuated from the bases, the stage was set for a White House victory lap. On January 8, in a speech laden with distortions, Mr. Trump boasted that Iran appeared to be "standing down," and that rather than retaliating again in-kind he would impose further economic sanctions on the country. He thus had declined to act on his own previous threats of massive military retaliation for any follow-on Iranian strikes. That is, seeming at last to have recognized the strong likelihood of an American calamity, Mr. Trump too appeared to have stood down. And on his way down, he blamed President Obama for having empowered Iran. Critics saw in the zig-zagging yet another example of Mr. Trump having created a domestic or international crisis, having backed down from it, then having claimed to have won – all without having articulated a coherent strategy going forward.<sup>15</sup></p> <p>After the reciprocal stand-down, the White House continued to issue opaque and contradictory accounts of the reasons for and the timing of Suleimani's assassination, to the great distress of many Democrats and several Republicans in the Senate.<sup>16</sup> Many believed that, under American and international law, the legitimacy of the killing turned on whether an Iranian attack against Americans had been imminent. Among other inconsistencies, Mr. Trump insisted that Iran had been about to attack four American embassies, but senior officials denied that. Democratic and (irate) Republican senators whom the White House had briefed after the fact claimed that no imminent attack whatever had been described to them. On January 13, under pressure to explain, Mr. Trump tweeted that it didn't matter whether an attack plotted by Suleimani had been imminent, given the general's prior atrocities. In any event, whether Mr. Trump had relied on intelligence findings in planning the assassination or had scorned them (as he had done in the matter of Russian interference in the 2016 American election) was not made public.<sup>17</sup> And with his repeated shifts in justifying the strike, Mr. Trump's international credibility continued to plummet.<sup>18</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14</p>
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<p>1-3-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u>          One New York Times columnist listed the many U.S. strategic setbacks that had arisen from the sudden crisis and that now continued: Iran's resumption of its nuclear weapons development program; the pause in the U.S.'s fight against ISIS; the possible expulsion of the U.S. from Iraq; the potential domestic political bonanza won by the struggling Iranian regime by having stood up to the U.S.; the deployment of additional U.S. troops to the Middle East; and the emboldening of North Korea.<sup>19</sup> CSD cites those concerns – again, not to engage in strategic second-guessing – but rather to chronicle the apparent havoc that Mr. Trump had unleashed; the false triumphalism that he seemed bent on propagating; and the loss of American credibility that he continued to generate overseas.</p> <p><u>Getting political.</u> The Trump re-election campaign, meanwhile, was touting Mr. Trump's leadership in the assassination of Suleimani.<sup>20</sup> Mr. Trump's supporters in Congress lauded his performance, and some denounced Democrats as allied with terrorists or soft on Iran.<sup>21</sup> Mr. Trump and his supporters likewise denounced as traitors and liars those few Republicans who had otherwise been fervent Trump loyalists but who now had voiced concerns about the Suleimani assassination<sup>22</sup> – reminding CSD of world dictators over the decades who had similarly denounced even their loyalists for any imperfections in their allegiance.</p> <p>On January 13, Mr. Trump re-tweeted a doctored image of Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi wearing Muslim garb, plus a separate message falsely claiming that Pelosi supported the Iranian regime's killing of anti-regime protesters. (On January 8, when U.S.-Iran tensions were at their peak, Iranian troops had unintentionally downed a commercial flight from Tehran to Ukraine, killing everyone on board – mostly Iranians and Canadians. The tragedy had resulted in anti-regime protests and regime reprisals within Iran, including some reported deaths.)<sup>23</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14</p>
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<p>1-3-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]  <u>Extorting Europe.</u> On January 15, The Post reported that Mr. Trump had threatened Germany, France and Britain with substantial automobile tariffs unless they would formally accuse Iran of breaching the 2015 international nuclear deal (which breach Iran had announced following Mr. Trump's assassination of Suleimani). The three countries bridled at what they considered to be "extortion"; but they complied.<sup>24</sup></p> <p>On January 22, Mr. Trump trivialized the injuries suffered by the evacuated service members – an act not only of military and political irresponsibility but of science denial.<sup>25</sup> On January 24, the Veterans of Foreign Wars demanded that Mr. Trump apologize for that trivialization.<sup>26</sup> Also on that day, the Pentagon revealed that the count of troops who had experienced traumatic brain injuries in the attack had risen to 34.<sup>27</sup> By January 30, the number had risen to 64.<sup>28</sup> By February 10, the number was over 100.<sup>29</sup></p> <p>On February 14, the White House told Congress that the assassination was not precipitated by any threat of an imminent attack on U.S. forces or interests.<sup>30</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14</p>
<p>1-6-20, 1-11-20</p>	<p><b>The people's press secretary.</b> CNN and The Washington Post reported that White House Press Secretary Stephanie Grisham had not given a press conference in the 301 days she had served as press secretary, far and away a modern record. During that period, however, she had appeared repeatedly on Fox News and One America News, offering furiously partisan, rancorous, often untruthful remarks, and all at taxpayer expense.<sup>31</sup></p>	<p>9, 17 (7, 9)</p>
<p>1-9-20</p>	<p><b>Curing cancer.</b> Mr. Trump took credit for a recently announced, substantial, years-long drop in cancer deaths – a phenomenon that he had had nothing to do with. To the contrary, he had sought to cut cancer research funding.<sup>32</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>1-9-20</p>	<p><b>In Ohio.</b> At a marathon campaign rally in Toledo, Ohio, Mr. Trump:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Boasted triumphantly about having assassinated Iranian general Qassim Suleimani;</li> <li>• Assured multiple times that he had been ready to devastate Iran had that country responded to the assassination more damagingly than it did;</li> </ul> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>1-9-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Defended his having not consulted Congress prior to the assassination, by alleging the likelihood of leaks by Democrats – in particular "little pencil-neck" Adam Schiff, the chair of the House Intelligence Committee who had led that body's impeachment inquiry and who Mr. Trump now bellowed "wears the smallest shirt collars";</li> <li>• Falsely claimed that "the radical left Democrats" were outraged that Suleimani had been eliminated;</li> <li>• Flogged President Obama for having returned previously seized Iranian assets to that country in connection with the 2015 international nuclear accord;</li> <li>• Mercilessly pounded the "fake news" in attendance for its "corruption";</li> <li>• Claimed that "thousands and thousands" of his fans were outside and unable to enter the filled hall (dubious);</li> <li>• Said that "Crooked Hillary" Clinton <i>should</i> be locked up (still stewing, more than three years after having lost to her in the 2016 popular vote, and evoking the usual chants from the crowd);</li> <li>• Falsely claimed to be "doing great in the polls";</li> <li>• Cited polls showing that among Republicans today he was more popular than Ronald Reagan and Abraham Lincoln;</li> <li>• Flayed Democratic presidential candidates Elizabeth Warren ("Pocahontas"), Bernie Sanders ("Crazy Bernie"), Joe Biden ("Where's Hunter?"), Pete Buttigieg ("Alfred E. Neuman," "Howdy Doody," and mocking his surname name);</li> <li>• Heralded the comeback of "beautiful, clean coal" (it is not clean) and the return of all the manufacturing jobs that America had lost in recent decades (in his dreams);</li> <li>• Thundered (outlandishly) that "America is respected again, like never before";</li> <li>• Mocked "President Barack Hussein Obama" for having played golf in Hawaii at government expense (Mr. Trump's own golfing expenses had far surpassed those of his predecessor);</li> <li>• Repeatedly told anecdotes in which his subordinates referred to him as "sir"; [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>1-9-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Complained that he, rather than Ethiopian Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed (who in 2018 had initiated a rapprochement with Ethiopia's arch-enemy Eritrea), had deserved 2019's Nobel Peace Prize – a baseless claim that Africans found insulting; ... and all to the roaring adulation of the crowd.<sup>33</sup></li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>1-10-20</p>	<p><b><u>Mercenaries.</u></b> Mr. Trump boasted to a Fox News interviewer that Saudi Arabia was paying the U.S. at least \$1 billion to send troops to the Middle East. For that he was criticized, on grounds of hiring out American troops as mercenaries.<sup>34</sup> In truth, Mr. Trump had made a similar boast before – and had been criticized for it before.<sup>35</sup> But the new episode coincided with a Washington Post analysis positing that Mr. Trump, as president, had consistently treated international interactions as fundamentally commercial transactions – that he himself had often boasted that he was commercial to the core – and that for him opportunities to realize cash commonly outweighed both policy principles and strategic consequences.<sup>36</sup></p>	<p>Selling the lives of American soldiers</p>
<p>1-13-20</p>	<p><b><u>Credit where due.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that he had "saved" the ban on insurance companies' discriminating against subscribers with pre-existing medical conditions, and that Democrats now wanted to eliminate that ban. The opposite was true. In fact the ban was and remained part of the Democrats' Affordable Care Act ("Obamacare"), which Mr. Trump had done his best to dismantle. Indeed, seemingly out of anger and jealousy toward President Obama, he was still trying to eliminate the generally popular program by way of Supreme Court action (although fearing voter outrage, he had asked the Court to postpone its decision until after the 2020 presidential election). The Washington Post's Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had made similarly false claims – of having supported coverage for pre-existing conditions – almost 70 times.<sup>37</sup></p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>1-14-20</p>	<p><b><u>More funds swiped for the wall.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump was planning to divert \$7.2 billion from existing military counterdrug and construction programs in 2020 to build his border wall. That amount would supplement the \$6.1 billion diverted from the military in 2019. Congress had only appropriated \$1.4 billion for the wall; the diversion was unlawful.<sup>38</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>



<p>1-15-20</p>	<p><b><u>State and local refugee ban enjoined.</u></b> A federal court issued a temporary injunction blocking Mr. Trump's unprecedented September 2019 executive order that enabled states and local governments to prohibit refugees from being resettled within their territories. Refugees are people whom the United Nations has determined have fled persecution in their home countries and whom the State and Homeland Security Departments have thoroughly vetted for medical and security risks prior to resettlement here. The judge said that the order was likely unlawful, contrary to the public interest, contrary to "clear Congressional intent," and "arbitrary and capricious as well as inherently susceptible to hidden bias."<sup>39</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>1-15-20</p>	<p><b><u>"The biggest deal there is."</u></b> Mr. Trump characterized a trade agreement that he had just signed with China, to mixed reviews (mixed within parties, and many reviewers themselves feeling mixed),<sup>40</sup> as follows: <i>"Nobody has ever seen anything like it. This is the biggest deal there is anywhere in the world by far and that is good. We are doing another big one next week. But this is the biggest deal anybody has ever seen."</i> None of that was true.<sup>41</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>1-17-20</p>	<p><b><u>Losers, babies and dopes.</u></b> The Washington Post published a new report on a July 2017 briefing session that Mr. Trump had had with his top generals and strategic advisors. When three cabinet secretaries then had attempted to explain to him, in color charts punctuated by dollar signs, why the U.S. needed its overseas bases, trade agreements and alliances, Mr. Trump had exploded in rage. He had told those assembled – the defense secretary, the chair of the joint chiefs of staff, four star generals and other flag officers, many or all of them combat veterans – that they were "losers," "babies" and "dopes" who had failed to win wars and to make money from America's military deployments. Secretary of State Rex Tillerson had objected on the spot, and directly afterwards he had told his colleagues that Mr. Trump was a "fucking moron" (that last part had been previously reported) – for all of which Mr. Trump eventually fired him, ignominiously.<sup>42</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 14</p>

<p>1-17-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Other media outlets lit up with outrage at the report of Mr. Trump's ignorance and cruelty. Not only had he spoken without knowledge and attempted to corrupt America's international motivations, but he had scathingly insulted the entire military and its leadership.</p> <p>For CSD's part, as we have noted before, Mr. Trump himself had avoided the draft and had never served the country or any community in any capacity whatever. He had long appeared to not know basic historical facts and where many countries were located on the map. Yet at rallies and other public events he had proclaimed himself to be the military's greatest supporter. And he had repeatedly told vignettes in which military officers had called him "Sir."</p>	<p>10, 11, 13, 14</p>
<p>1-20-20</p>	<p><b>The Fact Checker.</b> The Washington Post's Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made 16,241 false or misleading statements in the three years since his inauguration, and at an ever-increasing pace: six such claims per day in 2017, nearly 16 per day in 2018, and more than 22 per day in 2019.<sup>43</sup></p> <p>CSD conjectures that although The Post had continued to announce its figures from time to time, the American public had appeared to have grown so inured to the phenomenon of an utterly unreliable and unscrupulous president that the statistics had ceased to shock.</p>	<p>7</p>
<p>1-21-20, 1-22-20</p>	<p><b>In your face (and the world's), at Davos.</b> In an address at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland on January 21, Mr. Trump ridiculed predictions of catastrophic climate change and said that environmental activism threatened economic growth.<sup>44</sup></p> <p>In a press conference that he called the following day, before a world audience, he defended himself against the impeachment trial now going full throttle in the Senate, by way of multiple falsehoods and <i>ad hominem</i> insults thrown at House impeachment managers.<sup>45</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 13</p>
<p>1-22-20, 1-23-20</p>	<p><b>The grab.</b> On January 22, the District of Columbia sued Mr. Trump's inaugural committee for vastly overpaying his Trump International Hotel in Washington when renting reception facilities in January 2017, in violation of a local law prohibiting self-dealing by nonprofit organizations.<sup>46</sup></p> <p>[<i>Continued below</i>]</p>	<p>15</p>

<p>1-22-20, 1-23-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The following day, media reported that the financially troubled Trump National Doral in Florida had more than doubled its room rates contemporaneously with booking the Republican National Committee's January 2020 winter meeting there. The price hike followed a pattern of similarly extraordinary hikes that had been charged for friendly political events, thus profiting Mr. Trump triply: by filling rooms, by raising prices for a captive clientele, and by promoting the pertinent properties. It was not known whether Mr. Trump's taxpayer-funded staff and security escorts would be paying the higher price at the Doral; but they would certainly be paying a price.<sup>47</sup></p> <p>Those episodes shortly followed a Politico report summarizing many of Mr. Trump's rampant acts of self-dealing throughout his presidency, as covered in this Chronology as they had initially arisen or been reported.<sup>48</sup> Estimates of the extraordinary figures paid by taxpayers to fund Mr. Trump's profligately frequent golf outings at his resorts (and to enrich Mr. Trump in the process) had also continued to appear, despite the administration's refusal to disclose the exact costs.<sup>49</sup></p>	<p>15</p>
<p>1-23-20</p>	<p><b><u>Science no more.</u></b> The Washington Post provided a lengthy update on the widespread shrinking, muting and ignoring of federally sponsored scientists and science under the Trump administration. In the first two years, more than 1600 scientists had left the government; in three years, almost 700 scientists had left the EPA alone; and to the date of the report, one-fifth of high-level appointee positions were vacant.</p>	<p>8</p>
<p>1-24-20</p>	<p><b><u>The ungodly.</u></b> Speaking at the March for Life – an annual, faith-based anti-abortion rally in Washington – Mr. Trump thundered to the cheering crowd, “<i>Sadly, the far left is actively working to erase our God-given rights. They are coming after me because I am fighting for you.</i>”<sup>50</sup> Amid an atmosphere that reportedly resembled a campaign rally, one attendee called the corrupt, profane and debauched Mr. Trump “the most religious president we’ve seen,” who was “setting a great example for our children.”<sup>51</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9</p>

1-24-20	[Continued.] Some previous presidents had supported the March for Life, but none had appeared there. To CSD's knowledge, no recent president had claimed that Democrats were against God. And none had defended himself in an impeachment trial on grounds of his opponents' views on reproductive rights.	9
1-26-20	<b>Down in the swamp.</b> The New York Times reported on a 2018 video and audio recording of a posh dinner for major campaign donors at which Mr. Trump had discussed policy that could benefit them. (It was the same dinner in which Mr. Trump had abruptly ordered the removal of his then ambassador to Ukraine, Marie Yovanovitch, for standing in the way of corruption in that country. See CSD's January 25 entry in the second portion of this Addendum, on the topic of Mr. Trump's impeachment.) CSD does not maintain that presidents never discuss policy issues with their large donors. We only note, as did The Times, the distance between Mr. Trump's behavior in that regard and his continuous insistence that he had "drained the swamp" of such behavior. <sup>52</sup>	7, 16
1-28-20	<b>Doing the job.</b> After Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had scandalized himself by protractedly cursing and insulting a seasoned and highly professional NPR reporter when she had asked him about his role in the Ukraine scandal, and later by removing a different NPR reporter from his plane in retribution, Mr. Trump said approvingly that Pompeo had done "a good job on her" (the first reporter). <sup>53</sup>	1, 17 (1)
1-28-20	<b>Fox in the doghouse.</b> Mr. Trump yet again chastised Fox News for deviating from being purely supportive of him. He tweeted that the airing of an interview with "no name" Democratic Senator Chris Van Hollen signaled a potential drop in Fox's ratings and "the beginning of the end" of the network. The topic of the interview had been Van Hollen's call for the Senate to subpoena former national security advisor John Bolton to testify in Mr. Trump's impeachment trial. <sup>54</sup>	1

<p>1-28-20</p>	<p><b>Hiding it.</b> John Sopko, the special inspector general for Afghanistan reconstruction (SIGAR), testified before a House Oversight and Reform subcommittee that the Trump administration was hiding from Congress data about the U.S. military's progress in Afghanistan that had been routinely provided to Congress for years, such as data about the significant portion of the country under Taliban control. Subcommittee members repeatedly noted that the State and Defense Departments held the missing information, and they called out those departments for having defied the subcommittee's bipartisan requests that they too attend and testify at the hearing.<sup>55</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>1-29-20 +</p>	<p><b>Is there a doctor in the house?</b> On January 29, Politico included Mr. Trump's recent and erroneous trivialization of the brain injuries suffered by troops in Iraq as a result of an Iranian missile attack (see CSD's entry of January 3 +) within a long list of medical matters on which Mr. Trump had opined without knowledge or accuracy – including his statement on January 22 that the coronavirus outbreak, then rampaging through China, was "totally under control."<sup>56</sup> In fact on January 31, the White House declared that outbreak to be a national public health emergency, and it quarantined Americans returning from parts of China – the first federal quarantine in over 50 years.<sup>57</sup> On February 10, Mr. Trump said that the arrival of warm weather in April would quell the virus, to the skepticism of epidemiologists who feared a growing crisis.<sup>58</sup> On February 13, CDC's director Robert Redfield told CNN that the outbreak was by no means under control.<sup>59</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 10, 11</p>
<p>1-30-20</p>	<p><b>In Iowa: summing it up.</b> At a campaign rally in Des Moines, Iowa, Mr. Trump said: <i>“We’re having probably the best years that we’ve ever had in the history of our country, and I just got impeached! Can you believe these people? They want to nullify your ballots, poison our democracy, and overthrow the entire system of government. ... All I have to do is say, ‘Uh, hello Iowa. You have no choice but to vote for me. Otherwise, everything you have loved in your entire life will be gone. Goodbye, Iowa. Have a good time.’ Instead, I work my ass off up here, OK? True. You think this is easy?”</i><sup>60</sup> It was a concise display of some of Mr. Trump's most consistent motifs: boasting, self-pity, demagoguery, extortion, vulgarity, and all in one box.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>1-31-20</p>	<p><b><u>The travel ban, expanded.</u></b> Claiming to be acting on security grounds, Mr. Trump ordered that nationals of Sudan and Tanzania would no longer be granted diversity (lottery) immigrant visas, and that nationals of Eritrea, Myanmar, Nigeria and Kyrgyzstan would no longer be issued any type of immigrant visas – such as diversity visas and family re-unification visas. He characterized the order as an expansion of his 2017 travel ban (the "Muslim ban") – which had eliminated both immigrant and visitor visas for nationals of eight countries and which, after much chaos, much controversy and several setbacks in the courts, was modified and then upheld. Among other things, the new restrictions would operate to prevent the reunification of spouses and other close family members of those already having citizenship or permanent residency in the U.S.</p> <p>Altogether some 13 countries were now subject to the travel restrictions, almost all of them African, materially or mainly Muslim, or both. The newly targeted countries were not known to be exporters of terrorism; the U.S. had been trying to build its relations with some of them; the restrictions were expected to cost the U.S. substantial sums in business and educational revenues; and critics struggled to find any logic in the order, other than a flamboyant display of animus against brown and Muslim immigrants in an election year.<sup>61</sup></p> <p>The imposition of the new restrictions did not appear to raise the same level of immediate outrage as in 2017. CSD speculates that that was because visitor visas were not affected; because it was not effective immediately and thus didn't create chaos at airports; because the order was issued on a Friday evening, saved from the brunt of the weekday news cycle; and because the nation was becoming exhausted from contesting Mr. Trump's demagogic behavior.</p>	<p>6</p>
<p>1-31-20</p>	<p><b><u>Land mines, for posterity.</u></b> The White House announced that the U.S. would no longer limit its deployment of land mines to the North Korean border, and would instead deploy them more widely. Critics objected, claiming that few other countries deploy land mines at all (some 164 had signed the international Mine Ban Treaty); dormant land mines kill, maim and blind many people (especially children) every year; they can remain lethal for 300 years; and their proliferation will never be safe.<sup>62</sup></p>	<p>14</p>

<p>1-31-20, 2-4-20</p>	<p><b>Shredding history.</b> On January 31, The Washington Post reported that in 2019 the Library of Congress had removed from a planned exhibit on the history of women's suffrage a large photograph that documented the 2017 Women's March in Washington, because the photograph contained posters protesting Mr. Trump. That report followed another report, weeks earlier, that the National Archives had blurred out signs protesting Mr. Trump when exhibiting a different large photograph of the same event but in a separate exhibit about women's suffrage.<sup>63</sup></p> <p>Initial reports did not indicate that Mr. Trump, his advisors or his political operatives had ordered the censorship. Rather, the episodes appeared to have involved self-censorship by government employees who feared the administration's wrath. CSD notes that that is a typical dynamic of censorship in non-democratic countries.</p> <p>On February 4, a New York Times guest columnist exposed another censorship episode – this time directed by the Trump administration itself – to eliminate vast quantities of records from the National Archives, in ways that would protect regulatory and enforcement agencies from current and historical scrutiny.<sup>64</sup></p>	<p>9 (Hiding and re-writing history)</p>
<p>2-2-20 +</p>	<p><b>Stature.</b> As former New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg gained ground in competing for the Democratic nomination to run against Mr. Trump in November, Mr. Trump had taken to mocking him on the basis of his height. He had already been referring to Bloomberg, who stands 5'7", as "Mini Mike." But now he advanced a canard that Bloomberg demanded to stand on a box during the Democratic debates. This followed Mr. Trump's earlier mockery of antagonists Marco Rubio, Adam Schiff and Pete Buttigieg for their respective physiques.<sup>65</sup> (CSD notes that Schiff's physique appears to be similar to that of Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner; except that Schiff is an active triathlon athlete; and except that his stature is enhanced by his character.)</p> <p>Filling out the rhetorical picture, The New York Times wrote that Mr. Trump "has made clear he will paint former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr. as corrupt if he faces him in the fall and will assail other possible Democratic challengers as socialists."<sup>66</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 11</p>

<p>2-2-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On February 13, Mr. Trump repeated his earlier false claim that Bloomberg stood only 5'4" tall. (Mr. Trump had long claimed his own height to be 6'3", but others commonly pegged it at 6'2".)</p>	<p>7, 11</p>
<p>2-5-20</p>	<p><b>DHS fingers New York.</b> In retaliation for New York's new law granting driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants – or possibly in an extortionate effort to undo that law – the Department of Homeland Security suspended the Global Entry and other trusted traveler programs for New Yorkers, thus depriving them of expedited security clearances at airports. A court challenge quickly followed.<sup>67</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>2-6--20</p>	<p><b>Treasury fingers Hunter.</b> Media reported that the Treasury Department had handed over to Republican members of Congress highly confidential financial information about presidential hopeful Joe Biden's son Hunter, in their continuing attempt to smear both Bidens for corruption. (The Treasury had refused to disclose Mr. Trump's tax returns to Democrats.)<sup>68</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>2-7-20</p>	<p><b>Grabbing (again).</b> The Washington Post and other media reported that Mr. Trump was overcharging the Secret Service for hotel space at his properties, mischaracterizing the reporting, and keeping the records hidden.<sup>69</sup> The House followed by asking the Secret Service for an accounting.<sup>70</sup></p>	<p>7, 15</p>
<p>2-10-20</p>	<p><b>In New Hampshire.</b> At a campaign rally in Manchester, New Hampshire, Mr. Trump's fans chanted "<i>Lock her up!</i>" about House Speaker Pelosi, the leader of Mr. Trump's (failed) impeachment – a cry formerly reserved for former presidential contender Hillary Clinton.<sup>71</sup></p> <p>For his part, Mr. Trump resurrected his false claim from 2016 that busloads of Massachusetts residents had fraudulently driven into New Hampshire to vote against him, causing him to lose New Hampshire to Clinton.<sup>72</sup></p> <p>Politico reported of the event: "<i>The president ... leaned most heavily into his tough-on-immigration message, floating a general-election cornerstone issue. He bragged about heightened deportations, derided sanctuary cities and [as often before] recited the lyrics to the song 'The Snake,' comparing undocumented immigrants to a venomous snake that bites a woman who helps it.</i>"<sup>73</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>



<p>2-11-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Saving Stone.</u></b> On February 11, Mr. Trump's Attorney General William Barr overruled the Justice Department's own prosecutors' sentencing recommendations for recently convicted felon Roger Stone – Mr. Trump's longtime friend and early campaign associate. Stone had been found guilty of having lied to Congress, tampered with witnesses and obstructed justice in connection with a federal investigation of his campaign activities; that is, effectively, for covering up Mr. Trump's misdeeds. The prosecutors, all career professionals, had recommended seven to nine years imprisonment for Stone. Barr's superseding action came shortly after a tweet by Mr. Trump complaining that the recommended sentence was too severe. <u>Barr's action violated the department's longstanding practice and custom of granting and protecting the independence of line prosecutors.</u> Outraged at the extraordinary act of political interference – which they had first learned of through a Fox News report, not through their superiors – all four of the prosecutors promptly withdrew from the case, and one of them resigned from the department altogether.<sup>74</sup> No mass resignations in protest had happened before at the department.</p> <p>A Washington Post columnist captured the import: "<u><i>[T]his is an egregious perversion of the rule of law. The president, like a tin-pot dictator, now uses the Justice Department to shield his criminal cronies, putting his finger on the scale in a way no other president has done in the modern era.</i></u>"<sup>75</sup> Outrage swelled among congressional Democrats and within the legal and law enforcement communities.<sup>76</sup> Demoralized, some prosecutors across the country feared taking on politically charged cases and Mr. Trump's wrath, as well as the loss of their credibility when arguing before federal judges.<sup>77</sup></p> <p>Just weeks earlier, Barr had intervened to lessen the sentencing of admitted felon Michael Flynn, another Trump campaign associate (and later, briefly, Mr. Trump's national security advisor).<sup>78</sup></p> <p>Also on February 11, Mr. Trump abruptly withdrew the nomination for Jessie Liu, the four Stone prosecutors' supervisor, to serve in a top Treasury Department position. That move was reportedly linked to her handling of the Stone prosecution.<sup>79</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 16</p>

<p>2-11-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Later that day, Mr. Trump tweeted a string of attacks on the Stone prosecutors and on the federal judge who would be responsible for the sentencing decision.<sup>80</sup> On February 12, he publicly and explicitly commended Barr for "taking charge" of the Stone case.<sup>81</sup> He also hinted that he might pardon Stone.<sup>82</sup></p> <p>On February 13, reacting to the firestorm of criticism directed at himself, Barr ran for cover. In an ABC News interview, he criticized Mr. Trump's tweets and the "constant background of commentary that undercuts me"; he downplayed his own act of interference so as to make it seem independent from Mr. Trump's, and benign; and he blamed "the news" for "spinning this." Notably he did not defend the integrity or judgment of the four prosecutors, nor did he criticize Mr. Trump's substantive position on Stone, nor did he acknowledge the irregularity of (Barr) himself having intervened in the case: he only defended his intervention, and condemned the tweets for making him look bad.<sup>83</sup></p> <p>In the same interview, Barr said that he would never cause the Justice Department to investigate a domestic political opponent of Mr. Trump. Indeed, Mr. Trump had long called for the investigation and prosecution of a stunning array of his adversaries – Hillary Clinton, James Comey, Adam Schiff, John Brennan, Andrew McCabe, Peter Strzok, Lisa Page and others – and Barr hadn't heeded. But there were at least two exceptions. Barr had empowered U.S. Attorney John Durham to investigate whether any crimes had been committed by FBI and CIA officials in the pursuit of allegations in 2016 that Russia had interfered in the election to benefit Mr. Trump's campaign. Mr. Trump appeared to hope that that investigation would expose anti-Trump activities on the part of Comey, McCabe, Brennan and others. Also, a criminal probe of McCabe – begun by former Attorney General Jeff Sessions and alleging that McCabe had made inaccurate statements to FBI investigators about his actions during the 2016 election – was continuing under Barr.<sup>84</sup></p> <p>Still, Mr. Trump couldn't be silent. On February 14, <u>he tweeted in a retort to Barr that he (Mr. Trump) had the "legal right" to direct the prosecution of criminal cases.</u><sup>85</sup>  <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>2, 9, 16</p>
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<p>2-11-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The plot thickened. Hours later, Barr's Justice Department formally closed its investigation of McCabe.<sup>86</sup> But here too (some observers hazarded), Barr may have simply been running for cover, while otherwise continuing to cotton to Mr. Trump's wishes.<sup>87</sup> Indeed, that evening, media reported that Barr had ordered a re-examination of Flynn's case, and had appointed a team of outside prosecutors to grill the department's regular line prosecutors handling a range of politically sensitive cases – that is, those involving Mr. Trump's friends and enemies.<sup>88</sup></p> <p>Barr had long abetted Mr. Trump in the latter's authoritarian gambits, as CSD has previously reported. A Washington Post columnist summarized: <i>"He misled the public about the findings from special counsel Robert S. Mueller III, cleared Trump of obstruction of justice, embraced Trump's claim that the FBI was "spying" on him, worked to discredit the Russia probe, disputed the inspector general's finding that the probe had a proper basis, commissioned another probe in pursuit of his desired outcome, [and] declined to investigate the [whistleblower's] Ukraine allegations."</i><sup>89</sup> Barr had also delivered a highly partisan speech to the Federalist Society in which he had attacked Democrats for their opposition to Mr. Trump.<sup>90</sup> And, at the request of Mr. Trump (who reportedly had been acceding to the request of Turkish strongman Recep Erdogan), Barr reportedly had sought to quash a federal case against a Turkish bank for evading Iranian sanctions.<sup>91</sup></p> <p>On February 16, some 1100 former federal prosecutors and other Justice Department officials signed a letter calling for Barr's resignation.<sup>92</sup> By February 17, the number had risen to over 2000.<sup>93</sup></p> <p>On February 18, <u>Mr. Trump told reporters that he could intervene in Justice Department operations however he might wish, in that he was the country's "chief law enforcement officer," and he demanded (into the air) that Stone be given a new trial.</u><sup>94</sup> In defiance of (or with the indulgence of) Barr, on February 19 Mr. Trump continued to tweet about what he alleged was corruption in the Justice Department, and the need for Barr to "clean house" there.<sup>95</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 16</p>
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<p>2-13-20</p>	<p><b>Another theft, for the wall.</b> The Trump administration told Congress that it would seize an additional \$3.8 billion from the military to fund the border wall, in defiance of congressional appropriations. For the first time, the new theft came from appropriations for military hardware, such as fighter jets and ships. Bi-partisan outrage in Congress followed.<sup>96</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>2-13-20</p>	<p><b>The prodigals return.</b> Media reported that Mr. Trump's former communications director Hope Hicks was returning to the White House, now as a senior counselor. She had left the administration in 2019 to become the chief communications officer at Fox Corporation, after having been implicated in Mr. Trump's efforts to obstruct justice by the Mueller investigation and having refused to testify against Mr. Trump.</p> <p>Also returning, to head the presidential personnel office, was Johnny McEntee, Mr. Trump's former body man. McEntee had been fired in 2018 over gambling debts that had threatened his security clearance.</p> <p>Both developments were viewed as reflective of Mr. Trump surrounding himself with an increasingly narrow circle of personal and political loyalists.<sup>97</sup> They came amid an overall, post-impeachment surge in seemingly paranoid behavior on his part: dismissals, reassignments, punishing enemies, rewarding friends, shunning advisors, and pressing his mass of supporters within the electorate to mistrust his adversaries as well.<sup>98</sup></p> <p>Hicks's return also was seen as perpetuating and escalating the symbiotic and propagandistic Fox-White House revolving door.<sup>99</sup></p> <p>CSD notes that both of the re-appointees were telegenic – following Mr. Trump's preference for drawing staff from "central casting" – but of no particular accomplishment and of no obvious ethical stature.</p>	<p>9, 11, 16</p>

<p>2-16-20 +</p>	<p><b>Shredding history (again); and suing it.</b> On February 16, The Washington Post reported on Mr. Trump's newly energized, post-acquittal efforts to (in his words) "expunge" from history the Mueller investigation of Russian election interference: <i>"As his reelection campaign intensifies, Trump is using the powers of his office to manipulate the facts and settle the score. Advisers say the president is determined to protect his associates ensnared in the expansive Russia investigation, punish the prosecutors and investigators he believes betrayed him, and convince the public that the probe was exactly as he sees it: an illegal witch hunt."</i> At the same time, Mr. Trump continued not to acknowledge the reportedly ongoing Russian efforts to tamper with the 2020 presidential election.<sup>100</sup></p> <p>On February 18, Mr. Trump tweeted that he might sue "everyone" associated with the investigation – seemingly including Mueller himself.<sup>101</sup></p>	<p>9, 12</p>
<p>2-18-20</p>	<p><b>Contracting hi-jinx.</b> The Department of Homeland Security announced that it would waive federal procurement rules – such as the requirement for obtaining competitive bids – in order to speed up the construction of the wall at the Mexican border. Speeded construction was seen as enhancing Mr. Trump's standing with his political base in connection with his 2020 reelection campaign; and the waiver as facilitating the potential letting of contracts to cronies.<sup>102</sup></p> <p>CSD notes that a federal court had only recently halted the start of a huge Pentagon cloud computing project that had been awarded to Microsoft, on charges brought by Amazon that Mr. Trump had diverted the contract from Amazon due to his hatred of its owner, Jeff Bezos (who also owns his antagonist, The Washington Post).<sup>103</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 16</p>
<p>2-18-20 +</p>	<p><b>Clemency fever.</b> <u>On February 18, Mr. Trump announced seven pardons and four commutations. All 11 recipients had had an inside connection to Mr. Trump or had been promoted on Fox News; and some were vocal supporters or substantial campaign donors of his. [Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>9, 16</p>

<p>2-18-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Those pardoned included Bernie Kerik (former New York City police commissioner, current Fox News contributor, Mar-a-Lago habitué and long-standing friend of Mr. Trump, who had pleaded guilty to tax fraud in 2010); Michael Milken (former Wall Street financier, also a long-time Trump friend, who had pleaded guilty to insider trading in 1990); and Edward DeBartolo (former San Francisco 49ers owner, who had pleaded guilty to political corruption in 1998). Mr. Trump also commuted the sentence of Rod Blagojevich (former governor of Illinois, convicted in 2011 of soliciting political bribes and serving a prison sentence since then). He also pardoned Paul Pogue (a construction contractor who had pleaded guilty to tax fraud).</p> <p>The episode fit Mr. Trump's pattern in granting clemency, as reported above in this Chronology:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u><i>Indulging high profile criminals whose cases had been put to him by mutual friends and associates rather than by regular Justice Department channels.</i></u> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ For example, Mr. Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani had advocated for Kerik. So had Newsmax Media's CEO Christopher Ruddy, Republican Congressman Peter King of New York, and television personality Geraldo Rivera. So had the attorney for Michael Flynn, Mr. Trump's campaign associate who had pleaded guilty to a felony and who himself still hoped to be pardoned. Edward Gallagher, the court-martialed Navy SEAL on whose behalf Mr. Trump had recently intervened and whom Mr. Trump had subsequently feted, had also advocated for Kerik, just as Kerik had advocated for Gallagher.</li> <li>○ Milken's plea had been supported by Mr. Trump's billionaire fundraiser Nelson Peltz, billionaire funders Sheldon and Miriam Adelson, New England Patriots' owner Robert Kraft, Fox host Maria Bartiromo, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin, Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao and Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p>9, 16</p>
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<p>2-18-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ DeBartolo's plea had been supported by football stars Jerry Rice and Joe Montana and by singer-songwriter Paul Anka.</li> <li>○ Pogue's family had contributed hundreds of thousands of dollars to Mr. Trump's 2020 re-election campaign, and had weekended with Mr. Trump's son Donald, Jr. in the Hamptons.</li> </ul> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● <u>Indulging white collar criminals, whose offenses were somewhat similar to things Mr. Trump himself had been accused of, and whom he may have considered to be guiltless and (like himself) wrongly persecuted by the justice system.</u> (Compare the political corruption offenses of DeBartolo and Blagojevich, and the tax fraud of Kerik and Pogue.)</li> <li>● <u>Indulging criminals with mass popular followings such as could help Mr. Trump win elections.</u> (DeBartolo was a popular figure in his native Ohio, a crucial swing-state in presidential elections, and he was well-regarded by many pro football fans nationwide.)</li> </ul> <p>Even three of the clemency recipients who did not fit the above categories owed their relief to a personal connection with Mr. Trump – a woman whom he had previously pardoned through celebrity intervention, whom he had since asked to name other clemency candidates, and who then had referred him to several of her previous prison-mates.</p> <p>The acts of clemency came only two days before the scheduled sentencing of Mr. Trump's long-time friend and early campaign operative Roger Stone for an array of federal felonies (see CSD's entry of February 11 +, above). At that time observers were speculating, many expecting, that Mr. Trump might pardon Stone, and that the immediate pardons were a preview for, or a softening up of, the public.<sup>104</sup> Some also speculated that by way of pardons and commutations, or the promise of the same, Mr. Trump could purchase the silence of convicted campaign figures such as Stone, Paul Manafort and Michael Flynn who might otherwise implicate him in crimes.<sup>105</sup></p> <p>The Washington Post reported more fully on the context of the events: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 16</p>
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<p>2-18-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> "Trump acknowledged that in deciding whom to pardon, 'a lot of times I really rely on the people that know them.' . . .</p> <p>"The head of the pardon office in the Department of Justice during the first two years of the Trump administration told <i>The Washington Post</i> that he quit last year because the White House had sidelined his office in favor of taking its cues from celebrities, political allies and Fox News. ...</p> <p>"The decision regarding DeBartolo was announced publicly on Tuesday by deputy press secretary Hogan Gidley, who was flanked by several former NFL players outside the White House. ...</p> <p>"Most presidents in recent decades have faced accusations at one time or another that they exploited the pardon power. President Bill Clinton issued pardons in the final hours of his presidency to his half brother, a Whitewater business partner, his former housing secretary and a fugitive commodities trader married to a major Democratic donor.</p> <p><u>"Under Trump, however, politically motivated grants have become the rule, not the exception."</u><sup>106</sup></p> <p>A columnist for the Post wrote that <u>with the "commutations of rich, corrupt and utterly undeserving men, President Trump has completed the transition from the law-and-order party to the crime-mob party."</u><sup>107</sup></p>	<p>9, 16</p>
<p>2-19-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Without intelligence.</u></b> On February 19, <u>Mr. Trump announced the appointment of his ambassador to Germany, Richard Grenell, as acting Director of National Intelligence. Grenell – a Trump loyalist and former Fox News contributor – had no professional background whatever in intelligence work. That conflicted with the express statutory requirement that the director's position be filled with someone having a deep intelligence background.</u>  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>9, 13, 17 (6)</p>



<p>2-19-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Grenell, rather, was a fierce political partisan. As ambassador, he had often tangled with what he called the "fake news." In addition, he had gained notoriety for publicly criticizing European governments and for gratuitously encouraging white nationalist political parties in Europe. Critics of his appointment found that sort of extreme partisanship to be antithetical to the role of the DNI – a position of weighty responsibility and sensitivity that required sober objectivity.</u></p> <p>Grenell was expected to remain ambassador to Germany while fulfilling his DNI duties. Commentators questioned how that could be accomplished, given the demanding nature of both positions.</p> <p>Grenell's "acting" appointment, like the many others made by Mr. Trump during his tenure, was not subject to Senate confirmation – as Mr. Trump had often acknowledged he intended.<sup>108</sup></p> <p>Shortly after the announcement, media reported the event that had precipitated Grenell's appointment. <u>Days before, Mr. Trump had become enraged with and had turned on Joseph Maguire, the then acting DNI who had been expected to be appointed as permanent DNI. Maguire's sin: having permitted one of his deputies to brief the House Intelligence Committee on new and significant developments in Russia's efforts to help Mr. Trump win reelection in 2020. Mr. Trump reportedly feared that House Democrats would weaponize that information against his candidacy; he simply didn't want it revealed. He also reportedly insisted that Russia wasn't in fact interfering or helping him.</u></p> <p><u>Thus once again Mr. Trump sought, for his personal benefit, to hide the gravest of Russian threats to the American democratic process. And Grenell appeared to have been chosen in service of that goal.</u><sup>109</sup> Indeed, on February 20, Politico reported that Kash Patel – a key Hill staffer who had helped to discredit the previous Russia probe – would now be working for Grenell.<sup>110</sup> Critics feared that the entire episode, and Mr. Trump's rage, could chill intelligence reporting not only to Congress, but to the White House itself.<sup>111</sup></p>	<p>9, 13, 17 (6)</p>
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**The Impeachment**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 28)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 17 as defined in CSD's Statement of Principles.**

<u>Date</u>	<u>Episode</u>
1-14-20 +	<p><b><u>The Parnas papers.</u></b> On January 14, House impeachment investigators released to the public extensive documents that they had received from a federal court and that the court had obtained from Lev Parnas. Parnas, together with another Soviet-born American named Igor Fruman, had partnered with Mr. Trump's personal attorney Rudy Giuliani in seeking (a) to undermine and remove the corruption-fighting Marie Yovanovitch when she had been ambassador to Ukraine, and (b) to assist Mr. Trump in extorting from Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky an announcement that Ukraine was investigating presidential contender Joe Biden for corruption. Just as the scheme was coming to light, Parnas and Fruman had been arrested and indicted for certain campaign finance violations associated with the scheme.</p> <p>The newly released documents appeared to establish, subject to corroboration, that in the spring of 2019 (a) a corrupt Ukrainian prosecutor had offered Parnas dirt on Biden in exchange for Mr. Trump recalling the prosecutor's antagonist, Yovanovitch; (b) a Trump donor, Connecticut businessman and reportedly out-of-control alcoholic named Robert Hyde had purported to Parnas to have been physically surveilling Yovanovitch in Kiev and possibly planning to injure her; (c) Giuliani had sought to meet with and to assist Zelensky on behalf of Mr. Trump in Giuliani's capacity as Mr. Trump's personal attorney – that is, expressly, outside of Mr. Trump's role as president of the United States; (d) while in Europe, Parnas had memorialized his undertaking to have Zelensky smear Biden; and (e) Parnas had been engaged in numerous related intrigues involving corrupt Ukrainian figures.</p> <p>MSNBC television was among the first to report on the document trove. Mr. Trump – who had later publicly denied knowing Parnas – had in fact appeared with Parnas in at least eight separate photographs, displayed by MSNBC on air. Congressional Democrats and other observers asserted that the new document dump not only was damning on its face, but demonstrated that Mr. Trump likely still continued to hide a great many details about the Ukraine scandal for which he was being impeached.<sup>112</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

1-14-20 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On January 15, Parnas appeared in a stunning MSNBC interview, in which he credibly alleged that (a) Mr. Trump's claims not to have personally known Parnas were "a lie"; (b) Mr. Trump had known and approved all aspects of the scheme, which had been directed entirely to tarring Biden for Mr. Trump's personal electoral benefit and had not involved fighting corruption in Ukraine; (c) Parnas and Giuliani had consistently represented themselves to Ukrainian officials as working for and at the behest of Mr. Trump; (d) Parnas had told Ukrainian officials repeatedly that the country would receive no military or diplomatic assistance until and unless the officials announced an investigation of Biden; (e) Vice President Mike Pence had been tasked with obtaining Zelensky's announcement of the investigation and had canceled a visit to Zelensky's inauguration because the announcement hadn't materialized; (f) a Ukrainian oligarch named Dimitri Firtash – whose corruption Yovanich had denounced and whom the U.S. was seeking to have extradited to the U.S. – had offered to pressure Zelensky to make the announcement, in exchange for removing Yovanovitch and quashing the extradition; (g) the entire American team (Mr. Trump, Pence, Giuliani, Parnas himself) had wanted Yovanovitch removed so as to facilitate the announcement; (h) Attorney General William Barr had been aware of the scheme and had been "on the team"; and (i) the House Intelligence Committee's ranking member Devin Nunes had also participated.<sup>113</sup></p> <p>Contemporaneously with the airing of the MSNBC interview, The Washington Post reported on a second batch of the Parnas papers. Among other things, the papers established that Parnas had worked closely with corrupt Ukrainian chief prosecutor Yuri Lutsenko, and with Donald Trump, Jr. and other Trump campaign figures, to (a) allege that Ukrainian elements had sought to help Hillary Clinton's 2016 presidential campaign and (b) cause Yovanovitch to be removed – which removal Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had apparently approved. The documents also confirmed the previously reported efforts of Giuliani and Parnas to procure Lutsenko as a paying client.<sup>114</sup></p> <p>Parnas also gave an interview that day to The New York Times.<sup>115</sup> On January 16, CNN television aired its own interview with Parnas.<sup>116</sup> Observers speculated as to Parnas's credibility and his motives for publicizing his breathtaking account.<sup>117</sup> But they widely noted that his narrative was in accord with the narratives of House impeachment inquiry witnesses. To even better test whether he was telling the truth, witnesses such as former national security advisor John Bolton and acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney would almost certainly know. Giuliani himself would quite certainly know. But, as noted above in this Chronology, Mr. Trump had forbidden any of them from testifying. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>
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<p>1-14-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Parnas did not cut a sympathetic figure on television or otherwise. He had come to Mr. Trump's Ukraine operation with a long record of bad debts and seamy business activities, and he had ended by being arrested for alleged campaign finance felonies.<sup>118</sup> If Mr. Trump had drawn on his favored criterion for selecting his staff – "central casting" – he might have tapped Parnas to play the hoodlum. But in any event, Parnas (like his colleague Hyde) could be seen to have contributed to the overall profile of Mr. Trump's "cast" of operatives and hangers-on: not just from the usual Washington swamp, but from a deeper and darker pool. Parnas also could now be seen as emblematic of the long and sordid list of accused and convicted felons in Mr. Trump's orbit.</p>
<p>1-15-20</p>	<p><b><u>Articles to the Senate.</u></b> Largely on party lines, the House voted to send its articles of impeachment to the Senate so that the trial of Mr. Trump could begin. The articles were then hand delivered by the House to the Senate, in a solemn, silent procession of Democratic members of Congress through the Capitol. (Those actions had been delayed after the vote to impeach while the Democrats had sought – thus far unsuccessfully – to cause the Senate's Republican leadership to allow witnesses and other evidence to be presented at the Senate trial so as to ensure its fairness.) A video of the historic procession can be seen at the link to The Post's coverage at this endnote.<sup>119</sup></p>
<p>1-16-20</p>	<p><b><u>GAO: Withholding Ukraine funds was illegal.</u></b> The non-partisan Government Accountability Office ruled that the withholding of congressionally appropriated aid funds from Ukraine for policy reasons – by the Office of Management and Budget, and at the direction of Mr. Trump – violated the law; that is, that Mr. Trump had had no authority to do that.<sup>120</sup></p>
<p>1-17-20</p>	<p><b><u>All in for bribery.</u></b> Mr. Trump's White House economic advisor Larry Kudlow acknowledged that Mr. Trump was considering changing (presumably weakening) the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act, which forbids Americans from bribing foreign governments. The acknowledgement appeared to confirm recent and earlier reports that Mr. Trump bitterly objected to the law – believing that American companies (such as his own) should be allowed to freely bribe overseas officials. It also appeared to match Mr. Trump's protestations that he had "done nothing wrong" in attempting – as a kind of bribery – to seek dirt on Biden from Zelensky in exchange for releasing military aid and granting Zelensky a White House meeting.<sup>121</sup></p>
<p>1-19-20</p>	<p><b><u>More secrets.</u></b> House Intelligence Committee chair Adam Schiff charged that the National Security Agency (NSA) and the CIA were withholding from Congress documents relevant to the events in Ukraine that underlay the impeachment.<sup>122</sup> If true, that stonewalling would add to the Trump administration's categorical refusal to provide witnesses or documents directly related to the Ukraine scandal, such as witnesses and records from the White House, the State Department and the Office of Management and Budget.</p>

<p>1-21-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The trial begins.</u></b> On January 21, the Senate began hearing arguments in Mr. Trump's impeachment case. As had long been predicted, the Republican majority, with virtually complete unanimity, sought to bar the subpoenaing of key witnesses such as Bolton and Mulvaney, and the introduction of evidence (described above in this Chronology) that had appeared since the House wrote its articles of impeachment.<sup>123</sup></p> <p>Democratic impeachment managers nevertheless laid out the charges in detail. The Republicans did not much contest the facts of the case. Rather, in previewing their defense, their arguments from the floor (as had also been predicted) focused mainly on their outrage – vocalized loudly, and characterized by misstatements – that, to their belief, the House's impeachment proceedings had been unfair; that Mr. Trump's actions with respect to Ukraine had not been wrongful, or not sufficiently wrongful to merit impeachment; and that Democrats were targeting Mr. Trump for political rather than constitutional reasons – that is, to void his due election to the presidency in 2016, and to avoid his re-election in 2020.</p> <p>In the view of CSD and some other observers, the Republican majority was effectively arguing much broader doctrines that would allow Mr. Trump radically far-reaching powers – both retrospectively and prospectively: (a) to tamper with American elections; (b) to invite foreign powers to tamper with American elections; (c) to conduct foreign (and, by extension, domestic) policy for his personal benefit; (d) to undermine specific congressional appropriations; (d) to withhold data on any topic whatever from Congress; and (e) to violate laws and the Constitution at his whim, knowing that the current Senate majority would acquiesce to anything – possibly even to his shooting someone on Fifth Avenue. The majority also implicitly argued that no impeachment proceeding in the future should be based on fact, law or the Constitution, but instead on raw political power.<sup>124</sup></p> <p>The Democrats continued to lay out their case – in painstaking detail, and often (CSD believes) with considerable eloquence – for the next three days.</p>
<p>1-25-20</p>	<p><b><u>Vengeance.</u></b> The Times and Politico reported on the continuing professional intimidation, at the hands of Mr. Trump's supporters, of some of the key House impeachment inquiry witnesses. Politico also reported on fears of a purge and a further sidelining of State Department experts following Mr. Trump's expected impeachment acquittal.<sup>125</sup></p>
<p>1-25-20</p>	<p><b><u>A new recording.</u></b> Parnas's lawyer released a recording of an hour-long, April 2018 dinner conversation at the Trump International Hotel in Washington among Mr. Trump, Parnas, Fruman and various donors. The audio not only demonstrated that Mr. Trump knew Parnas and Fruman (contrary to his denials) but that he had issued an order on that occasion that Yovanovitch be immediately recalled from her post in Ukraine (just as Parnas had alleged).<sup>126</sup></p>

<p>1-25-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The defense.</u></b> Mr. Trump's lawyers began his granular defense, following Mr. Trump's indecorous Twitter advertisement: <i>"Our case against lyin', cheatin', liddle' Adam 'Shifty' Schiff, Cryin' Chuck Schumer, Nervous Nancy Pelosi, their leader, dumb as a rock AOC [Alexandria Octavio-Cortez, a House member of color who had nothing to do with the impeachment], &amp; the entire Radical Left, Do Nothing Democrat Party, starts today at 10:00 A.M. on @FoxNews, @OANN [the right wing One America Network] or Fake News @CNN or Fake News MSDNC [mocking the partisanship of MSNBC]!"</i></p> <p>Much of the thrust of his lawyers' opening presentation continued to be that Democrats were attempting through impeachment to unfairly overturn the 2016 presidential election. It was an argument that (as CSD had previously written), if enshrined in precedent, could operate to deny Congress an impeachment remedy for any wrongful presidential behavior whatever, now and in the future. Along those lines, counsel projected onto the Democrats, as Mr. Trump and his supporters had previously done, one of Mr. Trump's own gravest wrongdoings: <i>"They're here to perpetrate the most massive interference in an election in American history ...."</i> Counsel also argued speciously that Mr. Trump's withholding of military aid and his asking Zelensky to announce an investigation of Biden were legitimate exercises of Mr. Trump's foreign policy mandate, and legitimate efforts to fight corruption in Ukraine; also that Mr. Trump had a legitimate right to categorically quash the production of documents and witnesses sought by Congress.<sup>127</sup></p> <p>Possibly stung by media charges that the defense had not appeared poised to contest the House Democrats' factual allegations, the attorneys also advanced a barrage of what they claimed were facts pertaining to Mr. Trump's shakedown of Ukraine – claims that Mr. Trump and his supporters had long maintained – but that objective evidence had amply demonstrated were cynical, tortured and untrue counter-facts. A Post columnist summarized and (by implication) rebutted the falsehoods as follows:</p> <p><i>"[T]heirs is a world in which Ukraine interfered in the U.S. election in 2016; where the FBI and intelligence community are disreputable; where the United States, not Europe, gives Ukraine the bulk of its foreign aid; where there was no quid pro quo with Ukraine and where a 'transcript' of President Trump's call conclusively proves it; where the halt of military aid to Ukraine was routine, and where Ukrainian officials didn't even know about it; where the president was barred from impeachment proceedings; and where Robert Mueller totally vindicated Trump."</i><sup>128</sup> The Post and CNN laid out comparable factual rebuttals in their respective news analyses that appear at this endnote.<sup>129</sup></p>
<p>1-26-20</p>	<p><b><u>Threatening Schiff.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted: <i>"Shifty Adam Schiff is a CORRUPT POLITICIAN, and probably a very sick man. He has not paid the price, yet, for what he has done to our Country!"</i> Schiff said that he took the tweet as a threat.<sup>130</sup></p>

<p>1-26-20 +</p>	<p><b>What Bolton knew.</b> On January 26, The Times reported that a confidential draft of Bolton's forthcoming memoir about his tenure in the Trump White House corroborated that – based on Bolton's first-hand experience with the matter – Mr. Trump had sought to freeze military assistance to Ukraine until Ukraine announced an investigation of Biden and other Democrats.</p> <p>The revelation matched the testimony of the many witnesses who had earlier characterized the affair to House impeachment investigators – only now the allegations came from Bolton, someone with direct and indisputable knowledge. It also appeared to further demonstrate not only that Mr. Trump had repeatedly lied when denying the alleged <i>quid pro quo</i>, but that his lawyers at the Senate trial – at least one of whom had been briefed on the book's content many weeks previous – had themselves lied when claiming that no evidence of a <i>quid pro quo</i> existed. The draft also reportedly revealed that, at least to an extent, Pompeo, Barr and Mulvaney were involved in the cover-up.<sup>131</sup></p> <p>The Post characterized The Times' report as a "bombshell." As Senate Republicans still refused to subpoena Bolton to testify, they now appeared not just to be acquiescing to the others' cover-up, but to be actively participating in it.<sup>132</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump promptly tweeted his denial and his displeasure, claiming that Bolton was just trying to sell a book. Giuliani tweeted the same, calling Bolton a "backstabber." Other supporters of Mr. Trump piled on, including many of Bolton's former colleagues at Fox News.<sup>133</sup> On January 29, Mr. Trump trash-tweeted the following about Bolton:</p> <p><i>"For a guy who couldn't get approved for the Ambassador to the U.N. years ago, couldn't get approved for anything since, 'begged' me for a non Senate approved job, which I gave him despite many saying 'Don't do it, sir,' takes the job ... and ....many more mistakes of judgement, gets fired because frankly, if I listened to him, we would be in World War Six by now, and goes out and IMMEDIATELY writes a nasty &amp; untrue book. All Classified National Security. Who would do this?"</i></p> <p>Also on January 29, the White House ordered Bolton to not publish his book, claiming that it contained top secret information – but without specifying to Bolton what portions of the book were classified. Bolton had submitted his manuscript to the White House for its review a month previous, and he had heard no complaint until it appeared that he might testify in the impeachment trial.<sup>134</sup></p>
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1-27-20 +	<p><b><u>Counsel of distinction.</u></b> Mr. Trump had sought to staff his legal defense with prominent figures – attorneys with reputations of distinction. Those selected did indeed represent him before the Senate zealously; but they distinguished themselves by their sophistry, their inconsistencies, and/or their questionable personal backgrounds.</p> <p>For example, former Florida attorney general Pam Bondi complained of the Bidens' corruption, when she herself had been investigated for corruption: dismissing a class action that had alleged fraud against Mr. Trump's diploma mill, Trump University, in exchange for an illegal \$25,000 donation to her political campaign from the Trump Foundation. She also now complained of the Bidens' nepotism, even as Mr. Trump's children staffed the White House and sought to profit in their business activities from his presidency.</p> <p>For his part, Harvard University emeritus professor Alan Dershowitz had risen to national prominence in part by having successfully represented accused celebrity defendants O.J. Simpson, Claus von Bulow, Mike Tyson and Jeffrey Epstein in cases involving alleged murder, assault and/or sexual violence. He had also allegedly been a partying friend of and co-criminal with Epstein, an admitted pedophile.<sup>135</sup> He now claimed that Mr. Trump could not be impeached without having been accused of a statutory crime – even though courts routinely try individuals for common law crimes; even though presidents and other federal officials had previously been impeached for the offenses with which Mr. Trump had been charged; and even though at the time of President Clinton's impeachment Dershowitz had said that no statutory crime need be pleaded.</p> <p>Ken Starr, who likewise now maintained that abuse of power was not a proper charge for an article of impeachment, had fervently argued the opposite when prosecuting President Clinton's impeachment years before. He also maintained that impeachments were becoming too frequent – having himself started the fad. (President Clinton had been impeached, but not convicted, for having lied under oath about having had sex with a White House intern; not about having corrupted and endangered American security and foreign affairs by extorting another country for personal political favors.)<sup>136</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's personal attorney, Jay Sekulow, sported a long personal history of legal and financial misadventures, including bankruptcies, fraud allegations, and (seemingly) raking tens of millions of dollars out of a tax-exempt, faith-based charity that he and his family operated and used to sustain their lavish lifestyles.<sup>137</sup></p> <p>White House counsel Pat Cipollone was revealed to have gravely violated the ethical rules governing the conduct of attorneys, by advocating in a matter (the Ukraine scandal and the impeachment) with respect to which he had been a participant and should properly have been a fact witness.<sup>138</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>
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<p>1-27-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In any event, according to Politico, at least in the first day of arguments, counsel spent more time trashing Mr. Trump's antagonists on unrelated matters than in attempting to defend his misdeeds – to the likely pleasure of their client.<sup>139</sup></p> <p>On January 28, The Post reported that the Republican National Committee was paying for several of Mr. Trump's defense lawyers. Others, such as Dershowitz (who claimed that he was defending Mr. Trump "on principle" and wasn't being paid) stood to profit handsomely in future representations on the strength of the publicity they were gaining from the impeachment trial.<sup>140</sup></p> <p>On January 29, astonishingly, Dershowitz argued that if a president believes that his re-election will serve the public interest, he may do whatever he wants in order to achieve that reelection.<sup>141</sup> On the same day, White House deputy counsel Patrick Philbin argued that an American political figure could lawfully seek negative information on his or her electoral rival from a foreign government, as long as the information was "credible."<sup>142</sup> Taken together, CSD sees those two views as authorizing such remarkable behaviors, among others, as these: (a) an American president allowing, urging, conspiring with or even paying Russia, China or another hostile and authoritarian government to slander a domestic political opponent, whether openly or surreptitiously, including through social media; (b) a president intentionally suppressing voting or causing vote tallies to be improperly counted; (c) a president blocking his adversary from campaigning, or even jailing that adversary and the adversary's supporters; (d) a president barring or censoring electoral news coverage; (e) a president maliciously and wrongfully destroying the reputation and career of any public servant or private citizen if it suited the president's whims; or even (f) a president shooting his opponent on Fifth Avenue. Of course in some countries such events do occur.</p>
<p>1-30-20, 2-4-20</p>	<p><b><u>Outing the whistleblower.</u></b> Chief Justice John Roberts, presiding over the impeachment trial in the Senate on January 30 and serving as the conduit for senators' questions in the proceedings, refused to read a question submitted by Republican Senator Rand Paul that identified the whistleblower whose complaint about Mr. Trump's July 25 phone call with Zelensky had sparked the impeachment inquiry. Vengefully and pointlessly outing the whistleblower – whose privacy a federal statute had sought generally to protect – had been a Republican crusade since the inquiry began. After Roberts' rebuff, Paul stormed out of the chamber and gave the name to reporters.<sup>143</sup></p> <p>On February 4, during the trial's closing presentations at which senators were at last allowed to speak on the floor, Paul directly identified the whistleblower.<sup>144</sup></p>

<p>1-31-20</p>	<p><b><u>No witnesses.</u></b> The Republican-controlled Senate voted not to call any witnesses to the trial – including Bolton, a first-hand observer of the subject events, whose testimony promised to incriminate Mr. Trump. It also voted not to admit any new documentary evidence, even as the Justice Department acknowledged that it possessed a trove of undisclosed emails on the topic.<sup>145</sup></p>
<p>1-31-20 to 2-4-20</p>	<p><b><u>The sentiment.</u></b> In the final days of the trial, several Republican senators acknowledged that Mr. Trump had behaved wrongfully with respect to Ukraine; but they were simply unwilling to remove him from office for doing so; and most other Republicans acknowledged nothing.<sup>146</sup></p>
<p>2-4-20</p>	<p><b><u>The State of the Union.</u></b> Consistent with American custom, Mr. Trump delivered his annual State of the Union address in the House chambers – the very venue where only weeks previous he had been impeached. And consistent with Mr. Trump's own custom, he stoked fear about undocumented immigration, inflated his claims of responsibility for the currently strong economy, falsely claimed that he had advanced peace between Israelis and Palestinians, and falsely claimed that he had sought and was seeking to protect Americans' insurance coverage for pre-existing medical conditions. The Washington Post's Fact Checker counted 31 dubious statements.</p> <p>Contrary to presidential custom, in his State of the Union remarks Mr. Trump played almost entirely to his base and made little attempt to bridge the gulf dividing the country, other than through some theatrical tokenism and pandering toward African American voters. He repeatedly trashed the Obama administration. He invoked the name of God eight times and said "America has always been a Christian nation." Campaign-style, he pledged to defend gun rights and fight abortion rights. He had his wife Melania drape a Medal of Freedom over the shoulders of Rush Limbaugh, a viciously hateful and divisive radio personality. Two of the anecdotes he told about his policies having helped African Americans were false.<sup>147</sup></p> <p><b><u>But the critical context of the address lay in two things: the Senate's expected acquittal of Mr. Trump relative to the House's impeachment charges on the following day; and in a sudden spike – to a record 49% – in the Gallup poll's measurement of his popular approval rating. As he arrived at the dais triumphantly to begin his address, he refused to shake the hand of the Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. His Republican supporters boisterously chanted "Four More Years!" – not only in defiance of the impeachment but with apparent adulation. Throughout, he received robust applause from half of Congress and most of the guests, and that applause followed his conclusion. But Pelosi – who stood immediately behind him in the camera's eye and who apparently felt burned by his refusal to shake her hand – tore up her copy of his speech, page by page. The whole world was watching: as Mr. Trump defiled our democracy, as our country split down the middle, and as basic inter-branch protocol imploded.</u></b><sup>148</sup></p>

<p>2-5-20</p>	<p><u><b>The Senate acquits.</b> The Republican-controlled Senate voted to acquit Mr. Trump of charges under both of the articles of impeachment that the House had put forth. Only one Republican – Mitt Romney of Utah, citing his allegiance to his Christian faith – voted to convict, and only on the count of abuse of power.<sup>149</sup></u></p> <p><u>Mr. Trump's ability to govern corruptly, illegally, unconstitutionally, demagogically and divisively, with minimal congressional checks on his authority, was now virtually assured for the remainder of his current term of office, if not beyond. Indeed, he appeared to be free, even encouraged, to manipulate the 2020 election to his advantage, both with the help of foreign governments and otherwise.<sup>150</sup></u></p>
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**The Impeachment's Aftermath**

<p>2-5-20 +</p>	<p><u><b>Vengeance.</b> Immediately after the acquittal, Mr. Trump – not at all chastened – tweeted a meme calling for his re-election every four years, into infinity. He also re-tweeted a slander against Romney as an alleged Democratic agent. And his son Donald Jr. called for Romney to be expelled from the Republican Party.</u></p> <p><u>In the days that followed, commentators predicted that concerted vengeance campaigns on the part of Mr. Trump and his supporters – to destroy the careers, and even the personal lives, of Romney, House impeachment witness Lt. Colonel Alex Vindman, and others – were highly probable, if not already underway; also that <u>the effect could be to quash all future dissent within Congress and whistle blowing within federal agencies during Mr. Trump's tenure.</u> (Mr. Trump had already destroyed the careers of several mildly dissident Republican senators.) Indeed, on February 7, <u>Vindman and his brother Yevgeny – also an Army lieutenant colonel and also detailed to the White House – were escorted out of the building; and Sondland was ordered home from Europe. Vindman and Sondland had already been planning their departures, but Mr. Trump had reportedly wanted to make a public display of their punishments. Yevgeny's end came as a surprise to him, and was gratuitous.</u><sup>151</sup></u></p> <p><u>On February 8 and 9, a weekend, Mr. Trump launched dozens of tweets savagely attacking Vindman, Romney, and Pelosi and other congressional Democrats, all in connection with the impeachment.<sup>152</sup> The Romney tweets included allegations that Romney had conspired corruptly with the Bidens in Ukraine.<sup>153</sup> On February 11, Mr. Trump told reporters that the Defense Department should consider disciplining Vindman for his House impeachment testimony.<sup>154</sup> A Times columnist's summary of the retributive acts to that date appears at the link at this end note.<sup>155</sup> [Continued below.]</u></p>
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<p>2-5-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On February 13, Mr. Trump's savaging of Vindman proceeded. Mr. Trump also belittled his former chief of staff – John Kelly, a retired four-star marine general – for having recently come to Vindman's defense.<sup>156</sup></p> <p>On February 19, Mr. Trump ousted John Rood, the Pentagon's top policy official who had certified to Congress in May 2019 that Ukraine had made enough anti-corruption progress to justify the release of congressionally authorized military aid to that country. (Mr. Trump had subsequently ignored that advice and had insisted, including throughout the impeachment process, that he legitimately had continued to withhold aid from Ukraine on corruption grounds.)<sup>157</sup></p>
<p>2-6-20</p>	<p><b><u>Faith.</u></b> Speaking at the National Prayer Breakfast in Washington – a normally apolitical event – Mr. Trump held up high, for the audience to see, USA Today's print edition headline announcing his acquittal. He crowed about his victory and complained of his persecution. He chastised Romney for his vote to convict, claiming that Romney was treacherous and that he had falsely invoked his faith as the basis for his vote. He also chastised Pelosi, claiming she had lied some weeks previous when she had said that she prayed for him.</p> <p>He thus not only used a religious platform to eschew humility, to aggrandize himself and to demean his adversaries, but he initiated a type of religious war as to who was more faithful than the next. (Romney had been a missionary in his youth and had been a leader in his church for decades. Mr. Trump himself was not known to possess any religious faith or ethical grounding whatever.<sup>158</sup>) He even expressly refused to accept the event's theme, "love your enemy," instead suggesting that the attendees join him in hating his enemies. Although many of those assembled roared their approval as he spoke, many other Christian leaders subsequently voiced their disgust.<sup>159</sup></p>
<p>2-6-20</p>	<p><b><u>Celebration.</u></b> <u>In what CSD considers to be one of the most disturbing episodes in Mr. Trump's tenure as president, he led what he termed a "celebration" of his acquittal in the East Room of the White House.</u><sup>160</sup></p> <p>The event was televised live. As Mr. Trump entered the room, which was packed with congressional and other supporters, a recording of a trumpet flourish from "Hail to the Chief" sounded. For over an hour, he then viciously flayed his adversaries from both the Mueller investigation and the impeachment proceedings. He also singled out for praise his various congressional supporters – his "warriors," some of whom he commended for their looks, their athletic abilities or their physiques – citing their fierce defense of him. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>

<p>2-6-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Unlike in the case of President Clinton's post-acquittal apology, Mr. Trump showed no contrition. He maintained that he had done nothing wrong. He boasted about the crowd size, his accomplishments as president, his single-handed responsibility for the rise in the stock market, his success in helping Republicans win their congressional elections, his toughness in the face of persecution (which he claimed other presidents couldn't have withstood), and his popularity – implying, as he had done before, that he was more popular than Abraham Lincoln.</p> <p>Mr. Trump also mocked and railed at Vindman, House Judiciary Committee chair and impeachment manager Jerry Nadler, House Intelligence Committee chair and fellow impeachment manager Adam Schiff, Senate minority leader Chuck Schumer, former FBI director James Comey, former deputy FBI director Andrew McCabe, and others. He crowed about having disparaged Pelosi that morning at the National Prayer Breakfast. He mocked Romney for his claim of religious faith and for having lost his 2012 presidential campaign. He excoriated the Democratic party for welcoming migrants, raising taxes, seeking to take away people's health insurance, "trying to overthrow the government," and wanting "to destroy our country." Without irony, he said that if the alleged corruption of Joe Biden's son Hunter was acceptable, "my kids could make a fortune." He brought his daughter Ivanka up onto the stage for a hug and a kiss, devoid of context.</p> <p>But all of that was consistent with Mr. Trump's routine. Had someone merely read the transcript, one might not have detected anything out of the usual. For CSD, rather, what was so stunning was <u>the full-throated, cheering, hooting acclaim that Mr. Trump received from the crowd. Those assembled represented an entire class of America's most powerful political figures: mainly male and almost entirely white. They had swallowed his pitch, just as he had swallowed them whole. The dispiriting vision was that of a nation that had come to be fully 50% bewitched and corrupted, at the top.</u><sup>161</sup></p> <p><u>CSD urges readers, if they have the fortitude and the time, to watch the complete video of the "celebration." It may serve as a record for future civilized societies, an object lesson in how a democracy can begin to fall.</u><sup>162</sup></p>
<p>2-9-20</p>	<p><b><u>Romney in the cross-hairs.</u></b> On January 31, after having voted for the Senate to call witnesses such as Bolton to testify prior to that body's vote on the conviction or acquittal of Mr. Trump, Romney had been disinvited from attending the annual Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC) in Maryland. On February 9, the conference's chairman – not a Romney fan – said that he had feared for Romney's safety should he have attended.<sup>163</sup></p>

2-15-20	<b>Still the king.</b> Mr. Trump tweeted a passage from a recent Times article that had pejoratively referred to him as a king; except that Mr. Trump himself appeared to embrace the royal characterization. The Times had quoted Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Mr. Trump now quoted the Times: "When you strike at the king, you must kill him," he wrote of his acquittal and his tempestuous vengeance.
2-20-20	<b>A death threat.</b> Federal prosecutors indicted a man for threatening the life of one of the Ukraine whistleblower's attorneys shortly after Mr. Trump, at a campaign rally in November, had held up the attorney's photo – implicitly as a target. <sup>164</sup>

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/12/31/us/trump-undocumented-workers-winery.html>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.mediaite.com/tv/trump-again-dismisses-threats-from-kim-jong-un-he-likes-me-i-like-him-we-get-along/>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/03/us/politics/trump-miami-rally-evangelicals.html> and [https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-religion/trump-event-in-miami-church-may-violate-irs-rules-non-profit-says-idUSKBN1YZ1E5?utm\\_source=applenews](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-religion/trump-event-in-miami-church-may-violate-irs-rules-non-profit-says-idUSKBN1YZ1E5?utm_source=applenews) and [https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-religion/trump-tells-evangelical-rally-he-will-put-prayer-in-schools-idUSKBN1Z22AN?utm\\_source=applenews](https://www.reuters.com/article/us-usa-trump-religion/trump-tells-evangelical-rally-he-will-put-prayer-in-schools-idUSKBN1Z22AN?utm_source=applenews) and <https://www.newsweek.com/pete-buttigieg-responds-after-trump-accuses-him-being-pretend-christian-god-does-not-belong-1480403>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/2020/01/11/donald-trump-evangelicals-rally-stunning-sad-unprecedented-column/4421150002/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.cbsnews.com/live-updates/qassem-soleimani-top-iranian-military-commander-killed-in-us-airstrike-in-baghdad-2020-01-05/> and <https://www.nytimes.com/section/todayspaper> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/04/world/americas/trump-iran.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/04/world/middleeast/conflict-with-iran-threatens-fight-against-isis.html> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/01/03/donald-trump-iran-soleimani-093371> and <https://www.cnn.com/2019/12/27/politics/iraq-rocket-attack-contractor-killed/index.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/body-of-commander-slain-by-us-strike-arrives-in-iran-to-crowds-of-mourners/2020/01/05/4ca3281a-2f17-11ea-bffe-020c88b3f120\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/body-of-commander-slain-by-us-strike-arrives-in-iran-to-crowds-of-mourners/2020/01/05/4ca3281a-2f17-11ea-bffe-020c88b3f120_story.html?utm_campaign=evening_edition&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/trump-faces-iran-crisis-with-fewer-experienced-advisers-and-strained-relations-with-traditional-allies/2020/01/05/9b42a240-2f1a-11ea-9b60-817cc18cf173\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/trump-faces-iran-crisis-with-fewer-experienced-advisers-and-strained-relations-with-traditional-allies/2020/01/05/9b42a240-2f1a-11ea-9b60-817cc18cf173_story.html?utm_campaign=evening_edition&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpm=1) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-iran-strike-mar-a-lago\\_n\\_5e1113c8e4b0b2520d2257b5](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-iran-strike-mar-a-lago_n_5e1113c8e4b0b2520d2257b5) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/soleimani-assassination-self-defense-skepticism\\_n\\_5e10f7fce4b0b2520d224ec2](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/soleimani-assassination-self-defense-skepticism_n_5e10f7fce4b0b2520d224ec2) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/05/us/politics/us-isis-iran.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/04/us/politics/trump-suleimani.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/01/06/trump-wags-hippopotamus/?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/01/06/trump-wags-hippopotamus/?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpm=1) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europeans-shift-troops-from-iraq-warn-fight-against-islamic-state-is-imperiled-because-of-us-actions-on-iran/2020/01/07/e2b25a00-3157-11ea-971b-43bec3ff9860\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening&wpm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/europeans-shift-troops-from-iraq-warn-fight-against-islamic-state-is-imperiled-because-of-us-actions-on-iran/2020/01/07/e2b25a00-3157-11ea-971b-43bec3ff9860_story.html?utm_campaign=evening_edition&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening&wpm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/07/world/middleeast/nato-troops-iraq.html>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/06/world/middleeast/trump-iran-soleimani-strategy.html>

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- <sup>7</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/01/06/trump-wags-hippopotamus/?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/01/06/trump-wags-hippopotamus/?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/george-conway-trump-iran\\_n\\_5e159318c5b6c7b859d2d345](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/george-conway-trump-iran_n_5e159318c5b6c7b859d2d345)
- <sup>8</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/06/opinion/trump-iran-trade.html>
- <sup>9</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/01/08/iran-gulf-trump-allies-096382>
- <sup>10</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/05/world/middleeast/trump-cultural-sites.html?smid=nytcore-ios-share> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-threatens-iranian-cultural-targets\\_n\\_5e1127a1e4b0843d361347e8](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-threatens-iranian-cultural-targets_n_5e1127a1e4b0843d361347e8) and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Destruction\\_of\\_cultural\\_heritage\\_by\\_ISIL](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Destruction_of_cultural_heritage_by_ISIL) and [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhas\\_of\\_Bamyan](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhas_of_Bamyan) and <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/trump-doubles-down-threat-iranian-cultural-sites-demands-iraq-pay-n1111031> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/01/06/disturbing-history-behind-trumps-idea-target-iranian-cultural-sites/> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/the-president-didnt-threaten-irans-culture-sites-he-threatened-culture/2020/01/06/704e1ed4-30a0-11ea-91fd-82d4e04a3fac\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/entertainment/museums/the-president-didnt-threaten-irans-culture-sites-he-threatened-culture/2020/01/06/704e1ed4-30a0-11ea-91fd-82d4e04a3fac_story.html?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/06/arts/design/trump-iran-cultural-sites.html>
- <sup>11</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/pentagon-rejects-trump-threat-hit-iranian-cultural-sites-68106602> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/06/us/politics/trump-esper-iran-cultural-sites.html>
- <sup>12</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/01/07/pompeo-us-abide-laws-of-war-targeting-cultural-sites-095525>
- <sup>13</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iran-strike-live-updates/2020/01/06/3b5451f2-3024-11ea-9313-6cba89b1b9fb\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/iran-strike-live-updates/2020/01/06/3b5451f2-3024-11ea-9313-6cba89b1b9fb_story.html) and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/01/06/pentagon-letter-plans-iraq-withdrawal-095078?cid=apn>
- <sup>14</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/amid-confusion-and-contradictions-trump-white-house-stumbles-in-initial-public-response-to-soleimanis-killing/2020/01/07/61c9242e-3174-11ea-a053-dc6d944ba776\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=Email&utm\\_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines&wpmm=1](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/amid-confusion-and-contradictions-trump-white-house-stumbles-in-initial-public-response-to-soleimanis-killing/2020/01/07/61c9242e-3174-11ea-a053-dc6d944ba776_story.html?utm_campaign=todays_headlines&utm_medium=Email&utm_source=Newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines&wpmm=1) and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/01/08/donald-trump-created-pentagon-credibility-problem-096146?cid=apn> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/07/us/politics/trump-iran-strategy.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/07/opinion/trump-iran.html>
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<sup>163</sup> <https://thehill.com/blogs/blog-briefing-room/news/482288-cpac-chairman-says-he-would-fear-for-romneys-safety-at> and <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/americas/us-politics/trump-romney-impeachment-vote->

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[cpac-ban-safety-a9327406.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/02/10/cpac-chair-mitt-romney-impeachment/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/02/10/cpac-chair-mitt-romney-impeachment/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/02/10/cpac-chair-mitt-romney-impeachment/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening)

<sup>164</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/02/20/man-charged-threatening-whistleblower-attorney-116379>



## **CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

### **SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

#### *Addendum 29 – April 21, 2020*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

The current Addendum appears in two parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p. 18, chronicles events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic.

<u><b>Date</b></u>	<u><b>Episode</b></u>	<u><b>Category</b></u>
2-21-20	<b><u>Censoring Bolton.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had branded his former national security advisor John Bolton a "traitor" for professedly planning to reveal the truth behind the Ukraine scandal. In that regard, Mr. Trump had demanded that his staff, on national security grounds, block the publication prior to the November 2020 election of the entirety of Bolton's forthcoming memoir about his service in the White House, without regard to normal vetting pursuant to national security criteria. <sup>1</sup>	9

2-21-20, 2-23-20	<p><b>National security, by Twitter and O'Brien.</b> The New York Times reported that Robert O'Brien, Mr. Trump's national security advisor of the past five months (since John Bolton's departure), frequently began meetings with top national security officials by directing them to conform their internal inputs to Mr. Trump's recent tweets rather than by asking them for their own policy suggestions. The Times wrote: <i>"That is the reverse of what the National Security Council was created to do at the Cold War's dawn — to inform and advise the president on national security decisions."</i></p>	9, 17 (13)
2-21-20	<p><b>Russian meddling, 2020.</b> Mr. Trump called the recent alert that Russia was meddling in the 2020 election, and that Russia again favored Mr. Trump, a Democrat-inspired "hoax." The alert had been delivered by national security staff to the House Intelligence Committee days earlier, whereupon Mr. Trump had fired Joseph Maguire, his acting director of national intelligence.<sup>2</sup> (See CSD's entry of February 19 +, in the preceding Addendum to this Chronology.)</p> <p>On the same day as Mr. Trump's denial, presidential contender Bernie Sanders acknowledged that <i>he</i> had been briefed on Russian meddling in <i>his</i> favor relative to the Democratic primary contest. Sanders' reaction, by contrast, was to acknowledge and condemn the meddling.<sup>3</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's national security advisor, Robert O'Brien, had recently denied that any alert had been delivered to Congress, and that any such intelligence existed. After the congressional alert became known he doubled-down, asserting that Russia was not trying to help Mr. Trump, but was likely trying to help Sanders.<sup>4</sup></p> <p>Russia's preference for Mr. Trump was well-known. Interference on behalf of Sanders seemed incongruous, but it presumably had its own anti-democratic logic.<sup>5</sup></p>	7, 12, 17 (7, 12)
2-21-20	<p><b>In Nevada.</b> At a campaign rally in Las Vegas, Nevada – sticking his thumb in the eye of that state's contemporaneously held Democratic Party nominating caucuses – Mr. Trump thrilled his audience. The New York Times wrote: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	1, 6, 7, 9

<p>2-21-20</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] "Mr. Trump spoke for nearly two hours and fired the crowd up with a litany of claims about his accomplishments during his first three years in office, many of them exaggerated or misleading.</i></p> <p><i>"During an extended discussion about the dangers of illegal immigration, Mr. Trump noted that 'illegal crossings are down 75 percent from last spring.' He did not mention that the decrease followed a huge surge in border apprehensions on his watch, leaving the number about where it was when he took office. ...</i></p> <p><i>"The president described members of the media as 'the most dishonest human beings in the world' and accused law enforcement of harboring 'dirty cops.' He also repeatedly joked with the crowd that he would stay president longer than two terms, a comment he has made at other events."</i></p> <p>Also at the rally, Mr. Trump showered Democratic presidential hopefuls "Mini" Mike Bloomberg and "Pocahontas" (Elizabeth Warren) with his disgust. He referred to his predecessor as "Barack Hussein Obama." And, as noted above in this Addendum, he called recent reports of Russian meddling in his favor in the upcoming presidential election a Democratic Party "hoax."<sup>6</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9</p>
<p>2-22-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The purge rolls on.</u></b> On February 22, The Washington Post reported that Johnny McEntee – Mr. Trump's former body man whom he had recently re-hired as director of the White House's personnel office after he had been removed from the White House as a security risk due to his gambling debts – was now tasked with purging the government of officials who were deemed insufficiently loyal to Mr. Trump. It was a role that, for CSD, seemed reminiscent of those that had typified Eastern European communist regimes in the previous century. Unlike his predecessor, who had reported to the chief of staff, McEntee would report directly to Mr. Trump. Co-commissars for the purge reportedly included son Donald, Jr. and son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner.</p> <p>In recent days, the following officials had been purged (some as previously logged by CSD in the immediately preceding Addendum to this Chronology):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Lt. Colonel Alexander Vindman (NSC), who had reported Mr. Trump's extortionate phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky.</li> <li>• Lt. Colonel Yevgeny Vindman (NSC), Alexander's brother. <i>[Continued below.]</i></li> </ul>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>2-22-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gordon Sondland, ambassador to the EU.</li> <li>• John Rood (DOD), who had certified Ukraine as sufficiently non-corrupt that it should receive the military assistance that Mr. Trump had been withholding.</li> <li>• Elaine McCusker (DOD), who had attempted to follow rules in releasing Ukraine aid.</li> <li>• Victoria Coates (NSC), seen as generally suspect.</li> <li>• Joseph Maguire, Director of National Intelligence, who was removed for having allowed a subordinate to inform Congress of Russia's current efforts to assist Mr. Trump in the 2020 election campaign.</li> <li>• Andrew Hallman, Maguire's deputy.</li> <li>• Jessie Liu, Roger Stone's DOJ prosecutor who had been nominated for a Treasury Department post; the nomination was now withdrawn.</li> </ul> <p>Observers noted that the field of willing and experienced administrative talent would be even more restricted now that adherence to Mr. Trump's personality cult was an enforced requisite.<sup>7</sup></p> <p>Writing in a guest column in The Post, retired admiral William McRaven, who had overseen the elimination of Osama bin Laden in 2011, wrote specifically of Maguire's removal: <i>"As Americans, we should be frightened — deeply afraid for the future of the nation. When good men and women can't speak the truth, when facts are inconvenient, when integrity and character no longer matter, when presidential ego and self-preservation are more important than national security — then there is nothing left to stop the triumph of evil."</i><sup>8</sup></p> <p>On February 26, Politico summarized Mr. Trump's increasingly successful efforts to silence and to dis-empower America's intelligence-gathering agencies: not only by way of the purges, but by repeatedly withholding their politically damaging data from Congress.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>2-22-20</p>	<p><b><u>Turnover update.</u></b> The purge described above contributed to Mr. Trump's three-year-old record of staffing instability. The New York Times reported: <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>10</p>



<p>2-22-20</p>	<p>[Continued.] "From the beginning, his administration has been a turnstile of people who fall in and out of favor with the president. Including those with 'acting' designations, he is on his third chief of staff, his fourth national security adviser, his fourth defense secretary, his fifth secretary of homeland security, his sixth deputy national security adviser and his seventh communications director.</p> <p><i>"According to data compiled by ... a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, turnover among ... senior staff ... has hit 82 percent, more in three years than any of the previous five presidents saw in their first four years. Moreover, the Trump administration has been notable for a high level of serial turnover, with 38 percent of the top positions replaced more than once.</i></p> <p><i>"'Many key departments and White House entities have been hollowed out,' [the Brookings fellow] said. The president has thus been left with acting officials in many key areas. 'He seems completely unbothered,' she said. 'He claims that actings give him flexibility, but fails to see that temporary leaders cannot advance his policies nearly as well as a Senate-confirmed appointee who has the stature and all the powers to do so.'"<sup>10</sup></i></p>	<p>10</p>
<p>2-24-20, 2-25-20</p>	<p><b><u>In India.</u></b> On February 24, Mr. Trump arrived for a state visit in India, the country housing the largest number (four) of his overseas investment properties. Several of his business partners there had been reported to be corrupt, tied to the Indian government, and/or eager to trade on Mr. Trump's presidency in promoting the respective properties. Mr. Trump himself had announced that after his presidency he would likely expand his business operations in that country. Commentators noted that, in the visit, the mixing of Mr. Trump's presidential duties and his business goals in India seemed complete.<sup>11</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 12, 15</p>

<p>2-24-20, 2-25-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Others compared Mr. Trump to India's cruel, authoritarian, demagogic, fact-challenged, Islamophobic, Hindu-supremacist strongman, Narendra Modi, who was widely seen as presiding over an increasingly cutthroat and materialistic society – one that had abandoned its idealistic origins in favor of a devotion to profit and fame. Indeed, in connection with his visit to India, Mr. Trump spoke of Modi as his "good friend" and "an exceptional leader." In anticipation of the visit, one Indian observer wrote of India under Modi: <i>"A quasi-Trumpian worldview was emerging, in which society appeared a mere sum of self-aggrandizing individuals locked in fiercely zero-sum competition with one another, with winners as well as losers racked by fear, distrust and envy."</i><sup>12</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump's itinerary took him from Ahmedabad to Agra to New Delhi. The New York Times wrote: <i>"Major roads in the three cities were teeming with giant [government-installed] posters and billboards of Mr. Trump and Mr. Modi, along with inspiring slogans trumpeting the U.S.-India relationship."</i> In addition, Modi had assembled crowds of loyalists to cheer Mr. Trump's motorcade in Ahmedabad. Mr. Trump had boasted that some 10,000,000 Indian fans would line his route; but despite Modi's efforts and Mr. Trump's projections, the real number proved to be in the tens of thousands.</p> <p>The crowd at a campaign-style rally in that city, however, did reach 100,000. As Mr. Trump entered the stadium, the song "Macho Man" blared. In his address, he roused the audience to cheers when he condemned Islamic terrorism. Afterwards he claimed that he had received "the greatest greeting ever given to any head of state by any country." [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 12, 15</p>
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<p>2-24-20, 2-25-20</p>	<p>[Continued.] The next day, in New Delhi, Mr. Trump spoke with reporters. For months India had been riven by Hindu-Muslim violence over several of Modi's recent orders: one that had facilitated citizenship for Hindu immigrants but not Muslim ones, another that had revoked autonomy from the largely Muslim state of Kashmir, and others that had operated to round up political critics and shut down Internet access in Kashmir. Even as Mr. Trump spoke in New Delhi, the city was being racked by its most explosive riots in decades – over a dozen people died in sectarian mob violence that very day, and dozens more in the following days. Indian police reportedly participated in the violence against Muslims. News reporters were brutalized and censored. But Mr. Trump declined to discuss with the press either the strife or Modi's provocations. Instead he praised Modi for advancing religious freedom.<sup>13</sup> In the days following, amid gruesome reports of the carnage, India's descent into ethno-nationalism and anti-democratic governance drew the condemnation of the United Nations, the U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom, and Freedom House.<sup>14</sup></p> <p>Between travels to the two cities, Mr. Trump had enjoyed (or endured) a cultural interlude. In what struck CSD as an ultimate statement of something, Mr. Trump and Modi – by all accounts two masters of brutishness, invective, conflict, arrogance, gluttony, materialism and intolerance, together with Mr. Trump's expensively attired wife Melania – were filmed spinning cotton at Mahatma Gandhi's humble ashram on the Ganges, purportedly in tribute to the great ascetic leader, sage and pacifist.<sup>15</sup> In Agra, Mr. Trump and Melania also posed for the cameras before the grandiose Taj Mahal (after which one of Mr. Trump's eventually bankrupt casinos had been named).<sup>16</sup> So too posed daughter Ivanka and son-in-law Jared Kushner, the purpose of whose participation in the state visit at taxpayer expense wasn't obvious, except (CSD would surmise) to seed future business deals for themselves.<sup>17</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 12, 15</p>
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2-24-20, 2-25-20	[Continued.] For good measure, in addressing the reporters in New Delhi, Mr. Trump, without evidence, accused House Intelligence Committee Chairman Adam Schiff of leaking intelligence reports about Russian election meddling to the press, and he threatened to punish Schiff. <sup>18</sup> He also said – as he had tweeted twice earlier in the day – that liberal Supreme Court Justices Sonia Sotomayor and Ruth Bader Ginsburg should recuse themselves from all cases that in any way involved him or his administration, claiming that they would not be fair to him. <sup>19</sup> Presidential <i>ad hominem</i> attacks on Supreme Court Justices had previously been rare. And before Mr. Trump, American political figures had sought not to criticize their political adversaries while overseas.	2, 9, 11, 12, 15
2-26-20	<b><u>Riding high on sex trafficking.</u></b> A New York Times columnist characterized the efforts of Mr. Trump and his daughter Ivanka to publicize their purported fight against child sex trafficking as empty deception. Under Mr. Trump, prosecutions of traffickers were down; protective visas for victims were increasingly denied and delayed, such that applicants couldn't legally work here and fewer were willing to come forward; fee waivers for those applications were increasingly being denied; women were discouraged from reporting to U.S. authorities for fear of deportation; funding of anti-poverty programs in high-risk areas overseas was reduced; and Mr. Trump had cynically used lurid (and inaccurate) reports of trafficking episodes to promote anti-immigrant sentiment and the construction of his border wall. <sup>20</sup> That commentary in The Times followed a similar piece by The Washington Post's editorial board on January 30. <sup>21</sup> Both columns appear to have been sparked by a boycott by at least eight anti-trafficking organizations of a January 31 White House summit on the trafficking issue. <sup>22</sup>	6, 7
2-26-20, 3-3-20	<b><u>Suing The Times and The Post.</u></b> <u>On February 20, Mr. Trump's reelection campaign sued The New York Times for libel, in connection with a Times opinion column that had accused Mr. Trump of conspiring with Russia relative to the 2016 election.</u> <sup>23</sup> <u>On March 3, the campaign sued The Washington Post on similar grounds.</u> <sup>24</sup> [Continued below.]	1, 9, 11

<p>2-26-20, 3-3-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> Under the Supreme Court's long-established interpretation of the first Amendment to the Constitution, both lawsuits would fail unless the published statements could be proven to have been recklessly or knowingly false. The lawsuits thus appeared to amount to chest-thumping, harassment, and part of Mr. Trump's continuing abuse of the courts through meritless litigation – a pattern he had deployed throughout his business career and had continued as president. <u>No other recent president had done anything like this to restrain the press or to punish his enemies.</u></p>	<p>1, 9, 11</p>
<p>2-28-20</p>	<p><b><u>In North Carolina.</u></b> At a campaign rally in North Charleston, South Carolina, <u>Mr. Trump suggested to his followers that they corrupt that state's upcoming Democratic primary election – an "open" contest in which Republicans were permitted to participate – by voting for Bernie Sanders, a candidate whom Mr. Trump believed he could easily defeat in November's general election.</u> (On February 10, he had suggested the same to New Hampshire Republicans in advance of the open Democratic primary there.)<sup>25</sup></p> <p>Also at the rally, Mr. Trump expressed rage at NBC's coverage of him, and he turned that rage toward NBC's parent company Comcast. <u>He vowed to "do everything possible to destroy [Comcast's] image."</u><sup>26</sup></p>	<p>1, 9</p>
<p>2-28-20</p>	<p><b><u>Ratcliffe for DNI (again).</u></b> Mr. Trump announced that he would nominate Republican Congressman John Ratcliffe to serve as the permanent Director of National Intelligence, to replace the recently named acting director Richard Grenell.</p> <p>Ratcliffe was a fierce partisan of Mr. Trump's, having vocally and cynically defended Mr. Trump during the impeachment proceedings. Mr. Trump's previous nomination of Ratcliffe as DNI, in 2019, had foundered when exaggerations in Ratcliffe's resume had come to light. But Mr. Trump still appeared determined to place a partisan loyalist in the position – a position that was statutorily reserved for a deeply experienced intelligence professional. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>9, 11, 13, 16</p>

2-28-20	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The appointment of Grenell as acting director had also been controversial, on similar grounds – that he was hyper-partisan, and without substantive qualification. (See CSD's entry of February 19 +.) Grenell was also reported to be notoriously confrontational and devious, and he was suspected of having lobbied for foreign governments contrary to law.<sup>27</sup> Observers noted that Ratcliffe's nomination would halt the otherwise mandatory expiration of Grenell's temporary appointment; such that, in considering Ratcliffe's nomination, the Senate would have to decide between two unqualified sycophants – Grenell or Ratcliffe – to fill the country's top intelligence position.<sup>28</sup></p>	9, 11, 13, 16
2-29-20	<p><b><u>With CPAC.</u></b> Speaking in Maryland at the annual meeting of the Conservative Political Action Conference, Mr. Trump exaggerated his accomplishments; falsely insisted (still!) that Mexico would pay for the construction of his border wall; harshly mocked the Democratic presidential contenders one by one; claimed that radicals among the Democrats would “indoctrinate our children, . . . impose a fanatical code of political correctness, bombard our citizens with fake news propaganda and implement policies that would turn America very quickly into a large-scale Venezuela”; complained that Time magazine had featured a young European environmental activist rather than himself as its person of the year; insisted preposterously that the coronavirus epidemic was "under control" (see the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below); accused Democrats of wanting to "let infected people pour into our country"; and closed by clownishly hugging and kissing the American flag. The crowd greeted Mr. Trump's remarks with great acclamation, and it booed the mention of Senator Mitt Romney – a former star of the conference – because he had recently voted to convict Mr. Trump on one of the House's two impeachment charges.<sup>29</sup></p>	6, 7, 9, 11
3-2-20	<p><b><u>Fox in the doghouse (again).</u></b> Mr. Trump criticized Fox News as being "politically correct" for having interviewed Democratic presidential candidate Mike Bloomberg. On previous occasions as well he had slapped the network for its minor deviations from serving as his own propaganda machine.<sup>30</sup></p>	1

<p>3-4-20</p>	<p><b>Hitting Bloomberg.</b> Even in the midst of the mounting coronavirus threat (see the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below), Mr. Trump found time to harshly ridicule former New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg for having lost a number of Democratic primary elections for the presidency the previous evening and then having withdrawn his candidacy. Mr. Trump tweeted: “<i>Mini Mike Bloomberg just ‘quit’ the race for President. I could have told him long ago that he didn’t have what it takes.</i>”<sup>31</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>3-5-20</p>	<p><b>Census deception.</b> The Washington Post reported on the efforts of Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign to run campaign fund solicitations, via U.S. Mail and social media, in the guise of notices to participate in the 2020 decennial census.<sup>32</sup> The House Oversight Committee had complained of the illegal practice in February, but the practice had continued.<sup>33</sup> The deception had the potential to trick readers into seeing the campaign as an official government activity, and Mr. Trump as effectively equivalent to the government. It also had the potential to confuse and chill participation in the actual census – as the administration had earlier tried mightily to do relative to minority populations (see CSD’s previous reporting), and which taxpayers were now paying tens of millions of dollars to attempt to un-do.<sup>34</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>3-5-20</p>	<p><b>Self-dealing cover-up.</b> The Washington Post reported that a public interest organization, The Post itself and others had managed – with great effort and over much time – to pry out of the Secret Service data on some of the amounts that it had paid to rent Mr. Trump’s properties while providing him protection there. Partial records showed cumulative payments in excess of \$600,000; far greater payments were likely, and still hidden. Although Mr. Trump’s son Eric had previously told the press that the nightly charges for Secret Service rooms were minimal (e.g., “50.00”), at least some of the charges proved to have been as high as \$650 per night and/or were at above-market rates. One monthly charge for a cottage was \$17,000.<sup>35</sup> The Secret Service had spent at least \$250,000 at Trump properties just in the first five months of Mr. Trump’s presidency.<sup>36</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump had spent 30% of his days in office visiting one or another of his properties. As of February 14, his golf hobby had cost taxpayers \$33.8 million.<sup>37</sup> For CSD, the arrogance, entitlement, graft, deception, secrecy and defiance of public oversight were mind-numbing.</p>	<p>9, 15, 17 (7)</p>

3-6-20	<b>There goes another one.</b> Mr. Trump replaced his acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney with Mark Meadows, a hard right congressman and defender of Mr. Trump. <sup>38</sup> Meadows was his fourth chief of staff in just over three years. <sup>39</sup>	10
3-10-20	<b>Russian meddling, 2020 (revisited).</b> House Democrats, following a new, confidential intelligence hearing, accused the Trump administration of playing down and withholding from Congress the findings of intelligence officials that Russia was currently interfering in the American election process for the benefit of Mr. Trump – including by stoking racial hatred here. The down-playing was seen by critics as a scripted effort by the intelligence officials to cover for the reports of Russian meddling shared with Congress some weeks earlier – reports that had so enraged Mr. Trump that he had fired his acting director of national intelligence. <sup>40</sup> (See CSD's entry of February 21, above.)	9, 12
3-18-20	<b>The purge continues.</b> Mr. Trump dismissed Russell Travers, the well-regarded acting director of the National Counterterrorism Center, in what observers believed was a continuation of the political purge of the non-partisan intelligence agencies. <sup>41</sup> (See CSD's entry of February 22, above.) Travers's deputy was removed as well. Seven former intelligence agency heads objected, in a signed column in The Washington Post. <sup>42</sup>	9
3-30-20 +	<b>Please, don't let them vote!</b> On March 30, Mr. Trump validated the ongoing effort by many Republican governors and state legislators to suppress voting in their states for partisan purposes. He told a Fox News interviewer that a push by congressional Democrats to make it easier for Americans to vote amid the coronavirus pandemic would result in “levels of voting that if you'd ever agreed to it, you'd never have a Republican elected in this country again.” <sup>43</sup> (See the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below.) Within days, the Republican speaker of the Georgia legislature agreed, expressly echoing Mr. Trump's remarks. <sup>44</sup> On April 3, Politico reported that the Trump campaign was spending millions in legal fees to thwart protections in the face of the pandemic. <sup>45</sup> On April 7, in his daily coronavirus news conference, Mr. Trump repeated his sentiment: challenging mail-in voting as “corrupt,” prone to massive fraud, and bad for Republicans. <sup>46</sup> He seemed to prefer that citizens risk their lives in order to vote – or else stay home. <sup>47</sup>	9



<p>4-2-20</p>	<p><b><u>My friend, the butcher.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that his “friend” – Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman (MBS) – had agreed with Russian President Vladimir Putin to cut back oil production, thus propping up U.S. production and prices. The tweet came 18 months after MBS had ordered the assassination and dismemberment of the Washington Post columnist Jamal Khashoggi in Turkey, a crime for which – despite its international notoriety and exhaustive media and congressional scrutiny – the U.S. had declined to hold MBS accountable. Meanwhile, both Russia and Saudi Arabia denied Mr. Trump’s account.<sup>48</sup></p>	<p>7, 12</p>
<p>4-2-20</p>	<p><b><u>Jared caught cheating, again.</u></b> The watchdog organization Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) filed a Hatch Act complaint against presidential son-in-law Jared Kushner for running Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign from Kushner’s office in the White House – contrary to law.<sup>49</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 17 (9)</p>
<p>4-3-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Still purging – and now knee-capping IGs.</u></b> On April 3, Mr. Trump fired Michael Atkinson, the intelligence community’s inspector general, who had been the first to alert Congress to the complaint by the Ukraine whistle-blower about Mr. Trump’s attempts to extort Ukraine’s president into smearing Mr. Trump’s likely electoral opponent, Joe Biden. Mr. Trump frankly touted the firing of Atkinson as vengeful, a pay-back for what he considered to be Atkinson’s disloyalty to him. Democrats blasted the firing as “unconscionable,” and as Mr. Trump’s latest effort to politicize American intelligence gathering and reporting for his personal benefit.<sup>50</sup> Mr. Trump made the move on a Friday evening and amid the fog of the coronavirus emergency (see the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below); and as such it was crowded out of much of the regular news coverage.<sup>51</sup></p> <p>Of particular concern was that Atkinson’s firing was not an isolated attack on the independence of inspectors general. Rather, it came only days after Mr. Trump, when signing major coronavirus response legislation, had issued a signing statement to the effect that he would not honor the requirement of the legislation that the newly appointed coronavirus response inspector general – whom he had drawn from the White House counsel’s office, and thus who presumably was a Trump loyalist – be empowered to issue reports to Congress. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>4-3-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Washington Post, in discussing both episodes, described how the Trump administration had repeatedly disempowered the nation’s corps of inspectors general – in an apparently concerted effort to make government less accountable to anyone but Mr. Trump himself.<sup>52</sup> A New York Times guest columnist wrote similarly.<sup>53</sup></p> <p>But the mobilization against IGs didn’t end there. At an April 6 press briefing, Mr. Trump angrily disparaged a report issued by the office of the inspector general for the Department of Health and Human Services. The report documented the insufficiency of equipment at many hospitals in the face of the coronavirus pandemic. (See the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below.) Mr. Trump supplied no evidence to rebut the report – in fact, he appeared not to have read it. But he castigated the report’s author, insinuating that she and her report were politically motivated against him.<sup>54</sup></p> <p>Further, on April 7, Mr. Trump removed Glenn Fine, the Pentagon’s acting inspector general and the lead among 10 inspectors general who were tasked with overseeing the Pandemic Response Accountability Committee. That committee had been created by Congress days earlier to limit fraud and mismanagement relative to the government’s new \$2 trillion dollar coronavirus response law.</p> <p>Thus within the space of only a few days, Mr. Trump had summarily removed two inspectors general, chosen as a third a political servant whom he nevertheless vowed to disempower, and sought to humiliate a fourth I.G. staffer.</p> <p>Civilian inspectors general are appointed and may be dismissed by presidents. But, statutorily, they are free to report their concerns and findings directly to Congress, thus bypassing the president and – contrary to Mr. Trump’s stated belief – owing him or her no duty of loyalty. Civilian I.G. positions were created in 1978, in the wake of the Nixon presidency. Mr. Trump’s behavior in the above episodes amounted to what one observer called “a full-on assault” on the institution of civilian inspectors general; and it was plainly and utterly corrupt.<sup>55</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
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<p>4-7-20</p>	<p><b><u>Yet another one.</u></b> Mr. Trump replaced his press secretary Stephanie Grisham with Kayleigh McEnany. McEnany – a disingenuous and virulent Trump campaign spokeswoman, as well as an Obama birther enthusiast and a coronavirus denier – thus became Mr. Trump’s forth press secretary, following Sean Spicer, Sarah Huckabee Sanders, and then Grisham. Grisham had distinguished her tenure in the position by having never given a single press conference.<sup>56</sup></p>	<p>10, 11</p>
<p>4-7-20, 4-20-20</p>	<p><b><u>Grenell purges intelligence.</u></b> Politico reported on April 7 that Mr. Trump’s acting director of national intelligence, Richard Grenell, had terminated every Senate-appointed staffer under him and was keeping secret from Congress his motives and plans for overhauling the intelligence community, presumably staffing up with Trump loyalists. (Grenell himself was a Trump loyalist with virtually no background in intelligence or national security – see CSD’s entry of February 28, above.)<sup>57</sup> On April 20, Grenell defied House Democrats’ oversight requests.<sup>58</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>4-8-20, 4-9-20</p>	<p><b><u>Barr steps out.</u></b> On April 8, Mr. Trump’s attorney general and anti-democratic facilitator William Barr told Fox News that the coronavirus crisis had created an opportunity for the U.S. to tighten its borders, and that foreigners bringing in microbes were posing a far greater threat to Americans than was global warming. He also said that the “draconian” shelter-at-home coronavirus restrictions should begin lifting after April.<sup>59</sup> CSD notes that, at least as of this writing, Barr was not a physician, an epidemiologist, an environmental scientist or an economist. He was a lawyer, and seemingly out of his lane. (See the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below.)</p> <p>The next day, Barr told Fox that he agreed with Mr. Trump’s firing of Michael Atkinson, the intelligence community’s inspector general who had advised Congress of the Ukraine whistleblower’s damning letter. But here Barr was back in his lane: he had tried to gag the whistleblower and Atkinson at the time of the original blowing. Barr also told Fox that day that he disapproved of mail-in voting – again echoing the authoritarian sentiments of Mr. Trump and many in his party (see CSD’s entry of March 30 +, above).<sup>60</sup></p> <p>Congressional Democrats reacted by seeking an investigation of Barr’s comments about, and his prior attempts to hamstring, Atkinson.<sup>61</sup></p>	<p>17 (4, 6, 8, 9)</p>

4-9-20	<p><b><u>Who loves China more?</u></b> Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign released a video that slammed his presumptive opponent Joe Biden, alleging that the latter was friendly with China – the country where the coronavirus pandemic had begun. (See the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below.) The video included a clip of Gary Locke, a Chinese-American former governor, commerce secretary and ambassador, implying that he was a Chinese government official, and thus continuing to foment anti-Asian sentiment in the U.S. on account of the pandemic. The video ignored Mr. Trump’s having repeatedly fawned over Chinese dictator and president Xi Jinping to an extent that dwarfed any favorable attitudes toward China that Biden may have displayed over the years.<sup>62</sup></p>	6, 9
4-14-20	<p><b><u>The Fact Checker.</u></b> The Washington Post’s Fact Checker reported that, though April 3, Mr. Trump had made 18,000 false or misleading claims, for an average of 15 per day, and 23 per day over the previous 75 days. Many of the claims involved the coronavirus. (See the Coronavirus section of this Addendum, below.) Many others involved his touting of the strength of the pre-coronavirus economy.</p>	7
4-15-20	<p><b><u>Threat to adjourn Congress.</u></b> Under color of a little known and never used provision of the Constitution, <u>Mr. Trump threatened to adjourn Congress so that he could appoint several dozen high level officials without congressional approval.</u> Recent presidents had sometimes, controversially, effected appointments during scheduled congressional recesses; but no president had ever adjourned Congress, threatened to do so, or claimed to be able to do so.</p> <p><u>Adjourning national legislatures is a common move of authoritarian tyrants – particularly during alleged or actual national emergencies, such as the U.S. was currently experiencing with the coronavirus pandemic.</u><sup>63</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump’s threat followed by two days his constitutionally preposterous claim to possess “total” authority to force states to re-open their economies in the face of the coronavirus pandemic. (See CSD’s April 13 entry in the second section of this Addendum, relating to that pandemic.)</p>	9

4-15-20	<p><b><u>The JEDI theft.</u></b> Politico reported that the Pentagon had blocked its staff from cooperating with its inspector general’s inquiry as to whether Mr. Trump had wrongfully interfered in diverting the massive JEDI cloud computing contract to Microsoft from Amazon.<sup>64</sup> As reported above in this Chronology, Mr. Trump detested Amazon because its principal shareholder, Jeff Bezos, was richer than him and owned his antagonist The Washington Post.</p>	9, 15
4-17-20	<p><b><u>On the campaign trail.</u></b> Media reported that Mr. Trump’s campaign was secretly paying his son Eric’s wife Lara and his son Donald Jr.’s girlfriend Kimberly Guilfoyle \$180,000 per year for unspecified campaign services, and carrying the expenses off the books so as not to disclose them.</p> <p>Media also reported that Mr. Trump’s campaign was circulating a photograph in which shirtless and heavily tattooed MS-13 gang members were spuriously shown as supporting Mr. Trump’s presumptive opponent, Joe Biden.<sup>65</sup></p>	6, 9, 11, 16
4-18-20	<p><b><u>Friends in high places.</u></b> During his daily coronavirus briefing, Mr. Trump told reporters that Russian President Vladimir Putin was “a total gentleman” and that he had recently received a “nice note” from North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un.<sup>66</sup></p>	12

**The Coronavirus Pandemic**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 29)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 15 as defined in CSD's Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic have moved rapidly. CSD's observations below that have been recorded as of a given date may have been superseded, or may yet be superseded, on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD's concerns about the Trump administration's coronavirus response are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that have recurred, that news media have reported anew, and that, as of the date of this Addendum, have continued to threaten lives – day after day.**

On January 31, Mr. Trump had banned in-bound travel from China for most foreign nationals, effective February 2, after some 40 other countries had restricted travel from China.<sup>67</sup> (See CSD's entry of January 29 + in the preceding Addendum.) But he then did little more to deal with the spread of the coronavirus for many weeks. Through February 24, as Mr. Trump continued to play golf and mount campaign rallies, he and his chief economic advisor Larry Kudlow continued to downplay the threat of a pandemic. That behavior persisted as the disease continued to spread from China, across the globe and into the U.S., and as the Centers for Disease Control, the Secretary of Health and Human Services (Alex Azar), and other federal agencies and voices issued public health cautions for Americans. The stock market – fearing disruptions to global supply chains, and not to be fooled by the White House – swooned. Attempting to juice the market, Mr. Trump and Kudlow told investors to "buy low." The market dropped further. Kudlow frankly acknowledged that while the CDC was attempting to protect the health of the American people, the White House was attempting to protect the securities markets. The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump was enraged – at the markets, and at his own government – and that he had ordered aides not to issue troubling medical predictions. The CDC shortly tempered its cautions, but not based on any change in the scientific data. Mr. Trump blamed Democrats and the media for attempting to instill panic. Lawmakers of both parties expressed outrage at his conduct.<sup>68</sup>

But Mr. Trump's acting chief of staff Mick Mulvaney and Mr. Trump's right-wing media supporters took up a continuing battle cry tarring other media and Democrats.<sup>69</sup> Mr. Trump's son Donald, Jr. said that Democrats hoped that millions of Americans would die from the disease so that Mr. Trump would be blamed.<sup>70</sup>

This was not Mr. Trump's first dismissal of the science of epidemiology. In 2014 he had pummeled science-driven conclusions for containing the Ebola epidemic, and his administration had cut the anti-pandemic officer on the National Security Council as well as funding of anti-pandemic research and operations.<sup>71</sup>

In all, Mr. Trump's initial response to the epidemic threatened American public health preparedness; dispensed foolish market advice to gullible investors (and arguably even defrauded the markets); further tarnished his national and international credibility on major matters of national security and economic reality; further divided the country on partisan grounds, even relative to a potential national security crisis and the physical health of his supporters; and further evidenced his willingness to muzzle federal agencies and to distort federal data in support of his personal political fortunes.

In addition, The Washington Post reported that the coronavirus response of the White House was saddled by internal chaos – attributable to an extent to the endemic chaos there, involving competing power centers, Mr. Trump's capricious style, his fixation with media outputs rather than scientific ones, the challenges inherent in governing by falsehood, a reliance on loyalists and their loyalty (as opposed to expertise), the primacy of political motives over practical ones, and deficient preparation for genuine crises not of the president's own making.<sup>72</sup>

At a news conference on February 26, Mr. Trump at last stepped to the fore. He boasted about his administration's response to the epidemic; blamed Democrats for politicizing the issue; falsely attributed the continuing stock market drop on other factors and on named actors (including what he said was the markets' fear of a Democratic victory in the November presidential election); assured the country that if he were reelected the market would recover; and continued to downplay the risk of U.S. infections – even as an HHS official, from the podium, pointedly acknowledged that risk.

At the news conference, Mr. Trump also announced the appointment of Vice President Mike Pence – a perennial science denier – to lead the U.S. emergency response, in an apparent attempt to remove messaging from scientists and place it in the hands of a political commissar. Azar, who still purported to head the country's coronavirus task force, had been informed of Pence's role only moments before the news conference. Both of those positions were part-time: the officials had other day jobs (which in Pence's case included campaigning for reelection).<sup>73</sup>

Given Mr. Trump's disinterest in science and his unreliability in factual matters generally, how the country would respond to his leadership during a coronavirus crisis – now that he had finally undertaken to lead – was unknown.<sup>74</sup> In any event, on February 27, he ordered that all federal health officials and scientists obtain the approval of Pence's office before issuing any public statements.<sup>75</sup> Avoiding confusion in public messaging would be a salutary goal if performed by scientists; but if performed by political figures – and particularly those under Mr. Trump's yoke – the gag order risked the dissemination of dishonest and damaging propaganda.

At a campaign rally in North Charleston, South Carolina on February 28, Mr. Trump falsely implied that the coronavirus was less threatening than the flu (in truth it was many times more virulent and deadly, and no vaccine yet existed for it). He also said that his wall at the Mexican border would stop migrants from bringing the coronavirus into the country. But otherwise he claimed that the epidemic (or possibly the Democrats' criticism of how he had been handling the epidemic – his precise meaning was unclear) was the Democrats' "new hoax."<sup>76</sup>

On March 2, Mr. Trump told reporters that, notwithstanding the virulence of the coronavirus, it was "very safe" for crowds of his supporters to attend his upcoming political rallies – a strikingly bold statement for a non-scientist.<sup>77</sup> Also on March 2, at a televised meeting with coronavirus task force members and pharmaceutical industry executives, Mr. Trump appeared unfamiliar with the rudiments of vaccine development, despite having been briefed on them; and he repeatedly puffed what he believed would be a short time period in which a vaccine would be ready for deployment, only to be repeatedly corrected by experts in attendance.<sup>78</sup>

On March 4, Mr. Trump blamed the Obama administration for having issued rules that caused the recent rollout of testing for the coronavirus to be slow. But whether such rules had been issued was questionable. And in any event, for three years the Trump administration had acquiesced to any such rules that it may have inherited.<sup>79</sup>

On March 5, in an interview on Fox News, Mr. Trump casually questioned official statistics about the virulence of the coronavirus. He also casually suggested that infected people could go to work without concern – contrary to all public health advice.<sup>80</sup>

On March 5, Mr. Trump hosted a 900-person fundraising gala at Mar-a-Lago, his Florida resort, and the next evening he hosted a 200-person birthday party there for Kimberly Guilfoyle, his son Donald, Jr.'s girlfriend – all at a time when public health experts were advising against large gatherings and urging seniors to avoid contact with others.<sup>81</sup>

On March 6, at the Centers for Disease Control headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, Mr. Trump – wearing a campaign hat for the cameras and in all respects defying the views of experts – told reporters that:

- He preferred that passengers on an infected cruise ship floating off the coast of California remain onboard rather than receiving treatment on land, so as to reduce the optics of the numbers of those being treated here.
- The dense crowds attending his political rallies should have no concerns about becoming infected.
- People should not cancel their travel and convention plans on account of the disease.
- The media's reporting on the epidemic was unduly negative.
- Anyone who wanted a test could have one. (The truth: only a health care professional could order a test; and there was still an enormous shortage of test kits.)

At the CDC, Mr. Trump also:

- Told the reporters that the kits were "perfect," like "the transcription" (of his call in which he had extorted Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky to smear presidential contender Joe Biden).
- Gratuitously attacked CNN.
- Said that Pence shouldn't compliment Washington Governor Jay Inslee for the latter's handling of the serious outbreak in his state, because Inslee was "a snake" for having criticized Mr. Trump's statements (actually misrepresentations) about the risks of the disease.
- Boasted about his television ratings relative to a town hall meeting he had conducted with Fox News the previous evening.



- Listened attentively as the CDC's director praised his leadership in the coronavirus crisis.
- Pointed to his own prowess as an epidemiologist, saying, “*You know my uncle was a great — he was at MIT. He taught at MIT for a record number of years. He was a great super genius, Dr. John Trump. I like this stuff. I really get it. People are surprised that I understand it. ... Maybe I have a natural ability.*”<sup>82</sup> (In response to that boast, a columnist for The Post assembled a telling compendium of Mr. Trump's false scientific pronouncements over the years.<sup>83</sup>)

Also on March 6, a Reuters/Ipsos poll revealed that Democrats were twice as likely as Republicans to say that the coronavirus posed an imminent threat to the U.S. The poll also revealed that more Democrats than Republicans said that they were taking steps to be prepared, such as by washing their hands and limiting their travel plans.<sup>84</sup> Whether Mr. Trump had convinced Republicans to ignore science, or vice versa, was not reported by the polling organizations.

On March 6 and March 7, respectively, Politico and The Post reported on the U.S. government's slow and error-ridden response to the epidemic, which (they reported) likely resulted in its spread.<sup>85</sup> Errors included the inadequate and misdirected rollout of screening and testing mechanisms – resulting in weeks and even months of delay, as American infections had mounted. CSD is wary of rushing to criticize federal agencies for what may have been, under the extraordinary circumstances, good faith errors and/or commonplace administrative glitches, visible only in hindsight. And we were initially reluctant to compare the efficacy of the administration's coronavirus response to what transpired during other epidemics in the U.S. and during this epidemic abroad. But The Post's reporters in particular – followed by many others in the weeks to come (see below in this Addendum) – concluded that many of the errors (and thus much of the disease's spread) owed specifically to Mr. Trump's early lack of attention to the matter, his early failure to coordinate competing bureaucracies, his preference for political gain over scientific solution, his subordinates' reluctance to question his approach, and his false assurances to the public.<sup>86</sup>

New York Times columnists on both the left and the right similarly faulted Mr. Trump for his indirection and his rhetorical fakery as the coronavirus spread.<sup>87</sup>

On March 7, The Associated Press reported that the White House had overruled the CDC's recommendation that all elderly and physically fragile people avoid crowds and air travel. Pence denied that; but afterwards the CDC's website was "quietly" changed at several spots to include the missing recommendations. CSD was able to locate the newly posted advisories only with effort.<sup>88</sup>

Over the March 7-9 weekend, Mr. Trump reportedly was in "gleeful" spirits as he visited his Florida properties. Despite the CDC's cautions for the general population, he publicly shook countless hands.<sup>89</sup>

On March 9, before the financial markets opened, Mr. Trump dispatched two dozen tweets on everything but the coronavirus, including calling President Obama's administration the “most corrupt Administration in the history of our Country,” and blaming “very bad, sick people” for

trying to undermine him from within the government. When the markets cratered upon opening, he blamed everything but the coronavirus, including "the Fake News."<sup>90</sup> But he still minimized the virus's threat, tweeting, "*So last year 37,000 Americans died from the common Flu. It averages between 27,000 and 70,000 per year. Nothing is shut down, life & the economy go on. At this moment there are 546 confirmed cases of CoronaVirus, with 22 deaths. Think about that!*"<sup>91</sup> He further tweeted, "*Nothing is shut down, and life and the economy go on.*"<sup>92</sup>

Contemporaneously, The Post reported on the White House's floundering response to the spread of the virus and the turmoil in the financial markets. The Post cited as causes: internal disagreements and thin experience among Mr. Trump's top advisors; vacancies in top economic positions; Mr. Trump's hostility toward the Federal Reserve Board; his skewed outlook favoring his own political fortunes over public health; and his disdain for global institutions and cooperation.<sup>93</sup>

On March 10, Mr. Trump said that he would not get tested for the disease, even though several congressmen who had recently been with him at the Conservative Political Action Conference in Maryland and who had been exposed to a carrier had undergone testing. He told a reporter, "I don't think it's a big deal, I would do it, I don't feel any reason -- I feel extremely good." He then added that he had "no symptoms, no anything." He thus at once (1) demonstrated his ignorance of the disease (which an infected person can carry for several days before experiencing symptoms); (2) encouraged millions of other Americans to be equally misinformed and blasé, to their great peril; and (3) threatened the well-being of the entire country over the unattended risk to the health of the commander-in-chief.<sup>94</sup>

On March 11, the World Health Organization finally characterized the coronavirus outbreak as a pandemic.<sup>95</sup>

Mr. Trump and Joe Biden both canceled campaign rallies due to the pandemic.<sup>96</sup>

Dr. Anthony Fauci, the country's leading infectious disease specialist and a member of Mr. Trump's coronavirus task force, told the House Oversight and Reform Committee repeatedly that Mr. Trump's many benign characterizations of the disease had been inaccurate.<sup>97</sup>

Also on March 11, at long last, Mr. Trump publicly acknowledged the severity of the threat. Reading from a teleprompter in a primetime address on all major television networks – an event ordinarily reserved for national crises such as this – he spoke soberly and credibly of concern, caution and hope. He did not acknowledge his errors (other presidents likely would not have done so either); nor did he map a medical response plan (other presidents might have). Unusually, he did not blame the Democrats or the media for anything, but rather urged the nation to "put politics aside" and to "stop the partisanship." He also announced (in general terms) a number of measures he planned to take to provide financial assistance to individuals and businesses that were negatively affected by the pandemic. In addition, as the CDC had done (somewhat belatedly) before him, he cautioned seniors and those seriously ill against air travel and large gatherings.

Mr. Trump did, however, remain true to himself. First, he used the occasion to flog rather than support other countries, at a time when the world should have been pulling together. Specifically:

- He attributed the pandemic to a "foreign virus." He blamed Europeans for having infected Americans. And he announced a broad ban on travel to the U.S. from Europe – not in itself a bad move, but one seemingly predicated at the time as much on popular xenophobia and facile political wins as on science.
- He boasted of U.S. medical expertise in comparison to that of other countries. He assured that the U.S. would best other countries in our medical response to the pandemic. He claimed to have acted swiftly and robustly in having stopped in-bound Chinese travel some weeks previous. But he was silent as to the actual slackness of his administration's response compared to that of some other countries, including with respect to the still ponderous roll-out of testing capabilities, and the apparently gross inadequacy of hospital facilities here.
- He expressed no sympathy for America's allies or for other peoples of the world, and no sadness over the many deaths that were occurring elsewhere.

In sum, even at that dire moment, Mr. Trump seemed incapable of rallying his American audience without crowing about his achievements, obfuscating his shortcomings, and leaning on themes of division and ethno-nationalist resentment. In a formal statement, the European Union expressed exasperation. It had not been consulted before the travel ban. A prominent global health scientist said that the U.S. response to the pandemic was "among the very worst in the world."

Second, Mr. Trump made two significant errors in his address. He said that all travel and cargo from Europe to the U.S. would be banned. In fact the plan, as subsequently confirmed by the Department of Homeland Security, was to allow American citizens and green card holders to travel, and to not restrict cargo. He also stated broadly that private health insurance would cover all coronavirus-related costs, when that had not been agreed to by the insurers.

Third, critics on both the left and the right found the address to be missing what should have been its core: the statement of a specific plan to halt the spread of the virus and to save the economy from recession. In apparent reaction, the next day the American stock markets plunged even further, suffering their biggest one-day loss in history. State and municipal governments, businesses and schools were left to fend for themselves – which they did, by announcing their own solutions relative to closings and attendance.<sup>98</sup>

Mr. Trump announced that the new travel ban would not touch the U.K. or Ireland. Notably, those were the only European countries in which Mr. Trump owned (struggling) resort properties.<sup>99</sup>

Panic ensued at foreign airports. Public health critics harshly denounced the speech, for its emphasis on foreign threats and its weakness on domestic planning.<sup>100</sup>

Contrary to his plea for non-partisanship, within hours Mr. Trump falsely attacked Democratic presidential contender Joe Biden on grounds of the latter's response to an earlier epidemic.<sup>101</sup>

In a televised address on March 13, after praising his own response to the crisis, Mr. Trump declared a national emergency. He was surrounded by staff and supporters who lavished him with praise before the cameras, and with whom he convivially shook hands and patted backs -- contrary to public health warnings. He criticized House Democrats relative to ongoing negotiations for an emergency coronavirus spending bill. He waffled about whether he himself would be getting tested himself, given that he had been personally exposed to several coronavirus carriers. He vastly overstated the progress of Google in developing a website for coronavirus tracking. In response to reporters' questions, he expressly declined to take responsibility for the slow roll-out of emergency virus testing, and he claimed to have no knowledge of the previous dissolution, under his administration, of the White House unit tasked with pandemic response.<sup>102</sup>

As of that date, getting tested for the coronavirus was still impossible for many or most people, notwithstanding Mr. Trump's assurance five days earlier that anyone who wished could be tested.<sup>103</sup>

The Post reported that the Trump administration's "zigzagging, defensive, inconsistent messages" about the pandemic had continued through the March 13 press appearance, thus "breaking almost every rule" in the CDC's manual on public communication. The manual, composed after the 2001 anthrax scare, called for the government to speak "early, accurately and credibly" about public health dangers. The report concluded that Mr. Trump had squandered "the most powerful weapon officials possess: Public trust."

On March 14, The Post reported on the White House's response to the pandemic: with *"infighting and blame-shifting, misinformation and missteps, and a slow recognition of the danger. Warring factions have wrestled for control internally and for approval from a president who has been preoccupied with the beating his image is taking."*<sup>104</sup>

On March 14, the White House ordered that British and Irish nationals would also be barred from coming to the U.S.<sup>105</sup>

On March 15, a columnist for The Times set forth a comprehensive list of Mr. Trump's attempts to downplay the threat of coronavirus over the previous two months, sometimes through outright falsehoods.<sup>106</sup> On the same day, Mr. Trump told reporters that he had "tremendous control" of the virus.<sup>107</sup> And in response to a reporter's question on March 16 about how he would rate his response to the outbreak on a scale of 1 to 10, he said, *"I'd rate it a 10. I think we've done a great job."*<sup>108</sup>

On March 16, the Trump administration finally issued discretionary social distancing guidelines, including sheltering at home and avoiding gatherings of more than 10 people.<sup>109</sup> In the weeks that followed, the governors of most states issued mandatory orders along similar lines, and they ordered non-essential businesses to curtail public-facing operations.

On March 17, Mr. Trump escalated his criticism of China's government for having reacted slowly to the virus when it had first appeared there – thus, CSD feared, beginning to shift all

blame for American suffering to that country, and positioning himself as the “wartime” president that he now claimed to be.<sup>110</sup>

Also on that date, after by now having followed the lead of House Democrats to announce a broad and robust crisis response, Mr. Trump falsely told reporters that he had not changed his views as to the seriousness of the crisis at all. Rather, he said, he had always acknowledged the threat of a devastating pandemic, and that his administration had made no mistakes in handling it.<sup>111</sup>

But his followers didn’t get that. The results of an NPR poll published on March 17 indicated that only 40% of Republicans believed that the coronavirus threat was real, down from 72% in February.<sup>112</sup> That skepticism appeared to be the direct result of Mr. Trump’s previous denial of the threat. In CSD’s view, if the grass roots skeptics were to fail to adhere to the behavioral cautions that Mr. Trump had now belatedly issued, they would directly and materially endanger themselves, the country and the world.

At a news conference on March 18, Mr. Trump defended his pointed and repeated use of the term “Chinese virus” in recent days. He also falsely accused the Chinese government of failing to timely alert the U.S. to the disease, and falsely claimed that the pandemic could not have been anticipated but instead had “snuck up on us.” He amplified the attacks on China the next day.<sup>113</sup> That rhetoric coincided with incidents of racial intimidation against Chinese citizens in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and elsewhere.<sup>114</sup> By March 31, reported attacks in the U.S. against Asians on account of the coronavirus had reached 100 per day.<sup>115</sup>

On March 19, The Times reported that, based on emergency simulation exercises conducted several years earlier, the Trump administration had had ample warning of America’s vulnerability to a potential pandemic, and had chosen to ignore it.<sup>116</sup> On March 20, The Post reported that U.S. intelligence agencies were issuing alarms about the specific coronavirus threat (not just pandemics generally) in January and February, and that Mr. Trump had ignored those alarms.<sup>117</sup> CSD offers these observations not because the administration had gravely erred – all administrations gravely err in at least something, even amid national and international crises – but because of Mr. Trump’s false claims that the pandemic could not have been anticipated. In addition, to that date, according to The Post’s editorial board and others, Mr. Trump was still dithering in not ordering the emergency production and distribution of face masks, ventilators and other disease-fighting materiel under the Defense Production Act (DPA).<sup>118</sup> Instead, on March 21, Mr. Trump blamed the Obama administration, which was three years gone, for the shortages.<sup>119</sup>

At news conferences on both March 19 and March 20, Mr. Trump touted the promise of existing drug products, such as the anti-malarial hydroxychloroquine, for potential off-label application to treating the coronavirus – even as ranking public health officials, almost contemporaneously, said that absent extensive field testing – for medical efficacy and for negative side effects – there was nothing yet to tout.<sup>120</sup> (Shortages of the drugs for even their approved uses were already arising.<sup>121</sup>) He also attacked several prominent reporters for questioning the accuracy of his statements and the purported success of his emergency measures.<sup>122</sup>

On March 20, The Times reported that although Mr. Trump's reelection campaign had by now canceled in-person rallies and fundraising events, the media operations of the campaign were continuing: insulting Democrats, portraying an America made great again by Mr. Trump, being silent about the coronavirus – all as though the country were not in crisis. Critics noted that with Mr. Trump's tens of millions of social media followers and his vast email lists, he could be reaching out to caution on personal safety during the pandemic, but that he was not doing so.<sup>123</sup>

Also on March 20, Mr. Trump, through the CDC, ordered a virtually complete closure of the Mexican border to asylum seekers, likely contrary to international law.<sup>124</sup>

On March 21, two leading reporters from The Times reflected on Mr. Trump's overall response to the coronavirus:

*“Mr. Trump is no stranger to crisis. He has spent a lifetime grappling with bankruptcy, fending off creditors, evading tax collectors, defending lawsuits, deflecting regulators, spinning reporters and dueling with estranged wives, usually coming out ahead, at least as he defines it. But these were crises of his own creation involving human adversaries he knew how to confront. Nothing in his background in business, entertainment or multiple marriages prepared him for the coronavirus pandemic now threatening America's health and wealth.*

*“Mr. Trump's performance on the national stage in recent weeks has put on display the traits that Democrats and some Republicans consider so jarring — the profound need for personal praise, the propensity to blame others, the lack of human empathy, the penchant for rewriting history, the disregard for expertise, the distortion of facts, the impatience with scrutiny or criticism. For years, skeptics expressed concern about how he would handle a genuine crisis threatening the nation, and now they know. ...*

*“‘We've done a fantastic job from just about every standpoint,’ he said Tuesday. ‘We've done a great job,’ he said Wednesday. ‘We've done a phenomenal job on this,’ he said Thursday. ...*

*“The White House rejects any criticism of the president as illegitimate. ‘This great country has been faced with an unprecedented crisis, and while the Democrats and the media shamelessly try and destroy this president with a coordinated, relentless, biased political assault, President Trump has risen to fight this crisis head-on by taking aggressive historic action to protect the health, wealth and well-being of the American people,’ Hogan Gidley, a White House spokesman, said in a statement.”<sup>125</sup>*

Similarly, a Times columnist wrote of one of Mr. Trump's recent press conferences:

*“[T]his is the footage historians will be looking at 100 years from now — the president rambling on incoherently, vainly, angrily, deceitfully ....”<sup>126</sup>*

Another Times reporter wrote, of Mr. Trump's radical distancing of the U.S. from leading a global response:

*“As the coronavirus crisis escalates across the globe, the United States is stepping back ..., abandoning its longtime role as a generous global leader able to coordinate an ambitious, multinational response to a worldwide emergency.*

*“During both the economic meltdown in 2008 and the Ebola crisis of 2014, the United States assumed the role of global coordinator of responses — sometimes imperfectly, but with the acceptance and gratitude of its allies and even its foes.*

*“In 2003, President George W. Bush established a program, the President’s Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief, that has provided as much as \$90 billion and is considered the largest single effort against a single disease. It is credited for saving many thousands of lives in Africa alone.*

*“But the United States is not taking those kinds of steps today.*

*“‘There is from President Trump’s America a selfishness that is new,’ said Jan Techau, a senior fellow at the German Marshall Fund in Berlin. While all nations act to protect themselves, he said, the United States traditionally saw that responsibility as having a broader reach.*

*“With Mr. Trump’s unembellished nationalism and slogan of ‘America First,’ his efforts to blame first China and then Europe for the coronavirus, and his various misstatements of fact, ‘it means that America no longer serves the planet,’ Mr. Techau said.*

*“‘America was always strong on self-interest but it has been very generous,’ he said. ‘That generosity seems to be gone, and that’s bad news for the world.’”<sup>127</sup>*

During a press conference about the coronavirus on March 22, when told by reporters that Senator Mitt Romney had placed himself in isolation pending a test for the disease, Mr. Trump sneered at Romney’s possible demise. (Since Romney had voted to convict Mr. Trump of one of the two impeachment charges in early February, Mr. Trump had demonized him.) Mr. Trump also complained that his having become president had cost him “billions and billions” in business opportunities – he made the statement four times – while coronavirus patients were dying, health care teams were risking their lives, and the much more modest life savings of countless Americans were being at least temporarily crippled by the stock market’s continuing tumble.<sup>128</sup> Also, for the third straight briefing session, he blamed the Obama administration for the country’s present peril.<sup>129</sup>

As The Post reported that day, the substance of Mr. Trump’s crisis response, continuing through that briefing, had “sparked uproar and alarm among governors and mayors.” For example, he had claimed to have “invoked” the DPA to compel manufacturers to produce and to optimally distribute needed materiel, but under pressure from business interests he had done little under the statute to actually exercise the invocation. He had claimed that major auto makers had committed to produce some of the materiel, yet they had not done that so far. He purported to be a “wartime president,” but he placed the burden of procurement response primarily on the various states. And he had reacted to criticisms “with a torrent of soaring boasts and searing grievances,” per The Post, which wrote: “[T]he growing gulf between the White House and officials on the front lines of the pandemic underscored concerns in cities, states and Congress that Trump does not

have a coherent or ready plan to mobilize private and public entities to confront a crisis that could soon push the nation's health-care system to the brink of collapse." Politico reported similarly. The Times reported on the dire confusion about production and distribution, from the manufacturers' viewpoint, stating that Mr. Trump was "avoiding taking personal responsibility for how fast the acute shortages of personal protective gear and lifesaving equipment are addressed."<sup>130</sup>

On March 24, Mr. Trump expressed hope to reporters that the partial lock-down of the country, especially the self-isolation of seniors, could end by Easter – that is, by April 12 – for the good of the economy. He said that he disagreed with his public health advisors about the need for the current restrictions, and that he had only acquiesced to their urgings (on March 16) so as to avoid public criticism. In passing, he asserted wildly inaccurate medical data, and he bashed Democratic leaders – having only days earlier said, while reading his speechwriters' words from a teleprompter, that the country's response must be non-partisan. Epidemiologists, governors, Democrats and the mainstream media expressed outrage, claiming that relaxing the restrictions at that time had no support in scientific data and could be medically catastrophic.<sup>131</sup>

One report cited the losses that Mr. Trump's own hotel businesses were experiencing as fueling a possible motive for his eagerness to re-open commerce and consumer spending.<sup>132</sup>

As of the date of his statements, Mr. Trump had also continued more generally to wrestle with his top public health officials – publicly sugar-coating their findings and attempting to draw them onto his side in partisan political squabbles.<sup>133</sup>

CSD notes that Mr. Trump's "hope" for an Easter opening was not inappropriate or damaging in and of itself: everyone could (and in the abstract, probably should) "hope" for a timely return to commercial and economic normalcy. Further, in proposing the Easter opening, Mr. Trump may have simply been testing the waters politically, as he often had done when floating controversial ideas (such as clemency for convicted criminals). Or he might have been attempting to establish a record upon which he could blame others for America's economic losses to come – that is, that he had been the champion of economic normalcy while others had dawdled. But in effect, he was resurrecting his original trivialization of the disease and of its scientific evaluation, even as the pandemic was mushrooming in the U.S. His media supporters followed in lock-step, and he likewise followed them;<sup>134</sup> right-wing pundits had begun attacking Fauci<sup>135</sup>; and Fauci shortly began receiving (human) threats to his personal safety.<sup>136</sup> Mr. Trump's other highly visible experts had meanwhile taken to flattering him publicly in order to protect themselves;<sup>137</sup> his polling numbers ticked upwards to record highs as he conducted daily televised briefings, however ill-informed and reckless some of his statements in those briefings were;<sup>138</sup> and in all, CSD and other observers believed that he had quickly reverted to playing a perilous game of arrogance, ignorance, denial, narcissism, self-puffery and self-interest with millions of American lives.<sup>139</sup>

A columnist from The Post subsequently revealed that Mr. Trump had expressed his "Easter" hope only moments after the head of his Washington hotel had tweeted a video promoting a spectacular, upcoming Easter celebration there.<sup>140</sup>



After Senator Romney announced on March 25 that he had tested negative for the coronavirus, Mr. Trump again, in a new tweet, appeared to wish Romney ill.<sup>141</sup> He also targeted Joe Biden, Adam Schiff and Robert Mueller with mocking tweets, while boasting about his own poll numbers.<sup>142</sup>

Also on March 25, Politico reported that a 69-page National Security Council playbook on how to respond to a pandemic had actually been in place prior to the spread of the coronavirus, having been written in 2016 after the 2014-2015 Ebola epidemic had stricken Africa. When the coronavirus arrived, the Trump administration apparently ignored the document, including many of its action points that have since, in their breach, proven to have been essential for mounting an early and effective response.<sup>143</sup> The Department of Homeland Security under Mr. Trump had also wound down its simulations of pandemic response.<sup>144</sup> On March 31, The Times reported on a September 2019 study by White House economists warning that a pandemic could kill half a million Americans and devastate the economy.<sup>145</sup> All of this was in addition to the Trump administration having removed the National Security Council's pandemic response expert (as described above in this Addendum), and having generated and sustained widespread vacancies and inexperience at the top of agencies that would ultimately be tasked with pieces of the coronavirus response: DHS, the Pentagon, the National Park Service, the FDA, Veterans Affairs and the IRS.<sup>146</sup>

Still on March 25, Mr. Trump's reelection campaign threatened to sue television stations for airing a political advertisement that superimposed Mr. Trump's spoken statements downplaying the crisis upon a graph showing the rising tide of infections.<sup>147</sup>

By March 26, the U.S. had recorded over 80,000 coronavirus cases – the largest number for any country in the world – and over 1000 deaths.<sup>148</sup>

On March 27, Mr. Trump signed into law a strongly bipartisan congressional bill, the CARES Act, directing the spending of over \$2 trillion on the country's coronavirus response (most of it to be directed toward economic stabilization) – legislation that Congress, not the White House, had led, and that dwarfed his own earlier request for a mere \$1 billion response. He personally took credit for some of the Democrats' provisions; but he excluded Democrats from the signing ceremony – again shunning his earlier condemnation of partisanship amid the crisis. Shortly after signing the bill, he issued a “signing statement” pursuant to which he expressed his intention to defy the bill's provisions for congressional oversight of the spending, thus keeping for himself – and, many in Congress believed, for his personal and political benefit – the power to choose winners and losers among the funds' distributees.<sup>149</sup> That is, he seemingly sought, in the thick of the crisis, an opportunity to grasp not only authoritarian powers, but possibly personal gain. (See also CSD's April 3 entry in the first part of this Addendum, relating to inspectors general and oversight.)

Just as disturbingly, the CARES Act included \$170 in tax benefits for real estate developers and certain types of investors – a provision that would likely, and handsomely, benefit Mr. Trump, his son-in-law Jared Kushner, and their developer friends.<sup>150</sup>

Also on March 27, Mr. Trump called – at least rhetorically – for his administration not to communicate with the governors of Washington and Michigan because they had not expressed sufficient appreciation for his coronavirus response efforts.<sup>151</sup> Michigan’s governor then claimed that emergency equipment vendors appeared to be boycotting her state.<sup>152</sup> The next day Mr. Trump relented. But a columnist from The Times disturbingly observed that Mr. Trump’s demand for appreciation from governors in exchange for coronavirus assistance, during an election year for Mr. Trump, evoked a comparison with his demand in 2019 that Ukraine’s president Volodymyr Zelensky smear Joe Biden’s competing presidential bid in exchange for delivering military assistance.<sup>153</sup>

Likewise on March 27, several news journals reported that Mr. Trump was seeking to have his own signature appear on the \$1200 relief checks to be mailed to most Americans under the \$2 trillion CARES Act.<sup>154</sup> That report followed the mass mailing to Americans of CDC postcards calling for social distancing and featuring the prominent headline, “President Trump’s Coronavirus Guidelines for America.”<sup>155</sup> Unlike some critics of the administration, CSD had given Mr. Trump and the CDC the benefit of the doubt on the postcard, believing that Mr. Trump’s endorsement could well convince his followers and other coronavirus skeptics to abide by social distancing; but we had no doubt about the authoritarian and political (reelection) motives behind the idea for the relief check signature. On April 14, Mr. Trump ordered that the checks bear his printed name in the memorandum space – the first time that a president’s name had appeared on IRS checks. (By law Mr. Trump’s actual signature could not appear – he was not an authorized signatory.) He told reporters, *“I’m sure people will be very happy to get a big, fat, beautiful check and my name is on it.”*<sup>156</sup> That is, he was frankly seeking to portray a congressionally conceived distribution of taxpayer money as his personal gift to Americans. But, likely seeking to avoid a disruption of the scheme by critics, he had kept the plan secret until just before the issuance of the checks.<sup>157</sup>

On March 29, Mr. Trump, in a press conference, withdrew his March 24 “hope” that federal social distancing guidelines could terminate by Easter; he extended those guidelines to at least the end of April; and he acknowledged the staggering number of American lives that were at risk from the virus.<sup>158</sup> That change of heart presumably resulted from the clamor raised by governors of both parties, the mainstream press, Democrats in Congress, and – especially, and blessedly – the scientists on his coronavirus task force. But ever the one to boast, Mr. Trump said that if coronavirus-related deaths remained under 200,000, “we all together have done a very good job.”<sup>159</sup> He did not note, however, that China – a vastly larger country, and the country where the pandemic had begun – had thus far (accurately or inaccurately) reported only 3300 deaths. Nor did he note that 200,000 was a multiple of the 58,000 Americans who had died in the Vietnam War. Nor did he speculate as to whether his own delay and denial had caused the projected death toll to be so large.

The change of heart also did not stop Mr. Trump from boasting about his television ratings, on multiple occasions, on the same day as the press conference.<sup>160</sup>

On March 30, Mr. Trump showcased his coronavirus response by holding a press conference with fawning corporate executives on the White House lawn. One of the executives (a well-known television salesman of bedding products) said that Mr. Trump was “the greatest president

in history,” who had brought America back to God. When a CNN reporter confronted Mr. Trump with his previous mistaken predictions that the coronavirus outbreak was under control, Mr. Trump upbraided the reporter and said, “*It’s almost a miracle the way it’s all come together.*”<sup>161</sup>

Also on March 30, Mr. Trump told governors on a conference call that he had not heard any concerns about insufficient coronavirus testing resources “in weeks.” In fact the governors had been pleading for better testing resources continuously. He also said, “*We’ve tested more now than any nation in the world,*” ignoring the fact that per capita the U.S. had tested far fewer of its citizens than had some other countries. He also projected that the U.S. would soon have manufactured a surplus of ventilators, implicitly defying the universal panic among public health officials of imminent shortages of the devices. “*I think we’re going to be in very good shape,*” he said.<sup>162</sup>

As of March 31, state governors were still pleading for emergency medical equipment from federal stockpiles. Only Florida, a state with a Republican governor who was friendly with Mr. Trump, and a must-win swing state for Mr. Trump’s November reelection, had had its requests satisfied in full.<sup>163</sup>

At a news conference on March 31, Mr. Trump acknowledged that coronavirus deaths in the U.S. would likely reach at least 100,000 to 240,000. But he profusely praised his own response to the pandemic, on grounds of his earlier Chinese and European travel bans, and on grounds of his having taken action to avert fully millions of U.S. deaths. He claimed to be “way ahead of schedule” in mitigating the disaster, and to be “getting very high marks” for his success – as though a mere 100,000 or 240,000 deaths should be considered a victory. (The U.S. sustained 291,000 combat deaths in World War II.) In response to a reporter’s question about his having earlier downplayed the threat, he said that he had always known of the peril, but that he was a “cheerleader” and a “positive person” bound to giving Americans “hope.” He disparaged a number of Democratic political figures, including on grounds that *they* had been slow to respond to the pandemic. When asked whether the recent impeachment proceedings had distracted him from attending to the threat, he launched into a rant about the “illegal” and “disgraceful” impeachment which, he said, had amounted to a “hoax.” He said he was “getting A-pluses” for how he had handled himself during the “phony” impeachment, which he said was “a tribute to me.”<sup>164</sup>

Also on March 31, The Post’s Fact Checker described a new Trump campaign video laden with clips of Democrats, mainstream journalists and public health officials seemingly praising Mr. Trump’s response to the pandemic. In fact all of those speakers had reviled Mr. Trump’s response; the clips had been taken utterly and appallingly out of context.<sup>165</sup>

As of April 1, more than 210,000 Americans had been infected by the coronavirus, and over 4600 had died – more than twice the number of U.S. service members who had been killed in Afghanistan. Although Mr. Trump had come to take the pandemic seriously, he continued to resist calls by governors, Democrats and the mainstream media to assert his authority under the DPA to direct manufacturers in producing and efficiently distributing needed medical equipment. And although governors of 38 states had directed their residents to shelter in place, 12 – all of them leading states that had voted for Mr. Trump in 2016 – had not done so, and Mr. Trump

resisted widespread calls to direct or encourage them to do so. To the latter point, Mr. Trump told reporters on April 1 that states with few known coronavirus cases could be safe and should be free to determine their own course – an approach with which none of his senior public health advisors appeared to agree.<sup>166</sup> Yet in what was now his daily press briefing, he managed to boast that he had become “number one [in popularity] on Facebook.”<sup>167</sup> It was difficult for CSD not to conclude that Mr. Trump was still playing to some of his perceived political constituencies rather than to science and the nation’s welfare; that is, the play seemed to be among a confederacy of science deniers.

Tweeting on April 2, Mr. Trump blamed states and governors for not having stocked up on emergency supplies prior to the pandemic, and he chided them as complainers.<sup>168</sup> He also falsely claimed that he was early among nations in banning in-bound travel from China, and he falsely implied that that ban had been categorical (some 40,000 Americans and others had been allowed to enter the U.S. from China despite the ban).<sup>169</sup>

Also on April 2, Vice President Mike Pence announced that Mr. Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner would coordinate private sector enterprises in the government’s coronavirus response. Kushner had no background in public health, manufacture, distribution or emergency operations. As a businessman, he was also positioned to direct contracts in a manner through which he could personally profit in the future. He immediately sparked controversy by disclaiming the federal government’s obligation to share its Strategic National Stockpile of medical equipment with states.<sup>170</sup>

On April 3, Mr. Trump announced to reporters that the CDC had advised the public to wear masks when leaving home. But he repeatedly stressed that the advice was voluntary and that he himself would not be following it.<sup>171</sup>

Also on April 3, Mr. Trump announced that he would nominate White House lawyer Brian Miller as the inspector general for the new, multi-trillion dollar coronavirus relief program. Democrats had taken pains in the legislation to protect the funds against self-dealing on the part of Mr. Trump and his family. The appointment of Miller, a man who had zealously defended Mr. Trump during his impeachment, appeared to jeopardize that protection.<sup>172</sup> (See again CSD’s entry of April 3 + in the first part of this Addendum, relating to inspectors general.)

In the aggregate, as of that date, when 40,000 Europeans had already died from the virus and 1,000 Americans had died in a single day,<sup>173</sup> Mr. Trump still was blaming others (states, hospitals, his predecessors) for the shortfalls of medical equipment in the U.S. He was also denying his prior downplaying of the threat; declining to order individuals to stay at home or wear protective masks, expressly deferring to their preferences as to whether to do so; deferring to and placing responsibility on governors relative to the wearing of masks, social distancing, business closures and other matters; speculating chaotically about medicine and confusing large swathes of the population in the process; and dithering in fully deploying the DPA to force the production and domestic distribution of equipment. At the same time he was claiming nightly on television that history had never seen a crisis response as strong as his own, and haranguing reporters for reminding him of the truth.<sup>174</sup>

On April 4, The Post recapped in detail and at length how the Trump administration had bungled and delayed its response to the pandemic for over two months, thus likely becoming responsible for untold suffering.<sup>175</sup> Susan Rice, who had been President Obama’s national security advisor, made similar observations in The Times on April 7.<sup>176</sup>

On April 5, Mr. Trump again publicly encouraged the use of the anti-malarial drug hydroxychloroquine as a treatment for coronavirus, and in that regard he asked his television audience rhetorically, “What do you have to lose?” He also announced that the federal government was stockpiling the drug. The American Medical Association, Mr. Trump’s top public health advisors and many other medical professionals agreed that hydroxychloroquine might well prove effective; and various U.S. hospitals and foreign governments were already deploying it to treat the coronavirus. But absent systematic and methodical testing of the drug for that off-label application, medical experts cautioned that patients could die, and they expressly declined to endorse its use for coronavirus. Indeed, it appeared to be Mr. Trump’s political advisors and Fox News personalities who were urging him to promote the drug.<sup>177</sup>

At the April 5 news conference, Mr. Trump also attacked Illinois’ Democratic Governor J.B. Pritzger for criticizing the federal pandemic response, as he had previously criticized the Democratic governors of New York and Michigan. Among other things, he accused Pritzger of “complaining all the time” – surely one of Mr. Trump’s own favorite pastimes.<sup>178</sup>

As noted in the first part of this Addendum relative to Mr. Trump’s campaign against inspectors general (see the entry of April 3 +), on April 6, at a press briefing, Mr. Trump angrily disparaged a report by the office of the inspector general for the Department of Health and Human Services. The report had documented the insufficiency of equipment at many hospitals in the face of the coronavirus pandemic. Mr. Trump supplied no evidence to rebut the report, but he appeared to threaten or intimidate the author of the report, insinuating that the report was politically motivated against him.<sup>179</sup>

Also as noted above with regard to inspectors general, on April 7 Mr. Trump removed Glenn Fine, the Pentagon’s acting inspector general and the lead among 10 inspectors general who were tasked with overseeing the Pandemic Response Accountability Committee. That committee had been created by Congress days earlier to limit fraud and mismanagement relative to the government’s new \$2 trillion dollar coronavirus response and economic stabilization law, the CARES Act.<sup>180</sup>

Also on April 7, Mr. Trump threatened to de-fund the World Health Organization, blaming the organization for the types of failures he himself had committed, and seeking to deflect some of his own faulty coronavirus response to the organization relative to its weak oversight of China’s delayed disease reporting. Mr. Trump was by no means alone in criticizing the WHO for its coronavirus failures. But his hypocrisy and scapegoating were distinctive.<sup>181</sup> As of April 10, he was reportedly still pursuing some sort of radical action against the organization – an action which, if taken at that time, was seen as likely to threaten worldwide coronavirus response efforts and to enable China to take over the organization.<sup>182</sup>

Still on April 7, as noted above in the March 30 + entry in the first part of this Addendum, on the topic of voter suppression, Mr. Trump fiercely criticized the swelling advocacy movement to facilitate mail-in voting for all 50 states for the upcoming November general election. Mail-in voting was seen by Democrats and many others as a means to encourage voting during periods of coronavirus social distancing. But like some Republican governors and legislatures across the country, Mr. Trump had sought to actually depress the vote, and he now expressly said (as he had done before) that broader voting would be bad for Republican candidates. And he said it yet again on Twitter, the following day. In fact the Wisconsin legislature (with its Republican majority), as supported by both the Wisconsin and U.S. Supreme Courts (both with Republican majorities), had refused to delay Wisconsin's April 7 primary election, even while citizens were under a statewide stay-at-home order. At stake in that election was a Democratic-Republican race for a state supreme court seat, in which Mr. Trump had vocally supported the Republican candidate, and where the winner stood to rule on other Republican-favored measures to suppress voting. Wisconsin thus became the only state to hold a primary election that April – all other states with primaries on their calendars for that month had postponed. Those who voted that day in Wisconsin did so with great effort, in long lines, often wearing face masks, and at risk to their lives. The state's Republicans at first appeared to have succeeded: voter turn-out in Milwaukee, a Democratic stronghold, was materially depressed.<sup>183</sup> Remarkably, the Democratic candidate for the judgeship nevertheless won.<sup>184</sup>

Throughout the coronavirus crisis, Mr. Trump had festooned himself with a continuous stream of falsehoods, errors, delusional thinking and braggadocio. On April 8, the Times now added to that pageantry: it characterized his daily press conferences on the coronavirus as exercises in self-contradiction: praising China, then demonizing that country; demanding an investigation of the World Health Organization, then denying that he had done so; lambasting governors, then denying that as well. The reporter speculated that for many Americans, Mr. Trump's incoherent press conferences were their principal source of information on the pandemic.<sup>185</sup>

On April 9, Mr. Trump tweeted that the conservative Wall St. Journal was "Fake News" because it had failed to report on the high television ratings that his press conferences were receiving.<sup>186</sup>

On April 10, media reported that Mr. Trump was pressing to call for governors to reopen business activities by May 1 or sooner, contrary to the advice of medical experts.<sup>187</sup> But whether he truly intended that, or instead was simply positioning himself to blame the "Deep State" for a prolonged recession under the assumption that his expressed wishes wouldn't be heeded, was a matter of conjecture.<sup>188</sup>

On April 10, the White House launched an extraordinary attack on Voice of America, the independent but U.S.-funded media outlet that reaches millions of readers and listeners around the world. The White House was displeased that VOA had compared China's low (albeit questionable) coronavirus mortality statistics with the far higher number in the U.S. – even though VOA's reporting had been consistently critical of China's response to the outbreak and its attendant disinformation campaign.<sup>189</sup> The episode was further evidence of Mr. Trump's positioning himself to scapegoat China for his own problematic performance in the face of the pandemic.

During his April 10 press briefing, Mr. Trump said that he would re-open the economy based on his own judgment, more than on medical or economic metrics. (In truth, re-opening the economy at that point was primarily a state-by-state decision, not his.) He also repeated his frequent misleading assertion that the U.S. was leading the world in testing for the coronavirus, based on the raw number of tests – misleading in that the U.S. lagged other countries in testing per capita.<sup>190</sup>

On April 10, Huffington Post (sometimes referred to in this Chronology as “HuffPost”) reported on the incompetence, chaos, duplicity and corruption at play in Mr. Trump’s management of medical supply procurement. On the one hand, for weeks he had been insisting that states had to procure their own equipment, such as ventilators. But in reality he had sometimes seized states’ procurement orders and deliveries for the federal stockpile. And he appeared to have allocated some of the stockpiled items to states for partisan political gain – that is, to curry favor with their voters and governors.<sup>191</sup> As of April 11, as reported by The Washington Post (commonly referred to in this Chronology as “The Post”), states were still frantically competing against one other and against the federal government in the “cutthroat” global market to procure the scarce equipment that they needed. Some states were having to pay up to 10 times normal prices for the goods.<sup>192</sup> As of April 13, Politico reported similarly; but it speculated (contrary to some other voices) that whether the federal government was sending medical equipment to any particular needy state appeared to turn less on partisan politics than on whether the governor had recently flattered Mr. Trump; on who knew whom within a chain of personal connections; on what topics Mr. Trump had been able to muster his concentration for on a given day; and on the random consequences of the administration’s chronic chaos.<sup>193</sup>

In a related vein, also on April 10, The Post characterized Mr. Trump, rhetorically, as posing as a benevolent monarch in distributing medical equipment and cash payments around the country – as though he was showering the nation with gifts of his own property (as opposed to the taxpayers’ rightful property). The Post also wrote that he had been taking personal credit for the government’s coronavirus response to a far greater degree than previous presidents had done in other emergency situations, and to a far greater degree than was merited. (Congress had negotiated the CARES Act; Democrats, governors and the media had promoted social distancing measures as Mr. Trump had resisted every step of the way; and absent federal direction, governors, industry leaders and scientists were devising the next necessary steps in disease response among themselves.) He now persistently characterized the spending program as the biggest and the best: “[N]obody has ever seen anything like what we’ve done.” He repeatedly called attention to his polling numbers amid the crisis (which in truth were far lower than those of other recent presidents in times of crisis). As for failures, such as the shortages of medical equipment, he continued to blame others. All of this, wrote the Post, was consistent with Mr. Trump’s lifelong addiction to self-promotion – which now seemed to gush, unstoppably, even in a national emergency.<sup>194</sup>

On April 10, a highly partisan but nevertheless compelling video was posted on Twitter, concisely juxtaposing Mr. Trump’s many dismissive statements about the coronavirus threat with the rising numbers of infections and deaths in the U.S. Other similar montages had appeared on network television, and likely on the Internet. CSD considers them to be among the very instructive documents that it has seen on the subject of Mr. Trump and the pandemic, and we

commend them to our readers. The particular Twitter posting appears at the link at this end note.<sup>195</sup>

On April 11, The Post reported on the chaos besetting Mr. Trump’s multiple coronavirus response teams: sometimes as between one team and another, but more often as between a team and Mr. Trump himself, whom the teams would struggle to bring to reason, and whose capricious whims they had to waste precious time and energy trying to fend off. The Post’s analysis also decried the absence thus far of clear goals and methods for managing the crisis – that is, after three months from the appearance of the disease, with the government stuck in reactive mode. It also pointed to the jockeying for power, or for Mr. Trump’s favor, among competing response leaders. In all, the report characterized the chaos as not simply that which might normally accompany a sudden crisis of indeterminate solution and international dimension, but as built-in to the Trump administration’s habitual, dizzying dysfunction.<sup>196</sup>

The Times wrote on April 11 of the many instances since late January when Mr. Trump had ignored warnings of the oncoming coronavirus crisis. Driven by antipathy toward the “Deep State,” a desire to placate and later demonize China, a fear of depressing the stock market, a persistent proclivity to filter reality, and “the chaotic culture of the Trump White House” (which was fed by “the rivalries and factionalism that swirl around Mr. Trump”), he had ignored early cautions and action recommendations by the National Security Council, trade adviser Peter Navarro, HHS Secretary Alex Azar, several senators and the country’s top public health experts – until he had finally lurched into action.<sup>197</sup>

On April 12, Fauci told CNN that a stronger early response by the administration to the coronavirus outbreak “could have saved lives,” and that in February he had received “a lot of pushback about shutting things down.” Mr. Trump reacted by retweeting someone else’s call for him to fire Fauci, and by tweet-storming a defense of his own response: emphasizing his partial ban on in-bound travel from China while blaming others for the disease’s spread (China, the WHO, President Obama, governors, Congress, Democrats generally and the news media).<sup>198</sup> But nearly 80% of Republicans appeared to approve and trust Fauci; and following a fierce media storm over the re-tweet, the White House said that Fauci wouldn’t be fired.<sup>199</sup>

On April 13, Mr. Trump tweeted, then stated at length in his daily briefing, that he had “total, unilateral authority to re-open the economy nationally – even though for weeks he had been insisting that, constitutionally, it fell to the states to decide whether to close or to open, as well as to find their own medical equipment.<sup>200</sup> Democrats and the media expressed outrage and incredulity, on constitutional grounds. The claim also was inconsistent with Mr. Trump’s previous claim to not have any responsibility for state-level operations.<sup>201</sup> He thus created more confusion; further undercut his national and international credibility; reaffirmed his belief that he held authoritarian powers; and continued his hypocritical and fraudulent off-loading to others of painful responsibilities (such as closing) while keeping for himself the prerogative to bestow bounty (such as opening). By the following day, several governors had threatened to defy any ill-conceived orders that he might issue to open their economies, and constitutional scholars across the ideological spectrum said that his claim of authority was witless.<sup>202</sup> Several Republican senators and congressmembers objected as well.<sup>203</sup> That evening, on April 14, Mr. Trump walked back the claim.<sup>204</sup>



At the same April 13 press briefing, at taxpayer expense, and possibly in reaction to the April 11 report by The Times on his incompetent coronavirus response, Mr. Trump's staff played a hastily produced, campaign-style video that lauded his leadership through the pandemic, at the same time as criticizing the mainstream press. The video contained little or no footage for the month of February, when infections and dire warnings were mounting and he was dithering; and it did not include his many characterizations of the outbreak during that period as trivial. When a CBS reporter at the briefing pressed him on the February gap and the medical and economic damage that had resulted, he called her and CBS "fake" and "disgraceful," and he mocked what he said were the network's low television ratings.<sup>205</sup>

On April 14, Mr. Trump made good on his threat to suspend funding for the WHO, publicly blasting the organization for having failed to properly investigate the coronavirus as it had begun percolating in China some months earlier; for "covering up" the spread of the disease; and for failing to timely share information. But in truth his administration's staff had been embedded in all of the WHO's pertinent operations; Mr. Trump's top public health advisers were consulting with the WHO in real time; Mr. Trump himself had initially praised China's response, on 12 to 15 separate occasions; and at one point in March he actually claimed that WHO's coronavirus cautions were overstated. He was now plainly and increasingly playing the demagogue's card. Meanwhile the defunding of the WHO raised alarms within the medical community, which feared that that action could horribly impede the fight against the pandemic.<sup>206</sup> A columnist for The Times compellingly described the organization's critical contributions to world health, and Mr. Trump's own failure to heed its coronavirus cautions in late January and February.<sup>207</sup> A Times reporter also recounted the WHO's early cautions.<sup>208</sup> In announcing the funding cut-off, Mr. Trump petulantly said of the WHO, "*We have not been treated properly.*"<sup>209</sup>

On April 15, Politico reported that Mr. Trump had appointed Michael Caputo to serve as the public voice for the Department of Health and Human Services. Caputo was a former protégé of self-proclaimed "dirty trickster," Trump campaign figure and convicted felon Roger Stone, and he was a fierce Trump loyalist who had written a book in Mr. Trump's defense titled *The Ukraine Hoax*. The new appointment sidelined HHS Secretary Alex Azar, with whom Mr. Trump was unhappy because media had been reporting that Mr. Trump had ignored Azar's early coronavirus warnings.<sup>210</sup>

Also on April 15, Mr. Trump continued to boast of his coronavirus testing program: "*[W]e have great tests and we want the states to administer these tests for the most part, but we're standing behind them. We have great tests. We've done more testing now than any country, as you know, in the world by far. We have the best tests of any country in the world. Nobody has the quality of tests.*" But states were still starving for test kits; testing volume had actually plummeted that week; the U.S. still had tested far few people per capita than had some other countries; and on April 19, even as Mr. Trump continued to defer to states to solve their own testing problems, one governor said, "Every governor in America has been pushing and fighting and clawing to get more tests ... from the federal government ...."<sup>211</sup>

Also on April 15, mass protests against state lock-down laws and in favor of Mr. Trump were staged in the capitals of Michigan, Kentucky and North Carolina. Some of the protesters carried automatic weapons and some carried confederate flags; some carried placards accusing their

governors of Nazism; and, contrary to state law, few wore face masks or physically distanced themselves from one another. Referring to Democratic Governor Gretchen Whitmer in Michigan, protesters there chanted “*Lock her up!*” By any objective measure, the protesters not only flaunted the law, but appeared to have risked their own and others’ lives by congregating and by calling for governmental encouragement of that type of risk-taking. For their rage, their ignorance, their misfeasance, their puerility, their selfishness and their short-sightedness – all cast in their own minds as libertarianism, a devotion to Mr. Trump’s authoritarianism, or (oddly) both – Fox News commentators praised them.<sup>212</sup> Stephen Moore, one of Mr. Trump’s economic advisors and his failed nominee for the Federal Reserve Board, compared the protesters to the legendary civil rights activist Rosa Park.<sup>213</sup> On April 17, as the protests spread to additional states, Mr. Trump praised them as well: he tweeted “LIBERATE MINNESOTA” and “LIBERATE MICHIGAN” and “LIBERATE VIRGINIA, and save your great 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment. It is under siege!”<sup>214</sup> (All of those states had Democratic governors.) When asked by a reporter during his daily coronavirus press briefing whether the protesters were being irresponsible for not socially distancing, he responded that they seemed “very responsible.” And when asked whether his own call for revolt was irresponsible, he launched into a defense of the Second Amendment and disparaged Virginia’s governor. In all of that, he was not only contradicting his own administration’s guidance on social distancing, and his own recent acknowledgement of the authority of state governors to determine how to protect their citizens from the pandemic, but he was dividing the American people and even tinkering at the edges of fomenting civil insurrection: a “war president” at war with his own country’s governing authorities.<sup>215</sup> To CSD’s mind – almost inconceivably in a modern democracy – white supremacy, science denial and vigilantism appeared yet again to have converged and flowered under Mr. Trump’s hand. Indeed, judging from photographic and video reporting, CSD found that almost all of the protesters appeared to be white. Fortunately, the vast majority of Americans were not trending in that direction – at least not visibly, and not yet: a Yahoo poll indicated that, unlike Mr. Trump, most were against the protests.<sup>216</sup> But they continued to spread.<sup>217</sup> On April 19, Mr. Trump characterized the protesters as “great people.”<sup>218</sup> And, led by Mr. Trump, a movement to “open” in defiance of all public health warnings was growing as a mainstream (as opposed to fringe) Republican position<sup>219</sup> – itself a previously unimaginable manifestation of the country’s deep cultural and political polarization that he had long stoked.

At the April 17 daily briefing, Vice President Mike Pence firmly and falsely stated that the country had enough coronavirus testing resources such that any state, if it wanted, could safely and immediately begin to re-open its economy. (One governor subsequently said that Pence’s claim was “delusional.”) Later in the show, Mr. Trump, in taking questions from reporters, managed to skewer Democrats at every turn. He said that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi was “on vacation” and “should come back to do her job.” (Congress was in extended recess due to the coronavirus, and its members were working mainly from their homes.) He complained that President Obama had wasted money on the Obamacare online marketplace roll-out and had given a \$3.7 million research grant to the laboratory in Wuhan, China that was now being investigated for possibly having allowed the coronavirus to escape. He also boasted about the stock market’s partial recovery since its March 23 low (as though that recovery was assured of continuing), and about the crowd size at his pre-coronavirus rallies.<sup>220</sup>

On the same day, in the face of significant glitches in delivering checks, loans and unemployment benefits to the intended CARES Act recipients, Mr. Trump blew off the problems

and advanced his “we’re better than Obama” campaign: faulting his predecessor for previous epidemic deaths and, as above, for the expensive Obamacare website.<sup>221</sup>

Also on April 17, a Post reporter detailed some of the many threats and promises that Mr. Trump had capriciously made and then had not followed through on in connection with the coronavirus crisis: compelling states to reopen, compelling states to close, quarantining the New York metro area, adjourning Congress, opening the country by Easter, labeling regions by risk, not talking to “ungrateful” governors, and more.<sup>222</sup>

By April 17, the U.S. had recorded over 36,000 deaths from the coronavirus.<sup>223</sup>

On April 18, Politico reported that many of Mr. Trump’s supporters had settled upon their principal coronavirus scapegoats: the WHO, Fauci and Bill Gates – the last of whom was the subject of a growing torrent of conspiracy theories.<sup>224</sup> Some also scapegoated China.<sup>225</sup> (For the time, at least, it appeared that they had moved on from scapegoating George Soros, Adam Schiff, Robert Mueller and Hillary Clinton.)

On April 18, The Post reported that although thousands of U.S. hotels had volunteered to house coronavirus medical personnel for free or at reduced rates – to the praise of the White House – none of Mr. Trump’s hotels was known to local authorities to have done so.<sup>226</sup>

At his April 18 press conference, Mr. Trump boasted that his coronavirus response had produced the best outcome in the world other than that of Germany (flatly false) and had saved “billions” of lives (preposterous). He also blamed Democratic governors for having “gotten carried away” with their social distancing orders, for “complaining,” for not doing enough testing, and for deceiving the public about what he claimed was the ample availability of testing materials.<sup>227</sup> He also implied that China may have knowingly or intentionally (that is, not just negligently) released the virus from a laboratory and thus caused the pandemic.<sup>228</sup>

On April 20, Pence repeated his assertion that all states then had enough testing capacity to begin reopening their economies. Georgia’s governor then did so, as coronavirus deaths in the state were still rising daily.<sup>229</sup>

Purporting to have been an early adopter of social distancing, Mr. Trump blithely said at his April 20 press conference that he hadn’t left the White House in months. In truth, he had held six rallies and other campaign events in February and March. He also maintained yet again, that coronavirus testing resources were ample and that governors’ claims to the contrary were partisan.<sup>230</sup>

Late in the evening on April 20, Mr. Trump tweeted that all immigration would be suspended due to “the Invisible Enemy” (a term he didn’t define) and “the need to protect the jobs of our GREAT American Citizens.” At least some of Mr. Trump’s staff, characteristically, appeared to have been blindsided by the announcement, which on its face represented an unprecedented immigration restriction. Among other things, after having (like previous presidents) struggled to shut off illegal immigration, he now, under cover of the national emergency, seemed to seek to broadly shut off legal immigration as well – an extension and amplification of the signature

xenophobic theme that had propelled him to the presidency. It was not immediately clear to CSD (and possibly to staff) whether the ban – in addition to visas for permanent residence, such as for family members of U.S. citizens and existing permanent residents – would apply to temporary visas, such as for health care professionals, agricultural workers and students, all of whom are essential to various American economic sectors, and many of whom could not readily be replaced by Americans. It was also unclear whether the ban would apply to inbound travel by already approved prospective immigrants; administering the immigration process for prospective immigrants who were still overseas; administering the immigration process for prospective immigrants who were already in the U.S.; or all of the above. Also unclear was whether the order, when formally issued, would survive the likely legal challenges. But at a minimum, the planning and financial investments of potentially thousands of individuals already in line for legal immigration and for work visas stood to be frustrated – and having little if anything to do with stopping the spread of the coronavirus.<sup>231</sup>

In a disturbing news analysis, on April 20 The Post reported that participants in Mr. Trump’s daily briefings – including at least one of his supporters – had frequently characterized the media events as “surreal.” The Post’s reporters themselves saw the spectacles as continuations of Mr. Trump’s pre-presidential reality television program, his bankruptcy court maneuverings and his sales campaigns for over-priced products. In particular, the reporters wrote, he now hogged the limelight, raged at reporters in a “cage match,” incessantly spewed untruths, boasted, pitied himself, contradicted himself, defied scientific advice, blamed everyone else for the nation’s coronavirus crisis, yet commanded a large viewing audience – to the benefit of his reelection campaign.<sup>232</sup>

On the same day, a Post columnist characterized Mr. Trump’s coronavirus performance somewhat differently, but again based on his history of stiffing his creditors in bankruptcy court: shrewdly risking American lives and even the American economy in a last-ditch, Hail Mary gambit to save himself from electoral defeat.<sup>233</sup>

As of April 21, the U.S. had experienced over 45,000 coronavirus deaths.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/21/us/politics/trump-and-russia.html>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/21/us/politics/bernie-sanders-russia.html>

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/robert-obrien-security-adviser-russia-trump\\_n\\_5e51cff8c5b629695f5b7c09?ncid=APPLENEWS00001](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/robert-obrien-security-adviser-russia-trump_n_5e51cff8c5b629695f5b7c09?ncid=APPLENEWS00001) and <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2020/feb/23/trump-national-security-adviser-robert-obrien-russian-election-meddling#img-1> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/02/24/white-houses-sleight-hand-russias-2020-efforts/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/22/us/politics/russia-election-meddling-trump-sanders.html>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/21/us/politics/trump-and-russia.html>

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<sup>7</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/were-cleaning-it-out-trump-embarks-on-expansive-search-for-disloyalty-as-administration-wide-purge-escalates/2020/02/21/870e6c56-54c1-11ea-b119-4faabac6674f\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/were-cleaning-it-out-trump-embarks-on-expansive-search-for-disloyalty-as-administration-wide-purge-escalates/2020/02/21/870e6c56-54c1-11ea-b119-4faabac6674f_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/22/us/politics/trump-disloyalty-turnover.html> and <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/02/trump-fires-defense-official-refusing-to-break-law-elaine-mccusker.html> and <https://www.cnn.com/2020/02/12/politics/jessie-liu-treasury-nomination-roger-stone/index.html> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/03/02/white-house-defense-official-nomination-118909>

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/22/us/politics/trump-disloyalty-turnover.html>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/02/22/trump-india-business-116322>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/21/opinion/trump-india.html>

<sup>13</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/21/world/asia/trump-india-modi.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/02/24/trump-india-live-updates/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/02/24/trump-india-live-updates/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/02/24/india-trump-validates-modis-divisive-agenda/> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-macho-man-village-people\\_n\\_5e5412fac5b66729cf6042d6](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/donald-trump-macho-man-village-people_n_5e5412fac5b66729cf6042d6) and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/02/24/trump-india-live-updates-2/> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/25/world/asia/new-delhi-hindu-muslim-violence.html?referringSource=articleShare> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/24/world/asia/trump-india.html?referringSource=articleShare> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/02/25/donald-trump-muslim-excluding-citizenship-law-117324?cid=apn> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/02/24/india-trump-validates-modis-divisive-agenda/> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/25/us/politics/trump-modi.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/25/world/asia/new-delhi-hindu-muslim-violence.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/worst-communal-violence-in-delhi-in-decades-leaves-13-dead-as-trump-visits-india/2020/02/25/ecac4b5e-57dd-11ea-8efd-0f904bdd8057\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/worst-communal-violence-in-delhi-in-decades-leaves-13-dead-as-trump-visits-india/2020/02/25/ecac4b5e-57dd-11ea-8efd-0f904bdd8057_story.html) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/27/world/asia/india-violence-hindu-muslim.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/attacks-on-indian-journalists-highlight-growing-intolerance/2020/03/01/d76921e2-5c1d-11ea-ac50-18701e14e06d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/attacks-on-indian-journalists-highlight-growing-intolerance/2020/03/01/d76921e2-5c1d-11ea-ac50-18701e14e06d_story.html)

<sup>14</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/03/05/world/asia/india-violence-diplomacy.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia\\_pacific/in-delhis-worst-violence-in-decades-a-man-watched-his-brother-burn/2020/03/05/892dbb12-5e45-11ea-ac50-18701e14e06d\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/asia_pacific/in-delhis-worst-violence-in-decades-a-man-watched-his-brother-burn/2020/03/05/892dbb12-5e45-11ea-ac50-18701e14e06d_story.html)

<sup>15</sup> <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/politics-and-nation/when-donald-trump-melania-spin-gandhi-charkha-at-sabarmati-ashram/videoshow/74281049.cms>

<sup>16</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/02/24/trump-india-live-updates/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/2020/02/24/trump-india-live-updates/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.businessinsider.com/how-trump-bankrupted-the-taj-mahal-2017-5>

<sup>17</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/ivanka-trump-taj-mahal-india-twitter\\_n\\_5e547d0bc5b65e0f11c56be9](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/ivanka-trump-taj-mahal-india-twitter_n_5e547d0bc5b65e0f11c56be9)

<sup>18</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/02/25/us/politics/trump-schiff-russia.html?referringSource=articleShare>

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<sup>196</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-task-forces-coronavirus-pandemic/2020/04/11/5cc5a30c-7a77-11ea-a130-df573469f094\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-task-forces-coronavirus-pandemic/2020/04/11/5cc5a30c-7a77-11ea-a130-df573469f094_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>197</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/11/us/politics/coronavirus-trump-response.html>

<sup>198</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/12/us/politics/trump-fauci-coronavirus.html> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/04/13/trump-fire-fauci-coronavirus/>

<sup>199</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/13/trump-fauci-fire-tweet-coronavirus-183907>

<sup>200</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/13/trump-governors-decision-reopen-183405> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-total-authority-president\\_n\\_5e94f544c5b606109f5ea92b](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-total-authority-president_n_5e94f544c5b606109f5ea92b)

<sup>201</sup> CNN television news, April 13, 2020, Erin Burnett, Anderson Cooper and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-total-authority-twitter-coronavirus-pandemic\\_n\\_5e951344c5b606109f5ed818](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-total-authority-twitter-coronavirus-pandemic_n_5e951344c5b606109f5ed818)

<sup>202</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/14/cuomo-new-york-reopen-trump-185313> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/14/us/politics/trump-total-authority-claim.html> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/04/14/four-pinocchios-trumps-claim-that-he-has-total-authority-over-states/> and CNN television news, April 14, 2020, Anderson Cooper

<sup>203</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trumps-inaccurate-assertion-of-total-authority-sparks-challenge-from-governors/2020/04/14/46f3a03c-7e51-11ea-8013-1b6da0e4a2b7\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trumps-inaccurate-assertion-of-total-authority-sparks-challenge-from-governors/2020/04/14/46f3a03c-7e51-11ea-8013-1b6da0e4a2b7_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/14/trump-absolute-power-conservative-backlash-186887>

<sup>204</sup> CNN television news, April 14, 2020, Anderson Cooper

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<sup>205</sup> CNN television news, April 13, 2020, Erin Burnett, Anderson Cooper and <https://deadline.com/2020/04/coronavirus-cnn-msnbc-donald-trump-1202907481/> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-turns-coronavirus-briefing-propaganda-campaign\\_n\\_5e94fabec5b606109f5eae14](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-turns-coronavirus-briefing-propaganda-campaign_n_5e94fabec5b606109f5eae14) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-pandemic-briefing-focus-himself/2020/04/13/1dc94992-7dd8-11ea-9040-68981f488eed\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-pandemic-briefing-focus-himself/2020/04/13/1dc94992-7dd8-11ea-9040-68981f488eed_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_pisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>206</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Health/wireStory/trump-directs-halt-payments-virus-pandemic-70153315> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-announces-cutoff-of-new-funding-for-the-world-health-organization-over-pandemic-response/2020/04/14/f1df101e-7e9f-11ea-a3ee-13e1ae0a3571\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-announces-cutoff-of-new-funding-for-the-world-health-organization-over-pandemic-response/2020/04/14/f1df101e-7e9f-11ea-a3ee-13e1ae0a3571_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_pisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/14/us/politics/coronavirus-trump-who-funding.html> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/15/trump-china-coronavirus-188736> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/04/17/trump-tells-damnably-murderous-lie/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/04/17/trump-tells-damnably-murderous-lie/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_pisrc=nl_headlines) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/americans-at-world-health-organization-transmitted-real-time-information-about-coronavirus-to-trump-administration/2020/04/19/951c77fa-818c-11ea-9040-68981f488eed\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/americans-at-world-health-organization-transmitted-real-time-information-about-coronavirus-to-trump-administration/2020/04/19/951c77fa-818c-11ea-9040-68981f488eed_story.html) and <https://www.businessinsider.com/trump-claim-death-rate-coronavirus-word-health-organization-2020-3> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/04/20/trumps-attempt-frame-who-only-shows-his-failure-act/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/04/20/trumps-attempt-frame-who-only-shows-his-failure-act/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_pisrc=nl_headlines) and CNN television news, April 14, 2020, Connecticut Senator Chris Murphy, as interviewed by Anderson Cooper.

<sup>207</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/15/opinion/coronavirus-trump-world-health-organization-who.html>

<sup>208</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/health/WHO-Trump-coronavirus.html>

<sup>209</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/live/2020/apr/14/coronavirus-us-live-donald-trump-briefing-deaths-rise-cuomo-fauci-latest-news-updates>

<sup>210</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/15/michael-caputo-azar-hhs-189046> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/16/us/politics/michael-caputo-hhs.html>

<sup>211</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/16/lindsey-graham-contradicts-trump-coronavirus-testing-190733> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/maryland-and-virginia-governors-blast-trump-over-protests-and-lack-of-covid-19-testing-as-cases-continue-to-rise-in-the-capital-region/2020/04/19/0b878724-81d1-11ea-a3ee-13e1ae0a3571\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/maryland-and-virginia-governors-blast-trump-over-protests-and-lack-of-covid-19-testing-as-cases-continue-to-rise-in-the-capital-region/2020/04/19/0b878724-81d1-11ea-a3ee-13e1ae0a3571_story.html) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/governors-plead-for-federal-help-on-coronavirus-testing-contradicting-trumps-claims-that-testing-is-widely-available/2020/04/19/39eb4238-8260-11ea-878a-86477a724bdb\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/governors-plead-for-federal-help-on-coronavirus-testing-contradicting-trumps-claims-that-testing-is-widely-available/2020/04/19/39eb4238-8260-11ea-878a-86477a724bdb_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_pisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>212</sup> <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2020/04/trump-supporters-protest-coronavirus-orders>

<sup>213</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/stephen-moore-rosa-parks\\_n\\_5e9bb8a6c5b664cb6c43f2a5](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/stephen-moore-rosa-parks_n_5e9bb8a6c5b664cb6c43f2a5)

<sup>214</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/04/17/liberate-trump-tweets-support-protesting-against-stay-at-home-orders/>

<sup>215</sup> CNN live telecast, April 17, 2020 and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/rallies-against-stay-at-home-orders-grow-as-trump-sides-with-protesters/2020/04/17/1405ba54-7f4e-11ea-8013-1b6da0e4a2b7\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&utm\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/rallies-against-stay-at-home-orders-grow-as-trump-sides-with-protesters/2020/04/17/1405ba54-7f4e-11ea-8013-1b6da0e4a2b7_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&utm_pisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/17/us/politics/trump-coronavirus-governors.html>

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- <sup>217</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/18/us/texas-protests-stay-at-home.html>
- <sup>218</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-defends-right-wing-protesters-fighting-coronavirus-restrictions-great-people\\_n\\_5e9d0ceec5b635d25d6fefeb2](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-defends-right-wing-protesters-fighting-coronavirus-restrictions-great-people_n_5e9d0ceec5b635d25d6fefeb2)
- <sup>219</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/gops-growing-open-it-up-caucus-urges-fewer-virus-restrictions-amid-warnings-from-fellow-republicans/2020/04/17/b5869dce-80a9-11ea-a3ee-13e1ae0a3571\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/gops-growing-open-it-up-caucus-urges-fewer-virus-restrictions-amid-warnings-from-fellow-republicans/2020/04/17/b5869dce-80a9-11ea-a3ee-13e1ae0a3571_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)
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- <sup>222</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/04/17/coronavirus-spreads-trump-makes-series-threats-many-them-empty/>
- <sup>223</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/health/health-news/coronavirus-deaths-united-states-each-day-2020-n1177936>
- <sup>224</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/18/trump-coronavirus-who-bill-gates-fauci-193379> and <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/17/bill-gates-is-top-target-for-coronavirus-conspiracy-theories-report.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/17/technology/bill-gates-virus-conspiracy-theories.html>
- <sup>225</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/18/us/texas-protests-stay-at-home.html>
- <sup>226</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/the-white-house-praised-hotels-for-housing-doctors-cities-say-trumps-hotels-arent-participating/2020/04/18/da553fde-8009-11ea-9040-68981f488eed\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/the-white-house-praised-hotels-for-housing-doctors-cities-say-trumps-hotels-arent-participating/2020/04/18/da553fde-8009-11ea-9040-68981f488eed_story.html)
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- <sup>228</sup> <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-04-18/trump-suggests-china-may-be-knowingly-responsible-for-virus>
- <sup>229</sup> CNN television news, April 20, 2020, Chris Cuomo
- <sup>230</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/20/politics/trump-briefing-april-20/index.html> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-coronavirus-rallies\\_n\\_5e9e8172c5b6b2e5b8374dd6](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-coronavirus-rallies_n_5e9e8172c5b6b2e5b8374dd6) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-coronavirus-testing-governors-reopen\\_n\\_5e9e46bfc5b6a486d07e2bf3](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-coronavirus-testing-governors-reopen_n_5e9e46bfc5b6a486d07e2bf3)
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## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 30 – June 12, 2020

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

The current Addendum appears in two parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p. 30 chronicles events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Episode</u>	<u>Category</u>
4-22-20	<b><u>A new model.</u></b> Reporters without Borders wrote that the U.S. was becoming a world model for hostility toward the news media, and that under Mr. Trump it had come to rank only 45 <sup>th</sup> among the world's countries for press freedom. <sup>1</sup>	1
4-22-20 +	<b><u>A new urge to purge: the coronavirus.</u></b> On April 22, media reported that Dr. Rick Bright, a top vaccine expert at the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), had been demoted – according to Dr. Bright, for his having contested Mr. Trump's promotion of the antimalarial drug hydroxychloroquine as a miracle prophylaxis for Covid-19. <sup>2</sup> On May 5, Dr. Bright filed a whistleblower complaint in which he alleged that he had also been targeted for objecting to having been pressured to place lucrative procurement contracts with administration cronies. <sup>3</sup> On May 8, the Office of Special Counsel, a permanent federal watchdog, found that Dr. Bright's demotion may have been retaliatory and thus unlawful, and it recommended that he be temporarily reinstated pending an investigation. <sup>4</sup> [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	8, 9, 16

4-22-20 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Separately, after business hours on a Friday evening, May 1, the White House announced that Mr. Trump would nominate a new inspector general for HHS. The appointee would effectively operate to replace Christi Grimm, the HHS deputy inspector general who in April had angered Mr. Trump by her report about equipment shortages and testing delays at hospitals amid the coronavirus. That development followed a broad purging of inspectors general and other officials whom Mr. Trump had considered to have been disloyal to him in connection with his Ukraine scandal and his impeachment, as detailed above in this Chronology.<sup>5</sup></p>	8, 9, 16
4-22-20	<p><b>The real motive.</b> Mr. Trump signed an order temporarily suspending certain elements of the U.S.'s immigration program that had long enabled citizens and permanent residents to seek permanent residence visas for some of their close relatives overseas. The order also temporarily suspended permanent immigration visas for most foreigners pursuing specific employment opportunities here. The order nevertheless was a far cry from Mr. Trump's hysterical and xenophobic but cryptic tweet on April 20 that he was suspending <i>all</i> immigration due to the coronavirus pandemic (See CSD's April 20 entry in Addendum 29): he did not suspend all immigration, and the order identified protection of American jobs (not the coronavirus) as its motive.<sup>6</sup></p> <p>Indeed, as subsequently revealed in a leaked audio of a private address given by his anti-immigration aide Stephen Miller, the temporary order was a cover for, and a beginning of a move toward, an endeavor to permanently and comprehensively shrink legal immigration.<sup>7</sup> But, CSD believed, the initial tweet likely advanced Mr. Trump's purpose of sowing anti-foreigner panic in an election year. And the final order appeared certain to be challenged in court, as exceeding Mr. Trump's executive authority relative to congressionally enacted immigration laws.</p>	6, 9
4-24-20	<p><b>Bring me my cadets!</b> Media widely reported that Mr. Trump had ordered West Point to call back its graduating cadets from their homes so that he could address them in person and with pomp at a graduation ceremony. They had been sent home early from school because of the coronavirus, and the order now appeared both to place their health at risk and to direct the wasting of taxpayer dollars on the arrangements, all for the sake of Mr. Trump's reelection campaign.<sup>8</sup></p>	9, 10, 11



<p>4-26-20</p>	<p><b>Twitter rants.</b> In the midst of the coronavirus crisis, Mr. Trump yet again revealed his obsessions with himself, with media ratings, and with his view of particular media outlets as his partisan friends or enemies. On April 26, he dispatched over a dozen tweets along those lines.<sup>9</sup></p> <p>For example, he ranted against his mostly favorite network, Fox News, possibly for having criticized his suggestion that disinfectant injections could cure Covid-19: "<i>@FoxNews just doesn't get what's happening! They are being fed Democrat talking points, and they play them without hesitation or research. They forgot that Fake News @CNN &amp; MSDNC [MSNBC] wouldn't let @FoxNews participate, even a little bit, in the poor ratings Democrat Debates. ...No respect for the people running @FoxNews. But Fox keeps on plugging to try and become politically correct. They put RINO Paul Ryan on their Board. They hire 'debate questions to Crooked Hillary' fraud @donnabrazile (and others who are even worse). Chris Wallace is nastier to Republicans than even Deface the Nation or Sleepy Eyes [Chuck Todd]. The people who are watching @FoxNews, in record numbers (thank you President Trump), are angry. They want an alternative now. So do I!</i>"<sup>10</sup></p> <p>Offering up additional views on the media, mistaking the Pulitzer prize for the Nobel Prize, and misspelling the Nobel, Mr. Trump tweeted: "<i>When will all of the 'reporters' who have received Noble Prizes for their work on Russia, Russia, Russia, only to have been proven totally wrong (and, in fact, it was the other side who committed the crimes), be turning back their cherished "Nobles" so that they can be given to the REAL REPORTERS &amp; JOURNALISTS who got it right. I can give the Committee a very comprehensive list. When will the Noble Committee DEMAND the Prizes back, especially since they were gotten under fraud? The reporters and Lamestream Media knew the truth all along. Lawsuits should be brought against all, including the Fake News Organizations, to rectify this terrible injustice. For all of the great lawyers out there, do we have any takers? When will the Noble Committee Act? Better be fast!</i>"<sup>11</sup> Following the ridicule that those tweets drew, Mr. Trump first claimed to have been misspelling the word Nobel "sarcastically," then he deleted them. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 9</p>

4-26-20	[Continued.] Mr. Trump also tweeted on April 26 that his political adversaries had made “three failed coup attempts” and were planning to steal the 2020 election from him by exaggerating the coronavirus’s devastation.	1, 7, 9
4-28-20	<b>Oh, all that science stuff ....</b> A New York Times news analysis placed Mr. Trump’s continuing conflicts with his public health officials about the science of treating and limiting the spread of Covid-19 within the context of his overall disrespect for science. The journalists wrote that although he had boasted (without foundation) that he had an innate understanding of science, “a disregard for scientific advice has been a defining characteristic of Mr. Trump’s administration.” They pointed to his previous disparagement of vaccines, his claiming that global warming was a Chinese hoax, and his systematic and sometimes explicit ignoring and silencing of scientific inputs while undoing a wide array of environmental protections. <sup>12</sup> CSD has reported on many of the prior episodes; but like The Times, we see merit in posting a reminder of the pattern.	8
4-30-20	<b>The Secret Service, in his service.</b> The Washington Post reported that the Secret Service had paid Mr. Trump’s Washington hotel \$33,000 to house its agents who were guarding Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin while he lived there after first being appointed in 2017. <sup>13</sup>	15
4-30-20 +	<b>Doing a Ukraine, in the U.S.</b> On April 30, a columnist for The Washington Post assembled recent instances in which <u>Mr. Trump had attempted or threatened to extort personal political favors in exchange for life-saving executive actions</u> – comparable to his having extorted Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky to announce an investigation of Mr. Trump’s electoral opponent Joe Biden in exchange for releasing life-saving military assistance that Congress had already legislated: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Requiring governors to praise Mr, Trump’s coronavirus response as a condition for receiving critical medical equipment.</li> <li>• Requiring states to re-open their economies amid the pandemic as a condition for assisting them financially.</li> <li>• Requiring states to eliminate sanctuary cities protection as a condition for assisting them financially. [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	9, 16

<p>4-30-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Requiring the U.S. Postal Service to raise postage rates on Amazon – a company led by Jeff Bezos, who also owned Mr. Trump’s persistent critic, The Washington Post – as a condition for bailing out the financially distressed service.<sup>14</sup> (On May 6, The Post reported that the Trump administration announced that it would name Louis DeJoy, a top Trump campaign donor with no experience pertinent to USPS, as Postmaster General, and that he was likely to assist in the extortion.<sup>15</sup>)</li> </ul> <p>In similar fashion, on May 20 Mr. Trump threatened via Twitter to “hold up [unspecified] funding” for Michigan and Nevada if their Democratic governors persisted in encouraging mail-in voting. (See also CSD’s May 2 + entry below about election conspiracies.)<sup>16</sup></p>	<p>9, 16</p>
<p>5-2-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Election conspiracy bleeds into Twitter conspiracy.</u></b>  Referring to the primarily (but not exclusively) Democrat-led movement to broaden mail-in voting for the November general election, on May 2 Mr. Trump tweeted, “<u>Don’t allow RIGGED ELECTIONS!</u>” The movement saw mail-in voting as a means to encourage voting in the face of the coronavirus pandemic and the associated regimen of social distancing; but Mr. Trump and his supporters portrayed the movement as a plot by Democrats to enable widespread voter fraud. ABC News reported that social media had become rife with similar disinformation campaigns – and that national security experts feared that Russia and other foreign actors could join in and seek to sow civil pandemonium if and when mail-in voting plans were to advance.<sup>17</sup></p> <p>On May 7, Politico reported that Mr. Trump’s political operation – consisting of the Republican National Committee and the Trump reelection campaign – was spending \$20 million to litigate remote voting initiatives.<sup>18</sup> On May 18, The New York Times reported on the Republican Party’s upcoming massive efforts to suppress, and to challenge as fraudulent, Democratic votes in the November general election.<sup>19</sup> On May 20, as noted in CSD’s April 30 entry above about Ukraine-type extortion, Mr. Trump threatened by Twitter to “hold up [unspecified] funding” for Michigan and Nevada if they persisted in encouraging mail-in voting – which he said again (volubly but without evidence) was a recipe for voter fraud.<sup>20</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>4, 9, 11</p>

<p>5-2-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] On May 25, Politico reported on the growing concern among Democrats and democracy-watchers that Mr. Trump might contest a loss in the November 2020 election on grounds of (non-existent) fraud and provoke a constitutional crisis by refusing to vacate the White House.</u><sup>21</sup>  On May 26, The New York Times reported similarly,<sup>22</sup> as did New York magazine.<sup>23</sup></p> <p>On May 26, increasingly implementing a recent protocol to protect its readers from misinformation, Twitter added fact checks to two of Mr. Trump’s tweets in which he claimed that states’ coronavirus-inspired mail-in voting measures would give rise to massive fraud. He responded by threatening to regulate or even to close Twitter – the very outlet that had propelled and sustained his presidency.<sup>24</sup></p> <p><u>On May 28, with Attorney General William Barr standing in attendance, Mr. Trump followed through by issuing an executive order encouraging the Federal Communications Commission to consider making social media companies liable for postings on their platform, and the Federal Trade Commission to probe the platforms’ alleged anti-conservative bias. Those efforts appeared intended to enable Mr. Trump to censor the social media platforms for his personal political benefit, at the same time as allowing him to continue his own unfettered use of the platforms for distributing his inaccurate, barbarous and incendiary messaging.</u> They also reflected a stark deviation from his anti-regulatory agenda – still seeking to deregulate traditional industries from which he and many of his high-end supporters could prosper, while now seeking to regulate tech giants because they criticized him. The new order also undertook to unilaterally and unconstitutionally un-do statutory protections of tech platforms that had been mandated by Congress years before. Most disturbingly, in the name of “free speech” (Mr. Trump’s), he now sought unconstitutionally to deny Twitter its own right to speak. Critics expressed outrage. Litigation appeared likely.<sup>25</sup></p> <p>(In fairness, presidential candidate Joe Biden had also called for lifting limits on social media’s liability for its content, but for the opposite reason: protecting the public from the false and savage postings of Mr. Trump and others on the far right.<sup>26</sup>)</p>	<p>4, 9, 11</p>

<p>5-6-20</p>	<p><b><u>Paint it black.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump had revived his demand that his border wall be painted black, so as to make it visually imposing and hot to the touch in the desert heat. Military commanders had found the paint job unnecessary and expensive – at least \$500 million up front, and costly to maintain long term.<sup>27</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>5-7-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Barr rescues Flynn; Grenell fingers conspirators; a noose for Obama.</u></b> In a highly unusual and nakedly political move, on May 7 <u>Attorney General William Barr dropped the Justice Department’s case against Michael Flynn</u>, a top figure in Mr. Trump’s 2016 campaign and then briefly Mr. Trump’s national security advisor. Flynn had pleaded guilty to lying to federal investigators about his contacts with the Russian ambassador to the U.S. during the presidential transition period; but due to a series of aggressive post-pleading maneuvers he had not yet been punished.</p> <p>Barr’s move followed Mr. Trump’s long public and private agitation against former Justice Department leadership and in favor of Flynn and other Trump associates who had been DOJ targets. The move was seen as Barr freeing Mr. Trump from the latter’s apparent but politically awkward path toward pardoning Flynn. It also followed Barr’s recent efforts to soften the sentencing of Roger Stone, another felon and top Trump campaign associate (see the February 11, 2020 entry above in this Chronology); Barr’s ongoing campaign to undercut and undo the entire Mueller investigation; and his initial effort to bury the report of the Ukraine whistleblower that ultimately led to Mr. Trump’s impeachment.</p> <p>Commenting on Barr’s intervention, Mr. Trump called the senior FBI and Justice Department officials who had pursued Flynn “human scum.”<sup>28</sup> On May 10, as deaths from the coronavirus pandemic neared 80,000 and administration officials were issuing dire warnings about the economy, Mr. Trump spent most of his Sunday on Twitter – dispatching some 125 tweets and re-tweets, most of which alleged that the Obama administration and the (pre-Barr) Justice Department had tried to frame him in connection with their investigations of Russia’s election interference, and one of which <u>went so far as to accuse President Obama of committing an unspecified crime.</u><sup>29</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (2, 9, 12, 16)</p>

<p>5-7-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Current and former prosecutors found Barr’s latest attack on his own agency – in the service of Mr. Trump’s authoritarian agenda – to be unprecedented, cannibalistic, utterly corrupt, and an assault on the rule of law.</u><sup>30</sup> <u>On May 11, almost 2,000 former Justice Department officials who collectively had served both Republican and Democratic administrations published an open letter calling for Barr to resign and for Congress to censure him – a protest within DOJ the likes of which had never before occurred.</u><sup>31</sup> By May 13, the number of signatories had come to exceed 2,300.<sup>32</sup></p> <p>On May 12, in a parallel assault, Mr. Trump’s acting director of national intelligence Richard Grenell – seen by critics as an unqualified and hyper-partisan sycophant (see above in this Chronology, at February 19 + and February 28) – declassified the names of numerous Obama-era officials who had, in the ordinary course, sought to “unmask” (learn) the identities of Mr. Trump’s associates who were being investigated as security risks. Flynn’s name had then been unmasked. Critics saw Grenell’s purely political and highly unusual move as a new predicate for alleging a conspiracy against Mr. Trump by President Obama and Biden.<sup>33</sup> On May 13, Republican senators publicized the names of those officials who had sought the unmasking. They included such top Obama administration figures as Biden, John Brennan, the C.I.A. director; Samantha Power, the ambassador to the United Nations; James Clapper, the director of national intelligence; James Comey, the F.B.I. director; and Douglas Lute, the American ambassador to NATO.<sup>34</sup></p> <p>Confirming the flowering of the conspiracy theory being advanced by Barr and Grenell, on May 12 Politico reported that Mr. Trump had taken up a new and sensational battle cry – “<i>OBAMAGATE – makes Watergate look small time!</i>” The taunt appeared to refer not just to Barr’s allegations of inappropriate prosecution of Flynn, but to the broader (and vaguer) allegation that President Obama had criminally and methodically sought to undermine the Trump presidency.</p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (2, 9, 12, 16)</p>
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<p>5-7-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] This latest conspiracy theory fit the pattern of Mr. Trump’s prior false allegations about his predecessor: that President Obama had been born in Africa; that he had tapped Mr. Trump’s telephones during the 2016 election campaign; that he had shipped planeloads of cash to Iran; that he had left empty the strategic national stockpile of medical equipment. Politico saw Mr. Trump’s motives as including his attempt to divert the public’s attention from his own disastrous response to the coronavirus pandemic, and his desire to weaken the presidential candidacy of Joe Biden, who had served as President Obama’s vice president and for whom President Obama was expected to campaign.<sup>35</sup></p> <p>The New York Times offered a similar analysis on May 14, reporting that <u>Mr. Trump had quickly convinced his Senate allies to begin an investigation of President Obama. The Times also noted that the White House Facebook page now carried an “Obamagate” video (“an overtly partisan message that would have been seen as crossing a line in past administrations”), and it cited Mr. Trump’s new round of attacks on a recent predecessor as unprecedented in modern times.</u><sup>36</sup></p> <p>For CSD, additional and more visceral motives for the “Obamagate” canard appeared: Mr. Trump’s innate instinct to inflame and to campaign on the basis of racial animus; and his profound jealousy of President Obama. On May 4, CNN commentator Don Lemon had parsed that jealousy by posing to Mr. Trump in absentia these questions, which CSD finds too accurate and too pertinent to Mr. Trump’s anti-democratic behavior for them to be dismissed as mere snarkiness: <i>“What is it about President Obama that really gets under your skin? Is it because he’s smarter than you? Better educated? Made it on his own? Didn’t need Daddy’s help? Wife is more accomplished?... I don’t know, what is it? What is it about him? That he’s a black man that’s accomplished, became president? That he punked you [called you out publicly] on the whole birth certificate thing? What is it about him? Just wondering.”</i><sup>37</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (2, 9, 12, 16)</p>
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<p>5-7-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On May 18, Washington Post columnist Eugene Robinson similarly wrote: “<i>So maybe his Obama obsession is not even tactical, but instead purely personal. Maybe Trump just cannot abide the fact that Obama is a Nobel laureate, respected around the world, while he has had to endure being snickered at by world leaders and portrayed as hapless and ignorant by the “fake news” media he claims to hate yet compulsively devours. Increasingly, his imagined victimizer is Obama himself. Trump even tries to blame Obama for his own administration’s botched response to a disease that did not exist when Obama was in office.</i>”<sup>38</sup></p> <p>As if on cue, on May 16, Mr. Trump tweeted, “<i>The Obama administration is turning out to be one of the most corrupt and incompetent in U.S. history.</i>” Mr. Trump’s Orwellian doublespeak at that moment was seemingly based on President Obama’s attempts to thwart Russian election interference. In fact, the Obama administration had been virtually spotless when it came to corruption. Rather, it was Mr. Trump’s administration that was among the most corrupt and incompetent historically, for over three years embarking on new dimensions of depravity on a nearly daily basis.</p> <p>In any event, on May 14, Politico reported that Mr. Trump, his allies and his family were “exulting” in his Obama/Mueller “revenge play,” retweeting this meme: “<u><i>Hope you had fun investigating me. Now it’s my turn.</i></u>” The journal also reported that, for their respective roles in Mr. Trump’s new movement toward criminally investigating those who had previously investigated him, he and his associates had begun lionizing Grenell as well as Barr.<sup>39</sup></p> <p>(The “unmasking” episode appeared to have been Grenell’s swan song. On May 20, the Senate confirmed John Ratcliffe – one of Mr. Trump’s loudest and most cynical defenders in the House impeachment hearings, who was as unqualified as Grenell – as Grenell’s permanent replacement.<sup>40</sup> See CSD’s entry of February 28 above in this Chronology regarding the Ratcliffe/Grenell lesser-of-evils gambit. Although no Democrats voted to confirm Ratcliffe – the first time in 16 years that a president’s pick for the position had drawn no bipartisan support – Democrats allowed the vote to proceed quickly, in order to unseat Grenell.<sup>41</sup> On May 26, Politico reported that Grenell was taking a position in Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign – a remarkable turn for an immediate past head of national intelligence.<sup>42</sup>) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (2, 9, 12, 16)</p>
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5-7-20 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On May 20, media reported that Mr. Trump and President Obama had reciprocally determined that the latter would not attend the unveiling of his new portrait in the White House – yet another first in many decades.<sup>43</sup></p>	6, 7, 9, 11, 17 (2, 9, 12, 16)
5-12-20 +	<p><b>Scarborough’s crime.</b> On May 12, just after an early morning segment in which MSNBC commentator Joe Scarborough criticized Mr. Trump’s coronavirus response, Mr. Trump baselessly insinuated by Twitter that in 2001 Scarborough, then a Florida congressman, had murdered one of his staffers, a young married woman, after having had an affair with her. Mr. Trump had tweeted the same accusation on May 4, while boasting that he had “dumped” Scarborough after the 2016 election (the reverse was actually true – Scarborough had grown disgusted with Mr. Trump), and gloating that Scarborough’s television ratings were low.<sup>44</sup></p> <p>But Scarborough was not alone in that arena. According to The Washington Post, <u>within a 48-hour period Mr. Trump, by way of Twitter, had accused at least 20 individuals and organizations whom he considered to be his political opponents of crimes – including two television news hosts, a comedian, at least five former officials from the FBI and the Justice Department, the state of California, a broadcast television station, and at least five top national security officials from the Obama administration, not to mention (as CSD reports immediately above) President Obama himself. Mr. Trump had previously, and casually, accused a breathtaking array of other critics of crimes: former FBI director James Comey, former secretary of state John Kerry, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and House Intelligence Committee Chair Adam Schiff – all, seemingly, to distract from his own misdeeds.</u><sup>45</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump continued to accuse Scarborough of murder for weeks afterwards, including at a lectern at the White House on May 26, and by Twitter. The deceased staffer’s still-grieving widower implored Twitter to take down the tweets. The New York Times said that the accusation “once would have been unthinkable for a sitting president,” but was now tolerated by virtually every Republican in Congress.<sup>46</sup></p>	1, 7, 9, 11
5-14-20	<p><b>In bed with himself.</b> The Washington Post reported that, cumulatively, since Mr. Trump’s inauguration, the government had paid at least \$970,000 to his company for hotel rooms for staff and Secret Service.<sup>47</sup></p>	15

<p>5-15-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Inspectors general: two more for the road.</u></b> Late on a Friday evening (and thus out of the media’s glare), May 15, at the request of Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Mr. Trump fired the State Department’s inspector general, Steve Linick. Pompeo’s suspected motives were that Linick was investigating him for his use of government staff to handle his own and his wife’s personal affairs, and for Pompeo’s participation in the sale of arms to Saudi Arabia in 2019 against the will of Congress. It was the third time in six weeks that Mr. Trump had made such a move against inspector general offices on a Friday night. A (Democratic) House investigation quickly ensued.<sup>48</sup></p> <p>Asked why he had fired Linick, Mr. Trump said, “<i>I have the absolute right as president to terminate. But you would have to ask Mike [for the reasoning].</i>” He also said that because Pompeo was so brilliant and important, whether Pompeo had directed a staffer to do his personal chores was a “stupid” issue.<sup>49</sup> But in truth, personal chore directives had often proven in recent years to be “gateway” offenses that presaged or revealed more serious acts of malfeasance – signals that an official believed that he or she was above the law.<sup>50</sup> (Example: Pompeo had already been under scrutiny for mixing political fundraising and networking, at taxpayer expense, with his official duties.<sup>51</sup>)</p> <p>Responding to reporters on May 20, Pompeo refused to answer questions about Linick’s termination, and he claimed, improbably, that he couldn’t have recommended termination based on Linick’s investigations of him because he was unaware of the investigations.<sup>52</sup> (Pompeo had lied to reporters before, feigning ignorance about Mr. Trump’s shake-down call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky. Pompeo later admitted that he had been on that call.<sup>53</sup>)</p> <p>Within a day after firing Linick, Mr. Trump fired Mitch Behm, the Transportation Department’s acting inspector general, who had been investigating whether Elaine Chao, the transportation secretary and wife of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, had given preferential treatment to her home state of Kentucky. (Mr. Trump replaced Behm with Howard Elliott, a freight and rail executive with no investigatory or law enforcement experience.)<sup>54</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 17 (9, 11)</p>

<p>5-15-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Above in this Chronology on April 3 +, CSD had reported on Mr. Trump’s rolling dismissal and disempowerment of inspectors general as retribution for events related to his impeachment. On April 22 + in this Addendum, above, we report another such episode – reflecting retribution for an official in the Health and Human Services inspector general’s office having accurately characterized equipment shortages and testing delays that had hobbled the government’s coronavirus response.</p> <p>But inspectors general are independent watchdogs who are tasked with reporting abuses by agency officials to Congress. Their dismissal for retributive purposes is both corrupt and illegal.<sup>55</sup> Mr. Trump’s retributive actions not only punished existing IGs by removing them but served as warnings for all remaining IGs to toe his political line, and to serve him personally. The New York Times recapped, elaborated and condemned all of this at the link at this end note.<sup>56</sup></p> <p>On May 24, The Washington Post reported that in several instances Mr. Trump had multiplied the impact of his IG removals by replacing those removed with new IGs who had “preposterous” conflicts of interest – for example, serving as IG while continuing to head agency units that they were now tasked with overseeing and investigating.<sup>57</sup></p>	<p>9, 17 (9, 11)</p>
<p>5-16-20</p>	<p><b><u>The boys scrape the bottom.</u></b> Mr. Trump’s son and campaign surrogate Donald Jr. accused his father’s presumptive presidential opponent Joe Biden, only half-jokingly, of being a pedophile.<sup>58</sup> On the same say, Mr. Trump’s other son, Eric, said that Democrats had engineered a coronavirus panic and its associated social distancing measures so as to keep his father from holding campaign rallies – and that after the November 3 election their interest in the pandemic would disappear.<sup>59</sup></p>	<p>17 (7, 8, 9, 11)</p>
<p>5-18-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Disciplining Fox.</u></b> On May 18, Mr. Trump tweeted of Fox News that he was “looking for a new outlet” to serve as his unofficial propaganda arm. He had been provoked most recently by a Fox commentator having blasted him for claiming dangerously to have been taking the anti-malarial drug hydroxychloroquine as a prophylaxis for Covid-19. On May 21, Mr. Trump tweeted that Fox was “doing nothing” to help his re-election.<sup>60</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>5-18-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In truth, Fox remained one of Mr. Trump’s most committed and effective proponents. But for him, anything less than 100% fealty seemed insufficient; he seemed constitutionally incapable of not punching back when criticized, even by friends; and above all, he seemed instinctively to understand that he could keep Fox largely in line by assailing it through his Twitter feed, which was followed by many Fox viewers.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>5-19-20</p>	<p><b><u>A crony builds the wall.</u></b> Media reported that DHS and the Pentagon had secretly awarded a \$1.3 billion contract to Fisher Sand and Gravel Company to build a portion of Mr. Trump’s border wall. That contract followed a \$400 million contract to the same company to build a different portion of the wall. The company had no previous experience with that type of construction. But it had publicized its anti-immigration views; it had publicly lobbied to win the bid by way of appearances on Fox News and elsewhere; it had made substantial political contributions to Mr. Trump’s Republican allies; and Mr. Trump had openly expressed his favoritism toward them. The awarding of the previous contract was under audit by the Pentagon’s inspector general<sup>61</sup> – for whatever that may have been worth, given Mr. Trump’s intimidating behavior toward inspectors general.</p>	<p>16</p>
<p>5-21-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Michigan.</u></b> In a campaign-style event – mounted at taxpayer expense – Mr. Trump toured a Ford Motor Co. plant in Ypsilanti, Michigan that had converted its operations to manufacturing ventilators and other PPE. The tour was intended to tout the promise of economic recovery from the coronavirus pandemic. But in truth it was the latest episode in recent weeks of campaign events masquerading as coronavirus response, all in electoral swing states – Pennsylvania, Arizona and Michigan, with many more planned in those states – where fans waving American flags had lined the streets. In his remarks in Michigan, veering from the economic recovery theme, Mr. Trump boasted about his trade policies and about the construction of his border wall. He encouraged citizens to resist state coronavirus lock-down laws, and to support “[u]nlike many politicians and journalists, ... those who earn a living with their own two hands.” (Mr. Trump is not known to have ever worked with his hands.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 8, 9</p>

<p>5-21-20</p>	<p>[Continued.] The Washington Post wrote of the Michigan event: “Trump and Pence have been able to resume their travel schedules with the aid of rapid coronavirus tests that are administered to all who come in close contact with them. Biden and his surrogates, including former president Barack Obama, do not have access to enough of those tests to ensure they and others are protected.”<sup>62</sup> Mr. Trump himself did most of the tour without wearing a face mask – in defiance of social distancing guidelines, of company rules, and of the (Democratic) governor’s social distancing orders.<sup>63</sup></p> <p>Also in his remarks at the plant, incidentally but pointedly and repeatedly, Mr. Trump praised company founder Henry Ford’s “good bloodlines” – either in woeful ignorance of Ford’s notorious, genetically-grounded, anti-Semitic, pro-Hitler tracts of the 1920s, or deliberately pandering to those in his base who held similar views.<sup>64</sup></p>	<p>6, 8, 9</p>
<p>5-21-20</p>	<p><b>Closing the open skies.</b> Mr. Trump announced that he would withdraw from the Open Skies Treaty, which allows countries (including the U.S. and Russia) to fly over the territory of others in order to monitor whether the latter are preparing for military action. Mainstream journalists registered mixed reactions; but the episode was concerning, in that this was the third major arms control treaty that Mr. Trump had renounced.<sup>65</sup></p>	<p>14</p>
<p>5-24-20</p>	<p><b>Memorials.</b> During the two days before Memorial Day, rather than remembering the war dead or acknowledging the rising death toll from the coronavirus – now nearing 100,000, a figure he had previously said would never materialize – Mr. Trump:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mocked House Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s looks and falsely accused her of being an alcoholic.</li> <li>• Yet again baselessly accused his television critic Joe Scarborough of having murdered an employee two decades before.</li> <li>• Fat-shamed a prominent female African American political figure (forgetting to look in the mirror).</li> </ul> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>11</p>

<p>5-24-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Played golf at his Virginia club without a mask or social distancing – that is, implicitly encouraging other citizens to do so and encouraging governors to allow recreational facilities to re-open regardless of health risks; and incidentally continuing to eclipse President Obama’s golfing frequency, for which Mr. Trump had hounded his predecessor some 27 times.</li> <li>• Falsely tweeted that coronavirus deaths were dropping all over the country.</li> <li>• (Yet again) promoted the use of hydroxychloroquine as a safe and effective coronavirus prophylaxis, contrary to medical findings.</li> <li>• Did not go to church, despite having called for governors to allow churches to re-open.<sup>66</sup></li> </ul>	<p>11</p>
<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Shoot the looters!</u></b> On May 29, <u>Mr. Trump threatened by Twitter to “assume control” and to order the National Guard to shoot looters in Minneapolis, Minnesota.</u> The looters, and far greater numbers of peaceable individuals, were protesting the videotaped murder of George Floyd, an unarmed black man, by a white Minneapolis police officer on May 25. The officer had suffocated Floyd by casually kneeling on his neck for nearly nine minutes, as Floyd had gasped, “<i>I can’t breathe.</i>” “<i>When the looting starts, the shooting starts. Thank you!</i>” Mr. Trump also tweeted. (In response to that tweet, Twitter pursued its incipient policy of tagging Mr. Trump’s most incendiary messages with reader cautions – in this case for “glorifying violence.”)<sup>67</sup></p> <p>The next day, <u>as the protests spread across the country and to the gates of the White House, Mr. Trump invited supporters to engage in a “Make America Great” (Trump campaign) rally at the White House to counter them.</u> He expressed little understanding of the motives behind the protests, instead suggesting that they were the fruit of professional, subversive operators. He seemed to see himself as personally under siege as he defended the country. Boasting with simulated toughness and genuine sadism about the quality of his Secret Service protection – while portraying the Service’s abject loyalty and deference to him, and while channeling racist dog whistles about black protests from decades ago – he tweeted: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] “They let the ‘protesters’ scream &amp; rant as much as they wanted, but whenever someone ... got too frisky or out of line, they would quickly come down on them, hard — didn’t know what hit them. The front line was replaced with fresh agents, like magic. Big crowd, professionally organized, but nobody came close to breaching the fence. If they had they would ... have been greeted with the most vicious dogs, and most ominous weapons, I have ever seen. That’s when people would have been really badly hurt, at least. Many Secret Service agents just waiting for action. ‘We put the young ones on the front line, sir, they love it, and ... good practice.’”<sup>68</sup></u></p> <p>In sum, as images of burning cars and buildings figured in non-stop television coverage, Mr. Trump did not attempt to unite the country or to defuse the tension. Rather, his condemnations continued to be directed mainly toward the rioting, the “Fake News” and Democratic mayors (whom he urged to “get tougher”) – not toward Floyd’s murder, racism or police brutality generally.<sup>69</sup> He did make a brief condolence phone call to Floyd’s brother; but the brother said that Mr. Trump did all the talking and wouldn’t let him speak.<sup>70</sup> (Compare to Floyd’s murderer, who had knelt on his throat and wouldn’t let him breathe.)</p> <p>A New York Times reporter summarized the week’s developments, first about the coronavirus, but as capped by Mr. Trump’s response to the rioting: <i>“With a nation on edge, ravaged by disease, hammered by economic collapse, divided over lockdowns and even face masks and now convulsed once again by race, President Trump’s first instinct has been to look for someone to fight. Over the last week, America reeled from 100,000 pandemic deaths, 40 million people out of work and cities in flames over a brutal police killing of a subdued black man. But Mr. Trump was on the attack against China [for the coronavirus pandemic], the World Health Organization [for the same], Big Tech [for Twitter flagging his tweets as dangerous], former President Barack Obama [for investigating Russian election interference], a cable television host [Joe Scarborough] and the mayor of a riot-torn city [Minneapolis Mayor Jacob Frey]. [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] “While other presidents seek to cool the situation in tinderbox moments like this, Mr. Trump plays with matches. He roars into any melee he finds, encouraging street uprisings against public health measures advanced by his own government [protests against Democratic governors over their coronavirus lockdowns], hurling made-up murder charges against a critic [Joe Scarborough], accusing his predecessor [President Obama] of unspecified crimes, vowing to crack down on a social media company that angered him [Twitter] and then seemingly threatening to meet violence with violence in Minneapolis.”<sup>71</sup></i></p> <p><u>On May 31, while local officials around the country were attempting to engage constructively with protesters and other citizens – sometimes in the street – Mr. Trump stayed in the White House and tweeted angrily and helplessly about Democratic mayors, the mainstream media and Joe Biden. Through Twitter he also blamed and scapegoated the anarchist-aping movement known as “antifa” for the protests, broadly associating it and the looters with the far more numerous peaceful protesters who had assembled spontaneously and who had had nothing to do with either antifa or the looting. He threatened to designate antifa as a domestic terror organization, even though antifa is not an organization; no such designation existed under U.S. law; the extent of antifa’s role in the looting was unknown; and Mr. Trump had repeatedly refused to characterize far right-wing groups as domestic terrorists. Then, at the urging of the Secret Service, he hid in a bunker beneath the White House. According to The Post, Mr. Trump declined to address the nation about the civil disturbances because he and his advisors realized that he had nothing to say – that he lacked the insight or moral authority to soothe or inspire the country under the fraught circumstances.<sup>72</sup> The Post’s editorial board wrote that any healing message “will not come from a White House that has used racial hatred as a wedge and repeatedly made clear its contempt for urban America.”<sup>73</sup> <i>[Continued below.]</i></u></p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On June 1, shortly after speaking with Russian President Vladimir Putin – and possibly inspired or fortified by Putin – Mr. Trump held a conference call with the nation’s governors, during which he berated them as being “weak” in the face of the civil disturbances, and said that if they didn’t forcibly take back the streets they would look like “fools.” “<i>You have to dominate,</i>” he said.<sup>74</sup> Defense Secretary Mark Esper similarly urged states to “dominate the battle space” – referring to a battle against American citizens.<sup>75</sup> Mr. Trump and Esper, of course, had no experience with either policing or community relations; and whether Mr. Trump was being advised in those areas (other than by Putin) wasn’t reported.</p> <p>On the same call, Mr. Trump said, “<i>What happened in the state of Minnesota [the looting] .... They were a laughing stock all over the world. I’ve never seen anything like it, and the whole world was laughing.</i>”<sup>76</sup> Mr. Trump’s obsessive fear of being laughed at, and his standing as one of the most internationally mocked American presidents in history, have been well documented.<sup>77</sup> (See also CSD’s entry of May 7 + above in this Addendum touching on that topic.) But rather than the civil disturbances, it was Floyd’s murder, America’s troubled racial history and Mr. Trump’s mishandling of the new crisis that seemed to be spurring the world’s mockery and outrage. It was those themes that were sparking anti-racism protests in London, Berlin, Amsterdam, Auckland, Paris, Vancouver, Toronto, Sydney, and across Latin America and the Middle East, and that were drawing the ridicule and condemnation of America’s enemies and frenemies – including in China, Iran, Russia and Turkey.<sup>78</sup> U.S. diplomats around the world were reportedly chagrined, and they now felt stymied in defending America or in criticizing others’ human rights abuses abroad.<sup>79</sup></p> <p>Later that day, Mr. Trump announced in the Rose Garden, Nixon-like, that he was the “president of law and order,” and that he was sending “thousands and thousands of heavily armed soldiers, military personnel and law enforcement officers” to stop the violence. He also threatened to send regular federal troops into the states (presumably under the Insurrection Act<sup>80</sup>) if governors didn’t deploy their National Guards. Several Democratic governors soon afterwards said that they would not accept federal troops, charging Mr. Trump with incompetence, inflammatory demagoguery and false bravado.<sup>81</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Shortly after the conference call, Barr ordered that Lafayette Square, a park near the White House where protests are often staged, be cleared. Federal forces wearing gas masks then deployed rubber bullets and chemical irritants comparable to tear gas against peaceful protesters who were assembled there. Reportedly seeking to overcome criticism for his having hidden the day before, Mr. Trump – joined by Barr, Esper, Joint Chiefs Chair Mark Milley (in combat fatigues), Mr. Trump’s chief of staff, his press secretary, his son-in-law Jared Kushner and his daughter Ivanka (in stilettos and carrying a luxury handbag), all of them white people, all protected by a security detail, and none wearing face masks – strode across the now vacant park to an Episcopal church that had sustained minor fire damage during the protests. There, in front of the church, Mr. Trump raised a Bible (upside down) for a photo op. He said nothing – he only posed for the picture. Christian clergy were among those who had been gassed and removed from the scene.<sup>82</sup></u></p> <p><u>For CSD and many others, the episode was the apotheosis of madness, mayhem, repression, deceit, vanity and sacrilege, mounted by one of America’s least righteous men.</u></p> <p>Outrage swelled. The Episcopal bishop told CNN of her disgust: that Mr. Trump had not come to the church to pray, but instead had brutishly cleared the church yard and had used the church and the Bible as props to deliver a roundly un-Christian message of belligerence.<sup>83</sup> The Catholic archbishop also condemned the gassing at the Episcopal church, after Mr. Trump and his wife Melania staged a follow-on photo op at a Catholic shrine on June 2.<sup>84</sup> Former top military commanders objected to the use of the military to repress dissent.<sup>85</sup> The Post’s editorial board recounted Mr. Trump’s long history of encouraging police brutality, with strong racial implications.<sup>86</sup></p> <p>On the evening of June 1, the street protests grew in strength. With a view to intimidating the protesters, the administration ordered military helicopters to hover over a protest site, spewing wind and deafening noise.<sup>87</sup></p> <p>As of the evening of June 2, as protests mounted, some 60 million people were under curfew in 200 cities and 27 states. At least 17,000 National Guard troops had been activated.</p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On June 3, Mr. Trump told Fox News that he had not actually hidden in the bunker as protesters had gathered outside the White House – he had only gone there, with his wife and son, to “inspect” it for the eventuality that they someday might need it.<sup>88</sup> Consistent with its ongoing assumption of the stupidity of the American people, the White House issued several descriptions of and justifications for the events at Lafayette Square, the falsehood of which was equally obvious (“it wasn’t tear gas”; “it was curfew enforcement”; “it was self-defense”). Mr. Trump blamed presidential contender Joe Biden for police brutality.<sup>89</sup></p> <p>Also that day, Esper – who had previously indicated that he had been tricked into accompanying Mr. Trump on the stroll through Lafayette Park – said that Mr. Trump should not deploy federal troops at this time.<sup>90</sup> Shortly afterwards, in an extraordinary event, Esper’s predecessor, Mr. Trump’s former defense secretary James Mattis, accused Mr. Trump in <i>The Atlantic</i> magazine of deliberately dividing the nation. Mattis referred to “the abuse of executive authority that we witnessed in Lafayette Square,” and he accused Mr. Trump of making “a mockery of our Constitution.”<sup>91</sup> Mattis was a retired four-star Marine general whom Mr. Trump had boastfully referred to as “Mad Dog” Mattis when he had brought him into the administration in 2017 as one of “my generals,” but who had quit after Mr. Trump’s hasty withdrawal from Syria in 2019 and the abandonment of America’s allies there. After Mattis’s denunciation of the Lafayette Square raid, Mr. Trump tweeted that he was “the world’s most overrated general,” and that it had been an “honor” to fire him. (In truth Mattis had resigned, without having been asked to do so.)<sup>92</sup></p> <p>The Post reported that, over the past week, all four living ex-presidents had spoken out about systemic racism and injustice, while Mr. Trump was calling for using military force to “dominate” those protesting racism and injustice.<sup>93</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump’s perennially devious press secretary, Kayleigh McEnany, compared Mr. Trump’s photo op at the church to Winston Churchill’s photo ops amid bombed out London. But a CNN commentator drew the contrast: Churchill had been a combat veteran, a prisoner of war, a celebrated author and orator, and a great uniter of his country.<sup>94</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] That evening, hundreds of thousands of protesters – white, black and brown – gathered across the country for a ninth night .<sup>95</sup> In Washington, armed forces from a hodgepodge of federal agencies under the direction of Barr but bearing no identifying insignia – a disturbing indicator of disorganization, secrecy and unaccountability, which prompted a demand for transparency by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi – stared down the protesters there.<sup>96</sup></p> <p>Then and in the days following, police were filmed physically abusing protesters at various venues.<sup>97</sup> At other venues, white and black police officers were filmed kneeling in support of the Black Lives Matters movement<sup>98</sup> – when only a few weeks ago that movement had been considered radical, and mainstream figures had stayed away.<sup>99</sup> CSD believes that not only the murder of George Floyd but also Mr. Trump’s provocations had brought the movement such sudden respectability and popularity.</p> <p>(Also filmed at the various venues were many people wearing face masks to mitigate the spread of the coronavirus pandemic, and many not. Those without masks did not appear to be protesting government-ordered lock-downs or social distancing, as mask-less protesters agitating to re-open the economy had done elsewhere in recent weeks. Other than that distinction, CSD offers no explanation or excuse for the recklessness of the mask-less anti-racism protesters.)</p> <p>On June 4, Mr. Trump publicized a letter written to him by an attorney who had represented him during the investigation of Russia’s election interference, in which the attorney had hysterically and counter-factually written: “<i>The phony protesters near Lafayette park were not peaceful and are not real. They are terrorists using idle hate filled students to burn and destroy.</i>”<sup>100</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Also on June 4, The Post reported that tall black fencing, armed guards, sharpshooters and combat troops had been newly installed at the White House’s perimeter, turning the building into a “fortress.”<sup>101</sup> The Times then reported similarly.<sup>102</sup></p> <p><u>The Post also reported on the growing number of former senior military officials, including three former chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, who had expressed grave concerns about Mr. Trump’s willingness to use the military to repress protesters.</u><sup>103</sup> <u>A fourth Joint Chiefs chair, Colin Powell, joined on June 7.</u><sup>104</sup> <u>The Times reported that some current and former senior officers were speculating that the military might disobey orders in order to protect the country’s democratic institutions.</u><sup>105</sup></p> <p>Freedom House too condemned the militarized response to the protests – the fencing, the appearance of forces in tactical gear, the anonymization of troop identities – comparing it to abuses by foreign dictators.<sup>106</sup> Only two Republican senators, however – Alaska’s Lisa Murkowski and Utah’s Mitt Romney – expressed concerns about Mr. Trump’s abuse of the military; and in response to Murkowski, Mr. Trump vowed to defeat her the next time she ran for reelection.<sup>107</sup></p> <p>On June 5, a university in Kansas canceled Ivanka Trump’s address at its upcoming virtual graduation ceremony – for unspecified reasons, but seemingly related to her participation in the Lafayette Square photo op, which she had reportedly helped conceive. Notwithstanding the photo op having followed the gassing of peaceful protesters, she complained on Twitter that the university had violated her freedom of speech.<sup>108</sup></p> <p>On June 5, after the Bureau of Labor Statistics announced better than expected unemployment figures, Mr. Trump held a triumphant press conference in which he claimed that the U.S. was “largely through” the coronavirus pandemic and that he had vanquished racial inequality. Specifically, he said that the jobs figures were a “tremendous tribute to equality.” He said, “<i>Hopefully, George [Floyd] is looking down right now, and saying, ‘This is a great thing that’s happening for our country.’ This is a great day for him. ... this is a great, great day in terms of equality.</i>” [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] In those remarks, Mr. Trump did not reveal that the BLS had acknowledged that the new unemployment rate was substantially understated due to an error in its data collection (possibly he didn't know). He did not acknowledge that he had routinely dismissed the accuracy of the BLS's unemployment figures when they had made him look bad or President Obama good. He did not acknowledge that even the figures as reported remained abysmal, the worst since the Great Depression. He denied that the country was in recession. He did not reveal that, during the reporting period, black unemployment had risen while white unemployment had decreased. He did not indicate how unemployment numbers bore in any way on police brutality toward people of color. He did not mention that 20,000 new coronavirus infections were being reported every day and at increased rates in many parts of the country. And he said that wearing face masks was optional.<sup>109</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump also did not entertain reporters' questions at the event; and his staff crammed the reporters' seats together for a better photographic angle but in pointed and flagrant contravention of social distancing guidelines. The White House Correspondents' Association complained that its members had been used as props for his demagoguery<sup>110</sup> (just as Mr. Trump had used a church and a Bible as props in Lafayette Square only days earlier).</p> <p>At the event, Mr. Trump preposterously boasted, "<i>Nobody's ever done for the black community what President Trump has done.</i>"<sup>111</sup></p> <p>During a bill-signing ceremony immediately after his remarks, Mr. Trump was asked how he planned to combat systemic racism. He responded incoherently, delusionally, cynically, or all of the above: "<i>What's happened to our country and what you now see, it's been happening, is the greatest thing that can happen for race relations, for the African American community, for the Asian American [community], for the Hispanic American community, for women, for everything. Because our country is so strong. And that's what my plan is.</i>"<sup>112</sup></p> <p>Hours later, Mr. Trump retweeted a video in which a speaker trashed George Floyd for his criminal record and heatedly objected to his being viewed sympathetically, as a martyr.<sup>113</sup></p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Like Esper running for cover, on June 5 Barr claimed that he had not ordered the clearing of Lafayette Square.<sup>114</sup> On June 7, Barr admitted that he had ordered that the area in front of the White House be cleared, but he claimed that he didn't know then that Mr. Trump would be headed for the park.<sup>115</sup> For CSD, Barr's fitful and defensive story appeared to lack both candor and backbone, as had his previous protestation of his independence from Mr. Trump when urging that Roger Stone's sentence be shortened (see CSD's entry of February 11 + in this Chronology).</p> <p>Also on June 5, Esper and Milley refused to appear publicly before the House Armed Services Committee to testify about the use of the military to respond to protests throughout the country.<sup>116</sup></p> <p>On Saturday, June 6, tens (or possibly hundreds) of thousands of people protesting the murder of George Floyd, and protesting racism and police violence in the U.S., marched, largely peacefully, in cities across the country and around the world. For many or most marchers, their participation also appeared to be an act of defiance of Mr. Trump. Geographically, it was one of the broadest political demonstrations in history.<sup>117</sup></p> <p>On June 7, in a CBS News interview, Barr said that the Lafayette Square protesters had been violent before he had ordered the park to be cleared. That was contradicted in a multitude of accounts by news reporters and National Guardsmen who had been present. Barr also denied that the protesters had been gassed, contrary to all other credible reports.<sup>118</sup></p> <p>On June 8, Barr confirmed to CBS News that Mr. Trump had hidden in a bunker during a protest – rather than having merely “inspected” the bunker, as Mr. Trump had claimed.<sup>119</sup></p> <p>Also on June 8, Mr. Trump hosted a meeting of law enforcement officials, praised their collective character, and expressed solidarity with them. But he had not yet met with African American or protest leaders; rather, whether strategically or viscerally, he continued to be all on one side of the matter.<sup>120</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On June 9, Mr. Trump tweeted that an act of police violence that had seriously injured an elderly protester in Buffalo, New York – as captured on video and widely circulated – could have been a set-up by the protester and antifa. Mr. Trump appeared to have been informed on the alleged conspiracy by far right media, rather than by law enforcement officials or any federal fact-finding. The Post’s critique of the claim found it “deranged.”<sup>121</sup> The Times portrayed the man as a gentle and earnest soul.<sup>122</sup> CSD and many others found Mr. Trump’s opportunistic demagoguery to be both outrageous and typical.<sup>123</sup></p> <p>Also on June 9, Politico reported that many National Guardsmen had felt that their deployment at the protests, including at Lafayette Square, had amounted to a politically driven abuse of their mission; some were deeply troubled to find themselves facing off against protesters, as many in the Guard had experienced during Vietnam War demonstrations; and some felt that their mission was (or should have been) to protect the protesters from the police.<sup>124</sup></p> <p>On June 10, after Esper (the Secretary of Defense) and Ryan McCarthy (Secretary of the Army), in response to the continuing anti-racism protests, expressed a willingness to rename military bases honoring confederate generals, Mr. Trump said that he would not even consider it.<sup>125</sup></p> <p>On June 11, Mr. Trump boastfully and sadistically claimed on Twitter that the National Guard, the DC police and the Secret Service had easily manhandled “protesters, agitators, anarchists (ANTIFA) and others” near the White House. With horrific ignorance, he referred to the Secret Service as the “S.S.” – the acronym for Adolf Hitler’s notorious, genocidal military unit.<sup>126</sup></p> <p>As if in rebuttal to Mr. Trump’s armchair military braggadocio, on the same day the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Mark Milley, publicly apologized for having appeared alongside Mr. Trump at the Lafayette Square photo op. He called it “a mistake I have learned from,” and he said, “<i>I should not have been there. My presence in that moment, and in that environment, created the perception of the military involved in domestic politics.</i>”<sup>127</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1,3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>5-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On June 12, after long claiming to be a more popular president than Abraham Lincoln had been, and after largely ignoring the legitimacy of black grievances amid the still boiling protests in American cities, Mr. Trump now suggested that he had done more for African Americans than Lincoln had. He told Fox News: “<i>So, I think I’ve done more for the Black community than any other president, and let’s take a pass on Abraham Lincoln, cause he did good, although it’s always questionable.</i>”<sup>128</sup> Only two days earlier, a columnist for the Post had assembled, to refresh the country’s memory, an entire piece consisting of a string of Mr. Trump’s bigoted, condescending and racist remarks about blacks.<sup>129</sup></p>	<p>1,3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>5-30-20</p>	<p><b><u>Welcome, Russia! (again).</u></b> After German Chancellor Angela Merkel declined to attend an upcoming G-7 conference in Washington, on May 30 Mr. Trump postponed the event until the fall. Merkel had purportedly canceled due to coronavirus risks. But in reality, as was widely reported, she had canceled due to policy disagreements with Mr. Trump. In announcing the postponement, Mr. Trump again proposed to invite Russia – which had been kicked out of the G-8 in 2014 after having invaded and annexed Crimea. Media reported that the collapse of the G-7 conference evidenced ever further mistrust of and disdain toward Mr. Trump on the part of foreign allies and enemies alike, and his ever greater isolation.<sup>130</sup> On June 1, by telephone, Mr. Trump nevertheless invited Russian President Vladimir Putin to attend a rescheduled conference.<sup>131</sup></p>	<p>12, 13, 14</p>
<p>6-1-20</p>	<p><b><u>The Fact Checker.</u></b> The Washington Post’s Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made 19,217 false or misleading claims during his presidency, averaging almost 16 claims per day, and 22 claims per day in each of 2019 and 2020.<sup>132</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>6-3-20</p>	<p><b><u>Fly-overs.</u></b> Politico reported that the White House was planning military fly-overs at Mt. Rushmore and Washington, DC to celebrate Independence Day on July 3 and 4. Critics saw the assembling of large public events for the fly-overs as further politicizing the military in the midst of Mr. Trump’s deployment of federal forces to quell street protests against racism and police brutality; as defying social distancing guidelines relative to the coronavirus pandemic; and as wasting millions of dollars that could be better deployed by fighting the pandemic.<sup>133</sup></p>	<p>8, 9, 11</p>

<p>6-5-20</p>	<p><b>By fiat.</b> The Washington Post reported that, beginning two weeks previously, Mr. Trump – on grounds of the economic slowdown spawned by the coronavirus pandemic – had ordered agencies across the government to bypass ordinary rulemaking procedures and to unilaterally rescind, modify or stop enforcing regulations if they burdened the economy. The action affected consumer protection, transportation, banking, environmental, labor, and food and drug regulation. But Mr. Trump had lacked the legal authority to do that – that is, to dispense with standard rule-making procedures, which include the opportunity for the public to examine and submit comments on (and thus, effectively, to contest) proposed rules.<sup>134</sup> In now achieving by fiat deregulatory outcomes that he had long sought before the pandemic struck, Mr. Trump had seized powers that did not belong to him, and – as he had repeatedly done during his presidency – had forced others to bear the costly and draining burden of litigating his extra-legal actions.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>6-8-20</p>	<p><b>A hunting we will go.</b> Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW), a governmental oversight NGO, reported that Mr. Trump’s son and campaign surrogate Donald Trump Jr. had incurred \$77,000 in Secret Service costs on a hunting trip in Mongolia a year previous – not the \$17,000 that the Secret Service had initially revealed. Altogether, the Trump family had taken 12 times as many Secret-Service protected trips as the Obama family had.<sup>135</sup></p>	<p>17 (7, 9; outright graft)</p>
<p>6-10-20</p>	<p><b>Barr’s thuggery.</b> In a disturbing exposé of Attorney General William Barr’s distant history as a sadistic high school bully, a Washington Post columnist recapped his more recent history of <u>ordering the repression of the peaceful protest against racism and police brutality at Lafayette Square, and before that of broadly and single-mindedly enabling Mr. Trump’s authoritarianism.</u> CSD had previously reported most or all of the listed episodes; but we now present the columnist’s summation verbatim:</p> <p><i>“Barr has ... championed the president’s authority to use the military against protesters, even as Pentagon leaders recoiled. He assembled a militia-like force of often-identified federal police in Washington. He blamed antifa for recent ‘domestic terrorism,’ but no new criminal complaint mentions antifa. He claims there is no systemic racism in law enforcement. [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>17 (7, 9)</p>

	<p><i>[Continued.] “That’s consistent with his earlier management of the Justice Department as a thugocracy: mischaracterizing the Mueller report; alleging the Obama administration ‘spied’ on the Trump campaign; naming a special prosecutor to investigate — and deliver an election-season report on — the Russia-probe Barr already declared a ‘travesty’; attempting to indict the official who approved the probe; overruling prosecutors to seek leniency for Trump friend Roger Stone; getting mentioned by Trump as participating in the attempt to get political dirt on Democrats from Ukraine; lending credibility to Rudy Giuliani’s allegations about the Bidens; dropping an investigation into campaign finance allegations against Trump; dropping the election-interference prosecution of a Russian firm; trying to drop the prosecution of former Trump national security adviser Michael Flynn; asserting his sole authority to approve election-related probes; and has just assigned another special prosecutor to fulfill Trump’s wish to probe the Obama administration’s ‘unmasking’ practices. Now Barr is undermining mail-in ballots, threatening the credibility of November’s elections.”</i></p>	
<p>6-11-20</p>	<p><b><u>Sanctions for ICC.</u></b> Mr. Trump signed an order authorizing new economic and visa sanctions against prosecutors and officers of the International Criminal Court, after that body had approved investigations of alleged crimes by U.S. service members and intelligence officers in Afghanistan.<sup>136</sup></p> <p>The ICC is intended as a court of last resort, that seeks to try war crimes if the accused’s country of citizenship declines to do so. As reported above in this Chronology, Mr. Trump had already granted clemency to accused U.S. war criminals. Under multiple administrations, the U.S. had never agreed to submit to the ICC’s jurisdiction; still, this was a new thumb in the ICC’s eye, by a president who appeared to delight in humiliating and disempowering international institutions.</p>	<p>14</p>

**The Coronavirus Pandemic**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 30)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 15 as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic have moved rapidly. CSD’s observations below that have been recorded as of a given date may have been superseded, or may yet be superseded, on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD’s concerns about the Trump administration’s coronavirus response are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that have recurred, that news media have reported anew, and that, as of the date of this Addendum, have continued to threaten lives – day after day.**

At Mr. Trump’s April 21 news briefing, he said that the U.S. was experiencing one of the lowest coronavirus mortality rates in the world. In truth, the U.S. rate was the 33<sup>rd</sup> highest in the world, out of 134 analyzed by researchers.<sup>137</sup>

On April 22, The Washington Post recapped recent episodes of Mr. Trump’s attempts to make his top public health officials rescind their medical observations that didn’t suit his propaganda. Beginning on April 12, Dr. Anthony Fauci, the director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases and the government’s top epidemiologist, had told CNN that had the government begun its coronavirus mitigation efforts earlier, “*you could have saved lives. Obviously, no one is going to deny that.*” He also said that he had experienced “a lot of pushback about shutting things down back then.” The next day, appearing at Mr. Trump’s daily televised briefing, he attempted to downplay those statements, although without denying their accuracy. On April 21, CDC director Dr. Robert Redfield had been quoted in a Post interview to the effect that a simultaneous flu and coronavirus outbreak in the coming fall and winter “will actually be even more difficult than the one we just went through.” He also had told The Post that calls and protests to “liberate” states from stay-at-home orders – as Mr. Trump himself had tweeted – were “not helpful.” The next day, Mr. Trump tweeted that Redfield had been totally misquoted by the media; and at the daily briefing, Redfield too downplayed but didn’t deny. The Post also noted that during the briefings, in the aggregate, Mr. Trump had spoken four times as long as his two top public health officials, Drs. Fauci and Dr. Deborah Birx, combined.<sup>138</sup>

Similarly, as recorded in the first section of this Addendum, on April 22 media reported that Dr. Rick Bright, a top vaccine expert at the Department of Health and Human Services, had been demoted – according to Dr. Bright, for his having contested Mr. Trump’s promotion of the antimalarial drug hydroxychloroquine as a miracle prophylaxis for Covid-19.<sup>139</sup>

On April 22, in an apparent attempt to keep blood off his hands, Mr. Trump criticized the governor of Georgia’s controversial April 20 order allowing parts of that state’s economy to re-open as “too soon” – even though he and Vice President Mike Pence had been urging governors

to issue just such orders.<sup>140</sup> The plans of other Republican governors to shortly begin opening remained in place, but they reportedly grew confused as to how to stay on Mr. Trump's good side.<sup>141</sup> Within a week, Mr. Trump denied that he had criticized the Georgia governor, and he had become once again a full-throated cheerleader for states choosing to relax social distancing and to open their economies – contrary to federal guidelines that Mr. Trump himself had originally embraced, and contrary to the continuing, expressed views of his top public health officials.<sup>142</sup>

At Mr. Trump's April 23 news conference, he suggested that light therapy and injections of disinfectant might cure the Covid-19 disease. Dr. Birx, seated nearby, appeared to wince. Later that day when a CNN television commentator quizzed another physician who was serving on Mr. Trump's coronavirus task force about the efficacy and safety of those courses of treatment, the physician appeared uncomfortable and declined to respond candidly. Through the following day, criticism of Mr. Trump's suggestions erupted nationwide, as public health officials contended with a flood of telephone calls from individuals asking about the efficacy of those suggestions. The Food and Drug Administration, health officials in several states, and a major disinfectant manufacturer quickly cautioned that disinfectants are toxic and should not be administered internally to treat Covid-19.<sup>143</sup> The FDA also cautioned on April 24 against the use of the anti-malarial drug hydroxychloroquine to treat or prevent Covid-19 – a course that Mr. Trump had been recommending for several weeks – in that it had proven (thus far) to be useless or even harmful if applied to the coronavirus.<sup>144</sup>

On April 23, The New York Times reported on what had come to be Mr. Trump's daily rhythm during the coronavirus crisis: largely isolated, watching hours of television in the morning and evening. The Times wrote: *"The daily White House coronavirus task force briefing is the one portion of the day that Mr. Trump looks forward to .... [H]e views them [the briefings] as prime-time shows that are the best substitute for the rallies he can no longer attend but craves. Mr. Trump rarely attends the task force meetings that precede the briefings, and he typically does not prepare before he steps in front of the cameras. He is often seeing the final version of the day's main talking points that aides have prepared for him for the first time ... . He hastily plows through them, usually in a monotone, in order to get to the question-and-answer bullying session with reporters that he relishes."*<sup>145</sup> On April 26, a Times columnist characterized Mr. Trump's briefings more starkly: *"He'll destroy what he must so long as he gets to rule over the wreckage. ... [W]hat he is: a tone-deaf showman who regards everything, even a mountain of corpses, as a stage."*<sup>146</sup>

Also on April 23, The Times reported that for the first time in nearly a century, the rest of the world was not looking to the U.S. for leadership in a time of global crisis.<sup>147</sup> On April 27, The Post reported similarly.<sup>148</sup>

On April 25, as the Trump administration boycotted a virtual meeting of the World Health Organization in which wealthy nations pledged to share their coronavirus research with poor ones, The Post reported that the administration was actively working to undermine the organization – well beyond Mr. Trump's recent cut-off of funding – as a means for scapegoating it and exonerating Mr. Trump relative to the destruction sown by the pandemic in the U.S.<sup>149</sup> (See CSD's entry of April 14 in the Coronavirus section of Addendum 29.) On May 4, the

administration declined to attend a global fundraising event to develop coronavirus vaccines and treatments for worldwide use. Except for Mr. Trump, all of the leaders of the G7 countries participated.<sup>150</sup> On May 29, Mr. Trump announced that the U.S. would be withdrawing from the WHO – in the middle of the pandemic – with potentially catastrophic health consequences not only for other countries but for the U.S. His rationale, based on no known evidence, was that the WHO had conspired with the Chinese government to mask the initial outbreak of the disease in China. His announcement sparked shock within the U.S. public health community. His authority to unilaterally terminate America’s participation in the organization was also questioned domestically.<sup>151</sup>

Reportedly, Mr. Trump’s political advisors had grown increasingly alarmed at his rambling and incompetent press briefing appearances, and they had advised him to cut back on them. On April 25, Mr. Trump tweeted that he might do that, despite his “record ratings,” because of the hostility and inaccuracy of the “Lamestream Media” in reporting on the briefings.<sup>152</sup> And on that day, for the first time in weeks, he forewent the daily briefing.

An April 26 analysis by The Post revealed that in his 35 televised coronavirus briefings to that point, Mr. Trump had spoken for more than 28 hours, seizing 60% of the speakers’ total time; also that, in the past three weeks alone, he had spoken for 13 hours, during which he had spent two hours attacking his adversaries and 45 minutes praising himself and his administration, but only 4-1/2 minutes expressing empathy for the victims of the pandemic. In a quarter of his presentations, he had made false or misleading statements.<sup>153</sup>

Similarly, an April 26 analysis by The Times of the 260,000 words that Mr. Trump had spoken during his coronavirus press briefings demonstrated *“striking patterns and repetitions in the messages he has conveyed, revealing a display of presidential hubris and self-pity unlike anything historians say they have seen before. By far the most recurring utterances ... are self-congratulations, roughly 600 of them, which are often predicated on exaggerations and [at least 130] falsehoods. ... While other presidents treated moments of crisis as an opportunity to bring the nation together, Mr. Trump, bereft of his signature campaign rallies, has used the evening television appearances as a branding exercise to promote himself. ... He has regularly used hyperbole to try to cast his leadership as historic in scope, even placing himself in the pantheon of presidents like Lincoln and Roosevelt who led the nation through some of its darkest moments. ... And he has mentioned the coronavirus’s staggering toll — nearly 50,000 Americans dead as of April 26, and hundreds of thousands of others sick — only fleetingly. ... Viewed simply as a pattern of Mr. Trump’s speech, the self-aggrandizement is singular for an American leader. But his approach is even more extraordinary because he is taking credit and demanding affirmation while he asks people to look beyond themselves and bear considerable hardship to help slow the spread of the virus.”* After weeks of apparent empathy deficit, the report continued, Mr. Trump at last, in his prepared remarks, had begun to praise health care workers and the American spirit of resilience. *“But his laments about the virus’s economic toll — the damage it has caused ‘probably the best economy in the history of the world’ — are far more common than remarks about the human toll.”*<sup>154</sup>

On April 27, The Post reported that U.S. intelligence agencies had issued dire warnings about the coronavirus in more than a dozen classified briefings prepared for Mr. Trump in January and

February, months during which he had continued to downplay the threat. The warnings had included revelations that China was suppressing information about the danger of the virus – revelations that Mr. Trump would later deny having known at the time.<sup>155</sup>

Mr. Trump quickly resumed his press conferences. On April 27 he blamed China for the pandemic, and he characterized his administration’s response as “incredible.” When asked about a recent spike in Americans ingesting disinfectants, he responded, “*I can’t imagine why.*” When asked whether he would take responsibility for that spike, he said he would not.<sup>156</sup>

Also on April 27, Mr. Trump tweeted that he questioned providing federal coronavirus aid to state governments because the states that needed it (he claimed) were primarily led by inept Democratic governors. But a bi-partisan letter from the National Governors Association had expressed the need for federal aid. And a score of individual Republican governors had recently urged increased aid.<sup>157</sup> On April 28, Mr. Trump went further, threatening to cut coronavirus aid to states in which sanctuary cities were located.<sup>158</sup>

On April 28, Vice President Pence toured the Mayo Clinic without wearing a face mask – contrary to hospital rules, and sending a reckless message to the nation’s television viewers.<sup>159</sup> Pence’s wife later denied that he had known about the rules; and a journalist who then contradicted her on Twitter was banned from traveling with him until he apologized.<sup>160</sup> On May 3, Pence acknowledged that he had known the hospital rules and that he should have abided by them.<sup>161</sup>

At his April 28 press briefing, Mr. Trump repeated and amplified his previous falsehoods about the level of testing for the coronavirus that U.S. medical professionals had performed to date and would be able to perform in the immediate future. Among other things, he falsely said that 5 million tests per day could soon be performed.<sup>162</sup> The next day, after a senior health official in his administration said that that was preposterous, Mr. Trump claimed to have never said it.<sup>163</sup>

On April 28 and 29, media reported that recipients of \$1200-per-person stimulus payments, as mandated by the recently enacted, coronavirus driven economic stimulus legislation known as the CARES Act, were receiving campaign-style letters signed by Mr. Trump explaining the payments. The statute indeed required that explanatory letters be sent, but not campaign-style letters, and not under Mr. Trump’s signature.<sup>164</sup> Also on April 29, The Post reported on growing objections to Mr. Trump’s name appearing on the stimulus checks that were being mailed to recipients in hard copy – including on grounds that that extraordinary practice violated the Hatch Act.<sup>165</sup> (The Hatch Act forbids most government staff – including those dispensing checks – from participating in election campaigns. The Trump administration had repeatedly violated the Hatch Act over the last three years, as reported above in this Chronology.)

On April 29, as the U.S. economy shrank by 5% due to state ordered, coronavirus driven shutdowns, U.S. coronavirus cases surpassed 1,000,000 (a third of the world’s total), and U.S. deaths topped 60,000 – more than the Vietnam War’s battlefield deaths – Mr. Trump allowed the CDC’s national social distancing guidelines to expire. He thereby shifted the responsibility for social distancing to governors, and he expressly encouraged states to re-open for business amid the inconsistent national patchwork of decision-making. As he had done some weeks earlier, he

now again expressed confidence that the pandemic would quickly abate, contrary to the views of his public health advisors. He expressed hopes that he would conduct “massive” campaign rallies before long, and without social distancing. He also began running his victory lap: he told a business group, “*We did all the right moves. If we didn’t do what we did, you would have had a million people die, maybe more, maybe two million people die.*” On the same day, his son-in-law Jared Kushner falsely told Fox News, “*We’ve achieved all the different milestones that are needed ... [T]his is a great success story.*”<sup>166</sup>

Much as Mr. Trump had denied the continuing threat of the pandemic and his responsibility for any aspect of the destruction it had wrought, he appeared largely to deny its human dimension. On April 30, a reporter for The Times wrote: “*As the death toll from the coronavirus over eight weeks surpasses the total American military casualties in eight years of major combat in Vietnam, Mr. Trump has led no national mourning. In his daily news conferences, he makes only perfunctory references to those who have died as he stiffly reads opening remarks, exhibiting more emotion when grieving his lost economic record than his lost constituents. Empathy has never been considered one of Mr. Trump’s political assets. He views public displays of sadness as weakness and has made a point of stressing resolve, even at the risk of overlooking the deep pain afflicting so much of the country. His favorite words in his televised appearances of recent weeks are ‘powerful’ and ‘strong.’ He talks of ‘incredible’ days ahead without dwelling on the miserable days of now. He plans fireworks while Americans plan funerals.*” The reporter went on to starkly contrast that performance with the empathy and grief shown by Presidents Lincoln, Roosevelt, Reagan, Clinton, Bush 43 and Obama at times of national tragedy.<sup>167</sup>

At his press conference on April 30, Mr. Trump blamed the Obama administration for the faulty coronavirus test kits that his administration had inherited. But in truth, the test kits had been created only in 2019, under the Trump administration, when the disease had first appeared.<sup>168</sup> Consistent with his growing efforts to scapegoat China for the pandemic and to demand reparation payments, on that day he also claimed that he possessed secret information linking a prominent Chinese laboratory – one that had studied bat-borne diseases – to the origin or escape of the virus, but that he was not allowed to discuss the details. He went so far as to suggest that China might have released the virus intentionally.<sup>169</sup> In CSD’s view, that was a radically irresponsible and demagogic tease, even if true. But Mr. Trump appeared to want to make it true: The Times reported that he was tasking American spies with “proving” Chinese fault.<sup>170</sup>

For the second time, on April 30, armed protesters assembled at Michigan’s capitol building to demand that the state’s economy re-open. As before, Confederate flags appeared, as did Nazi swastikas and nooses. On May 1, Mr. Trump again expressed his support, tweeting that the protesters were “very good people, but they are angry.” On May 3, Dr. Birx expressed to Fox News that she found the absence of social distancing at the protests appalling.<sup>171</sup>

On May 1, the White House confirmed that it would block Dr. Fauci from testifying before the Democratic-controlled House, even while permitting him to testify before the Republican-controlled Senate, as Congress prepared to return to Washington the following week.<sup>172</sup> On May 12, Dr. Fauci did testify before the Senate by remote video from his self-imposed quarantine. As stark evidence of the politicization of science, Democratic senators in the committee room wore face masks, while Republican senators mostly didn’t. Dr. Fauci said that states that were re-



opening too soon would set back the medical and economic recovery of the country, that schools re-opening too soon would pose serious risks to children, and that deaths from the coronavirus were likely being under-counted. He also contradicted Mr. Trump on numerous scientific points. (Dr. Redfield, the CDC's director whom the White House had also blocked from testifying before the House, made similar statements to the Senate.)<sup>173</sup> For Dr. Fauci's statements, Fox News commentators who were allied with Mr. Trump attacked Dr. Fauci mercilessly, calling him "flawed," a "buffoon" and a potential "dictator."<sup>174</sup> For Dr. Fauci's statements about school children in particular, Mr. Trump found them "unacceptable," falsely stating that the disease had had "*very little impact on young people. I think you should absolutely open the schools.*"<sup>175</sup> (In truth, not only were children known to be able to carry the disease and transmit it to adults, but some had indeed become ill; and on May 14 the CDC specifically warned of an extremely dangerous, coronavirus-linked syndrome that was befalling children.<sup>176</sup>) After the hearings, Dr. Fauci was generally sidelined from Mr. Trump's televised coronavirus briefings.

On May 1, Mr. Trump tweeted that CNN and MSNBC were operating as "Chinese puppets" and the "Enemy of the People" – promoting China so that they could do business there, despite its deception about the early spread of the coronavirus within its borders. But in truth, Mr. Trump himself had repeatedly praised China's response to the disease for several months before landing on that country as one of his principal coronavirus scapegoats.<sup>177</sup>

As reported in the first section of this Addendum in the April 22 + entry, on May 1, after business hours on a Friday evening, the White House announced that Mr. Trump would nominate a new inspector general for the Department of Health and Human Services. The appointee would effectively replace Christi Grimm, HHS's deputy inspector general, who in April had angered Mr. Trump by her report about equipment shortages and testing delays at hospitals amid the coronavirus pandemic.<sup>178</sup>

On May 2, a columnist for The Times quoted a journalist who had prominently covered pandemic risks, to the effect that the Trump administration had now silenced the CDC on the topic of the coronavirus. Staff were demoralized, they feared speaking to the press, and their counterparts around the world no longer called them for advice. On May 6, the quoted journalist appeared on MSNBC and repeated the charges.<sup>179</sup> On May 7, the Associated Press reported that the administration had squelched a detailed guide for local government leaders' use in re-opening the economy that the CDC had been on the verge of releasing, telling the CDC that the guide "would never see the light of day."<sup>180</sup> Politico and The Times then substantially confirmed that report.<sup>181</sup> The Associated Press then reported on May 9 that the decision to kill the guide had come from political appointees at the top levels of the White House, not scientific or public health staff.<sup>182</sup> On May 14, the CDC released a greatly shortened guidance – six illustrated, one-page checklists – which, among other things, omitted social distancing guidance for churches, which were institutions that Mr. Trump had long seen as populated with his supporters.<sup>183</sup> On May 23, at the direction of the White House, the CDC took down from the web its cautions that singing in church choirs and sharing wine cups especially threaten the spread of the virus.<sup>184</sup>

On May 3, at a televised town hall about the coronavirus that was conducted by Fox News at the foot of Abraham Lincoln's statue at the Lincoln Memorial, Mr. Trump claimed – off-topic – that he had "done more than any other president in the history of our country." He said that he had

saved the entire airline industry, 30 million jobs and millions of lives by shutting down “the greatest economy that the world has ever seen” (even though, in truth, he had been dragged kicking and screaming into the shut-down – and had never actually ordered it). He berated his predecessors in the presidency as having been “foolish” and “stupid” relative to pandemic preparedness. He also claimed that a coronavirus vaccine would be ready by the end of 2020, and (as often before) that hydroxychloroquine should be used to prevent or treat Covid-19 – even though his top public health officials had denied all of that.<sup>185</sup> However dramatic the setting, and however much Mr. Trump had long sought to compare himself favorably with President Lincoln, the interview was riddled with boasting, self-pity and falsehoods – not a style for which Lincoln was known. The interview also had required a waiver from the Department of the Interior, in that visitors to the memorial were otherwise banned due to the pandemic. In issuing the waiver, David Bernhardt, the ethically challenged Secretary of the Interior, wrote: “*Given the extraordinary crisis that the American people have endured, and the need for the president to exercise a core governmental function to address the nation about an ongoing public-health crisis, I am exercising my authority to facilitate the opportunity for the president to conduct this address within the Lincoln Memorial.*”<sup>186</sup> (CSD struggles with the logic.)

On May 3, responding to a recent call by President George W. Bush for unity in the face of the pandemic, Mr. Trump – who despised the Bush family – complained via Twitter that his predecessor had not spoken up against Mr. Trump’s 2020 impeachment, “the greatest Hoax in American history!”<sup>187</sup> (So much for unity.)

Also on May 3, as part of the Trump administration’s efforts to scapegoat China for the pandemic, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo told Fox News that “enormous evidence” demonstrated and the “best experts” believed that the coronavirus had been invented in a Chinese laboratory – despite statements by U.S. intelligence services to the contrary.<sup>188</sup>

On May 4, CNN sent a cease-and-desist letter to Mr. Trump’s election campaign, objecting to the campaign’s fraudulent abuse of CNN’s footage relative to its covering of the pandemic. Specifically, the campaign had spliced together two CNN segments: an acknowledgement by CNN’s Wolf Blitzer and Dr. Sanjay Gupta that federal social distancing guidelines may have helped save up to two million lives, and an extraneous video depicting Mr. Trump’s China travel ban. But the reference to social distancing was omitted, such that the combined footage appeared to portray Blitzer and Gupta as crediting the China ban for the saving of lives – a claim with which CNN did not agree.<sup>189</sup>

On May 5, Mr. Trump told reporters that Democrats wanted his coronavirus response to fail so that they could win the November elections. He said, “*They, frankly, want our situation to be unsuccessful, which means death, which means death.*”<sup>190</sup>

Also on May 5, Mr. Trump visited a Honeywell plant where face masks were being manufactured. All of the workers wore masks, and a sign said that everyone must wear a mask. Consistent with his practice, Mr. Trump did not wear a mask.<sup>191</sup>

In an ABC News interview on May 5, Mr. Trump (yet again) falsely said that ample testing resources were available to all Americans; he dismissed new projections of coronavirus deaths;

he said (contrary to the views of his public health officials) that the pandemic would pass even if a vaccine was not developed; and he made clear that he was willing to sacrifice American lives to the disease in order to stoke the economy by easing the lock-down.<sup>192</sup> In addition, having previously blamed President Obama for failing to hold sufficient medical safety equipment in the national emergency stockpile (on May 6 he would say it yet again, this time that “the cupboard was bare”), he told ABC that he himself hadn’t restocked over the previous three years because Democrats had distracted him by their various “hoaxes” – Russian election interference, his withholding of military aid for Ukraine, and his impeachment.<sup>193</sup>

On May 5, Mr. Trump and administration officials said that they were planning to wind down Mr. Trump’s coronavirus task force, even though the pandemic was still raging and American deaths continued to soar. Their expressed reasoning: that the task force had largely achieved its mission, and that the pandemic was winding down. The Times, though, saw other motives: the task force’s dysfunction; Mr. Trump’s desire to place more of his coronavirus response in the hands of his son-in-law Jared Kushner and his economic advisors and less in the hands of science experts; and his desire, for electoral purposes, to advance messaging about rebuilding the economy without being hamstrung by contemporaneous, negative news and projections from public health officials.<sup>194</sup> Other observers saw an additional reelection gambit afoot: that Mr. Trump wished to shift responsibility to the country’s state and city governments, so that he could blame them for further catastrophe.<sup>195</sup> CSD, for its part, speculated that the creation and the publicization of the task force had itself initially been a dodge – to deflect blame for the country’s suffering from Mr. Trump to Pence and to other administration officials; that Mr. Trump had first seized the reins of the daily television briefings only serendipitously, and without forethought, when he saw in them an opportunity for a more affirmative media and reelection play; that viewers (particularly swing voters) had now tired of the briefings and of Mr. Trump’s outlandish behavior during them; that his next reelection moves would take some other grotesque turn; and that without the briefings the administration’s public health response would proceed apace, for better or worse, albeit more quietly. Conceivably, some of Mr. Trump’s goals in ending the task force threatened a backlash, because his plan shortly collapsed. On May 6 he announced that the task force would continue to operate – although with an emphasis on economic recovery – because he had received so many phone calls in which he had learned how “popular” the task force was. He said nothing about whether he had found the scientific or policy advice of the task force to be helpful.<sup>196</sup>

The Times reported on May 5 that a volunteer medical procurement squad assembled by Kushner had proven colossally inept and ineffective. Even its networking for effective procurement insights among Republican political allies to whom Kushner had directed the volunteers – at risk of cronyism and other corruption – had proven futile.<sup>197</sup>

At a televised White House event honoring National Nurses Day on May 6, Mr. Trump slammed the president of the American Association of Nurse Practitioners for her on-camera statement that access to PPE was still sporadic. Rather than acknowledging the shortages or sympathizing with practitioners experiencing them, he snapped back, “*Sporadic for you, but not sporadic for a lot of other people.*”<sup>198</sup>

In remarks before reporters, on May 6 Mr. Trump expressed a concern that more testing for the coronavirus would only reveal more infections and therefore increase the dismal numbers. *“In a way, by doing all this testing we make ourselves look bad,”* he said.<sup>199</sup>

Also on May 6, Politico reported that even as Mr. Trump was proclaiming complete success in furnishing health care providers with ventilators, tests kits and masks, his own health and emergency management officials were privately warning that states were still experiencing shortages. And even as he was allowing his national stay-at-home guidelines to expire, top health officials were warning that a high death toll would likely ensue.<sup>200</sup>

On May 7, The Post recapped (as described above in this Addendum) what was becoming a concerted cover-up of the threats to public health that lay in the pandemic. Its reporters wrote: *“[Mr. Trump’s] administration has sidelined or replaced officials not seen as loyal, rebuffed congressional requests for testimony, dismissed jarring statistics and models, praised states for reopening without meeting White House guidelines and, briefly, pushed to disband a task force created to combat the virus and communicate about the public health crisis.”*<sup>201</sup>

On May 8, after meeting for an hour with Republican governors – during which time no one wore a mask or practiced social distancing – Mr. Trump again told reporters that the coronavirus could disappear even without the development of a vaccine, and that testing wasn’t necessary – contrary to the views of seemingly all credible public health officials.<sup>202</sup>

On May 9, The Times reported that in forming his views questioning the lethality of the coronavirus, Mr. Trump was not relying on the advice of scientists, but was instead directly feeding on anti-science conspiracy theories that were being advanced by climate science deniers, anti-vaccine extremists, QAnon activists, talk show hosts, and other right-wing agitators.<sup>203</sup>

On May 9, after two White House staff members tested positive for Covid-19, three leading members of the coronavirus task force voluntarily entered self-quarantine: infectious disease head Dr. Fauci, CDC head Dr. Redfield, and FDA head Stephen Hahn. Mr. Trump nevertheless conducted a meeting with top generals, at which no one wore a face mask.<sup>204</sup> For his part, Pence directed food company executives to remove their masks at a meeting with him.<sup>205</sup> But in recent days the White House had indeed ramped up testing for the officials who worked there, even while denying that Americans across the country needed large scale testing.<sup>206</sup>

On May 10, Mr. Trump cheerily tweeted to his tens of millions of followers that his Los Angeles golf club was reopening for business – thus at once dishonoring the (by then) nearly 80,000 coronavirus deaths in the U.S., effectively diminishing his own advisors’ calls for social distancing, and shamelessly using his presidency to promote his private business interests.<sup>207</sup>

At his May 11 coronavirus news conference, Mr. Trump spoke before a stand of four closely grouped American flags and a pair of posters that read, *“America Leads the World in Testing.”* He proceeded to boast at length about what he claimed was his administration’s exceptional response to the pandemic, particularly with regard to the deployment of testing equipment and tests. He went so far as to falsely declare victory in achieving his nationwide testing goals, and he repeated yet again his false statement that anyone who wanted to be tested for the coronavirus

could be tested. While making much of the high volume of testing here, he continued to ignore the facts that many countries had substantially higher rates of testing per capita, that his delay in rolling out testing had likely contributed to the massive death toll here, and that public health experts widely insisted that far more testing was needed before economies could safely open. He questionably boasted that, in his coronavirus response, he had achieved the country's best federal-state cooperation in a long time. He falsely said that coronavirus cases were declining across the country (in nine states they were increasing). While acknowledging that he had ordered White House staff to wear face masks and praising the volume of testing he claimed to have achieved, he expressly equivocated about the value of both of those measures. (He himself continued not to wear a mask.) He projected a record-breaking economy in 2021; and in that regard he characterized the coming months as "a transition to greatness," while warning that if Democrats were to regain power in the November elections they would "mess it up" by "doubling, tripling, quadrupling taxes." Also in campaign style, and having nothing to do with the pandemic, he boasted about his progress in constructing his Mexican border wall, limiting undocumented immigration, and bolstering the country's military forces. He faulted previous presidents for having allowed China to take advantage of the U.S. For good measure, he repeated his Twitter allegation of the previous day that President Obama had committed an unspecified but horrific crime – seemingly involving the latter's initiation of an investigation of Russia's attempts to influence the 2016 election. Ultimately, Mr. Trump stormed out of the press session when challenged by a pair of female reporters with respect to his coronavirus response.<sup>208</sup>

As several Pennsylvania counties threatened to disobey Governor Tom Wolf's order to remain closed, Mr. Trump encouraged their revolt, even though he had repeatedly and expressly insisted that governors make such decisions for their states. On May 11 he tweeted, "The great people of Pennsylvania want their freedom now, and they are fully aware of what that entails." In a similar vein, on May 12 members of an armed militia stood outside a barbershop in Michigan that had re-opened contrary to that state's shut-down order, with a view to confronting any police that might have arrived to enforce the order. They were wearing Trump sweatshirts and Trump cowboy hats and waving Trump flags.<sup>209</sup> On May 13, The Times reported that similar episodes of armed vigilantes protecting businesses that were opening illegally had occurred across Texas.<sup>210</sup> On May 14, some protesters at Michigan's capitol carried guns, one had an ax, and one held a figure of the (Democratic) governor dangling from a noose. On May 14, at a protest in Commack (Long Island), New York, amid the Trump campaign banners and the mask-less protesters was a sign that read, "Hang Fauci. Hang [Bill] Gates. Open all our states."<sup>211</sup> On May 15, a Michigan resident threatened to kill the governor for her shut-down orders. On May 16, reacting to a viral video of the Long Island episode in which protesters were filmed insulting and bullying a reporter, Mr. Trump called the video "fake news"; but the next day he said that the protesters were "great people," and he said of the video's popularity that "People can't get enough of this."<sup>212</sup> On May 25, an anti-lockdown protester in Kentucky hung the Democratic governor in effigy from a tree outside the state capitol, with a sign that read "Sic semper tyrannis" – the imprecation that John Wilkes Booth had shouted while leaping to the stage in Ford's Theater after fatally shooting President Lincoln.<sup>213</sup> On May 27, Mr. Trump tweeted a "thank you" to a group of New Mexico protesters who had urged defiance of their state's lockdown law, and whose leader had said that "the only good Democrat is a dead Democrat" and who had otherwise threatened violent civil insurrection.<sup>214</sup>

On May 14, Mr. Trump appeared at a face mask manufacturing company in Allentown, Pennsylvania and conducted a press event there, with a campaign-style ambience. While company executives wore face masks, he did not. He also complained that testing for the coronavirus was “overrated,” and that calls for greater testing, which were being advanced by the medical community, Democrats and governors, were motivated by a desire to discredit him. (A strict testing regime nevertheless had recently been imposed at the White House, due to the acknowledged need to protect staff members there.) He said that the high incidence of known infections in the U.S. was attributable to a high testing rate, implying that it could be fairer to himself politically if the number of infections wasn’t known. (In truth the testing rate per capita in the U.S. remained lower than several or many other countries.)<sup>215</sup>

Also on May 14, Dr. Rick Bright, the demoted HHS vaccine researcher and whistleblower, testified before a House Energy and Commerce subcommittee. He said that because of the Trump administration’s inaction in the face of the pandemic “lives were lost”; that healthcare workers still lacked adequate protective equipment; and that the administration had improperly and dangerously pushed to flood the market with hydroxychloroquine as an off-label treatment or prophylaxis for the disease.<sup>216</sup>

On May 15, Mr. Trump lauded the effectiveness of a new, rapid-results coronavirus test that was being administered to White House staff and visitors – even after the FDA had reported that its reliability was highly questionable.<sup>217</sup> He also repeated his fallacious assertion that the pandemic could disappear even without a vaccine.<sup>218</sup>

On May 18, Mr. Trump announced cavalierly that for over a week he had been taking the antimalarial drug hydroxychloroquine as prophylaxis for the virus – a course of action contrary to the FDA’s public advice and the cautions of many prominent public health officials.<sup>219</sup> His announcement drew widespread criticism, including from a Fox News commentator, which prompted him to tweet about Fox, “*Looking for a new outlet!*” (by which he presumably meant a more slavishly loyal propaganda arm for his presidency). The next day he defended his taking of the drug, claiming that a Department of Veterans Affairs report that had showed grim results for the drug’s use was “false” and a “Trump enemy statement” designed to foil him.<sup>220</sup> On May 21, The Times recapped and refuted in depth Mr. Trump’s mischaracterization of the Veterans Affairs study; his recent, erroneous claim that large numbers of front line health workers were taking the drug; and his recent denial of the FDA’s warning about use of the drug.<sup>221</sup> On May 22, media reported yet another study demonstrating the mortal dangers of administering hydroxychloroquine to Covid-19 patients.<sup>222</sup>

On May 19, Mr. Trump actually boasted about the U.S. having the world’s largest number of coronavirus cases. He said, “*When we have a lot of cases, I don’t look at that as a bad thing. I look at that in a certain respect as being a good thing because it means our testing is much better. So, if we were testing a million people instead of 14 million people, we would have far fewer cases, right? So, I view it as a badge of honor. Really, it’s a badge of honor. It’s a great tribute to the testing and a lot of the work that the professionals have done.*” Of course, Mr. Trump had slow-walked the testing roll-out; and the U.S. ranked 38<sup>th</sup> in the world’s level of testing per capita.<sup>223</sup>

On May 20, The Post reported that two-thirds of front-line coronavirus healthcare workers said that they still lacked sufficient face masks.<sup>224</sup>

On May 21, as reported above in the first section of this Addendum, Mr. Trump toured the Ford Motor Co. plant in Ypsilanti, Michigan without wearing a face mask – in defiance of company rules and the (Democratic) governor’s social distancing orders.<sup>225</sup> The Post reported: “*The president’s trips [to industrial plants in recent days] ... have taken on clear campaign overtones as he pushes for states to move beyond the pandemic and restart their economies despite continuing public health concerns and the rising death toll. Supporters have lined the streets to greet his motorcade as they hold American flags and Trump campaign signs, disregarding social distancing rules and outnumbering a smaller set of protesters.*”<sup>226</sup>

Although CSD considers hypothetical criticisms and comparative international critiques of the Trump administration’s coronavirus response to be both subjective and premature, we note a March 21 Politico analysis which, with graphics, indicated the U.S. thus far as performing in the lowest quartile of combined economic and public health outcomes among the world’s countries.<sup>227</sup> We also note a recent modeling study released by researchers at Columbia University that was publicized by The Times on May 20, and that indicated that the slow U.S. response had cost tens of thousands of lives.<sup>228</sup> (Mr. Trump countered that “*Columbia is a liberal, disgraceful institution ... playing right to their little group of people that tell them what to do.*”<sup>229</sup>)

On May 22, presumably attempting to impress his supporters within faith communities, Mr. Trump said that if governors wouldn’t allow all places of worship to re-open, he would override them – something he lacked the authority to do. But Dr. Birx, promptly advised that places of worship not reopen; and Mr. Trump’s press secretary acknowledged that any reopening was for governors to decide. (Mr. Trump had spent weeks trying to deflect reopening decisions to the governors; then weeks urging them to reopen; and now, through nearly unbelievable meanness and stupidity, seeking to split Americans’ response to the coronavirus along sectarian lines. Many if not most American clergy nevertheless appeared to have been encouraging social distancing and suspending or otherwise limiting their usual services and rituals.)<sup>230</sup>

On May 28, media reported that the White House would not release its traditional summer economic projections, because they would be alarming, relative to the expected impact of the pandemic. Both liberal and conservative critics objected.<sup>231</sup> CSD too found the withholding of data when politically convenient to be alarming – the sort of thing that occurs in the world’s most repressive societies.

On June 1, Dr. Fauci said that the coronavirus task force was now meeting rarely, and that he himself no longer met often with Mr. Trump. As the country sped toward re-opening at Mr. Trump’s urging, Dr. Fauci also voiced his concerns about widely reported scenes of Americans commingling in public places without regard to social distancing guidelines.<sup>232</sup>

On June 5, at a press conference Mr. Trump had convened to celebrate the release of better than expected unemployment figures in the face of the coronavirus, he falsely claimed that the country was “largely through” the pandemic. Seats for reporters were spaced more closely

together than had been the recent White House practice, in defiance of social distancing guidelines, as though the pandemic had been conquered – even while reported infections and deaths continued to mount daily, and infection rates rose rapidly in many parts of the country.<sup>233</sup>

The Times reported on June 7 that despite the Trump administration (including Secretary of State Mike Pompeo) having boasted about U.S. largesse in delivering emergency coronavirus assistance funding to struggling countries overseas, very little of the congressionally authorized funds had actually been sent.<sup>234</sup>

On June 10, Politico provided an updated overview of some of the more public aspects of the federal coronavirus response, as states barreled toward reopening their economies, and as Mr. Trump seemed bent on ignoring that the pandemic was still raging: daily briefings by the White House task force had been suspended for over a month; the task force now met twice a week rather than daily; Dr. Fauci and other top public health experts were largely silenced from participating in television briefings and congressional hearings; Mr. Trump was preparing to resume his campaign rallies; and he claimed that the virus was nearly vanquished. At the same time, more than 100,000 Americans were contracting the disease every week, and up to 1,000 were dying from it daily.<sup>235</sup>

Media reported on June 11 that the Trump reelection campaign's website promoting Mr. Trump's upcoming rally in Tulsa, Oklahoma – his first since the pandemic had struck deeply in the U.S. – contained a warning that attendees could contract the coronavirus there, as well as a disclaimer (possibly not legally enforceable) that if they did, they couldn't sue the campaign or its affiliates (including, implicitly, Mr. Trump himself). The rally was expected to be packed shoulder to shoulder, but the advertisement mentioned nothing about either social distancing or face masks. One report found the warning and disclaimer to be at odds with Mr. Trump's continuing claims that the pandemic was under control; that is, as though it was under control unless it would cost Mr. Trump money.<sup>236</sup> To CSD, the solicitation appeared to be an invitation to death; and yet another instance of Mr. Trump grasping voraciously, denying all responsibility, and being willing to leave a path of destruction in his wake, blithely.

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/aponline/2020/04/21/business/bc-eu-virus-outbreak-media-freedom.html>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/22/hhs-ousts-vaccine-expert-as-covid-19-threat-grows-201642> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/paloma/daily-202/2020/04/23/daily-202-ousted-vaccine-expert-alleging-retaliation-is-not-the-first-scientist-sidelined-in-trump-era/5ea11bf588e0fa34528d7574/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/powerpost/paloma/daily-202/2020/04/23/daily-202-ousted-vaccine-expert-alleging-retaliation-is-not-the-first-scientist-sidelined-in-trump-era/5ea11bf588e0fa34528d7574/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/23/opinions/trump-nonsensical-ideas-rick-bright-covid-gchitis/index.html> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/24/fda-warns-against-hydroxychloroquine-outside-hospitals-citing-heart-risk-206495> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/04/26/coronavirus-vaccine-gottlieb-bright-209584>



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<sup>3</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/05/05/rick-bright-hydroxychloroquine-whistleblower-complaint/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/05/05/rick-bright-hydroxychloroquine-whistleblower-complaint/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/05/us/politics/rick-bright-coronavirus-whistleblower.html>

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/08/special-counsel-rick-bright-hhs-244993> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/08/us/politics/coronavirus-rick-bright-whistleblower-trump.html>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/01/us/politics/trump-health-department-watchdog.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-replaces-hhs-watchdog-who-found-severe-shortages-at-hospitals-combating-coronavirus/2020/05/02/6e274372-8c87-11ea-ac8a-fe9b8088e101\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-replaces-hhs-watchdog-who-found-severe-shortages-at-hospitals-combating-coronavirus/2020/05/02/6e274372-8c87-11ea-ac8a-fe9b8088e101_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening)

<sup>6</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/trump-immigration-order-faq/2020/04/22/72b500b4-84d0-11ea-ae26-989cfce1c7c7\\_story.html?itid=ap\\_mariasacchetti](https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/trump-immigration-order-faq/2020/04/22/72b500b4-84d0-11ea-ae26-989cfce1c7c7_story.html?itid=ap_mariasacchetti)

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/24/us/politics/coronavirus-trump-immigration-stephen-miller.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/stephen-miller-audio-immigration-coronavirus/2020/04/24/8eaf59ba-8631-11ea-9728-c74380d9d410\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/stephen-miller-audio-immigration-coronavirus/2020/04/24/8eaf59ba-8631-11ea-9728-c74380d9d410_story.html)

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.npr.org/2020/04/30/848702594/army-brass-defend-decision-to-hold-west-point-graduation-with-trump-as-speaker> and <https://www.cnn.com/2020/04/27/opinions/west-point-graduation-trump-covid-19-hertling/index.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/24/us/politics/coronavirus-trump-west-point.html>

<sup>9</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/04/27/trump-twitter-media-coronavirus/>

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.axios.com/trump-fox-news-tweets-oann-733fb51c-59c2-47e9-bf68-ff8e2c39216c.html>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.mediaite.com/trump/trump-mocked-for-tweets-saying-reporters-should-give-back-noble-prizes-over-russia-reporting-wrong-prize/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/04/28/climate/trump-coronavirus-climate-science.html>

<sup>13</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/secret-service-paid-trumps-dc-hotel-more-than-33000-for-lodging-to-guard-treasury-secretary/2020/04/30/cd38e864-8987-11ea-ac8a-fe9b8088e101\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/secret-service-paid-trumps-dc-hotel-more-than-33000-for-lodging-to-guard-treasury-secretary/2020/04/30/cd38e864-8987-11ea-ac8a-fe9b8088e101_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening)

<sup>14</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/were-all-zelensky-now/2020/04/30/bdf814e0-8a60-11ea-ac8a-fe9b8088e101\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/were-all-zelensky-now/2020/04/30/bdf814e0-8a60-11ea-ac8a-fe9b8088e101_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>15</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/top-republican-fundraiser-and-trump-ally-to-be-named-postmaster-general-giving-president-new-influence-over-postal-service-officials-say/2020/05/06/25cde93c-8fd4-11ea-8df0-ee33c3f5b0d6\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/top-republican-fundraiser-and-trump-ally-to-be-named-postmaster-general-giving-president-new-influence-over-postal-service-officials-say/2020/05/06/25cde93c-8fd4-11ea-8df0-ee33c3f5b0d6_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>16</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-threatens-funding-for-michigan-nevada-over-absentee-mail-in-voting-plans/2020/05/20/2f86d078-9aa2-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-threatens-funding-for-michigan-nevada-over-absentee-mail-in-voting-plans/2020/05/20/2f86d078-9aa2-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-state-funding-threat-tweet-michigan-nevada-vote-by-mail\\_n\\_5ec55ee1c5b607118ac323ee](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-state-funding-threat-tweet-michigan-nevada-vote-by-mail_n_5ec55ee1c5b607118ac323ee)

<sup>17</sup> <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/vote-mail-debate-raises-fears-election-disinformation-70512515>

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<sup>18</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/07/top-prosecutor-in-flynn-case-abruptly-withdraws-amid-trump-attacks-243107>

<sup>19</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/18/us/Voting-republicans-trump.html>

<sup>20</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-threatens-funding-for-michigan-nevada-over-absentee-mail-in-voting-plans/2020/05/20/2f86d078-9aa2-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-threatens-funding-for-michigan-nevada-over-absentee-mail-in-voting-plans/2020/05/20/2f86d078-9aa2-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-state-funding-threat-tweet-michigan-nevada-vote-by-mail\\_n\\_5ec55ee1c5b607118ac323ee](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-state-funding-threat-tweet-michigan-nevada-vote-by-mail_n_5ec55ee1c5b607118ac323ee)

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/25/donald-trump-rigged-election-talk-fears-274477?cid=apn>

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/24/us/politics/trump-2020-election-voting-rights.html>

<sup>23</sup> <https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2020/05/trump-is-preparing-to-contest-any-election-loss.html>

<sup>24</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/05/26/trump-twitter-label-fact-check/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/05/26/trump-twitter-label-fact-check/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-threatens-twitter-after-presidential-tweets-get-fact-checked\\_n\\_5ece67cec5b691b74ddc3481](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-threatens-twitter-after-presidential-tweets-get-fact-checked_n_5ece67cec5b691b74ddc3481)

<sup>25</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/05/28/trump-social-media-executive-order/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/05/28/trump-social-media-executive-order/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/28/trump-social-media-executive-order-287834> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-is-all-about-deregulation--except-when-it-comes-to-his-enemies/2020/05/28/dcfb9638-a116-11ea-b5c9-570a91917d8d\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/trump-is-all-about-deregulation--except-when-it-comes-to-his-enemies/2020/05/28/dcfb9638-a116-11ea-b5c9-570a91917d8d_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/05/28/us/politics/trump-jack-dorsey.html>

<sup>26</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/29/trump-biden-tech-legal-protections-289306>

<sup>27</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/top-republican-fundraiser-and-trump-ally-to-be-named-postmaster-general-giving-president-new-influence-over-postal-service-officials-say/2020/05/06/25cde93c-8fd4-11ea-8df0-ee33c3f5b0d6\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/top-republican-fundraiser-and-trump-ally-to-be-named-postmaster-general-giving-president-new-influence-over-postal-service-officials-say/2020/05/06/25cde93c-8fd4-11ea-8df0-ee33c3f5b0d6_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/trump-border-wall-fisher-contract/2020/05/19/d22943f2-99de-11ea-b60c-3be060a4f8e1\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/immigration/trump-border-wall-fisher-contract/2020/05/19/d22943f2-99de-11ea-b60c-3be060a4f8e1_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

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- <sup>224</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/mask-shortage-for-most-health-care-workers-extended-into-may-post-ipsos-poll-shows/2020/05/20/1ddbe588-9a21-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/mask-shortage-for-most-health-care-workers-extended-into-may-post-ipsos-poll-shows/2020/05/20/1ddbe588-9a21-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening)
- <sup>225</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-skips-a-mask-in-public-during-tour-of-michigan-auto-plant-that-requires-them/2020/05/21/6c3563f6-9b77-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-skips-a-mask-in-public-during-tour-of-michigan-auto-plant-that-requires-them/2020/05/21/6c3563f6-9b77-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)
- <sup>226</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-uses-official-travel-for-campaign-style-events-as-seeks-to-move-on-from-pandemic/2020/05/20/a03b4b00-9aac-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-uses-official-travel-for-campaign-style-events-as-seeks-to-move-on-from-pandemic/2020/05/20/a03b4b00-9aac-11ea-ac72-3841fcc9b35f_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)
- <sup>227</sup> <https://www.politico.com/interactives/2020/ranking-countries-coronavirus-impact/>
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- <sup>229</sup> <https://thehill.com/homenews/administration/499385-trump-rips-columbia-as-disgraceful-institution-after-study-showed>
- <sup>230</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/05/22/trumps-politically-transparent-push-reopen-churches/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/05/22/trumps-politically-transparent-push-reopen-churches/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and <https://www.catholicnews.com/services/englishnews/2020/faith-leaders-protecting-human-life-is-priority-in-reopening-churches.cfm> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/trump-is-pushing-churches-to-open-black-pastors-in-covid-hit-st-louis-are-preaching-caution/2020/05/30/80b87338-a1c9-11ea-b5c9-570a91917d8d\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/trump-is-pushing-churches-to-open-black-pastors-in-covid-hit-st-louis-are-preaching-caution/2020/05/30/80b87338-a1c9-11ea-b5c9-570a91917d8d_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/22/birx-trump-reopening-274983>



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<sup>231</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/05/28/white-house-coronavirus-economic-projections/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/05/28/white-house-coronavirus-economic-projections/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening) and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/05/28/white-house-to-skip-economic-forecast-287281>

<sup>232</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anthony-fauci-coronavirus-task-force-meetings-trump\\_n\\_5ed4fd93c5b66d911c47b1e5](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anthony-fauci-coronavirus-task-force-meetings-trump_n_5ed4fd93c5b66d911c47b1e5)

<sup>233</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/06/05/white-house-social-distancing-measures-abandoned-because-it-looks-better-303730> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/amid-reopenings-and-street-protests-coronavirus-transmission-remains-high-in-much-of-the-us/2020/06/05/40c12efe-a670-11ea-bb20-ebf0921f3bbd\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/amid-reopenings-and-street-protests-coronavirus-transmission-remains-high-in-much-of-the-us/2020/06/05/40c12efe-a670-11ea-bb20-ebf0921f3bbd_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/06/05/george-floyd-gets-new-spokesman-donald-trump/>

<sup>234</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/07/us/politics/coronavirus-humanitarian-aid-united-states.html>

<sup>235</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/06/10/white-house-stops-talking-about-coronavirus-309993>

<sup>236</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/06/11/trump-rally-sue-campaign-coronavirus-exposure-314353> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-legal-disclaimer-coronavirus-rally\\_n\\_5ee2bbb6c5b665ef930b06e9](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-legal-disclaimer-coronavirus-rally_n_5ee2bbb6c5b665ef930b06e9)



## **CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

### **SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

#### *Addendum 31 – July 22, 2020*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

The current Addendum appears in two parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p. 41, chronicles events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic.

<u><b>Date</b></u>	<u><b>Episode</b></u>	<u><b>Category</b></u>
6-11-20 +	<p><b><u>George Floyd protests.</u></b> On June 11, as protests sparked by the killing of George Floyd by Minneapolis police continued across the nation for the 17<sup>th</sup> day, Mr. Trump reacted to widespread, bi-partisan calls for police reform by saying that only a very few “bad apples” among the police had been committing acts of brutality. On June 16, he made similar comments when, under pressure, but flanked by a cordon of police officers, he signed an order encouraging (but not requiring) police departments to improve training and bar chokeholds in most circumstances. He also praised the police effusively, and he said that only they stand between America and anarchy. Although some of his statements had merit, in the round they were consistent with his long years of categorical support for the police, and his occasional, explicit encouragement that police brutalize suspects. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11

<p>6-11-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] A New York Times reporter, however, contrasted that outlook with Mr. Trump’s repeated and fervent complaints <i>against</i> law enforcement authorities when the subjects of enforcement proceedings were himself and his associates (such as Roger Stone, Michael Flynn, Carter Page and Paul Manafort). In those cases, he had repeatedly called the authorities such things as “bad people,” “crooked people,” “human scum,” “dishonest slime bags” and “dirty cops.” The reporter also contrasted Mr. Trump’s pro-police outlook to his demand that those who had investigated him – such as James Comey, Andrew McCabe and Peter Strzok – be prosecuted. (See above in this Chronology for details.) The reporter wrote:</p> <p><i>“He has been in the cross hairs of so many investigations over so many accusations over so many years that he has adopted the resentment and persecution complex of a serial defendant. He explains away all of the scrutiny as the nefarious plotting of unscrupulous authorities, whether it be the F.B.I., various federal prosecutors, the New York attorney general, the New York local prosecutor or others.”<sup>1</sup></i></p> <p>In the following days, media increasingly reported on a phenomenon that had recently appeared in connection with the racial justice protests: violent provocations on the part of the far-right movement known as Boogaloo. Mr. Trump and his Attorney General William Barr had been claiming without evidence that the protests were being led in part by the far-left movement known as antifa. And their claims had spurred a growing and delusional hysteria in towns and smaller cities across America about the threat posed by antifa. But no one from antifa had been arrested in connection with the protests or the urban looting. And Mr. Trump and Barr had not acknowledged the violent actions and intentions of the far right, which according to some observers dwarfed those of the far left.<sup>2</sup> After investigation, on June 22 The Post confirmed that although Mr. Trump had by then blamed antifa at least 20 times for protest-related violence, there had still been no protest-related arrests of self-identified antifa adherents, and no other evidence that antifa was involved.<sup>3</sup></p> <p><u>On June 17, Mr. Trump falsely told Fox News that, in response to the protests, presidential contender Joe Biden would abolish police departments nationwide if he were elected.</u><sup>4</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>6-11-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> On June 18, in an online interview with his son and campaign surrogate Donald Jr., <u>Mr. Trump said that if he were to lose his bid for reelection in November, the economy would collapse, law enforcement would disappear, and the “whole country will be Minneapolis” (referring to the brief spate of looting there after the killing of Floyd).</u><sup>5</sup></p> <p>Also on June 18, Mr. Trump tweeted two doctored and highly misleading campaign videos, portraying the news media as exaggerating racism and thus inflaming the current, broad anti-racism movement.<sup>6</sup></p> <p>On June 19, ahead of a June 20 reelection rally in Tulsa, Oklahoma, <u>Mr. Trump tweeted: “Any protesters, anarchists, agitators, looters or lowlifes who are going to Oklahoma please understand, you will not be treated like you have been in New York, Seattle, or Minneapolis. It will be a much different scene!”</u><sup>7</sup> He thus lumped peaceful protesters <u>together with anarchists and looters</u> (as CSD members had recently heard Trump supporters do during several casual conversations in their neighborhoods). Whether in his tweet Mr. Trump was also threatening mass arrests, police brutality or vigilante violence was not clear; but the aroma was. Later in the day he repeated the characterization of the protests to a reporter from Axios, claiming that anarchists, agitators, looters and protesters were “all together.”<sup>8</sup></p> <p>Not incidentally, as media and Black activists had been publicizing, in 1921 Tulsa had seen one of the most violent white attacks on Black citizens in American history, when up to several hundred Blacks were killed and their relatively prosperous community burnt to the ground.<sup>9</sup> Also not incidentally, Mr. Trump’s campaign had belatedly rescheduled the rally from its original date of June 19, or Juneteenth, the date that many Blacks celebrate the anniversary of their final emancipation from slavery in 1865. Mr. Trump had not been aware of Juneteenth, and he had rescheduled the rally only under pressure from the Black community for dishonoring the holiday; but he now claimed to have voluntarily called the holiday to the nation’s attention for the benefit of the Black community.<sup>10</sup></p> <p>CSD’s report on the Tulsa rally itself appears at our June 20 entry, below. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>6-11-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On June 22, Rudy Giuliani, Mr. Trump’s personal attorney, told Fox News that the Black Lives Matter movement – newly empowered and much more popularly accepted since the killing of George Floyd – wanted to “destroy” the U.S. government, “do away with our system of courts” and “take your property away and give it to other people.”<sup>11</sup></p> <p>On June 23, <u>Mr. Trump re-tweeted two videos showing individual Black men assaulting white people, coupled with messages decrying the absence of any ensuing protests. The videos did not depict any obviously protest-related events, or any organized Black violence; they simply depicted Black men as violent, lawless, and a threat to white society; and they implied that protests against violence targeting Blacks was unfair to whites.</u><sup>12</sup></p> <p>Also on June 23, Mr. Trump tweeted that he would order that anyone toppling Confederate (or other historical) statues be tried and sentenced to up to 10 years in prison. The threat was hollow: local police and prosecutors already had the authority to punish vandalism, and Mr. Trump lacked the authority to direct them to do more.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, on June 26, Mr. Trump directed Barr to prioritize the federal prosecution of those who damage federal monuments.<sup>14</sup> (CSD does not defend vandalism; but we find abominable Mr. Trump’s demagoguery in claiming to prioritize this area of law enforcement, as among all the many areas of far more serious criminal activity.)</p> <p>On June 26, The Post reported on Mr. Trump’s one-sided support for the police versus the racial justice protesters during the preceding ten days. The Post summarized recent events as follows:</p> <p><i>“Over the past week, President Trump has signed an executive order to protect public monuments and statues from vandalism. He accused a Black Lives Matter leader of committing ‘treason.’ He threatened a federal crackdown on protesters and vowed ‘retribution’ against vandals, whom he labeled ‘terrorists.’ And he praised a version of New York City’s ‘stop-and-frisk’ policing strategy that was phased out years ago. [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>6-11-20 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] “Since signing an executive action on police changes on June 16 in the Rose Garden, Trump has shifted almost exclusively to ‘law-and-order’ rhetoric — while dropping almost any pretense of personally addressing the widespread public anger over police brutality that has sparked nationwide demonstrations. ...</i></p> <p><i>“Over the past 11 days, Trump has lashed out against demonstrators repeatedly, and he changed a photo on his Twitter profile to one of him posing with 33 uniformed police officers in front of Air Force One. Ahead of a campaign rally in Tulsa last weekend, he suggested in a tweet that ‘Any protesters, anarchists, agitators, looters or lowlifes’ would be treated more strictly in the Republican-led city than in New York, Seattle or Minneapolis, jurisdictions run by Democrats. ...</i></p> <p><i>“And after police thwarted an attempt to topple the statue of Andrew Jackson in Lafayette Square next to the White House last Monday, Trump declared that ‘numerous people are in jail and going to jail today.’ He also said he had authorized 10-year prison terms for “these vandals and these hoodlums and these anarchists and these agitators.”<sup>15</sup></i></p> <p>On July 1, in reaction to an order by the mayor of New York City to paint the slogan “Black Lives Matter” in large yellow letters on Fifth Avenue – in the block that runs past Trump Tower – Mr. Trump called the slogan a “symbol of hate” that would “denigrate this luxury Avenue” and the city police.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>Also on July 1, the FBI reported that gun sales had soared to record levels. <i>“Civil unrest, rioting, looting and calls to defund police are unquestionably motivating factors of why this trend is increasing,”</i> said a gun industry spokesperson.<sup>17</sup></p> <p>On July 5, a Southeastern Pennsylvania newspaper reported that many of the gun buyers in the state feared an invasion of their (often rural) communities by protesters.<sup>18</sup> CSD sees Mr. Trump as having stoked those delusional fears.</p> <p>On July 2, the White House released a promotional video containing the notorious photo of Mr. Trump lifting the Bible before the church in Lafayette Square that had just been forcibly cleared of peaceful protesters.<sup>19</sup> It was a thumb in the eye of the racial justice movement, and of Mr. Trump’s critics generally. It was also a reminder that Mr. Trump would never admit to past error. <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>6-11-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] On July 3 and 4, at events at Mt. Rushmore and the National Mall in Washington, D.C., Mr. Trump launched merciless, demagogic attacks on the racial justice movement – calling it an attempt to destroy America – and he proclaimed his support for the Confederate flag and statues.</u> (For detail on the two events, see CSD’s report of July 3-4, below in this Addendum.)</p> <p>On July 6, Mr. Trump gratuitously tweeted attacks on NASCAR for banning the display of the Confederate flag, on a NASCAR driver for mistakenly claiming that a noose had been placed in his stall to intimidate him, and on sports franchises that – in response to the still avalanching racial justice movement – were considering dropping team names that dishonored Native Americans.<sup>20</sup></p> <p>On July 7, The Times reported that, on 66 occasions since the killing of George Floyd, drivers had plowed their vehicles into protesters.<sup>21</sup></p> <p>On approximately July 16, reports began accumulating of anonymous, armed federal agents – unidentifiable as to either name or federal agency, and often driving unmarked vehicles – abducting and sometimes injuring racial justice protesters in Portland, Oregon. The likely agencies appeared to include Customs and Border Patrol and the U.S. Marshals Service, whose units had not been invited by either the mayor or the governor and instead had been asked to leave. On July 17, Oregon’s Department of Justice sued the federal agencies for civil rights abuses.<sup>22</sup> The Department of Homeland Security on July 20 nevertheless announced that it would shortly be sending federal agents to Chicago; and Mr. Trump threatened to send federal forces to New York, Detroit, Baltimore and Philadelphia as well – all Democratic-controlled cities, and none of them experiencing any sustained civil disorder. He said, <i>“This is worse than anything anyone’s ever seen. And you know what? If Biden got in, that would be true for the country. The whole country would go to hell.”</i><sup>23</sup> Critics widely pointed to the deployment of anonymous and unaccountable security agents as a tactic often used by authoritarian regimes overseas, and they feared a lawless and ruthless federal power play in the cities.<sup>24</sup> CSD saw in the deployments primarily a different abuse – the demagogic grandstanding of a “big man” (Mr. Trump) in an already fraught election year. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>6-11-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On July 17, Defense Secretary Mark Esper – acceding to the demands of U.S. troops and/or much of the country’s general population following the killing of George Floyd – banned the display of the Confederate flag at American military installations. But he took pains not to actually name that flag in his order: instead, he listed flags that <i>could</i> be displayed, rather than ones that couldn’t, and the permitted list didn’t include the Confederate flag. He reportedly took that approach so as to avoid the wrath of Mr. Trump, who had continued to publicly defend the display of the Confederate flag.<sup>25</sup></p> <p>In a Fox News interview on July 19, Mr. Trump reiterated his support for flying the Confederate flag and the naming of U.S. military bases after Confederate figures. “<i>I don’t care what the military says,</i>” he stated. As to the bases, he mockingly asked, “<i>We’re going to name [them] after the Reverend Al Sharpton?</i>”<sup>26</sup></p> <p>The Times reported on July 21 that <u>the Trump campaign was now widely distributing television advertisements featuring exaggerated and incendiary footage of violent episodes associated with the racial justice protests in American cities, and linking those episodes to his electoral opponent Joe Biden.</u><sup>27</sup> Some observers speculated that the violent protests in Portland had actually increased in response to the insertion of federal forces there. Among others,<sup>28</sup> CSD speculated that Mr. Trump had actually hoped for that outcome, and for the opportunity to visually advertise his “law and order” response to it. To be sure, he had rarely before taken actions to benefit American cities.</p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>



<p>6-13-20</p>	<p><b><u>For the cadets.</u></b> Mr. Trump addressed the West Point graduating class, after having controversially ordered the cadets back to campus from coronavirus home leave for the sole purpose of having them listen to him speak before television cameras. The returning cadets had had to endure a 14-day quarantine before the event, and, almost surrealistically, during the ceremony they sat on the parade grounds at a safe distance from one another and with no audience. As they listened (or didn't), Mr. Trump boasted about his military achievements, often falsely. The New York Times described some of his exaggerated claims: the size of his defense budgets, his success in defeating the Islamic State, his withdrawal from foreign wars. He said nothing about the very recent near-rebellion of his top military aides – Defense Secretary Mark Esper and Joint Chiefs of Staff chair Mike Milley – over his attempts to manipulate them and to deploy the military in response to the ongoing racial justice protests.</p> <p>Mr. Trump, as is well-known, had avoided military service in his youth. What the capable young Army officers at West Point made of it all wasn't reported.<sup>29</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>6-14-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The purge: ever deeper, including into the Pentagon.</u></b> On June 14, Axios reported that Johnny McEntee – who had been fired as Mr. Trump's body man because of his gambling debts and then re-hired to direct the Presidential Personnel Office – was ignoring and even defying cabinet-level officials: by unilaterally reaching into their agencies to purge officials who were seen as insufficiently devoted to Mr. Trump, and to replace them with reliable loyalists.<sup>30</sup></p> <p>In the days following, news of actual and anticipated purges at the Pentagon emerged.<sup>31</sup> Elaine McCusker, who had previously questioned the withholding of military aid to Ukraine, and had then been denied an expected promotion to comptroller, now resigned altogether.<sup>32</sup> Kathryn Wheelbarger, who had been in line for a senior promotion in intelligence, was now found by the White House to be insufficiently loyal to Mr. Trump.<sup>33</sup> Lt. Col. Alexander Vindman, who had been a key impeachment witness against Mr. Trump after having participated in Mr. Trump's extortionate phone call with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, now seemed at risk of being passed over for a routine promotion in rank.<sup>34</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (9, 11)</p>

<p>6-14-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Current and former Pentagon officials expressed concern that the purges could operate to cripple institutional memory, leave gaps in crucial staffing, chill independent thinking, dissuade talent from working there, and in general politicize the military.<sup>35</sup> On June 25, The Washington Post and The New York Times both reported on additional purges at the Pentagon, reaching deep into middle management to secure loyalty toward Mr. Trump.<sup>36</sup> On July 17, Politico reported similarly, noting that the new appointments, combined with ongoing vacancies in posts that required congressional assent, had resulted in empowering a cadre of often under-experienced loyalists while skirting congressional scrutiny altogether.<sup>37</sup></p> <p>On July 15, Politico reported, more broadly, that McEntee’s office was now concertedly interrogating hundreds of health officials and other political appointees to determine whether they were sufficiently loyal to Mr. Trump.<sup>38</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 11)</p>
<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Gutting asylum.</u></b> <u>The Department of Homeland Security and the Department of Justice issued a proposed rule which, through dozens of changes in existing law, would materially reduce the availability of asylum in the U.S., including by:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Denying asylum to <i>all</i> migrants who had passed through several countries before arriving here (i.e., not only those passing through third countries and then Mexico, for whom the administration had already barred asylum).</li> <li>• Denying asylum to applicants if they couldn’t prove that persecutory laws and policies in their home countries would be applied to them personally (e.g., they could now have to actually be harmed before they could flee and claim asylum here).</li> <li>• Similarly, denying asylum claims based only on harassment, threats and short-term detention in home countries (e.g., they could have to have actually been tortured or shot before claiming asylum here).</li> <li>• Denying the availability of asylum to applicants who had committed a range of technical errors in their applications or their conduct here.</li> <li>• Redefining the very purpose of the asylum system: going forward, as protecting American “resources and citizens” while (only incidentally and skeptically) “aiding those in true need of protection from harm.”</li> </ul> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 14</p>

<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Immigration rights defenders expressed shock at what they perceived as the virtual elimination of asylum in America, and the abandonment of international refugee law. Some said that if the rule were enacted as-is, almost the only people who could fairly hope for asylum would be those who had been grievously persecuted for traditional political or religious reasons in their home countries, who would fly directly to the U.S. from their home countries, and who would be represented by capable counsel immediately upon their arrival here.</u><sup>39</sup></p> <p>In an extraordinary condemnation, on July 9 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees wrote:</p> <p><i>“The United States has for decades been a global leader in the field of refugee protection, on which the lives and freedom of many depend - providing access to asylum on its territory, resettlement places for extremely vulnerable refugees hosted elsewhere, and as the largest humanitarian donor to refugee programmes around the world.</i></p> <p><i>“However, the changes contained in the pending regulation, combined with separate restrictions enacted in recent years, would mean that many people fleeing persecution would be unable to request, or obtain, protection in the United States.</i></p> <p><i>“The obligation to provide a safe haven to those fleeing armed conflict, violence or persecution reflects fundamental values rooted in many legal traditions, and is a core aspect of modern international law. We have urged our interlocutors in the government of the United States—and in all governments around the world--to keep this in mind as they decide what policy decisions are appropriate.</i></p> <p><i>The timeless beacons of human compassion and moral duty have always been the guiding lights of the U.S. asylum system. At UNHCR, we deeply value our longstanding partnership with the government and the people of the United States. As always, we remain ready to offer the technical expertise we have acquired around the world to support the United States in finding solutions to the challenges it faces today in maintaining an asylum system that is safe, fair and humane.”</i><sup>40</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 14</p>
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<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] In addition to the substance of the proposed asylum rule, the administration gave the public only 30 days in which to comment on the proposal, contrary to the usual 60 days – presumably in an effort to railroad the rule through.</p>	<p>6, 14</p>
<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p><b>Bolton tells.</b> On June 15, Mr. Trump threatened to prosecute former national security adviser John Bolton if he were to proceed with the imminent publication of his book about his time in the White House. Mr. Trump implausibly claimed that every conversation he had had with Bolton was classified.<sup>41</sup> On June 16 and again on June 17, the Justice Department sued Bolton, to stop the publication.<sup>42</sup> It was Mr. Trump’s and Attorney General William Barr’s latest deployment of the DOJ’s power to protect and benefit Mr. Trump personally.<sup>43</sup> (See a broad listing of Barr’s complicit actions in CSD’s entry of June 10, above in this Chronology.)</p> <p>On June 17, media nevertheless reported on the contents of an advance copy of the book. Bolton’s general characterizations of Mr. Trump were already well known; but coming from a White House insider they bore added significance; many specifics were new; and they still had shock value. Among other things, Bolton had written that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump pleaded with Chinese President Xi Jinping to help him win reelection in the U.S. – much as he had pressured Ukraine’s president to do.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump encouraged Xi to build mass internment camps for members of China’s Uighur Muslim minority, contrary to all human rights principles.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump did indeed demand a “quid pro quo” from Ukraine’s President Volodymyr Zelensky, conditioning the release of U.S. military assistance on Zelensky publicizing an investigation of Mr. Trump’s electoral opponent, Joe Biden. The Democratic impeachment narrative was largely accurate.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump was an “erratic” and “stunningly uninformed” commander in chief, fixated on pervasive conspiracy theories and relying on his instincts as a reality television showman.</u></li> <li>• <u>Many foreign leaders, such as Russian President Vladimir Putin, were “happy to take advantage of the U.S. president and attempt to manipulate him, ... often through simplistic appeals to his various obsessions.” [Continued below.]</u></li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>

6-15-20 +	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump was consistently opposed to American policy directed at discouraging Russian aggression and sanctioning Putin. “Putin had to be laughing uproariously at what he had gotten away with.” Bolton wrote.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump promised Turkish President Recep Erdogan that he would appoint federal prosecutors who would favor a Turkish company under investigation for violating Iranian sanctions.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump had been on the verge of quitting NATO, and he had to be walked back by Bolton and others.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump didn’t know that Finland was not a part of Russia and that the UK was a nuclear power, until he was informed during his presidency.</u></li> <li>• <u>Intelligence briefings with Mr. Trump were a waste of time, in that he did all the talking.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump once said that American journalists who declined to reveal their sources should be jailed and executed.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump repeatedly badgered Barr to prosecute former Secretary of State John Kerry for talking with Iran.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump’s chief of staff John Kelly, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and other senior advisors were disgusted and/or frustrated with him.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump and his top advisers regularly attempted to undermine one another, lied to one another, and maneuvered to gain advantage. Mr. Trump’s son-in-law Jared Kushner, for example, was continually seen as meddling in others’ portfolios.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump once issued a wild statement defending Saudi Arabia’s assassination of The Washington Post’s journalist Jamal Khashoggi to distract from negative news about his daughter Ivanka’s use of a private email account for conducting government business.</u></li> <li>• <u>For Mr. Trump, “obstruction of justice was a way of life.”</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump couldn’t tell the difference between his personal interests and the country’s interests. He made no significant decision that was not intended to advance his prospects for reelection.</u><sup>44</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></li> </ul>	1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
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<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] In publicizing his book after those reports, Bolton told ABC News that Mr. Trump was “not fit for office,” that his only guiding principle was his reelection, and that Putin felt he could “play him like a fiddle.”<sup>45</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump’s immediate response: calling Bolton a liar, a “boring fool,” a “wacko” and a “dope.” Democrats and mainstream Republicans had themselves long reviled Bolton as obstreperous, overbearing, egocentric, self-righteous and dangerously hawkish in his views on national security issues. Democrats also considered him to have cynically refused to testify about Mr. Trump during the House impeachment hearings so as to protect the anticipated profits from his forthcoming book.</p> <p>But Bolton was not particularly known as a liar. And observers noted the extraordinary churn among Mr. Trump’s top officials despite his boastful proclamations that he hired only the best talent, as well as his extraordinary public spitting contests with top aides after their woeful departures. For example, he had also termed many of his other former senior officials who had been forced out or who had quit in disgust as “dopes”: Defense Secretary James Mattis, chief of staff John Kelly, national security advisor H. R. McMaster, and Attorney General Jeff Sessions.<sup>46</sup></p> <p>On June 20, a federal judge refused to stop the distribution of Bolton’s book, in part because distribution had already begun. Mr. Trump nevertheless claimed victory (in that the judge also criticized Bolton’s decision to tell all, in contravention of an agreement in place for governmental pre-review of the book).<sup>47</sup></p> <p>Also on June 20, Mr. Trump tweeted that Bolton “will have bombs dropped on him.” Acting Secretary of Homeland Security Chad Wolf said that Mr. Trump had been joking. But observers noted that had a private citizen made that statement, he or she likely would have been investigated.<sup>48</sup></p> <p>On June 23, Mr. Trump told Fox News that Bolton should be imprisoned.<sup>49</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
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<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Bailing from VOA.</u></b> On June 15, the top two executives of Voice of America resigned, after conservative activist Michael Pack – Mr. Trump’s nominee to head VOA’s parent, the U.S. Agency for Global Media – was approved by Senate Republicans to head the respected international broadcast organization. On June 17, Pack fired the heads of at least three media outlets that he had now come to oversee, and he replaced their boards with allies.<sup>50</sup></p> <p>VOA had been established during World War II to counter Nazi propaganda overseas; it had continued its anti-authoritarian mission through the Cold War; since then it had repeatedly and reciprocally criticized China; and it was followed by 250 million people worldwide, many of them seeking relief from the dishonest propaganda of their own authoritarian governments. But although its charter mandates that its editorial policy be objective and non-partisan, Mr. Trump had been bashing it for its content that displeased him – particularly its failure to have sufficiently demonized China (his erstwhile ally and now his scapegoat) for that country’s handling of the coronavirus pandemic in its early stages. In April he had said, <i>"If you heard what's coming out of the Voice of America, it's disgusting. What – things they say are disgusting toward our country. And Michael Pack would get in and do a great job."</i><sup>51</sup></p> <p>If VOA were to become a propaganda arm for Mr. Trump, it would violate its core mission, abuse taxpayer funds to advance his political fortunes, discredit America internationally, and conceivably lose some or much of its audience.<sup>52</sup> It would also discredit America’s advocacy for international press freedom and could facilitate media suppression overseas, as cautioned by Freedom House.<sup>53</sup> See also CSD’s reports of November 26, 2018 and April 10, 2020 (coronavirus section), above in this Chronology, on Mr. Trump’s campaign against VOA.</p>	<p>1, 9</p>
<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>If we hide it, it won’t exist.</u></b> On June 15, Mr. Trump repeated his remarkable statement that if the U.S. did less testing for coronavirus infections, few or no new cases would exist. The statement prompted a Washington Post columnist on June 16 to recite some of the many other <u>ways in which Mr. Trump had sought to make problems disappear by suppressing (or trying to suppress) data about them:</u> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 8, 9</p>

<p>6-15-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stopping the forthcoming publication of John Bolton’s book about Mr. Trump’s dysfunctional foreign policy.</li> <li>• Withholding economic forecasts and unemployment data during and relating to the coronavirus pandemic.</li> <li>• Initially blocking the CDC from issuing guidelines for reopening the economy relative to the pandemic.</li> <li>• Initially refusing to disclose recipients of loans under the Paycheck Protection Program (for economic relief from the effects of the coronavirus).</li> <li>• Shutting several government transparency websites.</li> <li>• Forbidding government reports and websites from mentioning climate change.</li> <li>• Stopping the release of certain detention records relating to undocumented migrants.</li> <li>• Stopping the release of records as to who had visited the White House.</li> <li>• Stopping the collection of data on pay discrimination, lending discrimination, school discipline discrimination, energy efficiency, police weaponry and labor law violations.</li> <li>• Stopping the disclosure of ethics waivers issued to administration officials.</li> <li>• Hiding data about the handling of Hurricane Maria in Puerto Rico and insurgent attacks in Afghanistan.</li> <li>• Forbidding potential first-hand impeachment witnesses from testifying before Congress (then claiming that he shouldn’t be convicted for lack of first-hand witnesses).</li> <li>• Withholding his tax returns and medical records from the public.</li> <li>• Preventing inspectors general from investigating his administration.</li> <li>• Attempting to silence whistleblowers.</li> <li>• More.<sup>54</sup></li> </ul> <p>(Details of those episodes appear above in this Chronology.)</p>	<p>7, 8, 9</p>
<p>6-18-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Don’t let them vote!</u></b> On June 18, Mr. Trump told Politico that mail-in voting was the biggest threat to his reelection, and that the election’s outcome could turn on his campaign’s multi-million-dollar legal effort to block voting expansion. He also refused to say whether he would accept the results of the election if he were to lose.<sup>55</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>4, 7, 9</p>



<p>6-18-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On June 21, Attorney General William Barr told Fox News that foreign countries could flood the U.S. electoral system with fraudulent ballots. On June 22, Mr. Trump tweeted that the election was already rigged against him by way of mail-in voting, constituting “THE SCANDAL OF OUR TIMES!” Observers feared that with that claim he could be paving the way to contest an electoral loss in November.<sup>56</sup></p> <p>On June 24, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had made 60 false claims about mail-in balloting since April, and that five times he had explicitly accused Democrats of “rigging” the election through mail-in voting. The Times also reported that, seemingly in response to the spread of his false conspiracy theory, some culture warriors were burning absentee ballot applications that the states had sent them.<sup>57</sup></p> <p>An observer wrote in The Washington Post on July 26 that instead of striving energetically to protect the integrity of the upcoming November election, Barr was already subverting it, in four ways. “<i>He’s letting off the hook those who contributed to interference in the last election [by dropping charges against Michael Flynn]; he’s undermining confidence in the government’s ability to protect the coming election [by investigating those who had investigated Russia’s 2016 interference]; he’s signaling to bad actors that helping President Trump win will garner them special treatment under the law [by reducing Roger Stone’s sentence; and by firing U.S. Attorney Geoffrey Berman, who had investigated and prosecuted Mr. Trump’s associates who had sought to criminally influence our elections]; and he’s spreading disinformation about the potential for voter fraud [by disparaging mail-in voting].</i>”<sup>58</sup></p>	<p>4, 7, 9</p>
<p>6-18-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>DACA survives.</u></b> On June 18, the Supreme Court temporarily voided the Trump administration’s 2017 order to terminate President Obama’s Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) program. That program had been protecting from deportation hundreds of thousands of undocumented immigrants – mostly Hispanics – who had been brought here by their parents as children. The Court’s reasoning: that the administration hadn’t given sufficient consideration to important implications of the termination when ordering it, but that it (the administration) could re-do the order and try again.<sup>59</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9, 10</p>

<p>6-18-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Immigrant rights groups saw the Court’s decision as a major win. From CSD’s perspective, the decision highlighted Mr. Trump’s high-handed and capricious exercise of executive authority; his frequent, abusive and costly attempts to bleed the judicial system by litigating to protect that exercise; and his race-based (as opposed to reason-based) anti-immigration policies.</p> <p>On June 19, Mr. Trump promised to reissue the termination order in a manner that would meet the Supreme Court’s stated requirements. He also claimed, as he had already done through repeated and mysterious double-speak, that he would provide for the DACA beneficiaries better than DACA itself had done, and better than Democrats continued to intend through DACA.<sup>60</sup> He also raged at the Supreme Court, in a manner considered unseemly for presidents before this one.<sup>61</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 10</p>
<p>6-19-20</p>	<p><b><u>Sue them all!</u></b> Reacting to the Justice Department’s lawsuit to prevent the publication of former national security advisor John Bolton’s memoir (see CSD’s entry of June 15 +, above), a Washington Post columnist detailed Mr. Trump’s many lawsuits or threats of lawsuits against his critics. Few or none of those actions or threats had held water.</p> <p>The columnist began by noting Mr. Trump’s having threatened only days earlier to sue his niece for writing a book in which she recalled his merciless treatment of some of his family members. He then noted Mr. Trump’s recent threat to sue CNN over its opinion poll that had shown him deeply trailing his electoral opponent Joe Biden (a phenomenon subsequently validated by other polls). He had also recently threatened to sue Facebook for alleged political bias against him. The columnist continued:</p> <p><i>“Trump’s campaign has sued The Post, the New York Times and CNN, and Trump has threatened to sue Nancy Pelosi, Adam Schiff, Robert Mueller and ‘everyone all over the place’ over the Russia probe. [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>

<p>6-19-20</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] “Lately he’s been threatening to sue TV stations and a liberal group over ads criticizing his pandemic response. Trump has even threatened to sue China over the coronavirus, and his attorney general, Bill Barr, has threatened to take action against states and municipalities whose pandemic-mitigation orders are too strict. Trump retweeted his son’s proposal that former Trump adviser Michael Flynn, ‘sue the FBI and it’s (sic) corrupt actors for all they’re worth.’ Trump proposed that Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh sue those who accused him of sexual misconduct, and he said somebody should sue the CIA whistleblower’s ‘ass off.’ ...</i></p> <p><i>“Since 2015, Trump, his business or the Republican Party have sued or threatened to sue MSNBC, NBC, the Associated Press, the Daily Beast, Univision, an anti-Trump T-shirt maker, authors Michael Wolff and David Cay Johnston, Texas Sen. Ted Cruz (R), former Ohio governor John Kasich (R), a Jeb Bush supporter, a super PAC, the Republican Party, sanctuary cities, former aide Steve Bannon, former Senate Democratic leader Harry Reid, the U.S. Golf Association, a 92-year-old widow in Scotland, the women who alleged he sexually assaulted them, the co-author of his own memoir, the Club for Growth, the Culinary Workers Union, the National Hispanic Media Coalition, the organizer of a ‘Dump Trump’ campaign, the city of Minneapolis, and an artist who painted a nude of him.</i></p> <p><i>“Before that, he sued or threatened to sue the Los Angeles Times, USA Today, a Chicago Tribune architecture critic, Bill Maher, the now-deceased rapper Mac Miller, the Village Voice, ABC and the BBC, a random Twitter user, a woman critical of Trump University, a critic of his golf courses, a Miss USA contestant, Rosie O’Donnell, the Obama Justice Department, and the Onion.”</i></p> <p>CSD views Mr. Trump’s routine, meritless lawsuits and threats of lawsuits as essentially extortionate – intended to intimidate and drain the finances of his critics – and the actual lawsuits as potentially sanctionable by courts as frivolous and abusive of the judicial system.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>

<p>6-19-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Barr dismisses prosecutor.</u></b> <u>On June 19, Attorney General William Barr announced that Geoffrey Berman, the U.S. Attorney for the Southern District of New York, was resigning. Berman was investigating or prosecuting (or had already investigated or prosecuted) many individuals and enterprises tied to Mr. Trump: his current personal attorney Rudy Giuliani, for campaign contributions and for working in Ukraine to help Mr. Trump’s campaign; Lev Parnas and Igor Furman, Giuliani’s collaborators in the Ukraine scandal; Michael Cohen, Mr. Trump’s personal attorney, for campaign finance violations benefitting Mr. Trump (and in which Mr. Trump had been an active participant); Mr. Trump’s inaugural committee, for unlawful foreign contributions; a Turkish bank for which, according to former national security advisor John Bolton’s about-to-be-released memoir, Mr. Trump had promised Turkey’s autocratic leader Recep Erdogan he would intervene.</u></p> <p>Berman also was reportedly investigating Deutsche Bank in its capacity as the Trump Organization’s largest lender. Barr said in his statement that Mr. Trump had nominated as Berman’s replacement Jay Clayton, a corporate lawyer who had once represented Deutsche Bank. At the time of the announcement, Clayton headed the Securities and Exchange Commission. He had sometimes golfed with Mr. Trump. But he had no prosecutorial or litigation experience, and no work experience with the S.D.N.Y. – the ordinary requisites for becoming the U.S. attorney there.</p> <p><u>Berman promptly said that he had no intention of resigning until the Senate confirmed his successor. On June 20, Barr fired him.</u> Barr said he was acting on Mr. Trump’s request. Mr. Trump said that it was all on Barr.</p> <p>Presumably to avoid media attention, Barr’s initial announcement had occurred late on a Friday, as had many recent firings of inspectors general by the administration (see CSD’s entries of April 22 + and May 15 +).<sup>62</sup> It had also coincided with the run-up to Mr. Trump’s controversial campaign rally in Tulsa, Oklahoma that Saturday; and Barr may have seen that rally as likely to obscure the sordid dismissal in the news.<sup>63</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 12, 15, 16</p>
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<p>6-19-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Indeed, Barr seemed to CSD to now be pulling out all stops to advance Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign. He also seemed to be bent on protecting Mr. Trump from personal liability, in that the end of his presidency would mark the end of his presidential immunity from prosecution. In those regards, see CSD’s entry of June 15 +, above, on Barr’s efforts to block the distribution of John Bolton’s memoir; and the broad listing of Barr’s efforts to facilitate Mr. Trump’s authoritarian designs in our entry of June 10 in the preceding Addendum.</p> <p>As if establishing a template for Barr’s firing of Berman, Mr. Trump himself had fired James Comey as FBI director because of Comey’s refusal to stop the Russia investigations.<sup>64</sup></p> <p>Berman’s firing reportedly caused morale among DOJ line prosecutors to plunge even further, in the face of the continuing politicization of the department.<sup>65</sup></p> <p>On June 25, The New York Times reported that Barr had previously attempted to intervene in the prosecution of Cohen, a new revelation.<sup>66</sup></p>	<p>9, 12, 15, 16</p>
<p>6-20-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Oklahoma.</u></b> Mr. Trump held his first rally since the coronavirus lockdowns had begun. The venue was Tulsa, Oklahoma. Controversy had preceded the event:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Attendees would not be required to wear face masks.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump himself would not be wearing a mask.</li> <li>• As an indoor rally, it would almost certainly result in the spread of the coronavirus.</li> <li>• Even as the racial justice movement continued to sweep the country, the Tulsa venue had been selected and maintained notwithstanding its implicit connection to racial injustice. Tulsa had been the site of the massacre of up to several hundred Black people in 1921, one of the worst episodes of anti-Black violence in American history.</li> <li>• Equally oblivious to the racial justice movement, the date for the event had originally been set for the previous evening, Juneteenth – the holiday celebrated by many Black Americans commemorating the anniversary of the final emancipation of slaves in 1865. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>6-20-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• At the rally, Mr. Trump was expected to stoke racial and cultural hatreds at a time of enormous national division in those areas.</li> </ul> <p>As to that last item, Mr. Trump did not disappoint. He said nothing about Juneteenth, the 1921 massacre or the killing of George Floyd. He offered no words of comfort to families who had lost loved ones to the coronavirus. He made no attempt at delivering unifying remarks. Rather, his lengthy speech was an exercise in fomentation, an incitement to anger and fear. He disparaged the wearing of face masks to protect against the pandemic; he railed at “radical protesters” and “violent” and “radical extremists,” strongly implying that all of the protesters were violent and radical; he sketched a scenario in which a woman could be raped by a “tough hombre” (a Hispanic?) in her home if Democrats were to defund the police; he raged about a flag-burning at one of the protests, and vowed to make such acts punishable by imprisonment (he couldn’t: the Supreme Court had found flag-burning to be protected speech decades before); he attacked NFL players who knelt to protest police brutality; he singled out several Black congresswomen of color for special disdain; and he defended at length the Confederate statues that some protesters and other advocates were seeking to have removed from public spaces.</p> <p>As for the statues, he said, in a manner that for CSD was reminiscent of old-style segregationist demagoguery:</p> <p><i>“The unhinged left-wing mob is trying to vandalize our history, desecrate our monuments, our beautiful monuments. Tear down our statues and punish, cancel and persecute anyone who does not conform to their demands for absolute and total control. We’re not conforming, that’s why we’re here, actually. This cruel campaign of censorship and exclusion violates everything we hold dear as Americans. They want to demolish our heritage so they can impose their new oppressive regime in its place. . . . [Then the rape fantasy scenario.] So if you want to save ... that beautiful heritage of ours [that is, Confederate statues and unsoiled white women], we have a great heritage. We’re a great country. You are so lucky I’m president, that’s all I can tell you.” [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>6-20-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On other matters, Mr. Trump boasted and preened. He said that he alone had saved the country from hundreds of thousands of coronavirus deaths (even though he had actually resisted the entire public health effort), and that he had colossally advanced racial justice (which was likewise delusional). For good measure, seeking to scapegoat China for the pandemic and to not leave any racist sentiment unstated, he referred to Covid-19 as the “kung flu.” He also raged at the media – among other things insisting for over 15 minutes that the press had falsely characterized what had seemed to be his physically impaired gait when descending a ramp at the West Point graduation, and his holding of a water glass there with two hands.</p> <p>The audience, nevertheless, seemed enraptured. Some chanted, “<i>Lock her up!</i>” (still, about Hillary Clinton). Some wore Confederate flags. Some carried signs in support of the right-wing conspiracy theory movement, QAnon. Others denied to a reporter that the coronavirus even existed. Civilians carrying military-style rifles and pistols wandered among the crowd.<sup>67</sup> All that was missing were torches and pitchforks.</p> <p>As for the election itself, Mr. Trump said, “<i>If the Democrats gain power, then the rioters will be in charge and no one will be safe and no one will have control. Joe Biden is not the leader of his party. Joe Biden is a helpless puppet of the radical left.</i>”<sup>68</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>6-22-20</p>	<p><b>Obama’s “treason.”</b> In an interview with the Christian Broadcasting Network, Mr. Trump accused President Obama of having committed “treason.”<sup>69</sup></p> <p>Treason is commonly defined as a betrayal of or an attempt to overthrow one’s own government. Mr. Trump had frequently accused others of treason – for investigating him and for charging him with crimes and other offenses during his presidency – but never before had he accused one of his predecessors in office. His accusation now, for which he had no evidence, and which he had launched often before without calling it “treason”: that President Obama had spied on his campaign prior to the 2016 election. How that could have amounted to “treason” when Mr. Trump did not then even hold office was unclear.</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>

<p>6-22-20</p>	<p><b><u>New visa restrictions.</u></b> Mr. Trump ordered a new, temporary round of restrictions on the issuance of work visas to foreigners, citing the coronavirus pandemic as grounds for protecting American jobs. The order filled some of the holes in his earlier, failed attempt to restrict the visas (see CSD’s entry of April 22, above in this Chronology). Because its effect could be to cripple scientific, technological and medical innovation, business leaders and research universities were aghast. The likely intention was to keep Asians and other non-whites from American shores, based on Mr. Trump’s many other undertakings in that direction since his election; or simply to facilitate Mr. Trump’s reelection by portions of the public susceptible to his racist demagoguery.<sup>70</sup></p>	<p>6</p>
<p>6-23-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Stone sentencing, explained.</u></b> Aaron Zelinsky, a prosecutor who had withdrawn from the Roger Stone case in February after DOJ leaders had announced their recommendation for a lighter sentence for Stone than the line prosecutors (including Zelinsky) had advanced, said that he would shortly testify before the House Judiciary Committee. His forthcoming testimony: that the line prosecutors had been pressured by DOJ to be lenient on Stone for political reasons. Stone was Mr. Trump’s long-standing friend and political advisor. Zelinsky’s accusation was stunning. (See CSD’s entry of February 11 + above in this Chronology, for the details of DOJ’s interference in the Stone affair as they had transpired.)</p> <p>Contemporaneously, another prosecutor, John Elias, said that he would testify that the DOJ had initiated two anti-trust investigations for political reasons. One of the investigations had been brought against a marijuana company merger because Attorney General William Barr opposed marijuana use. The other had been brought against several car manufacturers because they had agreed to adopt California’s tough auto emissions standards in defiance of Mr. Trump’s laissez-faire environmental agenda.<sup>71</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 16</p>



<p>6-23-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On June 24 all of that testimony did occur. At least one Democratic witness, a former deputy attorney general who had been appointed by President Bush 41, characterized Barr as broadly corrupt in his politicization of the DOJ. The scene in Congress was reportedly as polarized as the impeachment hearings had been, replete with shouting matches between Democratic and Republican representatives. Jim Jordan (R-OH), one of Mr. Trump’s most ferocious and cynical defenders in the impeachment proceedings, said that Barr “is doing the Lord’s work,” and that it was the Obama DOJ that had been corrupt.</p> <p>Also remarkable was that Zelinsky and Elias were willing and eager to testify, and thus to test Barr’s retaliatory wrath, even though they were still actively working at the DOJ.<sup>72</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 16</p>
<p>6-23-20</p>	<p><b><u>Packing the census office.</u></b> The Trump administration named two high-level political appointees to help oversee the ongoing decennial census. Reportedly they had no pertinent skills and no particular job descriptions – the positions were created specifically for them. Observers feared that their mandate could be, in an unprecedented manner, to manipulate otherwise scientifically assembled census results for political purposes, consistent with Mr. Trump’s campaign earlier in his presidency to suppress minority participation in the census (see above in this Chronology, and the 7-21-20 entry below).<sup>73</sup></p>	<p>8, 9</p>
<p>6-23-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Whose human rights?</u></b> The New York Times reported that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo’s panel on human rights, created in July 2019, was moving toward releasing a controversial report in early July 2020. In that report, the panel and he were expected to redefine “human rights” along the lines of his own religion, evangelical Christianity, and away from long-standing international norms.</p> <p>Among other things, the panel’s report was expected to elevate religious freedom above other human rights, and to downplay (or to eliminate from the definition of human rights altogether) certain gender and reproductive rights, in favor of someone’s idea of God-given, “natural law.” Critics charged that, by cherry-picking only certain human rights for recognition, the panel could encourage non-democratic countries to do the same (that is, more than they were already doing) and to dismiss U.S. advocacy for human rights as hypocritical.<sup>74</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (1, 6, 9, 14)</p>

<p>6-23-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The panel had been controversial since its inception. In 2019 hundreds of human rights organizations, faith leaders, foreign policy experts and civil liberties groups had objected to its creation. It was staffed largely by conservative academics, and the objections had included that the uniformity of views defied federal law governing such panels.<sup>75</sup></p> <p>On July 16, Pompeo announced the issuance of the panel’s report, and he confirmed its anticipated content. In the same breath he accused racial justice protesters of attacking “the American way of life,” and the New York Times of supporting Marxist ideology.<sup>76</sup></p> <p>(CSD reported on the efforts of the Trump administration to favor evangelical notions of human rights and religious freedom in our entry of June 29, 2018. But we intentionally had not reported on Pompeo’s panel at the time he created it in 2019; we had wanted to wait to see its actual output before condemning it – which we now do.)</p>	<p>17 (1, 6, 9, 14)</p>
<p>6-23-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Arizona.</u></b> Mr. Trump triumphantly visited a section of his “new” border wall in Arizona, almost all of it actually replacement of dilapidated existing wall. There he elicited (and possibly had solicited) effusive praise from hand-picked border and immigration officials for his hard-line stance on immigration issues.</p> <p>He then held a campaign rally for a group of college students at a Phoenix megachurch. There the cheering indoor crowd was tightly packed and largely mask-less, as was Mr. Trump himself – even though coronavirus cases in that state were experiencing a record surge, even though a recent ordinance required masks, and even though the (Democratic) mayor had pleaded that attendees be required to wear them.</p> <p>In his address Mr. Trump falsely said that the coronavirus was “going away.” He again referred to it xenophobically as the “kung flu.” And he charged that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi had danced “in the streets of Chinatown” after he had imposed a ban on in-bound China travel with a view to stemming the spread of the virus. (She had not danced; she had walked amid a crowd to demonstrate support for, and the safety of, the ethnic commercial district at a time when Mr. Trump was vilifying China.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>6-23-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Mr. Trump’s themes that evening included his defense of Confederate statues, his threats against those who would remove them, and his condemnation of racial justice protesters. Seeming to seek to stir ethnic and cultural division, he characterized Democrats as intolerant and “totalitarian”; he falsely said that they wanted to let non-citizens vote; he said, “They hate our history, they hate our values, and they hate everything we prize as Americans”; and he said, “The left-wing mob is trying to demolish our heritage, so they can replace it with a new oppressive regime that they alone control.”</u></p> <p><u>In a shout-out to the wolf-pack-like insecurities and resentments of adolescents (of all ages), he thundered, “Our people are stronger and our people are smarter and we are the elite.” Similarly for the ears of the pack-like, and betraying his own fixation on physical appearances, he urged the students toward a sort of exclusive fraternity/sorority fantasy when, comparing them to Democrats, he cried, “You’re smarter. You’re better looking. You have a better future.” (Indeed, in the news photos, the crowd looked almost entirely white – as if that was his idea of “better looking.”)</u></p> <p><u>He also denounced mail-in voting. Seemingly preparing the nation for him challenging a loss at the polls in November, he said, “This will be, in my opinion, the most corrupt election in the history of our country.”</u></p> <p>He also flogged the mainstream press.<sup>77</sup></p>	<p>1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>6-24-20</p>	<p><b><u>No problem with Poland.</u></b> After meeting at the White House with Polish President Andrzej Duda, Mr. Trump praised his “vigilant efforts to uphold the rule of law.” But Duda was widely seen in Europe and the U.S. as increasingly authoritarian.</p> <p>Contrary to presidential custom, Mr. Trump also effectively endorsed Duda in the latter’s quest for reelection, and he said, “I have a very good personal relationship with the president.” Duda had earlier proposed to host a base for U.S. troops in Poland and to name it “Fort Trump.”<sup>78</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 12</p>

<p>6-26-20</p>	<p><b><u>Still killing Obamacare ... and people.</u></b> The Trump administration continued its crusade to destroy the Affordable Care Act (“Obamacare”), by filing a brief with the Supreme Court in support of litigation brought by a coalition of Republican attorneys general to nullify the statute in its entirety. The move came amid the coronavirus pandemic, when millions of Americans were looking to that program to help themselves and their families stay alive and healthy.<sup>79</sup> As before, CSD does not take a position with respect to the ACA – only against Mr. Trump’s reckless and vengeful effort to eliminate it, seemingly out of spite for President Obama, while not having an alternative insurance program in place.<sup>80</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>6-26-20</p>	<p><b><u>Stealing for the wall.</u></b> The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that Mr. Trump’s theft of \$2.5 billion in congressionally appropriated military funds for use in constructing his border wall was unconstitutional.<sup>81</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>6-26-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Bounties for American troops.</u></b> The New York Times reported on June 26 that U.S. intelligence had learned in March that Russian military intelligence had secretly offered bounties to Taliban-linked militants to kill American troops in Afghanistan.<sup>82</sup> CNN then observed that, since that discovery, Mr. Trump had made no public statement about it, but instead had invited Russia to rejoin the G-7, and – to Russia’s advantage – had announced the removal of 9,000 U.S. troops from Germany.<sup>83</sup></p> <p>On June 28, The Washington Post reported that the bounties were believed to have resulted in several American deaths.<sup>84</sup> On June 29, reports appeared that Mr. Trump had received written briefings on the Russian bounties as far back as early 2019 – which would establish that he had engaged in many more pro-Russia activities than noted above since having first learned of the bounties.<sup>85</sup></p> <p>As outrage swelled across party lines, Mr. Trump denied having ever been briefed on the matter, and he called the entire affair a “Fake News Media Hoax.” The mainstream media, in turn, speculated that Mr. Trump had not read the written intelligence briefs on the matter when they had been placed before him; that he had read them but ignored them; and/or that his senior-most intelligence and security advisers had been too intimidated by him to bring him negative reports about Russia.<sup>86</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 7, 12</p>

<p>6-26-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] For CSD, that speculation seemed less important than the ultimate outcome: Mr. Trump’s continuing unwillingness to call out Russia publicly for anything.<sup>87</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 12</p>
<p>6-28-20, 6-29-20</p>	<p><b>The tweeting disease.</b> On June 28, Mr. Trump retweeted a video of one of his Florida supporters shouting “White Power!”<sup>88</sup> Heedless of the instant public blow-back, the next day he posted a video of a white Missouri couple brandishing guns in front of their home as peaceful racial justice protesters passed.<sup>89</sup></p>	<p>5, 6</p>
<p>6-30-20</p>	<p><b>Unfit, by acclaim.</b> Writing for CNN, legendary Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein reported that numerous White House and intelligence officials had described to him their concerns about Mr. Trump’s telephone calls with various heads of state. The U.S. officials had said that Mr. Trump was “so consistently unprepared for discussion of serious issues, so often outplayed in his conversations with powerful leaders like Russian President Vladimir Putin and Turkish President Recep Erdogan, and so abusive to leaders of America’s principal allies, that the calls helped convince some senior US officials -- including his former secretaries of state and defense, two national security advisers and his longest-serving chief of staff -- that the President himself posed a danger to the national security of the United States.”</p> <p>Bernstein wrote that the calls caused national security advisers H.R. McMaster and John Bolton, Defense Secretary James Mattis, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson, and White House chief of staff John Kelly, among others, to conclude that Mr. Trump was often "delusional" when speaking with his international counterparts. According to Bernstein, “<i>there was little evidence that the President became more skillful or competent in his telephone conversations with most heads of state over time. Rather, he continued to believe that he could either charm, jawbone or bully almost any foreign leader into capitulating to his will, and often pursued goals more attuned to his own agenda than what many of his senior advisers considered the national interest.</i>” [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>

<p>6-30-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump’s servility toward Putin, and Erdogan’s access to Mr. Trump at will, were particularly shocking to the U.S. officials; and together with his ignorance of Middle Eastern history and his disregard for American and humanitarian interests, his inexplicable deference to them resulted in his giving away Syria to Russia and Turkey. Equally alarming for the officials was his regular bullying and demeaning of British Prime Minister Theresa May and German Chancellor Angela Merkel in “near-sadistic” diatribes; the “whippings” he delivered to French President Emanuel Macron, Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and Australian Prime Minister Scott Morrison; his fixation on America’s allies as “ripping [<i>him</i> personally] off”; his consistent boasting of his wealth, genius and accomplishments; and his consistent disparagement of Presidents Bush and Obama. Bernstein wrote:</p> <p><i>“The insidious effect of the conversations comes from Trump’s tone, his raging outbursts at allies while fawning over authoritarian strongmen, his ignorance of history and lack of preparation as much as it does from the troubling substance. ... Two sources compared many of the President’s conversations with foreign leaders to Trump’s recent press ‘briefings’ on the coronavirus pandemic: free form, fact-deficient stream-of-consciousness ramblings, full of fantasy and off-the-wall pronouncements based on his intuitions, guesswork, the opinions of Fox News TV hosts and social media misinformation.”</i></p> <p>Mr. Trump would rarely read his briefing materials before meetings, wrote Bernstein. But he would sometimes include his daughter Ivanka and his son-in-law Jared Kushner in the meetings, after which they would praise his performance while knowledgeable officials had blanched at it. One U.S. official said, <i>“It was like the United States had disappeared. It was always ‘Just me’.”</i><sup>90</sup></p> <p>Bernstein’s report made no particular waves in the media. CSD concluded that revelations about Mr. Trump’s depravity had long ago become so routine as to barely merit a yawn. We nevertheless commend the article to our readers, for the sake of the historical record.</p>	<p>10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>

<p>7-3-20, 7-4-20</p>	<p><b><u>On the Fourth.</u></b> At an Independence Day event on July 3, and at taxpayer expense, Mr. Trump conducted what was effectively a campaign event at Mt. Rushmore, South Dakota. An estimated 3700 people attended. He arrived with pomp. Military planes flew overhead. <u>With the sculptures of past presidents towering in the background, and deploying his demagogic rhetoric to its utmost, he denounced the racial justice movement sparked by the recent killing of George Floyd by police in Minnesota, including the movement to remove Confederate statues from public spaces.</u></p> <p><u>He said, “Our nation is witnessing a merciless campaign to wipe out our history, defame our heroes, erase our values and indoctrinate our children. ... Angry mobs are trying to tear down statues of our founders, deface our most sacred memorials and unleash a wave of violent crime in our cities.”</u></p> <p><u>He called out the “left-wing mob,” “violent mayhem,” “far-left fascism,” the “totalitarianism” of the protesters, and an “attack on our liberty.” He said, “This left-wing cultural revolution is designed to overthrow the American revolution.” He said of participants in the racial justice movement, “They think the American people are weak and soft and submissive. But no, the American people are strong and proud, and they will not allow our country and all of its values, history and culture to be taken from them.” He warned that “angry mobs” sought to “unleash a wave of violent crime in our cities.” He also warned, “Their goal is not a better America; their goal is the end of America.” He said that the protesters were “driving people from their jobs, shaming dissenters and demanding total submission from anyone who disagrees.” He vowed that Mount Rushmore “will never be desecrated. These heroes will never be disgraced. Their legacy will never, ever be destroyed. Their achievements will never be forgotten. And this monument will stand forever as an eternal tribute to our forefathers and our freedom.” He intoned, “We will not be tyrannized, we will not be demeaned, and we will not be intimidated by bad, evil people.” [Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>7-3-20, 7-4-20</p>	<p>[Continued.] Mr. Trump made no mention of the victims of police violence, and he offered no bridge to concerns of African Americans or the protesters. Instead, he promised to imprison statutory vandals for up to ten years. He railed at athletes who had knelt to protest racial injustice. He promised to keep building his border wall, to defend the 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment, and to put “America first.”</p> <p><u>The crowd stood and applauded, while chanting, “USA! USA!” and “Four more years!”</u></p> <p>On another topic (or its absence): amid a record-breaking surge in coronavirus infections nationally, Mr. Trump barely mentioned the pandemic, which had so far killed more than 126,000 Americans. He did not wear a mask, nor did most of the members of his audience (who also did not socially distance).</p> <p>After he spoke, the sky was lit with majestic fireworks – which Mr. Trump had ordered despite (and likely because of) environmentalists’ concerns about wildfires.<sup>91</sup></p> <p>On July 4, Mr. Trump reprised that performance, now at the National Mall in Washington, D.C. – defying the entreaties of the District’s government not to hold the event due to coronavirus fears. Again, thousands of people attended. As at Mt. Rushmore, there were fireworks, a military flyover, few face masks and no obvious social distancing. And as before, taxpayers funded the event, even though it was effectively a campaign rally.</p> <p>Mr. Trump said, <i>“American heroes defeated the Nazis, dethroned the fascists, toppled the communists, saved American values, upheld American principles and chased down the terrorists to the very ends of the earth. <u>We are now in the process of defeating the radical left, the Marxists, the anarchists, the agitators, the looters and people who in many instances have absolutely no clue what they are doing.</u>” He said that the racial justice protesters <u>“want us to be ashamed of who we are, [they’re] not interested in justice or healing. Their goal is demolition.</u> Of the media, he said: <i>“The more you lie, the more you slander ... the more we will work hard to tell the truth, and we will win.”</i> [Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>7-3-20, 7-4-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] To the crowd’s cheers, Mr. Trump blamed China for initiating the coronavirus pandemic. Citing made-up statistical data, he trivialized the medical risk posed by the disease (claiming that 99% of cases were “totally harmless”), and he stated without evidence that the U.S. would have an effective treatment or vaccine “long before the end of the year.”<sup>92</sup></p> <p>Such were Mr. Trump’s odes to America’s independence, to our founding fathers, and to our spirit of reason, liberty and equality. After having defined Mexicans, Muslims and the Washington “swamp” in his 2016 presidential campaign as America’s mortal enemies, and after having done the same with Central Americans during the 2018 midterm campaign, he was now so defining millions of regular citizens – in a pointed effort to divide the country, and somehow through that to remain in power.<sup>93</sup></p> <p>As if to foreshadow that theme, earlier in the day Trump supporters on motorcycles and the Proud Boys (a far-right hate group) had gathered on the Mall and the city’s streets menacingly.<sup>94</sup></p>	<p>1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>7-6-20</p>	<p><b><u>Finished with Fox? Not likely.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that viewers should no longer watch Fox News because the network had reported a survey showing him trailing Joe Biden in the current presidential election campaign. He also tweeted a claim that 96% of Republicans approved of his performance, in contradiction of actual polling numbers, and without identifying the source of his figure.<sup>95</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 11</p>
<p>7-7-20</p>	<p><b><u>QAnon: the conspiracy lives.</u></b> Media Matters reported that Mr. Trump had retweeted posts by QAnon-inspired Twitter accounts at least 185 times during his presidency. QAnon is a movement founded on a conspiracy theory that abjures “deep state” control of the government, and that sees Mr. Trump as the deep state’s nemesis. During his presidency, QAnon adherents had provoked multiple acts of violence across the county, and the FBI had identified it as a potential source of domestic terrorism.<sup>96</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>7-8-20</p>	<p><b><u>Vindman retires.</u></b> Lt. Colonel Alexander Vindman announced that he would be retiring from the Army, owing to “bullying, intimidation and retaliation” by the Trump administration.<sup>97</sup> During and after testifying against Mr. Trump in the latter’s impeachment proceedings, Vindman had been harassed and professionally sidelined. More recently, continuing through the week of Vindman’s retirement, Mr. Trump had been seen as opposing his promotion to full colonel (see CSD’s entry of June 14 + above), and as pressuring the Pentagon to not recommend him for promotion – threats that had brought wide media attention.</p> <p>Only Mr. Trump himself could actually effect the promotion. With the news of Vindman’s retirement came news that Defense Secretary Mark Esper had in fact recommended his promotion to Mr. Trump.<sup>98</sup> But also came news that senior Army officials had told Vindman that he would no longer be deployable in his area of expertise, which included Ukraine, and that he could be punished by being placed in some “rehabilitative assignment” – e.g., in a role that could be geographically remote, physically uncomfortable, pointless, and/or humiliating. Vindman appeared to have fore seen that even had he received his promotion, his effectiveness in the Army would continue to be hampered, and his life there would continue to be miserable.<sup>99</sup> Once again, Mr. Trump had wreaked vengeance, emasculated the military, and made a mockery of the rule of law.</p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>7-9-20</p>	<p><b><u>Gagging Cohen.</u></b> Mr. Trump’s former personal lawyer and fixer Michael Cohen was returned to federal prison from coronavirus home furlough for refusing to agree to not publish his memoir until after the November 2020 election. Cohen was serving time for helping Mr. Trump hide several extra-marital affairs so as to facilitate Mr. Trump’s 2016 election. He had been writing his book in prison, then at home, but now he was placed in solitary confinement and deprived of even a computer. The episode came on the heels of failed efforts by Mr. Trump and his family, respectively, to stop the publication of tell-all books written by former national security advisor John Bolton and Mr. Trump’s niece Mary Trump.<sup>100</sup> If Cohen was to be believed, it was difficult for CSD to imagine any legal theory that would justify the denial of his constitutional right to publish, given that the denial was intended to last only until the 2020 election.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>7-9-20 +</p>	<p><b>The records.</b> The Supreme Court ruled 7-2 that Mr. Trump must honor a New York State subpoena to produce his tax returns and other financial records in connection with the state’s investigation of possible financial crimes that he may have committed prior to becoming president. But notwithstanding the split ruling, the Justices unanimously agreed that, pursuant to established legal precedent, his claim for immunity from investigation for private acts committed before he was president was preposterous. The Court remanded the case to a lower court for further procedural arguments; and thus Mr. Trump, through his time-tested practice of beating every legal case to death, succeeded in postponing the final outcome until after the upcoming November election.<sup>101</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump claimed victory in the matter. He nevertheless reacted with a semi-coherent Twitter tirade about the decision, to the effect that he was being persecuted, and that some or all Democrats were criminals.<sup>102</sup> On July 15, he confirmed that he would continue fighting the subpoena in court.<sup>103</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump was the first recent president to refuse to disclose his tax returns during his campaign and after his election. When campaigning he had promised to do so; then he had reneged; then he had stonewalled, and he continued to stonewall, even as the allegations about his illegal personal dealings had flowered.</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>7-10-20</p>	<p><b>Stone is free.</b> On a Friday night and thus out of the media’s glare, <u>Mr. Trump commuted the sentence of convicted felon Roger Stone.</u> Stone was his long-time friend and political advisor, and a self-professed “dirty trickster” who had gotten his start with and who still idolized Richard Nixon. Mr. Trump – who had been campaigning for reelection on the theme of “law and order” – had now continued his practice (detailed above in this Chronology) of granting clemency to criminals out of personal affinity with them or for political gain. The New York Times now attributed such motives to 31 of Mr. Trump’s 36 grants of clemency.<sup>104</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 16</p>

<p>7-10-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Stone, who from all accounts was one of the most shameless, ruthless and dishonest men on earth, had lived the life of a libertine and had even threatened the life of his trial judge. He had been convicted of thwarting congressional and FBI investigations – actions he appeared to have taken to protect Mr. Trump from exposure relative to Russian interference in the 2016 election. He had subsequently made public statements to the effect that he would never turn on Mr. Trump, and that he expected clemency in return. After the commutation, observers concluded that that expectation (or transaction) had indeed been fulfilled: by Mr. Trump’s order, he had escaped jail time altogether, as well as probation and the fine that had been assessed against him.<sup>105</sup></p> <p>For the avoidance of doubt: <u>Mr. Trump commuted the sentence of a principal enabler of his own treachery, to reward him for remaining silent. Critics called the commutation – committed in broad daylight – one of the most corrupt episodes in modern American history.</u><sup>106</sup></p> <p>In justifying the commutation, the White House issued a statement that bore the appearance of Mr. Trump’s hand, <i>“Roger Stone is a victim of the Russia Hoax that the Left and its allies in the media perpetuated for years in an attempt to undermine the Trump Presidency.”</i><sup>107</sup></p> <p>(See also CSD’s entry of February 11 in this Chronology, above. In an unprecedented move, Attorney General William Barr had intervened in the Stone case at that time so as to reduce Stone’s sentence – seemingly to please Mr. Trump.)</p>	<p>2, 9, 11, 16</p>
<p>7-10-20</p>	<p><b><u>The dictator of education.</u></b> Mr. Trump tweeted that he had directed the Treasury Department to reexamine the tax-exempt status and funding of universities and school systems if they “indoctrinate” children with “propaganda.”<sup>108</sup> (He had previously directed that churches be allowed to retain their tax-exempt status despite propagating political views.)</p> <p>Mr. Trump meanwhile had demanded that public schools re-open in the fall notwithstanding the raging coronavirus pandemic, yet he had refused to issue guidelines for how schools should re-open safely. His was a flamboyant demand for the ears of his supporters, but an utter abrogation of responsibility for what action was needed.</p>	<p>9</p>

<p>7-10-20 +</p>	<p><b>My DHS.</b> On July 10, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump was deploying Department of Homeland Security personnel to surveil cities experiencing civil disorder in connection with racial justice protests and to guard statues from being vandalized. Some 2,000 of the agency’s security personnel, including Coast Guard and Border Patrol staff, were now designated to guard federal property from the “lawlessness sweeping our nation.”</p> <p>DHS had been created after the September 11 attacks to respond to threats such as foreign terrorism and natural disasters and to administer immigration laws. But Mr. Trump had deployed much of the department’s resources to building his border wall. And he now appeared to be using it to showcase his profile as a “law and order” strongman – while diverting agency resources from such essential tasks as fighting the coronavirus pandemic, responding to hurricanes, and safeguarding elections from foreign hackers.<sup>109</sup></p> <p>As reported above (June 10 +) in the entry addressing Mr. Trump’s response to the racial justice movement, in the following week security agents deployed by DHS and other federal agencies but masking their identities were found to be arresting and sometimes injuring racial justice protesters in Portland, Oregon. The units had not been invited by either the mayor or the governor, who instead had asked them to leave. Critics pointed to the deployment of anonymous and unaccountable security agents as a tactic often used by authoritarian regimes overseas. On July 17, Oregon’s Department of Justice sued the federal agencies for civil rights abuses.<sup>110</sup></p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
<p>7-11-20</p>	<p><b>The press briefings devolve.</b> In a guest column in The Washington Post, the president of the White House Correspondents’ Association – a veteran ABC News reporter who was currently covering the White House – characterized the press briefings then being conducted by press secretary Kayleigh McEnany as dysfunctional. He wrote that the press secretary’s job, funded by taxpayers, is to inform the press about the administration’s actions and plans, but that McEnany was now beginning and ending briefings with purely political rants, and in between was dodging reporters’ questions while obfuscating Mr. Trump’s intentions and deeds. All press secretaries, of course, have been partisans and spin artists; but the columnist saw McEnany as dropping any pretense to factual utility.<sup>111</sup></p>	<p>17 (1, 7)</p>

7-13-20	<p><b>Fact Checker surpasses 20,000.</b> The Washington Post’s Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made over 20,000 false or misleading statements during his presidency, with an average of 23 per day over the past 14 months. False or misleading claims about the coronavirus pandemic approached 1,000. The Post wrote: <i>“The notion that Trump would exceed 20,000 claims before he finished his term appeared ludicrous when The Fact Checker started this project during the president’s first 100 days in office. In that time, Trump averaged fewer than five claims a day, which would have added up to about 7,000 claims in a four-year presidential term. But the tsunami of untruths just keeps looming larger and larger.”</i><sup>112</sup></p>	7, 8
7-14-20	<p><b>Ranting in the Garden.</b> In an ostensible press conference about China held in the Rose Garden that media reported as a de facto campaign rally, Mr. Trump shocked the reporters and befouled that venue by ranting for nearly an hour against his electoral opponent Joe Biden and other targets. The Washington Post called the event <i>“a stunning display of partisanship in an exquisitely manicured setting that presidents have traditionally considered off-limits for direct and extended political attacks.”</i><sup>113</sup></p> <p>The diatribe was also a feast of falsehoods, including that Biden and Democrats wanted to destroy the suburbs, ban windows in buildings, abolish immigration detention, incentivize child smuggling, abolish police departments, abolish prisons, defund the military, “demolish the U.S. economy,” “kill American energy,” provide “government health care for all illegal aliens,” and allow terrorists to “blow up our cities”; that Biden was soft on China and had “the most extreme platform of any major party nominee by far in American history”; that mail-in voting would ensure “tremendous fraud”; that his own border wall was nearly completed; that the U.S. had almost the lowest Covid-19 mortality rate in the world; and that the U.S. case count was high only because so many people were being tested.<sup>114</sup></p>	6, 7, 8, 9, 11

<p>7-14-20 +</p>	<p><b>Good for Goya.</b> Mr. Trump (on July 15) and his daughter and senior advisor Ivanka (on July 14) posted photographs of themselves, separately, displaying and baldly advertising Goya food products. The postings followed popular calls for the boycott of Goya foods after Goya’s CEO had praised Mr. Trump in the Rose Garden on July 10. <i>“We’re all truly blessed .... to have a leader like President Trump,”</i> the executive had gratuitously and obsequiously declared.</p> <p>The executive’s praise of Mr. Trump represented a continuation of Mr. Trump’s pattern of arranging for prominent figures to fawn over him before cameras. His shilling of Goya products represented a continuation of his pattern of promoting private businesses that supported him politically while disparaging businesses that didn’t. The new episode – advertising Goya – violated federal ethics rules that expressly forbid using government positions to endorse products; it interfered with free enterprise (by advantaging Goya over its competitors); and it effectively amounted to a pay-off to a political crony.<sup>115</sup></p> <p>A New York Times report placed the episode within the context of Mr. Trump’s ongoing defiance of ethical norms and laws. The Office of Special Counsel had found 13 Trump officials to have violated the Hatch Act (political campaigning in the course of government duties), but none had been disciplined. Since Mr. Trump’s impeachment acquittal, he had increasingly given campaign-style speeches during tax-payer funded and nominally official appearances. And, far contrary to custom, White House aides now talked freely and frequently about political strategies while on the premises.<sup>116</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 16</p>

7-16-20	<p><b><u>The death of the suburbs.</u></b> At a purportedly official event at the White House addressing deregulation, Mr. Trump – possibly reacting to the erosion of his electoral support in the suburbs, and dog-whistling racial animus as though he were a small-time bigot still living in the 1960s – falsely said: <u>“The Democrats in D.C. have been and want to ... abolish our beautiful and successful suburbs by placing far-left Washington bureaucrats in charge of local zoning decisions. They are absolutely determined to eliminate single-family zoning, destroy the value of houses and communities already built, just as they have in Minneapolis and other locations that you read about today. Your home will go down in value, and crime rates will rapidly rise. ... What will be the end result is you will totally destroy the beautiful suburbs. Suburbia will be no longer as we know it. So they wanted to defund and abolish your police and law enforcement while at the same time destroying our great suburbs. The suburb destruction will end with us.”</u><sup>117</sup></p>	6, 7, 9
7-18-20	<p><b><u>Pay me.</u></b> Media reported that Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign had paid his Florida resort Mar-a-Lago \$380,000 in March and April to host a two-day event for donors.<sup>118</sup></p>	11, 15
7-19-20	<p><b><u>President for life.</u></b> Mr. Trump told a Fox News interviewer that he would not commit to leaving the White House if he lost the upcoming November election. (He had said that before – see CSD’s entry of June 18 +, above.) He also said that Fox’s polls showing Joe Biden ahead of him in the race were “fake.”<sup>119</sup> (He had said that about an earlier and similar Fox poll as well – see CSD’s entry of July 6, above.)</p>	1, 7, 9, 11
7-21-20	<p><b><u>No citizenship? – No vote, no census.</u></b> Since early in the coronavirus crisis, U.S. Citizenship and Immigration Services, a unit of the Department of Homeland Security, had slowed down or shut down various public services, including the processing of citizenship applications. USA Today now reported that <u>some 315,000 immigrants who had virtually completed the requirements for becoming U.S. citizens could lose their ability to vote in the November election, for want of having taken their final citizenship interviews.</u><sup>120</sup> CSD, which follows immigration matters closely, suspects that the slow-down was specifically intended to favor Mr. Trump and his party at the polls. [Continued below.]</p>	9



<p>7-21-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Also on July 21, <u>Mr. Trump signed an order that the census count exclude undocumented immigrants.</u> How that order would be implemented was unclear, in that the census forms themselves didn't contain a question about citizenship. But the intent was clear: <u>omitting non-citizens from the census would result in primarily Democratic states receiving less federal assistance, and in shifting several congressional and Electoral College seats from Democratic states to Republican states.</u> Mr. Trump had earlier sought to include a "citizenship question" in the survey, as a means to frighten away Hispanics – even citizens and legal immigrants – from participating in the census; but the Supreme Court had rejected that (see above in this Chronology). Critics now asserted that his new order defied longstanding census policy, lower court rulings that non-citizens be included in the census, and the Constitution's plain language that all "persons" must be counted. Immigrant rights organizations promptly threatened litigation.<sup>121</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>7-21-20</p>	<p><b><u>Come over to my place?</u></b> The New York Times reported that in 2018, under pressure from Mr. Trump, the U.S. ambassador to the U.K. had asked the British government to steer the British Open golf tournament to Mr. Trump's Turnberry golf resort in Scotland. (Mr. Trump's previously reported efforts to steer profitable domestic and international traffic to his properties, on the strength of his presidency, were legion.)<sup>122</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>

**The Coronavirus Pandemic**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 31)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 15 as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic have moved rapidly. CSD’s observations below that have been recorded as of a given date may have been superseded, or may yet be superseded, on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD’s concerns about the Trump administration’s coronavirus response are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that have recurred, that news media have reported anew, and that, as of the date of this Addendum, have continued to threaten lives – day after day.**

On June 11, the Trump administration said that it would not reveal the identities of the recipients of Paycheck Protection Program loans – low interest, forgivable loans intended to help small businesses weather the coronavirus pandemic, which to that date had totaled more than \$500 million – even though business loans under other federal programs had typically been made public. Critics in both parties, as well as oversight officials within the government, quickly saw the potential for graft and other abuse of the funds; and by June 15 the House had opened an investigation.<sup>123</sup> On June 19, under pressure, the administration abruptly reversed and said it would disclose most of the loan data.<sup>124</sup> Nevertheless, on June 25, the Government Accountability Office cited the Small Business administration for lacking safeguards and resisting oversight in administering the loans, stating that fraud and misuse of loan proceeds were likely.<sup>125</sup> On July 17, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin suggested that all PPP loans under \$150,000 be forgiven outright – that is, without the borrowers having to prove the proper use of the funds – which again stirred bi-partisan concerns about the prospect of widespread fraud.<sup>126</sup>

On June 15, the Food and Drug Administration pulled its emergency approval of the anti-malarial drug hydroxychloroquine for preventing or treating Covid-19. The earlier approval had seemingly materialized through direct or indirect pressure from Mr. Trump, who had announced that he himself was using the drug as a prophylactic – even though clinicians had been skeptical of the safety and efficacy of the drug from the outset. The FDA had now determined that the drug was neither safe nor effective relative to Covid-19.

Also on June 15, Vice President Mike Pence “encouraged” a group of governors to downplay the recent spike in coronavirus diagnoses in over 20 states by blaming that spike on increased testing for the disease – a proposition that public health experts contested. He also falsely claimed that the coronavirus was in retreat in Oklahoma – where Mr. Trump was planning a dangerous, jam-packed, indoor reelection rally in Tulsa over the pleas not to do so by city officials – when the precise opposite was true: cases in Oklahoma were rising.<sup>127</sup> On June 16, Pence made similar

claims in an op-ed in The Wall Street Journal, as he praised the administration's "success" in containing the disease and blamed the media for stoking panic about a coming "second wave" of the pandemic.<sup>128</sup> Pence had held numerous public meetings in recent days without wearing a mask, and he was filmed addressing in person the Trump reelection campaign's staff – none of whom were wearing masks.<sup>129</sup> Critics quickly called out Pence's disingenuous and perilous conduct.<sup>130</sup>

On June 16, Dr. Anthony Fauci, the government's top epidemiologist, told NPR that he hadn't spoken with Mr. Trump in two weeks – and then only about vaccine development, not about containing the pandemic.<sup>131</sup> On June 19, Mr. Trump publicly rebuked Fauci for suggesting that professional football games be canceled in the fall to stem the tide of the pandemic. "*Tony Fauci has nothing to do with NFL Football,*" he said.<sup>132</sup>

Also on June 19, in the run-up to the Tulsa campaign rally, Mr. Trump refused to caution that attendees wear face masks – insisting instead that it was a matter of their personal choice, notwithstanding federal guidelines firmly calling for the wearing of masks. He said that he himself wouldn't be wearing a mask, because "I don't feel that I'm in danger. I've met a lot ... of people, and so far here I sit." (He did not note that everyone who meets with him is tested for Covid-19 beforehand.)<sup>133</sup>

At the Tulsa rally, indeed few attendees wore masks, even though they were offered masks as they entered. One attendee told a reporter that he had taken a mask when it was offered then had thrown it in the trash. Remarkably, Mr. Trump's campaign staff directed that thousands of cautionary social distancing stickers be removed from the audience seating, so that the crowd would appear denser on television cameras. Just as remarkably, in his speech, Mr. Trump thundered, "I told my people, 'Slow the testing down, please,' so that the numbers of infections wouldn't become known. Mr. Trump had previously expressed his displeasure that testing revealed the extent of the pandemic. But his statement in Tulsa that he had actually directed that testing be slowed – callous, ignorant, reckless, counterproductive, and contrary to the advice of his own public health officials – shocked observers. Multiple high-ranking White House officials quickly said that Mr. Trump had merely been joking – much as Mr. Trump had often before claimed to have been joking after being pilloried for one of his outlandish comments, and just as an aide said that Mr. Trump had been joking that very day after Mr. Trump had tweeted that John Bolton should be "bombed" for releasing his tell-all book (see CSD's entry of June 15 +, above, in the first part of this Addendum). But if it was a joke, it was a sick one. As noted above, every person coming into contact with Mr. Trump was being tested for Covid-19 beforehand; and Mr. Trump's dismissal of the value of testing for the general population suggested that only his life was worth protecting. Ironically, eight members of Mr. Trump's Tulsa advance team, including at least two Secret Service agents, tested positive for the disease. Whether Mr. Trump felt that they should not have been tested was not immediately reported. That they may have already spread the disease in Tulsa appeared possible, if not probable. But Mr. Trump was reportedly furious that their infections had been revealed to the press.<sup>134</sup>

(See also CSD's reports on the run-up to the Tulsa rally and on the rally itself at June 11 + and June 20 in the first portion of this Addendum.)

In the days after the Tulsa rally, Mr. Trump repeated multiple times his desire that the U.S. do less testing, even as Dr. Fauci and other top public health officials told the House Energy and Commerce Committee that testing was increasing. But as to whether Mr. Trump had been kidding about that matter in his Tulsa address, he said, “*I don’t kid.*”<sup>135</sup>

On June 22, The Washington Post reported that public health officials in many states had been threatened and verbally attacked by anti-lockdown partisans, forcing many to quit their positions.<sup>136</sup> The Times reported similarly.<sup>137</sup> That evening, a highly dedicated and accomplished Asian American public health official who had been appearing frequently during CNN television’s coronavirus coverage revealed that she too had received many insults in connection with her television and other public appearances, including being called a “bat-eater” and being told to go back to her country. She said that her Asian American colleagues, also frontline medical providers, had been spat upon for their ethnicity. She added that leaders of other countries were stepping up to defend their Asian citizens, but that Mr. Trump instead was inflaming the hatred.<sup>138</sup>

Also on June 22, columnists from The Post and The New York Times reported that the U.S. had now distinguished itself among developed countries both by American leadership’s denial of epidemiological science and by the current, resultant high rate of coronavirus infections here. Not only had some countries minimized infections altogether, but since the disease had rampaged through Europe it had now materially abated there; while in the U.S., particularly in Sunbelt states that had been quick to ease their lockdowns (almost all of them Republican), it was surging.<sup>139</sup> Along similar lines, The Post reported that developed countries that were currently experiencing regional spikes in infections were locking down those regions again, while U.S. regional spikes, at Mr. Trump’s urging, were being met only with further re-openings.<sup>140</sup> On June 23, The Times reported that the European Union was preparing to bar U.S. visitors, due to the high infection rates here.<sup>141</sup> On June 24, another Times columnist wrote that “the rest of the world is watching aghast,” with one American global health expert working overseas saying, “Those of us abroad are watching in horror, disbelief and pity.” On June 30, the EU effected its ban on American travelers.<sup>142</sup> On July 3, the UK announced that its citizens could travel to and return from some 59 countries without submitting to a 14-day quarantine, but that the U.S. was not one of them.<sup>143</sup> (CSD struggles to reconcile those reports with Mr. Trump’s campaign slogan, “*Make America Great Again!*”)

On June 23, a CNN television commentator noted that Dr. Fauci, Dr Birx and the government’s other top public health professionals were no longer appearing on that network, and that that was not the network’s decision.<sup>144</sup>

Also on June 23, as reported in the first section of this Addendum, Mr. Trump held a campaign rally for college students at a megachurch in Phoenix, Arizona. There the cheering indoor crowd was tightly packed and largely mask-less, as was Mr. Trump himself – even though coronavirus cases in that state were experiencing a record surge, even though a recent ordinance required masks, and even though the (Democratic) mayor had pleaded that attendees wear them. In Mr. Trump’s address he falsely said that the coronavirus was “going away”; he referred to it xenophobically as the “kung flu” (as he had done at a rally in Tulsa, Oklahoma on June 20); and

he falsely said that House Speaker Nancy Pelosi had danced “in the streets of Chinatown” after he had imposed a ban on in-bound travel from China with a view to stemming the spread of the virus.<sup>145</sup> But despite his assurances that all would be well, the students – like the Tulsa attendees – were required to sign a waiver of Covid-19 claims against the church and various other entities and their affiliates (including Mr. Trump).<sup>146</sup>

On June 24, Dr. Fauci (National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases), Dr. Robert Redfield (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention), Dr. Stephen Hahn (Food and Drug Administration) and Dr. Brett Giroir (Department of Health and Human Services) testified before the House Energy and Commerce Committee. They contradicted Mr. Trump’s claims that the pandemic was fading. They said that Mr. Trump had *not* directed them to slow down testing; that testing would actually increase; and that the country was endangered by the too-rapid reopening of various states that were now experiencing coronavirus surges. Fauci and Redford also said that they had not been consulted before Mr. Trump had announced that the U.S. planned to withdraw from the World Health Organization, and that that withdrawal would be problematic.<sup>147</sup>

On June 26, as the number of confirmed coronavirus infections hit a new daily record – over 40,000 – Vice President Pence claimed “remarkable progress” in fighting the disease, even while acknowledging that confirmed cases were rising “precipitously” in several southern states. At the first public press briefing by the coronavirus task force in nearly two months, he also said that “all 50 states and territories across the country are opening up, and safely and responsibly” – which was false, in that some of the re-openings had been neither safe nor responsible, and some of the reopened states were beginning to lock down again. He also said that the administration had “flattened the curve,” which was no longer true. He did not wear a mask at the event, and he declined to recommend that people wear masks in public. The public health officials appearing with him wore masks, and they issued far more distressing statements about the continuing spread of the pandemic. Unlike at the many previous public task force briefings, Mr. Trump was absent.<sup>148</sup> Instead, an hour afterwards, he crowed to an industry group about the country’s (highly questionable) economic recovery, made no mention of the mounting cases, and assured that everything was well.<sup>149</sup>

On June 28, as cases soared in Texas, Pence attended a lengthy religious service at a megachurch in Dallas, featuring a large choir that did not wear masks or socially distance. The congregation didn’t socially distance either, and half of the 2200 attendees didn’t wear masks.<sup>150</sup>

On July 1, Mr. Trump told a Fox Business interviewer that he thought the coronavirus will “just disappear” – a fable he had advanced before.<sup>151</sup> On July 2, as daily infections continued to reach new highs (now over 56,000) and new cases were increasing in 41 states, he said from a White House podium that “putting out the fires” was “working out well”; that the U.S. was “getting it under control”; and, praising himself, that he’d “done a historic thing” by having saved “millions of lives” and by now opening up the country “far faster than anybody thought even possible and more successfully.” Boasting of his pandemic response as a matter of personal machismo, he said, “*A lot of people would have wilted. We didn’t wilt. Our country didn’t wilt.*”<sup>152</sup> On the same day, Dr. Fauci said of the country’s response to the pandemic, “*I think it’s pretty obvious that we are not going in the right direction.*”<sup>153</sup>

Over the Independence Day weekend, some 80% of fireworks displays across the country had been canceled due to social distancing concerns.<sup>154</sup> But as reported above in the first section of this Addendum, on July 3 Mr. Trump held a campaign-style event at Mt. Rushmore, replete with fireworks and a military fly-over. Amid a record-breaking surge in coronavirus infections nationally – including 53,000 new cases diagnosed that day – he barely mentioned the pandemic. He did not wear a mask, nor did most of the members of his audience (who also did not socially distance).<sup>155</sup> On July 4, speaking at the National Mall in Washington, D.C., Mr. Trump blamed China for initiating the coronavirus pandemic; he cited made-up statistics trivializing the medical risks posed by the virus; and he stated without evidence that the U.S. would have an effective treatment or vaccine “long before the end of the year.”<sup>156</sup>

As the daily number of U.S. cases continued to surge – far eclipsing the daily number of new infections in Europe<sup>157</sup> – shortfalls in testing capacity continued to plague cities here, long lines at drive-through testing facilities continued,<sup>158</sup> and shortages of personal protective equipment again loomed.<sup>159</sup> Yet Mr. Trump still had declined to issue a national plan to respond to the pandemic. A columnist for the Times attributed the following phenomena at least in part to him: *“I don’t think any other advanced country (but are we still an advanced country?) has a comparable number of people who respond with rage when asked to wear a mask in a supermarket. There definitely isn’t any other advanced country where demonstrators against public health measures would wave guns around and invade state capitols. And the Republican Party is more or less unique among major Western political parties in its hostility to science in general.”*<sup>160</sup>

On July 6, Mr. Trump tweeted, *“The Mortality Rate for the China Virus in the U.S. is just about the LOWEST IN THE WORLD,”* then *“We now have the lowest Fatality (Mortality) Rate in the World.”* In fact the U.S. at that time had the sixth highest mortality rate of the 20 countries that had made the mortality statistic available.<sup>161</sup>

On July 7, as Mr. Trump said that the U.S. was in a “good place” with the pandemic,<sup>162</sup> some 350 public health organizations, advocacy groups and local health authorities delivered a letter to HHS Secretary Alex Azar urging that the CDC be re-empowered to lead the nation’s coronavirus response, and that that response be de-politicized.<sup>163</sup>

Also on July 7, Mr. Trump formally notified the World Health Organization that the U.S. would withdraw from it in 2021, to the considerable distress of U.S. health officials.<sup>164</sup>

On July 8, Mr. Trump said that he would cut federal funding of public schools if they declined to open in the fall due to the pandemic – even though he lacked the legal authority to do that. He complained that his own public health officials’ safety guidelines in regard to public schools were impractical and too expensive.<sup>165</sup> (Federal school funding, by design, is disproportionately directed toward poor school districts.<sup>166</sup> Whether that had been a factor in Mr. Trump’s threat was unknown.)

Also on July 8, CNN reported that Mr. Trump was now in open public dispute with his coronavirus task force, and that he had not met with the unit in months.<sup>167</sup>

As of July 8, coronavirus cases were rising in 40 states, and they were hitting record peaks in 13 of them.<sup>168</sup> Most of Florida's ICU beds were in use, and other Sunbelt states were reaching their limits as well.<sup>169</sup>

On July 9, Mr. Trump told Fox News that Dr. Fauci had “made a lot of mistakes.” At that point Mr. Trump had not spoken to Fauci for a month, and Fauci had not actually briefed Mr. Trump for two months. The two men disagreed mightily on the threat that the coronavirus continued to pose and the measures to be taken against that threat. In addition, according to The Post, “*Trump is also galleyed by Fauci's approval ratings. A recent [May 2020 CNN poll] showed that 67 percent of voters trusted Fauci for information on the coronavirus, compared with 26 percent who trusted Trump.*”<sup>170</sup> On July 12, CNN reported that Mr. Trump and Fauci were no longer on speaking terms; and that because Fauci was not seen as looking after Mr. Trump's interests, the White House was actively undertaking to discredit Fauci in the eyes of the public, including by conducting opposition research on him for use in government propaganda.<sup>171</sup> The Times and the Post also reported that disparagement campaign.<sup>172</sup> On July 14, Mr. Trump's trade chief Peter Navarro wrote in a USA Today op-ed that Fauci had been consistently wrong in his science;<sup>173</sup> but after massive blow-back on the part of both the public and the medical community,<sup>174</sup> Mr. Trump threw Navarro under the bus.<sup>175</sup> Trump allies Dan Scavino and Stephen Moore (right-wing political figures with no scientific or medical training) had nevertheless joined in the campaign; by July 15, 52% of Republican voters no longer trusted Fauci; and, as of July 18, the unprecedented conflagration between the White House and the country's public health community was reportedly impeding the nation's response to the pandemic.<sup>176</sup> Mr. Trump couldn't fire Fauci, who was a career civil servant; but Fauci's continuing service to the nation appeared to turn ever more on his personal fortitude.

On July 10, The Post reported that Mr. Trump, and now Navarro, were pressing the FDA to promote hydroxychloroquine as a treatment for Covid-19 – contrary to the views of the administration's public health scientists, and seemingly for the sole purpose of proving that Mr. Trump had not erred in touting the drug prematurely.<sup>177</sup> (See CSD's June 15 entry, above, regarding the FDA's having pulled its emergency approval of the drug.)

Also on July 10, Politico reported that Mr. Trump's campaign staff were being discouraged from and mocked for wearing face masks and for socially distancing on the job – even though numerous campaign associates had been diagnosed with Covid-19.<sup>178</sup>

On July 13, Mr. Trump re-tweeted a baseless accusation that “everyone is lying” about the pandemic's risks: “the CDC, Media, Democrats, our Doctors.”<sup>179</sup>

On July 14, media reported that the White House had directed that hospitals report their data about Covid-19 treatment – available ICU beds, patients on ventilators, stockpiles of PPE – to the Department of Health and Human Services rather than to the CDC. Many hospitals were outraged; and critics feared that HHS, which was more politically aligned with Mr. Trump, would manipulate or hide the data.<sup>180</sup> When the CDC's reporting system was then suddenly disabled in connection with the change-over, havoc ensued, and the outcry – including by the

National Governors Association and by other federal health departments – forced the government to restore it on July 16.<sup>181</sup>

Also on July 16, a daily U.S. record was set for newly diagnosed Covid-19 infections, at over 70,000.<sup>182</sup> Florida’s tally alone far exceeded that of the European Union, which was vastly more populous.<sup>183</sup>

On July 17, Politico reported that the White House was blocking CDC officials from testifying before the House Education and Labor Committee. As the pandemic continued to rage, Mr. Trump had been demanding that public schools re-open in the fall, while disparaging the agonized pleas of many teachers and parents to the contrary – and while delaying the issuance of guidelines for re-opening the schools safely, as school districts raced to plan for the now fast-approaching academic year.<sup>184</sup> For CSD, Mr. Trump’s demand – that school systems across the entire country obey him – flew in the face of his refusal to guide governors on how to respond to the pandemic more generally. That is to say, he was eager to cross the states when directing an “open” but not a “close,” and not even mask-wearing or social distancing. His coronavirus battle-cry seemed to be for a “whether,” not for a “how” – for a slogan, not a solution.

Also on July 17, The Times reported that while face masks were now being widely worn in the U.S., particularly in more populous regions, the single biggest determinant of mask wearing was not location but political affiliation, with Republicans wearing masks at a far lower rate than Democrats.<sup>185</sup> Separately, The Times reported that while 65% of Americans trusted Dr. Fauci on the pandemic, only 39% of Republicans did.<sup>186</sup> CSD continued to marvel at how Mr. Trump had come to suffocate the credibility of science among his supporters; and/or how they had come to suffocate it within him – in a non-virtuous circle.

In a Fox News interview on July 18, Mr. Trump doubled-down on his earlier false statement that the U.S. had one of the lowest Covid-19 mortality rates in the world, by presenting a heavily and preposterously doctored statistical chart that omitted all the bad news. In the same interview, he said for at least the third time that one day the coronavirus will just “disappear,” and he claimed that he had been right about the pandemic “probably more than anybody else.” He also repeated his false claims that anyone who wanted to get a test for the disease could get one, and that increased testing was the only reason that reported cases were growing in the U.S. He also found an opportunity to call Dr. Fauci “a little bit of an alarmist.”<sup>187</sup>

But except among the Republican grass-roots, Fauci remained popular. In defending and honoring him, on July 19 a columnist for The Times succinctly portrayed what she referred to as the new, “ultimate odd couple”: *“the doctor and the president. One is a champion of truth and facts. The other is a master of deceit and denial. One is highly disciplined, working 18-hour days. The other can’t be bothered to do his homework and golfs instead. One is driven by science and the public good. The other is a public menace, driven by greed and ego. One is a Washington institution. The other was sent here to destroy Washington institutions. One is incorruptible. The other corrupts.”*<sup>188</sup>

Notwithstanding Mr. Trump’s recent call for fewer Covid-19 tests to be administered to the public, on July 21 the White House acknowledged that he himself was now being tested up to



“multiple times per day.” In any event, testing opportunities remained scarce for many Americans; and – possibly worse – the delivery of their test results was commonly delayed by many days, thus often rendering their tests almost meaningless.<sup>189</sup>

On July 21, Mr. Trump delivered his first coronavirus task force briefing since April. No public health professionals spoke at the appearance. He at last urged (but did not mandate) the wearing of face masks, and he acknowledged that the pandemic would get worse in the U.S. before it got better. But he did not provide any actual update on the spread of the virus or his plans to quell it. Instead, he reiterated his statement that someday the disease would “just disappear” – contrary to the broad consensus of scientists. He also repeated his falsehood that the U.S. has “done much better than most” countries in containing the virus, when in fact the U.S. had performed far worse than most of the industrialized world. He also continued to refer to the disease as the “China virus.”<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/06/16/us/politics/trump-law-enforcement.html>

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- <sup>158</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/06/us/coronavirus-test-shortage.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/as-cases-surge-lines-for-covid-19-tests-sometimes-stretch-miles-in-the-summer-heat/2020/07/01/f0951586-ba4b-11ea-80b9-40ece9a701dc\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/as-cases-surge-lines-for-covid-19-tests-sometimes-stretch-miles-in-the-summer-heat/2020/07/01/f0951586-ba4b-11ea-80b9-40ece9a701dc_story.html) and <https://apnews.com/52e57911691a332630a3c93a6e76612a>
- <sup>159</sup> <https://apnews.com/481d933b0caa6f5fc61f466c86d4777b> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/07/08/ppe-shortage-masks-gloves-gowns/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/07/08/ppe-shortage-masks-gloves-gowns/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/08/health/coronavirus-masks-ppe-doc.html>
- <sup>160</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/06/opinion/covid-19-trump.html>
- <sup>161</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/07/politics/trump-coronavirus-death-rate-lowest-fact-check/index.html>
- <sup>162</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anderson-cooper-donald-trump-coronavirus-claim-debunked\\_n\\_5f057451c5b63a72c33ab887](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anderson-cooper-donald-trump-coronavirus-claim-debunked_n_5f057451c5b63a72c33ab887)
- <sup>163</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/07/07/hundreds-health-groups-petition-trump-350154>

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<sup>164</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/07/politics/us-withdrawing-world-health-organization/index.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/coronavirus-america-versus-world/2020/07/07/977c8dea-c06c-11ea-b4f6-cb39cd8940fb\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/coronavirus-america-versus-world/2020/07/07/977c8dea-c06c-11ea-b4f6-cb39cd8940fb_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>165</sup> <https://apnews.com/93fb781c01777eaf5ce86ddc86ce7a11> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/trump-schools-cdc-pence/2020/07/08/8a52d400-c14b-11ea-b4f6-cb39cd8940fb\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/trump-schools-cdc-pence/2020/07/08/8a52d400-c14b-11ea-b4f6-cb39cd8940fb_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>166</sup> <https://apps.urban.org/features/school-funding-do-poor-kids-get-fair-share/>

<sup>167</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/07/08/politics/trump-fauci-cdc-redfield-experts-coronavirus/index.html>

<sup>168</sup> <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/07/09/california-and-florida-hit-new-record-for-average-daily-coronavirus-cases-as-us-hospitalizations-surge.html>

<sup>169</sup> <https://www.cbsnews.com/news/florida-coronavirus-icu-beds-84-percent-full/> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/surge-in-virus-hospitalizations-strains-hospitals-in-several-states/2020/07/08/12855e5e-c135-11ea-864a-0dd31b9d6917\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/surge-in-virus-hospitalizations-strains-hospitals-in-several-states/2020/07/08/12855e5e-c135-11ea-864a-0dd31b9d6917_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>170</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/11/fauci-trump-coronavirus/> and <https://www.forbes.com/sites/tommybeer/2020/07/10/fauci-pushes-back-on-trumps-false-claims-says-he-hasnt-briefed-president-in-2-months/#7ad381de79d0>

<sup>171</sup> CNN television news, Wolf Blitzer, July 12, 2020.

<sup>172</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/12/us/politics/fauci-trump-coronavirus.html> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/white-house-undercuts-fauci\\_n\\_5f0bf93ac5b67a80bc098815](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/white-house-undercuts-fauci_n_5f0bf93ac5b67a80bc098815)

<sup>173</sup> <https://www.usatoday.com/story/opinion/todaysdebate/2020/07/14/anthony-fauci-wrong-with-me-peter-navarro-editorials-debates/5439374002/> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/07/14/navarro-blasts-fauci-in-op-ed-362416>

<sup>174</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anthony-fauci-ebola-suit-leadership\\_n\\_5f0fdce6c5b6d14c3362dc4c](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/anthony-fauci-ebola-suit-leadership_n_5f0fdce6c5b6d14c3362dc4c)

<sup>175</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/white-house-distances-itself-from-extraordinary-navarro-op-ed-criticizing-fauci/2020/07/15/05121c6e-c697-11ea-b037-f9711f89ee46\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/white-house-distances-itself-from-extraordinary-navarro-op-ed-criticizing-fauci/2020/07/15/05121c6e-c697-11ea-b037-f9711f89ee46_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening)

<sup>176</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/rancor-between-scientists-and-trump-allies-threatens-pandemic-response-as-cases-surge/2020/07/17/d950e9b6-c777-11ea-a99f-3bbdfbf1af38\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/rancor-between-scientists-and-trump-allies-threatens-pandemic-response-as-cases-surge/2020/07/17/d950e9b6-c777-11ea-a99f-3bbdfbf1af38_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/17/us/politics/fauci-trump-coronavirus.html>

<sup>177</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/07/10/peter-navarro-hydroxychloroquine-coronavirus/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_evening\\_edition&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_evening](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/07/10/peter-navarro-hydroxychloroquine-coronavirus/?utm_campaign=wp_evening_edition&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_evening)

<sup>178</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/07/10/trump-campaign-office-social-distancing-356439>

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- <sup>179</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-health-coronavirus-trump-idUSKCN24E1XS> and <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/07/13/trump-questions-public-health-experts-twitter-359388>
- <sup>180</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/14/us/politics/trump-cdc-coronavirus.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/07/13/trump-administration-recommend-national-guard-an-option-help-hospitals-report-covid-19-data/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/07/13/trump-administration-recommend-national-guard-an-option-help-hospitals-report-covid-19-data/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/coronavirus-reporting-white-house\\_n\\_5f0e1ed8c5b648c301f0b5b3](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/coronavirus-reporting-white-house_n_5f0e1ed8c5b648c301f0b5b3)
- <sup>181</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/07/16/coronavirus-hospitalization-data-outcry/>
- <sup>182</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/07/17/coronavirus-live-updates-us/>
- <sup>183</sup> <https://www.wfla.com/community/health/coronavirus/florida-records-more-new-covid-19-cases-than-all-of-europe-combined/>
- <sup>184</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/07/17/education-democrats-cdc-director-congress-367935> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/opinion/sunday/covid-schools-reopen-teacher-safety.html>
- <sup>185</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/07/17/upshot/coronavirus-face-mask-map.html>
- <sup>186</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/17/us/politics/fauci-trump-coronavirus.html>
- <sup>187</sup> <https://www.axios.com/chris-wallace-trump-mortality-rate-521a81e8-f7eb-42c7-ab84-c84b4b1eaf2d.html> and <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/trump-ready-commit-election-results-loses-71867503>
- <sup>188</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/18/opinion/sunday/fauci-trump-coronavirus.html>
- <sup>189</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/20/opinion/portland-protests-trump.html>
- <sup>190</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-coronavirus-will-get-worse-briefing/2020/07/21/2e224734-cb63-11ea-b0e3-d55bda07d66a\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-coronavirus-will-get-worse-briefing/2020/07/21/2e224734-cb63-11ea-b0e3-d55bda07d66a_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/21/takeaways-trump-coronavirus-briefing-return/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/21/takeaways-trump-coronavirus-briefing-return/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-admits-coronavirus-get-worse\\_n\\_5f17690ec5b6128e681df77e](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-admits-coronavirus-get-worse_n_5f17690ec5b6128e681df77e)



## CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY

### SPECIFIC CONCERNS

#### Addendum 32 – September 11, 2020

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

The current Addendum appears in four parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p. 37, chronicles the Republican National Convention, at which Mr. Trump was nominated to run for a second term. The third part, beginning on p. 47, chronicles events surrounding Mr. Trump's efforts to suppress voting and discredit the results of the upcoming November 2020 election. The fourth part, beginning on p. 52, chronicles events surrounding Mr. Trump's response to the coronavirus pandemic.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Episode</u>	<u>Category</u>
7-22-20 +	<b><u>Racial justice protests.</u></b> On July 22, Mr. Trump announced that he was sending several hundred security agents from a variety of federal agencies to fight street crime and gang violence in a number of Democratic-controlled cities. The move in itself was not unusual; but the political motivation and messaging in an election year was – as was Mr. Trump's intentional conflation of the street crime and gang maneuver with his hardline security response to racial justice protests in Portland, Oregon. <sup>1</sup> [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 17 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)

<p>7-22-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On July 25, Politico reported on what had become Mr. Trump’s leading campaign theme, now supported in his campaign advertisements by incendiary video imagery from Portland: violent urban protests, which in truth, at that point, remained rare.<sup>2</sup> (Paradoxically, from all appearances Mr. Trump had come to detest cities and the welfare of their inhabitants, except as stage sets for his authoritarian rhetoric. For example, on August 18, he shared a tweet about “Democrat cities”: “Let them rot.”<sup>3</sup>)</p> <p>Also on July 25, The New York Times reported that the Portland protests – which had been waning before federal agents had arrived, then had reignited seemingly because of the federal presence – were now directed as much against the federals as toward the ideal of racial justice. In addition, as reported, some observers saw the federals as exceeding their lawful deployment in protecting the Portland federal courthouse by venturing blocks from there to confront the protesters: violently, gratuitously, provocatively, and illegally.<sup>4</sup></p> <p>Also on July 25, after federal agents appeared in Seattle, violent confrontations recurred there, as well as in several other cities – many or all of them now seemingly sparked by the federal clampdown.<sup>5</sup> (<u>For the avoidance of doubt, CSD condemns violent protest tactics as well as provocations and overreactions on the part of local and federal security forces, not to mention Mr. Trump. We particularly condemn violent protesters for their colossal stupidity at a time when Americans were preparing to vote on whether our country would survive as a democracy.</u>)</p> <p>On July 29, The Washington Post published a run-down on the appearance of gun-carrying conservatives at many public events in recent months. They purported to stand against the racial justice movement, urban violence in connection with racial justice protests, coronavirus restrictions, and/or constraints on gun ownership. The news: these were not radical, anti-government militias; rather, they were pro-government supporters of local law enforcement agents and Mr. Trump. (Armed, anti-government militias had also been active, coming from their usual rural venues into cities and towns, and appearing at hundreds of events in 2020.)<sup>6</sup></p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 17 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)</p>
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<p>7-22-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Also on July 29, the United Nations Human Rights Committee (a respected body of international law experts, to be distinguished from the highly political and often provocative Human Rights Council) challenged Mr. Trump’s tactics in seeking to quell racial justice protests.<sup>7</sup></p> <p>On August 9, Attorney General William Barr – one of Mr. Trump’s chief enablers in his radical assault on American democracy – told Fox News that liberals were intent on “tearing down the system” and that the Black Lives Matter movement was “<i>a revolutionary group that is interested in some form of socialism, communism. They’re essentially Bolsheviks.</i>” He also accused the Democratic Party of being “a secular religion, ... a substitute for a religion,” and the media of ignoring antifa violence.<sup>8</sup></p> <p>Media reported on August 18 that the White couple that had been notoriously filmed brandishing guns at peaceful protesters as the protesters had passed their home in St. Louis, Missouri on June 28 would speak at the Republican National Convention in late August. The couple had been criminally charged for the firearms episode. At the convention, the Republican Party would nominate Mr. Trump to run for his second elected term.<sup>9</sup></p> <p><u>Kenosha.</u> On August 23, a White policeman in Kenosha, Wisconsin, at close range, fired seven shots at the back of Jacob Blake, an unarmed and non-threatening Black man, hitting him four times and paralyzing him in front of his children. Peaceful and violent protests followed.<sup>10</sup> On August 25, a teenage admirer of Mr. Trump killed two unarmed social justice protesters in that city with a military-style assault rifle that he had brought to the venue illegally from his home in Illinois. (He then attempted to surrender to police, who did not arrest him.)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Although Mr. Trump had been voluble in condemning social justice protesters that week, including in his incendiary acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention, for days he refused to comment on the Kenosha killings. But Mr. Trump’s son, Donald Jr., tweeted a message in support of the killer.<sup>11</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 17 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)</p>
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<p>7-22-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Finally, on August 31, Mr. Trump spoke. He suggested that the teenage extremist had been acting in self-defense. He also said that his administration was “looking at it” and had the matter “under investigation” – as though he had jurisdiction to intervene in Wisconsin’s state justice system (he did not) and to introduce the self-defense argument there (he did not).<sup>12</sup> For CSD, all of that not only defied the facts of the case and the law of the land, but it had the potential to encourage even more vigilantism and extra-judicial killings, such as dictators worldwide had long included in their political arsenals.</li><li>• But seemingly intent on pouring fuel on the fire, on September 1 Mr. Trump, his attorney General William Barr and other retainers flew to Kenosha – on a campaign style trip, at taxpayer expense, and unwanted by the governor and the mayor. There he met with and praised law enforcement officials, viewed the property damage caused by violent protesters, scoured those committing the violence (“anarchists,” “looters,” “rioters” and “agitators”), slammed Democrats for what he claimed to be their weak response to the violence, included almost no Black people in his televised community meeting, dismissed any discussion of police brutality, and silenced a local pastor from speaking about racial injustice. He did not console the families of the shooting victims, did not meet separately with Black community leaders, did not mention the deaths of the two men at the hands of the teenage extremist, and did not even utter the name of Jacob Blake – whose shooting had precipitated the violence to begin with.<sup>13</sup></li><li>• On September 2, without proof, Barr told CNN’s Wolf Blitzer that Blake had been armed when he was shot.<sup>14</sup></li></ul> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 17 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)</p>
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<p>7-22-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On August 29, Trump supporters riding in a caravan of some 600 vehicles drove through Portland. Some shot peaceful protesters with paintballs and pellet guns. Someone believed to be a right-wing demonstrator and Trump supporter was shot dead by someone believed to be a far-left antifa proponent. The following day, on Twitter, Mr. Trump praised the caravan riders as “GREAT PATRIOTS!”<sup>15</sup> On August 31, Mr. Trump told a Fox News interviewer that the social justice protesters in Portland were violent and the counter-protesters peaceful; and at a press conference he said that the paintball guns had been for self-defense. (CSD wondered how would he know that.)<sup>16</sup></p> <p><u>Many observers maintained that Mr. Trump was actually stoking the violence on both sides with a view to helping himself win reelection.</u><sup>17</sup> <u>One observer noted that Benito Mussolini rose to power as Italy’s Fascist dictator after encouraging violence between left and right factions, then claiming that only he could save the country.</u><sup>18</sup></p> <p>On August 30, Mr. Trump re-tweeted a video that recorded a Black man assaulting a White woman on the New York City subway and that blamed Black Lives Matter and antifa. But in fact the man was not associated with either ideology.<sup>19</sup></p> <p>On August 31, Mr. Trump told a Fox News interviewer that Portland had been burning “for decades.” (It had not been; it had frequently been cited as one of the most “livable cities in America.”) He said that unnamed people in “dark shadows” were pulling the strings behind both the social justice protests and his electoral opponent Joe Biden. He also said that “thugs wearing dark uniforms” had crowded into an airplane to fly to Washington to disrupt the Republican National Convention. The following day he elaborated: that the people on the plane were “the looters, the anarchists, the rioters, people that obviously were looking for trouble.” Neither he nor anyone in the White House was able to evidence or clarify the new heap of conspiracy theories.<sup>20</sup></p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 17 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)</p>
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<p>7-22-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On September 1, The Times reported that although Barr and the acting Secretary of Homeland Security Chad Wolf had recently threatened to arrest Black Lives Matter leaders, the administration’s undertaking to investigate right-wing extremists – identified by Department of Homeland Security analysts a year before as the biggest domestic terror threat – had stalled.<sup>21</sup> (On September 4, Politico reported that DHS was preparing a release that would confirm that right-wing extremists continued to pose the paramount domestic terror threat. Politico’s information came from a leak.<sup>22</sup> CSD speculates that the leak may have been in reaction to The Times’ reporting.)</p> <p><u>On September 2, Mr. Trump issued a memorandum requiring federal agencies to review, and to consider withholding, all grants to U.S. cities “that are permitting anarchy, violence and destruction.” He made clear that the memorandum would pertain only to Democratic-led cities, which the memorandum characterized as “anarchist jurisdictions.”</u> The memorandum also directed the agencies to determine how Mr. Trump, legally, could supersede congressional legislation that already provided for the current funding. Observers said that <u>any attempt to cut the grants would be unlawful</u>, that the memorandum was a political stunt, and that any cuts would not survive the litigation that the affected cities would likely bring. The memorandum made no mention of the social justice issues that had sparked the civil disorder, or ways in which the federal government could act to mitigate that disorder – either short-term or longer term – other than through stronger policing efforts.<sup>23</sup></p> <p>On September 3, the city of Rochester, New York released a video showing that, in March, officers had asphyxiated Daniel Prude, a Black criminal suspect. Fresh protests, some of them violent, arose in that city, as unrest continued elsewhere.<sup>24</sup></p> <p>On September 4, in a move that appeared intended to intersect with the country’s continuing upheavals around social justice, the Trump administration issued a memorandum calling for the curtailment of racial sensitivity training sessions within the federal workplace that had begun under President Obama.<sup>25</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 17 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)</p>
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<p>7-22-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On September 7, more than 1,000 supporters of Mr. Trump – many of them armed with rifles, pistols, knives and clubs – drove in a convoy of trucks, tractors, cars and motorcycles from Salem, Oregon to the suburbs of Portland. There they demonstrated and at one point assaulted social justice protesters. Participants included members of the White nationalist group Proud Boys and adherents of the QAnon conspiracy theory.<sup>26</sup></p> <p>At a news conference on September 7, Mr. Trumped said that local police should seek “retribution” against protesters who throw objects at them.</p>	<p>3, 5, 6, 7, 9, 17 (3, 5, 6, 7, 9)</p>
<p>7-23-20</p>	<p><b>More pardons, please.</b> Mr. Trump told Fox News that he might pardon individuals who had been convicted or who had pleaded guilty as a result of Robert Mueller’s Russia investigation. The beneficiaries presumably could include campaign figures Michael Flynn, George Papadopoulos and Paul Manafort, as well as Roger Stone, whose punishment Mr. Trump had recently commuted.<sup>27</sup> His possible motives: vanity and revenge (doubling down on his profession of his own innocence); and/or corruption (purchasing the clemency candidates’ continuing silence about his own wrongdoings with respect to Russia).</p>	<p>9</p>
<p>7-23-20 +</p>	<p><b>Cohen goes home.</b> On July 23, a federal judge ordered the release from prison of Michael Cohen, Mr. Trump’s former personal attorney and fixer. Cohen was serving time for having helped Mr. Trump evade campaign finance laws in connection with paying off several of Mr. Trump’s mistresses, and related charges. He had been granted home furlough due to the coronavirus, but had then been re-detained when he had refused to agree not to publish his harsh memoir about Mr. Trump before the November election. The judge found that re-detention to have been political, retaliatory, and unprecedented.<sup>28</sup> On July 30, the government conceded the larger point – that it would not seek to prevent Cohen from speaking, writing or publishing.<sup>29</sup> On September 8, Cohen released the book, which damned Mr. Trump for his criminality, his racism, his dishonesty, his quest for Russian help in his 2016 election, and his base character generally.<sup>30</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>

<p>7-23-20</p>	<p><b><u>DHS retaliation.</u></b> The Department of Homeland Security admitted in court that in February it had improperly punished New York by barring that state’s residents from enjoying speedy airport check-ins under the Trusted Traveler Program. The agency’s justification at the time had been that New York was the only state that wouldn’t cooperate with federal immigration officials about issuing drivers’ licenses to undocumented migrants. DHS now admitted that that had been untrue – other states also didn’t cooperate, and they had not been similarly restricted at airports. Punishing New York residents had instead been pure political vengeance, for the decision of that state to grant licenses to the undocumented.<sup>31</sup> The revelation of the lie prompted New York political figures to accuse top DHS officials of criminal conduct.<sup>32</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>7-24-20</p>	<p><b><u>Drones for sale.</u></b> The Trump administration announced that it would sell large armed drones to Middle Eastern dictatorships – in violation of an international accord that banned sales of such weapons.<sup>33</sup></p>	<p>12, 14</p>
<p>7-24-20</p>	<p><b><u>The local campaigns.</u></b> The New York Times reported that, in addition to purveying nationally-themed falsehoods (such as those pertaining to the coronavirus pandemic), Mr. Trump was campaigning for reelection by way of locally- and regionally-themed falsehoods and exaggerations. In particular, he was routinely taking unilateral credit for sector-specific economic bounty that in truth did not currently exist, that had existed before his presidency, that previous administrations had also succeeded in, or that Democrats had equally championed. Examples included his claims for having “rescued” lobstering in Maine, ethanol and car production in the Midwest, commercial fishing in Michigan, energy in Louisiana and Texas, National Guard facilities in New Hampshire, shipbuilding in Wisconsin, and transportation projects in multiple swing states.<sup>36</sup></p>	<p>7</p>

<p>7-24-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>DACA Contempt.</u></b> On July 24, the Justice Department acknowledged that it was dithering in restoring the DACA program after the Supreme Court had ordered it restored in June. The program saves from deportation Hispanic migrants who had been brought to the U.S. as children; Mr. Trump had suspended it in 2017. A federal court now was contemplating a hearing as to whether to hold the department in contempt.<sup>37</sup> On July 28, <u>the Homeland Security Department affirmatively announced that it would no longer accept new applicants to the DACA program – in direct violation of the Supreme Court’s order.</u><sup>38</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>7-27-20</p>	<p><b><u>My FBI building.</u></b> A new coronavirus relief bill proposed by Senate Republicans included – to the expressed surprise and puzzlement of leading Republican senators – a \$1.75 billion authorization to build a new FBI headquarters at the site of the present headquarters, one block from the Trump International Hotel in Washington. As reported by CSD in 2017, Mr. Trump had sought to scuttle well-developed plans to move the headquarters to the suburbs, so that the current building, if demolished, wouldn’t be replaced by a hotel that would compete with his own. Apparently, he was still seeking that.<sup>39</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>
<p>7-27-20, 7-28-20</p>	<p><b><u>Barr defends, bristles.</u></b> Testifying defiantly on July 28 at a contentious House Judiciary Committee hearing, Attorney General William Barr defended his recent interventions in the criminal cases of Mr. Trump’s advisors Michael Flynn and Roger Stone. He defended the recent re-detention of Mr. Trump’s former attorney Michael Cohen after Cohen had refused to not publish his memoir. He defended the recent dismissal of the prosecutor who had been investigating Mr. Trump’s current attorney Rudy Giuliani. He defended the armed, right-wing protesters who had invaded the Michigan Capitol and called for the killing of the governor. He also railed against the “bogus ‘Russiagate’ scandal”; and contrary to Justice Department protocols, he refused to not release shortly before the November 2020 election his upcoming report on the origins of the 2016 probe of the Trump campaign – a report that was expected to (politically) demonize the probe and its Democratic supporters. <i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>17 (4, 7, 9)</p>

<p>7-27-20, 7-28-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Barr also exaggerated the incidence and damage of urban rioting in the wake of George Floyd’s death, and he promised to continue to send federal agents, uninvited, to quell urban unrest. He falsely denied that the protesters in Lafayette Square had been gassed. He warned (without evidence) that voting by mail could give rise to material electoral fraud. He falsely blamed President Obama for the poor epidemic testing system that had been in place when the coronavirus struck, three years after Obama’s term. And he expressly denied that he was Mr. Trump’s lickspittle; yet he defended, as “superb,” Mr. Trump’s disastrous handling of the coronavirus pandemic.<sup>40</sup></p> <p>On the previous day, Norman Eisen – a nationally prominent ethics expert, writing in the Washington Post – had reminded the nation of Barr’s many acts of complicity in Mr. Trump’s authoritarian conduct.<sup>41</sup> On August 1, now reinforced by Barr’s testimony, Eisen reminded in Politico to similar effect, charging that Barr had turned the Justice Department into “the president’s personal law firm.”<sup>42</sup> In this Chronology, CSD has amply covered Barr’s offenses; and we commend Eisen’s two pieces to our readers.</p>	<p>17 (4, 7, 9)</p>
<p>7-28-20</p>	<p><b>Pay my family.</b> An election watchdog organization reported that a contractor for Mr. Trump’s campaign was secretly, and therefore illegally, paying two of Mr. Trump’s relatives hundreds of thousands of dollars for unspecified services: Kimberly Guilfoyle (son Donald Jr.’s girlfriend) and Lara Trump (son Eric Trump’s wife).<sup>43</sup></p>	<p>7 (9,11, 15)</p>
<p>7-28-20 +</p>	<p><b>My census.</b> On July 28, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump was seeking to speed up, or to truncate, the completion of the decennial census, at a time when almost 40% of the population – disproportionately the poor, the young, and people of color – had not yet been counted. Census experts feared that the count could become drastically inaccurate. Mr. Trump’s likely motives: by shortening the count and excluding the referenced groups, not only would Democratic apportionment in Congress and the Electoral College be reduced, but Mr. Trump would be empowered to facilitate the apportionment during his current term of office. On Aug. 3, media reported that <u>Mr. Trump had now done it: had ordered the census collection period to be cut short by a month, ending on September 30.</u><sup>44</sup> Critics called it a bald and unprecedented attempt to skew the census for political purposes.<sup>45</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 8, 9</p>

<p>7-28-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On August 6, The Times reported that <u>the Census Bureau was exploring unlawful ways to estimate uncouncted and undocumented residents for purposes of skewing political apportionment in favor of Republicans</u>; and that that skewing was consistent with the openly stated interest of Mr. Trump’s recent political appointees to the bureau in effecting it.<sup>46</sup> (See above in this Chronology for Mr. Trump’s repeated efforts to corrupt the census for personal political gain.)</p> <p>On August 17, media reported that the Trump administration had added a third political appointee in the top ranks of the Census Bureau. The appointee was championed by voter suppression enthusiasts. Bureau staff reportedly feared the corruption of their statistical findings to benefit Republicans in the allocation of congressional seats among states.<sup>47</sup> (For reports on the two previous political appointments, see CSD’s entry of June 23, above.)</p> <p>A Times report of August 24 indicated that – beset by technological, staffing and coronavirus impediments, the census was barreling toward an undercount (particularly of poor, minority and immigrant households) so vast that its results might not even merit being released.<sup>48</sup></p>	<p>6, 8, 9</p>
<p>7-29-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Keeping it White.</u></b> On July 29, Mr. Trump directed his administration to stop enforcing certain fair housing standards, then he tweeted a nakedly racist boast such as no other recent president – even one committed to deregulation generally – would have done: <u>“I am happy to inform all of the people living their Suburban Lifestyle Dream that you will no longer be bothered or financially hurt by having low income housing built in your neighborhood. . . . Your housing prices will go up based on the market, and crime will go down. I have rescinded the Obama-Biden AFFH Rule. Enjoy!”</u><sup>49</sup></p> <p>On August 12, Mr. Trump tweeted: <u>“The ‘suburban housewife’ will be voting for me. They want safety &amp; are thrilled that I ended the long running program where low income housing would invade their neighborhood. Biden would reinstall it, in a bigger form, with Corey Booker in charge!”</u><sup>50</sup> (Corey Booker, the senator from New Jersey, is Black.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 9</p>



<p>7-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] A New York Times analysis compared Mr. Trump’s demagogic use of racism, point for point, to that of George Wallace, the segregationist governor and presidential candidate from Alabama who had inflamed the nation in the 1960s and 1970s – an era that most Americans had thought was long gone.<sup>51</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>7-30-20 +</p>	<p><b>Even in death.</b> Three former presidents delivered moving eulogies at a memorial service for the late civil rights icon and Georgia Congressman John Lewis. Mr. Trump had declined to attend – as he had declined to attend the memorial services for Senator John McCain, former first lady Barbara Bush, and Maryland Congressman Elijah Cummings, all of whom he had considered to be his adversaries. But he would not have been comfortable at the Lewis service anyway: unusually, he had no relationships with any of his predecessors – who, at the service, all spoke to themes denouncing hatred and division that directly implicated him.<sup>52</sup></p> <p>When asked by an Axios reporter in an interview that aired on August 3 how he thought history would remember Lewis, Mr. Trump responded, using figures of speech that he commonly deployed to dismiss a person’s significance: “<i>I don’t know. I don’t know John Lewis. He chose not to come to my inauguration. I never met John Lewis, actually, I don’t believe.</i>” As the reporter pressed his question, Mr. Trump said, about Lewis having skipped the inauguration, “<i>Nobody has done more for Black Americans than I have. He should have come. I think he made a big mistake.</i>”<sup>53</sup></p>	<p>6, 11</p>
<p>7-31-20 +</p>	<p><b>Russia, Russia, Russia.</b> On July 31, a New York Times analysis recapped Mr. Trump’s inexplicable docility and deference toward Russia in recent weeks: foregoing public criticism of Russia for funding bounties on U.S. troops in Afghanistan; attempting to deflect ongoing Russian election interference efforts by demonizing China; and, on July 29, through Defense Secretary Mark Esper, confirming that he would be removing a third of America’s troops in Germany – to NATO’s chagrin and to Russia’s great delight.<sup>54</sup></p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 14</p>

<p>7-31-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Also on July 31, after receiving a highly-classified counterintelligence briefing in which <u>the Trump administration reluctantly conceded that Russia was trying to interfere in the upcoming November election through a disinformation campaign for the benefit of Mr. Trump.</u> House Democratic leaders accused the administration of hiding that finding from the public.<sup>55</sup> On August 7, the administration made some of the information public, although falsely implying that a preference by China for Joe Biden’s candidacy was equivalent to Russia’s active intervention on behalf of Mr. Trump’s.<sup>56</sup> In response to the revelation that Russia again was aiding his election, Mr. Trump preposterously said, “<i>I think that the last person Russia wants to see in office is Donald Trump because nobody’s been tougher on Russia than I have, ever.</i>”<sup>57</sup></p> <p>On August 5, media reported that one element of the Russian disinformation effort consisted of a pro-Russian Ukrainian lawmaker named Andriy Derkach feeding conspiracy theories tarring Biden to Republican Senators Chuck Grassley and Ron Johnson – Mr. Trump’s allies who were investigating Biden and who seemed headed toward dropping a bombshell report about Biden shortly before the election.<sup>58</sup> [Continued below.]</p> <p>[Continued.] On August 7, MSNBC reported that Mr. Trump had spoken to Russian President Vladimir Putin eight times so far in 2020, compared to four times in all of 2019. The content of the discussions was not known.<sup>59</sup></p> <p>On August 16, <u>Mr. Trump retweeted a misleading audio recording of presidential contender Joe Biden that had been provided by a pro-Russian propagandist as part of what the U.S. intelligence community had identified as the Russian disinformation campaign. That is, Mr. Trump once again knowingly accepted and sought to capitalize on Russian meddling in a U.S. election.</u><sup>60</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 14</p>
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<p>7-31-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] On August 18, the Senate Intelligence Committee issued its final, bipartisan report on the 2016 election, in which it concluded that Russia had used Mr. Trump’s campaign chief Paul Manafort to help Mr. Trump win; that Manafort had been a “grave counterintelligence threat” and had conspired with Russia; that Manafort’s Russian contact during that period was an outright spy, and Manafort an asset; and that Russian President Vladimir Putin had personally directed at least some of the election interference.</u><sup>61</sup></p> <p><u>In addition, the committee reported that it had referred Mr. Trump’s son Donald Jr., his son-in-law Jared Kushner, his former advisor Steven Bannon, and two others to federal prosecutors for investigation, on suspicion that they had lied to the committee during its own earlier investigation; but no investigation of those men had ensued from that referral.</u><sup>62</sup></p> <p><u>The committee also revealed correspondence from Mr. Trump to Putin pre-dating the 2016 presidential campaign that established Mr. Trump’s longstanding and sometimes explicit admiration for the Russian autocrat.</u><sup>63</sup> <u>The committee further revealed that Mr. Trump’s advisor and Nixon-era dirty trickster Roger Stone had affirmatively coordinated the public release by Wikileaks of embarrassing emails stolen by Russia from the Democratic National Committee so as to distract from the release of the Access Hollywood tapes in which Mr. Trump had boasted about sexually assaulting women.</u><sup>64</sup></p> <p><u>The reason the committee had been able to gain that intelligence but that special prosecutor Robert Mueller had not: the Trump administration had refused it to Mueller.</u><sup>65</sup></p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 14</p>
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7-31-20 +	<p><u>[Continued.] On August 29, National Intelligence Director John Ratcliffe, recently a staunch Trump partisan and facilitator in Congress, announced that his office would no longer brief congressional leaders in person on foreign efforts at interfering with the upcoming American election. Given Ratcliffe’s ignoble history and the administration’s many other efforts at suppressing that intelligence, congressional leaders smelled a cover-up. The next day, Ratcliffe told Fox News that “China is using a massive and sophisticated influence campaign that dwarfs anything that any other country is doing” relative to the upcoming American election. The statement was false. According to other intelligence officials, Russia’s interference was far more direct and extensive – including its seeding of American officials and American social media with anti-Biden disinformation, about which Ratcliffe was silent.<sup>66</sup></u></p> <p><u>On August 30, The Times reported that in 2017 Rod Rosenstein, then deputy attorney general, had forbidden Mueller from investigating Mr. Trump’s decades-long personal business ties with Russia. Believing that those ties posed a deep national security threat, FBI counter-intelligence officials had begun the investigation, but within days Rosenstein stopped it. Only much later did the FBI’s then acting director Andrew McCabe learn that Mueller wouldn’t be covering the matter. He told The Times that had he known, he would have resumed the investigation.<sup>67</sup></u></p> <p>On September 2, ABC news reported that the Department of Homeland Security had withheld from law enforcement officials a July intelligence bulletin that Russia was falsely contaminating social media reports that Biden’s mental health was poor.<sup>68</sup></p> <p>On September 2, <u>Attorney General William Barr falsely told CNN’s Wolf Blitzer that Russia had not yet begun interfering in the 2020 presidential election.<sup>69</sup> [Continued below.]</u></p>	7, 9, 12, 14
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<p>7-31-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Also on September 2, German doctors determined that Aleksei Navalny, the leading figure in Russia’s anti-corruption protest movement, had been poisoned with a military-grade toxin. Navalny had taken sick some weeks previous. He ultimately had been evacuated for treatment in Germany, where he lay in critical condition in a medically induced coma. Leaders of the world’s democracies now charged the Kremlin with the crime and protested. Mr. Trump and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, however, were silent. On September 4, when asked about Navalny by reporters, Mr. Trump answered, “<i>We haven’t had any proof yet [that the Kremlin had directed the poisoning], but we will take a look. It is interesting that everyone’s always mentioning Russia... but I think probably China at this point is a nation you should be talking about much more so than Russia.</i>”<sup>70</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump likewise remained silent as European leaders objected to the rigging of the recent presidential election in Belarus, a dictatorship supported by Russia.<sup>71</sup></p> <p>Possibly stung by accusations of a cover-up, in a bulletin delivered to state and local officials on September 4, <u>DHS explicitly confirmed that Russia, through social media and other media outlets, was spreading charges that U.S. mail-in voting would be prone to fraud – thus “amplifying” the very same charges on that subject that Mr. Trump, Barr and other administration officials had been spreading.</u><sup>72</sup></p> <p><u>On September 9, the House Intelligence Committee released a whistleblower complaint filed by Brian Murphy, a former top intelligence official at the Department of Homeland Security. Murphy had alleged that senior DHS staff, including acting Secretary Chad Wolf and his predecessor Kirstjen Nielsen, had directed him from March 2018 through August 2020 to minimize in his reports the agency’s findings on Russian election interference and white supremacist threats, while maximizing threats from China, Iran, domestic anarchists and antifa. Murphy was eventually demoted for “making the president look bad.”<sup>73</sup> Thomas Bossert, Mr. Trump’s first homeland security advisor, said, “If that whistle-blower report is true, the people responsible are violating their oath of office.”<sup>74</sup> [Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 14</p>
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<p>7-31-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On September 10, the Treasury Department imposed sanctions on Andriy Derkach for interfering with the upcoming American elections. Derkach was the pro-Russian Ukrainian lawmaker who had been feeding anti-Biden propaganda to Mr. Trump, his personal attorney Rudi Giuliani, and Senate Republicans who were leading a corruption investigation of Biden.<sup>75</sup> (See also the August 5 episode above within this entry, “Russia, Russia, Russia,” for further detail on the Derkach-Senate connection.) Within hours after the announcement of the new sanctions – imposed by his own administration – Mr. Trump peculiarly said at a campaign rally, “<i>What about China? What about other countries? It’s always Russia, Russia, Russia.</i>”<sup>76</sup></p> <p>Also on September 10, media reported that Microsoft had identified efforts by the same Russian governmental group that had hacked Hillary Clinton’s campaign in 2016 to now be hacking Biden’s campaign. China too was attempting to hack the Biden campaign and had largely left Trump affiliates alone – thus appearing to discredit the Trump administration’s claim that China preferred Biden. The findings of Microsoft and other security analysts also confirmed that Russia was the most sophisticated and dangerous outside actor in the current election – thus further discrediting the Trump administration’s efforts to downplay Russia’s preeminence. (Microsoft had also identified efforts by China, Iran and Russia to hack a range of political consultants, academics, advocacy groups and other organizations – some of them Republican – and it had reported that the hacking activity was intensifying as the election approached. Altogether, the revelations were far more detailed than any that had been made public by the Trump administration.)<sup>77</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 12, 14</p>

<p>7-31-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Florida.</u></b> At a campaign rally attended by local sheriffs in Tampa, Florida, Mr. Trump served up his usual boasts about his performance as president, as well as his usual, gratuitous mockery of his adversaries Nancy Pelosi (“crazy”), Joe Biden (on the verge of senility), and the four freshman congresswomen of color known as The Squad (“real beauties”). He also claimed that he was “doing well” in the “battle against the China virus” in Florida, even as confirmed coronavirus cases and deaths were soaring there.</p> <p>Far more chillingly, however, Mr. Trump ranted at length about assaults on security forces by “anarchists” in other parts of the country. He expanded on that theme in gruesome detail. To strong applause, he implied that if such assaults were to occur in Florida, the sheriffs should and would respond brutally to the provocations.<sup>78</sup> As he proclaimed his “big love affair [with] law enforcement,” CSD was reminded of his earlier profession of love for North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un; his hushed-up, extra-marital flings with pornography stars Stormy Daniels and Karen McDougal; and his history as a sexual predator, having allegedly assaulted more than 20 women in years past. We of course don’t equate any of those indecencies with one another – American law enforcement, in particular, is wholly essential, largely honorable and frequently heroic. But we are struck, yet again, by Mr. Trump’s unorthodox ardors; his unquenchable, lascivious appetites more generally; and, at the end of the day, his promiscuity.</p>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>7-31-20</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo smears again.</u></b> The Democratic-controlled House Foreign Affairs Committee was forced to subpoena the State Department in order to obtain the same documents that State had willingly given Senate Republicans in their scheme, not yet unveiled, to smear presidential contender Joe Biden shortly before the upcoming election. The documents pertained to Biden’s diplomacy with Ukraine when he was vice president.<sup>79</sup></p> <p>Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had previously been derelict, if not complicit, in Mr. Trump’s vicious smearing of Marie Yovanovitch when she was the ambassador to Ukraine, for not joining in the campaign to smear Biden and his son Hunter. For extorting the president of Ukraine in connection with that campaign, Mr. Trump was ultimately impeached. (See above in this Chronology.)</p>	<p>17 (9)</p>

<p>8-3-20</p>	<p><b>With Axios.</b> HBO aired a 40-minute interview that Mr. Trump had given to an Axios reporter and that featured his ignorance, illogic and narcissism. In it:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He maintained that mail-in voting would give rise to widespread fraud (but he was unable to explain why).</li> <li>• He produced statistical charts that he claimed proved that the U.S. was excelling in its coronavirus response (but he was unable to counter the reporter’s rebuttals).</li> <li>• He maintained that experts agreed with him that coronavirus testing was excessive (but he was unable to tell the reporter who the experts were).</li> <li>• He blamed President Obama for not having bequeathed him a coronavirus test (but his predecessor had left office three years prior to the onset of the pandemic).</li> <li>• He claimed that the virus was under control (but a thousand Americans were dying daily).</li> <li>• He claimed to have not seen any intelligence to the effect that Russians were paying bounties to the Taliban to kill Americans (but that intelligence had inundated the news, and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had upbraided Russia’s foreign minister for that activity in mid-July<sup>80</sup>).</li> <li>• He again sent well wishes to Ghislaine Maxwell, his late friend Jeffrey Epstein’s girlfriend who had recently been arrested for sex trafficking of minors (contrast to his urgings that his many political adversaries be sent to jail).</li> <li>• He dismissed the significance of the late civil rights leader John Lewis (see CSD’s entry of July 30 +, above).<sup>81</sup></li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12</p>
<p>8-4-20 +</p>	<p><b>My country (as in, it’s mine).</b> On August 4, a Washington Post columnist noted that in recent days Mr. Trump had repeatedly and cavalierly claimed to possess sweeping executive powers that he possibly or definitely did not: to unilaterally cut payroll taxes and stop tenant evictions in order to mitigate the economic effects of the coronavirus pandemic; to ban the Chinese social media app TikTok and to extract a portion of any sales proceeds that an American company might pay to purchase the app; and to ban mail-in voting nationwide in the face of the pandemic.<sup>82</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>



<p>8-4-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] On August 8, Mr. Trump actually did some of that, in a sudden, flamboyant effort seemingly intended to make himself appear responsive to the pandemic: he ordered a delay in the collection of payroll taxes for some workers, the payment of a \$400 weekly benefit to the unemployed (\$100 to be funded by states), the halting of some tenant evictions, and the consideration of possible student loan forgiveness by federal agencies. He pledged prompt implementation. But critics asserted that some of those items were the prerogatives of Congress and thus likely to be challenged in court; and that all of them amounted to smoke and mirrors – grandstanding moves that had fundamental economic and logical flaws and that would not be widely effected or effective. Widespread confusion and uncertainty among businesses and unemployed workers ensued; some state governments feared bankruptcy from the unemployment order; and some scenarios issuing from the payroll tax cut risked breaking the finances of affected workers, while ignoring the plight of the unemployed. One prominent economist, citing what he said was the unanimous opinion of his colleagues, wrote:</p> <p><i>“[A] payroll tax cut is the hydroxychloroquine of economic policy. It’s a quack remedy that somehow caught Trump’s eye, which he won’t give up because sycophants keep telling him he’s infallible. There may be some ulterior motives — this move might end up undermining the finances of Social Security and Medicare — but that’s all secondary. Basically this is a tantrum from a president temperamentally incapable of owning up to his own mistakes. ... This would be a really good time for presidential leadership. But what we have instead is a pitchman hawking miracle cures at his country club. ... [Mr. Trump] really is completely out of his depth, with no understanding of either the epidemiological or the economic reality we face. At a moment of crisis America is cursed with a president who is incompetent, deeply ignorant, yet so personally insecure that he surrounds himself with people who tell him he’s a universal genius.”<sup>83</sup></i></p> <p>CSD professes no expertise in economics. But we pass on the concerns because they were so widespread.</p>	<p>9, 10, 11</p>

<p>8-4-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The end of Roman Catholicism in the United States.</u></b> On August 4, <u>Mr. Trump told a Catholic cable news outlet that Democrats “want to put the Church out of business” by restricting worship services during the coronavirus pandemic. He also warned that a Democratic administration under his opponent Joe Biden would “take all of [Catholics’] rights away.”</u><sup>84</sup> Both Biden and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi were practicing Catholics.</p> <p>On August 6, at an address to supporters in Cleveland, Ohio, Mr. Trump continued. He said that a Biden administration would “[t]ake away your guns, take away your Second Amendment. <i>No religion, no anything. Hurt the Bible. Hurt God. He’s against God. He’s against guns.</i>” The event was disguised as official White House business, and was funded by taxpayers.<sup>85</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump’s own spiritual and ethical commitments, if any, remained a mystery.</p>	<p>7, 8, 9</p>
<p>8-5-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>My nomination announcement, from my White House.</u></b> On August 5, Mr. Trump proposed accepting the forthcoming Republican Party nomination in a televised address from the White House. No incumbent president had ever done that (President Franklin D. Roosevelt had done it by radio in 1940), and critics of both parties said that the stunt would be illegal – using official government property and employees to promote a campaign.<sup>86</sup> Huffington Post followed with an extensive and stunning recitation of Mr. Trump’s routine use of taxpayer-funded platforms and trips to denounce Democrats and his electoral opponent Joe Biden.<sup>87</sup></p> <p>On August 10, Mr. Trump said that he might accept the nomination at the Gettysburg Battlefield – another federal property, staffed by other federal employees, and thus equally illegal.<sup>88</sup></p> <p>On August 17, he announced his decision: he would accept the nomination from the White House.<sup>89</sup> The Republican National Committee had already applied to the National Park Service for a permit to launch fireworks near the Washington Monument at the conclusion of his acceptance speech.<sup>90</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>8-7-20</p>	<p><b><u>Never before.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced that he was considering ordering insurers to cover pre-existing medical conditions, which he said “has never been done before.” Mr. Trump lacked the authority to issue such an order. Equally outrageous: coverage of pre-existing conditions was already an essential component of the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare) – an existing law benefiting millions of Americans that Mr. Trump had already ruthlessly hamstrung and was still trying to destroy, out of spite for President Obama. His current efforts in that vein included a lawsuit that was pending before the Supreme Court.<sup>91</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>8-8-20</p>	<p><b><u>My Mount Rushmore.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had asked the governor of South Dakota how he could have his face sculpted on Mt. Rushmore, and that she had encouraged him in that venture as recently as July 2020 in her hopes of being named to replace Mike Pence as the vice-presidential candidate at the upcoming Republican National Convention.<sup>92</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 16</p>
<p>8-11-20</p>	<p><b><u>Interviewing, for the sheer joy of it.</u></b> In a pair of lengthy morning radio interviews, Mr. Trump falsely stated that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• U.S.-developed coronavirus vaccines were almost ready for deployment.</li> <li>• He had been much tougher on Russia than President Obama had been.</li> <li>• The Obama administration had spied on him in a vast bureaucratic conspiracy.</li> <li>• If Joe Biden were to win the presidency in November, China would “own the United States.”<sup>93</sup></li> </ul> <p>In a Fox News television interview that evening, Mr. Trump said little about the pandemic or about Biden’s announcement shortly before that Kamala Harris would be his vice-presidential running-mate, but instead rambled for 20 minutes attacking:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wind energy.</li> <li>• The awarding of Pulitzer Prizes to his adversaries.</li> <li>• His impeachment.</li> <li>• Hillary Clinton.</li> <li>• Mail-in voting (alleging that Russia and China would be intercepting mailed ballots).</li> <li>• Hispanic gang members.</li> </ul>	<p>7, 8</p>

<p>8-12-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>In praise of extremists.</u></b> On August 12, after Marjorie Taylor Greene won a Georgia Republican primary election for a seat in the House of Representatives, Mr. Trump praised her as a “future Republican Star.” Greene was a racist and a QAnon conspiracy theory enthusiast whom most other leading Republicans had denounced. She had once warned that the world is controlled by a “global cabal of Satan-worshipping pedophiles.” A core QAnon precept is that a Jewish conspiracy seeks to enslave Americans. QAnon is also anti-Catholic. Referring to House Speaker Nancy Pelosi at her victory party speech, Greene promised to “kick that bitch out of Congress.” (Pelosi is a practicing Roman Catholic.)<sup>94</sup></p> <p>On August 18, after Laura Loomer won a Florida Republican primary election for a seat in the House, Mr. Trump tweeted his congratulations. Loomer, age 27, is an anti-Muslim extremist, who has been barred from numerous social media platforms and even conservative Republican events.<sup>95</sup></p> <p><u>Asked by reporters about QAnon on August 19, Mr. Trump praised QAnon followers for their patriotism, for their support of him, and (seemingly) for their policy positions.</u><sup>96</sup> This occurred even as Facebook was removing 790 QAnon groups from its site and more than 10,000 Instagram accounts related to QAnon, due to the movement’s perceived potential to incite violence. Facebook, Reddit and YouTube had already been removing QAnon content. The group had been linked to over a dozen violent incidents over the past year.<sup>97</sup></p> <p>On August 23, Mr. Trump’s chief of staff, Mark Meadows, told Fox News that he recently had had to Google QAnon to learn what it was, and that he had no problem with the ideology/organization. (The FBI had recently labeled the group a domestic terror threat.)<sup>98</sup></p>	<p>17 (5, 6, 7)</p>
<p>8-13-20</p>	<p><b><u>Birtherism II.</u></b> Within days after Democratic presidential candidate Joe Biden announced that Kamala Harris would be his vice-presidential running mate, <u>Mr. Trump and his campaign preposterously voiced suspicions that Harris was not an American citizen and thus couldn’t qualify for the office.</u> (Harris’s parents were non-citizens when she was born; but she was born in Oakland, California, and thus was clearly a citizen.) [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>4, 6, 9</p>

8-13-20	[Continued.] Mr. Trump had launched his political career by arguing volubly for years that President Obama wasn't born in the U.S., and thus couldn't sit as president. <sup>99</sup>	4, 6, 9
8-13-20	<p><b><u>Kanye West: spoiler.</u></b> <u>On July 4, the popular but controversial rapper, designer, billionaire and Trump supporter Kanye West had announced that he was running for president.</u> West had no political experience, and no coherent platform. In the weeks following, many reports surfaced that <u>Republicans were helping him get onto state ballots</u> for the November election, with a view to drawing Black votes away from Mr. Trump's electoral opponent, Joe Biden (West is Black). On August 8 or 9, West met privately with Jared Kushner, Mr. Trump's son-in-law and senior advisor. On August 13, NPR collected and published state-by-state reports of the Republican assistance.<sup>100</sup></p> <p>No previous presidential candidate's party was known to have supported an electoral spoiler. CSD saw in the escapade a radical corruption of the electoral process, at a minimum, and conceivably some manner of <u>electoral or campaign finance fraud.</u></p>	9
8-17-20	<p><b><u>In Minnesota.</u></b> Campaigning in Mankato, Minnesota, Mr. Trump called electoral opponent Joe Biden a "puppet of left-wing extremists trying to erase our borders, eliminate our police, indoctrinate our children, vilify our heroes, take away our energy." He said that a Biden victory would "replace American freedom with left-wing fascism."<sup>101</sup></p> <p>Campaigning in Oshkosh, Minnesota, Mr. Trump said, "We are going to win four more years. And then after that, we'll go for another four years because they spied on my campaign. We should get a redo of four years."<sup>102</sup></p>	6, 9
8-18-20	<p><b><u>The biggest scandal in history.</u></b> In a rambling Twitter response to Michelle Obama's criticisms of him during the virtual Democratic National Convention, Mr. Trump boasted hyperbolically about his record, blasted the Obama administration, then falsely concluded: "<i>The ObamaBiden Administration was the most corrupt in history, including the fact that they got caught SPYING ON MY CAMPAIGN, the biggest political scandal in the history of our Country. It's called Treason.</i>"<sup>103</sup></p>	7, 9, 11

<p>8-18-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Arizona.</u></b> Speaking to supporters in Yuma, Arizona, Mr. Trump accurately boasted about his many anti-immigration achievements; falsely claimed success in building his border wall (only 300 miles of replacement barrier had been installed, and at the expense of taxpayers, not Mexico); repeated his incendiary 2015 trope that he was defending Americans from “murderers” and “rapists” who were crossing the border from Mexico; and falsely accused his electoral opponent Joe Biden of wanting to turn dangerous criminal aliens loose on American streets.<sup>104</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>8-19-20</p>	<p><b><u>Goodyear boycott.</u></b> Mr. Trump urged his Twitter followers to boycott Goodyear tires, because Goodyear had mounted an employee training program in which it had said that attire containing messages supporting minority and gender rights was acceptable in the workplace, but that attire bearing contrary messages and Trump campaign messages was not.<sup>105</sup></p> <p>As reported previously in this Chronology, Mr. Trump had often called on the public, and had otherwise sought, to punish private enterprises that he believed did not support his agenda.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>8-20-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Pennsylvania.</u></b> Hours before Joe Biden accepted the Democratic nomination for the presidency, Mr. Trump entertained his own supporters in a small Pennsylvania town near Biden’s birthplace with a cascade of lies about Biden: that Biden was “a puppet of the radical-left movement that seeks to destroy the American way of life”; that Biden had “abandoned” his home town of Scranton when, as a child, he and his family had moved elsewhere; that Biden had promised to raise working people’s taxes by \$4 trillion, would “take away your guns,” would “give free health care to illegal aliens,” would “close down charter schools,” and would end 670,000 fracking-related jobs – all contrary to Biden’s actual positions. “<i>Imagine the mayhem coming to your town,</i>” Mr. Trump said, referring to recent but isolated episodes of urban violence in protest of racial injustice. He also boasted preposterously that he had “done a great job” in fighting the coronavirus pandemic. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>

<p>8-20-20</p>	<p>[Continued.] At the same event, Mr. Trump ranted about vice presidential candidate Kamala Harris, as a California prosecutor, having released into rehabilitation an undocumented Hispanic drug dealer who then went on to commit another crime.<sup>106</sup> He also repeated his false claims that the only way Democrats could win the election would be by fraud; that President Obama had spied on him during the 2016 campaign; that New Zealand was experiencing a “massive breakout” of the coronavirus (outlandishly implying that the still tiny numbers of fatalities in New Zealand vindicated the tens of thousands of deaths in the U.S.); that he had nearly beaten the pandemic here; and that he had opposed the war in Iraq before it began.<sup>107</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>8-20-20 +</p>	<p><b>Bannon, Broidy, Falwell and Graham.</b> On August 20, Stephen Bannon was arrested on suspicion of financial fraud in connection with operating a non-profit that had solicited donations from gullible Trump supporters to advance the construction of Mr. Trump’s border wall. Bannon, a White supremacist, for a time had been Mr. Trump’s 2016 campaign manager, then a senior White House advisor. Bannon also claimed to have been communicating with Mr. Trump in recent months, long after their public separation.</p> <p>Mr. Trump’s other two campaign managers – Corey Lewandowski and Paul Manafort – had likewise been charged with felonies during or after their service to Mr. Trump, and Manafort was sentenced to prison. When asked about Bannon the following day, Mr. Trump falsely minimized his involvement with him, as he had falsely minimized his involvement after other associates had been charged with crimes: Michael Flynn, Paul Manafort, Michael Cohen, George Papadopoulos, Roger Stone, Lev Parnas and Igor Fruman.<sup>108</sup></p> <p>On September 1, The Washington Post reported that Elliott Broidy was under investigation for illegally lobbying for foreign clients.<sup>109</sup> In 2017, Broidy had been named one of four lead fundraisers for the Republican National Committee under Mr. Trump. Since then the three others had also been implicated in scandals: Michael Cohen (Mr. Trump’s attorney, for campaign finance violations), Steven Wynn (fellow casino owner, for sexual predation) and Louis DeJoy (postmaster general, for mail-in voting sabotage).<sup>110</sup></p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>7, Bad company</p>

<p>8-20-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Two of Mr. Trump’s most prominent religious supporters and self-identified friends had also drawn scrutiny during that period. On August 25, Jerry Falwell was ousted as the head of the evangelical Christian institution Liberty University following a sex scandal and concerns about possible financial improprieties.<sup>111</sup> And after Franklin Graham delivered a highly partisan and sectarian prayer for Mr. Trump at the Republican National Convention on August 27, some 11,000 Christians petitioned to oust him from his post as CEO of the prominent, tax-exempt, nominally non-partisan Christian relief organization Samaritan’s Purse.<sup>112</sup> (Afterwards Graham defended himself, claiming that the prayer was non-partisan, but reaffirming his full-throated support for Mr. Trump.<sup>113</sup>)</p>	<p>7, Bad company</p>
<p>8-26-20</p>	<p><b><u>Nepotism.</u></b> Amid ceaseless, bitter accusations by Donald Trump Jr., his girlfriend Kimberly Guilfoyle and other reelection campaign officials that the career of Joe Biden’s son Hunter had benefited from nepotism, media reported that taxpayers had spent over \$64,000 in Secret Service costs for Donald Jr. and Guilfoyle to vacation in Paris in 2018.</p> <p>Further rank nepotism: not only did Mr. Trump employ three of his children as top executives at his company, but his daughter Ivanka and her husband Jared Kushner were serving as top White House advisors, and Guilfoyle and son Eric’s wife Lara were being paid as top-level campaign aides.<sup>114</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>8-27-20. 9-5-20</p>	<p><b><u>Pay me (more).</u></b> On August 27, The Washington Post reported that taxpayers so far had spent over \$900,000 at Mr. Trump’s hotels and resorts, the majority of it supporting his 270 visits to those properties. Those expenditures had included the housing of Secret Service details and other members of his large entourage. Payments to Mr. Trump’s company for some 37 Republican group events at the properties accounted for an additional \$3.8 million.<sup>115</sup></p> <p>On September 5, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had drawn over \$58 million from his campaign donors’ funds to cover his personal legal and compliance costs – a figure that The Times said was far greater than that of any of his predecessors (for example, five times President Obama’s drawings from campaign funds).<sup>116</sup></p>	<p>11, 15</p>



8-28-20	<p><b><u>Contempt in the Cabinet.</u></b> The House Foreign Affairs Committee launched contempt proceedings against Secretary of State Mike Pompeo for his repeated refusal to cooperate with the committee’s investigations: first the impeachment inquiry; and more recently his furnishing documents only to Senate Republicans in their politically charged probe of Mr. Trump’s electoral opponent Joe Biden, notwithstanding a congressional subpoena. (See also CSD’s July 31 entry above, “Pompeo smears again.”)</p> <p>The House had already held Attorney General William Barr and Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross in criminal contempt for their refusals to comply with subpoenas related to the 2020 census. The House Judiciary Committee had also held Barr in contempt for refusing to comply with a subpoena for the documents underlying special counsel Robert Mueller’s final report. But none of those contempt citations were enforceable, and none of their targets had displayed the slightest remorse for their improprieties.<sup>117</sup></p>	17 (9)
8-31-20	<p><b><u>Dark shadows.</u></b> Mr. Trump told a Fox News interviewer that <u>unnamed people in “dark shadows” were pulling the strings behind both the social justice protests and his electoral opponent Joe Biden.</u><sup>118</sup></p>	6, 7, 9
9-1-20	<p><b><u>Melania’s emails.</u></b> A tell-all book by a former friend reported that Mr. Trump’s wife Melania had regularly used a private email account while living at the White House. She thus joined the long list of Trump White House figures who had illegally done that, including daughter Ivanka, son-in-law Jared Kushner, and Commerce Secretary Wilbur Ross. Mr. Trump had furiously tarred his 2016 electoral opponent Hillary Clinton for doing the same, eliciting “<i>Lock her up!</i>” chants at his rallies.<sup>119</sup></p>	17 (9, 11)
9-1-20 +	<p><b><u>The other guy’s health.</u></b> On September 1, for the second time in recent days, Mr. Trump suggested, without evidence, that his electoral opponent Joe Biden had taken performance enhancement drugs prior to his primary election debates, and he challenged Biden to take drug tests before their own scheduled debates for the general election.<sup>120</sup> On September 5, he said it yet again, to a Fox News interviewer.<sup>121</sup>  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	7, 8, 9

<p>9-1-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] At a campaign rally in Latrobe, Pennsylvania on September 3, Mr. Trump mocked Biden for wearing a mask at public appearances. <i>"Have you ever seen a man who likes a mask as much as him?"</i> he said. <i>"It gives him a feeling of security. If I were a psychiatrist, I'd say this guy has got some big issues."</i><sup>122</sup></p> <p>Also on September 3, Mr. Trump's campaign posted ads on Facebook that featured manipulated photographs making Biden look much older than he was, together with Mr. Trump's nickname for Biden, "Sleepy Joe."<sup>123</sup> It was the latest of many falsehoods and dirty tricks being perpetrated by the campaign, some described above in this Chronology.</p> <p>Mr. Trump thus appeared to be punching back "ten times harder," as he had professed to always do when challenged – in this case relative to media scrutiny of his own health. He had continued to deny that he had any health issues of his own, despite having had a mysterious emergency visit to Walter Reed Hospital in November 2019, having struggled to walk and hold a glass of water at the West Point commencement exercises in May, and having admitted in July to taking mental acuity tests. He now appeared to be upset about renewed scrutiny of the Walter Reed event.<sup>124</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 9</p>
<p>9-2-20</p>	<p><b><u>Barr fibs a lot.</u></b> Attorney General William Barr falsely told CNN's Wolf Blitzer that Russia had not yet begun interfering in the 2020 presidential election; that Jacob Blake (who is Black) was armed when he was repeatedly shot in the back by a White policeman in Kenosha, Wisconsin; and that mail-in voting was prone to massive fraud. To that last point, Barr pointed in particular to a federal indictment in Texas where a man had fraudulently submitted 1700 ballots. But shortly afterwards the Justice Department acknowledged that Barr had misspoken; that, following investigation, there had been no indictment and no wrongdoing alleged in the matter.<sup>125</sup></p>	<p>17 (7, 9)</p>

<p>9-2-20, 9-3-20</p>	<p><b><u>Please vote twice.</u></b> <u>On two successive days, Mr. Trump urged his supporters to vote twice – first by mail, then in person – as a means of ensuring that their votes would be counted.</u><sup>126</sup> Whether he was serious about the ask, and whether he understood that if his supporters would vote twice it would be just as felonious as if Democrats would vote multiple times (as he long had been alleging Democrats planned to do), was unknowable. But <u>it seemed likely that at least some of his followers would now attempt to double-vote. An array of federal and state election officials (all Democrats) denounced Mr. Trump’s ask, and they threatened prosecution for those who would vote twice.</u><sup>127</sup></p>	<p>9, 10</p>
<p>9-3-20</p>	<p><b><u>DeVos vs. the Hatch Act.</u></b> Mr. Trump’s Education Secretary Betsy DeVos called his electoral opponent Joe Biden “shameful” in a Fox News interview – a possible violation of the Hatch Act, which forbids government officials from campaigning.<sup>128</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>9-3-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Disparaging fallen heroes.</u></b> On September 3, The Atlantic magazine reported on numerous instances earlier in Mr. Trump’s presidency when he had privately disparaged armed forces members who had served in American wars – including those who had been wounded and killed, and those who lay in Arlington National Cemetery – as “suckers” and “losers.”<sup>129</sup> He then falsely denied the report, calling it a “hoax” and another “witch hunt.”<sup>130</sup> But the report was subsequently corroborated by multiple news outlets – among them Fox News, whose reporter Mr. Trump then publicly called upon Fox to fire.<sup>131</sup> He also called The Atlantic’s editor a “slimeball”; and he urged his supporters to harass the widow of Apple founder Steve Jobs, who was a major investor in The Atlantic.<sup>132</sup></p> <p>Many commentators found the new reports credible, in large part because Mr. Trump had a long history of disparaging military service,<sup>133</sup> and because he had fraudulently avoided the draft during the Vietnam War. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 11</p>

<p>9-3-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Even top military officers now declined to defend him. On September 7, seemingly in reaction to that, Mr. Trump said that unnamed Pentagon officials didn't like him because "they want to do nothing but fight wars so that all of those wonderful companies that make the bombs and make the planes and make everything else stay happy."<sup>134</sup> (But Mr. Trump himself had long boasted about having beefed up the military for potential battle, and he had often threatened war against Iran, North Korea and other countries. In addition, his own top defense appointees had close ties to military contractors; and, according to Politico, he had made the purchase, public display and foreign sales of military hardware a major priority of his administration.<sup>135</sup>)</p> <p>Except for Mr. Trump's false denial of the statements attributed to him by The Atlantic and the other news organs, the events had occurred in the past, prior to the start of this Chronology. And CSD has no category for undemocratic behavior consisting of abject selfishness, meanness, hypocrisy, cowardice and unpatriotic sentiment. We nevertheless include the episode here because it raised a national uproar.<sup>136</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 11</p>
<p>9-7-20</p>	<p><b><u>German Nazis for Trump.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had become a hero for Germany's neo-Nazis, ultranationalists and QAnon conspiracy theorists – groups that the German government had determined to constitute the gravest current threats to German democracy.<sup>137</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>9-8-20</p>	<p><b><u>Barr rides again.</u></b> Attorney General William Barr intervened on behalf of Mr. Trump in a private lawsuit being brought by <u>one of the more than 20 women who had accused the latter of sexual assault.</u> E. Jean Carroll was suing Mr. Trump for defaming her after she had come forward in 2019 to allege that he had raped her years previously and after he then had publicly responded to the charge by disparaging her physical appearance and claiming that she was lying. Barr now filed a motion in federal court seeking to move Carroll's claim from a New York state court to a New York federal court, where the Justice Department would defend it. Barr's grounds for the motion: that Mr. Trump's allegedly defamatory statements had been uttered within the scope of his duties as president of the United States, and thus that the defendant in the case should be the U.S. government, not Mr. Trump.</p> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>2, 9, 11</p>

<p>9-8-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] If the Justice Department were to succeed in taking over the defense in federal court, it would argue that, by statute, federal employees (here, Mr. Trump) are immune from claims arising from their employment; and American taxpayers would pay for Mr. Trump’s legal fees and any award of damages to Carroll that might eventuate.</u></p> <p>Mr. Trump had already been delaying the state court case, and the Justice Department filed its new motion on the very day when production of discovery items – including a sample of Mr. Trump’s DNA that Carroll believed would match residues on her dress from the date of the alleged rape – had been due in court. Observers widely excoriated the move as amounting to a typical abuse of the court system by Mr. Trump; but otherwise as <u>an unprecedented expropriation of the Justice Department by a president for personal legal services</u>; and the first time that the Justice Department had concluded that calling a rape accuser a liar fell within a president’s official duties.<sup>138</sup> The Washington Post’s editorial board wrote: <i>“Trying to construe the president’s self-serving words about a purely private matter as official acts conflates the person of the president with the nation’s government. That is what occurs in dictatorships, not democracies.”</i><sup>139</sup></p>	<p>2, 9, 11</p>
<p>9-8-20</p>	<p><b>The great environmentalist.</b> Mr. Trump said in Florida that he was “a great environmentalist” and “the No. 1 environmental president since Teddy Roosevelt.” The occasion was a speech extending a moratorium on offshore drilling that he himself had previously sought to end. He said nothing about his having promised to exit the Paris Agreement on climate change; called climate change a “hoax” and removed it from a list of national security threats; moved to repeal approximately 100 environmental regulations, including many relating to air and water pollution; and otherwise savaged 50 years’ worth of environmental protections. But he did say that his electoral opponent Joe Biden – an actual advocate for the environment – would leave the environment “permanently injured.” <i>“The left’s agenda isn’t about protecting the environment,”</i> he said. <i>“It’s about punishing America.”</i> Characterized as an official presidential event, the campaign trip and the speech were paid for by taxpayers.<sup>140</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 9, 11</p>
<p>9-8-20</p>	<p><b>In North Carolina.</b> At a rally in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Mr. Trump: <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>

<p>9-8-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Addressed a crowd of several thousand who were nearly all mask-less and crowded together, in defiance of the state’s coronavirus requirements.<sup>141</sup></li> <li>• Promised a coronavirus vaccine “very, very soon,” but charged that it was his electoral rival Joe Biden and Biden’s running-mate Kamala Harris who were the ones politicizing the issue (by their casting doubt on the prospect of an early and safe vaccine).<sup>142</sup></li> <li>• Declared that Biden had long conspired with China to outsource American jobs and “is a globalist sellout who spent his career laying waste to American communities.”<sup>143</sup></li> <li>• Mocked the foreign-sounding name of Harris, a woman of color and daughter of immigrants; preposterously said that she was “further left than crazy Bernie [Sanders]”; and said that her election would be “an insult to our country” – eliciting jeers from the audience.<sup>144</sup></li> <li>• Accused North Carolina’s Democratic governor of imposing coronavirus restrictions on the state so as to hurt Mr. Trump’s re-election campaign.<sup>145</sup></li> <li>• Insisted (still) that Mexico would pay for his border wall – now (vaguely) by way of the U.S. establishing toll booths at the border or taxing U.S.-based workers’ remittances to their families in Mexico.<sup>146</sup></li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>9-9-20</p>	<p><b><u>Woodward’s book.</u></b> Media reported that veteran journalist Bob Woodward, of Watergate reporting fame, had written in a soon-to-be released book – based materially on some 18 recorded interviews with Mr. Trump – that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump’s National Security Advisor Robert O’Brien had told him (Mr. Trump) in early February that the coronavirus posed the greatest national security threat of his presidency. Mr. Trump then told Woodward, still in February, that he knew that the disease was highly contagious, airborne and far more deadly than the flu, but that he had deliberately misled the public about that so as to prevent “panic.”</u> <u>[Continued below.]</u></li> </ul>	<p>7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>

9-9-20	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ <u>From that, observers widely concluded that Mr. Trump had not been merely thick-headed and cavalier about the threat borne by the disease during that period; rather, that he had repeatedly lied about the threat. They noted that he had also disparaged mask-wearing, contradicted his top scientists, convened medically dangerous campaign rallies, and ridiculed truth-tellers – all at a time when he knew that that could heighten the risk to Americans’ health. Woodward’s Watergate partner Carl Bernstein called it “the ultimate felony, to throw away lives.”<sup>147</sup></u></li> <li>○ <u>As for wishing to avoid “panic,” Mr. Trump’s entire reelection campaign in recent months had come to center on creating White people’s panic around social justice protests. The coronavirus “panic” that he had sought to avoid appeared to refer to the stock market, rather than to public health. The common thread: instill panic when that would benefit him in his reelection; cover up threats when that would benefit him.</u><sup>148</sup></li> <li>● Dr. Anthony Fauci, the country’s chief immunologist, said relative to the pandemic that Mr. Trump’s “attention span is like a minus number,” and that “his sole purpose is to get reelected.”</li> <li>● <u>Mr. Trump told Woodward that he (himself) had “built” a secret weapons system that dwarfed our traditional nuclear arsenal – a boastful revelation that appeared to have been either inaccurate or top secret; and if truly secret, that Russia and China may not have known about, but that might now encourage them to investigate.</u><sup>149</sup></li> <li>● Former Defense Secretary Jim Mattis and former Director of National Intelligence Daniel Coats had found Mr. Trump to be dangerous, amoral, unfit, and unable to distinguish his own lies from the truth. Mattis would go to church to pray that Mr. Trump wouldn’t capriciously start a war. He had considered Mr. Trump’s directive to precipitously remove U.S. troops from Syria to be “felony stupid,” at which point he had resigned. He said that by dividing Americans and abandoning our allies, Mr. Trump was showing our enemies “how to destroy America.” Coats strongly suspected that Russian President Vladimir Putin “had something” on Mr. Trump (seemingly fodder for blackmail). [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14
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<p>9-9-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mr. Trump boasted to Woodward about the flattering letters that he had received from North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un. He considered Kim brilliant, and former President Obama not smart. He told Woodward that Kim thought that President Obama was “an asshole.”</li> <li>• Mr. Trump made clear that one of his main goals was to undo President Obama’s accomplishments, and he boasted, <i>“Ninety percent of the things he’s done, I’ve taken apart.”</i></li> <li>• Mr. Trump once told an advisor that <i>“my fucking generals are a bunch of pussies. They care more about their alliances than they do about trade deals.”</i></li> <li>• Asked by Woodward what he had learned about himself during his presidency, Mr. Trump answered, <i>“I can handle more than other people can handle.”</i><sup>150</sup></li> </ul>	<p>7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14</p>
<p>9-10-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Michigan.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Freeland, Michigan, Mr. Trump addressed a generally White, mask-less, shoulder-to-shoulder crowd of approximately 5,000. His campaign purported to skirt the state’s 100-person coronavirus limitation on outdoor events by characterizing the rally as a “protest,” which as such would be exempt from the law.</p> <p>In his remarks, Mr. Trump frequently spoke about “they” and “them” doing dastardly things to “you” and to “us,” without identifying who “they” and “them” were; but the implication that “they” operated a monstrous, dictatorial conspiracy was plain. He otherwise boasted, lied and defamed Democrats incessantly. By way of example:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He warmly praised North Korean dictator Kim Jong-un and Russian strong-man Vladimir Putin, and said, <i>“Getting along with foreign powers is not a bad thing.”</i> (He said nothing about his hostile relations with many of America’s traditional allies.)</li> <li>• He said that he had succeeded in his earlier brinksmanship with North Korea because no war had eventuated. (He did not acknowledge that he himself had precipitated the crisis, and that no war had threatened before his presidency.) <u>[Continued below.]</u></li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>



<p>9-10-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• He said that he deserved a Nobel Peace Prize more than President Obama had deserved his – even as cities in his own country were being wracked by civil disorder that he had helped to foment.</li> <li>• He said that the president of Iraq had praised him for single-handedly defeating ISIS, and had called him “sir.”</li> <li>• He said, preposterously, that Biden had “launched a public campaign against the vaccine.”</li> <li>• Brutally mischaracterizing comparative international statistics, he said that under his leadership the U.S. had “done the best job of any major country,” when in fact the opposite was true.</li> <li>• He perversely defended his having downplayed the coronavirus threat in February – purportedly so as not to create panic – by comparing his public rhetoric to Prime Minister Winston Churchill’s stalwart but blunt rooftop addresses during the Battle of Britain, and to President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s declaration, mid-Depression, that <i>“The only thing we have to fear is fear itself.”</i></li> <li>• He shrilly and delusionally warned, <i>“If Biden wins, China wins. If Biden wins, the mob wins. If Biden wins the rioters, anarchists, arsonists and flag burners win.”</i> (So much for not instilling panic.)</li> <li>• He accused Biden of <i>“Lying about his lifetime of cold-hearted globalist betrayal.”</i></li> <li>• He called Biden “the worst presidential candidate in the history of presidential politics.”</li> <li>• He said that Biden would “demolish the auto industry, “destroy your Social Security,” eliminate health insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions, end school choice, and eviscerate the 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment – all fabrications.</li> <li>• He made wildly misleading remarks about his own revitalization of the auto industry.</li> <li>• He said, <i>“We will restore patriotic education – and you know what I mean by that.”</i> CSD did not know what he meant, but we imagined it to involve teaching children of all ages that he was their infallible leader, among other anti-democratic precepts.<sup>151</sup></li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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**The Republican National Convention**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 32)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 6, 7, 9, 11 and 17 (6, 7, 9, 11) as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

Airing from August 24 through August 27, the televised portions of the four-day Republican National Convention struck many as dystopian. They were an exercise on the part of Mr. Trump and his supporters in smugness, falsehood, hypocrisy, fear-mongering, national division, and the promotion and acceptance of him as the country’s rightfully authoritarian and legally immune leader.

- Breaking with long tradition, the Republican Party declined to put forth a platform at the convention, instead announcing that it would simply support whatever Mr. Trump might decide to do from time to time. That is to say, the party abandoned any pretense to substantive principle, in favor of a capricious autocracy.<sup>152</sup>
- Breaking with another long tradition, Mr. Trump spoke on each of the four nights of the convention, not just the last night, confirming the party’s embrace of a personality cult.
- The ratification of Mr. Trump’s nepotism was completed. Trump family members constituted six of the 12 “key speakers” on the program. Ivanka Trump – Mr. Trump’s daughter, his senior White House advisor, and a woman of no known accomplishment or policy expertise – was identified in the convention program as “The Honorable.”<sup>153</sup>
- On August 24, *the first night* of the convention, at least four featured speakers unleashed a new Red Scare redolent of the 1950s, warning that a Democratic win would lead to apocalyptic socialism and/or dictatorship. Some warned of criminals rampaging in the streets. Some did both. By way of example, Kimberley Guilfoyle, a top campaign official and Donald Trump Jr.’s girlfriend, said from the podium, *“They want to destroy this country and everything that we have fought for and hold dear. They want to steal your liberty, your freedom. They want to control what you see and think and believe, so they can control how you live. They want to enslave you to the weak, dependent, liberal, victim ideology, to the point that you will not recognize this country or yourself.”* Republican Congressman Matt Gaetz said that Democrats “disarm you, empty the prisons, lock you in your home, and invite MS-13 to live next door.” New York’s Republican Party chairman said, *“We have crime ravaging our streets. That is what America will see if a Biden-Harris regime runs our country.”* Trump Jr. himself said that Biden “wants to bring in more illegal immigrants to take jobs from American citizens,” and that Democrats were “attacking the very principles on which our nation was founded: freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of religion, the rule of law.” Other speakers attested to Mr. Trump’s empathic heart and good character.<sup>154</sup>

- Speakers and a video portrayed Mr. Trump as a decisive leader in combatting the coronavirus, and Democrats as do-nothings.<sup>155</sup> The New York Times described that theme as “an alternate reality: one in which the nation was not nearing 180,000 deaths from the coronavirus; in which Mr. Trump had not consistently ignored serious warnings about the disease; in which the president had not spent much of his term appealing openly to xenophobia and racial animus; and in which someone other than Mr. Trump had presided over an economy that began crumbling in the spring.”<sup>156</sup> Observers believed that that alternative reality, including as to the pandemic, pervaded and corrupted the next three evenings as well.
- As for the coronavirus specifically, Mr. Trump said, “*We did the exact right thing. We saved millions.*” A columnist from The Times interpreted: “*He has moved seamlessly from the fantasy that the virus would ‘go away,’ as he has said some 31 times, to the fantasy that he has already dispatched it.*”<sup>157</sup>
- Mr. Trump himself said of Democrats, “*They want no guns. They want no oil and gas. And they want no God.*” When (jokingly or not) he suggested that he could be president for several more terms (in defiance of the Constitution), the crowd chanted “*Twelve more years!*”<sup>158</sup>
- One speaker said, “[*T*]his fact is now clear: Trump is the bodyguard of Western civilization.”<sup>159</sup> (For CSD, it was unclear what Mr. Trump’s connection to Western civilization was, other than – in one commentator’s opinion – that he was White, which likely was the speaker’s point.<sup>160</sup>)
- Two wealthy personal injury lawyers – a married couple who on June 28 had notoriously drawn their guns on peaceful racial justice marchers passing their mansion in St Louis, Missouri – spoke and were hailed as heroes. They warned of Democrats’ anti-segregation policies: “*No matter where you live, your family will not be safe in the radical Democrats’ America.*”<sup>161</sup>
- The Washington Post counted 19 false or misleading statements made from the podium on the first night of the convention.<sup>162</sup> The New York Times reported that news networks were struggling with whether or how to fact-check the profusion of outright falsehoods in real time.<sup>163</sup>
- After the first evening, a CNN commentator said that if Democrats had performed these types of convention stunts, “*Republicans would be rioting.*”<sup>164</sup>
- On August 25, the invocation for *the second night* of the convention was delivered by a woman who called upon Jesus to deliver “strategies” to Mr. Trump from heaven and to “overthrow any enemies that stand against us so that we will be victorious in this next season.”<sup>165</sup>
- While on an official diplomatic mission to Jerusalem but somehow purporting to speak “as a private citizen,” Secretary of State Mike Pompeo addressed the convention by way

of a pre-recorded video, touting what he considered to be Mr. Trump's foreign policy successes, with a sweeping view of Jerusalem's Old City in the background. In doing so, he defied long-standing custom for secretaries of state to abstain from convention appearances; State Department rules; and possibly the Hatch Act. House Democrats promptly announced their intention to investigate.<sup>166</sup> (A partial list of Pompeo's other illegal and unethical activities as secretary of state – covered earlier in this Chronology – appears at the link at this end note.<sup>167</sup>)

- Establishing another “first” for a convention, Mr. Trump – from within the White House – pardoned a convicted bank robber who had been born again in prison. Attending the ceremony was the former FBI agent who had arrested the man and who now claimed to be his best friend. The FBI agent was White. The felon, who was Black, spoke reverently about both God and law enforcement.<sup>168</sup> The likely facilitation of the event by federal employees amounted to a violation of the Hatch Act. Mr. Trump signed the pardon with a Sharpie, for which the camera zoomed in on his hand. CSD saw in that moment Mr. Trump hitting a trifecta: pandering to Blacks, Christians and law enforcement officials in a single, deft and illegal blow.
- In yet another “first,” Mr. Trump and acting Homeland Security Secretary Chad Wolf, at the White House, presided over the naturalization of five recent, highly-educated immigrants from developing countries.<sup>169</sup> The spectacle was consistent with Mr. Trump's convention theme of illegally using the White House as a political prop and its staff as campaign facilitators. It was also consistent with his theme of seeking to exclude less pedigreed immigrants, a policy which, in fairness, was in force within some other developed democracies. But it was inconsistent with his having slowed down (and for a time shut down) naturalizations during the coronavirus pandemic, thereby frustrating the hopes of several hundred thousand new arrivals who wished to vote – many possibly against him – in the November election.<sup>170</sup>
- Two additional speakers ensured that the motif of corruption would color the convention proceedings. Former Florida attorney general Pamela Bondi falsely railed at Biden's “corruption” in Ukraine and elsewhere, after having herself in 2013 dropped a fraud investigation of Trump University in apparent exchange for an illegal \$25,000 campaign contribution from the Trump Foundation. (At the convention, she was silent about Mr. Trump's own massive, multiform and ongoing corruption.) And Mr. Trump's son Eric – who was leading the Trump Organization during his father's presidency – spoke of his dad's greatness. Eric Trump and the organization were being investigated by the New York attorney general for bank and tax fraud, and were being sued for receiving unconstitutional emolument payments from foreign governments and domestic political interests at their hotels and resorts.<sup>171</sup>
- One anti-abortion speaker described the abortion process in gruesome detail. She was on record as stating that only heads of households should vote in elections, and/or that husbands should determine their wives' votes.<sup>172</sup> (CSD does not take a position on reproductive issues; but we denounce both demagoguery and attacks on anyone's right to vote.)

- The overall theme of the convention’s second night appeared to have been, cynically, to portray Mr. Trump as a friend to and champion of women, immigrants and people of color.<sup>173</sup> Consistent with that theme, and to close out the evening’s celebration of lawlessness and hypocrisy, First Lady Melania Trump addressed the convention – extraordinarily – from the Rose Garden at the White House. She was the only speaker to acknowledge the country’s many Covid-19 deaths, but the crowd there was mostly maskless. She criticized the Democratic National Convention for its negative attacks on her husband, but not the Republican National Convention’s negative attacks on Biden.<sup>174</sup>
- The Post counted 19 more false and misleading statements at the podium, equal to the tally for the first night of the convention.<sup>175</sup>
- On August 26, Mr. Trump’s chief of staff Mark Meadows said that “nobody outside of the Beltway really cares” about cabinet officials such as Pompeo and Wolf possibly violating the Hatch Act by speaking at the convention.<sup>176</sup> (On August 22, The Times had reported that some of Mr. Trump’s aides were privately scoffing at the Hatch Act and claiming to take pride in violating its regulations.<sup>177</sup> But The Post reported on August 28 that rank and file federal employees had been routinely disciplined for far lesser Hatch Act violations than Mr. Trump’s top appointees had committed, and it provided a spate of recent examples. Among other things, the Office of Special Counsel had warned, disciplined or otherwise taken action with respect to some 211 such employees during the first three years of Mr. Trump’s term; but the nine high-level Trump appointees targeted by that office had “thumbed their nose at the law.”<sup>178</sup>)
- Opening *the third night* of the convention on August 26, South Dakota Governor Kristi Noem said that America’s “founding principles are under attack” and declared: *“Democrat-run cities across this country are being overrun by violent mobs. The violence is rampant. There’s looting, chaos, destruction and murder. People that can afford to flee have fled. But the people that can’t — good, hard-working Americans — are left to fend for themselves.”*<sup>179</sup> The absence of looting in South Dakota did not figure into her remarks.
- One columnist characterized the third night of the convention overall as “a version of alternative facts, a bubble containing a phony reality where President Donald Trump is a champion of women’s equality, a protector of health care benefits, a defender of pre-existing conditions coverage, and a man of immeasurable compassion.”<sup>180</sup> Details follow.
- Much of the evening’s content addressed the Black American experience. Several Black football players offered testimonials, including relative to the general pre-pandemic job growth that had happened to benefit Blacks as well as others. Otherwise, speaker after speaker denounced ongoing racial justice protests as being conducted by “radical mobs.”<sup>181</sup>
- The production also emphasized women’s empowerment, including by honoring the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of women’s suffrage and by featuring female employees and relatives who

attested to Mr. Trump's kindly heart. Little was said about any policy moves Mr. Trump had made expressly for the benefit of women, and nothing was said about his history of sexually assaulting women.<sup>182</sup>

- Seeming to take (without evidence or analysis) the long view of our country's centuries-long saga, speakers characterized the Biden-Harris ticket as the most pro-abortion in history, the most anti-police in history, the most hostile to farmers in history, and Mr. Trump as the best everything in history.<sup>183</sup>
- Tennessee Senator Marsha Blackburn said, referring to coronavirus measures, "*If the Democrats had their way, they would keep you locked in your house until you become dependent on the government for everything. That sounds a lot like Communist China to me — maybe that's why Joe Biden is so soft on them.*" She blamed the Chinese communist regime for "unleash[ing]" the coronavirus on the world, and said that China would prefer that Biden win the election. She said that Democrats were trying to "cancel" law enforcement and the military.<sup>184</sup>
- A former college football coach said that Biden was a Catholic "in name only" because of his pro-choice stance. Other speakers bashed the Democrats for having impeached Mr. Trump, and for (Democratic) demagoguery.<sup>185</sup>
- Vice President Mike Pence, speaking from Fort McHenry in Maryland – where "The Star-Spangled Banner" had been written during the War of 1812, and where his use of federal property and personnel in an election campaign likely violated the Hatch Act – hailed the administration's performance in everything. As to its pandemic response, without citing evidence, he said that it was stellar and that he foresaw a "miracle" vaccine appearing by the end of the year. He said that Biden was "a cheerleader for Communist China," a "Trojan horse for a radical left," and the true pessimist in the campaign versus the optimistic Mr. Trump. Pence also denounced "violence and chaos," "rioting and looting," and "tearing down statues" – blaming social justice protesters for the murder of a policeman in Oakland that had actually been committed by a right-wing extremist. He said, "*The hard truth is, you won't be safe in Biden's America.*"<sup>186</sup>
- On *the final night* of the convention, August 27, Franklin Graham delivered an invocation in which he thanked God for Mr. Trump and Pence, and for the last four years (only four) of bounty. Appealing to Jesus, he made it an exclusively Christian prayer.<sup>187</sup>
- Appearing by video, Senator Majority Leader Mitch McConnell said: '*Today's Democrat party doesn't want to improve life for middle America. They prefer that all of us ... keep quiet and let them decide how we should live our lives. They want to tell you when you can go to work, when your kid can go to school. They want to tax your job out of existence and then send you a government check for unemployment. They want to tell you what kind of car you can drive, what sources of information are credible, and even how many hamburgers you can eat. They want to defund the police and take away your Second Amendment rights. They want free healthcare for illegal immigrants yet they offer no protection at all for unborn Americans. They want to pack the Supreme Court with*

*liberals intent on eroding our constitutional rights. ... Like President Trump, we won't be bullied by a liberal media intent on destroying America's institutions."*<sup>188</sup>

- In a video, several public housing tenants of color bashed New York City's Mayor Bill DiBlasio. A day after the convention, The Times reported that the segment had been orchestrated and filmed by Lynne Patton, the Trump-appointed head of federal housing programs for New York, and that she had tricked some of the tenants into appearing – an exercise in perfidy and Hatch Act contempt. Several of the tenants, who had not known that the video would be edited down to a few sound bites and shown to the nation at the convention, now claimed to dislike Mr. Trump and to be enraged. Patton, who had worked as an event planner for Mr. Trump prior to his presidency and who had had no background in housing before assuming her current position, had previously been cited for other Hatch Act violations.<sup>189</sup>
- Several speakers prepared the national audience for the appearance of the “greatest president in American history.”<sup>190</sup>
- Mr. Trump's personal attorney, Rudi Giuliani – who had led an illegal effort in Ukraine to smear Biden in 2019 and who was under investigation for illegal lobbying on behalf of foreign clients – ranted about the Black Lives Matter movement and civil unrest in a handful of American cities. He accused Democrats of starting and fomenting that unrest.<sup>191</sup>
- At last, in sovereign fashion, lit with floodlights and festooned with large campaign banners and a long rank of American flags, Mr. Trump and his wife Melania descended from the White House portico onto the South Lawn. The scene was redolent of their descent on an escalator in one of Mr. Trump's gilded buildings in New York to announce his presidential campaign in 2015. At the podium and then throughout his acceptance speech, the couple were greeted by the ovations of some 1500 adoring subjects, who were jammed together and mostly mask-less notwithstanding the raging coronavirus pandemic, and few of whom had been tested for the disease in advance of entering the grounds. The supporters appeared to be moved by, and moved toward – Mr. Trump's (by turns) boastful, vengeful, mocking and platitudinous remarks that followed. That desecration of the White House mortified ethics experts. The disdain for coronavirus precautions mortified health experts.<sup>192</sup>
- For 70 minutes – one of the longest acceptance speeches on record – Mr. Trump held forth. He deployed the by now customary tropes, including that Biden and Democrats would destroy the country with their socialist agenda, that they would eliminate manufacturing and energy jobs, and that they embraced violent social justice protesters. He even hinted that Biden was a sexual predator (when it was Mr. Trump himself who had had earned that stigma). He railed against immigrants, including fully vetted and lawfully admitted refugees. He swore that a Democratic victory would ravage the suburbs and the right to own guns. He overstated many of his achievements and made grandiose promises, including with respect to his coronavirus response and the construction of his border wall. He accused Biden of taking positions that Biden hadn't.<sup>193</sup> He uttered not a

word about Black lives ruined by gratuitous police violence or other injustice, even as new episodes of that syndrome were seizing the headlines.

CNN's fact-checker counted 21 false or misleading statements. The list is mind-numbing, and it appears at the link at this end note.<sup>194</sup> The Washington Post counted 25.<sup>195</sup> CSD counted more. Below is a sampling of some of Mr. Trump's most incendiary, demagogic, vicious and/or outlandishly false remarks, in sequence, drawn from NPR's transcript (within which NPR's substantive commentary is annotated).<sup>196</sup>

These are the words of the president of the United States.

*"This election will decide whether we save the American dream or whether we allow a socialist agenda to demolish our cherished destiny."*

*"Your vote will decide whether we protect law-abiding Americans or whether we give free rein to violent anarchists and agitators and criminals who threaten our citizens."*

*"[T]his election will decide whether we will defend the American way of life or whether we will allow a radical movement to completely dismantle and destroy it."*

*"In the Left's backward view, they do not see America as the most free, just and exceptional nation on earth. Instead, they see a wicked nation that must be punished for its sins."*

*"Our opponents say that redemption for you can only come from giving power to them. This is a tired anthem spoken by every repressive movement throughout history. But in this country, we don't look to career politicians for salvation. In America, we don't turn to government to restore our souls; we put our faith in almighty God."*

*"Joe Biden is not a savior of America's soul; he is the destroyer of America's jobs, and if given the chance he will be the destroyer of American greatness."*

*"Joe Biden spent his entire career outsourcing their dreams and the dreams of American workers, offshoring their jobs, opening their borders and sending their sons and daughters to fight in endless foreign wars, wars that never ended. Four years ago I ran for president because I could not watch this betrayal of our country any longer."*

*"Within three short years, we built the strongest economy in the history of the world."*

*"We took the toughest, boldest, strongest and hardest-hitting action against China in American history by far."*

*"We ended catch-and-release, stopped asylum fraud. Took down human traffickers who prey on women and children. And we have deported 20,000 gang members and 500,000 criminal aliens."*



*“We have already built 300 miles of border wall, and we are adding 10 new miles every single week. The wall will soon be complete.” [The 300 miles was replacement construction, not new construction. The wall was nowhere near complete.]*

*“We are joined this evening by members of the Border Patrol Union representing our country’s courageous border agents. Thank you very much for being here. Thank you. Brave, brave people. You see, this country loves our law enforcement. They do.”*

*“And I say very modestly that I have done more for the African-American community than any president since Abraham Lincoln, our first Republican president.”*

*“Biden’s record is a shameful roll call of the most catastrophic betrayals and blunders in our lifetime.”*

*“That’s why China supports Joe Biden and desperately wants him to win. I can tell you that, upon very good information. China would own our country if Joe Biden got elected.”*

*“And when the China virus hit, we launched the largest national mobilization since World War II.”*

*“The cost of the Biden [coronavirus] shutdown would be measured in increased drug overdoses, depression, alcohol addiction, suicides, heart attacks, economic devastation, job loss and much more. Joe Biden’s plan is not a solution to the virus, but, rather, it’s a surrender to the virus.” [Democrats had accused Mr. Trump of just such a surrender.]*

*“To save as many lives as possible, we are focusing on the science, the facts and the data.” [Mr. Trump had fought relentlessly against science, facts and data during throughout the pandemic.]*

*“He [Biden] has pledged a \$4 trillion tax hike on almost all American families, which will totally collapse our rapidly improving economy.” [Most of Biden’s proposed taxes would fall on the wealthy.]*

*“Biden has promised to abolish the production of American oil, coal, shale and natural gas, laying waste to the economies of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Texas, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Colorado, and New Mexico, destroying those states. Absolutely destroying those states, and others.” [Untrue.]*

*Joe Biden recently raised his hand on the debate stage and promised, here give away [sic] -- he was going to give it away, your healthcare dollars to illegal immigrants, which is going to bring healthmassive [sic] number of immigrants into our country. Massive numbers will pour into our country in order to get all of the goodies that they want to get, education, healthcare, everything. He also supports deadly sanctuary cities that protect criminal aliens. He promised to end national security travel bans from Jihadist nations, and he pledged to increase refugee admissions by 700 percent. This is in the manifesto.”*

*“During the Democrat Convention, the words ‘under God’ were removed from the Pledge of Allegiance, not once, but twice. We will never do that.” [Mostly untrue.]*

*“If the left gains power they will demolish the suburbs, confiscate your guns and appoint justices who will wipe away your Second Amendment and other constitutional freedoms.”*

*“Biden is a trojan horse for socialism.” [Biden is a moderate.]*

*“Make no mistake, if you give power to Joe Biden, the radical left will defund police departments all across America. They will pass federal legislation to reduce law enforcement nationwide. They will make every city look like Democrat-run Portland, Oregon. No one will be safe in Biden’s America. My administration will always stand with the men and women of law enforcement.”*

*“[W]e must never allow mob rule. In the strongest possible terms the Republican party condemns the rioting, looting, arson and violence we have seen in Democrat-run cities all, like Kenosha, Minneapolis, Portland, Chicago and New York, many others, Democrat-run. There’s violence and danger in the streets of many Democrat-run cities throughout America. This problem could easily be fixed if they wanted to. Just call, we’re ready to go in. We’ll take care of your problem in a matter of hours.”*

*“At least 13 members of Joe Biden’s campaign staff donated to a fund to bail out vandals, arsonists, anarchists, looters and rioters from jail.”*

*“If the Democrat Party wants to stand with anarchists, agitators, rioters, looters and flag burners, that is up to them. But I, as your president, will not be a part of it. The Republican Party will remain the voice of the patriotic heroes who keep America safe and salute the American flag.”*

*“If the Radical Left takes power, they will apply their disastrous policies to every city, town and suburb in America. Just imagine if the so-called peaceful demonstrators in the streets were in charge of every lever of power in the U.S. government, just think of that.”*

*“Always remember they’re coming after me because I am fighting for you.”*

*“And remember this, they spied on my campaign and they got caught.” [They didn’t, and they didn’t.]*

*“The far Left wants to coerce you into saying what you know to be false and scare you out of saying what you know to be true.”*

[Of the White House:] *“The fact is we’re here and they’re not.”*

*“We will always and very strongly protect patients with pre-existing conditions.” [He had continuously, even through the days of the convention, opposed that.]*

A columnist for The Times seized on some of the many ironies in Mr. Trump’s fear-mongering about the rioters: that he vowed to protect law and order, despite his own disregard for the Hatch Act and the criminal convictions or guilty pleas of eight of his 2016 campaign associates; that he warned of civil violence that would flower under a Biden presidency, when the current civil violence was flowering under his own; that right-wing extremists had killed hundreds of Americans in recent years, while left-wing extremists to that date\* had killed none; and that his promise to protect our citizenry from devastation appeared to exclude taking climate change and the coronavirus pandemic seriously.<sup>197</sup>

- Mr. Trump’s speech was promptly followed by a massive display of fireworks, launched at the Washington monument. Some of the pyrotechnics spelled “Trump 2020” in the sky, as though Mr. Trump were putting his name on a building he owned.<sup>198</sup>
- Following the fireworks, an elegantly dressed American tenor positioned in the portico sang a number of Christian pieces in Italian. From below, Mr. Trump and his family gazed reverently. (For CSD, the pandering was matched only by the faux-aristocratic and faux-religious pretention.) Then the tenor sang a number of American patriotic songs.<sup>199</sup>

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\*But see the August 29 homicide above, on p. 5.

**The November 2020 Election**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 32)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 4, 6, 7, 9 and 16 as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the efforts of the Trump administration to suppress voting in and to discredit any unfavorable results of the upcoming November 2020 election have moved rapidly. CSD’s observations below that have been recorded as of a given date may have been superseded, or may yet be superseded, on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD’s concerns about the attempts by the Trump administration to corrupt and discredit the election are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that have recurred, that news media have reported anew, and that, as of the date of this Addendum, have continued to threaten our democracy – day after day.**

On July 30 – the same day as the late voting rights champion Elijah Cummings was being memorialized by other presidents – Mr. Trump tweeted: *“With Universal Mail-In Voting ... 2020 will be the most INACCURATE & FRAUDULENT Election in history. ... Delay the Election until people can properly, securely and safely vote???”*

The tweet was telling. It reflected Mr. Trump’s acknowledgement that in-person voting risked spreading the coronavirus; that the pandemic was not under control; that he feared losing in the November election; and that, nevertheless, he wished to remain in office indefinitely. No previous president had sought to delay a November election; even Presidents Lincoln and Roosevelt, during wartime, had rejected the idea.

In any event, delaying the election would require an act of Congress, and so it would not occur. The tweet was seen, instead, as part of Mr. Trump’s campaign to preemptively discredit the election results so that he could contest them after the fact. Indeed, he had claimed voter fraud after he had lost the 2016 primary elections in each of Virginia, New Hampshire, California and Iowa, as well as the popular vote in the general election.<sup>200</sup> The Washington Post reported that now, amid the coronavirus, he had attacked mail-in voting nearly 70 times since late March. But even as top congressional Republicans distanced themselves from his new tweet, Mr. Trump doubled-down by pinning it to the top of his Twitter feed.<sup>201</sup>

In fact Mr. Trump appeared to be preparing to have it both ways: not just to discredit adverse election results after the fact, but to logistically impede mail-in voting before the fact. Also on July 30, The Washington Post reported that a recent order issued in the name of cost-cutting by Postmaster General Louis DeJoy – a Trump appointee and major campaign donor with no postal experience – was operating to slow down mail delivery. As a consequence, postal workers and customers had begun expressing grave concerns about the reliability of mail-in voting.<sup>202</sup> CSD drew from the report that DeJoy had the logistical ability to deliberately (if unlawfully) slow

delivery at selected locales – e.g., blue electoral districts within purple states. But even a more general slow-down was seen as having the potential to dissuade citizens from voting by mail – and thus, amid the coronavirus pandemic, from voting at all.

A New York Times analysis on July 31 cited similar concerns on the part of state voting officials of both parties. The Times also noted that:

- DeJoy owned shares in the postal service’s biggest competitor, UPS.
- The service’s board of governors had become politicized by the Trump administration.
- In March, Mr. Trump had personally caused the postal service to spend \$28 million to send postcards – advising on coronavirus prophylaxis and featuring his own name, campaign-style – to some 130 million households.<sup>203</sup> (Some CSD members had received them.)

On July 30, Mr. Trump went stratospheric in his attacks, falsely claiming that states were already sending “hundreds of millions” of mail-in ballots to even non-citizens. The allegations as to both the number of ballots being sent and their being sent to non-registered voters were untrue.<sup>204</sup>

On July 31, speaking to police groups at the White House, Mr. Trump reiterated his fear of mail-in voting, adding, “*This will be catastrophic for our nation. You’ll see it. I’m always right about things like this. I guess I must be, or I wouldn’t be sitting here.*”<sup>205</sup> Observers saw Mr. Trump’s discrediting of the election process – the core mechanism of democracy – as threatening many voters’ belief in democracy itself.<sup>206</sup>

But oddly, on the same day as the White House tirade, Mr. Trump actually urged people to vote by *absentee* ballot – which he himself had done in Florida and New York, and which in many or most states would involve the same process as the broad “no-excuse,” coronavirus-driven balloting against which he had been railing.<sup>207</sup> And on August 4, he tweeted that mail-in voting in Florida was safe<sup>208</sup> – reportedly because Republican governors and advisors had begun to convince him that depressing the mail-in vote could actually undermine Republican candidates there, himself included.<sup>209</sup>

On August 7, in yet another recent Friday Night Massacre on the part of the Trump administration (that is, hidden on a Friday evening from the weekday news cycle), DeJoy announced a sweeping restructuring of the mail service, including the reassignment or removal of 23 top postal executives overseeing day-to-day operations while centralizing power in himself – reportedly ripping out decades of institutional postal knowledge. He also announced that the service would freeze hiring and seek voluntary early retirements. All of this was occurring in the run-up to the November election – potentially one of the most critical moments in the service’s history. One Democrat in Congress accused DeJoy of “deliberate sabotage.”<sup>210</sup>

On August 11, the Postal Service informed some states that they could need to triple the cost of the postage they pay for distributing mail-in ballots in order to enjoy first-class delivery speed.<sup>211</sup>

Mr. Trump said on August 12, then again on August 13, that he would block any emergency funding for the Postal Service specifically so that it could not mail out ballots. He also said that he would block election aid to states for the same reason. That is, he explicitly acknowledged

seeking to sabotage the service, for what were widely seen as partisan and personal political reasons.<sup>212</sup>

Media began reporting on August 13 that the Postal Service was removing mail sorting machines around the country. CNN put the number of such machines at 700. The Postal Service put the number at 671, and said that most of them were in high population areas.<sup>213</sup>

On August 14, The Washington Post reported that the Postal Service had advised 46 states that it couldn't guarantee timely delivery of mail-in ballots.<sup>214</sup>

Faced with public panic, congressional Democratic outrage, a scheduled congressional hearing, a congressional demand that the service's board of governors remove him, an inspector general investigation, a lawsuit brought by voters, and the threat of state lawsuits over the prospect of intentional mail delays – not to mention new revelations about his financial conflicts of interest – on August 17 DeJoy announced that he was suspending his operational changes (such as removing sorting machines and collection boxes) and that he would pay postal workers overtime during the election period as needed. But he did not say whether he would replace equipment that he had already removed, some of which he had ordered destroyed.<sup>215</sup>

At a campaign speech to supporters in Oshkosh, Wisconsin on August 17, Mr. Trump said that “the only way we're going to lose this election is if the election is rigged.”<sup>216</sup>

On August 18, Mr. Trump said that mail-in voting could cause so many problems that the election might have to be re-done – even though no mechanism or authority for re-doing a nationwide election exists.<sup>217</sup>

On August 18, the attorneys general of 14 states sued the Postal Service.<sup>218</sup>

On August 19, The New York Times reported that mail delays had already occurred in several states, resulting in rent checks, prescription medicines, and primary election mail-in ballots not being timely delivered.<sup>219</sup> Business deliveries and Social Security checks also reportedly were experiencing late delivery.

On August 19, Mr. Trump's press secretary confirmed that Mr. Trump might not accept the outcome of the election if he were to lose.<sup>220</sup>

On August 21, Mr. Trump said that he would send law enforcement officials and U.S. attorneys to polling places around the country to protect against voter fraud. He had no authority to do so, but his threat had the potential to encourage local authorities to appear (or to threaten to appear) at the polls and thus to intimidate Democratic voters, as had occurred and then been outlawed in some previous elections.<sup>221</sup>

On August 21, DeJoy told a congressional committee that he would not reverse his removal of mail sorting machines or any of his other recent operational changes.<sup>222</sup>

On the same day, the attorneys general of six more states, led by Pennsylvania, filed a second lawsuit.<sup>223</sup>

On August 23, Mr. Trump tweeted that "*Mail Drop Boxes ... are a voter security disaster [that] make it possible for a person to vote multiple times.*" He also tweeted, "*They are not Covid sanitized.*" Continuing its recent efforts to flag Mr. Trump's fraudulent statements challenging election integrity, Twitter slapped a warning label on the tweet.<sup>224</sup>

On August 24, three more states sued the Postal Service.<sup>225</sup>

On August 24, DeJoy testified before the House Oversight Committee. Then and in the days following, he promised to produce documents that would illuminate his motives and decision-making around his operational changes.<sup>226</sup> But he then declined that production, prompting the committee to threaten a subpoena.<sup>227</sup>

On August 24, speaking during the Republican National Convention in Charlotte, North Carolina, Mr. Trump said, "*They're trying to steal the election from Republicans. Just like they did it last time, with spying.*"<sup>228</sup>

Politico reported on August 26 that Donald Trump Jr. was sending robocalls across the country urging people to cast absentee ballots. The functional and security distinctions between traditional absentee ballots and the universal mail-in ballots that Mr. Trump had been railing against continued to be elusive.<sup>229</sup>

Huffington Post reported on August 31 that Robert "Mike" Duncan, the chairman of the Board of Governors of the Postal Service, was contemporaneously serving as a director of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell's \$130 million super PAC known as the Senate Leadership Fund. HuffPost continued: "*Duncan previously served as general counsel and then chair of the Republican National Committee from 2002 to 2009, when the committee and its state counterparts supervised an unprecedented escalation of voter disenfranchisement efforts in swing states. One of the tactics was manipulating mail-in votes. Duncan was also listed earlier this year as a director of American Crossroads, a super PAC that's backing Trump in the 2020 election, according to CNBC. Duncan, from Republican McConnell's home state of Kentucky, was handpicked for his role by Trump. His board of governors in turn named Louis DeJoy, a prominent contributor to the Trump campaign, as postmaster general in June. Most members of the Postal Service's board of governors have numerous ties to the Republican Party as well as to Trump's associates and administration ...*"<sup>230</sup>

On September 2, Barr told CNN, without evidence, that mail-in voting could be tainted by massive fraud.<sup>231</sup>

On September 6, The Post reported that DeJoy – bent on rising within the Republican Party – for a decade had pressured employees of his North Carolina business to make contributions to Republican campaigns, including by attending fundraisers at his gated mansion, and that he had then reimbursed them with bonuses. The conduct as alleged was criminal, and the (Democratic-led) House Oversight Committee promptly began an investigation.<sup>232</sup>

On September 9, two Democratic senators issued a report to the effect that DeJoy's actions had caused significant and dangerous delays in the delivery of prescription drugs to Postal Service customers.<sup>233</sup>

*Beyond Mr. Trump's efforts to suppress voting and to discredit any unfavorable results of the upcoming November election as described above, see also the following entries above in this Addendum that report on other means through which Mr. Trump and his associates were attempting to corrupt the election:*

July 22 +: **Racial justice protests.** (August 29-30: "Some observers maintained that Mr. Trump was actually stoking the violence on both sides with a view to helping him win reelection.")

July 24: **The local campaigns.**

July 31 +: **"Russia, Russia, Russia."**

July 31: **In Florida.**

August 4: **The end of Roman Catholicism in the United States.**

August 5 +: **My nomination announcement, from my White House.**

August 13: **Birtherism II.**

August 13: **Kanye West: spoiler.**

August 17: **In Minnesota.**

August 18: **In Arizona.**

August 20: **In Pennsylvania.**

August 24 +: **The Republican National Convention.**

August 31: **Dark shadows.**

September 1 +: **The other guy's health.**

September 2: **Barr fibs a lot.**

September 2-3: **Please vote twice.**

September 8: **The great environmentalist.**

September 8: **In North Carolina.**



**The Coronavirus Pandemic**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 32)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 15 as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic have moved rapidly. CSD’s observations below that have been recorded as of a given date may have been superseded, or may yet be superseded, on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD’s concerns about the Trump administration’s coronavirus response are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that have recurred, that news media have reported anew, and that, as of the date of this Addendum, have continued to threaten lives – day after day.**

On July 16, Mr. Trump’s Secretary of Education, Betsy DeVos, argued that all schools should open in the fall because children are “stoppers” – that is, that they stop the spread of the coronavirus. The claim was false.<sup>234</sup>

On July 23, having resumed his long-scuttled televised coronavirus briefings for a second straight day, Mr. Trump blamed the exploding rate of infections on protests against racial injustice, summer holiday celebrations, young people frequenting bars, and immigrants arriving from Mexico. Public health experts, by contrast, blamed it on the rush in several states to re-open their economies – a dynamic that Mr. Trump had fomented.<sup>235</sup> They also blamed it on Mr. Trump’s denial (until the past few days) of the pandemic’s force and trajectory; his mockery and politicization (until the past few days) of mask-wearing and social distancing; his (continuing) refusal to deploy a nationwide containment strategy; and his (continuing) campaign against testing coupled with his failure to establish a robust testing infrastructure.<sup>236</sup>

Also on July 23, the country’s chief epidemiologist and Mr. Trump’s coronavirus nemesis, Dr. Anthony Fauci, said in an interview aired on CNN that he and his family were receiving “serious” personal threats, requiring them to have extra security.<sup>237</sup> On August 5, he revealed that he had had to hire security professionals to protect his family. (He had had to have security for himself since April.)<sup>238</sup>

On July 23, hours before Dr. Fauci threw the first pitch of the 2020 Major League baseball season between the Washington Nationals and the New York Yankees, Mr. Trump announced that he was going to throw the first pitch at a Yankees game in August. The announcement took both the White House and the Yankees by surprise, and was reportedly intended to annoy and upstage Fauci.<sup>239</sup>

On July 24, Mr. Trump’s press secretary said that Mr. Trump had always supported the wearing of face-masks – an untruth of stupendous proportions.<sup>240</sup>

On July 27, Mr. Trump and his son Donald Jr. each retweeted a video in which a faith healer with a history of wildly eccentric views (space alien DNA, demon sperm) proclaimed the efficacy of hydroxychloroquine as a treatment for Covid-19.<sup>241</sup> The FDA and numerous other credible sources had resolved weeks previously that that drug had no such efficacy, and some medical studies had indicated that it could be dangerous; but Mr. Trump still would not admit that his early promotion of the drug had been baseless.<sup>242</sup> As punishment for the retweets, Twitter partially suspended Donald Jr.'s account.<sup>243</sup> That day Mr. Trump also retweeted a claim that Dr. Fauci had repeatedly misled the American public, including by denying the efficacy of hydroxychloroquine; that is, while endorsing the faith healer Mr. Trump disparaged Fauci.<sup>244</sup> The following day, he denied having sent that retweet, and – astonishingly – he said that he had no idea what Fauci thought about hydroxychloroquine. He also quipped that he deserved but was being denied the same high approval ratings that Fauci was receiving, because “nobody likes me.”<sup>245</sup>

Attending a fundraising event for the energy industry on July 29 at an oil rig in Texas, Mr. Trump and other mask-less attendees were photographed in close proximity to one another.<sup>246</sup>

At a news briefing on July 30, Mr. Trump reacted to the country's uncontrolled pandemic spread and its record-breaking economic decline by blaming China for the “China virus,” falsely stating that schoolchildren were immune from the disease (and thus that all schools should open), and condemning mail-in voting.<sup>247</sup>

Testifying before Congress on July 31, Mr. Trump's top coronavirus advisor Adm. Brett Giroir acknowledged that prompt testing and test results were simply not available to most Americans – many months after Mr. Trump had proclaimed, repeatedly, that anyone who wanted a test could promptly get one.<sup>248</sup> In fact one of CSD's members in Southeastern Pennsylvania who felt he may have been exposed to the virus in late July was unable to get a test.

At the same congressional hearing, Dr. Fauci testified that the U.S. had seen more Covid-19 cases than Europe because the U.S. had failed to timely and sufficiently close its economy. On August 1, by way of Twitter, Mr. Trump angrily and imbecilically responded to Fauci: “*Wrong! We have more cases because we have tested far more than any other country, 60,000,000. If we tested less, there would be less cases.*”<sup>249</sup>

On August 2, after being criticized by House Speaker Nancy Pelosi for being too sanguine about the country's coronavirus prospects, Dr. Deborah Birx, the coordinator of the White House's coronavirus task force, took a measure to protect her reputation. She told CNN, darkly, that infections were entering a different phase, and were “extraordinarily widespread.” On August 3, Mr. Trump publicly criticized Birx for the first time, tweeting, “*In order to counter Nancy, Deborah took the bait & hit us. Pathetic!*”<sup>250</sup>

On August 4, seven governors announced that, in the absence of action by the Trump administration, they were banding together to attempt to develop a solution for the woefully protracted time it was taking for Covid-19 test results to be delivered.<sup>251</sup>

At an August 4 news conference, Mr. Trump falsely claimed that New York and New Jersey were responsible for the nation's high coronavirus statistics, and he yet again falsely stated that a rise in testing was causing the rise in cases. On the same day, The Washington Post recapped a series of recent statements by Mr. Trump in which he had falsely declared that the U.S. was outperforming other countries in their coronavirus responses, and boasted about his own response (or non-response) – which in fact had led to the U.S., with 4% of the world's population, experiencing 25% of its coronavirus infections and deaths to that date.<sup>252</sup>

On August 5, for the first time, Facebook blocked a Trump campaign announcement – for falsely and dangerously stating that children are “almost immune” to Covid-19. Twitter also blocked a campaign tweet that contained a video of the ad.<sup>253</sup>

At a White House press briefing on August 5, Mr. Trump said of the coronavirus pandemic, as he had said often before, “*It's going away, it will go away, things go away, absolutely. No question in my mind, sooner rather than later.*”<sup>254</sup>

At an indoor gathering at his Bedminster, New Jersey golf club on August 7, Mr. Trump hosted his club members, coming in off the links, who were shoulder-to-shoulder and mask-less – in defiance of state law. He entered the room to the strains of “Hail to the Chief.” In addressing the group, he repeated his counter-factual tropes that the rampant surge in Covid-19 cases was merely the result of increase testing, and that the coronavirus would someday just “disappear.”<sup>255</sup>

On August 8, Mr. Trump issued a spate of orders intended to shore up the economy in the face of the pandemic. The orders were widely criticized as rash, likely ineffective, possibly counter-productive, and possibly illegal. See above CSD's entry within the main section of this Chronology at August 4 +, “My Country.”

Dr. Scott Atlas. On August 10, Mr. Trump publicly introduced Dr. Scott Atlas at the daily coronavirus briefing. Atlas, a prominent physician, conservative political consultant, and now a medical advisor to Mr. Trump, supported Mr. Trump in many of his non-scientific views about the pandemic. He thus was seen as offering a counterpoint to the science and the concerns as advanced by Dr. Fauci, Dr. Birx and others, even though he had no experience in public health, immunology or infectious diseases.<sup>256</sup> Among other things, Atlas reportedly advocated for allowing the virus to run its course within the American population until “herd immunity” was achieved – at the cost (critics estimated) of possibly a million lives.<sup>257</sup>

- Atlas's support for that strategy was confirmed on August 31 by The Post, which reported that public health officials were aghast: the strategy had failed in Sweden; and if it were implemented here, millions (plural) of American deaths could ensue.<sup>258</sup>

- On September 2, The Times reported that Atlas also discredited the use of face masks and doubted that children could spread the disease; and that he had had words with the CDC's director Dr. Richard Redfield and Dr. Birx.<sup>259</sup>

- As to herd immunity, CSD wondered whether Atlas himself would be willing to intentionally undergo infection in order to advance the well-being of the herd.

On August 12, Mr. Trump said that Democratic governors were ordering people to stay at home – “in prisons” – in order to make him look bad.<sup>260</sup>

On August 14, just hours after Mr. Trump had boasted about having procured large amounts of masks, gowns and ventilators, the FDA reported continuing widespread shortages of those items and testing supplies.<sup>261</sup>

On August 17, in an effort to establish that the U.S. was battling the coronavirus more effectively than other countries, Mr. Trump told supporters at a rally in Minnesota, “*You’ve seen what’s going on in New Zealand? Big surge in New Zealand. It’s terrible. We don’t want that.*” New Zealand, which had nearly eliminated the disease on its shores, had reported nine new cases on August 17, and a cumulative death count of only 22. By contrast, the U.S. was reporting approximately 50,000 new cases and 1,000 deaths per day, and over 170,000 cumulative deaths.<sup>262</sup>

On August 22, Mr. Trump accused his own FDA and the “Deep State” of slow-walking the development of a coronavirus vaccine as a means to harm him politically. He also tweeted his continuing support for hydroxychloroquine as a prophylaxis or cure.<sup>263</sup>

At an August 23 news conference, Mr. Trump and several of his top health officials, including FDA Commissioner Stephen Hahn, announced the emergency approval of convalescent blood plasma for hospitalized Covid-19 patients, stating that its deployment would have reduced deaths by 35 percent. Scientists around the country found the statistic bewildering and grossly misrepresented. No randomized trials had yet occurred. Some speculation arose as to whether the FDA had acquiesced to the announcement due to Mr. Trump’s accusation the previous day that the FDA was slow-walking.<sup>264</sup> On the following day, Hahn apologized for overstating the effectiveness of the treatment.<sup>265</sup> On September 1, in a remarkable release, the NIH trashed the FDA’s emergency approval of convalescent plasma, finding the data to be insufficient.<sup>266</sup> The dust-up was reminiscent of Mr. Trump’s hydroxychloroquine fiasco.

Reportedly under orders from the White House, on August 24 the CDC stopped its recommendations that symptomless people who had been exposed to the virus be tested. The CDC was still estimating that 40 percent of those who tested positive for Covid-19 had no symptoms but could be highly infectious and spread it to other people. But the unit now said that it would be up to state and local officials whether to advise symptomless people to be tested. Dr. Fauci, other scientists and several governors quickly expressed their deep concerns. Fauci had been under anesthesia for minor surgery when the decision had been made. Contradicting Mr. Trump’s early assurances that everyone who wanted a test could get a test, the CDC’s chief, Dr. Redfield, now ambiguously said, “*Everyone who wants a test does not necessarily need a test,*” causing confusion and consternation among the nation’s doctors and health officials.<sup>267</sup> Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and New Jersey officials expressly rejected the new guidelines.<sup>268</sup>

During the four days of the Republican National Convention (August 24-27), the presenters spoke little about the pandemic, and when they did, they appeared to treat it as a thing of the past. In fact over 4,000 Americans died from Covid-19 during those four days – more than the

number who had died in the 9/11 terrorist attacks. The number of U.S. deaths during the convention exceeded the number of new infections in Canada.<sup>269</sup>

On August 28, The Post reported that dozens of Secret Service officers traveling with Mr. Trump in campaign-style events had been sickened by the virus or quarantined due to contacts with infected people. Yet Mr. Trump was continuing to hold large public gatherings, without masks or social distancing.<sup>270</sup>

On August 30, Mr. Trump retweeted a post by a QAnon follower that falsely claimed that the CDC had “quietly” revised its tally of Covid-19 deaths down to 9,000 because most victims had actually died of other diseases. Twitter promptly deleted the tweet for its inaccuracy. On September 1, Dr. Fauci debunked the claim, explaining that even if patients had experienced co-morbidities, the procuring cause of their deaths had truly been the virus, and that pandemic deaths in the U.S. now exceeded 180,000.<sup>271</sup>

On September 1, at a community meeting in Kenosha, Wisconsin to discuss the civil violence associated with social justice protests there, Mr. Trump directed everyone in the room to remove their masks.<sup>272</sup>

Also on September 1, The Post reported that the Trump administration had declined to join a global effort to develop, manufacture and equitably distribute a coronavirus vaccine, in part because of the involvement in the effort on the part of the World Health Organization, an organization that the administration had sought to undermine. Another motive was that the administration believed that the U.S. would be the first to develop a vaccine, in which case it would wish to hoard it from other countries. According to The Post, one consequence of the move could be that if another country were the first to develop a vaccine, it might not become available to Americans. Another possible consequence was that even if many Americans were to be inoculated by an American vaccine, contacts with un-vaccinated foreigners, whether here or abroad, could revive the spread of the virus within the U.S. A third potential problem: leaving the rest of the world to struggle with the pandemic while the U.S. was vaccinated could still disrupt the U.S. economy, as global supply chains sputtered.<sup>273</sup>

At a campaign rally in Latrobe, Pennsylvania on September 3, at which most supporters appeared to be mask-less and not socially distant, Mr. Trump (also mask-less) mocked his electoral opponent Joe Biden for wearing a mask at public appearances. *"Have you ever seen a man who likes a mask as much as him?"* Mr. Trump said. *"It gives him a feeling of security. If I were a psychiatrist, I'd say this guy has got some big issues."*<sup>274</sup>

On September 4, Mr. Trump said that a vaccine would “probably” be available in October – shortly after his own chief vaccine official, drug manufacturers and Dr. Fauci had said that that was highly improbable.<sup>275</sup>

Politico reported on September 8 that USAID was about to shutter its coronavirus task force – which had been aiding foreign countries in their fight against the disease – due to perceived inefficiencies and internal discord. That development followed the cessation of the White House’s regular news conferences focused on the pandemic, and the sidelining of the interagency

coronavirus task force and its leading scientists, Drs. Fauci and Birx – developments that had seemed afoot and that now were confirmed by Politico.<sup>276</sup>

On September 7, at a White House news conference, Mr. Trump predicted that the development of a coronavirus vaccine was imminent, and that it could be available before the November election. The next day, nine major American pharmaceutical manufacturers – reacting to public fears that Mr. Trump was going to press them to deploy a vaccine before it was proven safe and effective and possibly even before the election – took the unprecedented step of joining in a pledge that they would not seek FDA approval for a vaccine before completing rigorous clinical trials.<sup>277</sup> (At the same news conference, Mr. Trump had demanded that Biden and his running-mate Kamala Harris “immediately apologize for [their] reckless anti-vaccine rhetoric” – that is, for their having expressed the same concerns as the public and the manufacturers about a premature, politically-driven release of a vaccine.<sup>278</sup>)

As described above in the first section of this Addendum, on September 8, at a rally in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, Mr. Trump addressed a crowd of several thousand who were nearly all mask-less and crowded together – in defiance of the state’s coronavirus requirements.<sup>279</sup> He promised a coronavirus vaccine “very, very soon,” and he charged that Biden and Harris were disparaging the vaccine’s rapid development for political purposes.<sup>280</sup>

Also as described above in the first section of this Addendum, on September 9, media reported on a book to be released shortly by veteran Watergate journalist Bob Woodward that revealed Mr. Trump’s early awareness of the extraordinary dangers posed to the American public by the coronavirus. Mr. Trump’s National Security Advisor Robert O’Brien had told Mr. Trump in early February that the virus posed the greatest national security threat of his presidency. Mr. Trump then told Woodward, still in February, that he knew that the disease was highly contagious, airborne and far more deadly than the flu, but that he had deliberately misled the public about that so as to prevent “panic.” From that, observers widely concluded that Mr. Trump had not been merely thick-headed and cavalier about the threat borne by the disease; rather, that he had repeatedly lied about the threat. They noted that he had also disparaged mask-wearing, contradicted his top scientists, convened medically dangerous campaign rallies, and ridiculed truth-tellers – all at a time when he knew that that could heighten the risk to Americans’ health. Woodward’s Watergate partner Carl Bernstein called it “the ultimate felony, to throw away lives.”<sup>281</sup>

Columnists for The Post wrote on September 9 and September 10 that Mr. Trump’s continuing projections of an early roll-out of a vaccine (even by Election Day!) and his ceaseless public pressuring of scientists was backfiring. Most Americans who were polled now expressed fear that a rushed vaccine could be a dangerous one and politically tainted; they expressed reluctance to be inoculated under those circumstances; and thus the pandemic could continue to rage, even after a roll-out. Vaccine manufacturers too were alarmed – that Mr. Trump’s pressure could undermine the public’s trust in their products, and thus their sales.<sup>282</sup>

On September 10, extraordinarily, a group of top FDA officials vowed in a USA Today column to not allow political pressure relative to the coronavirus to corrupt science, safety or their

agency's independence and credibility. Dr. Stephen Hahn, the FDA's commissioner, praised the column.<sup>283</sup>

On September 10, Giroir acknowledged that symptomless people should indeed be tested for Covid-19 – contrary to the CDC's August 24 policy shift described above.<sup>284</sup>

On September 10, Mr. Trump told reporters that the country was “rounding the final turn” of the pandemic. On September 11, Dr. Fauci told MSNBC's Andrea Mitchell, “*I'm sorry but I have to disagree with that,*” as he noted the current rate of 1,000 deaths daily, and the potential for a resurgence of the disease in the fall.<sup>285</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/22/us/politics/trump-federal-agents-cities.html>

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.politico.com/news/2020/07/25/trump-directs-a-campaign-ad-in-portland-381423>

<sup>3</sup> [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-democrat-cities\\_n\\_5f39e66bc5b65bbd8c8ef9c5](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/trump-democrat-cities_n_5f39e66bc5b65bbd8c8ef9c5)

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/25/us/portland-federal-legal-jurisdiction-courts.html>

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/25/us/protests-seattle-portland.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/26/us/protests-portland-seattle-trump.html?referringSource=articleShare> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/07/25/seattle-police-declare-riot-renewed-black-lives-matter-protests/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/07/25/seattle-police-declare-riot-renewed-black-lives-matter-protests/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines)

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/07/28/conservative-armed-militias-protests-coronavirus/?arc404=true>

<sup>7</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/07/29/world/americas/united-nations-portland-protests.html>

<sup>8</sup> <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/08/10/barr-fox-antifa-blm/>

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<sup>137</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/07/world/europe/germany-trump-far-right.html>

<sup>138</sup> [https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/jean-carroll-trump-justice-department/2020/09/08/37faa380-f22a-11ea-b796-2dd09962649c\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&w\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/national-security/jean-carroll-trump-justice-department/2020/09/08/37faa380-f22a-11ea-b796-2dd09962649c_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&w_pisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/09/08/nyregion/donald-trump-jean-carroll-lawsuit-rape.html> and [https://www.huffpost.com/entry/doj-trump-e-jean-carroll-lawsuit\\_n\\_5f5825f9c5b6b48507f8f2b9](https://www.huffpost.com/entry/doj-trump-e-jean-carroll-lawsuit_n_5f5825f9c5b6b48507f8f2b9) and MSNBC television commentary, Lawrence O'Donnell, September 9, 2020 and MSNBC television news, Brian Williams, with Neal Katyal, September 9, 2020

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**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 33 – October 17, 2020*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

The current Addendum appears in three parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular chronology. The second part, beginning on p. 42, chronicles events surrounding Mr. Trump's efforts to suppress voting and discredit the results of the upcoming November 2020 election. The third part, beginning on p. 49, chronicles events surrounding Mr. Trump's response to the coronavirus pandemic.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Episode</u>	<u>Category</u>
9-12-20	<b><u>Insurrection: Stone and friend.</u></b> On September 12, Fox News broadcast an interview with Mr. Trump in which he said that if he <u>won the upcoming election and massive protests ensued, he would "put them down very quickly.... "We have the power to do that if we want. Look, it's called insurrection. We just send in and we, we do it very easy. I mean, it's very easy. ... [I]f we had to, we'd do that and put it down within minutes, within minutes."</u> He also said that Nevada's governor was rigging the election against him. <u>[Continued below.]</u>	3, 4, 7, 9, 17 (3, 4, 7, 9)

<p>9-12-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On the same day, <u>Roger Stone called for Mr. Trump to declare martial law and seize dictatorial power if he lost the election</u>, and to arrest the Clintons, Facebook’s Mark Zuckerberg, Apple’s Tim Cook and others. He also called for the federal government to arrest the staff of The Daily Beast for fomenting protests, to confiscate and not count Nevada’s ballots on Election Day, and to immediately arrest Mr. Trump’s former secretary of defense, James Mattis.<sup>1</sup></p> <p>Stone, who proudly claimed to have been a dirty trickster for former President Richard Nixon, was Mr. Trump’s longtime friend and advisor. He had been convicted on seven felony counts in connection with his and Russia’s interference with the 2016 election, but he had never turned on Mr. Trump. As a reward, in February, Attorney General William Barr had recommended that his sentence be reduced (it then was); and in July Mr. Trump had commuted his sentence altogether. Stone remained a high profile figure whose voice on the above topics could resonate with some Americans, including with Mr. Trump himself.</p>	<p>3, 4, 7, 9, 17 (3, 4, 7, 9)</p>
<p>9-12-20, 9-13-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Nevada</u></b>, Mr. Trump held a campaign rally on the tarmac at an airport in Minden, Nevada. It was attended by some 5,000 people (Mr. Trump claimed 25,000), nearly all maskless and non-distanced – despite the state’s coronavirus ban on gatherings in excess of 50 people, and despite Mr. Trump’s last large rally, in Tulsa, Oklahoma in June, having likely caused a surge in Covid-19 cases there.<sup>2</sup></p> <p>From the podium, Mr. Trump called his opponent Joe Biden “a pathetic human being” for allowing a Democratic campaign ad to denounce Mr. Trump’s recently revealed disparagement of fallen American troops, and he threatened in retaliation to become “really vicious” toward Biden in the remaining weeks of the campaign. He warned that vice-presidential candidate Kamala Harris (a woman of color) would control a Biden presidency and would shortly become president. He encouraged a “<i>Lock her up!</i>” chant about his 2016 electoral opponent Hillary Clinton – his supporters’ perennial favorite – and he explicitly said that Clinton “should be in jail.” He said that Nevada’s Democratic governor was trying to “rig the election” against him, by restricting rally venues due to the coronavirus pandemic and by encouraging mail-in voting. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 9</p>

<p>9-12-20, 9-13-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] Mr. Trump also said that if he were to win reelection in 2020, he would “negotiate” for a (constitutionally-barred) third term in 2024, claiming that he was “probably entitled to another four” years based on “the way we were treated.” (He had previously made similar statements.)</u><sup>3</sup></p> <p>The next day, at an even more medically perilous <i>indoor</i> rally in Henderson, Nevada – his first since Tulsa – Mr. Trump again defied the state’s 50-person limitation. There, reprising the previous day’s chant about Clinton, he <u>incited the crowd to a new chant – “Lock him up!” – in response to his fact-free, frequent and now repeated claim that former President Obama had directed intelligence officials to spy on Mr. Trump’s 2016 campaign.</u> (The Clinton chant pertained to her having used a private email server while secretary of state. Mr. Trump’s wife and daughter, subsequently installed in the White House, had likewise used private servers for government business. On the topic of crime and punishment, seven of his key campaign associates had been arrested since the 2016 election.)<sup>4</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 9</p>
<p>9-13-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo dines, campaigns.</u></b> On September 13, Politico reported that Secretary of State Mike Pompeo was resuming his secretive, private “Madison Dinners” at the State Department that had been paused during the coronavirus pandemic. Their purpose nominally was to inform American leaders outside of government about Pompeo’s diplomatic endeavors. But in reality, the events seemed intended to cultivate potential political donors and influential conservative voices relative to Pompeo’s future political ambitions – at government expense, and now heedless of coronavirus risks to department staff. Pompeo was already under congressional investigation for self-dealing.<sup>5</sup></p> <p>On September 24, ABC News reported that Pompeo had just delivered a poorly disguised campaign speech on behalf of Mr. Trump in Wisconsin – his fourth such speech in September alone. The Hatch Act forbids cabinet members from campaigning, and previous secretaries of state had eschewed that type of activity.<sup>6</sup></p> <p>On September 30, the Vatican denied Pompeo’s request to meet with the Pope, on grounds that Pompeo was trying to drag the Catholic Church into the U.S. presidential election by denouncing the Vatican’s relations with China.<sup>7</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 15, 16)</p>

9-14-20	<p><b>The science of wildfires.</b> At a roundtable discussion of the record-breaking wildfires then ripping through California, Mr. Trump questioned scientists’ widespread conclusion that climate change was a contributing cause, and he assured that the weather would get cooler.<sup>8</sup></p>	8
9-15-20 +	<p><b>Laughing at us.</b> On September 15, the Pew Research Center released the results of a poll conducted in 13 industrialized countries, revealing that world opinion of the U.S. had plummeted under the Trump presidency, especially (but not exclusively) due to Mr. Trump’s mishandling of the coronavirus pandemic. Foreign regard for the public health efforts of the World Health Organization and China – Mr. Trump’s pandemic scapegoats – was far higher. The poll also revealed that Mr. Trump was less trusted than any other global leader, including China’s President Xi Jinping and Russia’s President Vladimir Putin.<sup>9</sup> The outcome was particularly ironic in that Mr. Trump had campaigned in 2016 on the claim that the world was laughing at the U.S., and that he would un-do that.</p> <p>On September 25, The New York Times reported that citizens in countries around the world were now widely <i>pit</i>ying the U.S., due to Mr. Trump’s head-in-the-sand approach to the pandemic and his expressed intention to contest an electoral loss. Comparisons to poor, corrupt, authoritarian countries were cited. The Times wrote: “<i>The diminution of the United States’ global image began before the pandemic, as Trump administration officials snubbed international accords and embraced an America First policy. Now, though, its reputation seems to be in free-fall.</i>”<sup>10</sup></p>	8, 13
9-15-20	<p><b>Disinformation: Biden, Kushner, QAnon and Blitzer.</b> Mr. Trump re-tweeted a video that had been manipulated so as to falsely show his electoral rival Joe Biden listening to an anti-police song.<sup>11</sup> He also re-tweeted a photo that falsely portrayed Biden as a pedophile. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	7, 9

<p>9-15-20</p>	<p>[Continued.] To the second of those charges, during a prime-time interview with Jared Kushner that followed, CNN anchor Wolf Blitzer noted the connection between the pedophilia charge and the conspiracy theory – adopted by Mr. Trump’s now proliferating QAnon supporters – that falsely holds that many top Democrats are promoting and exploiting pedophilia in their attempts to take over the world. Blitzer asked Kushner to relay to his “father-in-law” that the re-tweet had been “disgusting” – a word that Blitzer used three times to characterize it. Kushner promised that he would do that, but he noted that Mr. Trump’s tweets reflect how he truly sees things. In what seemed like a personal rebuke of Kushner, Blitzer then noted to him that QAnon is anti-Semitic.<sup>12</sup> Kushner’s paternal grandparents as well as Blitzer’s parents had survived the Holocaust. Blitzer’s parents had been interned at Auschwitz.<sup>13</sup></p> <p>(Two recent summaries of QAnon’s wild tenets appear at the links at this end note.<sup>14</sup> More than two dozen QAnon adherents were now running for Congress.<sup>15</sup> But despite QAnon’s madness, Mr. Trump had praised its followers’ patriotism and welcomed them as supporters – see CSD’s entry of August 12 + in this Chronology.)</p> <p>On the same day, Mr. Trump told Fox News that he thought Biden had taken performance-enhancing drugs during his primary campaign debates, and he called for Biden to submit to drug tests before the two men’s upcoming general election debates. This was at least the third time that Mr. Trump had publicly leveled that charge and demand. Biden responded by calling Mr. Trump “a fool.” (See also CSD’s entry of September 1 + regarding Mr. Trump’s drug allegations and drug test demand.)<sup>16</sup></p> <p>In the same Fox News interview, Mr. Trump said that any Biden victory in November would necessarily have turned on voting fraud – that there were no lawful circumstances under which Biden could possibly win. Mr. Trump had now been making that claim repeatedly.<sup>17</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>

<p>9-15-20 +</p>	<p><b>Bolton’s book.</b> On September 15, Politico reported that the Justice Department was investigating whether former National Security Advisor John Bolton had revealed classified information in his recently published tell-all book that Mr. Trump had sought to gag.<sup>18</sup> On September 23, a former intelligence official’s lawyer told a court (the court that had allowed the publication of the book but that was continuing to consider possible civil penalties for Bolton) that Bolton had not published classified information; rather, that the White House had extraordinarily, wrongly and politically hijacked the book’s vetting and had blocked Bolton, during Mr. Trump’s impeachment, from revealing to Congress his knowledge of the events that were the subject of the impeachment.<sup>19</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>9-16-20</p>	<p><b>Denying, against evidence.</b> A Washington Post columnist listed a number of statements that Mr. Trump had earlier made, that had been captured in the public record (often on audio or video), and that he now denied having ever uttered. Contrary to the record, he now denied:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That he had publicly downplayed the coronavirus threat at a time when he fully understood its severity.</li> <li>• That he had praised Chinese President Xi Jinping for the latter’s coronavirus response.</li> <li>• That he had called the late Senator John McCain a “loser” for having been captured and tortured in Vietnam.</li> <li>• That he had sought to dismantle insurance coverage for pre-existing medical conditions under the Affordable Care Act (Obamacare).</li> <li>• That he had announced that a coronavirus vaccine would be ready for distribution by Election Day.</li> </ul> <p>Additional denials of his known statements were listed as well. As the columnist noted, veteran Watergate reporter Bob Woodward – author of a newly released book about Mr. Trump, based in part on 18 interviews that Woodward had had with him – had recently told CNN’s Anderson Cooper, “<i>I don’t know, to be honest, whether he’s got it straight in his head what is real and what is unreal.</i>”<sup>20</sup></p>	<p>7</p>

<p>9-16-20</p>	<p><b><u>Let’s kill Princeton.</u></b> Federal officials announced an investigation of Princeton University on grounds of racial discrimination, based on recent statements by the university’s president supporting the racial justice movement and acknowledging historic and continuing racism there. The investigation was pure theater, intended to poke a distinguished institution bearing a long racial justice record by branding it as hypocritical. Ironically, Mr. Trump had recently taken the opposite stand: he had publicly objected to Princeton having announced the removal of President Woodrow Wilson’s name from several campus entities because of Wilson’s racist record. Indeed, more in keeping with his own true colors, Mr. Trump had been deploying his Departments of Education and Justice in investigating leading universities with a view to un-doing their affirmative action admissions practices.</p> <p>But Mr. Trump’s crusade against “elite” universities was far broader than that. His administration had threatened to defund them and revoke their tax-exempt status due to their often liberal classroom content; had begun investigating their (but not his own) receipts from foreign governments; and had urged them (but not well-endowed conservative religious universities) to forego federal coronavirus relief funds on grounds of the universities’ wealth.<sup>21</sup> That crusade coincided with his long-standing campaign against coastal “elites” generally – cravenly pandering to and encouraging the resentments of many of his populist supporters, particularly now, during election season. (Observers had long reported on Mr. Trump’s own lifelong resentment about feeling disdained by people whom he had perceived to be far more decorous, ethical and informed than himself.)</p>	<p>6, 9, 11</p>
<p>9-16-20</p>	<p><b><u>War crimes in Yemen?</u></b> Congressional Democrats and the New York Times charged that the State Department was covering up its own concerns that the U.S. was risking accusations of committing war crimes. For the past five years, the U.S. had been selling munitions to Saudi Arabia and the U.A.E. with full knowledge that the munitions were being used to kill large numbers of civilians in Yemen.<sup>22</sup></p>	<p>14, 17 (7)</p>

<p>9-16-20</p>	<p><b><u>Barr’s double-think.</u></b> Mr. Trump’s Attorney General William Barr, speaking to a conservative audience:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Said that he enjoyed absolute authority to second-guess and supersede his subordinate, career prosecutors, because they were less experienced than he and sometimes acted politically when prosecuting targets. (But many of them were quite experienced; Barr himself, a bureaucrat, was not; and Barr was the one who had acted politically on multiple occasions, including when intervening, extraordinarily, in the Roger Stone and Michael Flynn cases.)</li> <li>• Criticized television pundits for speculating, extra-judicially, as to whether administration officials had committed crimes. (But he said nothing about Mr. Trump’s repeated, baseless, extra-judicial accusations that his adversaries, such as Hillary Clinton, James Comey and Andrew McCabe, had acted criminally.)</li> <li>• Said that Mr. Trump’s opponents were making the U.S. resemble authoritarian countries in Eastern Europe. (But it was Mr. Trump who was the authoritarian, and who had repeatedly expressed friendship toward those regimes and admiration for their leaders.)</li> <li>• Criticized coronavirus lockdowns on the following grounds: <i>“All this nonsense about how something is dictated by science is nonsense [sic].”</i></li> <li>• Alleged that Black Lives Matter advocates <i>“aren’t interested in Black lives. They’re interested in props, a small number of Blacks who are killed by police during conflicts with police – usually less than a dozen a year – who they can use as props to achieve a much broader political agenda.”</i> (Police had killed 250 Black Americans in 2019. As the country’s chief law enforcement officer, his error was astonishing.)<sup>23</sup></li> </ul> <p>Barr also took the occasion to warn, extraordinarily, that any attempt at a nationwide lockdown due to the pandemic would amount to “the greatest intrusion on civil liberties” in history “other than slavery” – a senseless and offensive comparison that prompted colossal blowback from critics.</p> <p>In a separate interview, Barr had recently said that a Biden victory would cause the country to become “irrevocably committed to the socialist path” – a remarkable statement for an attorney general, not only for its inaccuracy and its rank partisanship, but for its incendiary nature.<sup>24</sup></p>	<p>17 (1, 2, 3, 7, 8, 9)</p>
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<p>9-17-20</p>	<p><b><u>A Patriotic Education.</u></b> Mr. Trump announced the formation of a commission to promote “patriotic education” and a “pro-American curriculum” in schools. His stated goal was to counter the progressive call to teach students more deeply about racial wrongdoings in American history, which he characterized as “child abuse.”<sup>25</sup></p> <p>In truth, the federal government has no say in school curricula. Rather, CSD saw in the action a thinly veiled project to pander to racist voters and to tar his progressive critics as unpatriotic. More generally, with grave concern, we envisioned his education ideal to involve instilling in children loyalty to him and to his political agenda, if he were to win a second term. Such a top-down agenda of teaching “patriotism” was the stuff of the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany in years past, and of North Korea, Eritrea and other autocracies in the present day.</p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>9-17-20</p>	<p><b><u>Harris: the fear.</u></b> Politico reported that a major theme of Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign had come to be his fearmongering over the prospect of Kamala Harris – Joe Biden’s running mate – becoming president “through the back door” should Biden win the election but then fail to complete his term for health reasons. Mr. Trump had just said at a rally in Wisconsin that a Harris presidency “would rip our country apart.” Harris is a woman of color.<sup>26</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>9-17-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Russia, Russia, Russia – in the 2020 election.</u></b> As FBI Director Christopher Wray told the House Homeland Security Committee of Russia’s continuing campaign to denigrate Democratic presidential contender Joe Biden, on September 17, acting Homeland Security Secretary Chad Wolf failed to attend the session, in defiance of the committee’s subpoena. The committee appeared to have been poised to ask Wolf about attempts by DHS – recently alleged by a whistleblower – to cover up Russia’s anti-Biden interference, among other perceived irregularities within the department.<sup>27</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>12, 17 (9, 12)</p>

<p>9-17-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Shortly after Wray’s testimony, Mr. Trump tweeted, “<i>But Chris, you don’t see any activity from China, even though it is a FAR greater threat than Russia, Russia, Russia. They will both, plus others, be able to interfere in our 2020 Election with our totally vulnerable Unsolicited (Counterfeit?) Ballot Scam.</i>”<sup>28</sup> Mr. Trump did not present any evidence to justify his charges. But on September 18, he indicated to reporters that he would consider firing Wray for his testimony.<sup>29</sup></p> <p>On September 22, The Washington Post, then The New York Times, reported on a leaked, top-secret assessment by the CIA, memorialized on August 31, that <u>Russian President Vladimir Putin probably was personally directing the disinformation campaign against Biden; that that campaign also supported Mr. Trump and was fueling American discord; and that the Russian operations targeted Congress, lobbyists and U.S. media organizations as their audiences. The Trump administration had been hiding all of this from the public.</u><sup>30</sup></p> <p>Also on September 22, <u>The Times reported that Russian trolls spreading disinformation about the upcoming U.S. election had come principally to quoting Mr. Trump himself, especially about the dangers of mail-in voting. U.S. government officials privately said that Mr. Trump was feeding many of the disinformation campaigns that they themselves were struggling to halt. A new public governmental alert reported the types of Russian disinformation afoot, but not that Mr. Trump himself was both purveying it himself and inspiring the Russians to pile on.</u><sup>31</sup></p> <p>On September 23, <u>Politico reported that the CIA had now made it harder for intelligence about Russia to reach the White House, for unknown reasons.</u><sup>32</sup></p>	<p>12, 17 (9, 12)</p>
<p>9-18-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Minnesota.</u></b> At a rally in Bemidji, Minnesota, Mr. Trump:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Said, in reference to the large Somali refugee population in Minneapolis, that his Democratic rival Joe Biden would "turn Minnesota into a refugee camp," and he bragged about deporting Somali nationals. "<i>I’m your wall between the American dream and chaos,</i>" he said.<sup>33</sup> [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 3, 6, 7, 9</p>

<p>9-18-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Praised the Confederate general Robert E. Lee, and protested the nationwide movement to remove statues of Lee and other Confederate officers on racial justice grounds– oblivious to the facts that Minnesota had no statues of Lee and that Lee’s forces had killed thousands of Union troops from Minnesota.<sup>34</sup></li> <li>• Praised Minnesotans for their “good [White] genes.”</li> <li>• <u>Said that when a police rubber bullet struck MSNBC’s anchor Ali Velshi at a peaceful demonstration in May, it was “a beautiful thing,” and an exercise in “law and order.” (No laws had been broken.) He then mocked Velshi’s expressions of pain.</u></li> <li>• Claimed that Minneapolis would have been totally destroyed had he not called out the National Guard during the protests. But he had not called out the National Guard.</li> <li>• Cryptically urged that three progressive congresswomen of color be prosecuted for “buying dresses.”</li> <li>• Claimed with no evidence that the FBI was hiding Hillary Clinton’s emails from the period when she was secretary of state.</li> <li>• Threatened to “pull licenses” from unfriendly broadcasters – which he had no authority to do.<sup>35</sup></li> </ul>	<p>1, 3, 6, 7, 9</p>
<p>9-18-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>RBG dies; quick replacement planned.</u></b> Within hours after the September 18 death of Ruth Bader Ginsburg – the storied, liberal Supreme Court justice – Republican senators, and later Mr. Trump, vowed to replace her with a conservative Republican justice, and prior to the November 3 election. Although lawful on its face, that move would represent the fastest contested nomination and confirmation in the Supreme Court’s modern history. It would also defy the Republican-controlled Senate’s previous refusal to even consider President Obama’s nomination of moderate Merrick Garland for a seat on the court in 2016, on the Senate’s wholly manufactured grounds that a president should not be allowed to appoint a justice during the last year of his or her term. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>4, 7, 9, 17 (8, 9)</p>

<p>9-18-20 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] Upon winning the 2016 election, Mr. Trump had appointed Neil Gorsuch, a conservative Republican, to take Garland’s seat; he had subsequently appointed conservative Brett Kavanaugh to take retiring Justice Anthony Kennedy’s seat; and his now likely appointment of a conservative to take Ginsburg’s seat would represent his third Supreme Court appointment. A virtually impenetrable 6-3 Republican majority on the Court, procured in bad faith and empowered for a generation, now appeared imminent.<sup>36</sup></i></p> <p>Ginsburg’s dying wish, as expressed to her family, had been that her replacement not be selected until after the November 2020 presidential election, and by the winner of that election. On September 21, Mr. Trump publicly speculated that Democratic congressional leaders had manufactured that wish and then attributed it to Ginsburg.<sup>37</sup></p> <p><i>On September 22, Mr. Trump made plain to reporters that he wanted Ginsburg’s successor installed before the election so that the Court would rule in his favor in the event of a contested election. He said, “We need nine justices. You need that with the unsolicited millions of ballots that [Democratic governors are] sending [to all their registered voters]. It’s a scam. It’s a hoax. Everybody knows that, and the Democrats know it better than anybody else. So you’re going to need nine justices up there. I think it’s going to be very important because what they’re doing is a hoax with the ballots.”<sup>38</sup></i></p> <p><i>Mr. Trump doubled-down on September 23. With respect to the election-related litigation that he anticipated in November, he said, “I think this will end up in the Supreme Court, and I think it’s very important to have nine justices.”</i>  <b><u>At that point observers took as a given that Mr. Trump was planning to seek court orders, as well as action by Republican-controlled state governments in swing states, to forbid the counting of mailed-in votes after Election Day, for fear that late-counted votes would favor his opponent Joe Biden.</u></b><sup>39</sup></p> <p><i>On September 25, Mr. Trump made known that he would nominate Amy Coney Barrett to replace Ginsburg. <b><u>Barrett’s judicial views appeared to be reliably conservative, except for one radical item: she had frequently written that the Court could perfunctorily (as opposed to extraordinarily) overrule past Court precedent.</u></b></i><sup>40</sup></p> <p><i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>4, 7, 9, 17 (8, 9)</p>
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<p>9-18-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Within minutes after Mr. Trump formally nominated Barrett on September 26, the Trump campaign began selling T-shirts featuring her likeness and the phrase “Notorious A.C.B.” The phrase was a take-off on and a rebuttal to the phrase “the notorious RBG” that Ginsburg’s fans in recent years had applied to Ginsburg as she rose to the ranks of a culture hero for her life-long commitment to women’s rights.<sup>41</sup> Possibly never before that expropriation of the nickname had the ideological differences between two Supreme Court justices been so exploited by a presidential campaign, placed in opposition to one another at a popular level, or deployed retributively.</p> <p><b><u>At Barrett’s Senate confirmation hearing on October 12-14, she declined to opine as to whether the president can unilaterally move an election date, whether voter intimidation is illegal, or whether human-caused climate change is real. (She had previously acknowledged family ties to the oil industry.) Whether her evasions reflected her actual uncertainty on those matters was unknown.</u></b><sup>42</sup></p>	<p>4, 7, 9, 17 (8, 9)</p>
<p>9-19-20</p>	<p><b><u>My worthy opponent.</u></b> At a rally in Fayetteville, North Carolina, Mr. Trump said that his opponent Joe Biden was “the dumbest of all candidates,” and “the worst candidate in the history of presidential politics.” Reciting his now standard claim that Biden had used and would continue to use performance enhancing drugs during political debates, Mr. Trump said that “they gave him a big fat shot in the ass... and for two hours, he is better than ever before.”<sup>43</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>9-19-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Voter intimidation.</u></b> On September 19, a group of chanting Trump supporters physically crowded and attempted to intimidate early voters in Fairfax, Virginia.<sup>44</sup></p> <p>On September 29, a group of Republicans attempted to monitor – and seemingly to intimidate voters at – an early voting site in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, contrary to a local law that disallowed monitoring at such sites. During that evening’s presidential debate, Mr. Trump cited the Philadelphia episode as proof of Democratic election fraud.<sup>45</sup> On September 30, Philadelphia’s mayor said he was preparing for a concerted intimidation campaign by Republicans on Election Day.<sup>46</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>4, 5, 7, 9</p>

9-19-20 +	[Continued.] The New York Times reported on October 7 that election and law enforcement authorities across the country were widely fearful of, but preparing for, episodes of intimidation and violence on Election Day. <sup>47</sup>	4, 5, 7, 9
9-21-20	<b>Pay me (again).</b> Huffington Post reported that despite experiencing a shortage in funds during the last several months, Mr. Trump’s campaign and the Republican National Committee had spent an additional \$251,409 at Trump properties during that period, bringing their total payments to Mr. Trump to over \$7,200,000 since January 2017. <sup>48</sup>	15
9-21-20 +	<p><b>Anarchist jurisdictions.</b> On September 21, Mr. Trump and the Justice Department branded Manhattan, New York; Portland, Oregon; and Seattle, Washington as “anarchist jurisdictions” that risked losing federal funding because they had not sufficiently suppressed violent activities that had accompanied recent, peaceful racial justice protests. All three cities were in solidly Democratic-voting states. But the designations did not extend to swing states such as Wisconsin and Minnesota that had also experienced violent protests; the branded cities had hardly submitted to anarchy; and Mr. Trump lacked the authority to withhold the funds. Critics thus regarded the “anarchist” designations as baseless and empty but dangerous demagoguery.<sup>49</sup></p> <p>On October 15, the Transportation Department (headed by Elaine Chao, the wife of Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell) said that it would bar the named “anarchist jurisdictions” from participating in a new coronavirus safety grant program.<sup>50</sup></p>	3, 9
9-22-20	<b>In Pennsylvania (again).</b> Campaigning at an airport in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump was greeted by thousands of supporters, tightly packed and mask-less. <sup>51</sup> There he launched a racist diatribe against Minnesota Congresswoman Ilhan Omar for her criticisms of him and for her Somali origin. “ <i>How is your country doing?</i> ” he asked her rhetorically. <sup>52</sup> He also again mocked MSNBC anchor Ali Velshi for an incident at a peaceful racial justice rally in Minneapolis, Minnesota: “ <i>They’d grab one guy — ‘I’m a reporter. I’m a reporter.’ They threw him aside like he was a little bag of popcorn. Honestly ... when you see it, it’s actually a beautiful sight.</i> ” <sup>53</sup>	1, 3, 5, 6, 9

<p>9-22-20</p>	<p><b><u>Going for the Green.</u></b> The New York Times reported that some Republicans were supporting the campaign of Green Party presidential candidate Howie Hawkins in an effort to cut into Democratic Joe Biden’s bid for election. Like Republican efforts to promote the candidacy of hip-hop billionaire Kanye West to similar effect, the gambit smacked of fraud and of campaign finance violations.<sup>54</sup> (See also CSD’s entry of August 13, above, regarding West.)</p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>9-23-20</p>	<p><b><u>Ukraine smear, revisited.</u></b> The Senate’s Republican-controlled Homeland Security and Finance Committees issued their long-threatened report on the alleged corrupt activities of presidential contender Joe Biden and his son Hunter in Ukraine. It was built on the same allegations against the Bidens that Mr. Trump had asked Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelinsky to expose in 2019 in exchange for receiving military aid that Congress had already legislated, thus giving rise to Mr. Trump’s impeachment. The Senate’s report had long been seen as being timed to coincide with and to influence the upcoming U.S. election. But U.S. media and officials had previously debunked the charges against the Bidens; and now the committees themselves acknowledged that they were unable to prove them.</p> <p>The Trump campaign nevertheless cherry-picked and inflated the committees’ findings, pointing to “explosive new revelations” about “stunning levels of corruption and breathtaking breaches of America’s national security.” Democrats countered, that the allegations were false; that they were based on disinformation provided by Russian operatives; that the committees had wrongly used U.S. taxpayer dollars to promote that disinformation and Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign; and that the undertaking had been a waste and abuse of the committees’ resources at a time when Russian election interference and the coronavirus pandemic posed far more urgent security threats.<sup>55</sup></p> <p>The committees did not investigate or address whether Mr. Trump himself had acted corruptly or jeopardized U.S. security in extorting Zelinsky or in encouraging Mr. Trump’s attorney Rudy Giuliani and Giuliani’s unsavory colleagues to dig up dirt on the Bidens in Ukraine. But as the House of Representatives had determined when impeaching Mr. Trump, Mr. Trump had indeed engaged in such corruption.</p>	<p>17 (7, 9, 12)</p>

<p>9-23-20</p>	<p><b><u>Abraham Lincoln and me.</u></b> When asked by a reporter to comment on the highly controversial decision of a Louisville, Kentucky grand jury not to bring homicide charges against a trio of White police officers who had shot and killed Breonna Taylor (who was Black) in her apartment in March, Mr. Trump answered only: <i>“My message is that I love the Black community, and I’ve done more for the Black community than any other president, and I say, with a possible exception of Abraham Lincoln ....”</i><sup>56</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 11</p>
<p>9-24-20</p>	<p><b><u>My health care plan.</u></b> After years of vilifying and trying to destroy the Affordable Care Act (“Obamacare”) while promising ever more frequently to launch a replacement program, Mr. Trump signed a series of executive orders that he claimed represented his bold and comprehensive “vision” for that replacement. After signing, he said, <i>“This is affirmed, signed, and done, so we can put that to rest.”</i> The vision included guaranteeing insurance coverage for people with preexisting medical conditions, as the ACA already provided. Otherwise, in the new orders, Mr. Trump now appeared largely to acquiesce to the continuation of the ACA. Observers wrote that the orders and “vision” articulated nothing – no details, no practical mechanisms to address the extraordinarily complex realities of national healthcare issues; rather, that they amounted only to hollow hype during an election campaign.</p> <p><u>Mr. Trump also announced that he would shortly be sending \$200 prescription payment cards to Medicare participants.</u> No details about the administration of, the recipient pool for, or the funding for the cards were made available. Some critics observed that the cards would not make a dent in high prescription drug pricing, the taming of which Mr. Trump had long promised. Others questioned whether Mr. Trump even had the lawful authority to issue the cards. Pharmaceutical companies were in the dark. Altogether, <u>critics – and even the top lawyer at the Department of Health and Human Services – saw the promise of the cards, made shortly before the November election, as a bribe to seniors to induce them to vote for Mr. Trump.</u><sup>57</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>



<p>9-24-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>My census (again).</u></b> On September 24, a federal judge in California ordered that the decennial census be continued through October 31 so as to gather sufficient responses from hard-to-reach respondents and thereby to enhance the accuracy of the survey.<sup>58</sup> On September 28, Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross defied the order, stating by Twitter that the field work would end on October 5.<sup>59</sup> On October 1, the court castigated the government for its defiance, and it clarified and reaffirmed the order.<sup>60</sup> On October 2, the Census Bureau acceded to the order.<sup>61</sup></p> <p><u>But the count remained rushed and suspect. As of October 12, analysts believed that, for the first time, the White House would manipulate it in secret so as to increase Republican seats in Congress and state legislatures.</u><sup>62</sup></p> <p>The Ninth Circuit Court of appeals had affirmed the district court’s ruling. But on October 13, the Supreme Court overruled the circuit court, thus allowing the Commerce Department to end the census count immediately – that is, before its October 31 completion date. The likely outcome would be an undercounting of young people, minorities and immigrants, and a resultant electoral windfall for Republicans.<sup>63</sup></p>	<p>8, 9</p>
<p>9-24-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>VOA trouble.</u></b> On September 24, Michael Pack skipped a subpoenaed appearance before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, angering both Democrats and Republicans. Pack was Mr. Trump’s new man at the U.S. Agency for Global Media, which oversees Voice of America and similar U.S. media institutions. He had been firing top managers with an apparent view to politicizing the content of their respective media operations. Critics believed that that politicization would jeopardize the objectivity and reputation of their output – and thus the reputation of the U.S., as well as pro-democracy efforts abroad.<sup>64</sup> (See CSD’s entry of June 15 + in this Chronology, above.)</p> <p>On September 30, six senior officials in the agency filed a whistleblower complaint, alleging that they had been removed from their posts in retaliation for raising concerns about Pack’s politicization efforts.<sup>65</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 9</p>

<p>9-24-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On October 4, NPR reported that two of Pack’s new, top political appointees had illegally investigated one of the agency’s most prominent journalists – VOA’s White House bureau chief – on their suspicions of him being anti-Trump.<sup>66</sup></p>	<p>1, 9</p>
<p>9-25-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>He won’t leave the land.</u></b> On September 25, a federal judge in Montana removed William Perry Pendley as Mr. Trump’s fifth acting director of the Bureau of Land Management, ruling that Pendley had served unlawfully for 424 days. The judge found a raft of administrative foul-ups in Pendley’s appointment, including Mr. Trump’s own withdrawal of Pendley’s nomination for the permanent director’s post following revelations that Pendley was a climate science denier. On October 10, Pendley said he would refuse to vacate his post, pending an appeal by the Interior Department. (Environmentalists had long viewed Pendley as averse to the spirit and mandate of the bureau’s land management mission, and dedicated instead to selling off extraction rights to industrial interests.)<sup>67</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
<p>9-25-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>DOJ drips.</u></b> On September 25, and in advance of the upcoming presidential election but for no other obvious purpose, the Justice Department disclosed drips of information that purportedly demonstrated the illegitimacy of Robert Mueller’s long-closed investigation of Russian election interference. For example, one FBI agent was now reported to have memorialized his observation that prosecutors were out to “get Trump.” Also, a key source of allegations against Mr. Trump was now reported to have previously been investigated as a possible Russian agent.</p> <p>Similarly, on September 29, Director of National Intelligence John Ratcliffe – formerly one of Mr. Trump’s fiercest allies in Congress – declassified a previously discredited and still thoroughly unproven Russian intelligence allegation: that, in 2016, Hillary Clinton had personally approved an effort to tie Mr. Trump to Russian President Vladimir Putin and the hacking of the Democratic National Committee’s emails. Former intelligence officials blanched at Ratcliffe’s incendiary and irresponsible move – publicly releasing unverified intelligence from a foreign adversary and in advance of an election. On October 7, Ratcliffe released additional classified material to the Justice Department, with a view to aiding the latter in its investigation of Mr. Trump’s political enemies. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (9, 12)</p>

<p>9-25-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u> All of the above disclosures appeared to be a warm-up, or possibly a substitute, for what had been expected to be the imminent release of a comprehensive, hyper-partisan and demagogic “investigation of the investigators” (Mr. Trump’s whipping boys) by U.S. Attorney John Durham, as commissioned by Attorney General William Barr in May 2019.<sup>68</sup></p> <p>But just as disturbingly, the disclosures seemed to be fodder for Mr. Trump’s reelection campaign, which he almost instantly did deploy in that regard. Politico compared the disclosures to the Justice Department’s recent, extraordinary and inappropriate publicity around a non-existent incident of ballot-tampering in rural Pennsylvania (see CSD’s September 24 entry in the second section of this Addendum, “The November 2020 Election,” below), and around Barr’s recent repeated warnings of imminent, massive voter fraud.<sup>69</sup></p> <p><u>In all of this, Politico viewed Barr, through his own and his department’s actions, as working hand-in-glove with Mr. Trump on the campaign, a phenomenon last seen in Richard Nixon’s Attorney General John Mitchell – who went to jail.</u><sup>70</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 12)</p>
<p>9-26-20</p>	<p><b><u>In Pennsylvania (yet again).</u></b> Mr. Trump held an airport rally in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, which a few thousand supporters, mostly mask-less, attended. (Mr. Trump claimed that there were “17,000 or 18,000.”)</p> <p>He began by boasting about his nomination, only hours earlier, of conservative jurist Amy Coney Barrett to a seat on the Supreme Court, claiming that “<i>She will defend your God-given rights and freedoms</i>”; warning that should Democrats win the election their nominees would be “handpicked by socialists”; and whipping the crowd into chants of support (“<i>Fill that seat!</i>”).</p> <p>Then, in what struck CSD as an unremitting torrent of cruelty, invective, braggadocio and falsehood – also to thunderous cheers – he railed in the usual ways. He:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Battered President Obama for having staged or tolerated a “coup” against him (that is, puzzlingly, before Mr. Trump had even been elected; “<i>Lock him up!</i>” chanted the crowd); [<u>Continued below.</u>]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>

<p>9-26-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Scourged his former electoral rival Hillary Clinton for her private email use (ignoring that his own wife and daughter had done the same from the White House); drawing the usual chants of “<i>Lock her [Clinton] up!</i>”; and now rejoining, as he had recently begun doing, “<i>I agree</i>”;</li> <li>• Tarred impeachment antagonist Congressman Adam Schiff (a “sleazebag,” a “jerk,” and “totally dishonest”);</li> <li>• Called Democratic vice-presidential candidate Kamala Harris a “maniac” (without saying why);</li> <li>• Gratuitously mocked two congressional women of color (and called one of them, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, a “communist”);</li> <li>• Reveled in the removal of a protester from the rally by the police;</li> <li>• Proclaimed his loyalty to police officers, boasting at length that police associations across the country had endorsed him;</li> <li>• Charged that Democrats were rigging the election; repeated his false claim made in recent days that a rigging episode had been uncovered in rural Pennsylvania; roared that “the only way they can win in Pennsylvania is to cheat on the ballots”; and urged his supporters to go to the polls to report on Democrats “dumping” and “flushing” things;</li> <li>• Mocked and castigated the TV crews in attendance;</li> <li>• Accused Democrats of trying to foil the roll-out of a coronavirus vaccine;</li> <li>• Pointed to information recently and cynically released by his attorney general William Barr that purported to demonstrate that operatives in the Justice Department had illegally investigated his 2016 campaign; claimed that those operatives had “ruined General [Michael] Flynn [the felon] ... to get <i>me</i>”; then suggested that more such revelations (“real beauties”) were imminent;</li> <li>• Insulted his current electoral opponent “Sleepy Joe” Biden as a “dumb guy” and of “low energy”;</li> <li>• Vastly inflated Hunter Biden’s business profits in Ukraine, and falsely accused him of having taken money from Russia and China;</li> </ul>	<p>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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<p>9-26-20</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Claimed that Joe Biden “is controlled like a puppet” by radicals; [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul> <p>[<i>Continued.</i>]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Warned that Biden had “surrounded his body” with rioters, flag burners and anarchists;</li> <li>• Falsely raged that, if elected, Biden would end fracking, destroy Social Security, sunder the Second Amendment, eliminate insurance for pre-existing medical conditions (which Mr. Trump himself had long been pressing to eliminate – first by his executive actions, then by seeking to overturn the Affordable Care Act in court), give free health care to “illegal aliens,” “destroy the suburbs,” sell out the U.S. to China on trade, raise taxes calamitously, “indoctrinate” children in classrooms, effect “open borders,” admit a vast wave of refugees including “radical Islamic terrorists,” and foster the greatest economic depression since 1929;</li> <li>• Wistfully rued that the National Guard had suppressed a recent racial justice protest before officers could brutalize the protesters;</li> <li>• Claimed that one of the protesters had shot “a Christian” and exulted that the police had then shot the shooter to death;</li> <li>• Credited himself with having avoided nuclear war with North Korea (when in fact he himself appeared to have nearly started one);</li> <li>• Wildly exaggerated his economic achievements and his success in handling the coronavirus pandemic;</li> <li>• Wildly exaggerated the extent to which he had constructed his wall at the Mexican border and its prospects for completion;</li> <li>• Bragged about his high level of military spending and the advanced weaponry systems that he had introduced (notwithstanding the long period – likely before his time in office – that it almost certainly would have taken to develop any such weapons);</li> <li>• Boasted extensively about having won two Nobel prizes (in truth he had only been nominated, twice, and by the same far right Norwegian legislator), and disparaged President Obama’s actual Nobel; and [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11</p>
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9-26-20	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Noted (correctly for once, but evidencing one of his cynical strategies for reelection) that <u>if the upcoming election were so deadlocked [e.g., by his own provocation and litigation] as to be decided by the House of Representatives, under the Constitution the Republicans would have the majority of votes there – one per state – and thus could elect him.</u><sup>71</sup></li> </ul>	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11
9-27-20	<p><b>Drugged.</b> Mr. Trump once again, without evidence, accused his electoral opponent Joe Biden of having taken performance-enhancing drugs during his primary debates, and he once again demanded that Biden submit to drug tests before and after the two men’s upcoming debates.<sup>72</sup></p>	7, 9, 11
9-27-20	<p><b><u>The tax returns.</u></b> The New York Times reported that it had obtained more than 20 years of the federal income tax returns of Mr. Trump and his businesses, long after he had reneged on making them public following his 2016 campaign promise to do so. All other presidents since Richard Nixon had perfunctorily released their returns. As an excuse for hiding his, Mr. Trump continued to falsely claim that he was barred from releasing them because he was under IRS audit. In addition, with the support of his captive Justice Department, he was currently contesting before the Supreme Court whether he had to produce the returns in connection with a New York State investigation of his finances.</p> <p>The returns covered tax years through 2018, including personal tax years through 2017. <u>Elements of the returns appeared to belie that Mr. Trump was successful, that he was patriotic, and that he was honest.</u> They revealed poor business performance, negligible income tax payments, questionable tax deductions, <u>widespread conflicts of interest, and massive personal debt.</u> The Times summarized:</p> <p><i>“The tax returns that Mr. Trump has long fought to keep private tell a story fundamentally different from the one he has sold to the American public. His reports to the I.R.S. portray a businessman who takes in hundreds of millions of dollars a year yet racks up chronic losses that he aggressively employs to avoid paying taxes. Now, with his financial challenges mounting, the records show that he depends more and more on making money from businesses</i></p>	1, 7, 15, 16

<p>9-27-20</p>	<p><i>that put him in potential and often direct conflict of interest with his job as president. [Continued below.]</i></p> <p><i>[Continued.] “Ultimately, Mr. Trump has been more successful playing a business mogul than being one in real life. ... Indeed, his financial condition when he announced his run for president in 2015 lends some credence to the notion that his long-shot campaign was at least in part a gambit to reanimate the marketability of his name. ... The picture that perhaps emerges most starkly from the mountain of figures and tax schedules prepared by Mr. Trump’s accountants is of a businessman-president in a tightening financial vise. ... Now his tax records make clear that he is facing a battery of threats to his business and his own financial well-being.”</i></p> <p>The returns seen by The Times revealed that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In ten of the pertinent years, Mr. Trump had paid no federal taxes whatever; and he paid only \$750 in another two years, even while paying taxes to foreign governments. (During one such year, he had lambasted President Obama for paying only \$162,000 in taxes.)</li> <li>• <u>During the first two years of his presidency, he earned several million dollars in Turkey and the Philippines, countries whose dictators he had coddled as president.</u></li> <li>• <u>Multiple other conflicts of interest and instances of political cronyism appeared.</u></li> <li>• He aggressively deducted as business expenses some \$165,000 for his and his daughter Ivanka’s hair styling.</li> <li>• His businesses inexplicably paid Ivanka nearly \$750 thousand in “consulting fees” at a time when she was already receiving compensation for her regular business duties. Mr. Trump took the consulting fees as tax deductions, when they more likely represented potentially taxable gifts.</li> <li>• Other questionable business tax deductions included property taxes for a personal recreational mansion in New York state, personal travel expenses, and personal legal defense costs.</li> <li>• Mr. Trump’s charitable contributions were minimal, and they consisted mostly of granting conservation easements near his properties that would benefit him personally. [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 15, 16</p>
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<p>9-27-20</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most of his businesses appeared to be doing poorly, year after year – even the Trump International Hotel in Washington, D.C. and the Doral golf resort in Miami, Florida, despite significant revenues that had been accruing there from the patronage of foreign and domestic political interests during his presidency. (Business at Mar-a-Lago, Mr. Trump’s “winter White House” in Palm Beach, Florida, however, had boomed since his election. That too had become a haunt of political allies and petitioners.) In many years, Mr. Trump reportedly lost more money than nearly any other individual American taxpayer.</li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump appeared to be personally liable for \$421 million in debt that would come due largely within the next four years.</u></li> <li>• <u>He was under IRS audit with respect to a particular tax refund he had aggressively claimed and received. For that he could owe the government \$100 million in restitution, interest and penalties.</u><sup>73</sup></li> </ul> <p>On several prior occasions, including during a debate with presidential contender Hillary Clinton in 2016, Mr. Trump had boasted about his tax avoidance skills.<sup>74</sup> And the American tax system does allow taxpayers to creatively, and sometimes even aggressively, interpret the law to their own advantage. It does not, however, allow for blatant dishonesty or disregard of the law, which amount to tax fraud. As for dishonesty, in 2018 Mr. Trump’s public financial disclosures indicated that he had earned at least \$435 million, when his tax filings indicated a \$47 million loss.<sup>75</sup> He presumably could try to explain that disparity based on legitimate (if aggressive) accounting principles; nevertheless, for CSD, the disparity suggested a similarity to the ongoing New York State investigation of his having fraudulently inflated his property values when dealing with banks while deflating them for tax purposes.<sup>76</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>1, 7, 15, 16</p>
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<p>9-27-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Also notable: Mr. Trump appeared to have squandered the entire \$427 million that he had earned from “The Apprentice” television reality show on poor investments in golf clubs. The Times compared that outcome to his having earlier squandered his secret but ample inheritance from his father – an inheritance that had been juiced by highly questionable, intra-family tax avoidance schemes – on casinos that subsequently went bankrupt.<sup>77</sup> That is, Mr. Trump’s business skills seemed stronger in talking, entertaining and tricking than in investing, developing or otherwise creating actual value. CSD sees in that phenomenon a parallel to his performance as president.</p> <p>From that pattern, some observers also saw Mr. Trump’s 2016 run for the presidency (which he later admitted he had never expected to win, and possibly had never wanted to win) as a repeat of his launching “The Apprentice”: a way to re-build his brand, through pure talk and theater, so as to recover from his massive losses in more traditional businesses.<sup>78</sup></p> <p>As of the Times’ reporting, Mr. Trump’s tax returns had not yet been filed for 2020, the year of the coronavirus pandemic. But as The Washington Post noted, Mr. Trump’s hotels and resorts had likely suffered from the coronavirus pandemic in 2020 as had the broader travel and hospitality industries – thus likely putting even greater financial pressure on him.<sup>79</sup> <u>CSD and other observers have speculated that one motive for Mr. Trump’s aggressive efforts to re-open the economy, however unsafely, had and has been to protect his own businesses.</u></p> <p>He had had, however, one area of recent business success, also according to The Post: during Mr. Trump’s presidency, the U.S. government had paid his properties over \$1 million in connection with his having visited them over 270 times and brought security detachments to lodge there with him.<sup>80</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump quickly claimed that The Times’ report was “fake news,” and the Trump Organization said that it was mostly false; but they did not say in which respects.<sup>81</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>1, 7, 15, 16</p>
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<p>9-27-20</p>	<p>[Continued.] Critics warned that Mr. Trump’s massive personal debt and the unknown identities of his creditors – possibly foreign – raised national security concerns. People with large personal debts are ordinarily not granted security clearances. The Post, however, went further in its reporting:</p> <p><u>“Security teams at U.S. spy agencies are constantly scouring employee records for signs of potential compromise: daunting levels of debt, troubling overseas entanglements, hidden streams of income, and a penchant for secrecy or deceit to avoid exposure. President Trump would check nearly every box of this risk profile based on [his tax returns] ... that former intelligence officials and security experts said raise profound questions about whether he should be trusted to safeguard U.S. secrets and interests. ...</u></p> <p><u>“Officials said the tax records seem to reflect other Trump traits that would probably trouble counterintelligence experts. They cited the disorganized structure of his companies, seeming contempt for the tax code, discrepancies in his valuations of assets, and potentially illegal practice of paying consulting fees to family members,” all of which would commonly mark a person as untrustworthy from a national security perspective.</u><sup>82</sup></p> <p>The Post published op-ed commentary to similar effect on October 11.<sup>83</sup></p> <p>CSD does not purport to judge whether Mr. Trump’s tax reporting practices were aggressive relative to industry norms, let alone illegal; nor whether the extent of his personal debt truly placed him in financial jeopardy, given the seemingly substantial assets that he could sell in order to cover that debt, if necessary; nor whether the tax losses he had reported truly indicated that his businesses had not been profitable. Rather, <u>our larger concerns remained:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>That he had and has not been willing to share his tax returns and other financial information with the public, contrary to presidential custom and contrary to his own promises – suggesting that he had and has something even darker to hide; [Continued below.]</u></li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 15, 16</p>
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<p>9-27-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>That throughout his presidency he had established himself with nearly half the population as being properly immune to legal scrutiny and to norms of honest dealings, such that even the new tax revelations would not tarnish him politically; and</u></li> <li>• <u>That he had crippled our country’s ability to advocate credibly against corruption and democracy abroad.</u><sup>84</sup></li> </ul>	<p>1, 7, 15, 16</p>
<p>9-28/29-20</p>	<p><b>Conspiracy forever!</b> Astonishingly, the Trump campaign ran a digital advertisement disparaging Democrats for wanting to silence conspiracy theorists.<sup>85</sup></p>	<p>17 (7, 9)</p>
<p>9-29-20 +</p>	<p><b>The first debate.</b> In his first debate with electoral opponent Joe Biden, on September 29, Mr. Trump generated what CNN’s lead news commentators afterwards called a <u>“shit show,”</u> a <u>“complete disaster,”</u> and <u>“an embarrassment for the United States.”</u> With a facial expression suggesting defiance, brutality, imperiousness and rage – chin jutting forward in the style of <i>Il Duce</i> (Italy’s fascist dictator Benito Mussolini) – Mr. Trump savaged the forum with unremitting falsehoods, interruptions, impetuosity, non sequiturs, personal insults, self-absorption and ignorance. From all appearances, his performance was intentionally disruptive and anarchical.</p> <p>Ordinarily a gentleman, an exasperated Biden called Mr. Trump a “fool,” a “clown,” a “liar,” a “racist,” “Putin’s puppy,” and “the worst president America has ever had”; and at one point, Biden felt compelled to tell him to “shut up.” Domestic observers saw the debate as an insult to the American people. Overseas observers saw the further decline and disgrace of our country under the current presidency.</p> <p>[Continued below.]</p>	<p>4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>

<p>9-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The style, content and level of falsehood within Mr. Trump’s debate arguments were nearly identical to those of his tweets and his rally performances. The style was grotesque rudeness. The details of the content appear in the links at the end notes for this entry. The falsehoods arose in connection with such topics as climate change, the causes of forest fires, Mr. Trump’s economic performance, President Obama’s economic performance, Mr. Trump’s coronavirus response, President Obama’s swine flu response, Mr. Trump’s federal income taxes, Biden’s son Hunter’s business dealings, the FBI’s investigations of the 2016 Trump campaign, the integrity of mail-in voting, the candidates’ respective health care plans, prescription drug prices, violent extremism in the U.S., and Biden’s policy positions. There were also these shocking declarations, before 73,000,000 viewers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <u>Even when pressed by the moderator, Mr. Trump refused to denounce white supremacists and right-wing extremists. His message for the violent hate group known as the Proud Boys, in particular: “Stand back and stand by.” Social media instantly lit up with messages from the far right, celebrating that clear articulation of his support for them.</u></li> <li>• <u>Mr. Trump assured that Democrats would try to steal the election, and he ominously called for large numbers of supporters to stand watch at voting locations.</u></li> <li>• <u>Even when pressed by the moderator, Mr. Trump refused to agree to accept the results of an electoral loss, or to promise a peaceful transition of power to Biden. Rather, he promised to take any loss to the courts, Congress or the streets, forewarning, “This is not going to end well.”<sup>86</sup></u></li> </ul> <p>The next day, Mr. Trump claimed to not know who the Proud Boys were, as he had previously claimed to not know who his supporter David Duke (former head of the Ku Klux Klan) was.<sup>87</sup> For their part, the Proud Boys reported a membership spike, and they began selling T-shirts and bumper stickers bearing the words “Stand back and stand by.”<sup>88</sup> Also that day, The Washington Post reported that many state election officials were alarmed by Mr. Trump’s call for election observers, fearing a wave of intimidation and violence.<sup>89</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>
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<p>9-29-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The Post also reported a social media campaign falsely alleging that Biden, during the debate, had been wearing a radio receiver and was in ill health.<sup>90</sup></p> <p>Resisting broad calls to change the format of the next debates following the fiasco that he had induced, Mr. Trump claimed that he had “easily won” the first debate – even though a wide array of polls indicated that he had disgraced himself and that Biden had prevailed.<sup>91</sup></p> <p><u>A New York Times columnist wrote, “If Vladimir Putin, Xi Jinping and Al Qaeda worked together, I don’t know that they could damage the United States as deeply — unraveling our social fabric, destroying our norms, devastating our global image — as Trump has. And we still have two more presidential debates.”<sup>92</sup> Other observers as well characterized Mr. Trump’s performance as a blow to democracy and an empowerment of our country’s authoritarian adversaries.<sup>93</sup></u></p> <p>On October 1, following a storm of outrage over his Proud Boys remarks, Mr. Trump called in to a Fox radio show and denounced the group.<sup>94</sup> But on the same day his political advisors attacked the members of the Commission on Presidential Debates by name for considering format changes that would rein in his wild antics.<sup>95</sup></p>	<p>4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11</p>
<p>9-30-20</p>	<p><b><u>Refugees, stay home.</u></b> Mr. Trump cut the annual ceiling on U.S. refugee admissions from 18,000 to 15,000, representing yet another record low. (President Obama had set the <u>floor</u> for admissions at 110,000.) Refugees – as distinguished from asylum seekers – are rigorously vetted overseas by the United Nations, the State Department and the Department of Homeland Security pursuant to strict medical and security criteria before they are brought to the U.S. for resettlement here. But Mr. Trump had been railing against even refugees during his campaign, warning falsely that they included Islamic terrorists, and accurately that opponent Joe Biden wanted to raise the number of admissions by a large multiple. (He had meanwhile virtually ended all asylum applications by those unvetted migrants seeking to cross by land at the Mexican border.)<sup>96</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>6, 7, 14</p>

<p>9-30-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump set the new, reduced refugee ceiling only hours after attacking refugees at a rally in Duluth, Minnesota. There he again spewed hatred toward Somali-American Congresswoman Ilhan Omar, causing his supporters to chant, “<i>Lock her up!</i>”, and he warned that “<i>Biden will turn Minnesota into a refugee camp.</i>”<sup>97</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 14</p>
<p>10-1-20</p>	<p><b><u>To the hungry: Here’s some food. Vote for me.</u></b> Politico reported that the Agriculture Department had begun mandating that millions of boxes of surplus food being distributed to needy families include a letter from Mr. Trump claiming credit for the program.<sup>98</sup></p> <p>The development compared to Mr. Trump’s recent promise to distribute \$200 in prescription payment cards to Medicare recipients, in what some – including the top lawyer at the Department of Health and Human Services – viewed as a pre-election bribe. (See CSD’s September 24 entry, above, regarding health care.) It also compared to the mass distribution by the Postal Service in March of postcards bearing coronavirus cautions, Mr. Trump’s name, and the White House logo – at a \$28 million cost to taxpayers (for which, as of September 14, the government had not yet reimbursed the struggling Postal Service).<sup>99</sup></p> <p><u>In the view of CSD, that recurring pattern of attributing popular governmental programs to Mr. Trump’s personal beneficence, and inserting that messaging directly into people’s homes, smacked of attempts to foster a personality cult and leader worship such as authoritarian regimes overseas commonly deploy. It also struck us as direct governmental interference in the upcoming election.</u> A news analysis by Politico reached similar conclusions.<sup>100</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>10-1-20</p>	<p><b><u>My National Guard, protecting my election.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that when Mr. Trump had asked states to send National Guard troops to bolster the Washington, D.C. National Guard in May and June following the police killing of George Floyd, the units were furnished almost exclusively by Republican governors; Democrats largely objected to the exercise and declined to participate. Military historians said that the result was unprecedented: some 98% of the 3800 arriving troops had come from red states. The exercise, in effect, thus contained elements of <u>a political war by partisan federal troops mustered against the president’s perceived domestic enemies. The implication: with the participation of compliant Republican governors, Mr. Trump could mobilize red state Guards again, but more strategically, and more massively – for example, in the event of civil disturbances provoked by Mr. Trump contesting the results of the upcoming election.</u><sup>101</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>10-2-20</p>	<p><b><u>In your face.</u></b> CNN reported that <u>ICE had recently placed in Pennsylvania at least six outdoor “WANTED” billboards featuring the faces and crimes (such as “assault”) of immigration violators who had been arrested or convicted then lawfully released by state law enforcement officials. It was an unprecedented governmental move to demonize individual suspects and to terrify the population, with no apparent purpose except to influence the results of the upcoming election in that critical battleground state – and using taxpayer dollars to do that.</u><sup>102</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>
<p>10-2-20</p>	<p><b><u>My sweetheart.</u></b> Pro Publica reported that the federal government, through its mortgage guaranty agency known as Freddy Mac, had guaranteed massive, near-record real estate loans to the family companies of presidential son-in-law Jared Kushner, and at unusually favorable terms, despite those companies’ records of under-performance as borrowers. The guarantees operated to lower the companies’ interest rates, and they placed the risk of default on taxpayers.<sup>103</sup></p>	<p>11, 17 (15)</p>

<p>10-6-20, 10-7-20</p>	<p><b><u>Arrest them, already.</u></b> On the evening of October 6 and into October 7, Mr. Trump – not obviously chastened or enlightened in any way by his recent brush with Covid-19 (see the section of this Addendum below titled “The Coronavirus Pandemic,” and the subsection within that titled “The president contracts Covid-19”) – fired off 40 angry tweets within half an hour, and then more as the day progressed. In them, he attacked special prosecutor Robert Mueller, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, the FBI, the CIA, the media, and the voter fraud that he alleged was being perpetrated against him by Democrats. <b><u>He also finally and forthrightly demanded that his Justice Department arrest and imprison President Obama and Joe Biden for allegedly spying on him during his 2016 campaign, and Hillary Clinton for her email practices as secretary of state.</u></b><sup>104</sup></p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-7-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Afghanistan draw-down.</u></b> On October 7, with no warning to the Pentagon, the White House said that it would shortly and abruptly bring almost all U.S. troops home from Afghanistan. On October 11, Joint Chiefs Chairman General Mark Milley said that that was nonsense.<sup>105</sup> National security experts were appalled by the blatant electioneering.<sup>106</sup></p>	<p>10, 13</p>
<p>10-8-20</p>	<p><b><u>Canceling the debate.</u></b> The Commission on Presidential Debates determined that the next scheduled debate between Mr. Trump and his rival Joe Biden – in town hall format set for October 15 – would be held virtually, so that Mr. Trump wouldn’t infect anyone with the coronavirus. He had recently been hospitalized with the disease, and he was suspected of having cavalierly infected others and of continuing to do so. (See the section of this Addendum below titled “The Coronavirus Pandemic,” and the subsection within that titled “The president contracts Covid-19.”) <b><u>Mr. Trump now promptly declined to participate in the event, telling Fox News in a hoarse voice, “I’m not going to waste my time on a virtual debate.”</u></b><sup>107</sup></p> <p>His withdrawal was somewhat reminiscent of his abrupt cancellation of a Republican primary debate in March 2016, when he saw that he was the front runner. But now, running well behind Biden in the polls, his motivations were likely different: a fear of performing poorly in his weakened condition (although he had denied any weakness); and a <b><u>further insult to the very institution of orderly presidential elections and debates</u></b> (see CSD’s entry of September 29 + regarding the first Trump-Biden debate).</p>	<p>7, 9, 11</p>



10-8-20	<p><b><u>Chickens coming home to roost.</u></b> The Office of Special Counsel reprimanded Agriculture Secretary Sonny Perdue for violating the Hatch Act by having held a pep rally for Mr. Trump’s candidacy at an official department event in North Carolina in August. He was ordered to reimburse taxpayers for the cost of his attendance at the event. Purdue had also recently drawn criticism for doling out massive amounts of aid to farmers in advance of the election, in politically driven allocations.<sup>108</sup></p>	17 (9)
10-8-20	<p><b><u>Targeting Whitmer.</u></b> On October 8, media reported that the FBI had foiled a plot by right-wing militia members to kidnap and/or kill Michigan’s Democratic governor, Gretchen Whitmer, before the November 3 election. On April 17 Mr. Trump had tweeted that his followers should “LIBERATE MICHIGAN” from her coronavirus lock-down measures. Michigan’s attorney general now called out Mr. Trump for inciting violence.<sup>109</sup> Mr. Trump did not condemn the conspirators, but he promptly bashed Whitmer for “complaining.”<sup>110</sup></p> <p>On October 12, an FBI agent testified in the court that was addressing the Michigan crime that in June, anti-government paramilitary groups had discussed kidnapping Virginia’s Democratic governor as well.<sup>111</sup></p>	5
10-8-20	<p><b><u>Unhinged, on Fox.</u></b> Facing sinking polls while recovering (or not) from his Covid-19 infection, Mr. Trump went on a tear in a telephone interview with Fox Business – his first extended interview after having fallen ill. He raged about Hillary Clinton’s emails (still). <b><u>He again called upon his attorney general William Barr to indict Joe Biden and President Obama for spying on him during his 2016 election campaign – “the greatest political crime in the history of our country” (which in truth hadn’t happened at all).</u></b> He warned of “Democrat”-engineered voter fraud in the upcoming November election. He said that Biden was “not mentally capable of being president.” He also said that Biden’s running mate, Kamala Harris, was “totally unlikeable,” a “monster” and a “communist,” who wanted to “open up the borders to allow killers and murderers and rapists to pour into our country,” and that “everything she said [in the previous night’s televised debate] is a lie.” [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	6, 7, 8, 9, 11

<p>10-8-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] As for the coronavirus pandemic, Mr. Trump claimed that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• China was to blame for inflicting that “curse” upon the U.S.</li> <li>• Recovered Covid-19 patients were thereafter immune to the disease (not established by science).</li> <li>• He could have easily recovered from the infection without any medical treatment (delusional).</li> <li>• His own medications had amounted to a “cure” (untrue, according to scientists; they were therapeutics; possibly, to an extent, they were mere palliatives; and even their therapeutic effect on him was unclear).</li> <li>• “99.9%” of Covid-19 victims perfunctorily recover (obscenely untrue; by then there had been more than 211,000 deaths in the U.S.; many who had survived had experienced agonizing suffering; and many survivors were still suffering long term pain and debility).</li> <li>• He was not currently contagious (nearly impossible, and not founded on any medical report).</li> <li>• He would now quickly distribute one of his drugs, the experimental Regeneron, to everyone for free (improbable; it was unproven, in short supply, and would require FDA approval).</li> <li>• He may have been infected by Gold Star families with whom he had recently met, who he said had physically approached him in worshipful adoration – hugging and kissing him – and whom, out of compassion, he had refused to turn away.<sup>112</sup></li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 8, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-9-20</p>	<p><b>Unhinged, on Limbaugh.</b> Mr. Trump again publicly pressured Barr to expose and punish Democrats relative to the earlier investigation by the Justice Department of his 2016 campaign – now in a lengthy interview with the incendiary radio bigot and conspiracy theorist Rush Limbaugh, to whom Mr. Trump had awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom in April.<sup>113</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>

<p>10-9-20</p>	<p><b><u>Pompeo vs. Clinton.</u></b> <u>After having been publicly badgered by Mr. Trump to release the improperly stored emails of former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, the current secretary, Mike Pompeo, promised to release them before Election Day.</u> The New York Times reported: “Neither Mr. Trump nor Mr. Pompeo explained why they would release the emails now, in the final weeks of a hotly contested presidential campaign, given that they could have done so at any point in the past four years. Nor did they explain why they would seek to prove that Mrs. Clinton was too casual with emails containing classified information by releasing emails containing classified information.”<sup>114</sup></p> <p>The Times subsequently wrote, of this episode and of Mr. Trump’s call on October 8 for his attorney general to prosecute President Obama and Joe Biden: “Mr. Trump has long demanded — quite publicly, often on Twitter — that his most senior cabinet members use the power of their office to pursue political enemies. But his appeals this week, as he trailed badly in the polls and was desperate to turn the national conversation away from the coronavirus, were so blatant that one had to look to authoritarian nations to make comparisons. He took a step even Richard M. Nixon avoided in his most desperate days: <u>openly ordering direct, immediate government action against specific opponents, timed to serve his re-election campaign.</u>”<sup>115</sup></p>	<p>9, 11</p>
<p>10-10-20</p>	<p><b><u>From the balcony.</u></b> Mr. Trump made his first post-hospital campaign appearance, from a balcony at the White House. The audience consisted largely of individuals who had been mustered from a nearby convention for young, conservative businesspeople of color. The event again violated the longstanding tradition of a president not blatantly campaigning from the White House. (Mr. Trump had accepted his nomination from the White House in August, by video.) It also violated CDC guidelines regarding coronavirus containment, as had the September 26 super-spreader event in the Rose Garden at which Amy Coney Barrett’s Supreme Court nomination had been celebrated and many public figures appear to have become infected. <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 9</p>

<p>10-10-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Now addressing the crowd – several hundred cheering and flag-waving supporters who were closely packed and often mask-less – Mr. Trump claimed that the pandemic was “disappearing,” even as cases and deaths were rising. He also blamed the “China virus” for the country’s affliction, warned that Democrats were “communists,” and pledged that law enforcement officers would “swamp” his enemies at the upcoming “rigged” election. Mr. Trump also repeated some of his routine falsehoods – that he had done more for the Black community than any President since Abraham Lincoln, that he had developed a health insurance plan that would ensure coverage for pre-existing conditions, and that his opponent Joe Biden supported the sporadic violence that had attended racial justice protests in several American cities.<sup>116</sup></p> <p>Not incidentally, Mr. Trump’s appearance on the balcony was heralded by the United States Marine Band. That use of military resources for a campaign event was illegal.<sup>117</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 8, 9</p>
<p>10-10-20</p>	<p><b><u>Pay me (even more).</u></b> The New York Times reported that <u>more than 200 companies, special interest groups and foreign governments had received government contracts and other political favors from the Trump administration contemporaneously with and seemingly in exchange for their having patronized Mr. Trump’s golf, hotel and other businesses.</u> The Times’ analysis was based in part on its review of Mr. Trump’s tax returns that it had obtained.<sup>118</sup> (See CSD’s entry of September 27, above, regarding The Times’ initial analysis of those returns.)</p>	<p>9, 11, 15</p>
<p>10-10-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Fauci, Milley and Esper expropriated.</u></b> Continuing its wholesale evisceration of the truth, on October 10 the Trump campaign released a television advertisement that included a video clip of Dr. Anthony Fauci, the esteemed epidemiologist, seeming to praise Mr. Trump’s handling of the pandemic. The first irony lay in Mr. Trump’s having totally sidelined Fauci from his coronavirus task force in recent months, because of their strong disagreements on science and policy. Worse, in the original video clip, Fauci had been praising everyone <i>except</i> Mr. Trump; the clip was taken out of context, and was grossly deceptive.<sup>119</sup> Fauci publicly objected, and he cautioned the Trump campaign to keep him out of future ads.<sup>120</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>17 (7)</p>

10-10-20 +	[Continued.] On October 12, media reported that the Trump campaign was running an ad that featured a photograph of Mr. Trump meeting with Joint Chiefs Chairman General Mark Milley and Defense Secretary Mark Esper, in violation of standing Defense Department policy with regard to political campaigns. <sup>121</sup>	17 (7)
10-12-20, 10-13-20	<p><b><u>In Florida and Pennsylvania: lying loudly and a lot.</u></b> In his first large campaign rallies after his hospitalization for Covid-19, Mr. Trump addressed his crowded and largely mask-less supporters in Sanford, Florida on October 12 and Johnstown, Pennsylvania on October 13. There he counterfactually said that, if elected, Joe Biden would eliminate health insurance coverage for pre-existing conditions; outlaw private health insurance; eliminate U.S. borders; ban charter schools; destroy [white] suburbs; dismantle police departments; quadruple individual income taxes; and impose on the country a comprehensive and crippling coronavirus lockdown. He also baselessly charged that Biden had “abandoned Scranton,” in that as a child his family had relocated to Delaware when his father had found a job there. He falsely and extensively implied that Biden was physically and mentally feeble. He said that the U.S. was “rounding the turn on the pandemic,” when in truth new cases and hospitalizations were surging. He falsely said that Mexico was paying for his border wall, that he had sent the National Guard to Minnesota to quell riots there, that CNN habitually turned off its cameras when he was criticizing the news outlet, and much more.</p> <p>In addition, dubiously, Mr. Trump said that he was “immune” from the coronavirus and no longer contagious, such that he could kiss every man and woman in the audience without transmitting the disease.<sup>122</sup></p>	1, 6, 7, 8, 9
10-13-20	<p><b><u>DOJ backs Melania.</u></b> The Department of Justice sued the author of a tell-all book about first lady Melania Trump for breaching a confidentiality agreement that the author had entered into when first offering volunteer services to Melania in connection with her White House duties. Unlike in the case of the DOJ’s suit against former national security advisor John Bolton, the DOJ did not now allege that the author had released any classified information.<sup>123</sup> Rather, for CSD, the department appeared to be expending federal resources, for the personal benefit of the Trump family, in litigating what was effectively a private contract dispute.</p>	11

10-13-20	<p><b>“Nyet” to drop boxes.</b> The New York Times reported on efforts by Republican actors around the country to ban or limit the use of ballot drop-boxes, with a view to suppressing Democratic votes in the upcoming election. (Some states had recently sought to expand the use of drop boxes so as to facilitate safe voting amid the coronavirus pandemic.) Meanwhile, peculiarly, but with the encouragement of Mr. Trump, California’s Republican Party was setting up its own drop boxes to encourage voting in Republican districts.<sup>124</sup></p>	17 (4)
10-13-20 +	<p><b>Another probe dies; Giuliani tries again.</b> Concluding a months-long probe, U.S. Attorney John Bash, on behalf of the Justice Department, determined that the Obama administration’s “unmasking” of the names of Michael Flynn and other targets of national security investigations – so that selected officials could understand the nature and gravity of those investigations – had been routine and not improper.<sup>125</sup></p> <p>The termination of that probe compared to the recent termination of the Senate Intelligence Committee’s investigation of the activities in Ukraine of Joe and Hunter Biden – there too, without any finding of wrong-doing (see CSD’s entry of September 23 above). Contrast to the department’s still ongoing “investigation of the [allegedly Democratic] investigators” within law enforcement agencies being conducted by U.S. Attorney John Durham (see CSD’s entry of September 25 +).</p> <p>All of those undertakings – based on conspiracy theories and devoid of factual or legal foundation – had been devised to discredit and punish Democrats for their own earlier support of investigations of Mr. Trump and his associates: first, special counsel Robert Mueller’s investigation of the Trump campaign’s complicity with Russian interference in the 2016 election; and second, the investigation and impeachment of Mr. Trump due to his extortionate withholding of congressionally mandated and life-saving military assistance to Ukraine when seeking Ukraine’s help in denouncing the Bidens. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	17 (7, 9)

<p>10-13-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] Mr. Trump and his allies had referred to the probes loudly and often, for political gain. But days prior to the “unmasking” report, Barr had told some Republicans not to expect the Durham report before the November election. And when the “unmasking” probe fizzled, Barr made no formal announcement. For his part, Mr. Trump told a reporter that he was “not happy” with Barr and might not reappoint him as attorney general if he (Mr. Trump) were to be reelected. He said, of Barr, “<i>It’s very disappointing. And I’ll tell him to his face.</i>” Also: “<i>It’s ridiculous. It’s a disgrace .... I think it’s really a horrible thing that they’re allowed to get away .... I think it’s too bad, they’re guilty as hell.</i>”<sup>126</sup></p> <p><u>On October 14, The New York Post published emails about Hunter Biden that had been furnished by Mr. Trump’s personal attorney Rudy Giuliani and one of his 2016 campaign chiefs, Stephen Bannon. The emails purportedly exposed corrupt activities on the part of Hunter and his father Joe, and they had reportedly been retrieved by a computer repairman from Hunter’s hard drive. Giuliani had long prospected for such material in Ukraine, ultimately helping to precipitate Mr. Trump’s impeachment; he had long trafficked in anti-Biden disinformation drawn from Russian intelligence figures; he had long predicted a bombshell news release at election time; through all of this, his reputation had descended to that of a farcical rascal; and he was currently under federal investigation in connection with a fraud case. Bannon, once a leading Trump strategist and one of Mr. Trump’s original sources of xenophobic and demagogic provocation, was now under indictment for federal money-laundering and fraud charges.</u></p> <p><u>The Washington Post’s reporters found the latest revelations about the Bidens to be attempts to influence the upcoming election, but otherwise old news, substantively insignificant, and (thus far) forensically unreliable.</u> The Post shortly also reported on new revelations about the Kremlin’s efforts in prior periods to feed Giuliani disinformation.<sup>127</sup> Mr. Trump nevertheless touted the new claims at a rally in Des Moines, Iowa that evening.<sup>128</sup> Fox News piled on, despite the many seeming irregularities and inconsistencies in the story.<sup>129</sup></p>	<p>17 (7, 9)</p>

<p>10-14-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>QAnon and me.</u></b> <u>On October 14, media reported on several new QAnon-supported conspiracy theories that Mr. Trump had recently re-tweeted in the midst of election season: that President Obama and his then vice president Joe Biden had arranged to kill a team of Navy Seals; and that the Seals’ elimination of Osama bin Laden in 2011 had been a hoax staged by President Obama in collaboration with the Iranian regime, and that bin Laden could still be alive.</u><sup>130</sup></p> <p>Confronted the next evening on the above falsehoods and on his seeming symbiosis with QAnon by the moderator of a televised pre-election town hall, <u>Mr. Trump claimed to not know anything about QAnon except for its laudatory opposition to pedophilia.</u> (In truth, Mr. Trump could not possibly have escaped awareness of QAnon, what with the ample coverage of it in the news, its growing presence at his rallies, and the FBI’s cautions about its dangers. For their part, QAnon’s supporters appeared to do nothing to actually combat pedophilia – they only ludicrously charged Democrats with committing it.) Mr. Trump then said, <i>“I’ll tell you what I do know about. I know about antifa and I know about the radical left.”</i><sup>131</sup> <u>QAnon followers rejoiced.</u><sup>132</sup></p>	<p>7, 9</p>
<p>10-15-20</p>	<p><b><u>A death squad?</u></b> <u>At a campaign rally in Greenville, North Carolina, Mr. Trump boasted about law enforcement officers having hunted down and killed an antifa adherent named Michael Forest Reinoehl on September 3.</u> Reinoehl was suspected of having murdered a pro-Trump, right-wing protester in Portland, Oregon on August 29. But both The New York Times and The Washington Post had reported on the assertion of witnesses that the officers might not have attempted to arrest Reinoehl before shooting him, and that Reinoehl had not posed a danger to them; that is, that <u>the killing of Reinoehl may have amounted to an extra-judicial execution, as occurs in dictatorships around the world.</u> Appearing to celebrate that in Greenville, Mr. Trump said: <i>“We sent in the U.S. marshals, took 15 minutes and it was over. They knew who he was, they didn’t want to arrest him, and 15 minutes, that ended.”</i><sup>133</sup></p> <p>CSD does not defend Reinoehl, who appeared to have had a history of bad actions, and who may well have committed the murder for which he was suspected. Nor do we venture to determine whether the officers assassinated him. But we are outraged that Mr. Trump appeared to believe that they did, and that he praised them for that.</p>	<p>9</p>



10-16-20	<p><b><u>Stonewalling.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that the State Department had refused to provide it, prior to the November 3 election, with records about the department’s spending at Trump-owned properties – in defiance of the department’s obligation to do so under the Freedom of Information Act, The Post’s lawsuit seeking to enforce the Act, and the department’s subsequent promise to provide the records. The General Services Administration had likewise refused to provide records to The Post – including records that might show whether the Trump International Hotel in Washington was in arrears in its rent owing to the GSA under its lease of the Old Post Office Building.<sup>134</sup></p>	9, 15
10-16-20	<p><b><u>Another prosecutor blasts Barr.</u></b> A third sitting federal prosecutor publicly denounced Attorney General William Barr for politicizing the Justice Department – in this case, among other things, for trying to swing the upcoming president election to Mr. Trump. Based in San Diego, California, the prosecutor accused Barr of “slavish obedience to Donald Trump’s will” and a determination “to turn our democracy into an autocracy.” Such denunciations of the department by sitting prosecutors were rare, if not unprecedented.<sup>135</sup></p>	17 (9)

**The November 2020 Election**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 33)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 4, 6, 7, 9 and 16 as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the efforts of the Trump administration to suppress voting in and to discredit any unfavorable results of the upcoming November 2020 election have moved rapidly. CSD’s observations below that have been recorded as of a given date may have been superseded, or may yet be superseded, on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD’s concerns about the attempts by the Trump administration to corrupt and discredit the election are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that have recurred, that news media have reported anew, and that, as of the date of this Addendum, have continued to threaten our democracy, day after day.**

On September 12, after the U.S. Postal Service had refused a request by the Colorado secretary of state to desist from mailing postcards to Colorado residents that contained confusing and misleading information about their mail-in voting rights, a federal judge temporarily enjoined the mailings.<sup>136</sup>

On September 15, Mr. Trump told Fox News that a victory by his electoral rival Joe Biden in November would necessarily have turned on voting fraud – that there were no lawful circumstances under which Biden could possibly win. Mr. Trump had now been charging that repeatedly.<sup>137</sup>

A federal judge in Washington state on September 17 temporarily enjoined the Postal Service’s operational changes that were slowing down the mail, stating that Mr. Trump and Postmaster General Louis DeJoy were “involved in a politically motivated attack on the efficiency of the Postal Service” that could disrupt the 2020 election. The judge said that the “attack on the Postal Service is likely to irreparably harm the states’ ability to administer the 2020 general election,” creating “a substantial possibility that many voters will be disenfranchised and the states may not be able to effectively, timely, accurately determine election outcomes.” The injunction had nationwide effect.<sup>138</sup> On September 21, a federal judge in New York went further, ordering DeJoy to reverse his recent operational changes, to take affirmative measures to prioritize election mail, and to quickly restore on-time delivery.<sup>139</sup> On September 28, two more federal judges – in Washington, D.C. and Pennsylvania – enjoined the service cuts.<sup>140</sup> But as of October 1, DeJoy’s operational changes were still in effect in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania – a blue city in a purple state that was widely seen as critical to the election’s outcome – causing unprecedented delays in mail delivery there.<sup>141</sup>

At a rally in Fayetteville, North Carolina on September 19, Mr. Trump said that he was “counting on the federal court system” to terminate the tabulation of ballots shortly after the polls closed in the upcoming presidential election, and thus to disregard late-counted mail-in

ballots – contrary to state voting laws – which he believed would favor Biden. He contemporaneously was rushing to nominate a Supreme Court justice to replace Ruth Bader Ginsburg, who had died the previous day, with a view to achieving an overwhelming (6-3) Republican majority within the Court by election day. Critics alleged that he sought to use the Supreme Court to steal the election.<sup>142</sup> Indeed, as described more fully in the first section of this Addendum, on September 22 Mr. Trump told reporters that he needed to install a new Supreme Court justice to replace Ginsburg before the election so as to ensure that the Court would rule in his favor on the fraudulent Democratic election activities that he was predicting.<sup>143</sup>

Also as reported in the first section of this Addendum, on September 23 Mr. Trump reiterated that he needed to have a new justice in place so as to win the election-related litigation that he anticipated in November. At that point some observers took as a given that Mr. Trump was planning to seek court orders, as well as action by Republican-controlled state governments in swing states, to forbid the counting of votes after Election Day, for fear that late-counted votes would favor Biden.<sup>144</sup>

When asked on September 23 whether he would commit to a peaceful transfer of power should he lose the election, Mr. Trump responded: “Well, we’re going to have to see what happens. You know that I’ve been complaining very strongly about the ballots and the ballots are a disaster.” Pressed further, he said: “We’ll want to have — get rid of the ballots and you’ll have a very — we’ll have a very peaceful — there won’t be a transfer, frankly, there’ll be a continuation.”<sup>145</sup>

On September 24, Mr. Trump suggested on Fox News Radio that he would not accept any election outcome except as ruled on by the Supreme Court. Several of Mr. Trump’s prominent supporters in the Senate appeared to back him on that.<sup>146</sup>

Also on September 24, FBI director Christopher Wray told a congressional committee that there was no evidence of coordinated or massive voter fraud in the coming election. Mr. Trump’s chief of staff Mark Meadows shortly said that Wray was incompetent and mistaken.<sup>147</sup>

Also on September 24, a U.S. attorney publicized that he was investigating the discovery of nine mailed-in military ballots, most marked as voting for Mr. Trump, that were found in the trash in a rural Pennsylvania county. It was highly unusual for the Justice Department to publicize an ongoing investigation, and unprecedented in a voting fraud case to identify the candidate who had been voted for. Before that publicity but after being personally briefed on the matter by his attorney general William Barr, Mr. Trump had told reporters about the episode and had alleged a Democratic conspiracy, while misstating facts and acknowledging that he didn’t know the details. The Trump campaign also promptly seized upon the episode to allege that the ballots had been intentionally discarded and that Democrats were “trying to steal the election.” Mr. Trump made similar statements the following day. But the U.S. attorney soon determined that at least part of the problem appeared to have been bureaucratic – performed by a temporary, part-time contractor, without the knowledge of the local election authorities. The county itself was Republican-controlled, and the county election officials did not allege voter fraud. Through all of this, the number of ballots involved was trivial, compared to Pennsylvania’s expected voting total of approximately 6 million; and thus the attention given to the matter by Barr, Mr. Trump, the U.S. attorney and the Trump campaign struck some legal experts as extraordinarily

disproportionate.<sup>148</sup> On September 30, Pennsylvania’s top election officials announced that no fraud appeared to have occurred, only the bungling on the part of the temporary worker.<sup>149</sup>

At a rally in Newport News, Virginia on September 25, Mr. Trump told the crowd, “We’re not going to lose this except if they cheat.” He also said that if he loses, “We’re not going to stand for it.”<sup>150</sup>

Also on September 25, The New York Times reported that senior military and Defense Department leaders were gravely concerned that Mr. Trump might order them into the streets to quell civil unrest in connection with the election, as he had threatened to do during the early days of the now-ongoing racial justice protests. Some of those leaders were reportedly prepared to be insubordinate or to resign under those circumstances.<sup>151</sup>

At a rally at the Harrisburg, Pennsylvania airport on September 26, as recorded above in the first section of this Addendum, Mr. Trump charged that Democrats were rigging the election; repeated his recent, false claim that a rigging episode had been uncovered in rural Pennsylvania; roared that “the only way they can win in Pennsylvania is to cheat on the ballots”; and urged his supporters to go to the polls to report on Democrats “dumping” and “flushing” things.<sup>152</sup>

During the first televised presidential debate of the campaign, on September 29, Mr. Trump told 73,000,000 viewers that the election would be rigged, and he called for an “army” of his supporters to observe polling places.<sup>153</sup> (See CSD’s September 29 report on the debate in the first section of this Addendum.)

On October 1, Mr. Trump’s former national security adviser, General H.R. McMaster, told MSNBC that Mr. Trump was “aiding and abetting” Russian President Vladimir Putin’s efforts to sow doubt about the integrity of the American electoral system.<sup>154</sup>

Advancing its full-court press against Pennsylvania’s voting mechanisms, on October 1 Mr. Trump’s campaign sued to overturn the state’s law barring poll watchers from its satellite mail-in registration and voting sites. The suit shortly followed Mr. Trump’s public denunciation of the enforcement of that law in Philadelphia against a group of Republican gate-crashers, who had not been registered as poll watchers anyway. Pennsylvania was seen by both parties as an essential battleground state. Indeed, observers were coming to fear that Pennsylvania could be especially vulnerable to legal chaos and even civil disturbance on and after Election Day. Other recent and ongoing Republican efforts to corrupt the election in Pennsylvania included the following:

- Mr. Trump’s reckless and false but very public accusation that absentee votes in a rural county had been fraudulently discarded, together with the associated, wrongful publicity of that episode by the U.S. attorney there.
- The Republican-controlled legislature’s attempt at a whipsaw: refusing to allow mailed-in ballots to be counted early, yet preparing to challenge mailed-in ballots that might not be counted quickly after the polls close on Election Day – including by way of an investigatory panel newly approved for that purpose by a legislative committee.

(Publicly pilloried, the Republicans dropped the investigatory panel gambit on October 9.)

- A slow-down in mail service in Philadelphia recently effected by Postmaster General Louis DeJoy.
- Litigation brought before federal courts by Pennsylvania Republicans:
  - A suit brought before the U.S. Supreme Court to strike down a recent Pennsylvania Supreme Court decision allowing mailed-in ballots to be counted for three days after Election Day.
  - A separate suit before a federal district court to strike down a recent Pennsylvania Supreme Court decision (a) allowing the use of drop boxes for mailed-in ballots, (b) not requiring mailed-in signatures to match signatures on voter registration records, and (c) barring non-resident poll-watchers at polling places (e.g., barring rural Pennsylvania Republicans from intimidating minority voters in Democratic Philadelphia and Pittsburgh). (The district court dismissed that action on October 10, but the Republicans planned to appeal to the federal circuit court. Facing Republican resistance, the state’s Democratic secretary of state meanwhile asked the state supreme court to confirm her guidance to county officials that they not bar ballots on grounds of signature discrepancies.)<sup>155</sup>

On October 2, The Washington Post reported that the Justice Department was establishing a command center at FBI headquarters to deal with a significantly higher than usual possibility of civil unrest, cyberattacks, voter fraud and voter intimidation in connection with the upcoming election.<sup>156</sup>

At his televised vice-presidential debate with Kamala Harris on October 7, Vice President Mike Pence warned viewers that universal mail-in voting “will create massive opportunities for voter fraud,” and he refused to commit to a peaceful transfer of power should he and Mr. Trump lose the election.<sup>157</sup>

At a televised town hall on October 15, Mr. Trump said in a reference to mail-in voting, “*When I see thousands of ballots dumped in a garbage can and they happen to have my name on it? I’m not happy about it.*” Nothing remotely like that had happened. The closest episode involved seven military ballots – submitted through the ordinary absentee voting mechanism for service members, and erroneously discarded by a temporary electoral office contractor in Luzerne County, Pennsylvania.<sup>158</sup>

**Additional Election-Related Behavior**

*Beyond Mr. Trump's efforts to suppress voting and to discredit any unfavorable results of the upcoming November election as described immediately above, see also the following entries above in this Addendum that report on other means through which Mr. Trump and his associates were attempting to corrupt the election:*

- September 12: **Insurrection: Stone and friend.**
- September 12-13: **In Nevada.**
- September 13 +: **Pompeo dines, campaigns.**
- September 15: **Disinformation: Biden, Kushner, QAnon and Blitzer.**
- September 15 +: **Bolton's book.**
- September 17: **Russia, Russia, Russia – in the 2020 election.**
- September 17: **Harris: the fear.**
- September 18: **In Minnesota.**
- September 18 +: **RBG dies; quick replacement planned.**
- September 19: **My worthy opponent.**
- September 19 +: **Voter intimidation.**
- September 22: **In Pennsylvania (again).**
- September 22: **Going for the Green.**
- September 23: **Ukraine smear, revisited.**
- September 24: **My healthcare plan.**
- September 25 +: **DOJ drips.**
- September 26: **In Pennsylvania (yet again).**
- September 27: **Drugged.**
- September 28-29: **Conspiracy forever.**
- September 29: **The first debate.**
- October 1: **To the hungry: Here's some food. Vote for me.**
- October 1: **My National Guard, protecting my election.**
- October 2: **In your face.**
- October 6-7: **Arrest them, already.**
- October 8: **Canceling the debate.**
- October 8: **Chickens coming home to roost.**
- October 8: **Unhinged, on Fox.**
- October 9: **Pompeo vs. Clinton.**
- October 10: **From the balcony.**
- October 10 +: **Fauci, Milley and Esper expropriated.**
- October 12-13: **In Florida and Pennsylvania: lying loudly and a lot.**
- October 13: **"Nyet" to drop boxes.**
- October 13 +: **Another probe dies; Giuliani tries again.**
- October 14 +: **QAnon and me.**

### **Summary of Efforts to Steal the Election**

In the run-up to the November 3, 2020 election, CSD has distilled from this Chronology the following partial list of methods for corrupting the upcoming election that mainstream journalists had found Mr. Trump – and some other Republicans, for their and his benefit – to have already implemented (or, where noted by an asterisk [\*] below, to be contemplating). Even if not all of those methods in the end will have been materially deployed, we consider their multiplicity to be breathtaking, and deserving of broad public condemnation.

1. Disqualifying whole categories of voters in some Republican-controlled swing states (e.g., Florida, Georgia and Texas).
2. Drastically purging voting rolls in some Republican-controlled swing states (e.g., Georgia).
3. \*Broadly rejecting in-person and mailed-in votes on technicalities.
4. \*Intimidating voters at the polls by way of the appearance of threatening Republican volunteers, including military veterans. (Starting in 1981, the Republican Party had been under a court order forbidding it from doing that. But the order expired in 2018.)
5. \*Intimidating voters by sending federal or state law enforcement officials to the polls in Democratic precincts. (Mr. Trump had threatened to send the federals, and he had encouraged states to send the others. This could materialize especially if Mr. Trump or his supporters were to provoke riots to achieve that end.)
6. Discouraging some voters from voting altogether, by claiming that mail-in voting – broadly expanded this year due to the coronavirus pandemic -- will illegally tarnish the election.
7. \*Causing the Postal Service to slow down mailed-in ballots (or possibly all mail) from Democratic precincts in purple states, or more generally.
8. Closing polling places in Democratic precincts in purple states, attempting to limit the availability of ballot drop boxes, or otherwise causing long lines to occur at polling places so as to discourage voting (e.g., in Pennsylvania, Texas and Georgia).
9. Litigating and legislating who has the right to vote, how voting will be conducted, and during what periods mailed-in ballots will be counted – all with a view to reducing Democratic voting and vote count.
10. \*Claiming voter fraud shortly after the election (including pursuant to late-arriving mailed-in ballots), such that Republican state legislators could purport to seize from voters the right to name presidential electors for their respective states. Mr. Trump had been vocally and repeatedly predicting that fraud. He had said that he expected the matter to be resolved by the Supreme Court; and he had extraordinarily rushed to fill the vacancy created by the death of liberal justice

Ruth Bader Ginsburg with his own appointee before the election – expressly seeking to secure a Republican super-majority on the Court for the purpose of ruling on mailed-in ballots and other election issues.

11. Spreading – and allowing and even encouraging Russians to spread – scandalous misinformation about Biden and about the integrity of the upcoming American election; downplaying or denying the existence of the Russian efforts.

12. Announcing some sort of law enforcement action or finding against Democrats in connection with Mr. Trump’s epochal Russia and Ukraine scandals. (Two Republican-controlled Senate committees fulfilled their long-threatened “September surprise” by reporting on their investigation of Joe and Hunter Biden relative to Hunter’s prior dealings in Ukraine. Those committees came up with nothing that had not already been aired and discredited in the course of Mr. Trump’s impeachment proceedings. A Justice Department probe into “unmasking” the identities of Michael Flynn and other national security risks for the eyes of Obama-era officials also ended with no findings of wrongdoing. Attorney General William Barr, however, was continuing to push ahead with his own investigation of Robert Mueller’s investigation of numerous Trump campaign figures’ complicity with Russian interference in the 2016 election, searching for anti-Trump wrong-doing within federal law enforcement agencies.)

13. Attempting through court action to block from publication tell-all books about Mr. Trump by John Bolton and Mary Trump.

14. Attempting, effectively, to bribe voters -- e.g., by way of Mr. Trump’s announcement that he would send \$200 prescription payment cards to millions of Medicare recipients shortly before the election, and his ordering the Agriculture Department to place letters with his signature inside boxes of surplus food being distributed to needy families (again, at the peak of election season).

15. Using federal facilities such as the White House and Ft. McHenry to hold campaign events; repeatedly and blatantly campaigning in the course of official presidential duties, at taxpayer expense; and allowing cabinet members and other administration officials to campaign in the course of their duties, in defiance of the Hatch Act.

16. Secretly supporting third-party candidates (rapper Kanye West and Green Party candidate Howie Hawkins), who could cut into the Biden vote in several battleground states.

17. Under cover of the coronavirus pandemic, curtailing federal naturalization proceedings for immigrants, such that they had been deprived of citizenship and the right to vote in the upcoming election.

18. Withholding most of the federal funding sought by states to deal with their extraordinary needs in administering elections during the coronavirus pandemic.

19. In general, and monumentally, lying to voters about Mr. Trump’s presidential achievements (including, potentially, by falsely claiming to have a safe coronavirus vaccine ready for roll-out



prior to or shortly after the election); about what he would deliver for voters in the future; about Biden's character, health and policy positions; and about the threats posed by "radical socialists," "anarchists," "rioters" and "looters" in an America governed by Democrats.

**The Coronavirus Pandemic**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 33)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 15 as defined in CSD's Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic have moved rapidly. CSD's observations below that have been recorded as of a given date may have been superseded, or may yet be superseded, on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD's concerns about the Trump administration's coronavirus response are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that have recurred, that news media have reported anew, and that, as of the date of this Addendum, have continued to threaten lives, day after day.**

On September 9, dozens of doctors and researchers at Stanford University's Department of Medicine, in an open letter posted on the school's website, denounced Scott Atlas – their former colleague, a renowned radiologist but a man with no experience in public health or immunology, and now Mr. Trump's most public advisor on the pandemic who was discouraging mask-wearing and social distancing – as a dangerous quack in his current role.<sup>159</sup>

On September 11, Politico reported (and The New York Times subsequently corroborated) that the CDC's politically appointed communications aides had been operating since the spring to water down and to make more positive the agency's public advice about the spread and the threats of the coronavirus. The efforts were being led by Michael Caputo, a Roger Stone acolyte and former Trump campaign official with no medical or scientific background, whom Mr. Trump had appointed in April as the spokesperson for the Department of Health and Human Services. Among other things, Caputo had begun a \$250 million media project to extol Mr. Trump's handling of the pandemic. In one instance, a CDC report on the uselessness of hydroxychloroquine – Mr. Trump's favorite snake oil – had been suppressed for a month. Caputo's response to the broader allegations: "*Our intention is to make sure that evidence, science-based data drives policy through this pandemic—not ulterior deep state motives in the bowels of CDC.*"<sup>160</sup> How Caputo would be able to identify science-based data, even if he were not a hyper-partisan Trump acolyte, was unclear. But he did very much want his views to be heard. On September 13, he posted a video on his personal Facebook page in which he claimed that career government scientists were engaging in "sedition" in their handling of the pandemic and that left-wing hit squads were preparing for armed insurrection after the election. He urged his followers, "*If you carry guns, buy ammunition, ladies and gentlemen, because it's going to*

*be hard to get.*” He went on to acknowledge, astonishingly, that both his physical and mental health were unsound.<sup>161</sup> On September 16, HHS announced that Caputo was taking a medical leave.<sup>162</sup> But Politico – in now further detailing Caputo’s efforts to install uninformed partisan operatives and to denigrate science at HHS – questioned whether his departure would restore either the agency’s credibility or its public commitment to science-based policy.<sup>163</sup> On September 25, Politico reported that Caputo’s coronavirus pre-election propaganda campaign – now priced out at \$300 million in taxpayer dollars, at the expense of other public health programs – was proceeding, replete with video appearances by a number of pop culture celebrities.<sup>164</sup>

At two Trump campaign rallies in Nevada (September 12 and 13) and at the signing of a Middle East peace treaty at the White House (September 15), most attendees did not wear face masks or practice social distancing. (See also CSD’s entry of September 12 and 13 above, “In Nevada.”)<sup>165</sup>

On September 16, CDC director Dr. Robert Redfield testified under oath before Congress that face masks provided more assurance of protection from the coronavirus than the forthcoming vaccine would, and that a vaccine wouldn’t be widely distributed until mid-2021. Mr. Trump then told reporters that he had spoken with (that is, presumably, he had upbraided) Redfield, and that Redfield had erred in both of those statements; rather, Mr. Trump now said, masks were unreliable and a vaccine would be rolled out in 2020. On the same day, Mr. Trump told a television reporter that he himself had made no errors in his handling of the pandemic; rather, that he had done “a great job.” (The U.S. continued to have the world’s highest death toll and one of the highest per-capita death rates among industrialized nations.)<sup>166</sup>

On September 16, Mr. Trump blamed “blue states” (those with Democratic governors) for the country’s high number of coronavirus infections. He said, *“If you take the blue states out, we’re at a level that I don’t think anybody in the world would be at.”* He said nothing about the high numbers of infections and deaths in Republican-controlled states.<sup>167</sup> His remarks, in any event, suggested that he felt that he was the president of, and responsible for, the health of only half of the country.<sup>168</sup>

Also on September 16, as reported in the first section of this Addendum, Mr. Trump’s attorney general William Barr said that any attempt at a nationwide lockdown due to the pandemic would amount to “the greatest intrusion on civil liberties” in history “other than slavery.”<sup>169</sup> Critics called the statement incendiary, inaccurate, demagogic, and a cynical attempt to color scientific conclusions with partisanship so as to enable Mr. Trump to win the upcoming election.<sup>170</sup>

A survey released by the Pew Research Center on September 17 revealed that 78% of Americans were concerned that the Trump administration could be unsafely rushing approvals of a coronavirus vaccine. Almost half of Americans said that they would not get vaccinated if the vaccine were to be rolled out as of the date of the survey, many because of that skepticism.<sup>171</sup> Observers remarked that if the skepticism were to continue when a vaccine were finally rolled out, widespread vaccinations could falter, the pandemic could continue, and untold thousands could sicken and die.

On September 18, the CDC officially reversed its recent guidance that symptomless people who had had contact with coronavirus carriers needn't themselves be tested for Covid-19. The reversal came several weeks following revelations that the guidance had been politically rather than scientifically informed.<sup>172</sup> See CDC's August 24 entry within the Coronavirus Pandemic section of the preceding Addendum.

Also on September 18, the White House blocked FDA Commissioner Stephen Hahn from testifying to a House committee about his agency's pandemic response.<sup>173</sup>

On September 21, Mr. Trump yet again said that a vaccine could be ready and even widely distributed by the end of October, notwithstanding his own advisors' projections to the contrary.<sup>174</sup> He also said, falsely and flippantly, that the virus sickens mainly elderly people with "heart problems and other problems" (implying that they were disposable) and that nobody under 18 was vulnerable to serious injury from the illness (contradicting both data and his own previous statements). Asked to rate his performance in handling the pandemic as the U.S. death toll neared 200,000, he yet again gave himself a top grade – "A-plus," for a "phenomenal job" – reprising the perfect score he had given himself in March.<sup>175</sup>

The Washington Post reported on September 22 that a \$1 billion fund that Congress had given the Pentagon in March to build up the country's supplies of medical equipment to fight the pandemic was diverted by the Pentagon for such things as jet engine parts, body armor and dress uniforms. The diversion was not only illegal but life-threatening.<sup>176</sup> A (Democratic) committee in the House promptly launched an investigation.<sup>177</sup>

Campaigning at an airport in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania on September 22, Mr. Trump was greeted by thousands of supporters, tightly packed and largely mask-less, contrary to the public health guidance issued by that state's governor. In his speech, Mr. Trump mocked Biden for wearing a mask. On September 26, defying an explicit request from the governor, Mr. Trump held a rally at the airport in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, again for a tightly packed and largely mask-less crowd.<sup>178</sup>

On September 23, Mr. Trump threatened to override the FDA if it were to release tougher standards for authorizing the distribution of a Covid-19 vaccine. He said that such a move by the FDA would be "political."<sup>179</sup> In truth, for a president – a non-scientist, let alone someone antagonistic toward science – to override the FDA's scientists would be extraordinarily political, and unprecedented.<sup>180</sup> Public health experts expressed grave concern.<sup>181</sup>

As of September 23, testing for asymptomatic individuals was still not widely available to the public. (It was available to Mr. Trump and others in and around the White House.) Meanwhile, the coronavirus continued to spread in a manner that impeded commerce, employment, education, and medical protection.<sup>182</sup>

By way of Twitter, on September 25, Mr. Trump seemed to threaten to withhold vaccine shipments to New York because that state's governor, Andrew Cuomo, had said that he mistrusted the safety of any vaccine that the government would release.<sup>183</sup>

On September 22, the White House overruled the CDC by re-allowing cruise ships to sail after October 31.<sup>184</sup>

At the first televised debate between Mr. Trump and Joe Biden on September 29, Mr. Trump mocked Biden for having frequently worn a mask at public events.<sup>185</sup> Mr. Trump's wife, his children and some other guests of his sat in the audience mask-less, defying the rules of the event, and prompting the event's moderator, Chris Wallace of Fox News, to express outrage afterwards.<sup>186</sup>

On October 1, The Times reported on a Cornell University statistical study that found that comments by and about Mr. Trump represented the single largest driver of coronavirus misinformation in the English language.<sup>187</sup>

### **The president contracts Covid-19.**

Early in the morning of October 2, Mr. Trump revealed that he and his wife Melania had tested positive for Covid-19, and that they would be entering quarantine at the White House. Because he had rarely worn a mask or practiced social distancing, a considerable number of his aides and other associates now saw themselves to be at risk for having contracted the disease. News stories were ablaze with new uncertainties around upcoming presidential campaigning and debates, the outcome of the election, continuity and succession scenarios, and national security.<sup>188</sup> That evening Mr. Trump was flown to Walter Reed National Military Center for treatment.

The Post reported: *“The U.S. president is hospitalized with a virus he refused to treat as a grave threat, in the final weeks of an election whose results he will not pledge to accept, as the nation confronts a struggling economy, an unyielding pandemic and racial unrest. The combination of these crises has plunged the United States into a vortex of potential vulnerability that national security experts said is probably without precedent. Consumed by its own difficulties, the country is in a poor position to respond to provocations by adversaries, advance its foreign policy interests with support from allies, or serve as a credible model of functioning democracy, former senior national security officials said.”*<sup>189</sup>

The obvious implication of Mr. Trump's illness was that he had fallen victim to his own denial of the virulence of the disease and to his refusal on most occasions to wear a face mask and to practice social distancing. Some of his grassroots faithful, however, drew different faith-based lessons: that because even the deity of the president had taken ill, no mere mortal could reasonably hope to protect themselves, and thus mask wearing, social distancing and commercial restrictions were useless (the Trump campaign said that as well); that Mr. Trump would quickly recover because of his super-human strength; that he had knowingly, bravely and patriotically risked his health and ultimately sacrificed himself by continuing throughout the pandemic to campaign and to govern; that he was not in danger because few people in reality were; that his enemies had intentionally infected him; and that (as viewed by QAnon) his entire illness was a hoax that he had engineered as part of a grand plan to arrest Hillary Clinton.<sup>190</sup> On October 4, a large, noisy and mainly mask-less crowd of the faithful articulated some of those views and demonstrated their support outside of the hospital.<sup>191</sup>

Now also reporting infections were numerous public figures who had attended Mr. Trump's ceremony in the Rose Garden on September 26, at which he had celebrated his nominee for the Supreme Court, Amy Coney Barrett. The crowd had been packed and largely mask-less. Those infected included former senior advisor Kellyanne Conway, Republican Senators Thom Tillis and Mike Lee, Trump campaign manager Bill Stepien, Republican National Committee Chairwoman Ronna McDaniel, top political advisor Chris Christie, top White House aide Hope Hicks, Mr. Trump's body man Nick Luna, and press secretary Kayleigh McEnany.<sup>192</sup> Media compiled chilling analyses of the many additional prominent figures and others with whom Mr. Trump was known to have had close contact during the week before he discovered his infection.<sup>193</sup> Media also publicized the possibility of virus transmission at a fundraising event that Mr. Trump had held at his Bedminster, New Jersey golf club only hours before his diagnosis; and only days later did the White House provide New Jersey officials with a list of potential victims at that event.<sup>194</sup> Even Joe Biden seemed to be at risk of having been infected by Mr. Trump at their September 29 debate.<sup>195</sup> Mainstream news outlets raised a continuing stream of questions about when Mr. Trump knew or should have known that he might have been carrying the virus – generally concurring that he had been aware of the risk prior to the Bedminster event.<sup>196</sup>

Revelations by the White House and by Mr. Trump's attending physicians concerning Mr. Trump's medical condition were sanguine, vague, contradictory and – as Mr. Trump's personal physician shortly was forced by media to acknowledge – misleading.<sup>197</sup> White House aides released a photo of Mr. Trump “hard at work” in the hospital and signing an important piece of paper (which was blank).<sup>198</sup> Even after the White House on October 3 had released a video of a pale (not orange) Mr. Trump, in the hospital, proclaiming his upbeat outlook and associating his coronavirus conduct with that of “great leaders,” some credible observers suspected a cover-up of a graver condition, and wondered whether Mr. Trump's capacity to lead the nation – including by handling the nuclear codes – had been diminished.<sup>199</sup>

Yet determined to project strength – both in general and for the sake of the upcoming election – on October 4 Mr. Trump made the unprecedented move of leaving the hospital for a photo op. Rashly risking his health, he took his armored SUV on a surprise motorcade through the streets around the hospital. From his seat inside the vehicle, he waved to throngs of supporters. But the windows were closed – designed to be hermetically sealed against gas attacks – thus also risking the health of the Secret Service agents within and generating widespread criticism among agents, doctors and the media.<sup>200</sup>

As of that evening, congressional leaders had not been briefed on the status of Mr. Trump's health.<sup>201</sup>

Based on continuing revelations of new infections of people encircling Mr. Trump, the White House had become the leading coronavirus hotspot in Washington.<sup>202</sup>

On the evening of October 5, Mr. Trump tweeted from the hospital: “*Don't be afraid of Covid. We have developed, under the Trump administration, some really great drugs & knowledge. I feel better than I did 20 years ago!*” Having demanded that his doctors release him, and despite the apparent risk to national security, he then returned to the White House. In a carefully

orchestrated and nationally televised display in which his orange make-up had reappeared, he debarked from the Marine One helicopter, crossed the lawn, ascended the steps to a White House balcony (newly bedecked with flags), removed his mask, posed stolidly, attempted to hide his difficulty in breathing (although even before his infection he may have puffed when ascending a staircase), then gave a long military salute to the helicopter as it departed. He then entered the building, where he was spotted re-doing the video footage for effect. He ultimately tweeted the video, in which he said, remarkably, *"We're going back. We're going back to work. We're gonna be out front. As your leader I had to do that. I knew there's danger to it but I had to do it. I stood out front. I led. Nobody that's a leader would not do what I did. I know there's a risk, there's a danger. That's OK. And now I'm better, and maybe I'm immune? I don't know. But don't let it dominate your lives. Get out there, be careful."* Whether he was speaking specifically of the risk to himself, to his White House staff, or to the nation was unclear – but he plainly had determined that they all were worth risking.

Two of Mr. Trump's staunch supporters in Congress burnished his uber-macho stunts by shortly tweeting, respectively, *"President Trump won't have to recover from COVID. COVID will have to recover from President Trump. #MAGA,"* and *"COVID stood NO chance against @realDonaldTrump!"* A for-profit vendor began selling \$100 commemorative coins proclaiming *"PRESIDENT DONALD J. TRUMP DEFEATS COVID."*

During the course of that pageantry, Mr. Trump's doctors reported all the good news about his condition, but – citing privacy grounds – not the complete news. They appeared almost certainly to be spinning the truth and hiding the worst, as well as hiding the risks associated with administering to him a combination of medicines that individually could cause psychotropic reactions and that together had never before been tested for interactions.

Also, as of the evening of October 5, the White House reportedly was not tracing the social contacts of those who had attended the super-spreader event for Amy Coney Barrett in the Rose Garden on September 26. It had also largely cut the CDC – the country's preeminent repository of contact tracing expertise – out of the tracing and notification process.

Altogether, the foregoing series of episodes shocked many, in these respects:

- Mr. Trump had staged another *Il Duce* visual spectacle, projecting power and even omnipotence from the balcony, Mussolini-style. His visual message: The disease is about me; and through great courage and sacrifice I have conquered it, in warrior fashion. (Mr. Trump had avoided military service during the Vietnam War.)
- Re-entering the White House without a mask when he was still contagious, he knowingly and recklessly placed the entire staff there – butlers, housekeepers, cooks, Secret Service, policy officials – at significant risk. Already a dozen staffers had contracted the virus, some possibly from him; and from each staffer who had contracted or who might yet contract the virus, the disease could spread to dozens, hundreds or thousands of others.
- His text and video seemed dismissive of the risk posed by the coronavirus to the general population, which did not have access to the extraordinary and expensive treatment he had received, including the experimental drugs that seemed to have benefited him.
- He did not thank God, or his doctors, or his good fortune for his survival.

- He did not acknowledge how sick he likely continued to be, and his potential for a relapse and long weeks and months of after-effects.
- He did not acknowledge how his own reckless behavior had likely been responsible for sickening him.
- He had no words of support for others who were suffering or who had suffered from the disease or from the loss of loved ones. (By then, some 210,000 Americans had succumbed.) If anything, he seemed to suggest that he was simply stronger than they were.
- The deception about Mr. Trump's true condition was ongoing, as was the cover-up as to when he suspected/knew he was contagious vis-à-vis when he had interacted with others.

To the understanding of CSD, some previous presidents as well had hidden (and had directed the hiding of) their respective ailments; but not in the last 40 years, when greater transparency had generally come to be expected of political figures; not in the middle of an election campaign; not relative to a pandemic that was ripping the lungs out of the nation and the executive response to which had become possibly the single greatest issue in that campaign; and not on the part of a president whose every breathing moment in office had been directed to disseminating falsehoods and to otherwise corrupting the mechanisms of democracy.

In sum, the entire performance appeared to be about Mr. Trump's manliness, his authority, and his reelection by those who welcomed authority – not about the health of the American people (even those who welcomed authority).

Reportedly, while in the hospital, Mr. Trump had been watching Fox News non-stop.<sup>203</sup>

On October 6, seemingly buoyed by his release from the hospital, Mr. Trump posted on Facebook and Twitter that Covid-19 was “in most populations far less lethal than the flu.” Facebook promptly removed the posting, and Twitter hid it under a public interest notice, pursuant to the respective policies of those social media platforms restricting misinformation about the pandemic that could lead to physical harm.<sup>204</sup>

On October 7, Mr. Trump reportedly met with top aides in the Oval Office, despite his being contagious, and thus in defiance of CDC guidelines.<sup>205</sup>

Also on that day, Mr. Trump released a video, recorded outside at the White House, in which he spoke loudly without a mask in the direction of his presumably vulnerable videographers. In his message, he claimed that his having contracted the disease was a “blessing from God,” in that his recovery had demonstrated the effectiveness of the medications that he had taken. He called one of those medications, Regeneron, a “miracle” and “cure” – but it was a therapeutic, not a cure, and its efficacy was still far from proven.<sup>206</sup> (Even Regeneron's CEO publicly stated that Mr. Trump's case had established nothing about the drug's efficacy.<sup>207</sup>) In sum, remarkably, Mr. Trump had sought to turn the rampant and perilous coronavirus infestations at the White House and the Pentagon, the perceived national security crisis,<sup>208</sup> and the cost to taxpayers of treating Mr. Trump's self-inflicted illness, into a blessing.



As reported above in the first section of this Addendum, on October 8 the Commission on Presidential Debates determined that the next scheduled debate between Mr. Trump and Joe Biden – in town hall format and set for October 14 – would be held virtually, so that Mr. Trump wouldn't infect anyone else. Mr. Trump promptly refused to participate, saying *"I'm not going to waste my time on a virtual debate."*<sup>209</sup>

Also as reported above, on October 8 Mr. Trump gave Fox News his first extended interview since having fallen ill. In it, he blamed China for inflicting the "curse" of the coronavirus upon the U.S. He also blithely claimed that "99.9%" of Covid-19 victims recover (although by then there were more than 211,000 dead in the U.S.; many who had survived had experienced agonizing suffering; and many survivors were still suffering long term debilities); that recovered Covid-19 patients were thereafter immune to the disease (not scientifically established); that his own medications had amounted to a "cure" (untrue); that he could have easily recovered from the infection without any medical treatment (delusional); that he was not currently contagious (still delusional); and that he would now quickly distribute one of his drugs, the experimental Regeneron, to everyone for free (but it was unproven, in short supply, and would require FDA approval). He also claimed that he may have been infected by Gold Star families with whom he had recently met, who he said had physically approached him in worshipful adoration, and whom, out of compassion, he had refused to turn away.<sup>210</sup>

Also on October 8, Mr. Trump's White House physician released a brief memorandum stating (dubiously, given the utter lack of transparency) that Mr. Trump had completed his therapy for Covid-19 and could resume his campaign on October 10.<sup>211</sup> But because reporters had not seen Mr. Trump in days, they could not judge for themselves how fit for action he might be. A CNN reporter compared the black-out on the health of America's leader to what happens in "Russia or North Korea," and offered that "we're on the dark side of the moon."<sup>212</sup>

As of October 8, the White House outbreak had infected at least 20 victims. The Times detailed how lax preventive measures had fueled the spread among top officials, with damning photographs that identified carriers mingling with others without protection.<sup>213</sup> Recent reports had characterized the White House staff as hollowed-out and fearful.<sup>214</sup>

As reported in the first section of this Addendum, on October 10 Mr. Trump made his first post-hospital campaign appearance – orange, and reading from a script from a balcony at the White House. The event again violated the longstanding tradition of a president not blatantly campaigning from the White House. (Mr. Trump had accepted his nomination from the White House in August.) It also violated CDC guidelines regarding the coronavirus, as had the September 26 super-spreader event in the Rose Garden at which Amy Coney Barrett's Supreme Court nomination had been celebrated and many public figures appear to have become infected. Now addressing several hundred cheering and flag-waving supporters who were closely packed, mostly young and often mask-less, Mr. Trump claimed that the pandemic was "disappearing," even as cases and deaths were rising. He also blamed the "China virus" for the country's affliction, warned that Democrats were "communists," and pledged that law enforcement officers would "swamp" his enemies at the upcoming "rigged" election. Hours later, the White House released a memo from Mr. Trump's doctor saying that he was no longer contagious, but not otherwise detailing his condition or his history of transmissibility.<sup>215</sup>



On October 11, Mr. Trump reiterated to Fox News that he was no longer contagious, but he again provided no details. He added that he had a “protective glow” and was “immune.”<sup>216</sup> In fact he offered no evidence that he was immune; and scientists were not yet certain whether Covid-19 survivors in general achieved immunity, or if so, to what extent and for how long.<sup>217</sup>

On October 12, in Sanford, Florida, Mr. Trump held his first full-blown campaign rally since falling ill. He said, dubiously, “*Now they say I’m immune . . . I feel so powerful.*”<sup>218</sup> The next day, at a rally in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, he said the same thing.<sup>219</sup>

On October 5, The Times reported that the White House was blocking strict new federal guidelines for the emergency release of a coronavirus vaccine that would likely result in no vaccine being released before Election Day.<sup>220</sup> On October 6 – possibly due to the negative publicity – the block was lifted.<sup>221</sup>

On October 6, media reported that nine of the country’s highest-ranking generals, including the entire Joint Chiefs of Staff, were in quarantine due to their exposure to a Coast Guard admiral who had attended the Amy Coney Barrett ceremony at the Rose Garden on September 26.<sup>222</sup> Some observers characterized the development as a national security crisis.<sup>223</sup>

Also on October 6, Vice President Mike Pence challenged a new requirement by the Commission on Presidential Debates that he and his opponent Kamala Harris be surrounded by plexiglass barriers during their upcoming October 7 face-off. He said that Harris was welcome to her plexiglass, but that he would forego it. The commission’s requirement had been imposed after Mr. Trump – diagnosed with Covid-19 on October 2 – was seen as having risked transmitting the virus during the course of his September 29 debate with Joe Biden, including to Biden himself.<sup>224</sup> Presumably Pence feared that the plexiglass would highlight for the national debate audience the raging pandemic at a time when the Trump administration was still selfishly, recklessly and cynically trying to minimize it. In any event, within hours Pence reversed, and he agreed to the barriers.<sup>225</sup> (Possibly he had come to recognize how selfish, reckless and cynical he would have appeared if Harris had plexiglass but he didn’t.)

On October 7, the prestigious New England Journal of Medicine issued the first political endorsement in its 208-year history. Citing Mr. Trump’s defiance of science and public health and the many Covid-19 deaths caused by what it termed his “incompetence,” its editorial board unanimously called for American voters to remove him from office. The editorial board of the 175-year-old Scientific American magazine had done likewise in September.<sup>226</sup>

On October 9, media reported that the White House had blocked a CDC order requiring the wearing of masks on airplanes, buses, subways and trains, and in airports, stations and depots.<sup>227</sup> The following day, The Times reported on the many other instances during the pandemic in which the Trump administration had successfully caused the CDC to act politically rather than scientifically (many of those instances are covered in this Chronology): clearing Pence’s recent debate appearance, revising guidelines on school reopenings, allowing cruise ships to sail, editing weekly mortality reports, editing testing guidelines, and muzzling CDC scientists from

speaking publicly. Seen at risk were not only the nation's health but the world's health, the reputation of the CDC, and the willingness of scientists to work there.<sup>228</sup>

As reported above in the first section of this Addendum, on October 10 the Trump campaign released a television advertisement that included a video clip of Dr. Anthony Fauci seeming to praise Mr. Trump's handling of the pandemic. The first irony lay in Mr. Trump's having totally sidelined Fauci from his coronavirus task force in recent months, because of their strong disagreements on science and policy. Worse, in the original video clip, Fauci had been praising everyone on the task force *except* Mr. Trump; the clip was taken out of context, and was grossly deceptive.<sup>229</sup> Fauci publicly objected, accused the Trump campaign of "harassing" him, called for the campaign to take down the ad, and cautioned it to keep him out of future ads.<sup>230</sup> On October 13, Mr. Trump ridiculed Fauci's judgment by way of Twitter, thereby further betraying the implication within the advertisement that the two men were aligned.<sup>231</sup>

On October 12, the Senate Judiciary Committee began its rushed, pre-election public hearings on Mr. Trump's nomination of Amy Coney Barrett to the Supreme Court. Two of the committee's Republican members who were leading the charge – Lindsay Graham and Chuck Grassley – had refused to be tested for Covid-19. A third, Mike Lee, was still recovering from the disease, and he declined to wear a mask during the proceedings.<sup>232</sup>

At a campaign rally in Greenville, North Carolina on October 15, Mr. Trump ridiculed Dr. Fauci for having changed his views about face masks in the early months of the pandemic. He continued: "*But he's a nice guy so I keep him around, right? We'll keep him around. He's a Democrat. Everybody knows that. He's [New York Governor Andrew] Cuomo's friend. Cuomo did the worst job of any governor in the United States [in handling the pandemic].*"<sup>233</sup> In a video recording of the event, the crowd could be heard jeering Fauci.<sup>234</sup> In truth, Fauci was known to be scrupulously apolitical, and not registered with any political party.<sup>235</sup>

During a televised, pre-election town hall on October 15, as Covid-19 cases were rising in much of the country, Mr. Trump said of the pandemic, "*We're coming around the corner.*" He also said, without evidence, "*Vaccines are coming soon.*" He professed doubt about the effectiveness of face masks against the disease. He also repeatedly dodged questions about when he had been tested for the disease, and whether he had been tested prior to his September 29 debate with Joe Biden, as had been required.<sup>236</sup>

On October 16, more than 1,000 current and former CDC epidemic intelligence officers signed an open letter decrying the "ominous politicization" of the agency throughout the coronavirus pandemic.<sup>237</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> <https://www.vox.com/2020/10/4/21501003/trump-working-walter-reed-photos-staged> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-hospital-in-charge-virus/2020/10/05/a052f37c-0744-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&w\\_pisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-hospital-in-charge-virus/2020/10/05/a052f37c-0744-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&w_pisrc=nl_headlines)

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<sup>200</sup> <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/politics-news/trump-criticized-medical-experts-after-leaving-hospital-drive-supporters-n1242081> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/10/04/trump-hospital-drive-criticism/> and CNN television news, Wolf Blitzer, October 4, 2020.

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- <sup>203</sup> <https://www.cnn.com/2020/10/05/politics/donald-trump-covid-condition-walter-reed/index.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/no-trump-did-not-piledrive-the-virus-into-submission-with-his-superior-strength/2020/10/05/1eb4931a-0745-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/lifestyle/style/no-trump-did-not-piledrive-the-virus-into-submission-with-his-superior-strength/2020/10/05/1eb4931a-0745-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a_story.html) and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/10/06/trump-coronavirus-mask-doctors/> and <https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/wireStory/white-house-staff-secret-service-eye-virus-fear-73445565> and <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2020/10/05/reaction-trump-saying-not-to-be-afraid-covid/3631568001/> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/trump-discharge-prognosis-covid/2020/10/05/4b20e810-072f-11eb-a166-dc429b380d10\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/trump-discharge-prognosis-covid/2020/10/05/4b20e810-072f-11eb-a166-dc429b380d10_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-hospital-in-charge-virus/2020/10/05/a052f37c-0744-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a\\_story.html?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-hospital-in-charge-virus/2020/10/05/a052f37c-0744-11eb-9be6-cf25fb429f1a_story.html?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/05/us/politics/trump-leaves-hospital-coronavirus.html> and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/05/health/contact-tracing-white-house.html> and [https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/10/06/invincible-trump-tells-us-live-with-covid-19-these-people-died-trying/?utm\\_campaign=wp\\_todays\\_headlines&utm\\_medium=email&utm\\_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl\\_headlines](https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/10/06/invincible-trump-tells-us-live-with-covid-19-these-people-died-trying/?utm_campaign=wp_todays_headlines&utm_medium=email&utm_source=newsletter&wpisrc=nl_headlines) and <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/07/upshot/trump-hospital-costs-coronavirus.html> and <https://www.washingtonpost.com/health/2020/10/08/covid-white-house-contact-tracing/> and <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/investigations/2020/10/05/white-house-tracking-trumps-covid-outbreak-sidelines-cdc/3630015001/> and CNN television news video replay, October 5, 2020
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- <sup>206</sup> <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/10/07/us/politics/trump-coronavirus-blessing.html> and CNN television news, Wolf Blitzer, October 7, 2020
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<sup>233</sup> <https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/elections/2020/10/15/trump-says-dr-anthony-fauci-democrat/3670441001/>

<sup>234</sup> CNN television commentary, Erin Burnett, October 15, 2020

<sup>235</sup> CNN television commentary, Erin Burnett, October 16, 2020

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**CITIZENS FOR A STRONG DEMOCRACY**

**SPECIFIC CONCERNS**

*Addendum 34 – March 13, 2021*

This addendum appends CSD's Specific Concerns originally dated March 20, 2017, and a series of numbered Addenda to that document that had followed, by adding pertinent events and news reporting that have arisen or have been identified since the date of the last Addendum. The numbers in the right-hand column refer to the enumerated categories of anti-democratic behavior listed in CSD's Statement of Principles dated March 20, 2017.

**THIS IS THE FINAL ADDENDUM TO THE CHRONOLOGY**

The current Addendum appears in three parts. The first part consists of CSD's regular Chronology, ending with President Biden's inauguration on January 20, 2021. The second part, beginning on p. 40, chronicles events surrounding Mr. Trump's efforts to suppress voting in and to discredit the results of the November 2020 election, including his incitement to insurrection on January 6, and his impeachment for that and related actions. The third part, beginning on p. 86, chronicles events surrounding Mr. Trump's response to the coronavirus pandemic.

<b><u>Date</u></b>	<b><u>Episode</u></b>	<b><u>Category</u></b>
10-16-20 +	<b><u>Lock 'em all up.</u></b> At a campaign rally in Macon, Georgia on October 16, Mr. Trump cited a recent article in the New York Post that purported to reveal new details of what he had long claimed were corrupt activities in Ukraine on the part of his electoral opponent Joe Biden and Biden's son Hunter. Those details were unsubstantiated and suspect, and the Republican-controlled Senate had recently exonerated both Bidens of any illegal activity. [ <i>Continued below.</i> ]	5, 9, 11

<p>10-16-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Mr. Trump nevertheless incited the crowd, by calling, “<i>Lock up the Bidens. Lock up Hillary,</i>” and the crowd in turn chanted “<i>Lock him up!</i>” about Biden. “<i>The Biden family is a criminal enterprise,</i>” Mr. Trump said. <u>It was the first time that he had called for Biden to be imprisoned.</u><sup>1</sup></p> <p>The next evening, at a rally in Muskegon, Michigan, Mr. Trump berated Michigan’s Democratic governor Gretchen Whitmer for her partisanship and accused her of plotting election fraud. By way of Twitter, he had previously called for Michiganders to ‘LIBERATE MICHIGAN!’ from her, because of the coronavirus restrictions that she had placed on the Michigan economy, and he now repeated that theme at the rally. <u>In reference to Whitmer, the crowd responded by chanting, “<i>Lock her up!</i>”</u>, and Mr. Trump acquiesced. That he had presided over the Michigan episode was particularly shocking in that the FBI had recently foiled a right-wing plot to kidnap and murder Whitmer, and Mr. Trump had never condemned that plot.<sup>2</sup> (A chilling training video that had been produced by the conspirators and then recently introduced in criminal court proceedings against them can be accessed from the link at this end note.<sup>3</sup>)</p> <p><u>Whitmer and Biden thus joined Hillary Clinton and President Obama in the pantheon of Mr. Trump’s adversaries whom he had called to be imprisoned. As the chants in Michigan continued, he said, “<i>Lock ‘em all up.</i>”</u><sup>4</sup></p> <p>At a rally in Lansing, Michigan on October 27, Mr. Trump – in a single breath – took credit, through his Justice Department, for having rescued Whitmer from a lynching, then questioned whether she had truly been at risk, then upbraided her for her ingratitude. Again the crowd chanted, “<i>Lock her up!</i>”<sup>5</sup></p> <p>On October 28, The Washington Post reported that not only Whitmer but many others – epidemiologist Dr. Anthony Fauci, Congressman and former impeachment manager Adam Schiff, CBS interviewer Lesley Stahl, the four freshman Democratic congresswomen of color known as “The Squad,” and the whistle-blower who had first called out Mr. Trump’s extortionate phone call with Ukraine’s president – had experienced serious threats to their lives following Mr. Trump’s condemnations of them. The Post wrote: [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>5, 9, 11</p>
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<p>10-16-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.] “Over the past year, public servants across the country have faced similar ordeals. The targets encompass nearly every category of government service: mayors, governors and members of Congress, as well as officials Trump has turned against within his own administration.</p> <p>“The dynamic appears to be without precedent: government agencies taking extraordinary measures to protect their people from strains of seething hostility stoked by a sitting president. ...</p> <p>“[M]ore than any predecessor, Trump has fomented mob-like anger at perceived adversaries throughout his presidency. Though his exhortations generally stop short of explicitly promoting violence, his words have been echoed in hundreds of menacing online messages. And he has consistently resisted entreaties to disavow or discourage violence.”<sup>6</sup></p> <p>CSD continues to observe that despite Mr. Trump’s incessant characterization of himself as the “law and order” president, his fealty to the law is highly selective: urging prosecution of and punishment for his personal enemies, but <i>carte blanche</i> law-breaking for his friends and supporters.</p>	<p>5, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-17-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>MY judges crush THEIR voting rights.</u></b> The New York Times reported on October 17 that over 350 court cases concerning voting rights – a massive amount – had arisen in 2020, relating primarily to expanded mail-in voting in the face of the coronavirus pandemic. <u>In at least eight major cases, Republican federal appellate judges – many of them appointed by Mr. Trump – had overturned district court rulings that had favored voting rights.</u> A study had found that <u>Mr. Trump’s appointees had ruled against voting rights in 85% of the cases that they had heard. In effect, Mr. Trump’s appointees thus were both debilitating democracy and helping his re-election campaign.</u> Major cases on the subject of mail-in voting for the imminent election remained pending.<sup>7</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>2, 17 (4, 9)</p>

<p>10-17-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On October 31, The Washington Post reported similarly. For example: “<i>In a Texas case, three judges nominated by Trump unanimously upheld the Republican governor’s limit of one ballot drop-off location per county that state officials say is necessary to prevent voter fraud. In Georgia, a pair of Trump nominees reinstated an Election Day deadline for mail-in ballots to be counted at the urging of GOP officials. In a Wisconsin case that reached the Supreme Court this week, a Trump nominee was part of the two-judge majority at the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit that rejected an extension of the deadline for receiving mail ballots in the battleground state. And a three-judge panel of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 8th Circuit ruled Thursday night that a Republican lawmaker and GOP activist could challenge Minnesota’s plan to count ballots that arrive after Election Day.</i>”<sup>8</sup></p>	<p>2, 17 (4, 9)</p>
<p>10-19-20</p>	<p><b>Bribe me.</b> At a campaign rally in Prescott, Arizona, Mr. Trump boasted that, if he wished, he could extract millions of dollars in campaign contributions from any major oil or Wall Street company in exchange for a promise of political favors. That would be illegal. It compared to the “quid pro quo” that he had offered the president of Ukraine when attempting to extort from him political dirt on Joe Biden – for which action the House had impeached him.<sup>9</sup></p>	<p>9, 10</p>
<p>10-19-20</p>	<p><b>The Havana Syndrome – in Moscow and Guangzhou.</b> The New York Times reported that U.S. diplomatic and intelligence officials in Moscow and Guangzhou in recent years had experienced sudden, mysterious, long-lasting, debilitating neurological injuries similar to those that the U.S. had considered to be purposeful attacks when they had arisen in Havana in 2016 and 2017. The U.S. had retaliated against Cuba diplomatically. But, according to The Times, the State Department had been covering up the events in Russia and China for fear of alienating those countries.</p>	<p>17 (12)</p>

<p>10-19-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The new Russia trick.</u></b> On October 19, more than 50 former senior intelligence officials signed an open letter opining that <u>the unverified Hunter Biden emails and other laptop content recently furnished to The New York Post by Mr. Trump’s lawyer Rudy Giuliani and heralded by the tabloid as evidencing Joe Biden’s corruption likely amounted to Russian disinformation that was intended to help Mr. Trump win re-election.</u> (See CSD’s entry of October 13 + for the details of The New York Post’s story.) Indeed, the FBI was reportedly investigating that possibility.<sup>10</sup></p> <p><u>Mr. Trump nevertheless said at a campaign rally in Prescott, Arizona that Joe Biden belonged in jail</u> for that activity, and that he was unhappy with his attorney general William Barr for not having procured that outcome. During a Fox News interview on October 20, <u>Mr. Trump called upon Barr to immediately launch an investigation – that is, prior to the November 3 election.</u><sup>11</sup> (Why Mr. Trump wouldn’t simply tell Barr all of that in private conversation was unknowable. Possibly he sought to bring public opinion to bear on Barr’s performance of his law enforcement duties. But he had indeed often before communicated with his ranking officials through public statements – whether directing them on major matters of policy or firing them.)</p> <p>Even some conservative news media that were gunning for Joe Biden, nevertheless, had stayed away from Hunter’s laptop – apparently, because there was nothing there.<sup>12</sup> The Wall Street Journal expressly found Joe Biden to have been faultless.<sup>13</sup></p>	<p>9, 17 (7, 9, 12)</p>
<p>10-20-20</p>	<p><b><u>Banking on China.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had spent a decade trying to do business in China and now continued to maintain a bank account there – all of which had been revealed in his recently uncovered tax returns, and none of which he had reported in his public financial disclosures. Mr. Trump had meanwhile been disparaging his electoral opponent Joe Biden as being “soft” on China and corrupted by his son Hunter’s business dealings in that country.<sup>14</sup></p>	<p>12, 15</p>



<p>10-20-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Hatching until the end.</u></b> On October 20, The Daily Beast reported that several of Mr. Trump’s cabinet secretaries had been traveling to states to support Republican candidates there in the run-ups to their respective elections – at taxpayer expense, and in likely violation of the Hatch Act: Veterans Affairs Secretary Robert Wilkie, Agriculture Secretary Sonny Perdue, Interior Secretary David Bernhardt, and Energy Secretary Dan Brouillette.<sup>15</sup></p> <p>On October 27, the same publication reported that Mr. Trump’s press secretary Kayleigh McEnany had joined his campaign staff. That was a blatant Hatch Act violation.<sup>16</sup></p> <p>On October 29, a Democratic senator released a report stating that 14 Trump administration officials had been found to have violated the statute a total of 54 times, and that at least 22 administration officials were then under investigation for almost 100 more violations. The director of a prominent watchdog organization said that although occasional Hatch Act violations had preceded Mr. Trump’s presidency, <u>“the wholesale co-opting of the federal government to keep a president in power ... is something that we have never even approached before.”</u><sup>17</sup></p> <p>The New York Times reported on November 2 that Mr. Trump’s secretary of state, his national security advisor and DHS officials had effectively been making campaign presentations for him in swing states. The Times called it part of “a sustained effort by the president, members of his cabinet and top aides to use the powers of incumbency in ways that go far beyond [Mr. Trump’s] predecessors, harnessing the levers of government power and the authority of Mr. Trump’s office to help him stay there.” The Times continued, <i>“Other presidents have embraced the perks of incumbency to their advantage. But <u>no other modern president of either party has so brazenly directed government action toward his own benefit by so many agencies and departments</u>”</i> – citing dozens of examples that CSD has reported earlier in this Chronology.<sup>18</sup></p> <p>On November 3, Election Day, the Trump campaign set up a command center in the White House, plainly in violation of the Hatch Act on the part of any White House staffers who participated. Within days after that, the Office of Special Counsel launched an investigation.<sup>19</sup><i>[Continued below.]</i></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>
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10-20-20 +	[Continued.] On December 7, the Office of Special Counsel reported that it had found Peter Navarro, Mr. Trump’s top economic advisor and loyalist, to have repeatedly violated the Hatch Act during the recent election campaign by publicly disparaging Joe Biden. <sup>20</sup>	17 (9)
10-21-20	<b>“Nyet” to civil service.</b> Mr. Trump signed an executive order re-classifying many merit-based civil service positions as appointive positions. He thus granted himself the right to replace tens or hundreds of thousands of non-partisan civil servants with his hand-picked political commissars, or to threaten them with firing if they failed to toe his political line. <sup>21</sup>	9
10-21-20. 10-22-20	<b>More purges threatened.</b> On October 21, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump was actively considering firing Attorney General William Barr and FBI Director Christopher Wray for not having announced an investigation or indictment of Mr. Trump’s electoral opponent Joe Biden prior to the November 3 election. <sup>22</sup>  On October 22, Politico reported that Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar was openly plotting to oust FDA chief Stephen Hahn for insisting on stringent standards for the approval of any coronavirus vaccine. <sup>23</sup>	8, 9
10-22-20	<b>The second debate.</b> At the second and final presidential debate before the election, Mr. Trump partly adhered to his advisors’ advice to be somewhat less offensive toward his opponent Joe Biden and the moderator than at the first. He nevertheless built his presentation around falsehoods, demagoguery, self-pity and rage-filled attempts at character assassination. Examples included: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fulminating baselessly, incoherently and at great length that Biden, two of his brothers and his son Hunter had received millions of dollars in corrupt payments from foreign sources, and that Biden had grown wealthy from such corruption.</li> <li>• Improbably excusing his own non-payment of federal income taxes, while complaining that the IRS had been “unfair” to him.</li> <li>• Warning that a stock market crash and an unprecedented depression would follow a Biden victory. [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	6, 7, 9, 12

<p>10-22-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Claiming falsely and illogically that Biden planned to outlaw private health insurance and completely socialize health care while destroying Social Security and Medicare.</li> <li>• Asserting (as he had often done recently) that Biden had abandoned Scranton, Pennsylvania – that is, when at age ten he and his family had moved to Delaware.</li> <li>• Blaming Democrats for releasing “murderers” and “rapists” into the population from immigration detention; falsely claiming that few released detainees reappeared in immigration court for their asylum hearings; loudly and falsely insinuating that his Democratic predecessors were the ones who had placed migrant children in cages, while falsely arguing that he had <i>stopped</i> routine family separations rather than initiating them; and proclaiming that the more than 500 migrant children whom he had separated from their parents and who remained separated to that day were being treated well by their captors.</li> <li>• Boasting that he had done more for Black Americans than any other president – with the <i>possible</i> exception of Abraham Lincoln – and that he was “the least racist person in this room.” (The moderator was a Black woman.)</li> <li>• Crowing that he had a better relationship with North Korean dictator and butcher Kim Jong Un than Biden and President Obama had had, while falsely claiming to have averted a nuclear war with North Korea that he himself had seemingly almost started.</li> <li>• Preposterously maintaining (as he had often done before) that he had saved two million American lives from the coronavirus; falsely denying that he had suggested that the disease be treated with injections of bleach; falsely accusing House Speaker Nancy Pelosi of a slow response to the outbreak; falsely denying that he was at odds with the country’s chief epidemiologist Dr. Anthony Fauci, while calling out Fauci for Fauci’s early errors in addressing the disease (since corrected by Fauci himself); and falsely assuring that the pandemic was in retreat (even as cases, hospitalizations and deaths continued to surge). [Continued below.]</li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9, 12</p>
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<p>10-22-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Falsely asserting that “there’s been nobody tougher than me on Russia.”</li> <li>• Falsely claiming that, through tariffs that he had imposed, China (rather than American consumers and taxpayers) was subsidizing American farmers.</li> <li>• Falsely claiming that he had achieved energy independence for the U.S.</li> <li>• Claiming that special counsel Robert Mueller had gone through his taxes (radically false: Mr. Trump had hidden them) and had found no wrongdoing in connection with Russian interference in the 2016 election (radically false: Mueller had indicted several of Mr. Trump’s campaign associates and numerous Russians, and he had laid out an extensive case that Mr. Trump himself had unlawfully obstructed the investigation).</li> <li>• Falsely claiming that Biden backed progressive Democrats’ expensive “Green New Deal” proposal.</li> <li>• Materially over-stating Biden’s opposition to fracking (Biden had only proposed to ban fracking on federal lands).</li> <li>• Falsely boasting about his fundraising prowess in comparison to Biden’s (Biden’s campaign had far out-distanced him).<sup>24</sup></li> </ul>	<p>6, 7, 9, 12</p>
<p>10-22-20</p>	<p><b>The Fact Checker.</b> The Washington Post’s Fact Checker reported that Mr. Trump had now made over 22,000 false or misleading claims while in office, at a recent pace of more than 50 per day. The reporters confessed that they were no longer able to keep up with the tally.<sup>25</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>10-23-20</p>	<p><b>In Florida.</b> Campaigning in The Villages, Florida – a city-sized and largely Republican retirement community – Mr. Trump said of vice-presidential candidate Kamala Harris, <i>"We're not going to have a socialist president, especially a female socialist president, we're not gonna' have it, we're not gonna' put up with it."</i> He also criticized (still) his predecessor in office, emphasizing the middle name of “Barack Hussein Obama.” Some photographs of the seniors in attendance showed them largely mask-less and crowded together, notwithstanding their susceptibility to the coronavirus.<sup>26</sup></p>	<p>6, 9</p>

<p>10-25-20 +</p>	<p><b>Brawls.</b> On October 25, a physical brawl between pro- and anti-Trump partisans erupted in Times Square, New York. Similar pre-election brawls had been reported at various spots around the country.<sup>27</sup> On October 31, The Washington Post reported on the vandalism of political signage occurring nationwide, and the harassment of voters merely on account of their party affiliations, as well as their fears for their physical safety.<sup>28</sup> One CSD member, living in an otherwise serene Philadelphia suburb, had his election lawn signs stolen repeatedly during that period.</p> <p>Although partisans of both parties had acted badly, the preponderance of the attacks appeared to have come from Trump zealots. In any event, the level of intolerance and intimidation around the election process seemed unprecedented for those CSD members whose election experiences had spanned the seven decades since World War II. We flatly attribute that development to Mr. Trump’s provocative behavior during his presidency.</p> <p>On the positive side, and far more pervasively, a record number of Americans appeared to be voting ahead of, or to be planning to vote at, the November 3 presidential election.</p> <p>Nevertheless, far from urging a peaceful contest on Election Day, at a rally in Bucks County, Pennsylvania on October 31 Mr. Trump predicted “bedlam”<sup>29</sup> – just as pro-Kremlin news organizations in Russia were predicting for the U.S.<sup>30</sup></p> <p>News reports at the turn of the month indicated widespread fears – on the part of voters, state governments and urban police departments – of intimidation and violence on and after Election Day.<sup>31</sup></p>	<p>5</p>
<p>10-26-20</p>	<p><b>In Pennsylvania (once more).</b> At a rally in Allentown, Pennsylvania, Mr. Trump threatened to withhold federal assistance to that state because (he claimed) its Democratic governor had impeded the scheduling of rallies there on grounds of coronavirus restrictions.<sup>32</sup> What was wrong with this picture?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mr. Trump held three rallies in Pennsylvania that day – in Allentown, Lititz and Martinsburg – without apparent impediment. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>8, 9, 11</p>

<p>10-26-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The governor’s office said that it had impeded nothing – it had only advised the campaign of the state’s social distancing restrictions earlier in the year, and had had no contact with the campaign since then.<sup>33</sup></li> <li>• Mr. Trump’s threat was illegal, punitive and extortionate – to capriciously withhold taxpayers’ funds from states governed by his political adversaries, as he had been threatening to do with respect to “anarchist jurisdictions” generally and California with respect to its wildfire emergency. He had long appeared to view taxpayers’ money as his own money, and the federal government as an instrument for rewarding his friends and punishing his enemies – an outlook that he had regularly used to terrorize governors, federal officials and members of Congress.<sup>34</sup></li> <li>• The threat was also of a kind with his withholding of military assistance from Ukraine unless that country’s president were to perform political favors for him – an act for which Mr. Trump had been impeached.</li> <li>• CSD was unclear how threatening Pennsylvanians to withhold federal funding from their state would appeal to them politically; but in the seething, reasonless, vengeance-driven world of Mr. Trump and his supporters, apparently there was a way.</li> </ul> <p>At all three rallies, Mr. Trump claimed that the coronavirus pandemic was ending – even as recorded cases, hospitalizations and deaths continued to surge nationally.<sup>35</sup></p>	<p>8, 9, 11</p>
<p>10-26-20</p>	<p><b>VOA under siege.</b> Michael Pack – the head of the U.S. Agency for Global Media and its subsidiary broadcasters including Voice of America – announced that he was “rescinding” the organization’s firewall between Mr. Trump’s hyper-partisan commissars such as himself and the broadcasters’ newsrooms. That is, as he continued to cause the agency’s news content to propagandize to Mr. Trump’s personal benefit, he more generally continued to lead the agency in the very direction of authoritarianism that its mandate called for it to oppose in nations overseas. CSD had previously reported on Pack’s swift, step-by-step politicization of the agency since his appointment in June. Huffington Post now updated and extensively recapped the reporting on Pack’s authoritarian efforts.<sup>36</sup></p>	<p>17 (1, 9)</p>

<p>10-26-20</p>	<p><b><u>Mask-less and fact-less.</u></b> ABC News reported that at rallies in New Hampshire and North Carolina over the two previous days, Mr. Trump had repeated many of his usual falsehoods, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That the U.S. was “rounding the turn” in defeating the coronavirus pandemic, and that “our numbers are incredible.” (Across the country, the disease continued to surge, and some ICUs were overflowing.)</li> <li>• “Mexico is paying for the [border] wall.” (The claim was baseless.)</li> <li>• “We passed VA Choice,” the statute that enables veterans to obtain private medical care at government expense. (President Obama had passed the statute.)</li> <li>• Russians paid Joe Biden \$3.5 million. (Not even remotely true. A Russian woman invested that sum in an enterprise that had some attenuated connection to Biden’s son Hunter.)</li> <li>• Mr. Trump banned travel from China in the early days of the pandemic. (He restricted travel, but did not ban it. And during that period he allowed travel from Europe, which caused the great East Coast infection.)</li> <li>• Nevada “wanted to” not require verification of voter signatures on mailed-in ballots. (Totally false.)</li> <li>• “The biggest risk we have [in the upcoming election] are the fake ballots.” (There was no indication that either fake ballots or any other massive voter fraud was afoot.)</li> <li>• Mr. Trump had forced Japan to open five new auto factories in Michigan. (There were no new factories announced or planned.)</li> <li>• “Obama gave [Iran] \$150 billion.” The money belonged to Iran.</li> <li>• “You got the biggest tax cut in the history of our country. I got it for you.” (False; it was the 12<sup>th</sup> biggest cut, as a portion of the total economy.)<sup>37</sup></li> </ul> <p>On the same day, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had made 131 false or inaccurate statements within 90 minutes at a recent rally in Wisconsin.<sup>38</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 9</p>

<p>10-26-20 +</p>	<p><b>But all the dictators love me!</b> Mr. Trump boasted at a rally that Chinese President Xi Jin-ping, Russian President Vladimir Putin and North Korean President Kim Jong-un – all ruthless, authoritarian adversaries of the U.S. – would prefer to deal with him than with his electoral opponent Joe Biden. Observers found it remarkable that an American president would be proud of such a circumstance. Speaking in Orlando the following day, President Obama responded appositely:</p> <p><i>"Just yesterday, he said that Putin of Russia, Xi of China, and Kim Jong Un of North Korea want him to win. We know! We know because you've been giving them whatever they want for the last four years! Of course they want you to win! That's not a good thing. You shouldn't brag about the fact that some of our greatest adversaries think they'd be better off with you in office. Of course they do."</i><sup>39</sup></p> <p>On October 28, The Washington Post described the electoral endorsements that Mr. Trump had received from the authoritarian leaders of Hungary, Brazil and the Philippines, most of whom Mr. Trump had spoken about warmly.<sup>40</sup></p>	<p>12</p>
<p>10-26-20 +</p>	<p><b>Philadelphia shooting.</b> Philadelphia police shot and killed Walter Wallace, a mentally ill Black man who was wielding a knife outside his family's home, after his mother had called 911 for an emergency psychological intervention. Peaceful protests, rioting and an investigation by the city ensued. Joe Biden and Democrats denounced both the killing and the rioting. The next day, at a rally in Wisconsin, Mr. Trump said, <i>"Last night Philadelphia was torn up by Biden-supporting radicals. 30 police officers, Philadelphia police officers they were injured, some badly. Biden stands with the rioters and I stand with the heroes of law enforcement."</i> He repeated those charges the next day.<sup>41</sup></p>	<p>6, 7, 9</p>
<p>10-27-20</p>	<p><b>Prosecutors speak out.</b> Twenty former U.S. attorneys – all of them Republicans – issued an open letter in which they charged that Mr. Trump was "a threat to the rule of law in our country" and should be replaced. They were referring to his having politicized the Justice Department and having commandeered it to serve his personal ends. Defiant and utterly deaf to the issue, the Trump campaign responded that it was Mr. Trump, not his electoral adversary Joe Biden, who was enjoying the support of police officers and their unions for his support of the rule of law.<sup>42</sup></p>	<p>9</p>



10-27-20	<b>Pay me, and pay me more.</b> The Washington Post’s investigators reported that Mr. Trump had traveled to his hotels and resorts more than 280 times since taking office. In connection with that travel and with lavish entertainment events at his properties, the government had paid Mr. Trump’s company at least \$2.5 million, and his campaign and fundraising committee had paid an additional \$5.6 million out of their respective donors’ contributions. The Post arrived at those numbers through its own efforts; Mr. Trump and his company had not been forthcoming about them, and much of the pertinent data remained hidden. <sup>43</sup>	15
10-27-20	<b>No room for science at NOAA.</b> Media reported that Mr. Trump’s political commissar at the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration – one of the government’s leading scientific agencies, and one tasked with monitoring climate change – had fired its chief scientists for directing staff to follow science rather than politics. (NOAA was the agency that had run afoul of Mr. Trump for contradicting his false statements about the path of Hurricane Dorian in 2019.) <sup>44</sup>	8, 9
10-27-20 +	<b>The martial arts.</b> At a rally in Bullhead City, Arizona on October 27, Mr. Trump quoted the president of the Ultimate Fighting Championship to the effect that if Mr. Trump’s electoral opponent Joe Biden were in a fight, “one gentle touch to the face and he’s down.” <sup>45</sup> (Mr. Trump enjoyed the support of many of the UFC’s mixed martial arts fighters, who felt a fierce kinship with the candidate, based on his unalloyed belligerence. <sup>46</sup> )  At a rally in Opa-locka, Florida on November 1, Mr. Trump again claimed that Biden was physically frail, and that he could easily whip him. The crowd chanted “ <i>Kick his ass!</i> ” <sup>47</sup>	5, 11
10-28-20	<b>Child trafficking.</b> Stephen Miller – Mr. Trump’s speech writer and anti-immigration policy whisperer – told reporters that if Joe Biden were elected president, Biden “would incentivize child smuggling and child trafficking on an epic global scale.” The baseless statement paralleled and likely bolstered the QAnon conspiracy theory that Democrats are child sex traffickers. Miller also preposterously said that the Trump administration had kept immigrant families together. <sup>48</sup>	17 (7, 9)

10-29-20	<p><b>Help for Turkey.</b> The New York Times, in new reporting, detailed the extraordinary and illegal steps that Mr. Trump and his attorney general William Barr had taken in 2019, at the urging of Turkey’s authoritarian president Recep Erdogan, to limit the prosecution of Halkbank, a state-owned Turkish Bank suspected of violating U.S. sanctions law by funneling billions of dollars of gold and cash to Iran. Erdogan had close connections with the bank; Mr. Trump coveted a friendship with Erdogan; and thus Mr. Trump appeared to have opted to serve Erdogan rather than honor either U.S. law or his own vocally hardline policies against Iran.<sup>49</sup></p>	12
10-30-20	<p><b>Viral on social media.</b> The New York Times tracked how three exemplary claims about (non-existent) Democratic and left-wing election interference, all consistent with Mr. Trump’s outlook, had spread on social media: ballot harvesting, ballot destruction and plans for Election Day violence.<sup>50</sup></p>	17 (7)
10-30-20 +	<p><b>Caravans.</b> On October 30, a convoy of Trump supporters, many of them armed, ambushed and blocked the passage of a Joe Biden campaign bus traveling from San Antonio to Austin, Texas, causing the campaign event to be canceled.<sup>51</sup> At a rally in Pennsylvania the next day, Mr. Trump cheered the convoy and multiplied its actual size by a large factor (“hundreds” of pro-Trump vehicles, he said).<sup>52</sup> The FBI nevertheless began investigating the event, prompting Mr. Trump to condemn the FBI for that at his rallies over the next several days.<sup>53</sup></p> <p>On November 1, pro-Trump caravans blocked several major arteries around New York City.<sup>54</sup> Another pro-Trump caravan and associated violence were reported in Richmond, Virginia that day.<sup>55</sup></p>	17 (3, 5)
11-3-20	<p><b>The enemy: America.</b> As polls opened for voting in an election destined to shape the country’s future, Mr. Trump told Fox News that the U.S. itself was more “difficult to deal with” than America’s international adversaries.<sup>56</sup></p>	11

11-4-20	<p><b><u>QAnon to Congress.</u></b> <u>Two (of many) QAnon adherents running for Congress prevailed in their election campaigns: Marjorie Taylor Greene of Georgia and Lauren Boebert of Colorado.</u> QAnon had become notorious for demonizing Democrats, promoting anti-Semitism, and purveying wide-ranging, preposterous conspiracy theories.</p>	17 (6, 7, 9)
11-4-20	<p><b><u>Out of the Paris Agreement.</u></b> As the results of the November 3 reelection were still pending, the U.S. formally exited the Paris climate accord, at Mr. Trump’s wish, and as he had earlier announced.<sup>57</sup></p>	8, 13
11-7-20, 11-13-20	<p><b><u>Biden wins.</u></b> <u>On November 7, all major television networks determined that Joe Biden had defeated Mr. Trump in the November 3 presidential election. Mr. Trump promptly and falsely claimed that the vote count was fraudulent, and that he would litigate up to the Supreme Court.</u> Details of that claim, and of its progress for months afterward, appear in the second section of this Addendum, “The November 2020 Election: Voter Suppression, False Claims of Election Fraud, Incitement to Insurrection,” beginning on p. 40. On November 13, all major networks projected that president-elect Biden had defeated Mr. Trump by 306 electoral votes to Mr. Trump’s 232 – the exact figures by which Mr. Trump had defeated Hillary Clinton in 2016, and which he had many times touted as a “landslide.”</p>	4
11-9-20	<p><b><u>Whither the security records?</u></b> On November 9, Politico reported that national security secrets from the Trump presidency were at risk of disappearing upon the departure of his administration – contrary to law, and to the grave peril of the country. For example, Mr. Trump was known to routinely shred his own documents; whether records existed of his calls with foreign adversaries was unknown; and his son-in-law and senior advisor Jared Kushner was known to use a private, encrypted email service through which he could permanently destroy his messages.<sup>58</sup></p> <p>On December 5, The Washington Post reported that four historical and watchdog organizations, alarmed, had sued Mr. Trump to enjoin the destruction of the records.<sup>59</sup></p>	9

11-9-20 +	<p><u><b>Purging.</b> Mr. Trump fired his defense secretary, Mark Esper, by way of a tweet.</u> Esper's departure had been rumored to have been in the making for some time – he had been known to have already prepared his resignation letter – but Mr. Trump chose to surprise and humiliate him instead. The Pentagon and the Joint Chiefs of Staff likewise had not been forewarned of Esper's dismissal. Mr. Trump named Christopher Miller as acting defense secretary – theretofore a mid-level official, the fourth person to lead the Pentagon during Mr. Trump's four-year tenure, and a man largely unknown to many senior Pentagon officials.</p> <p>Firing by Twitter seemed to have become Mr. Trump's preferred method of execution. It embodied both his sadism and his cowardice.<sup>60</sup> (Mr. Trump had fired his first secretary of state Rex Tillerson, and possibly others, by tweet.<sup>61</sup>)</p> <p>Esper had irritated Mr. Trump by publicly expressing regret for having accompanied Mr. Trump on his photo op in Lafayette Square in the midst of a racial justice protest there; by defying Mr. Trump's threat to use active-duty troops to quell the nationwide protests; by approving the promotion of Lt. Colonel Alex Vindman, who had testified against Mr. Trump during the latter's impeachment proceedings; by barring Confederate flags on military bases; and by pushing back against Mr. Trump's wishes to precipitously withdraw all U.S. troops from Afghanistan. Critics blasted Esper's dismissal as spiteful on the part of Mr. Trump, and as <u>potentially destabilizing during the transition to a Biden administration. Some feared that Mr. Trump could direct Miller to recklessly accelerate the draw-down of troops from Afghanistan and Iraq, initiate rash military operations in Iran, or even deploy active duty troops for domestic law enforcement operations – actions that virtually the entire top military command opposed.</u><sup>62</sup></p> <p><u>On the following day, three more top Pentagon aides were purged and replaced, including two under-secretaries of defense (for policy and intelligence, respectively), such that the number 1, 3 and 4 positions were suddenly filled by Trump loyalists. The replacements included a controversial racist and conspiracy peddler, and an incendiary pro-Trump ex-congressional staffer. Observers considered some or all of the replacements to be unqualified, and the sudden loss of their predecessors' experience to be alarming.</u><sup>63</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16
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<p>11-9-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.] That wholesale ransacking of top Pentagon officials was unprecedented,<sup>64</sup> and it had no durably functional purpose for the few remaining months of Mr. Trump’s presidency. But the mayhem, insult and discontinuity seemed significant. Observers foresaw in the events the very faint but conceivable possibility that Mr. Trump could seek to retain his office under orders given to the military by a Pentagon that he now more tightly controlled.<sup>65</sup></u></p> <p>Other purges of persons whom Mr. Trump considered to be insufficiently loyal had immediately followed the election as well: Michael Kuperberg was removed as executive director of the U.S. Global Change Research Program, which produces the National Climate Assessment; and Neil Chaterjee was removed as head of the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. Both moves were seen as Mr. Trump taking a parting shot at climate science. A climate science skeptic was named to replace Kuperberg.<sup>66</sup> On November 12, two top officials at the Department of Homeland Security were also purged.<sup>67</sup></p> <p><u>On November 16, Mr. Trump directed an accelerated draw-down of troops in Afghanistan and Iraq. Republican lawmakers objected. Miller praised the move, and assured its execution.<sup>68</sup></u></p> <p><u>November 17, Mr. Trump fired Chris Krebs by way of Twitter. Krebs had been the director of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency at DHS, and the government’s most senior cybersecurity official tasked with protecting the November election. Krebs was purged for disputing Mr. Trump’s baseless claims that President-elect Biden had stolen the election. The elimination of Krebs threatened American cyber-security.<sup>69</sup> See p. 48 of this Addendum, below, for further details.</u></p>	<p>8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 16</p>
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<p>11-12-20</p>	<p><b><u>The Golden Goose.</u></b> In his preoccupation and fury about having lost the election, Mr. Trump was reported to have largely stopped performing the duties of president. Since the television networks had announced Joe Biden’s victory on November 7, Mr. Trump had remained silent about the accelerating coronavirus pandemic, the death of six American service members during a peacekeeping mission in Egypt, and a tropical storm and severe flooding in Florida. Instead, as reported by the media on November 12, he had been absorbed in seething, expostulating, purging his agencies, railing against his enemies, commanding his party to contest the election, and playing golf at one of his resorts. But – angered at Fox News for its having reported accurately on the election tally – he did find time to tweet this: “[Fox’s] daytime ratings have completely collapsed. Weekend daytime even WORSE. Very sad to watch this happen, but they forgot what made them successful, what got them there. They forgot the Golden Goose.”<sup>70</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 9, 11</p>
<p>11-21-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Sabotaging Biden.</u></b> The New York Times reported on November 21 that Mr. Trump, out of vengeance and without precedent, was going to extraordinary lengths to hobble the in-coming Biden administration with last-minute orders and appointments that could be difficult to un-do. The efforts went well beyond Mr. Trump denying the legitimacy of the Biden victory and refusing to engage with the Biden transition team (see pp. 38, 45, 46, 49, 51, 52, 56, 58, 89 and 90 of this Addendum, below, regarding the refusal to transition). The Times wrote:</p> <p><i>“[T]op officials are racing against the clock to withdraw troops from Afghanistan, secure oil drilling leases in Alaska, punish China, carry out executions and thwart any plans Mr. Biden might have to reestablish the Iran nuclear deal. ...</i></p> <p><i>“At a wide range of departments and agencies, Mr. Trump’s political appointees ... are filling vacancies on scientific panels, pushing to complete rules that weaken environmental standards, nominating judges and rushing their confirmations through the Senate, and trying to eliminate health care regulations that have been in place for years.</i></p> <p><u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>

<p>11-21-20 +</p>	<p><i>[Continued.] “In the latest instance, Treasury Secretary Steven Mnuchin declined to extend key emergency lending programs that the Federal Reserve had been using to help keep credit flowing to businesses, state and local governments and other parts of the financial system. He also moved to claw back much of the money that supports them, hindering Mr. Biden’s ability to use the central bank’s vast powers to cushion the economic fallout from the virus.”<sup>71</sup></i></p> <p>Beginning around December 3, Mr. Trump was again reported to be engaging in a blizzard of controversial last-minute executive actions prior to leaving the White House – seemingly not only to leave his scent on as many bushes as possible but to spite and to hamstring the incoming Biden administration. Actions included the following:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Selling oil leases in pristine and once protected Arctic waters.<sup>72</sup></li> <li>• Selling mining and energy leases in the Southwest and the East.<sup>73</sup></li> <li>• Executing federal felons, after a 17-year hiatus.<sup>74</sup></li> <li>• Firing the Defense Business Board – a Pentagon advisory panel – and installing a rump board (including unqualified campaign loyalists Corey Lewandowski and David Bossie).<sup>75</sup></li> <li>• Replacing members of the Defense Policy Board – a separate Pentagon advisory panel – with Trump loyalists such as Newt Gingrich.<sup>76</sup></li> <li>• Ordering all U.S. troops out of Somalia.<sup>77</sup></li> <li>• Ending five cultural programs with and blocking certain cotton imports from China.<sup>78</sup></li> <li>• Making the standard citizenship test at least twice as hard for applicants to pass.<sup>79</sup></li> <li>• Allowing or encouraging Attorney General William Barr to appoint a special counsel to investigate the (allegedly anti-Trump) government investigators of the 2016 election.<sup>80</sup></li> <li>• Through a proposed rule, burdening the incoming Department of Health and Human Services with a massive and potentially paralyzing regulatory review project.<sup>81</sup></li> <li>• Finalizing a regulation that virtually eliminated the opportunity for political asylum in the U.S., contrary to international law.<sup>82</sup></li> <li>• Rolling back water-saving standards for showerheads and other devices.<sup>83</sup> <i>[Continued below.]</i></li> </ul>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>11-21-20 +</p>	<p><u>[Continued.]</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appointing a commission to advance “patriotic education” (seemingly, history that de-emphasizes the African American experience).<sup>84</sup></li> <li>• Naming sycophant Hope Hicks to the oversight board for Fulbright scholarships, sycophant Pam Bondi to the board of the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts, sycophant Stephanie Grisham to the National Board for Education Sciences, sycophant Ric Grenell to the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council, sycophant Kellyanne Conway to the board of the Air Force Academy, sycophant Corey Lewandowski to a panel that gives business advice to the secretary of defense (see above), and dozens of other insulting appointments of unqualified cronies and allies to prestigious boards from which a subsequent administration could not easily remove them.<sup>85</sup></li> <li>• Freezing some congressionally mandated foreign aid.<sup>86</sup></li> <li>• Re-nominating Judy Shelton to the Federal Reserve Board, only weeks after her original nomination had failed in the Senate due to her controversial and politically-tainted views on the economy.<sup>87</sup></li> <li>• Finalizing an EPA rule that forbids the use of public health research drawn from confidential patient information, thus crippling either the research or the government’s use of it.<sup>88</sup></li> <li>• Undertaking to stop the enforcement of anti-discrimination rules among recipients of federal funding, in what The Times called “a change that would mark one of the most significant shifts in civil rights enforcement in generations.”<sup>89</sup></li> <li>• Eliminating punishments for companies whose industrial activities kill migratory birds.<sup>90</sup></li> <li>• Banning future regulation of greenhouse gases from stationary industry other than power plants.<sup>91</sup></li> <li>• Weakening a major health assessment of a toxic chemical contaminating drinking water.<sup>92</sup></li> <li>• Forbidding the executive branch of the government from forgiving federal student loan debt.<sup>93</sup></li> <li>• Granting ICE union members a veto over future immigration law changes.<sup>94</sup> <u>[Continued below.]</u></li> </ul>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>11-21-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Appointing a former Republican political operative – one who had served as the uber-partisan congressman Devin Nunes’s counsel on the House Intelligence Committee – as the National Security Agency’s top lawyer, and in a protected civil service position. (It was now only three days before President-elect Biden’s inauguration.)<sup>95</sup></li> <li>• Seeking to cut coronavirus travel bans for Europe and Brazil, only two days before the end of Mr. Trump’s term.<sup>96</sup></li> <li>• Revoking a rule that barred lobbying by former officials.<sup>97</sup></li> <li>• Moving the command of the new Space Force from Colorado to Alabama, seemingly in retaliation for the majority of Coloradans having voted for Joe Biden.<sup>98</sup></li> </ul> <p>On January 13, The Washington Post reported that Mr. Trump and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had embarked on a last-minute spree of “diplomatic vandalism,” designed to embarrass and hobble the incoming Biden administration: lifting restrictions on contacts between the U.S. and Taiwanese officials, thereby “blowing up the [delicate] status quo”; designating Yemen’s Houthi rebels as a foreign terrorist organization, thereby knee-capping humanitarian organizations in the field; classifying Cuba as a state sponsor of terrorism, thereby complicating President-elect Biden’s aim to re-set relations with that country; and declaring Iran the home base for al-Qaeda.<sup>99</sup> A writer in The Hill concurred that the measures appeared intended to hamstring the Biden administration.<sup>100</sup></p> <p>Other “midnight” regulations and orders, covered above in this Addendum as substantively capricious, authoritarian and anti-democratic in themselves, included stripping civil service protections from thousands of federal workers (see CSD’s entry of October 21); formally terminating U.S. participation in the Paris climate accord (November 4); purging Pentagon and other staff (October 27 and November 9 +); and slashing U.S. troop levels in Afghanistan and Iraq (November 9 +).</p> <p>Mr. Trump had also, notoriously, rushed the nomination and confirmation of Supreme Court Justice Amy Coney Barrett at the very end of his term (see the preceding Addendum to this Chronology). [Continued below.]</p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
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<p>11-21-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Most recent presidents likewise had finalized a spate of “midnight regulations” in the last months of their tenure.<sup>101</sup> But The Washington Post observed: “<i>The whirlwind of [Trump administration] activities has bucked tradition of past presidents who have deferred on major policy actions during the lame-duck period, and in some cases, the moves could make it procedurally or politically challenging for Biden to fulfill campaign pledges to unwind the Trump team’s actions.</i>”<sup>102</sup> CSD observes that it was as though Mr. Trump had resolved to defecate on the <i>Resolute</i> desk on his way out the door.</p>	<p>10, 11, 13</p>
<p>11-21-20, 11-22-20</p>	<p><b>G-20? Less interesting than me.</b> As the Group of 20 industrialized nations met virtually on November 21, Mr. Trump tweeted accusations about U.S. election fraud throughout the opening session. At the next session, on the coronavirus pandemic, he boasted about American power and its development of vaccines, then left early to play golf.<sup>103</sup> The next day, at the session on climate change, he ignored his having shattered pollution protections in the U.S. and his withdrawal from the Paris climate accords, instead faulting that accord for “trying to kill the American economy” and calling his record on the environment “historic.” At one point he told the other leaders that he would be with them “for a long time,” even though most of them had already congratulated President-elect Biden on his victory.<sup>104</sup></p>	<p>7, 8, 11, 13</p>
<p>11-22-20</p>	<p><b>An eerie silence.</b> The Washington Post wrote that, since the November 3 election, Mr. Trump had been uncharacteristically silent: “[G]one are blustery speeches and stemwinder White House news conferences ... . Gone are lengthy call-in sessions with favored Fox anchors ... . Gone, too, are regular White House jousting matches with the press, impromptu Oval Office appearances with random guests or any pretense of being interested in many of the duties of the job. In the 19 days since the election, 12 have included no events on the president’s schedule. He has appeared at public events four times and has played golf at his own Virginia course six times. He has taken no questions from reporters. Since Election Day, he has spoken 8,143 words over 18 days through [November 21] ... . On average in 2020, he spoke 8,398 words daily ... .”<sup>105</sup></p>	<p>11</p>

11-22-20	<p><b><u>Open skies, closed.</u></b> The U.S. formally withdrew from the <u>Treaty on Open Skies, a pact designed to avoid accidental nuclear war by allowing mutual reconnaissance flights by the 34 nations party, including Russia.</u> Mr. Trump had announced his intention to withdraw six months prior to that. President-elect Biden had urged that the treaty not be abandoned, and he would now be faced with picking up the pieces.<sup>106</sup> <u>Evidencing the senseless and perilous act of vengeance and sabotage – one that could wipe out the world’s population – MSNBC reported that the Trump administration had already ordered for the specialized aircraft the U.S. was using in its flights to be destroyed.</u><sup>107</sup></p>	11, 14
11-24-20	<p><b><u>My stock market.</u></b> Mr. Trump videotaped, for posterity, an announcement that the stock market had just reached a record high, an event for which he congratulated himself.<sup>108</sup> He did not mention that the ebullient market had risen nearly 10% in the three weeks since his electoral defeat.<sup>109</sup></p>	11
11-25-20	<p><b><u>Flynn is pardoned.</u></b> Mr. Trump pardoned the felon <u>Michael Flynn, his first and short-lived national security advisor.</u> As reported above in this Chronology, Flynn had pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI about his contacts with Russian figures during the transition period following the 2016 presidential election. He had also seemingly violated the Logan Act, which criminalizes negotiations by unauthorized individuals with foreign adversaries; and he had compromised national security, by secretly promising Russia indulgences under Mr. Trump if Russia avoided contesting the sanctions levied by the Obama administration in retaliation for Russia’s interference in the 2016 election. Flynn had later tried to withdraw his plea; and Mr. Trump’s attorney general William Barr, scandalously, had attempted to drop the DOJ’s prosecution of him altogether.</p> <p>Mr. Trump had long been expected to pardon Flynn at some point – whether through personal affinity, vengeance against the FBI, protection against potential testimony by Flynn that could implicate Mr. Trump, or all of the above. He had beatified Flynn as a patriot and a victim, and had whipped his supporters into that article of faith. Finally, as was his custom in issuing pardons, Mr. Trump forewent the usual Justice Department recommendations and procedures for granting clemency, instead flying solo and announcing the pardon by tweet. The corruption implicit in Flynn’s pardon was unbounded.<sup>110</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	9, 11, 17 (9)

<p>11-25-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Flynn’s attorney, Sydney Powell, was the same attorney who, together with Rudi Giuliani on November 19, had advanced other-worldly conspiracy theories alleging that Democrats had stolen the 2020 election from Mr. Trump, and whom Mr. Trump, under pressure for that, had fired on November 22.<sup>111</sup> (See also pp. 56, 57, 58, 69 and 93 of this Addendum below for discussions about Powell.)</p> <p>Mr. Trump had now issued 44 pardons during his presidency – nearly all of them for his personal political benefit, also as described above in this Chronology.<sup>112</sup></p>	<p>9, 11, 17 (9)</p>
<p>12-02-20</p>	<p><b>Family pardons, also?</b> Media reported that Mr. Trump had recently been discussing with advisors whether he might preemptively pardon his scandal-prone lawyer Rudy Giuliani; his three children who had been active in advancing his corrupt presidency; and his son-in-law, Jared Kushner. Pre-emptive pardons are those that issue before a scoundrel has been formally charged with a crime.<sup>113</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>12-07-20</p>	<p><b>The great Medal of Freedom heist.</b> In a White House ceremony, Mr. Trump awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Olympic wrestler and Trump campaign supporter Dan Gable. That brought the count of medal recipients to 17, with 12 of them being people prominently aligned with Mr. Trump politically. Previous presidents had not awarded the medal in that fashion.<sup>114</sup> (See also CSD’s entry of January 3 +, below, for the awarding of additional medals.)</p>	<p>11, 16</p>
<p>12-08-20 +</p>	<p><b>Transition sabotage; ongoing seizure of VOA.</b> After long and dangerous delays on the part of the Trump administration, transition discussions with the incoming Biden administration had begun. But on December 8, The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump had inserted his political loyalists within those otherwise largely technical discussions, resulting in a chilling of essential information exchanges.<sup>115</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>9, 16. 17 (9)</p>

<p>12-08-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] And at least one agency was still refusing to transition altogether – the U.S. Agency for Global Media, parent of Voice of America and other information outlets. Those outlets had long been international showpieces of objective reporting and American press freedom, intended to inspire freedom, and particularly press freedom, abroad. But Michael Pack, Mr. Trump’s political appointee who was under a court order not to wreck the agency and turn it into a political mouthpiece for Mr. Trump, was defying all requests for staff interviews with the Biden team.<sup>116</sup></p> <p>Not incidentally, on December 8, Pack terminated another top VOA official on seemingly political grounds.<sup>117</sup> The incoming Biden administration indicated its intention to remove Pack and his appointed allies. But on December 30, NPR reported that those allies were seeking to lock in their positions by way of multi-year employment contracts – over the objections of staff, who compared their power grab to those that occur in the very dictatorships that they were tasked with opposing.<sup>118</sup> (See CSD’s entry of October 26 above, and earlier in this Chronology, for further detail on Pack.)</p>	<p>9, 16, 17 (9)</p>
<p>12-10-20</p>	<p><b><u>Another inspector general goes.</u></b> Secretary of State Mike Pompeo removed his third inspector general, acting I.G. Matthew Klimow, this time for charging that the controversial, government-funded travels of Pompeo’s wife had not been authorized by the State Department.<sup>119</sup></p>	<p>17 (9, 11, 15)</p>
<p>12-10-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>Hunter investigation(s).</u></b> On December 10, the Justice Department revealed that it was actively investigating President-elect Biden’s son Hunter for possible tax and money laundering violations. To its credit, the department had abided by standard procedures of not publicizing the investigation during the run-up to the recent presidential election.<sup>120</sup> And conceivably the investigation was legitimate. But the investigation had been launched by Attorney General William Barr for apparently political reasons; it was stoked by information supplied by Mr. Trump’s unreliable attack-dog Rudy Giuliani; and it appeared likely intended to embarrass and hamstring the new Biden administration. (The Republican Senate had already investigated Hunter, and had come up with nothing illegal on Hunter’s part and nothing damaging to his father.)<sup>121</sup></p>	<p>17 (9,11)</p>

<p>12-14-20</p>	<p><b>Barr out, Rosen in.</b> Promptly after the Electoral College confirmed Mr. Trump’s loss of the presidency, Mr. Trump announced that his attorney general William Barr had resigned, effective December 23. Barr’s imminent departure had been rumored for at least several weeks. The resignation was set out in a letter that was signed by Barr and that praised Mr. Trump lavishly on all manner of topics, in the style of a campaign speech. The letter thus appeared to have been drafted by Mr. Trump and his other loyalists rather than Barr – a corrupt but mostly decorous and buttoned-down attorney.<sup>122</sup></p> <p>Barr had run afoul of Mr. Trump for several apparent reasons: refusing to publicize the Justice Department’s investigation of President-elect Biden’s son Hunter prior to the election; resisting Mr. Trump’s pressure to appoint a special counsel to investigate Hunter; failing to deliver, prior to the election, an investigatory outcome as to whether the Mueller investigation of the 2016 election had been wrongfully opened; and declaring that no material fraud had tainted the 2020 election. Observers speculated as to whether Barr had truly resigned or whether he had been fired; also whether, by departing or intentionally precipitating his departure, he was attempting to avoid being tainted by Mr. Trump’s expected spate of forthcoming pardons of friends and political allies. But he plainly had been seeking to distance himself from Mr. Trump’s then rapidly mounting efforts to deny the election results, for the sake of either principle or his own (Barr’s) reputation. At the link at this endnote, The Times revisited Barr’s history as Mr. Trump’s slavish sycophant, all as previously reported in this Chronology.<sup>123</sup> A columnist in The Post did likewise.<sup>124</sup></p> <p>Barr’s deputy attorney general, Jeffrey Rosen, was expected to be named acting attorney general upon Barr’s departure. Rosen had previously been a colleague of Barr’s at a private corporate law firm, and he had no prosecutorial experience. As Barr’s deputy at the Justice Department, Rosen was known to have participated in many of its actions that had reeked of authoritarianism:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Saving Mr. Trump’s campaign chairman Paul Manafort, extraordinarily, from imprisonment on grisly Rikers Island, New York, between federal and state criminal proceedings. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</li> </ul>	<p>9, 17 (2, 3, 6, 9, 16)</p>
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<p>12-14-20</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participating in the department’s unusual effort to reduce the prison sentence of Mr. Trump’s friend, the convicted felon Roger Stone.</li> <li>• Leading the government’s lawsuit to gag the publication of former national security advisor John Bolton’s tell-all book.</li> <li>• Supporting the government’s efforts to charge anti-racism protesters with sedition.</li> <li>• Attempting to quash the Ukraine whistleblower’s complaint (which had nevertheless eventuated in Mr. Trump’s impeachment).</li> <li>• Quashing the prosecution of Mr. Trump’s corrupt interior secretary, Ryan Zinke.</li> <li>• Possibly seeking to indict former FBI director Andrew McCabe.</li> </ul> <p>Whether Rosen would capitulate to Mr. Trump in the latter’s anticipated final month of democracy-wrecking, or whether Rosen instead would also attempt to salvage some shred of his reputation, remained to be seen.<sup>125</sup> (CSD’s note: Rosen eventually appeared to have made it to the end of the term without further scandal.)</p>	<p>9, 17 (2, 3, 6, 9, 16)</p>
<p>12-15-20</p>	<p><b><u>Ambassadorships for sale.</u></b> The New York Times reported that 43% of Mr. Trump’s foreign ambassadors had been campaign contributors. The typical figure for the previous four presidents had been around 30%.<sup>126</sup></p>	<p>16</p>
<p>12-17-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The Russia hack.</u></b> On December 17, media reported that <u>Mr. Trump had remained silent about, and seemingly uninterested in, a massive, recently publicized, espionage-driven cyber-attack on numerous private cyber-security companies and federal agencies,</u> including the State Department, the Treasury Department, the Commerce Department, the Defense Department, the Homeland Security Department and the National Nuclear Security Administration. Secretary of State Mike Pompeo had initially said that the attack was routine, trivial and likely the work of China; but he was soon proven mistaken. <u>The intelligence community quickly concluded that the suspected attacker was Russia.</u> Mr. Trump’s years of kowtowing to that power had thus seemingly won the U.S. nothing. [Continued below.]</p>	<p>1, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>

<p>12-17-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] The extent of the attacks was not fully known; they were expected to take months to clean up; the attacks were ongoing; and potentially thousands of companies were exposed. The country’s utility infrastructure was exposed as well. DHS called the attack “a grave risk” to federal and state governments and the private sector. The New York Times characterized it as “<u>one of the greatest intelligence failures of modern times.</u>”<sup>127</sup></p> <p>Republican and Democratic members of Congress expressed outrage at Mr. Trump’s silence.<sup>128</sup> That silence paralleled his silence about the massive surge in coronavirus infections, hospitalizations and deaths sweeping the country. For six weeks, from all indications, he had been absorbed in falsely alleging that the presidential election had been stolen from him (see the second section of this Addendum, below), to the dereliction of most other duties.<sup>129</sup></p> <p>On December 18, in an interview with a conservative radio host, Pompeo acknowledged in passing that Russia was the likely aggressor. That is, he had still not made a formal, forceful declaration. But Mr. Trump soon did. The next morning, he finally tweeted: that “the Fake News Media” had overstated the attack, that the aggressor may have been China, that the attack may have compromised the recent presidential election, and that “everything is well under control.”<sup>130</sup></p>	<p>1, 7, 10, 11, 12, 13</p>
<p>12-22-20 +</p>	<p><b><u>The great clemency caper.</u></b> Mr. Trump embarked on a spate of grants of clemency – to Mueller investigation convicts, war criminals, corrupt politicians, and family. In several tranches.<sup>131</sup></p> <p>On December 22, he granted 15 pardons and five commutations. The beneficiaries included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• George Papadopoulos and Alex Van der Zwaan, who had pleaded guilty to lying to the FBI in connection with the Mueller investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 presidential election.</li> <li>• Former Congressmen Duncan Hunter (R-CA, guilty of campaign finance violations) and Chris Collins (R-NY, guilty of securities fraud) – both early supporters of Mr. Trump’s 2016 presidential candidacy.</li> </ul> <p>[<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>4, 9, 10, 11, 14</p>



<p>12-22-20 +</p>	<p>[Continued.]</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Former Congressman Steve Stockman (R-TX, guilty of campaign finance violations).</li> <li>• Two former Border Patrol agents who had shot a marijuana smuggler in the back while he was attempting to cross the Mexican border into Texas.</li> <li>• Four former U.S. military contractors who had killed 14 unarmed Iraqi civilians (including children) and had wounded 17 others in 2007, at the time a highly notorious war crime, and who had been employed then as mercenaries by Blackwater Worldwide, a company owned by Mr. Trump’s supporter Erik Prince (who was also the brother of his Education Secretary, Betsy DeVos).</li> </ul> <p>The clemency was granted in response to a flood of requests from members of Congress, lobbyists, lawyers, and Trump supporters, and earlier adulation of some of the recipients by right-wing news outlets such as Fox News. Observers viewed some of the grants as reflecting an effort by Mr. Trump to, variously, (a) advance an internationally lawless ethno-nationalist ethic, (b) corruptly reward supporters, (c) undercut the Mueller investigation, (d) flaunt his critics, (e) express and vindicate his own grievances as a repeat victim of criminal accusations, (f) experience a sense of agency in the face of his electoral loss, (g) play God, and/or (h) show that he could – that is, do as he wished and get away with it.</p> <p>The actions followed Mr. Trump’s recent pardon of ally and felon Michael Flynn and his recent commutation of the sentence of ally and felon Roger Stone. Mr. Trump now promised additional pardons before the end of his term. He had not “drained the swamp,” but rather had infested it.<sup>132</sup></p> <p>Media now reported that Mr. Trump had granted clemency 45 times prior to that date – 88% of them to political allies, and almost all of them for political purposes. The new grants resulted in 60 out of 65 grants having gone to petitioners who had personal ties with Mr. Trump or had helped him politically. Few of the grants appeared to have gone through the Justice Department’s review process, or to have met the requirements that the beneficiaries express penitence. Most had the effect of encouraging the commission of crimes, and even crimes against humanity, by rewarding presidential soul-mates. Most further disgraced the U.S. in the eyes of the world.<sup>133</sup> [Continued below.]</p>	<p>4, 9, 10, 11, 14</p>
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<p>12-22-20 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On December 23, Mr. Trump issued another fusillade of clemency actions, now pardoning 26 people and commuting the sentences of three others. The new pardon beneficiaries included:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Paul Manafort, Mr. Trump’s one-time campaign director and Russia conspirer, convicted of financial fraud related to his consulting work in Ukraine.</li> <li>• Roger Stone, Mr. Trump’s long-time friend, advisor, and self-professed dirty trickster, convicted of lying to Congress, whose punishment Mr. Trump had only recently commuted.</li> <li>• Charles Kushner, father of Mr. Trump’s son-in-law Jared, who had pleaded guilty in 2004 to tax fraud, campaign finance crimes and witness tampering, and who had become a major Trump campaign donor.</li> <li>• Margaret Hunter, wife of Duncan, who had pleaded guilty in connection with her husband’s offenses.</li> <li>• Several others whose cases had been advanced by Mr. Trump’s political supporters or were connected to Republican politics.</li> <li>• Two law enforcement officers convicted of sadistic attacks on suspects.</li> </ul> <p>Both Manafort and Stone had long been expected to receive full pardons, in exchange for their having refused to testify against Mr. Trump relative to his likely participation in the 2016 Russian election scheme. Both convicts were pardoned notwithstanding their defiance of the judicial system and poor behavior during and after their convictions – witness tampering and lying to the court on the part of Manafort, and making threatening social media remarks on the part of Stone. Altogether, counting Manafort, Stone, Papadopoulos, Flynn and Van der Zwaan, Mr. Trump had now pardoned five people convicted of crimes in connection with the Mueller investigation. Not pardoned were Trump associates and Mueller convicts Michael Cohen and Rick Gates, who had fully cooperated with the investigation. Several observers characterized Mr. Trump’s protection of his corrupt but loyal associates as proof of current and prior acts of obstruction of justice. Others compared that behavior to a mob boss rewarding underlings for adherence to a code of silence.<sup>134</sup> [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	<p>4, 9, 10, 11, 14</p>
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12-22-20 +	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On December 23, the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights denounced the pardon of the Blackwater contractors as granting what amounted to “<i>impunity for gross human rights violations and serious violations of international humanitarian law.</i>”<sup>135</sup> On December 30, the U.N. working group on the use of mercenaries said that the pardons violated U.S. obligations under international law and undermined human rights globally.<sup>136</sup></p> <p>Ten days after Mr. Trump pardoned Stone, Stone re-activated his “Stop the Steal” website, which he had originally launched ahead of the 2016 election to falsely allege Democratic voter fraud. The re-launch fomented the 2020 version of that conspiracy theory, and it solicited funds for “security” needs relative to the upcoming January 6 protest that would turn into the storming of the Capitol (see the second part of this Addendum, below).<sup>137</sup></p>	4, 9, 10, 11, 14
12-23-20	<p><b><u>Vetoing; golfing and grifting, to the end.</u></b> Mr. Trump sowed congressional chaos by vetoing a mega, bi-partisan defense spending bill, because it included a provision to rename military installations commemorating Confederate leaders; limited his ability to withdraw troops from several countries; limited his ability to shift military construction funds to his border wall; and didn’t contain an unrelated provision that would have enabled him to sue social media companies for defaming him. No president ever before had vetoed a defense spending bill, let alone on such self-serving grounds. Among other provisions, the bill provided for increased pay for service members and an enhanced cybersecurity program; and thus, in sum, he had acted to defund the military, for his personal political gain.<sup>138</sup></p> <p>Contemporaneously, and sowing additional chaos, Mr. Trump threatened to veto a mega, bi-partisan Covid-19 relief and stimulus bill, while asserting his own last-minute demand to increase the size of relief checks for individuals from \$600 to \$2000. Not only the checks but unemployment benefits and small business loans thus came into immediate jeopardy. He had previously supported the bill, and his own Treasury Secretary, Steven Mnuchin, had championed the lower amount of the checks; so his sudden monkey wrench reportedly surprised even White House aides. [<i>Continued below.</i>]</p>	6, 10, 11

<p>12-23-20</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] Failure of the bill would result also in imminently shutting down the government for want of a spending package. With that would come the furloughing of thousands of employees and the halting of countless federal programs – all in the middle of a pandemic.</p> <p>Mr. Trump’s 11<sup>th</sup>-hour obstructionism was viewed by some as a petulant and deranged effort to remain visible, relevant – and suspenseful, in the style of his history in reality television – as his term neared its end. It was viewed by others as an attempt to create major crises, then to dramatically solve them, if need be by backing down – all as he had sometimes done before, including in his dealings with North Korea.<sup>139</sup></p> <p>But otherwise Mr. Trump had continued to sulk, to tweet about electoral fraud, and to hunker down, out of sight. He had had no public meetings, and had taken no questions from reporters in many days.<sup>140</sup> Promptly after leaving Congress and the country dangling on the above three matters – as well as on the raging pandemic and the Russian computer hack that had compromised multiple federal agencies – he fled to Mar-A-Lago. There he embarked on the 31<sup>st</sup> golf trip of his presidency at that venue, and his 289<sup>th</sup> golf outing altogether, at a cumulative cost to taxpayers of \$151.5 million. Huffington Post wrote: “<i>The \$151.5 million total means that Trump has now spent the equivalent of 379 years of presidential salary — which he and his supporters frequently boast that he does not take — playing golf.</i>”<sup>141</sup></p> <p>At length, on the evening of December 27, Mr. Trump signed the Covid-19 stimulus and government spending bill – without the changes he had demanded – while issuing an angry statement to the effect that Congress had forsaken the American people and that only he had sought to save them.<sup>142</sup> On December 28, the House voted overwhelmingly to override Mr. Trump’s veto of the defense bill.<sup>143</sup> On January 1, the Senate joined the House in that action, and the defense bill became law.<sup>144</sup></p>	<p>6, 10, 11</p>

<p>12-27-20</p>	<p><b>No: even more grifting.</b> Huffington Post reported that Mr. Trump’s businesses had cumulatively collected \$10.5 million from his and his party’s political activities during his presidency, most of it sourced from small campaign donors. A member of the watchdog organization CREW said, “<i>If you’re a hammer, everything looks like a nail. If you’re Donald Trump, everything looks like a chance to make money.</i>”<sup>145</sup></p> <p>Mr. Trump’s leadership PAC, post-election, had also collected several hundred million dollars for him to spend liberally for his personal benefit. (See pp. 52, 57, 83 and 84 in this Addendum below.)</p>	<p>11, 15</p>
<p>12-30-20</p>	<p><b>The post-truth society.</b> A Reuters/Ipsos poll revealed that 40% of American respondents believed that the coronavirus had been made in a laboratory in China; that one-third of respondents (and two-thirds of Republicans) believed that voter fraud had helped Joe Biden win the 2020 election; that 39% believed that a deep state was working to undermine Mr. Trump’s presidency; and that 17% believed that "a group of Satan-worshipping elites who run a child sex ring are trying to control our politics and media" — the false allegation at the heart of the QAnon movement. Fewer than half of Republicans said they accepted the outcome of the election. The clamor on those topics by Mr. Trump and his conservative media supporters appeared to have been responsible for the delusions.<sup>146</sup></p>	<p>8</p>
<p>1-3-21 +</p>	<p><b>The Final Medals of Freedom.</b> Media reported on January 3 that Mr. Trump was planning imminently to bestow Presidential Medals of Freedom – the country’s highest civilian honor – upon two of his most truculent and deceitful congressional defenders, Devin Nunes (R-CA) and Jim Jordan (R-OH) – thereby debasing the integrity of the award for all time. Among other affronts to American decency, both had bullied and lied their way through defending Mr. Trump in the impeachment proceedings, and Jordan was now taking a leading role in denying the legitimacy of Joe Biden’s election.<sup>147</sup> On January 4, Nunes got his medal.<sup>148</sup>  <u>[Continued below.]</u></p>	<p>11</p>

<p>1-3-21 +</p>	<p>[<i>Continued.</i>] On January 7, one day after the assault on the Capitol that Mr. Trump had incited, he awarded medals of Freedom to three well-known golfers – important figures in his cultural and commercial world. Indeed, one of the three owned a villa at the Trump National Doral golf resort in Miami. On January 11, he awarded the medal to Jordan. (On the same day, New England Patriots coach Bill Belichick declined an offer of the medal, citing his unhappiness with the grotesquely unpatriotic storming of the Capitol, as described below in this Addendum.)</p> <p>The Medal of Freedom had been created by President Kennedy to recognize individuals “who have made especially meritorious contributions to the security or national interests of the United States, to world peace, or to cultural or other significant public or private endeavors.” Mr. Trump had now awarded 24 medals: seven to golfers, 14 to sports figures overall, and seven or eight to political cronies – including the viciously divisive and mendacious broadcaster Rush Limbaugh.<sup>149</sup></p> <p>(See also CSD’s entries of November 10, 2018, May 5, 2019 and December 7, 2020, regarding Mr. Trump’s previous awards of the medal.)</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>1-4-21</p>	<p><b><u>The Fact Checker.</u></b> Far behind in its tally, The Washington Post’s Fact Checker reported on January 4 that, as president, Mr. Trump had made 29,508 false or misleading statements through November 5. He had lied almost 4,000 times in October alone, and <u>on a single day – November 2 – he had lied 504 times.</u><sup>150</sup></p>	<p>7</p>
<p>1-5-21</p>	<p><b><u>Pentagon worried.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Pentagon leaders were bracing for renewed presidential attempts to deploy the military to help Mr. Trump retain power after having lost the election.<sup>151</sup></p>	<p>9</p>
<p>1-5-21</p>	<p><b><u>Pennsylvania legislature melts.</u></b> Matching (and possibly inspired by) the Republican mood in Congress, Pennsylvania’s Republican legislators disrupted a legislative session and temporarily unseated the presiding Democratic officer (the lieutenant governor) because they objected to his seating of a Democrat whose recent electoral victory had been close.<sup>152</sup></p>	<p>17 (9)</p>

<p>1-6-21</p>	<p><b><u>Scotland: Stay away.</u></b> Amid rumors that Mr. Trump was expecting to fly to one of his Scottish golf clubs prior to, and instead of attending, President-elect Biden’s inauguration, Scotland’s leader announced that Mr. Trump would not be welcome in Scotland, and that his travel there to play golf would violate Scotland’s strict Covid-19 in-bound travel ban.<sup>153</sup></p>	<p>11</p>
<p>1-5-21 1-6-21</p>	<p><b><u>The Georgia election.</u></b> Voters in Georgia’s two furiously contested senatorial run-off elections chose two Democrats, John Ossoff and Raphael Warnock, despite Mr. Trump having campaigned (slightly) for their Republican opponents. <u>Their election gave Democrats control of the Senate. Mr. Trump thus became the first president since 1932 to lose reelection, the House and the Senate.</u><sup>154</sup></p>	<p>No specific violation; just things falling apart</p>
<p>1-12-21</p>	<p><b><u>The end, at the wall.</u></b> Mr. Trump paid his final visit as president to his beloved wall at the Mexican border. At Alamo, Texas, he boasted about the project and exaggerated its effectiveness. In truth, only 47 miles of new (as opposed to replacement) barrier had been built, and the project had been beset by cost overruns, waste, land and environmental litigation, and functional ineffectiveness (it had proven fairly easy to breach using ordinary hand tools). One observer wrote, <i>“Trump, however, considers the wall a triumph and signed his name on a plaque affixed to the metal strips before rattling off a familiar list of lies and misleading statistics. He took credit for the 2020 drop in border apprehensions without mentioning that overall crossings fell by half under pandemic lockdowns. He heralded statistics on seizures of illicit drugs, failing to point out that 90% of those take place at ports of entry that have nothing to do with the wall.</i></p> <p><i>“He lauded his offensive against what he called ‘asylum fraud,’ despite the fact that his government closed asylum on the U.S.-Mexico border in violation of international law, rather than assess and hear cases. He also repeated unsubstantiated claims that migrants live off U.S. welfare and that Middle East terrorists come over the southern border — an assertion that his own counterterrorist officials have repeatedly debunked.”<sup>155</sup></i></p>	<p>6, 7, 11</p>

<p>1-13-21</p>	<p><b><u>National security vacuum.</u></b> On January 13, the acting director of ICE, Jonathan Fahey, resigned after only two weeks of service.<sup>156</sup> His replacement would become the fourth leader of ICE in four months. He thus joined the parade of high-level federal departures that had followed the siege of the Capitol on January 6, and that were continuing, as the end of Mr. Trump’s term approached. On January 14, Politico reported in detail on <u>the breathtaking number of vacancies in senior leadership positions at the Departments of Defense, Homeland Security and Justice, from cabinet-level on down.</u> Even the acting agency chiefs had been on the job for only days or weeks. Between all of that and Mr. Trump’s own disengagement, there was <u>“a leadership vacuum unlike anything in modern U.S. history” – even as security officials viewed the U.S. as entering its most dangerous period since 9/11.</u><sup>157</sup> On January 14, <u>The Washington Post reported similarly.</u><sup>158</sup></p>	<p>No specific violation; just things falling apart</p>
<p>1-17-21</p>	<p><b><u>The pardon trade.</u></b> The New York Times reported that Mr. Trump’s allies were collecting huge sums from convicted felons in payment for lobbying Mr. Trump to pardon them.<sup>159</sup></p>	<p>9, 16</p>
<p>1-18-21</p>	<p><b><u>The 1776 Report.</u></b> On Martin Luther King, Jr.’s birthday, the presidential 1776 Commission issued its final report, calling for a revamping of historical education in American schools. The New York Times characterized the taxpayer-funded report as “a sweeping attack on liberal thought and activism that calls for a ‘patriotic education,’ [that] defends America’s founding against charges that it was tainted by slavery and [that] likens progressivism to fascism.” The commission’s members included no historians – only conservative politicians, activists and intellectuals from other fields – and the report contained no scholarly footnotes. The Times noted that Mr. Trump had concocted the plan during election season, having never before shown an interest in either history or education.<sup>160</sup> Real historians instantly pounced.<sup>161</sup></p>	<p>6, 7</p>
<p>1-19-21</p>	<p><b><u>Dossiers at VOA.</u></b> The Washington Post reported that Michael Pack, the Trump-appointed leader of Voice of America’s parent corporation and its chief political commissar, had spent \$2,000,000 compiling dossiers on the political views of VOA staff.<sup>162</sup></p>	<p>17 (1, 9)</p>



<p>1-19-21</p>	<p><b>The poll at the end of the line.</b> According to a new NPR poll, Mr. Trump was finishing his term with a 38% approval rating, one of his worst. (He had never exceeded 44% in that poll.) But 80% of Republicans still approved of his performance. Both approval and disapproval votes were measured as unusually “intense” – that is, with data subjects either adoring or detesting the man.</p> <p>Democrats polled 30% more interest in receiving a coronavirus vaccine inoculation than Republicans.<sup>163</sup></p> <p>A new CNN poll gave Mr. Trump a 34% approval rating. A new Pew poll gave him 29%.<sup>164</sup></p> <p>The low ratings were likely attributable in large measure to the siege on the Capitol that he had incited on January 6.</p>	<p>No specific violation; just things falling apart</p>
<p>1-19-21</p>	<p><b>No cabinet.</b> MSNBC reported that President-elect Biden would take office the following day with none of his cabinet appointees having been approved by Congress, due to procedural delays caused by Republicans. Vacancies included the Secretaries of State, Defense and Homeland Security – those needed to attend to national security, at a perilous moment for the country.<sup>165</sup></p>	<p>No specific violation; just things falling apart</p>
<p>1-19-21</p>	<p><b>The farewell speech.</b> Mr. Trump released a video containing his farewell speech – an exercise in boasting, exaggeration, falsehood and insincere platitudes. He acknowledged none of the wreckage he had caused, whether relative to the coronavirus, democracy, national unity or otherwise.<sup>166</sup> He did not acknowledge President-elect Biden by name, nor had he met with his successor. He would not attend the January 20 inauguration. He and his wife would not participate in the usual ceremonial welcome of the incoming president and first lady to the White House.</p>	<p>11</p>
<p>1-20-21</p>	<p><b>Pentagon stonewalls transition.</b> Politico reported that, under the direction of Mr. Trump’s political commissars, the Pentagon had refused to cooperate with President-elect Biden’s transition team through the very end of the Trump administration. The stonewalling was unprecedented. In some areas, the resulting risk to national security appeared to be material.<sup>167</sup></p>	<p>9</p>

<p>1-20-21</p>	<p><b><u>The final pardons.</u></b> Just after midnight – that is, at the outset of Mr. Trump’s last day in office – the White House announced Mr. Trump’s final acts of clemency. They included a pardon granted to his former campaign chief, the white supremacist Stephen Bannon, who had been charged with defrauding Mr. Trump’s own supporters in connection with charitable fundraising. Numerous other cronies (or friends of cronies), celebrities, white collar grifters and Republican politicians also received pardons or commutations, as well as some non-violent drug offenders – 143 in all. Prosecutors who had spent years winning convictions called some of the non-drug-related pardons a “kick in the teeth.” One ethics expert said, “<i>Even Nixon didn’t pardon his cronies on the way out.</i>” But the announcement put to rest the long-standing speculation that Mr. Trump would seek to pardon himself, his family members and his attorneys, all of which he had reportedly considered, up until the last minute, but had rejected.<sup>168</sup></p>	<p>9, 16</p>
<p></p>	<p></p>	<p></p>
<p>1-20-21</p>	<p><b><u>A peaceful transfer of power.</u></b> Following a week sequestered within the White House, with no public appearances, Mr. Trump bade farewell to the building, vaguely promised to return, and took a helicopter to Joint Base Andrews. At the air base, without recent precedent, he walked down a red carpet and received a 21-gun salute from a battery of Army cannon. Republican Congressional leadership snubbed the event. At approximately 9:00 a.m., he boarded Air Force One and departed for Mar-a-Lago in Florida – his final flight as president. While the plane taxied away, speakers blasted a recording of Frank Sinatra’s “My Way.”<sup>169</sup> (As noted above on p. 11 of this Chronology, Mr. Trump and his wife Melania had led the dance floor at his 2017 inaugural celebration to that rendition of “My Way.”<sup>170</sup>) Mr. Trump left office detested by many Americans, revered by almost as many, and derided as a laughingstock by most of the Western world – if not most of the entire world.</p> <p>According to The Washington Post’s Fact Checker, he had made 30,573 false or misleading statements while in office, nearly half of them in his final year.<sup>171</sup></p> <p><u>At 12:00 noon, under a cold sky, Joe Biden was sworn in as the 46th president of the United States. Kamala Harris was sworn in as vice president. 25,000 National Guard troops protected them, the Capitol complex, and our country.</u></p>	<p>7, 11</p>

**The November 2020 Election:  
Voter Suppression, False Claims of Election Fraud,  
Incitement to Insurrection**

**(This is a separate section of Addendum 34. It represents a continuation of similarly titled sections of Addenda 32 and 33, addressing Mr. Trump’s efforts at voter suppression and his false claims of election fraud.)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 4, 6, 7, 9 and 16 as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the efforts of Mr. Trump, his administration and his allies to suppress voting in, to discredit unfavorable results of, and ultimately to overturn the November 2020 election moved rapidly. CSD’s observations below that were recorded as of a given date may have been superseded on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD’s concerns about the attempts by Mr. Trump, his administration and his allies to corrupt, discredit and reverse the election are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that recurred, that news media reported anew, and that continued to threaten our democracy through the end of Mr. Trump’s term in office, and beyond.**

On October 25, Reuters reported that only 59% of Trump supporters would accept the legitimacy of a Joe Biden electoral victory, and only 57% of Biden supporters would accept the legitimacy of a Trump victory.<sup>172</sup> A recent Washington Post survey had generated similar results.<sup>173</sup>

The Post reported on October 27 that it was too late for voters to rely on the Postal Service to timely deliver their mail-in ballots, as a result of the Postal Service’s pre-election operational cutbacks and despite successful Democratic-led court actions to correct those cut-backs.<sup>174</sup> On October 28, NPR reported similarly, adding that election officials in some states were expressly advising voters not to use the mail, due to its potential unreliability.<sup>175</sup> Politico reported that even the Postal Service concurred. Delivery delays in Philadelphia – the blue stronghold within purple Pennsylvania – were reportedly skyrocketing.<sup>176</sup> But Republicans continued to ask the U.S. Supreme Court to prohibit state courts from counting ballots received after election day due to the coronavirus-driven mailings.<sup>177</sup> **Between the Trump administration’s slow-down in mail delivery and Republicans’ litigation to truncate the counting of mailed-in ballots, voters who mailed their ballots stood to be disenfranchised in some states should their ballots arrive late.**

A Post columnist on October 28 and a pair of Politico reporters on October 29 wrote that Mr. Trump’s principal hope for an electoral victory appeared to lie in suppressing votes – through litigation, intimidation at the polls by poll watchers, excluding felons from voting rolls (Florida), limiting drop box sites (Texas), and otherwise. Politico wrote: “Never before in modern presidential politics has a candidate been so reliant on wide-scale efforts to depress the vote as

Trump.” A former Republican chair of the Federal Election Commission said, “*What we have seen this year which is completely unprecedented ... is a concerted national Republican effort across the country in every one of the states that has had a legal battle to make it harder for citizens to vote.*”<sup>178</sup>

On October 29, The New York Times reported on three ways in which Mr. Trump’s supporters were attempting to suppress voting in Pennsylvania: legislating to prohibit the processing of absentee votes before Election Day; suing to disallow the counting of ballots arriving after Election Day; and intimidating early voters at drop boxes and other voting facilities.<sup>179</sup> On October 30, Huffington Post reported similarly.<sup>180</sup> (See CSD’s previous coverage of these and other abuses in Pennsylvania in the October 1 entry within the second section of Addendum 33 to this Chronology, titled “The November 2020 Election.”)

On October 30, The Post reported on Republican efforts in Nevada, Texas, Minnesota and Pennsylvania to cause courts to void massive numbers of voted ballots after the November 3 election, on grounds of *potential* fraud, despite the absence of evidence of actual fraud.<sup>181</sup> The Post also reported that, in Florida, on technical grounds, election officials were challenging the early ballots of young and minority voters at twice the rates that they were challenging others’.<sup>182</sup>

On October 30, The Post reported that on-time delivery of mailed-in ballots to election offices in swing states and some minority-rich urban areas was far below the national average. Some 28 states would not accept ballots arriving after Election Day, and tens of thousands of ballots were thus at risk of being invalidated.<sup>183</sup> As of November 2, according to The Times, delivery problems remained in such swing states as Pennsylvania and Michigan.<sup>184</sup> On November 3, Election Day, a federal judge in the District of Columbia ordered the Postal Service to immediately sweep facilities in a number of swing states – including facilities in Philadelphia and Central Pennsylvania – to identify ballots and send them out for delivery. Hundreds of thousands of ballots that had been received by the Service had not been sent out for delivery. But the Justice Department defied the court order, on grounds that the Service was doing fine with its own procedures.<sup>185</sup> On November 4, The Post reported that almost 7% of ballots in the Postal Service’s sorting facilities on Election Day had not been processed in time for submission to election officials, thus potentially disenfranchising tens of thousands of voters – including in closely-fought battleground states.<sup>186</sup>

Also on October 30, Mr. Trump preemptively blamed the U.S. Supreme Court for an election defeat that he might suffer, should it fail to protect him in contested voting cases that might come before the Court. He was referring in part to the Court’s decision on October 28 to at least temporarily let stand the Pennsylvania Supreme Court’s ruling allowing mail-in ballots arriving within three days after Election Day to be counted. He also warned the sitting Republican justices on the Court that by allowing a Biden win they would be inviting Biden to pack the Court and thus to dilute their power.<sup>187</sup> At a rally in Reading, Pennsylvania on October 31, he again slammed the Court for jeopardizing his re-election.<sup>188</sup> He did the same at a rally in Hickory, North Carolina on November 1.<sup>189</sup> On November 2, the eve of the election, by way of Twitter he again disparaged the Court while predicting and even inviting street violence: “*The Supreme Court decision on voting in Pennsylvania is a VERY dangerous one. It will allow rampant and unchecked cheating and will undermine our entire systems [sic] of laws. It will also*

*induce violence in the streets. Something must be done!*"<sup>190</sup> Here was a man who until then had publicly sought to place his re-election in the hands of the Court (not the people), and who still apparently sought to do so, yet who could not abide the possibility that the Court might not heel to his wishes. He simply demanded to retain his office – regardless of law or the popular will.

Further to Mr. Trump's continuing reliance on salvation by the judiciary, in connection with a rally in Charlotte, North Carolina on November 1 he told reporters, "We're going to go in the night of, as soon as that election is over, we're going in with our lawyers." That is, he assured that he would litigate the election's outcome, even before he had any grounds for doing so – even before he knew whether, where, when or how voter fraud might have occurred – and Republican lawyers reportedly were preparing for that litigation.<sup>191</sup> (Mr. Trump had variously and imprecisely laid out his argument on multiple occasions: that no mailed-in ballots arriving after election day should be counted; that military ballots might be exempted from that argument; that no ballots whatever should be counted after Election Day, even though such counting had been occurring routinely across the country for decades.<sup>192</sup>) On November 2, The Atlantic reported that Democratic lawyers had already prepared their own pleadings: not only in anticipation of such court challenges, but in anticipation of the possibility that Mr. Trump could effectively launch a coup to disrupt the election – such as by ordering federal authorities to seize ballots or block polling places.<sup>193</sup>

By November 2, many urban storefronts were boarding up their windows, and a tall fence was being built around the White House.<sup>194</sup> National Guard units in numerous states were being readied for deployment.<sup>195</sup> A report in Politico compared Mr. Trump's promise to contest the election and the very real potential for election-related violence to recent failed elections in several developing countries, where exactly those things had transpired, to the shame, suffering and despair of those countries.<sup>196</sup> At that moment, CSD believed that – regardless of whether any of those events would actually come to pass in the U.S. – the fact that they were even conceivable threatened the idea of America at its core.

On Election Day, November 3, the Trump campaign falsely tweeted that Republican poll watchers were being denied access to the polls "all over" Philadelphia; that Democrats were being allowed to unlawfully place campaign signs within polling places there; and that a Democrat was caught "stuffing" a ballot box. The tweets built on Mr. Trump's previous, baseless claims that Philadelphia Democrats would cheat in the election. Twitter flagged the tweets as deceptive. The campaign was now expected to use false and/or one-off episodes such as those to discredit the entire election process in heavily Democratic Philadelphia.<sup>197</sup>

Repeating a seemingly separate argument, on Election Day Mr. Trump said that Americans "should be entitled to know who won on November 3."<sup>198</sup> That is, as before, he seemingly wanted the vote count to stop and nationwide reporting to be complete at midnight on Election Day. There was no legal, logical, or precedential basis for that argument: vote count reporting had often proceeded well into the day following Election Day, and sometimes beyond.

Also on Election Day, The Post reported that an estimated 10 million automated, spam telephone calls in recent days had advised voters to stay home.<sup>199</sup>

Contrary to the fears of many, and despite a number of episodes sparked by Trump loyalists and White supremacists, as Election Day came to a close widespread disturbances and irregularities at polling places had not been immediately reported.<sup>200</sup> National Guard and other federal troops had not been deployed. But as had been widely anticipated, election results in many states, and the overall total of projected Electoral College votes, were not known by the end of the day – seemingly not due to counting glitches and irregularities, but due to the extended processing time required for mail-in ballots.

In the early morning hours of November 4, in nationally televised comments to his mask-less supporters at the White House, Mr. Trump informally declared victory in the November 3 presidential election, even while having thus far fallen far short of a projected majority of Electoral College votes. Without explanation or evidence, he charged Democrats with “fraud on the American public,” and he called for the vote count to stop – even as to ballots that had been cast in person on Election Day but were not yet counted. He also announced that he would bring election fraud claims before the Supreme Court.<sup>201</sup> Every major television network, including Fox News, called him out for his recklessness and his falsehoods.<sup>202</sup>

It was not the first time that Mr. Trump had raised accusations of election fraud. He had done it in 2012 (after President Obama was re-elected), in 2016 (after Senator Ted Cruz had defeated him in the Iowa caucuses) and again in 2016 (after Hillary Clinton had defeated him in the popular vote for the presidency).<sup>203</sup>

By mid-day on November 4, Republican lawyers had begun filing lawsuits in various states, including to halt vote-counting in Pennsylvania (counting that the U.S. Supreme Court had twice already allowed to proceed); to halt vote-counting in Michigan; to seek a recount in Wisconsin; and to alter the handling of ballots in Georgia. Republicans also announced half a dozen other lawsuits in Pennsylvania, and several in Nevada.<sup>204</sup> Messages declaring that Biden was stealing the election flooded Spanish-language social media in Florida.<sup>205</sup> Republican protesters made a scene at a vote-counting office in Detroit.<sup>206</sup> Late that night (Eastern time), scores of Republicans, some of them armed, made a commotion outside a vote-counting office in Arizona as well.<sup>207</sup> (It was notable that, to that point and beyond, Biden supporters did not mount any vote-counting protests, even in battleground states where the outcome was not yet known.)

Fox News commentators avidly fanned the flames.<sup>208</sup> Also on November 4, Mr. Trump’s lawyer Rudy Giuliani and his son and surrogate Eric Trump held a press conference outside of Philadelphia, alleging cheating by Democrats in that city. *“Do you think we’re stupid? Do you think we’re fools?”* Giuliani asked. A reporter for the Philadelphia Inquirer called their claims “false and at times almost incoherent.” CNN detailed their myriad falsehoods.<sup>209</sup>

On the morning of November 5, while the vote-counting continued and the outcome of the election was still too close to call, Mr. Trump tweeted, *“STOP THE COUNT!”* Critics were not only outraged but puzzled, in that Mr. Trump was ahead but losing in some battleground states but behind and gaining in others, such that either stopping the count categorically might well injure him, or he meant that, on principle, stopping the count should be applied to states selectively, depending on his fortunes there at a given moment.<sup>210</sup>

Later that day, Richard Grenell, at a gratuitous news conference in Nevada, advanced the fraud charges, claiming that Nevada was counting thousands of illegitimate ballots and that Republicans were being barred from observing the ballot-counting there. In truth many Republicans were observing the counting, and when a reporter pressed Grenell for evidence to support his claim, he refused to respond.<sup>211</sup> Grenell was a fierce Trump partisan, and Mr. Trump's former (and reportedly unqualified) acting Director of National Intelligence – a position tasked with protecting American democracy.

That evening, Mr. Trump held a press conference at the White House, during which he charged – much more pointedly and extensively than before, and falsely citing what he claimed was massive evidence – that the election was being stolen from him. He then walked away from the podium without taking questions. It was his most direct and explicit attack yet on American democracy. Critics called it “a gift to America’s adversaries.”<sup>212</sup> Most television networks cut away from the spectacle as soon as Mr. Trump began lying. CNN did not; but its real-time analysts – hard-bitten and utterly professional journalists who commented immediately afterwards – seemed shaken.<sup>213</sup>

The online fact checkers at CNN and USA Today soon refuted the many grotesque falsehoods in Mr. Trump's presentation.<sup>214</sup> But leading Republicans in Congress stood by his claims.<sup>215</sup> And his supporters – through right-wing media and internet trolls and with the help of professionals – had begun what both Politico and The Times concluded was a coordinated disinformation campaign to support those claims and to subvert the election.<sup>216</sup> The leading commentators at Fox News joined in the claims.<sup>217</sup>

Many Trump voters appeared to be buying them. On the evening of November 5, after Mr. Trump's address, Philadelphia police arrested two armed men from Virginia who appeared to be Trump and QAnon supporters and who were moving to attack the facility where Philadelphia ballots were still being counted.<sup>218</sup> Armed right-wing protesters again menaced vote counters in Arizona.<sup>219</sup> A Los Angeles Trump supporter was arrested for threatening a mass shooting.<sup>220</sup> Some prominent Trump surrogates called for the Justice Department to intervene, for Democratic poll workers to be arrested, and for Republican legislatures in Wisconsin and Pennsylvania to overturn the popular vote.<sup>221</sup> Some pro-Trump social media groups called for civil war.<sup>222</sup>

On November 6, Mr. Trump and his campaign's counsel repeated the fraud allegations.<sup>223</sup>

But as of that date, Republican litigation had come to nothing. Several frivolous and statistically trivial cases were quickly dismissed.<sup>224</sup> In Pennsylvania, the Republican Party asked the U.S. Supreme Court to stop the counting of votes received after Election Day, even though Pennsylvania law required that they be counted, and even though the Court had already twice denied that request. The party also asked the Court to confirm the (Democratic) Pennsylvania Secretary of State's directive to county election boards that they segregate mailed-in ballots arriving after Election Day, and the Court promptly did so – even though only a negligible number of “late-arriving” ballots appeared to have been received anyway.<sup>225</sup>

On November 7, Giuliani conducted another foolish press conference, now in the parking lot of a shabby industrial site outside of Philadelphia. He decried the alleged fraud by way of wild and unsupported claims – a performance for which he was widely mocked. He was also mocked for having conducted the event at a business called Four Seasons Total Landscaping – seemingly an erroneous attempt to convene at the upscale Four Seasons Hotel in downtown Philadelphia. Adjacent to the landscaping company was a porn shop, and across the street was a crematorium.<sup>226</sup>

But in the midst of that event, at 11:24 a.m., news organizations began reporting that Biden had won Pennsylvania, and thus sufficient electoral votes to win the presidency. Soon all major outlets joined in the call. Biden had also bested Mr. Trump so far by over 4 million popular votes.<sup>227</sup>

Mr. Trump had been defeated. But he continued to deny the loss. That afternoon, as Biden supporters celebrated in the streets of major cities and foreign leaders rejoiced (except for those from autocracies such as Russia, Brazil and Saudi Arabia),<sup>228</sup> Mr. Trump tweeted that he (Mr. Trump) had won the election.<sup>229</sup> At “Stop the Steal” rallies, Trump supporters protested at state capitols around the country, sometimes by the thousands, and often armed.<sup>230</sup> For example, some 2,000 gathered in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, many of them members of right-wing extremist groups, and many of them carrying weapons.<sup>231</sup>

That evening President-elect Biden delivered a national unity address – ordinarily a perfunctory message, but remarkable at that moment in history.<sup>232</sup> Leading Republican voices put out no such early calls. Indeed, on November 8 Mr. Trump continued to deny that he had lost, the Republican uproar continued, and Philadelphia’s bi-partisan election officials reported receiving death threats.<sup>233</sup> As of November 9, a Politico poll had found that 70% of Republicans believed that the election was being stolen; the Republican Party had continued and expanded its litigation; ten Republican state attorneys general had joined with amicus filings in the pending Pennsylvania litigation; only four Republican senators had congratulated the president-elect; several others – including Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell – instead were stoking the litigation; and Mr. Trump continued to tweet baseless claims of fraud.<sup>234</sup>

As though channeling the Republican Party, Russian and Chinese leaders had themselves withheld congratulations for the president-elect, and their state-controlled media continued to mock the American electoral system for the disarray that had flowered. (China mocked Trump; while Russia charged the Democrats with election fraud, and spread a rumor that Biden was readying Gulag-type camps for Trump supporters. China’s congratulations finally arrived on November 13.)<sup>235</sup>

On November 8, media reported that the administrator of the General Services Administration, Emily Murphy, had declined to authorize and fund federal agencies to begin transitioning the administration from Mr. Trump to President-elect Biden, pending the outcome of (meritless) Republican voter fraud litigation – that is, while Mr. Trump was denying that he had lost the election. The GSA had typically authorized transition operations and spending within hours after television networks had called presidential elections. A delayed transition was now seen as having the potential to significantly hamstring national security, the fight against the coronavirus,



and the functioning of the government generally. (Presumably under pressure, Murphy – whose reputation for probity was otherwise good – had previously accommodated Mr. Trump by refusing to enforce the constitutional bar on Mr. Trump receiving payments from foreign governments through his lease of the GSA’s building to the Trump International Hotel in Washington. She had also accommodated him by stalling the long-planned move of the FBI’s headquarters to a suburban site, which would have freed up the current site for the potential construction there of a hotel that would compete with Mr. Trump’s.)<sup>236</sup> On November 9, the White House expressly barred senior agency leaders across the government from cooperating with the Biden transition team.<sup>237</sup>

Disturbingly, on November 9, both The Post and The Times characterized the transition standstill as sorely jeopardizing national security, and all for the sake of Mr. Trump’s ego. The president-elect was being denied a full Secret Service detail. He was not receiving daily briefings from national intelligence agencies. And the Trump administration was defying the earlier recommendation of the 9/11 Commission that – to avoid a repeat of the 2000 national security disaster – “the outgoing administration should provide the president-elect, as soon as possible after election day, with a classified, compartmented list that catalogues specific, operational threats to national security; major military or cover operations; and pending decisions on the possible use of force.”<sup>238</sup> Following the post-election purging of four top Pentagon officials (see CSD’s entry of November 9 + in the first part of this Addendum), the security risks lying in the stalled transition were seen as worsening.<sup>239</sup> On November 12, a group of more than 150 former national security officials appointed by presidents of both parties sent an open letter to the GSA warning of those risks.<sup>240</sup> On the same day, a former Coast Guard commandant accused the Trump administration of failing to “provide for the common defense” and “promote the general welfare,” as mandated by the Constitution.<sup>241</sup> Several Republican senators called for at least the security briefings to be shared with the president-elect.<sup>242</sup> On November 13, Mr. Trump’s former chief of staff and retired general John Kelly issued a statement decrying the threat to the nation’s security and health as potentially catastrophic.<sup>243</sup>

On November 9, Attorney General William Barr authorized U.S. attorneys to investigate credible and material instances of election fraud – a sharp departure from the Justice Department’s 40-year policy of staying out of pending election processes. Blindsided, the department career official responsible for enforcing those investigations promptly resigned his post in alarm. (Whether Barr truly intended to mount investigations, or instead sought merely to placate a raging Mr. Trump and keep his own job for the balance the term, was unclear.)<sup>244</sup>

On November 10, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo told reporters in response to a question about transitioning to a Biden administration, “*There will be a smooth transition to a second Trump administration.*”<sup>245</sup> He may or may not have been speaking tongue-in-cheek; but in either case, it was a shocking statement by the chief spokesperson for America’s democratization efforts abroad. The Post quoted ten recent statements by Pompeo’s department calling for fair elections and peaceful transfers of power overseas.<sup>246</sup> State Department diplomats reacted with furor and disgust, for Pompeo’s now having directly undermined their work.<sup>247</sup>

Michael Abramowitz, the president of Freedom House – a leading non-partisan NGO that tracks democracy around the world – told The Times: “*What we have seen in the last week from the*

*president more closely resembles the tactics of the kind of authoritarian leaders we follow. I never would have imagined seeing something like this in America.*"<sup>248</sup> A subsequent analysis by The Times concluded the same, adding that a new reputation for the American system of governance, and a new American model for defying democratic elections, had appeared for the world to see – phenomena that now could never be erased.<sup>249</sup> One prominent historian called Mr. Trump's denial of President-elect Biden's victory an assault on American democracy comparable only to the secession of Southern states after Lincoln's election.<sup>250</sup>

Pennsylvania Republican politicians (including members of Congress) grew louder in alleging election fraud – even though the same cast ballots had generated broad congressional, legislative and other Republican wins in elections across the commonwealth. As of November 11, Republicans had filed at least 15 legal challenges there. The Republican controlled legislature vowed to conduct hearings. Media provocateurs nationwide focused on Pennsylvania.<sup>251</sup> But Republican election fraud cases across the country, for want of evidence, were being thrown out right and left by patently annoyed judges.<sup>252</sup> As of November 11, six pre-election and seven post-election lawsuits on Mr. Trump's behalf had been dismissed.<sup>253</sup> As of November 13, nearly all cases had been tossed, and several of the attorneys mounting the cases had resigned.<sup>254</sup> Sixteen assistant U.S. attorneys tasked with prosecuting election fraud said there was none, and they denounced the litigation campaign.<sup>255</sup> Even Wall Street appeared to have accepted and to have welcomed the fact of a Biden presidency, as stocks had risen 8% since Election Day.

By November 12, as Mr. Trump continued to tweet his fraud allegations, media were reporting that Republican state governments and various Republican U.S. senators were acknowledging his loss, even while (in the case of the senators) indulging the continuing litigation and vote recounts. Mainstream media discounted the likelihood of a legalistically contrived *coup d'état* on the part of Republican actors. But they continued to speculate about the possibility of such a coup<sup>256</sup> – a remarkable development for Americans who had spent their lives believing that our democracy was sacrosanct and impregnable.

On November 13, Mr. Trump continued to tweet that he had won.<sup>257</sup>

On November 14, mask-less pro-Trump demonstrators took to the streets in Washington, DC to denounce what Mr. Trump had convinced them was a stolen election. He had lost, but they believed he had won. Their ranks included white nationalists, conspiracy theorists and far-right activists from across the country, such as the Proud Boys. They also included more ordinary voters, who appeared from their reported comments to be in thrall of Mr. Trump's personality cult. It was a terrifying and other-worldly spectacle of mass delusion and rage – and one in which Mr. Trump appeared to exult. Driving past, he greeted and thrilled his supporters from inside his limousine. Then he went to his club in Virginia to play golf. His spokesperson Kayleigh McEnany tweeted a claim that the demonstrators numbered a million – many times the actual count, which credible news reports said was in the thousands or tens of thousands. (Her tweet recalled Mr. Trump's own inflated claims as to the crowd size at his inauguration four years previous, claims that his then press secretary had parroted, to the press secretary's eternal chagrin.) Skirmishes with counter-demonstrators ensued, particularly in the evening. Mr. Trump fanned the flames, tweeting, "*ANTIFA SCUM ran for the hills today when they tried attacking the people at the Trump Rally, because those people aggressively fought back. Antifa waited*

*until tonight, when 99% were gone, to attack innocent #MAGA People. DC Police, get going – do your job and don't hold back!!!”<sup>258</sup>*

Also on November 14, Mr. Trump denounced Georgia's Republican secretary of state, Brad Raffensperger, for not having delivered to him an electoral win in that state. He claimed that Raffensperger and the state's Republican governor were conspiring with Democrats to steal the election in Georgia. Raffensperger was in the process of conducting a scrupulous re-count of the close voting there, in a race that major television networks had all called for President-elect Biden. Most of Georgia's Republican power structure were also denouncing Raffensperger. That included the state's two U.S. senators who were facing their own run-off races against Democratic challengers in January under Raffensperger's electoral watch, and who now demanded his resignation. None of those people had offered any evidence of fraud; they only alleged fraud, apparently because they just wanted and felt entitled to win.<sup>259</sup> Raffensperger meanwhile was receiving multiple and mounting death threats.<sup>260</sup> On November 16, Raffensperger accused South Carolina's Republican U.S. senator and Trump stalwart Lindsay Graham of pressuring him to find a way to throw out legal ballots.<sup>261</sup>

The Post reported on November 15 that several administration officials had been granted leave to work with pro-Trump organizations in attempting to prove that the voting outcome was fraudulent.<sup>262</sup>

The Times reported on November 16 that Mr. Trump had attacked the integrity of the election on Twitter over 330 times since Election Day.<sup>263</sup>

A Politico opinion poll, reported by that outlet on November 17, found that 27% of Republicans believed that Mr. Trump should never concede the election to President-elect Biden, “no matter what” the final counting of votes and the related litigation were to produce.<sup>264</sup> That is to say, they wished for the American presidency to be held by Mr. Trump, even if he weren't re-elected.

On the evening of November 17, Mr. Trump fired Chris Krebs by way of Twitter. Krebs had been the director of the Cybersecurity and Infrastructure Security Agency at DHS. Although a political appointee of Mr. Trump, he had been highly regarded in his role as the government's most senior cyber-security official tasked with protecting the November election. In recent days he had denounced rumors and allegations of voter fraud; his agency had called the election the most secure in American history; and he had told associates that he was expecting to be fired for that. His final undoing arose from a tweet he had posted that day, debunking a particular conspiracy theory that the election results had been manipulated by a computer system. Critics said that the sudden purge of Krebs not only discredited our democracy, but – by way of his sudden absence – jeopardized our national security in the precarious months going forward.<sup>265</sup> But Krebs continued to confirm the integrity of the election in a “60 Minutes” interview, prompting death threats against him. Indeed, on November 30 a Trump campaign attorney called him an “idiot” and a “moron,” fuming, “*He should be drawn and quartered. Taken out at dawn and shot.*”<sup>266</sup> Writing a column in The Post, Krebs responded to the threat of torture and execution, and held firm.<sup>267</sup>

Also that evening, two Republican members of the four-member vote canvassing panel for the county in which Detroit, Michigan sits refused to certify the county's vote count, alleging what appeared to be trivial numbers of irregular votes. Their action threatened to disenfranchise the state's largest pocket of blue (and Black) voters, and to throw the state's electoral votes to Mr. Trump. It followed their personal campaigns on social media to discredit the election. A local and national uproar ensued. Within three hours they retracted their refusal, and a unanimous certification ensued.<sup>268</sup> But after Mr. Trump personally called one of the Republican panelists, both Republicans formally sought to rescind their votes to certify – which was legally impossible.<sup>269</sup>

As of November 18, Mr. Trump's Republican supporters had continued to lose almost all of their court challenges to the election count, but they also continued to mount more. Over thirty separate lawsuits had been filed across six states. Republican politicians who had demanded “proof” beyond proof of Mr. Trump's culpability in the impeachment proceedings now shrugged at the utter absence of proof to support his fraud claims. As reported by The Times, Giuliani and former House Speaker Newt Gingrich had made blanket attacks against cities with large Black populations like Atlanta, Detroit and Philadelphia, painting those places in evidence-free tirades as too corrupt to be trusted to hold honest elections. (It was one of the baldest acts of attempting to suppress the Black vote since the Jim Crow days in the South.)

And at last, with the resignations of expert election lawyers, Giuliani had taken over the nationwide litigation campaign, directing or encouraging lawsuits and/or recounts in Arizona, Nevada, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. On that day, the 18<sup>th</sup>, he personally appeared in a federal court in Pennsylvania – his first federal courtroom appearance as counsel in 28 years. Critics said that his arguments there were outlandish (one called them a “wild conspiracy rant” alleging a concerted, nationwide Democratic fraud); that he was confused and uninformed (he forgot which judge he was addressing); that his requests for relief were preposterous (including for voiding the entire Pennsylvania election); and that he had generally made a fool of himself – yet again. On November 19, at a press conference, he and several other attorneys performed similarly, with rambling and fact-less allegations of a centrally-planned Democratic conspiracy and a “communist” plot to rig voting machines. Named conspirators included the Clinton Foundation, China, Cuba, George Soros, the long-dead Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, and antifa. The conspiracy presumably also included large numbers of others whose collaboration would have been needed to make it work: thousands of poll workers, many hundreds of election judges, dozens of state electoral authorities, several dozen courts, millions of voters, and many Republicans among all of the foregoing. It was fantasy.

But critics also said that winning the various state cases was neither legally possible nor the Trump-Giuliani objective; rather, that their goal was to stall and frustrate the certification of the election by state authorities, so as to (a) enable Republican legislatures to ignore the popular vote and choose Electoral College delegates in Mr. Trump's favor; (b) discredit President-elect Biden's victory and fire up Mr. Trump's base for purposes of the latter's post-presidential afterlife; or even, to CSD's mind, (c) foil the president-elect's transition efforts out of spite, even at the cost of national security and urgent pandemic response.<sup>270</sup> A reporter for The Post wrote, “Judging by his actions, Trump appears to have a motive other than overturning the election. He

is determined to cripple Biden’s presidency even before it becomes official. No defeated president has ever undertaken such an audacious and anti-democratic act.”<sup>271</sup>

Some Republican leaders assured that eventually reality would set in for Mr. Trump, even as he sundered principle after principle of American democracy.<sup>272</sup> But according to numerous polls released on November 18 and in the ensuing weeks, large majorities of Republicans continued to believe that Democrats had rigged the election and stolen a victory from Mr. Trump.<sup>273</sup> Mr. Trump’s successor thus could enter office with a third of the electorate convinced that his presidency was illegitimate.<sup>274</sup>

Also on that day, Arizona’s top election official, a Democrat, was reported to have been receiving violent threats.<sup>275</sup>

CNN’s fact-checker reported that Mr. Trump’s falsehoods had reached a new level, in which virtually nothing he was saying publicly was true.<sup>276</sup>

Observers characterized Mr. Trump’s behavior in the weeks since the election as solipsistic and dysfunctional: watching television in the White House (when not playing golf), ignoring the coronavirus pandemic as it surged to record levels, proliferating claims of voter fraud through scores of angry tweets, flailing and failing at changing the election results, firing officials whom he deemed disloyal, directing agencies to set regulatory fires for the president-elect to put out, refusing to hand off the government to the president-elect, and generally absorbing himself full time in trying to overthrow our democratic system – but little else.<sup>277</sup>

Having failed in his attempts to cause Detroit’s Republican canvassing panel to decline to certify the vote for their county, and having failed in Michigan courts to invalidate the vote, Mr. Trump now embarked on an even more brazen and mind-bending move, one unparalleled in American history. He turned to the Michigan legislature, to press it to usurp the popular vote (which President-elect Biden had won) and hand the state’s electoral votes to himself. Responding to Mr. Trump’s telephone call, the two Republican majority leaders of the state’s bicameral legislature met with him in the White House on November 20. Critics viewed the very idea of the meeting as a naked attempt to subvert the American election from the inside, and conceivably by means of bribery.<sup>278</sup> (After the meeting, the two legislators appeared to have resisted the pressure.<sup>279</sup>)

On November 21, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund sued Mr. Trump and his campaign for openly attempting to disenfranchise Black voters in Michigan – through their pressure on state and local officials – in defiance of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.<sup>280</sup>

As of November 20, Mr. Trump and his allies had won only one (inconsequential) lawsuit, and they had lost 32. The Times reported that the legal claims had not only been delusional, fact-free and anti-democratic, but had often been argued with a level of chaos and unprofessionalism uncommon in American courtroom proceedings. *“Mr. Trump’s campaign keeps getting routed in case after case. Challenges keep getting tossed out by exasperated judges. Entire legal teams have quit en masse. Claims better suited to random Twitter feeds (or the president’s) have been laughed out of court after court.”*<sup>281</sup> The Post speculated that competent lawyers had fled from

Mr. Trump on ethical grounds, being unwilling to violate their sworn professional duties by lying or bringing frivolous cases – actions that could net them fines or disbarment.<sup>282</sup>

On November 21, a conservative Republican judge at a federal district court in Pennsylvania, ruling on the case that Giuliani had embarrassingly argued there on November 18 in an effort to block the certification of Pennsylvania’s election results, found the case meritless. In a scathing opinion, the judge dismissed the case “with prejudice” – meaning that Mr. Trump and the other plaintiffs could not re-plead it before that same court, a humiliating outcome.<sup>283</sup> But the plaintiffs promptly appealed the case to the federal Third Circuit, a step above the trial court.<sup>284</sup>

As the legal case for overturning the election was collapsing, on November 22 the White House began defending its refusal to transition to the incoming Biden administration on grounds of utterly false claims that President Obama had declined to properly transition to Mr. Trump.<sup>285</sup>

A series of setbacks for Mr. Trump then ensued.

- On the evening of November 22, Watergate reporter Carl Bernstein tweeted the names of 21 sitting Republican senators who had privately expressed their loathing for Mr. Trump, and Bernstein called them out for their cowardice in having failed to go public.<sup>286</sup>
- On November 23, over 100 former Republican members of Congress and former national security officials who had served under Republican presidents issued a letter demanding that Mr. Trump stop intimidating state election authorities, concede the election, and allow for an orderly transition to the incoming Biden administration. They wrote that Mr. Trump’s recalcitrance was posing “a serious threat to America’s democratic process and to our national security.”<sup>287</sup>
- Also on November 23, the Michigan state election canvassing board certified President-elect Biden’s victory, despite one its two Republican members refusing to do so, contrary to law. Many Pennsylvania counties certified President-elect Biden’s victory as well. Those events followed the certification of the Biden victory by Georgia several days earlier.<sup>288</sup>
- Mr. Trump’s billionaire friend, advisor and supporter Steven Schwarzman told CNN on November 23 that it was time for the country to “move on.” That followed by a day a statement by Mr. Trump’s advisor and supporter, former New Jersey Governor Chris Christie, calling Mr. Trump’s legal team “a national embarrassment.” Several Republican senators had also publicly called on Mr. Trump to concede.<sup>289</sup>
- More than 160 prominent corporate CEOs wrote that Mr. Trump should accept the election results and begin the presidential transition.<sup>290</sup>
- The Pennsylvania Supreme Court refused to void thousands of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh mail-in ballots that had technical errors on their outer envelopes but showed no evidence of fraud.<sup>291</sup>

In the early evening of November 23 – almost three weeks after the election, and 16 days after television networks had projected the result – the director of the GSA authorized the transition from the Trump administration to the Biden administration to proceed. Mr. Trump approved that action by way of Twitter, even while promising to continue his fight to overturn the election results.<sup>292</sup> The transition then did proceed; except that, as of December 4, the Pentagon was

refusing to allow members of the Biden transition team access to intelligence agencies under the Pentagon's control, such as the National Security Agency and the Defense Intelligence Agency.<sup>293</sup> Within a day after media publicized that refusal, the Pentagon relented.<sup>294</sup>

On November 24, two battleground states whose elections Mr. Trump had been contesting – Nevada and Pennsylvania – certified the Biden win, joining Georgia and Michigan in that regard.<sup>295</sup> But Mr. Trump continued to allege election fraud – including by Twitter, and including at a fevered, rump, telephonic “hearing” before Pennsylvania’s Republican legislators on November 25 – and his lawyers continued to plot his attempts to overturn battleground state certifications.<sup>296</sup> On Thanksgiving Day, November 26, Mr. Trump hosted a dozen Republican Pennsylvania legislators at the White House, with a view to pressing them to seize the state’s electoral vote determination, as he had tried unsuccessfully with Michigan Republicans a week previous.<sup>297</sup>

Also on Thanksgiving day, Mr. Trump called Raffensperger “an enemy of the people.” As of December 1, he was continuing his bitter attacks on Raffensperger and on Georgia’s Republican governor for failing to rig that state’s presidential vote count in his favor.<sup>298</sup>

On November 27, three Republican judges at the Third Circuit threw out Mr. Trump’s appeal of the Pennsylvania district court case, with expressed disdain.<sup>299</sup> On November 28, a unanimous, bi-partisan Pennsylvania Supreme Court dismissed yet another baseless Trump lawsuit, “with prejudice.”<sup>300</sup>

On November 29, Mr. Trump gave his first post-election interview, on Fox. He held forth for nearly an hour, slinging baseless allegations of voter fraud, now even implying that the FBI and the Justice Department might be among the culprits.<sup>301</sup>

On November 30, media reported that Mr. Trump had raised over \$150 million in political donations since Election Day, based on his allegations of election fraud. The funds derived largely from small-dollar donors. The fundraising appeals emphasized that donations would be used for Mr. Trump’s legal challenges to the election results. Only the fine print revealed that they were mostly destined for his leadership PAC, through which he could liberally use the money for other, broader political purposes – including, it appeared, even paying himself and his family. That itself had the aroma of fraud – tricking donors into sending him money for his personal gain, while trashing the American democratic system in the process.<sup>302</sup> As of December 3, the revenues had risen to \$207 million.<sup>303</sup> The figure later reached \$255 million.<sup>304</sup> As Mr. Trump exhausted his legal challenges to the Biden victory, and as two run-off elections for control of the U.S. Senate loomed in Georgia, the appeals for donations changed to indicate that the funds would be used for Republican campaigns in those races. But as of December 18, the PAC did not appear to have contributed to the Georgia campaigns.<sup>305</sup>

Newsweek reported on December 1 that social media were aflame with threats of civil war and other violence against Democrats should Mr. Trump be unseated.<sup>306</sup> The recently pardoned felon Michael Flynn retweeted a call for Mr. Trump to declare martial law and schedule a new election.<sup>307</sup> On December 17, Flynn repeated his suggestion that martial law could be imposed and a new, military-run election could be held.<sup>308</sup>

Also on December 1, Mr. Trump threatened to veto a pending bi-partisan military policy bill if Congress would not include in that bill a measure stripping social media platforms of their statutory immunity from libel claims. His motivation: during the 2020 election campaign, and throughout the post-election period, several prominent platforms – in the interest of truth, democracy and civil peace – had been flagging for their viewers some of his most false and incendiary messages as lies.<sup>309</sup>

On December 2, Mr. Trump released a video on Facebook in which – flanked by flags and fitted with other presidential trappings – he ranted for 46 minutes on how the election was being stolen from him. The video contained no new information or accusation, and no truth. Mr. Trump called it “the most important speech I’ve ever made.” It was indeed a video document that might live forever in infamy. The importance he assigned it was also consistent with his recent Twitter behavior: since Election Day he had tweeted 800 times, almost entirely about election fraud. Republican leaders across the country were now declining to comment.<sup>310</sup>

On December 3, the Justice Department blocked a White House aide from returning to its premises after having pressured DOJ staffers there for sensitive information about election fraud.<sup>311</sup>

Also on December 3, The Times reported that senior and rank-and-file election officials all over the country were being threatened with violence by Trump partisans. Republican leaders had declined to comment.<sup>312</sup>

The Times also reported that most House and Senate Republicans continued to refuse to acknowledge publicly that President-elect Biden had won the election.<sup>313</sup> More precisely, The Post reported that as of December 5, only 27 Republican members of the House and the Senate – out of 249 – had been willing to publicly acknowledge to The Post that President-elect Biden had defeated Mr. Trump.<sup>314</sup>

Having by now brought approximately 50 election fraud cases and having won only one of them, Mr. Trump and his allies lost another six on December 4, yet continued to file new ones.<sup>315</sup> Several of the judges denying relief had been conservative Republicans, and several had even been appointed by Mr. Trump himself. Judges seemed to be foregoing their ability to sanction the plaintiffs and their attorneys for bringing meritless litigation largely – a reporter speculated – out of concern that imposing sanctions could inflame their decisions politically and generate even more litigation (that is, around the sanctions themselves).<sup>316</sup>

In Pennsylvania, on December 4, the Republican controlled legislature refused to overturn the state’s popular vote by naming its own pro-Trump electors. Giuliani tweeted that the legislators were shameful and dishonest. Another of Mr. Trump’s attorneys, Jenna Ellis – as disingenuous and unqualified on election matters as Giuliani<sup>317</sup> – called the legislators “liars,” “cowards” and “traitors.” That move did seem to have an effect. Just hours later, some 75 of those legislators, including the speaker and the majority leader of the Pennsylvania House, urged that Pennsylvania’s congressional delegation challenge the election results when Congress would be called upon to certify the election on January 6.<sup>318</sup> Indeed, as reported by The Post on December



8, Mr. Trump had twice in recent days called the Pennsylvania speaker to urge that the legislature reverse his loss in the state, having repeatedly lost his pleas to that effect in court.<sup>319</sup>

On December 5, Mr. Trump asked Georgia’s Republican governor, Brian Kemp, by telephone, to pressure the state’s Republican legislature to appoint its own delegates to the Electoral College and thus to overturn President-elect Biden’s popular vote win. Kemp refused.<sup>320</sup> Arriving in Georgia shortly after that call, Mr. Trump held his first rally since losing the November 3 election. He was ostensibly campaigning for two Republican candidates in that state’s U.S. Senate run-off elections (one of whom had campaigned with a QAnon adherent, and the other under scrutiny for insider stock trading). But his speech was primarily a tirade about how the presidential election had been stolen from him.<sup>321</sup>

Armed protestors gathered at the home of Michigan’s Democratic secretary of state on December 5, accusing her of failing to stop the theft of the election from Mr. Trump. They shouted obscenities and chanted in bullhorns as she was installing Christmas decorations with her four-year-old son.<sup>322</sup> On December 7, USA Today reported that members of the Michigan legislature were receiving death threats for not throwing the election to Mr. Trump. One such member was a Black Democrat from Detroit who had received lynching threats.<sup>323</sup> All of those episodes followed the earlier plan by right-wing extremists to kidnap and execute Michigan’s Democratic governor Gretchen Whitmer, on grounds of her imposition of coronavirus restrictions, which the FBI had foiled less than two months previous (see the October 16 + entry above in this Addendum). All of the malfactors had been acting on rage that had been stoked by Mr. Trump; and none had been condemned by him.

On December 7, the Arizona Republican Party suggested to its Twitter followers that they give their lives – specifically, that they “die” in revolt – over the election fraud issue.<sup>324</sup>

Also on December 7, a Texas congressman suggested that his state secede from the Union over the contested election.<sup>325</sup> On December 10, the extremist radio commentator Rush Limbaugh floated the idea that all red states should secede.<sup>326</sup> On December 11, the leader of the Texas Republican Party also hinted at seceding.<sup>327</sup> Politico reported on December 21 that calls for secession – however indefinite, idiotic and impracticable – were gaining ground. The writer noted that those calls appeared to be grounded on “values” (whatever that meant, other than a possible belief in an ethno-nationalistic dictatorship, i.e., fascism) and “cultural differences” (understood, except that urban Texans were likely more culturally aligned with urban Pennsylvanians than with rural Texans). The writer noted that the secessionists probably preferred “nullification” over actual secession – a concept tested in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century that could now involve states simply defying federal law, a matter on which courts would then rule, but still of grave concern.<sup>328</sup>

On December 8, The Times recapped the many personal threats that Trump supporters had levelled against election officials in Michigan, Georgia, Arizona, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania – all battleground states that Mr. Trump had lost.<sup>329</sup>

Mr. Trump tweeted on December 6 that Giuliani had contracted Covid-19. Giuliani had been traveling around the country for weeks – buffoonish and mask-less – as he had mounted unsuccessful legal challenges to Mr. Trump’s electoral loss on baseless grounds of fraud.<sup>330</sup>

On December 8, the Republican attorney general of Texas, Ken Paxton, sued Pennsylvania, Georgia, Wisconsin and Michigan in the U.S. Supreme Court to invalidate their presidential election results. (Paxton was under indictment for securities fraud;<sup>331</sup> and his senior staff in the attorney general’s office was seeking his investigation for bribery.<sup>332</sup> Observers suspected that, in bringing the lawsuit, he may have been angling for a presidential pardon.<sup>333</sup>) Paxton’s argument was that those states had wrongly enacted or allowed election law changes that facilitated voting in the face of the coronavirus. Observers found the suit to be unprecedented, cynical, and without a prayer of succeeding.<sup>334</sup> Yet on December 9, Mr. Trump intervened in the suit in his personal capacity as a presidential candidate, and the attorneys general of 17 Republican states joined in supporting the suit too.<sup>335</sup> On December 10, Mr. Trump hosted a number of the attorneys general at the White House.<sup>336</sup> Also on December 10, some 106 Republican members of the House leant their support to Paxton’s suit; and by December 11, that number had grown to 126 (out of 196 House Republicans), including House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy. That is, well over half the House Republicans – many of whom had long worshipped at the altar of states’ rights – now were asking the U.S. Supreme Court to invalidate the election laws and the elections of selected states where they disliked the electoral outcome, and to disenfranchise all 20 million of those states’ voters.<sup>337</sup> On the evening of December 11, the Supreme Court dismissed the case due to lack of standing – that is, lack of a right for the plaintiff states to even place the issue before the Court. Apparently seven of the nine Justices, including Mr. Trump’s three appointees, agreed with that outcome; and the other two said they would have denied the plaintiffs’ claims in any event.<sup>338</sup> By way of Twitter, Mr. Trump reacted with outrage – at the seven Justices, at Republican state election officials who had refused to throw him the election, and at his attorney general William Barr for having foregone publicizing his investigation of Hunter Biden during the run-up to the election (see CSD’s entry about that investigation at pp. 26 and 27 above). He pretended that the other two Justices supported his argument. Claiming by Twitter that he had “WON THE ELECTION IN A LANDSLIDE,” Mr. Trump vowed to “fight on!”<sup>339</sup>

Also on December 8, the U.S. Supreme Court, without explanation but seemingly with disdain and unanimity among the Justices, had rejected a last-minute appeal of a Pennsylvania Supreme Court case by a Pennsylvania state legislator. His grounds had been that the Pennsylvania statute expanding mail-in voting, enacted a year ago by the Republican controlled legislature, violated the state’s constitution.<sup>340</sup>

By December 9, Mr. Trump and his allies had lost 51 lawsuits pertaining to the election.<sup>341</sup>

On December 12, thousands of mostly mask-less Trump supporters rallied in Washington to support Mr. Trump’s claims of election fraud. Attendees included pardoned felon Michael Flynn, conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, and 700 members and supporters of the extremist group Proud Boys.<sup>342</sup> Mr. Trump made three passes over the protesters in the Marine One helicopter, cheering them on. In the evening the Proud Boys roamed the streets looking for action, and four people were stabbed and critically injured. Mr. Trump did not comment on that.<sup>343</sup> At a

contemporaneous protest in Olympia, Washington, heavily armed opposing groups clashed, and a right-wing extremist shot a counter-protester.<sup>344</sup>

As delegates to the Electoral College were organizing at their respective state capitols on December 14, Michigan’s capitol building and legislature were closed due to threats of violence.<sup>345</sup>

On December 14, the Electoral College voted 306 to 232 to elect Joe Biden to the presidency. The voting was in order, and perfunctory, pursuant to the results of individual state voting as certified by the respective state authorities, and pursuant to the U.S. Constitution. Those were exactly the numbers by which Mr. Trump had defeated Hillary Clinton in 2016, and which at the time he had called a “landslide” – even though he had lost the popular vote to her.<sup>346</sup> (President-elect Biden had defeated Mr. Trump by approximately 7,000,000 popular votes, compared to Clinton’s 3,000,000 margin.)

After the Electoral College vote, Mr. Trump continued to claim that the election was stolen from him.<sup>347</sup> Republican legislators in at least five battleground states that he had lost now undertook to form slates of “alternate electors” to supplant the actual electors, a fantasy concept that is absent from the Constitution.<sup>348</sup>

By that point, Mr. Trump and his allies had lost 60 of their 61 lawsuits contesting the election.<sup>349</sup>

On December 15, Mr. Trump re-tweeted a call for Georgia’s Republican governor and secretary of state to be imprisoned for failing to throw him the election.<sup>350</sup> A Republican state legislator in Virginia and another in North Carolina urged Mr. Trump to declare martial law.<sup>351</sup> After Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell at last recognized the president-elect’s victory, Mr. Trump chastised him on Twitter.<sup>352</sup>

On December 16, Republicans on the Senate’s Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee ranted for hours about the purportedly stolen election, trotting out witnesses to support that spurious claim. At least four Republican senators participated in the savagery.<sup>353</sup>

Politico reported on December 18 on the increasing calls by Trump supporters for him to impose martial law so as to prevent President-elect Biden from taking office.<sup>354</sup>

On December 18, the Pentagon suspended its participation in transition activities for the two-week Christmas holiday period, on grounds that its transition staff was “overwhelmed” by the process. The Biden team objected.<sup>355</sup> On December 28, the president-elect personally accused the Trump administration of continuing to block the transition, particularly on national security issues.<sup>356</sup>

On December 19, Mr. Trump proposed to his advisors at a White House meeting that he appoint Sidney Powell as special White House counsel to investigate voter fraud in the 2020 election. (Attorney General William Barr had declined to appoint special counsel for that purpose to serve within the Justice Department.) Powell was an attorney who had represented the felon Michael Flynn, who was a QAnon supporter, and whose wild post-election conspiracy theories charging

voter fraud had been shot down by several courts and had caused even Mr. Trump's campaign to oust her several weeks earlier. Powell, Giuliani, Flynn and others attended the meeting. A Giuliani proposal for the Department of Homeland Security to seize voting machines, and a Flynn proposal for Mr. Trump to declare martial law, were also discussed. The meeting was characterized by shouting, as lawyers accused one another of failing to sufficiently support Mr. Trump in his efforts to overturn the election.<sup>357</sup>

Also on December 19, Mr. Trump urged his Twitter followers to attend a "wild" protest in Washington on January 6, the day that Congress was scheduled to certify the vote of the Electoral College in favor of President-elect Biden.<sup>358</sup> The Proud Boys and other far-right groups soon pledged to attend.<sup>359</sup> Mr. Trump tweeted the call to attend again on December 27, December 30 and January 1. Observers feared violence, such as the Proud Boys had provoked in Washington on December 12, and such as right-wing social media posts were now threatening.<sup>360</sup> The District of Columbia's attorney general feared violence as well.<sup>361</sup>

On December 20, Mr. Trump filed yet another petition with the U.S. Supreme Court, now seeking to overturn three Pennsylvania Supreme Court cases and to allow the state legislature to choose its own slate of electors. Under the law, success seemed impossible. And even if the Pennsylvania outcome were to be flipped, Mr. Trump would still lack sufficient electoral votes to win a second term.<sup>362</sup> A more probable motive in petitioning the Court was to continue firing up the base and advancing its contributions to Mr. Trump's leadership PAC.

Also on December 20, Mr. Trump re-tweeted a video that re-stated many familiar conspiracy theories, all alleging that the election was being stolen from him, plus another: that the coronavirus had been engineered in China, imported to the U.S. and then over-publicized by the mainstream media, all in an effort to make him look bad.<sup>363</sup>

Mr. Trump met with a group of Republican House members at the White House on December 21 to plot a congressional challenge to the recent Electoral College vote when Congress would convene to certify that vote on January 6.<sup>364</sup> The meeting had been convened by Congresswoman-elect Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-GA), the avowed QAnon supporter. As of December 22, Mr. Trump was threatening to "primary" those who didn't participate in the challenge; an internecine dispute had arisen among congressional Republicans on the matter; and Vice President Mike Pence had vowed to fight for Mr. Trump to the finish.<sup>365</sup>

On December 24, shortly after meeting with Pence, Mr. Trump shared a tweet calling for Pence – as the Senate's presiding officer – to force the Senate on January 6 to overturn the vote of the Electoral College (a legal impossibility).<sup>366</sup> On December 27, Louie Gohmert, a Republican congressman from Texas, sued Pence, in a fantastical attempt to force Pence to do that.<sup>367</sup> On January 1, a federal judge in Texas whom Mr. Trump had appointed dismissed Gohmert's case on grounds that the congressman lacked legal standing to bring the suit.<sup>368</sup> Gohmert reacted by calling for street violence.<sup>369</sup> On January 3, Mr. Trump announced that he would attend pertinent protests.<sup>370</sup>

Mr. Trump tweeted on December 26 that the FBI and the Justice Department "should be ashamed" for not pursuing his claims of voter fraud. He also tweeted that the Supreme Court was

“totally incompetent and weak” for having failed to overturn the November election results.<sup>371</sup> (He had appointed three of the nine Justices himself, causing conservatives to hold a 6-3 majority on the Court. In the early weeks after the election, he had looked to the Court that he had staffed as an assured accomplice in enabling him to declare victory.)

By December 28, writers at The Post, CNN, Axios and MSNBC had reported with concern on the fears of administration officials that Mr. Trump – now surrounding himself with fringe advisors and conspiracy theorists such as Powell, Giuliani and Flynn – could take radical actions to retain power.<sup>372</sup>

Still maintaining that he had won the election in four swing-states where he had actually lost, Mr. Trump tweeted that Georgia’s Republican governor Brian Kemp should resign, for refusing to overturn that state’s election results.<sup>373</sup>

On December 30, Senator Josh Hawley (R-MO) announced that on January 6 he would challenge the congressional certification of the Electoral College’s award of the election to Joe Biden.<sup>374</sup> On January 2, eleven other Republican senators led by Ted Cruz (R-TX) announced that they would join Hawley.<sup>375</sup> Pence then said that he “welcomed” their effort and the related efforts of two-thirds of all House Republicans.<sup>376</sup> Observers noted that those calls to void the election results were highly selective, hypocritical and puzzling: seeking to overturn only the presidential outcome in the subject states, but not the election of Republicans to Congress in those very states where they claimed that the elections were corrupted.<sup>377</sup> One Republican observer wrote that the “party of Lincoln” had now become the “party of the Confederacy” – at once anti-democratic, racist and seditious – with senators from five formerly slave-holding states on board for the January 6 challenge.<sup>378</sup>

On December 31, Russell Vought, the Director of the Office of Management and the Budget, pointedly refused to allow his agency to proceed with the transition, thus further retarding the new administration’s ability to deal with the economy, the pandemic and national security. (Vought had previously distinguished himself by failing to control the national debt; predicting in February that the pandemic would not harm the economy; and engineering the administration’s orders to turn civil servants into political appointees, to cancel racial sensitivity trainings, and to freeze military aid to Ukraine. In 2016 he had written, “*Muslims do not simply have a deficient theology. They do not know God because they have rejected Jesus Christ, his Son, and they stand condemned.*”)<sup>379</sup>

On January 1, while alleging “millions of fraudulent votes,” Mr. Trump tweeted that the entire Georgia election process had been “illegal and invalid.” He expressly said that Georgia’s senatorial election, headed for a feverishly contested run-off vote on January 5, was included in that characterization.<sup>380</sup>

On January 2, Mr. Trump was recorded while telling Georgia’s secretary of state Brad Raffensperger to rig the state’s presidential vote count by “finding” 11,780 votes in Mr. Trump’s favor, and while subtly threatening Raffensperger with criminal charges if he refused. It was the 19<sup>th</sup> call made from the White House to Raffensperger’s office in the past two months in an attempt to arrange a direct conversation between the two men. The latest call was an hour long,

and in it Mr. Trump variously cajoled, bullied, flattered, implored and insulted Raffensperger, as he (Mr. Trump) advanced numerous, debunked conspiracy theories about vote tampering. The falsehoods were not new. But the directive and threat to Raffensperger appeared to be not just anti-democratic but subversive and likely illegal – amounting to extortion, the solicitation of voter fraud, and an upending of the entire constitutional plan for democracy. The episode recalled Mr. Trump’s 2019 effort to extort Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky into helping him beat Joe Biden in the then upcoming election – an effort for which Mr. Trump was eventually impeached.<sup>381</sup> Some observers wrote, in all seriousness, that a possible defect in any indictment of Mr. Trump could be that he was so deranged that he hadn’t been aware that he was attempting to rig the election;<sup>382</sup> i.e., not guilty by reason of insanity.

Mr. Trump and his trade advisor Peter Navarro separately said on January 2 that Congress should begin investigating the election fraud claims, and that President-elect Biden’s inauguration could and should be postponed beyond January 20 while Congress did so. (The Constitution mandates a January 20 inauguration, and does not provide for postponements.)<sup>383</sup>

On January 3, in an extraordinary letter published in The Post, all ten living former secretaries of defense warned civilian and military leaders within the Defense Department not to become involved in or to undermine the election results – as though they saw the possibility of a military coup.<sup>384</sup>

Campaigning for Republican run-off senatorial candidates in Georgia on January 4, Mr. Trump mainly raged that the presidential election had been stolen from him, while berating and vowing to defeat any Republicans – such as Georgia’s governor and secretary of state – who failed to support him in that. He also urged Pence to overturn the electoral college vote when it would come before Congress on January 6.<sup>385</sup>

Citing not only the Raffensperger call but many other episodes and patterns, a reporter from The Times wrote on January 4, “President Trump’s relentless effort to overturn the result of the election that he lost has become the most serious stress test of American democracy in generations, one led not by outside revolutionaries intent on bringing down the system but by the very leader charged with defending it. In the 220 years since a defeated John Adams turned over the White House to his rival, firmly establishing the peaceful transfer of authority as a bedrock principle, no sitting president who lost an election has tried to hang onto power by rejecting the Electoral College and subverting the will of the voters — until now. It is a scenario at once utterly unthinkable and yet feared since the beginning of Mr. Trump’s tenure.”<sup>386</sup>

At 1:00 a.m. on January 6 – after Georgia voting results appeared to show that Democrats would regain control of the Senate despite a furious run-off contest and Mr. Trump’s (slight) personal campaigning there – Mr. Trump tweeted that Pence should reject the electoral votes of some states at the forthcoming joint session of Congress.<sup>387</sup> Later that morning, Pence issued a statement declaring that although (unspecified) election irregularities had occurred and state election laws had been violated, he did not have the authority to do that, “So help me God.”<sup>388</sup>

In mid-morning, Mr. Trump addressed protesters gathered at the Ellipse near the White House. He urged that Pence obstruct the Electoral College, and he encouraged the protesters to march to

the Capitol and to “show strength.” “*We won’t take it anymore,*” he said, and he promised he would march with them (he didn’t).<sup>389</sup> Giuliani, also presenting, called for a “trial by combat.”<sup>390</sup> Donald Trump, Jr. – shouting obscenities – vowed to fight faithless Republicans in their future primary elections, threatening “*We’re coming for you,*” and claiming “*This is Donald Trump’s Republican Party!*” Urging the protesters on, he said, “*You can be a hero, or you can be a zero. And the choice is yours. But we are all watching. The whole world is watching, folks. Choose wisely.*” He too did not join the march.<sup>391</sup>

As subsequently reported, dozens of state and local Republican officials attended the rally.<sup>392</sup> A video later appeared in which a group of far-right Oath Keepers was seen as protecting and (seemingly) conspiring with felon Roger Stone – Mr. Trump’s friend and advisor whom he had pardoned just two weeks previous.<sup>393</sup>

At 1:00 that afternoon, the joint session of Congress convened in the House chambers to hear and confirm the Electoral College vote, in the following approximate sequence, as televised by CNN in real time. (All stated times are approximate, and are based on CSD’s own attempts to keep up and keep track.)<sup>394</sup>

- Senators marched across the Capitol to the House.
- House Speaker Nancy Pelosi called the session to order.
- Pence, as president of the Senate, began the Electoral College roll call, in alphabetical order.
- As had been expected, a representative and a senator objected to Arizona’s votes for Joe Biden and Kamala Harris.
- The Senate then repaired back across the Capitol to debate the objection within its own chamber, and the House began a debate in the House chamber.
- Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell – heretofore an inveterate Trump apologist and supporter – denounced the undertaking of Mr. Trump and his congressional supporters to reverse the election. He even said that the election had not even been unusually close. He said that overruling the voters, the courts and the states “would damage our republic forever.” He continued, “*If this election were overturned by mere allegations from the losing side, our democracy would enter a death spiral. We would never see the whole nation accept an election again.*” Regrettably, toward the end of his speech, he savaged the press and the Democratic Party in essentially the same way that Mr. Trump had long done.<sup>395</sup>
- Masses of un-masked, un-distanced pro-Trump protesters moved from the Ellipse toward the Capitol.
- Capitol Police officers, supported by the Washington, D.C. National Guard, protected the building. No one was allowed to leave it, for their own safety.
- At approximately 2:15 p.m., protesters broke through the police line and climbed the Capitol steps. Police did not immediately push back, and did not appear to have been prepared.
- Protesters soon illegally entered the Capitol building. One of them was a member of the West Virginia legislature, who posted a video of his exultant entrance.<sup>396</sup>
- Bomb threats were reported. Congressional staff were instructed to lock down within their respective offices.

- Protesters were filmed moving through Statuary Hall, with a view to stopping the constitutional process of counting Electoral College votes.
- The mayor of Washington, D.C. declared a 6:00 p.m. curfew.
- At around 2:45 p.m. Mr. Trump tweeted that the protesters should be peaceful, but he did not call for them to stand down.
- At 2:48 p.m. an armed stand-off at the front door of the House was reported, and House members of Congress were being evacuated from the legislative chambers. That is, the congressional proceedings had stopped.
- Violence and tear gas were reported within the building. Members of Congress were advised that they might have to use gas masks that had been placed under their seats. Republican as well as Democratic legislators were reportedly frightened. They then appeared to have been evacuated, to undisclosed locations, seemingly within the Capitol complex. Pence also had been evacuated.
- CNN's Wolf Blitzer noted that the entire world – allies and enemies – were watching all of this in real time. (Blitzer was the son of Holocaust survivors. They had been imprisoned in Auschwitz.)
- Still photographs of armed stand-offs were posted on-screen.
- Police – Capitol, Park Service and Washington, D.C. Municipal – acknowledged that they were outnumbered, and they called for reinforcements.
- A photograph of a protester sitting in the seat of the Senate's president (Pence), raising his fist in rage, was posted on-screen.
- At 3:15 p.m., Mr. Trump's daughter and senior advisor Ivanka tweeted that the participants in the rampage were "American Patriots." (She later deleted the tweet.)<sup>397</sup>
- At 3:25 p.m., a live video showed the protesters breaking windows and entering the House side of the Capitol, as well as scuffles with the police below. A woman, later identified as a protester and a QAnon follower,<sup>398</sup> was reported to be in critical condition after having been shot in the chest. (She died later that day.)
- At 3:29 p.m., police were reported to have cleared the Senate side of the Capitol.
- At 3:30 p.m., Maryland and Virginia police forces were filmed as having arrived.
- At 3:39 p.m., the White House tweeted that Mr. Trump had ordered the National Guard to restore order; but Mr. Trump publicly maintained his silence.
- At 3:52 p.m., multiple police officers were reported to have been injured. (The figure later mounted to dozens.)
- At 3:53 p.m., the entire D.C. national guard was reported to have been activated.
- At 3:54 p.m., a still photo of a protester sitting in Pelosi's office and grinning appeared on screen.
- At 3:57 p.m., Pence made a statement urging protesters to leave the Capitol building.
- At 4:06 p.m., President-elect Biden addressed the nation, calling the events an "unprecedented assault" on the country and the rule of law. He called on Mr. Trump likewise to go on national television to fulfill his oath, defend the Constitution, and call for an end to the act of insurrection. Like Blitzer, he said that the world was watching. He called for "decency, respect and honor." He said that democracy is fragile, and called on Americans to work for the common good.
- A CNN reporter inside the Capitol reported that many parts of the building had been vandalized.



- At approximately 4:23 p.m., Mr. Trump released a video calling upon his supporters to go home, even while he alleged in fiery words that the election had been stolen from him by “evil” Democrats. To his supporters, he said, *“We love you. You’re very special.”*
- CNN called the second Georgia run-off election in favor of the Democratic contender. That victory, once certified, would give control of the entire Congress to the Democrats.
- A reporter asked rhetorically how the U.S. could now purport to insist upon fair elections and peaceful transfers of power in developing countries.
- At 4:59 p.m., riot police began gently removing protesters from the Capitol steps.
- CNN reported that this was the first time that the Capitol had been breached since it had been burned by the British in 1814.
- As night fell, the steps were partly clear, but the police remained far outnumbered.

The following events were reported by live MSNBC television news. (All stated times are approximate. As before, CSD was trying to keep up in real time.)<sup>399</sup>

- At 5:15 p.m., Congresswoman Chrissy Houlahan (D-PA), from a secure place within the Capitol complex, described the experience of being the target of mob violence.
- Video footage taken earlier showed hundreds of rioters within the Capitol, and at least one man carrying a large Confederate flag. In that or other video footage, one man wore a shirt with an image on the front, captioned “Camp Auschwitz.”
- The secretary of homeland security, the acting attorney general, and the acting secretary of defense thus far had all been silent.
- At 5:48 p.m., Tiffany Trump blithely tweeted birthday greetings to her brother Eric.<sup>400</sup>
- At 6:00 p.m., the curfew began, but many protesters were not obeying it.
- As first reported by The Times, suspected bomb scares had occurred earlier in the day at the Democratic and Republican national headquarters.
- The Pentagon was reported to have discussed activating the National Guard with Pence and congressional leaders, but not with Mr. Trump.
- At around 6:10 p.m., Mr. Trump tweeted that the protesters should go home, even though their rage was entirely justified. *“These are the things and events that happen when a sacred landslide election victory is so unceremoniously & viciously stripped away from great patriots who have been badly & unfairly treated for so long,”* he tweeted. *“Go home with love & in peace. Remember this day forever!”*<sup>401</sup>

The following events were reported by live CNN television news. (All stated times are approximate.)<sup>402</sup>

- At 6:30 p.m., the acting attorney general Jeffrey Rosen declared the situation “intolerable.”
- Congressman Jason Crow (D-CO) described being locked in the House chamber and having to lie down on the floor for his safety, within the context of having served three tours in Afghanistan and Iraq as an Army Ranger.
- Mr. Trump was reported to be keen that the protests continue. Calls by some Democrats and a few Republicans (including officials from the National Association of Manufacturers) for removing Mr. Trump as unfit to serve under the terms of the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the Constitution were also reported.

- At 7:10 p.m., Twitter locked Mr. Trump’s account until the morning because of its incendiary content.
- At 7:30 p.m., Stephanie Grisham – Melania Trump’s chief of staff, Mr. Trump’s former press secretary, a persistent anti-democratic enabler and a serial liar – was reported to have resigned, presumably to try to somehow save her reputation.
- As of 7:40 p.m., many of the protesters were still not observing the curfew.
- Journalists were reported to have been threatened and assaulted in the course of the day’s events.
- Former President George W. Bush – silent for years on Mr. Trump’s offenses – decried the “insurrection,” which he called “sickening” and compared to episodes in “banana republics.”
- At 8:00 p.m., the Senate resumed its consideration of the objection to Arizona’s electoral votes. Pence condemned the day’s violence, and McConnell condemned the “failed insurrection.” A debate on whether to overturn the election ensued.
- By 8:35 p.m., a massive police presence had now assembled around the Capitol.
- At about that time, Mr. Trump’s former defense secretary James Mattis released a statement condemning Mr. Trump. *“Today’s violent assault on our Capitol, an effort to subjugate American democracy by mob rule, was fomented by Mr. Trump,”* Mattis wrote. *“His use of the Presidency to destroy trust in our election and to poison our respect for fellow citizens has been enabled by pseudo political leaders whose names will live in infamy as profiles in cowardice.”* He wrote that Mr. Trump would “deservedly be left a man without a country.”<sup>403</sup>
- At 9:00 p.m., the House resumed its consideration of the objection to Arizona’s electoral votes.
- At around 10:00 p.m., the Senate voted 93-6 against the Arizona objection. Apparently shaken and chagrined by the attempted insurrection that Mr. Trump had incited that day, and by their own experience in having had to hide under their desks only a few hours earlier, approximately eight senators who had previously expressed support for the objection had now reversed.
- The joint House and Senate session and the role call of states’ electoral votes resumed.
- At 12:15 a.m. on January 7, objections to Pennsylvania’s electors were raised, and the House and Senate once again proceeded to separate sessions.
- At 1:42 a.m., the Senate voted 92-7 against the Pennsylvania objections.
- Two-thirds of House Republicans voted in favor of the Pennsylvania objections. That is, they did exactly what the rioters had wanted them to do. Their number included eight of ten Republicans representing Pennsylvania, plus Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy and Minority Whip Steve Scalise – even though they had all earlier had to flee the chamber for their lives, under threat from fellow Trumpists. (They blamed the rampage not on Mr. Trump but on the alleged theft of the election.)<sup>404</sup>

The rioters had appeared to be largely White and nearly all male. Throughout the afternoon and evening, observers expressed incredulity and concern that the Capitol Police and other security forces had been so unable to protect the building; that some appeared to have had intentionally allowed protesters to enter; and that they had not arrested rioters who had entered. Some observers also speculated that had the rioters been Black, many would have been arrested or

shot. (Eventually, in the weeks following the episode, observers widely recognized that the police had been outnumbered and that the large majority of them had acted heroically.)<sup>405</sup>

One defending Black police officer later reported that he had been called a racial slur “a couple of dozen times” during the rampage.<sup>406</sup>

Some of the protesters inside the Capitol were armed with baseball bats, knives, pikes and chemical spray.<sup>407</sup>

Throughout the afternoon and evening of January 6, reports grew that White House staff and advisers were finding Mr. Trump increasingly unstable, even “ranting and raving.” (Reporters included CNN’s Jim Acosta, and The Post’s Phil Rucker appearing on MSNBC.) Reports of Cabinet members (including Secretary of the Treasury Steven Mnuchin and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo) discussing whether to attempt to invoke the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment also accumulated.<sup>408</sup> At 10:37 p.m., MSNBC cited reports that Mr. Trump had watched the invasion of the Capitol on television with pleasure.

Contemporaneous protests – many threatening and/or unlawful – occurred at the statehouses in Arizona, Oregon, Texas, Colorado, Kansas, Georgia, New Mexico, Utah, Wyoming, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and California.<sup>409</sup>

Reflecting on events of the past several weeks, a columnist for The Post wrote, “Trump’s inept legal challenges amounted to a clownish coup attempt. The Cruz-Hawley scheme amounted to a bloodless coup attempt. And now, Trump has induced his MAGA mob to a violent coup attempt.”<sup>410</sup>

Observers struggled to evaluate to what extent previously loyal Republicans who now were disowning Mr. Trump (a) were sincere in their changes of heart, or simply flowing with the tide for the sake of their future careers; (b) now perceived Mr. Trump to have been inchoately or even actually treacherous since the beginning of his presidential term, as opposed to his having perpetrated his first grievous misdeed on January 6; (c) would be chastened with respect to their party’s broadly anti-democratic behavior in any respect other than the events of January 6; and (d) would mend their ways after Mr. Trump’s departure, even under threat of his vengeance.

Media reported that world leaders had watched the assault in real-time. America’s allies had reacted with shock, dismay and concern; our adversaries with triumph and finger-wagging, and with mockery about the U.S. purporting to lecture other countries for shortcomings in their respective democracies. Many, including Germany’s Angela Merkel and Canada’s Justin Trudeau, laid the blame frankly at the feet of Mr. Trump.<sup>411</sup>

On January 6, some 3,800 Americans died from Covid-19, for a cumulative total of 360,000. Mr. Trump was silent about that.

CNN’s live television reporting continued on January 7 (all times are approximate):

- At 4:00 a.m., in joint session, Pence certified the Electoral College victory of Joe Biden and Kamala Harris.
- Mr. Trump issued a statement: still maintaining that the election was stolen from him, but now, for the first time, pledging an orderly transition of power on January 20. He wrote, “[T]his represents the end of the greatest first term in presidential history ...,” and he vowed to continue his “fight” to Make America Great Again.
- At 7:57 a.m., CNN reported that Mick Mulvaney – Mr. Trump’s former acting chief of staff and now his envoy to Northern Ireland – had resigned, like Grisham, apparently trying to salvage his reputation but without substantive impact. Matt Pottinger, the deputy national security advisor, had also resigned.
- Giuliani condemned the violence that he had helped to incite (having called for “trial by combat” at the pre-riot rally).<sup>412</sup>
- At 8:01 a.m., CNN reported (probably after having reported the same earlier in the morning) that Mr. Trump was furious with Pence. CNN also reported that Cabinet members were now openly discussing invoking the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment before Mr. Trump could do further damage to the country.
- At 8:26 a.m., Congressman Jason Crow, the former Army Ranger (see above) and former impeachment manager, told CNN that as he was trying to protect his fellow legislators during the siege of the House chamber, he was contemplating the possibility that he would have to fight his way out with a pen.
- At 8:48 a.m., a CNN reporter who had been speaking with the rioters described them as largely in their 40s and 50s, and absolutely confirmed in their belief that the election was stolen from them.
- At 9:54 a.m., CNN reported on public statements from Russia and Iran gloating about the fragility of American democracy, and it played video clips of the leaders of France and Germany expressing their concerns.
- At 10:16 a.m., CNN reported that four-star General Stephen Townsend, in charge of the U.S. Africa Command, had just told his troops that “our Constitution remains our bedrock, and our system of government is strong, resilient and will prevail.” CNN’s military reporter Barbara Starr interpreted the statement as an implicit acknowledgment of the troops’ concern and an implicit denunciation of Mr. Trump.
- At 10:17 a.m., CNN reported that Ryan Tully, the National Security Council’s director of European and Russian affairs, had resigned.
- At 11:02 a.m., Former Attorney General William Barr, a pro-authoritarian and one of Mr. Trump’s chief enablers who had left the sinking ship only two weeks previously, said that Mr. Trump had betrayed his office and his supporters.
- Adam Kinzinger of Illinois became the first (and only) House Republican to call for Mr. Trump’s removal pursuant to the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment.<sup>413</sup>
- At 11:20 a.m., CNN reported that Facebook had indefinitely suspended Mr. Trump’s account.
- At 12:19 p.m., CNN reported that Mr. Trump was isolated, raging, unrepentant, and plotting vengeance against Republicans who had turned on him.
- At 1:18 p.m., Congressman Seth Moulton (D-MA), a four-tour Marine veteran of the Iraq war, said that Democrats had begun drafting new articles of impeachment.

- At 1:38 p.m., Transportation Secretary Elaine Chao resigned. She would now be safe from having to consider invoking the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment with the rest of the Cabinet.
- At 2:28 p.m., CNN televised Pelosi's call for Pence and the Cabinet to invoke the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment, and her vow to impeach Mr. Trump again if he were not removed pursuant to the amendment.
- At 2:50 p.m., CNN reported that Hawley had distributed a fundraising message during the assault on the Capitol.
- At around 4:30 p.m., Mr. Trump's former chief of staff John Kelly told interviewer Jake Tapper that the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment should be invoked.
- At around 7:00 p.m., a Capitol Police officer who had been assaulted during the rampage was reported to have died, bringing the death toll to five: the protester who had been shot by defending security officers, two protesters who had died from non-violent causes, one protester who had been trampled in a surge of the crowd, and now the Capitol Police officer. The officer was the sixth from the force to die in the line of duty since 1952, and the fourth on Capitol grounds. Flags were flown at half-mast at the Capitol in his honor, but (until January 10) not at the White House.<sup>414</sup> Like the other four people who died, the officer was later reported to have been a Trump supporter.<sup>415</sup> Whether the broad affinity between police forces and Mr. Trump now stood to be shaken was not immediately obvious.
- A pipe bomb was reported to have been found on Capitol grounds, in addition to the pipe bombs found at the headquarters of the Republican National Committee and the Democratic National Committee the previous day.
- At around 7:15 p.m., CNN ran a video that the White House had just released, in which Mr. Trump, reading (woodenly and without sincerity) from a teleprompter, condemned the violent rioters, acknowledged that the administration would change, and called for calm, healing, national unity, and a dedication to faith, charity, loyalty and "one national family." But he took no responsibility for having incited the assault; he falsely said that he had immediately called up the National Guard as the rampage began; he did not concede that scores of courts had ruled against him or that he had lost the election; he said that the "only goal" of his scores of failed lawsuits had been "to ensure the integrity of the vote" and to "fight ... to defend American democracy"; and he promised that Trumpism was only beginning. Some of Mr. Trump's social media followers nevertheless scoured him, for having abandoned them in that video statement.<sup>416</sup> Media subsequently reported that as of that evening Mr. Trump had felt that most of the demonstrators were peaceful and that the rioters were being blamed unfairly in light of left wing riots earlier in the year; that he was then still mostly absorbed with his rage against Pence; that he had resisted appearing in the video; but that, under the advice of White House counsel, he had felt forced to do so in an attempt to avoid possible criminal prosecution for the events of January 6.<sup>417</sup>
- Education Secretary Betsy DeVos resigned, citing Mr. Trump's role in the rampage – and like Chao, freeing herself from the call to invoke the 25<sup>th</sup> amendment.<sup>418</sup>
- The White House fired a State Department official who had tweeted that Mr. Trump was "entirely unfit to remain in office."<sup>419</sup>
- The Wall Street Journal – Mr. Trump's perennial defender – called upon him to resign, for his "impeachable acts."<sup>420</sup>

- A video of a Capitol policeman being brutally stomped appeared widely. Reports of the incidence at the Capitol of weaponry, pipe bombs, Molotov cocktails, calls for a civil war, and clamors for death for Pelosi and Pence proliferated.<sup>421</sup>

By the evening of January 7, a split profile of the rioters had begun to coalesce. On the one hand, many appeared to have been generally witless, some clownishly attired, all filled with intense but turbid social grievances, and devoid of ideology, strategy or understanding.<sup>422</sup> Those who were not violently storming congressional offices and chambers seemed puzzled as to what to do with themselves once they had penetrated the Capitol.<sup>423</sup> A prominent historian later wrote in *The Times*, “*It is hard to think of a comparable insurrectionary moment, when a building of great significance was seized, that involved so much milling around.*”<sup>424</sup> Some also seemed naive – happy, for example, to have been filmed for social media, but generally surprised afterwards that they stood to be arrested or fired from their jobs. Afterwards, some boasted about their landmark accomplishment; others felt deflated, that Pence and Trump had betrayed them; yet others invented ever more elaborate conspiracy theories explaining their failure to have brought down the government.<sup>425</sup> In the end, they had not participated in a “coup” in any strategic sense, as when a military officer executes a crisp putsch; rather, they appeared to have simply been sent to the Capitol by Mr. Trump, as a mob.<sup>426</sup>

On the other hand, media promptly characterized some of the rioters as appearing to have had military training, military equipment and a disciplined approach to the job – the apparent fruit of pre-planning; and on January 10 Pelosi alleged that as well.<sup>427</sup> As more details emerged, dozens of people on the FBI’s terrorist watch list were seen as having participated in the rampage, as well as many current and former law enforcement officials.<sup>428</sup> On January 16, *The Times* reported on extensive fund-raising and mobilization efforts mounted by militias, QAnon followers, Christian radicals and other agitators that had preceded and had pointed zealots toward the violent confrontation at the Capitol.<sup>429</sup> On January 19, *The Times* reported that the FBI was investigating the Oath Keepers, a right wing militia group, as having plotted the rampage.<sup>430</sup> On January 20, Politico identified the Proud Boys as another FBI target relative to such plotting.<sup>431</sup> On January 30, *The Post* reported that the FBI had found evidence of a coordinated assault.<sup>432</sup> *The Post* reported additional evidence, including of planned assassinations, on February 11.<sup>433</sup> In these respects, the final manifestation on January 6 appeared to have been concerted.

So was the rampage at the Capitol truly an attempted “coup?” An “insurrection?” Or just a spontaneous fling by a band of ignoramuses, something akin to a fraternity party gone berserk? Pundits and political experts disagreed among themselves.<sup>434</sup> Statistical analyses eventually emerged.<sup>435</sup> But plainly the event had flowed from a years-long attempt on Mr. Trump’s part to poison the minds of Americans with falsehood and fury; that it followed a months-long effort on his part to subvert the Constitution and the functioning of government so that he could retain power unlawfully; and that all of that had culminated in a violent episode intended to impede the rule of law and to advance a potentially unstoppable, cognitively twisted, jihad-like movement of authoritarianism and white supremacist terror.<sup>436</sup>

A portrait of life in the White House in the initial aftermath emerged as well. Mr. Trump, as noted above, was reportedly dark, raging and isolated, “indignant, unmoored and psychologically fragile.” One of his advisors said, “*He is alone. He is mad King George.*” Some of his staff were

avoiding him. Many wondered whether to leave. None publicly defended his role in inciting the rampage. The Post reported: *“People who interacted with Trump said they found him in a fragile and volatile state. ‘A lot of people don’t want to talk to him,’ a senior administration official said. ‘He’s in a terrible mood constantly, and he’s defensive, and everyone knows this was a horrible mistake.’ Trump spent Wednesday afternoon and evening cocooned at the White House and listening only to a small coterie of loyal aides — including [Chief of Staff Mark] Meadows, Deputy Chief of Staff Dan Scavino, personnel director Johnny McEntee and policy adviser Stephen Miller. [Press secretary Kayleigh] McEnany also spent time with the president. Jared Kushner, the president’s son-in-law and senior adviser, was described as disengaged.”*<sup>437</sup>

Politico reported on January 11 that Mr. Trump was too isolated and self-absorbed to engage in any governing duties or to mount a forceful defense of his second impeachment which by then had begun to take shape; that most of his lawyers were gone; and that he was spending his days insisting that he had won the election and calling the same sparse number of loyalists for comfort over and over.<sup>438</sup>

CNN reported that, in the wake of the rampage, Republicans had splintered within Congress; but that the base and Mr. Trump’s media allies had remained firmly in his camp, and that the majority of Republican voters who were surveyed blamed President-elect Biden for the rampage.<sup>439</sup> A prominent Republican pollster wrote, *“The professionals are running away from a sinking ship, but his own supporters have not abandoned him, and they actually want him to fight on. ... He’s become the voice of God for tens of millions of people, and they will follow him to the ends of the earth and off the cliff.”*<sup>440</sup>

CNN also reported that, in the hours following the rampage, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Director of National Intelligence John Ratcliffe and national security advisor Robert O’Brien had all received multiple calls from former senior national security officials and the leaders of major corporate national security firms urging them not to resign, for the sake of the country’s security, as Mr. Trump appeared to be “devolving into volatile instability.”<sup>441</sup> Other senior officials were similarly torn between leaving or staying for the sake of stability, and some of those staying were preparing to resist any illegal orders from Mr. Trump.<sup>442</sup>

The New York Daily News reported that several of the rioters had defecated in the Capitol, then tracked their feces through the halls.<sup>443</sup>

On January 8, roughly in this chronology:

- At 9:46 a.m., Mr. Trump tweeted that the 75 million Americans who had voted for him would never be disrespected or treated unfairly. He thus far had said nothing about the five people (including the Capitol Police officer) who had died during the rampage.<sup>444</sup>
- Mr. Trump also tweeted that he would not attend the inauguration of President-elect Biden – making him the first departing president to so refuse since the refusal by the impeached, racist president Andrew Johnson in 1869.<sup>445</sup>
- Pelosi conferred with General Mark Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, about preventing a deranged and desperate Mr. Trump from initiating military actions or a nuclear war.<sup>446</sup>

- At its annual winter meeting, in Florida, the Republican National Committee condemned the rampage but joyfully praised Mr. Trump.<sup>447</sup>
- The first Republican senator, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, called for Mr. Trump to resign.<sup>448</sup>
- Several members of both parties in Congress condemned Senators Hawley and Cruz for undermining the Constitution and for helping to incite the rampage, with some calling for them to resign.<sup>449</sup>
- Twitter suspended the accounts of Trump allies Flynn and Powell for spreading QAnon conspiracy theories.<sup>450</sup>
- Shortly after 6:00 p.m., Twitter permanently suspended Mr. Trump’s account, due to the risk of “further incitement of violence” – leaving him isolated not only from aides and politicians but from his 88 million Twitter followers.<sup>451</sup> His supporters in Congress and the media subsequently objected to the suspension, expressing more concern for Mr. Trump’s First Amendment rights than for the protection of the rest of the country under the Constitution, and unfazed by the possibility that Mr. Trump could continue to incite violence and insurrection if his Twitter feed were not taken away.<sup>452</sup> Asked if Mr. Trump felt “emasculated” by the loss of his social media platforms, the press secretary of his reelection campaign Hogan Gidley said. “*The most masculine person I think to ever hold the White House is the President of the United States.*”<sup>453</sup> (Possibly anticipating and channeling Gidley, Mr. Trump had earlier told Pence that if Pence didn’t withhold the Electoral College certification, he would be a “pussy.”<sup>454</sup>)
- The leader of the Southern Baptist Convention’s policy arm publicly asked Mr. Trump to step down.<sup>455</sup>
- At the White House, Mr. Trump privately expressed his regret for having released the January 7 video statement.<sup>456</sup>
- The Post detailed the extensive vandalism and theft committed by the rioters. Among other things, computers and files had been stolen; and historic artwork, historic architectural details and historic furniture had been damaged.<sup>457</sup>
- Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell, who had lambasted the objections to the Electoral College vote on the floor of the Senate on the day of the rampage, in a memorandum appeared to acknowledge the legitimacy of an impeachment proceeding, although he said it would not occur under his watch.<sup>458</sup> (With the Georgia run-off elections resulting in Democratic control of the Senate, McConnell would soon become the minority leader, and off the hook in that regard.) That is, he refused to oversee a trial of Mr. Trump, even while acknowledging that a trial might properly occur.
- The U.S. surpassed 300,000 daily Covid-19 cases.<sup>459</sup>

Media again reported that Mr. Trump had watched with pleasure on live television as the rioters stormed the Capitol, and had ignored the pleas of his aides to intervene to stop it.<sup>460</sup> Within a minute after the rioters had penetrated the Capitol, Mr. Trump tweeted his outrage at Pence. Two minutes later he called freshman Senator Tommy Tuberville (R-AL) on the floor of the Senate to urge him to delay the certification vote – precisely what the rioters were attempting to accomplish. The call was cut off when Tuberville had to evacuate.<sup>461</sup>



A Republican senator confirmed previous news reports that Mr. Trump had been “delighted” to see the rioters attacking the Capitol and couldn’t understand why his staff didn’t share his enthusiasm. The senator also reported with dismay that while he, other legislators and Pence were at risk for their lives, and while blood was being spilled at the Capitol, Mr. Trump had been rage-tweeting about Pence.<sup>462</sup> Mr. Trump reportedly never inquired about the safety of Pence, even after Pence had been whisked away to a secure location.

Editorial boards of newspapers across the country called for Mr. Trump’s immediate resignation or removal.<sup>463</sup> Contemporaneously, Trumpist social media voices were aflame with plans for renewed and scaled-up violence in Washington and state capitals, now in connection with the January 20 inauguration of President-elect Biden.<sup>464</sup> But, as previously reported, some of Mr. Trump’s followers had now turned on him, accusing him of cowardice for forsaking them after the rampage and for not following through with the insurrection.<sup>465</sup> Other right-wing social media voices, several prominent right-wing radio and television commentators (including Sarah Palin, Laura Ingraham and Lou Dobbs), as well as several Republican members of Congress (including Mo Brooks, Paul Gosar and Matt Gaetz) speculated that radical leftists had orchestrated the rampage.<sup>466</sup>

Media again reported that, during the rampage, journalists had been assaulted and their equipment smashed.<sup>467</sup>

Media published a startling video that captured the rioters first breaking through the police line at the foot of the Capitol’s steps, to the wild shouts of their supporters. The video made apparent that although the police had first resisted, within minutes they had been overwhelmed.<sup>468</sup>

Multiple reports emerged that some of the rioters had been seeking to capture and hang Pence for presiding over the confirmation of the Electoral College vote. (A makeshift gallows had been installed in front of the Capitol.)<sup>469</sup> On January 9, armed protesters at Kentucky’s statehouse railed at McConnell (a Kentucky senator) for not having joined in the objections to that vote, and they took a knee in memory of the QAnon-supporting protestor whom Capitol Police had shot dead.<sup>470</sup>

Media reported that Mr. Trump, in seeking to overturn Georgia’s Electoral College vote in the weeks before the rampage, had not just pressured the secretary of state to “find” votes to help him (as described above). He had also pressured a top Georgia election investigator to “find the fraud;” had pressured the governor to convene a special session of the legislature in hopes of overturning the results; and had caused the U.S. attorney in Atlanta to resign for failing to pursue false voter fraud allegations.<sup>471</sup> (In early March, a recording of the call to the investigator emerged.<sup>472</sup>)

Few Republican leaders now appeared to be sticking to their acutely inflammatory postures that had preceded the rampage. But few expressed regret for their prior complicity with Mr. Trump; those who did proffered excuses, including that Mr. Trump had recently changed for the worse; few joined Democrats in calling for his removal; and none who had raged about election fraud appeared to back down from their claims.<sup>473</sup> Nevertheless, many seemed to be launching new, plaintive calls for “national unity” and “healing,” while arguing that impeachment would be

“divisive.”<sup>474</sup> As a case study, Pennsylvania’s Senator Pat Toomey – a man who had occasionally disagreed with Mr. Trump on economic and other policy issues but who had never called the man out for his cruelty, corruption and demagoguery, then who had announced in October that he would not run for reelection – was now quick to go on NBC and CNN to opine that Mr. Trump had “committed impeachable offenses,” and he called upon Mr. Trump to resign. He blamed Republicans for the violence, and blamed Democrats for driving Republicans to violence; but he would not call for impeachment, and he absolved himself of any fault.<sup>475</sup> (In 2017, when Mr. Trump’s anti-democratic behavior was apparent to anyone with two eyes to see it, Toomey and his staff had refused to meet with CSD’s representatives to discuss the matter.)

On January 9, a sixth person died as an apparent consequence of the rampage: a Capitol Police officer who had defended the building. On January 11, his death was reported to be a suicide.<sup>476</sup>

As of January 10, Mr. Trump and Pence had not spoken. Reportedly they finally did speak on January 11.<sup>477</sup> The Post then described blow-by-blow Mr. Trump’s pressuring Pence to overturn the election and his finally turning on Pence – a man who for four years had loyally prostrated himself before the president and his depravities in hopes of someday succeeding him.<sup>478</sup>

On the morning of January 11, House Democrats introduced a resolution calling for Pence to remove Trump by invoking the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment. House Republicans blocked that effort, which would have required unanimous consent among House members.<sup>479</sup>

House Democrats then proceeded to introduce an article of impeachment against Mr. Trump, for “incitement of insurrection.” The document cited Mr. Trump’s incitement of the storming of the Capitol with a view to disrupting the certification of Joe Biden’s election, as well as Mr. Trump’s attempt to pressure Georgia’s secretary of state to rig the election there, and Mr. Trump’s repeated false claims that he had rightfully won the election. If the article were to be adopted by a majority of House members, Mr. Trump would become the first president ever to have been impeached twice.<sup>480</sup>

Also on January 11, the FBI warned that armed protests could arise at all 50 state capitols on or before Inauguration Day, January 20.<sup>481</sup>

On the same day, Chad Wolf, the acting secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, resigned. He professed that the reason was that his legitimacy as acting secretary, and the enforceability of his prior orders as acting secretary, had been challenged in court on procedural grounds. But it was only after the storming of the Capitol on January 6 that he appeared to have taken that challenge seriously enough to stand down. In fairness, he had fiercely condemned the rampage after the fact (although not during it), and he had forcefully called upon Mr. Trump to denounce it. But his departure-for-convenience created a massive hole in command relative to ongoing threats of civil disturbances around the presidential election.<sup>482</sup> Wolf was replaced as acting secretary by the administrator of the Federal Emergency Management Agency – the sixth person to head DHS in six years (by far a record).<sup>483</sup>

Also on January 11, Amazon shut down the pro-Trump social media platform Parler by blocking it from Amazon’s cloud computing service. Parler promptly sued.<sup>484</sup>

As of January 11, polls showed a significant minority of Republican voters supporting the storming of the Capitol. Their party at last had firmly discovered in itself a widening rift between those who primarily supported delusional conspiracy theories and those who believed in fact-based, democracy-based policy. With rising rhetoric, the former were now escalating their attacks against Trump critics such as Mitt Romney, Cindy McCain and even the usually deft chameleon Lindsey Graham. Corporations had declared that they were withholding campaign money from Mr. Trump, from Republicans generally, from Republicans who had voted against certifying the election, or from both political parties; and businesses (including the Professional Golfers Association and Deutsche Bank, Mr. Trump's last remaining major lender) were cutting ties with the Trump Organization.<sup>485</sup>

Polls released on January 11 and January 13 revealed that Mr. Trump's approval rating had dropped precipitously since December to a mere 33% or 34%.<sup>486</sup>

On the evening of January 11, new leaders of the Capitol Police warned House Democrats of three specific plots that Trump supporters were now developing for President-elect Biden's inauguration – including one to assassinate many Democrats and some Republicans, so that Republicans could take control of the government. The police and the National Guard were preparing for tens of thousands of armed protesters to appear at the event.<sup>487</sup>

Also on January 11, The Post provided additional detail on Mr. Trump's disinterest and paralysis on January 6 as Republicans trapped in Congress had desperately called him for help, and as he had raptly watched the episode unfolding on television. The Post wrote: "The man who vowed to be a president of law and order failed to enforce the law or restore order. The man who has always seen himself as the protector of uniformed police sat idly by as Capitol Police officers were outnumbered, outmaneuvered, trampled on — and in one case, killed. And the man who had long craved the power of the presidency abdicated many of the responsibilities of the commander in chief."<sup>488</sup>

Also that evening, The Post reported that several Capitol Police officers had been suspended and that more than a dozen others were under investigation for their possible involvement with or inappropriate support for the demonstration. Suspensions and investigations were also occurring within local police departments across the U.S.<sup>489</sup>

On the morning of January 12, Mr. Trump emerged from five and a half days of seclusion to address reporters outside of the White House. He denied having incited violence at the Capitol; said that his impending second impeachment was a continuation of "the greatest witch hunt in the history of politics"; and blamed Pelosi and Senate Minority Leader Chuck Schumer for the country's perilous anger and division. Then speaking again to reporters before boarding Air Force One at Joint Base Andrews, en route to a photo op at his border wall in Texas, he claimed, delusionally, that "everybody" said his speech at the rally immediately preceding the rampage had been "totally appropriate." He also disparaged "Big Tech," presumably for suspending his social media accounts. Although he expressly said that he wanted "no violence" going forward, his comments were interpreted by some as incendiary.<sup>490</sup>

In Texas, Mr. Trump boasted about the border wall and exaggerated it as an achievement. He also recited his fraudulent scare stories about immigrants – a recitation that one observer felt was recklessly or deliberately inflammatory following the Capitol rampage. He also said that impeachment would be very dangerous for the country – an insinuation that it could elicit a violent response.<sup>491</sup>

Also on January 12, media reported that Amazon and Facebook staff were being cautioned about threats to their safety at the hands of Mr. Trump’s supporters.<sup>492</sup>

The Justice Department revealed that it had charged 70 people with sedition and other crimes in connection with the Capitol rampage, and that it expected to charge hundreds. Many of those who had featured prominently in real-time television videos of the rampage had already been arrested.<sup>493</sup> (As of mid-March, over 300 had been arrested, and at least a hundred more were expected to be.<sup>494</sup>)

Congresswoman Liz Cheney (R-WY), third-ranking Republican in the House, said that she would vote for Mr. Trump’s impeachment. That made three Republicans willing to take that stand. The Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a memo to the entire U.S. military condemning the rampage at the Capitol and confirming that Joe Biden would become their commander in chief on January 20.<sup>495</sup>

(The following reporting was by CNN television news, except where noted otherwise. Times of day, as before, are approximate.)

On January 12, Mr. Trump’s mega campaign contributor Sheldon Adelson died. Mr. Trump promptly extended his condolences to the surviving family. He had not yet sent condolences to the family of the Capitol Police officer who had been killed by the mob on January 6.

At around 11:29 p.m. on January 12, a majority of House members again voted to resolve to ask Pence to invoke the 25<sup>th</sup> Amendment. Kinzinger was the only Republican joining in the majority.<sup>496</sup> Pence shortly refused the request.

Some 4327 Americans had died from Covid-19 on January 12, a new daily record.<sup>497</sup>

Also on January 12, Alex Azar – Mr. Trump’s characteristically hapless, disingenuous and servile Health and Human Services Secretary – resigned on account of the Capitol rampage. Conveniently, he timed his resignation to be effective January 20, the date on which President-elect Biden was expected to fire him anyway.<sup>498</sup>

On the morning of January 13, the House conducted its debate on whether to impeach Mr. Trump. A prominent Republican theme continued to be a call to “heal” and “unite” by not impeaching.<sup>499</sup> CSD likened that call to a hypothetical call by an unrepentant mob of vigilantes to “heal” and “unite” by not indicting one of its members who had shot someone in the heart. (For four years, culminating on January 6, Mr. Trump had shot our democracy in the heart.) We also likened it to a call by an unrepentant accessory to a rapist who, in the name of peace and

unity, urged that the rapist not be tried. (For four years, Mr. Trump had been raping our democracy.)

At approximately 10:30 a.m., the House moved to impeach.

Live video on January 13 displayed the entire grounds of the Capitol as fenced-in and road-blocked, for security reasons. Even foot traffic was restricted. Security was reportedly higher and more visible than at any time since 9-11. Some 20,000 National Guard troops had been called up – far more troops than the U.S. then had in Afghanistan, Iraq, Somalia and Syria combined – to defend against domestic insurrection.<sup>500</sup> Media posted dramatic photos and videos of troops bivouacked inside the Capitol.<sup>501</sup> Plans were announced to shut down much of the District on Inauguration Day – an unprecedented level of shut-down for that city.<sup>502</sup> The Times reported, “Military vehicles and troops in the streets evoked images of Civil War-era Washington.”<sup>503</sup> Governors across the country had also called up the Guard, bracing for violence at their respective capitols, and with little help from and no coordination from Washington.<sup>504</sup> The FBI did, however, urge police chiefs across the country to be on high alert for extremist activity, warning of potential attacks on state capitol buildings, federal buildings, the homes of congressional members and businesses.<sup>505</sup>

One of the organizers of the January 6 rally that had preceded the rampage said that three Republican House members had helped him in his organizing efforts.<sup>506</sup> One Republican member of the House had tweeted the location of Pelosi’s office during the rampage.<sup>507</sup> A Democratic House member said on January 13 that she had seen Republican congressmembers leading people through the Capitol on January 5 in what had appeared to be “reconnaissance for the next day.”<sup>508</sup> Another Democrat, from Southeastern Pennsylvania, later reported having seen an irregular “tour” of the Capitol as well, in violation of Covid-19 rules; and several Democrats reported that the electronic emergency buttons in their offices had mysteriously been disabled prior to the attack.<sup>509</sup> Additional Democrats reported on a particular “tour” led by a particular right-wing congresswoman.<sup>510</sup> Yet another Democratic House member alleged that the rioters had likely been informed about the location of House Democratic leadership offices by Republican House members.<sup>511</sup> House Democratic Whip Jim Clyburn said on January 13 that, since the rampage, he had seen Republican House members trying to bring guns onto the House floor.<sup>512</sup> Huffington Post reported that one Republican House member who had been inciting Mr. Trump’s supporters prior to the rampage had been carrying a gun then, and during the House consideration of the Electoral College vote.<sup>513</sup> On January 12, a group of at least 10 Republicans, in violation of House rules, had skirted the metal detectors when entering the House as a protest to what they claimed were their 2<sup>nd</sup> Amendment gun rights.<sup>514</sup> On January 13, Pelosi proposed a \$10,000 fine for lawmakers who refused to comply with weapons screening rules.<sup>515</sup> The outrage of the Republican offenders grew over the following days.

Still on January 13, before the impeachment vote, a Democratic congressman told MSNBC that many of his Republican colleagues were “paralyzed with fear,” that in his conversations with them the previous evening “a couple of them broke down in tears ... saying that they are afraid for their lives if they vote for impeachment.”<sup>516</sup> (After the impeachment vote, The Daily Beast reported similarly: that “several powerful Republicans on Capitol Hill spent the week whispering to one another that they didn’t want to vote to impeach the president largely because they feared

doing so would cause Trump devotees to try to kill their families.”<sup>517</sup> A Democratic congresswoman said the same of Republicans on PBS.<sup>518</sup>)

Debate on the impeachment proceeded. According to one observer, Republicans were utterly unrepentant for their role in having alleged election fraud and in otherwise having stoked the mob on January 6. Their defenses consisted largely of (a) objections to the speed of the proceedings (although *they* had insisted on speed when denying Democrats the opportunity to field witnesses during the previous year’s impeachment trial in the Senate); (b) “whataboutism” relative to the previous summer’s urban riots (even though there was no allegation that any Democratic figure had incited those riots); and (c) the alleged “divisiveness” of impeachment. That is, little of the initial defense involved claims that Mr. Trump had not incited the rampage.<sup>519</sup>

On the late afternoon of January 13, the House voted to impeach Mr. Trump. It was the first time that Congress had impeached anyone twice, and the most bi-partisan presidential impeachment vote in American history. Ten Republicans joined the Democratic majority.<sup>520</sup> No Republicans had joined in the first vote to impeach Mr. Trump in early 2020.

None of Pennsylvania’s Republicans voted to impeach. Most of them had objected to Pennsylvania’s Electoral College votes, and they now continued to fan Mr. Trump’s flame-out.<sup>521</sup>

McConnell had been signaling since the previous day that he favored impeachment, and possibly conviction; but also that he would not urge other Republican members of Congress how to vote.<sup>522</sup> He was reportedly enraged at Mr. Trump – both for causing him to lose his position as majority leader due to Democratic victories in the two Georgia run-off elections, and for causing a mob to attack “his” Senate while it was in session. But after the impeachment was sealed, McConnell reaffirmed his vow to not allow the trial to occur until sometime after the Biden-Harris inauguration on January 20, at which point – again, by virtue the Georgia victories – Democrats would control the Senate, and McConnell would no longer preside.

The Post reported that Mr. Trump, spending his days watching television and “fulminating,” was ever more isolated in the White House – furious with even his closest advisors for their unwillingness to publicly defend his behavior around the January 6 rampage. He was even tiring of one of his last and greatest loyalists, Giuliani, and was seeking not to pay him for his recent months of advocacy (for which Giuliani had notoriously asked \$20,000 per day).<sup>523</sup> Other media as well reported on Mr. Trump’s fury, isolation and functional collapse.<sup>524</sup>

Peter Meijer (R-MI), one of the ten Republicans who had voted to impeach Mr. Trump, revealed that he was wearing body armor to protect himself from Mr. Trump’s supporters.<sup>525</sup>

The Times reported that European populist parties that had until recently embraced Mr. Trump were now backing away from him and condemning the Capitol rampage. They reportedly now felt that populism, under Mr. Trump, had become associated with mob violence and with a leader seeking total authority – recalling for Europe mid-20<sup>th</sup> century fascism.<sup>526</sup>

The Times also reported that the acting attorney general, the secretary of state, the FBI director and the new acting secretary of homeland security had been publicly silent – a rarity on the occasion of a national security emergency. The Times concluded that they were keeping their heads down so that the press wouldn't ask them to criticize Mr. Trump; that is, fearing that if they answered the press candidly they would be fired and the country would be further destabilized. But as a result, no one at the top of the government was explaining anything or offering any assurances about the national security situation to the American people.<sup>527</sup>

On January 14, a Democratic congressman told NBC that he feared that some gun-carrying, far-right members of Congress could murder him.<sup>528</sup> That evening, another Democratic congressman said the same on CNN television.<sup>529</sup> A third Democratic congressman told CNN the same on January 15.<sup>530</sup>

On January 17, The New Yorker posted a lengthy article containing reporting from within the rampage, plus an accompanying video containing graphic images of the episode. The article also covered assorted protests, riots and other events leading up to the January 6 episode. Many other media outlets subsequently replayed the New Yorker's video. From the article and the audio, it was plain that the participants had been hunting Pence, Pelosi and other lawmakers in the Capitol. Many (variously) shouted Christian, fascistic, homophobic, racist, anti-Semitic, anti-communist, or anti-globalist threats, insults and claims. Several of the mob's leaders had petty criminal backgrounds. Some were ridiculous; all were enraged. Many expressed fervent loyalty to Mr. Trump; several referred to him as their "emperor."<sup>531</sup>

At least five of the participants in the rampage said during and after the episode that by storming the Capitol they were fulfilling Mr. Trump's call to action. On those grounds some publicly asked him to pardon them.<sup>532</sup>

A new CNN poll revealed that many days after the rampage, only 19% of Republicans believed that Joe Biden had won the election.<sup>533</sup> The Times reported that many Republicans, from Giuliani on down, were blaming the rampage on antifa.<sup>534</sup>

Multiple news outlets reported that attendance at the January 6 rally – far from being the spontaneous fruit of individual attendees – had been organized, promoted and funded by a daunting range of small, dark money, extremist, pro-Trump organizations and activists, and that some of Mr. Trump's campaign staff had assisted.<sup>535</sup> The campaign had previously paid nearly \$3 million to the pertinent groups and individuals.<sup>536</sup>

On January 18, Pro Publica reported on a cache of 500 videos of the rampage that it had obtained from the extremist social media platform Parler before Parler had taken them down. The reporter remarked on the seeming diversity of the rioters (excepting that they were mostly White): from lunatics to seemingly ordinary people. He wrote: *"There undoubtedly were some dangerous organized elements within the mob that attacked the Capitol. But what is scariest about these videos is that they show the damage that can be done by a crowd of unorganized Americans goaded and abetted by the leaders of an organized political party. The radical fringe is a cause for concern. The thousands of regular people whipped into a murderous rage is the real*

*nightmare.*”<sup>537</sup> Speaking on CNN, the reporter confirmed that the videos had captured several groups among the rioters holding prayer sessions while inside the Capitol.<sup>538</sup>

Multiple sources reported that, as of January 18, Mr. Trump – still out of sight in the White House and tending to little if any government business – was continuing to tell his aides that he had won the election.<sup>539</sup>

On January 19, The Post reported that 20 of the country’s top 30 corporate PAC donors had cut off those members of Congress who had voted to object to Electoral College results.<sup>540</sup>

On the morning of January 20, Inauguration Day, following a week sequestered within the White House with no public appearances, Mr. Trump bade farewell to the building, vaguely promised to return, and took a helicopter to Joint Base Andrews. He had not spoken to the president-elect since their final public debate.<sup>541</sup> At the air base, without recent precedent, he walked down a red carpet and received a 21-gun salute from a battery of Army cannon. Congressional Republican leadership snubbed the event. At approximately 9:00 a.m., he boarded Air Force One and departed for Mar-a-Lago in Florida – his final flight as president. As the plane taxied away, speakers blasted a recording of Frank Sinatra’s “My Way.”<sup>542</sup> (CSD had reported at p. 11 of this Chronology, on January 20, 2017, that Mr. Trump and his wife Melania had led the dance floor at his inaugural celebration to the same rendition of “My Way.”<sup>543</sup>)

Before a spare, masked and socially distanced crowd, at 12:00 noon on January 20, Joe Biden was sworn in as the 46th president of the United States. Kamala Harris was sworn in as vice president. 25,000 National Guard troops protected them, the Capitol complex, and our country.

**The Impeachment Concludes;**  
**The End after the End**

The Times reported on January 22 that only one day after Barr had announced his resignation in mid-December, Mr. Trump had begun pressuring his replacement, acting Attorney General Jeffrey Rosen, to file briefs in support of various meritless election fraud claims that Mr. Trump’s allies had brought, and to appoint special counsels to investigate those claims. Rosen had resisted, adhering to Barr’s conclusion that widespread fraud simply had not occurred. Mr. Trump had then sought to replace Rosen with an underling who had been willing and eager to force the Georgia legislature to overturn that state’s presidential election results. Only after all of the department’s top officials threatened to resign did Mr. Trump abandon the plan.<sup>544</sup> The Wall Street Journal subsequently added that Mr. Trump had urged the department to go directly to the U.S. Supreme Court to try to overturn the election results.<sup>545</sup> The various schemes had occurred in parallel with Mr. Trump’s efforts to extort Georgia’s secretary of state into throwing that state’s election results to him. They were thus of a piece with Mr. Trump’s many efforts to subvert the Constitution and overthrow the newly elected American government.

Mr. Trump’s impeachment proceedings continued. Responding to new threats to the lives of members of Congress in anticipation of Mr. Trump’s impeachment trial in the Senate, Capitol



Police and other federal law enforcement officials asked that thousands of National Guard Troops remain deployed in Washington.<sup>546</sup>

On January 24, the Arizona Republican Party censured the state's Republican governor Doug Ducey, its former Republican U.S. senator Jeff Flake, and the late Republican senator John McCain's widow Cindy for refusing to support the overturning of the election.<sup>547</sup>

On January 25, the (Democratic) House impeachment managers walked through the Capitol to the Senate and then presented the article of impeachment to the latter body.<sup>548</sup>

On January 26, the Senate voted 55-45 to reject a Republican motion to dismiss the second impeachment of Mr. Trump. That is, only five Republican senators indicated a willingness to entertain the proceeding. The now minority leader McConnell was among those voting to dismiss.<sup>549</sup> (Only three weeks earlier, on the Senate floor, in the heat of the moment after narrowly escaping the mob's wrath in that very space, he had roundly denounced Mr. Trump; and days later he had hinted that he favored impeachment and conviction. Apparently, his wounds had healed.)

Also on January 26, the Oregon Republican Party announced its position that the January 6 rampage at the Capitol had been engineered by Democrats to discredit Mr. Trump. The party said that the rampage was thus akin to the February 1933 burning of the German Reichstag – a false flag operation, likely engineered by fascists, which had led to Hitler's rise to power – with the Democrats now as the arsonists. The party also compared those Republicans in Congress who had voted to impeach Mr. Trump to the Revolutionary War traitor Benedict Arnold.<sup>550</sup>

On January 27, media reported that a second police officer who had defended the Capitol on January 6 died by suicide. Sixty-five officers had been injured.<sup>551</sup>

The Times reported on January 29 that at least five current members of Congress – all far-right firebrands and Trump supporters – at that time had ties to militias and other extreme right-wing groups: Paul Gosar (R-AZ), Andy Biggs (R-AZ), Lauren Boebert (R-CO), Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-GA), and Matt Gaetz (R-FL).<sup>552</sup>

On February 9, the House impeachment managers crossed the Capitol to the Senate chambers, and Mr. Trump's second impeachment trial commenced. First, they presented a composite video of Mr. Trump's incitement of the rampage. Citing the language of the Constitution and historical precedent, they then contested the Republican claim that a president can not be tried for impeachment after the end of his or her term.<sup>553</sup> Mr. Trump's lawyers defended, including by stoking irrational cultural hatreds and by claiming that his conviction would result in a second civil war.<sup>554</sup> The Senate nevertheless voted 56-44 that the president could be constitutionally tried, with six Republicans joining 50 Democrats.<sup>555</sup> And so the trial proceeded.

(By bipartisan consensus, Mr. Trump's lawyers had performed poorly, even laughably, that day. Unlike in the first impeachment, Mr. Trump had been unable to retain any top-tier legal talent to represent him in the current matter.)

On February 10 and 11, the House impeachment managers made their main substantive case, including by way of a second video, this one showing in breathtaking detail, among other things, how close the rioters had come to seizing the senators that they had sought to harm. Observers, including many Republican members of Congress, praised the managers' intellect, their style, and the power of their presentation. But although some Republican senators seemed to be shaken by the video, by the second day of the presentation many looked to be bored, and others drifted away.<sup>556</sup> At one point three leading Republicans were seen huddling with Mr. Trump's lawyers to talk strategy, an outright violation of their sworn oath to judge him impartially – just as McConnell, then the Senate majority leader, had blatantly conferred with defending counsel during Mr. Trump's first impeachment trial.<sup>557</sup>

One of CNN's regular pro-Trump commentators – a Republican insider who had stopped defending the man after January 6 – posited that, based on his information, if the Senate were to vote in secret, the count would be 90 to 10 in favor of conviction.<sup>558</sup> That is to say, the Senate Republicans who were now against conviction were defending their jobs, not their beliefs.

On February 12, Mr. Trump's attorneys mounted their formal defense, including with their own video that featured angry Democratic politicians and angry rioters of color at previous venues. Counsel argued falsely that the January 6 rioters had acted independently – without Mr. Trump's encouragement – and that some of them had been antifa. They ignored months of Mr. Trump's pre-riot harangues that the election had been rigged and that his supporters needed to act in order to correct that abomination. Altogether, critics viewed the defense as light on law and facts, heavy on falsehood and on cultural and racial grievance. In the end, defense counsel used only a fraction of its allotted time. Some compared their presentation to a Trump rally or press conference.<sup>559</sup>

That evening, CNN reported that, during the siege of the Capitol, the House minority leader had told Mr. Trump by phone that the life of his vice president, Mike Pence, was in danger; that the two men had shouted at each other; and that Mr. Trump had expressed no interest in stopping the rampage.

On February 13, after some controversy, that account was placed in the trial record, and the trial proceeded to its conclusion.

Following closing arguments by counsel, the Senate voted 57 to 43 to convict Mr. Trump. Seven Republicans joined with Democrats in that vote. It was the most bi-partisan vote to impeach a president in American history. Nevertheless, falling short of the necessary 67 votes to convict, the Senate thus had acquitted him.<sup>560</sup> He was now also free to run for president again in 2024.<sup>561</sup>

Mr. Trump thus had effectively fulfilled his 2016 campaign boast: *"I could stand in the middle of Fifth Avenue and shoot somebody and I wouldn't lose voters."*<sup>562</sup>

The headline of a Post opinion column summarized: *"Trump left them to die. 43 Senate Republicans still licked his boots."*<sup>563</sup>

Immediately after the vote, McConnell – an inveterate Trump enabler until the January 6 events – explained his vote to acquit on grounds that a former president couldn't be convicted, while otherwise excoriating Mr. Trump on the basis of the Democrats' arguments and suggesting that he could be prosecuted for his crimes. In truth, most legal scholars had concurred that a former president can be convicted; the majority of the Senate had so voted; and it was McConnell, while majority leader, who for months had declined to counter Mr. Trump's claim of a rigged election, and who ultimately had prevented the Senate from voting on the impeachment charges while Mr. Trump was still in office.<sup>564</sup> Critics charged that, following McConnell's reasoning, future presidents could again commit horrendous offenses near the end of their terms, secure in the belief that they could avoid impeachment and conviction.<sup>565</sup>

But based in part on McConnell's speech, and on McConnell's vote to acquit on a procedural technicality, President Biden said that "the substance of the charge" against Mr. Trump did not appear to have been the subject of serious dispute. Mr. Trump, for his part, boasted that he had been exonerated yet again from "the greatest witch hunt in the history of our Country"; that he was the champion of the rule of law and of law enforcement officers; that it was Democrats who rejected the rule of law; and that he would remain politically active. He said nothing about the attack on the Capitol, and he showed no remorse for what he had done.<sup>566</sup>

A legal scholar wrote in Politico: "This acquittal sends at least three dangerous messages to future presidents. First, you can with impunity use every weapon in a relentless effort to overturn the results of a free and fair election. Some of these weapons are more legitimate, such as recounts and lawsuits, than others, such as pressuring state officials, ignoring 62 losses in court and seeking intervention by government officials. The acquittal also shows that a president can incite a violent, armed mob to overtake and ransack the Capitol in order to cut short the constitutionally mandated vote certification without accountability. And third, it is now almost impossible to imagine a presidential offense that would lead to conviction in the Senate."<sup>567</sup>

At the end of the day, CSD believes that the sincerity and eloquence of the House managers' presentations, the foul, shabby and amateurish rebuttals by Mr. Trump's attorneys, and the video record of the entire proceeding will stand for decades, if not centuries, as monuments to justice powerfully asserted and cynically foiled. But whether they will have portended the end of American democracy or the beginning of its resurgence would not be known for some time.

### Concluding Observations

The voting results of the November election were telling. President Biden did not win by a popular vote landslide, and Mr. Trump captured most of the states he had captured in 2016. Had a mere 45,000 votes in three swing states gone the other way, he would have achieved an Electoral College tie and Congress would have then chosen him to be president.<sup>568</sup> He prevailed even in many states and counties that had been hardest-hit by the coronavirus.<sup>569</sup> Democrats lost seats in the House of Representatives. In other words, after all of Mr. Trump's depravity during the preceding four years, the popular view of him and his party, statistically speaking, had not changed much; the voting pool on both sides was simply more angry, frightened and energized. To America's shame, and to the disadvantage of democracy everywhere, foreign observers were dismayed that Mr. Trump and his party had defied the election results, and that "Trumpism"

itself had not been broadly rejected by the electorate. Government voices in China, Russia and Iran ridiculed the U.S. Whether and how we might hope to “teach” democracy overseas was now ever more in question.<sup>570</sup>

In addition, the massive vote-suppression machinery rolled out by Mr. Trump’s party would remain in place for the next election and a blot on our nation’s history forever. As the ballots were still being counted, a columnist from The Post had re-capped:

- They fought against absentee voting despite the raging pandemic.
- They sabotaged the U.S. Postal Service so mail-in ballots wouldn’t be returned on time.
- Then they filed suit so late-arriving ballots wouldn’t be counted.
- They sued to stop people from returning ballots in a drive-through setting.
- They sued to limit the days of early voting.
- They sued to disqualify ballots if a signature didn’t exactly match the one on file from years earlier.
- They restricted ballot-drop sites to disadvantage large counties full of Democratic voters.
- They purged eligible voters, particularly voters of color, from the rolls, and they imposed ID requirements and restricted voting locations and hours in ways that disproportionately disenfranchise non-Whites.
- They fought to keep ex-felons from getting their voting rights restored.
- They fought to keep Native Americans on reservations from voting.
- They harassed voters returning their ballots by videotaping them.
- They encouraged armed militias to patrol polling places.
- On Election Day, after the U.S. Postal Service, now run by a Republican megadonor, reported on-time delivery rates below 90 percent and disclosed that it could not trace more than 300,000 ballots it had collected, a federal judge ordered the Postal Service to sweep its facilities for “held up” ballots. The Postal Service, represented by Trump Justice Department lawyers, disregarded the court order.”<sup>571</sup>

Indeed, in the weeks following President Biden’s inauguration, Republican controlled statehouses across the country began engineering even further restrictions on voting – all intended to suppress Democratic participation, and all in the name of protecting the integrity of elections against voter fraud.<sup>572</sup> As of March 11, at least 250 laws intended to suppress voting had been proposed, across 43 states.<sup>573</sup>

But there were grounds for Americans to congratulate one another. Record numbers of citizens voted, despite unprecedented efforts by the Republican Party to discourage some of them (mainly Democrats) from doing so. Most voters managed successfully to navigate the coronavirus pandemic, often with the help of new accommodations for their safety and travel created by local communities and election officials. Many put up with long lines at the polls in order to vote, sometimes in challenging weather. The sturdy efforts of postal workers – combined with the orders of several federal judges – resulted in the timely delivery of the vast majority of mailed-in ballots, notwithstanding the suspected efforts of the Postal Service’s political leadership to derail the election.<sup>574</sup> The extraordinary efforts of election officials and poll workers produced a credible counting of both mailed-in and in-person ballots, in the face of

intense time pressure and political fever. (On December 16, The Times profiled Philadelphia's lone Republican City Commissioner – one of three city commissioners, whose jobs are to oversee elections. In helping to deliver an honest vote count, he had heroically withstood shrill, public denunciations by Mr. Trump, Giuliani, Lewandowski and others in his party, as well as death threats targeting him and his family.<sup>575</sup>) Polling places avoided major disturbances, and the military stayed away from them. No major computer hacking, misinformation campaign or other interference by foreign actors appeared to have succeeded. A woman of color was elected vice president. Although the fathomless wrongness, wantonness and stupidity of left-wing urban rioters had depressed Democratic wins, enough voters had been able to look past them toward a better American future. Despite the lawlessness of the president and the pre-election puffery of armed right-wing extremists, hundreds of millions of Americans, however unnerved, remained law-abiding.<sup>576</sup>

In addition, after all, Mr. Trump had indeed been defeated, by a margin of 7 million popular votes out of 169 million (51.3% for Joe Biden and 46.8% for Mr. Trump), and by 74 out of 538 electoral votes (56.9% for Biden and 43.1% for Mr. Trump).<sup>577</sup> He had lost despite his advantage as an incumbent, his bully pulpit as president, his diabolical showmanship, and his massive disinformation campaign. By a relatively slim margin, the country had gained an opportunity to re-set its trajectory. President Biden had the potential to govern and to lead the country out of its cultural and political crisis, from the center.

Still, the election results demonstrated that the country hadn't changed much. Although a good number of electoral votes had swung away from Mr. Trump, he and his cruel, indecent and authoritarian behavior continued to command the loyalty of nearly half of the electorate, not to mention the acquiescence of millions of non-voters. Indeed, several million more voters – now fully informed of what he represented, and not particularly hating his opponent (as many had hated Hillary Clinton) – chose him in 2020 than in 2016. In exit interviews, few voters of either party cited the preservation of democracy or the restoration of a social dynamic based on the communication and acceptance of empirical truth as their primary reason for voting as they did.<sup>578</sup> Furious social division seemed likely to persist or even to grow, and the ordinary functioning of Congress likely to continue to stall. Possibly worst of all, a roadmap for the mechanics of stealing future elections had been established.<sup>579</sup>

As for Mr. Trump's future, he seemed unlikely to simply retire to Mar-a-Lago to play golf and hold court. A more active life would probably be more to his liking, and he reportedly needed to hustle in order to satisfy large personal monetary debts. Speculations included the following:

- *The real estate business.* Mr. Trump's business could become active again in launching new overseas hotel, golf club, office tower and resort development projects or licensing deals, using contacts and favors that he had accumulated while president in countries such as Turkey, Russia, Brazil and Israel where he remained popular. He could even become personally involved in the deal-making. Massive ethical challenges were not expected to restrain him.<sup>580</sup> But his brand – one of his principal assets – seemed to have taken a body blow.<sup>581</sup> Many of his businesses had plummeted in value during his term, particularly during the pandemic; thus his resources for leveraging them into new deals likely plummeted also.<sup>582</sup> And his reputation for deceit, exaggeration, capriciousness and

litigation had gained so much exposure that CSD was uncertain whether governments, lenders and other potential partners would be willing to invest in or with him.

- The media business. “The Apprentice” had reportedly been more lucrative and less risky for Mr. Trump than the real estate business. In addition, since becoming president, he had gained a new asset – over 70 million political followers – who could now be turned into cash. His electoral defeat had likely galvanized rather than tamed his appetite for attention, adulation, political power and vengeance. And so he was widely reported to have entertained major media undertakings: to destabilize the Democratic administration and (like the Russians) America’s belief in our own democracy; to promote his loyalists as political candidates across the country; to select the next Republican contenders for the presidency, including possibly himself (see below); to bask in the buzz of media viewers and the press; and of course, to make money.
- Noise and money, without risk (1). Mr. Trump could limit his media activities to lucrative, paid appearances on existing networks, such as Fox. He could also profit from books, command high speaking fees, and charge admission to in-person rallies. In so doing, he could be vocal without tying up the vast energy and cash needed to start a new enterprise.
- Noise and money, without risk (2): In mid-November, several observers had written that Mr. Trump’s post-election litigation appeared to be less about overturning the voting results than about fundraising for other projects. His broad email appeals asked supporters for money to pay lawyers to contest the election; but the fine-print revealed that he would keep most of the receipts for his own newly formed PAC, called Save America – effectively a slush fund that he could use to help himself and political friends in their fight to degrade our democracy, even without the risk and stress of launching a new media business. He seemingly could also tap into the fund to pay his family, his businesses and himself for PAC-related services.<sup>583</sup>
- Litigation defense. As of the end of his term, Mr. Trump was facing a variety of personal lawsuits (for assault, defamation, fraud) and New York State civil and criminal investigations (for tax, insurance and bank fraud).<sup>584</sup> He was already in far greater legal jeopardy than any previous president,<sup>585</sup> and additional claims seemed possible as more data emerged. Going forward, some of his time and energy could be spent in defending those cases. He would defend vigorously, and interminably. CSD doubts that he would go to jail.
- Election, 2024. Mr. Trump could run for president again in 2024. But it was unclear to observers whether he could manage that at the same time as some of the other adventures described above – or whether he would tolerate the significant risk of losing again.<sup>586</sup>
- Treason. During the early days of Mr. Trump’s litigation seeking to undo his electoral loss, several observers raised concerns that after eventually leaving the White House he could choose to share state secrets with foreign powers, including America’s adversaries. He could do that for vengeance, for profit, or (as he had already done in the past) merely to show off.<sup>587</sup> National security officials feared extending to him the usual courtesy of post-presidential intelligence briefings.<sup>588</sup> In any case, CSD speculates (without actual knowledge, but based on the smell of the thing) that Mr. Trump could commit the greatest classified data dumps and the greatest acts of treason in American history.

- *In sum.* Mr. Trump appeared to have many opportunities before him to continue to draw attention, preen, boast, lie, divide, inflame and sow chaos, all while making money – both by instinct and as a matter of his chosen lifestyle.

In late February 2021, Mr. Trump appeared as the star of the annual (conservative) CPAC convention – raging and unashamed, to the adulation of the attendees. In his address there, he maintained that he had won the election; he railed against immigrants; and he called for electoral vengeance against Republicans (by name) who had voted against him in the course of the second impeachment proceedings. The crowd was reportedly emotional – in its affection for him and in its hatred of his foes.<sup>589</sup> Included in his speech was a solicitation for donations to his Save America PAC – a fund for himself; and millions of dollars, seemingly in small donations, instantly poured in.<sup>590</sup> Indeed, Republican grass roots fund-raising had continued to soar generally;<sup>591</sup> and, his appetite now whetted, shortly after the event Mr. Trump sought to divert *all* incoming Republican funds to his own PAC.<sup>592</sup>

During the same period, some leading Republicans – in defiance of all law enforcement findings – were continuing to maintain that antifa and other left-wing extremists, rather than right-wing extremists, had stormed the Capitol.<sup>593</sup>

Both McConnell (who on January 6 had virtually called for Mr. Trump’s impeachment) and Georgia’s Governor Brian Kemp (whom Mr. Trump had tried to pressure into rigging Georgia’s electoral votes and whose resignation over that issue Mr. Trump had urged) now said that they would “absolutely” support Mr. Trump in a 2024 reelection campaign.<sup>594</sup>

By March, the siege of the Capitol appeared to the FBI as having given inspiration to other would-be terrorists, and to a likely proliferation of future attacks on both individuals and institutions. The FBI’s director, Christopher Wray, told the Senate Judiciary Committee with considerable alarm that the threat was “metastasizing.”<sup>595</sup> Indeed, credible threats of violence at the hands of Trump supporters caused the House to cancel its March 4 session – *to cease the ordinary functioning of the government* – in what would have to be considered a victory for terrorism.<sup>596</sup> In mid-March, at enormous dollar cost, the National Guard was ordered to remain deployed at the Capitol.<sup>597</sup>

So regrettably, whatever career options Mr. Trump now were to choose would likely continue to test the viability of our democratic political system – a system which, after several centuries, had proven to be still in its experimental stage.

But Mr. Trump was no longer the principal problem. Much of the country had been infected with a disease – a cult-like and vengeful hysteria at the bottom, varying susceptibilities to transactional acquiescence in the middle, and all led by a cynical and cowardly crowd of politicians at the top – for which no cure or vaccine had yet appeared. The task of motivating Americans toward rescuing our democracy, our community and a common concept of reality itself remained before us. To CSD, as this Chronology came to an end, that task seemed as urgent as ever.

**Additional Election-Related Behavior**

*Beyond Mr. Trump's efforts to suppress voting and to discredit and overturn the election, as described in this second section of the Addendum, see also the following entries in the first section this Addendum that describe other means through which Mr. Trump and his associates had attempted to corrupt the election:*

- October 16-17: **Lock 'em all up.**
- October 17 +: **MY judges crush THEIR voting rights.**
- October 19: **Bribe me.**
- October 19 +: **The new Russia trick.**
- October 20 +: **Hatching until the end.**
- October 21-22: **More purges threatened.**
- October 22: **The second debate.**
- October 23: **In Florida.**
- October 25: **Brawls.**
- October 26: **In Pennsylvania (once more).**
- October 26: **Mask-less and fact-less.**
- October 26 +": **Philadelphia shooting.**
- October 27: **Prosecutors speak out.**
- October 27 +: **The martial arts.**
- October 28: **Child trafficking.**
- October 30: **Viral on social media.**
- October 30 +: **Caravans.**

For a recapitulation of the myriad efforts of Mr. Trump and his supporters to steal the election that had accrued prior to the entries in the current Addendum, see the topic **"Summary of Efforts to Steal the Election"** on p. 1384 of this Chronology.



**The Coronavirus Pandemic**  
**(A separate section of Addendum 34)**

**The anti-democratic behaviors chronicled below fall primarily within categories 1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 15 as defined in CSD’s Statement of Principles.**

**The events surrounding the coronavirus pandemic moved rapidly. CSD’s observations below that were recorded as of a given date may have been superseded on subsequent dates.**

**Readers may find that many of CSD’s concerns about the Trump administration’s coronavirus response are chronicled repeatedly below. But the repetition is neither casual nor rhetorical. Rather, it reflects the persistence of disturbing phenomena that recurred, that news media reported anew, and that continued to threaten lives through the end of Mr. Trump’s term in office, and beyond.**

On October 18, Dr. Scott Atlas tweeted that face masks were useless against the spread of the coronavirus. Twitter quickly took down the posting, as false and dangerous.<sup>598</sup> Atlas – who was a radiologist and conservative pundit, not an immunologist or epidemiologist – had come to be the principal medical voice of Mr. Trump’s coronavirus task force. His widespread denunciation by the mainstream medical community is described in CSD’s preceding Addendum.

At a rally in Prescott, Arizona on October 19, Mr. Trump mocked his electoral opponent Joe Biden for heeding the advice of Dr. Fauci, the esteemed epidemiologist whom Mr. Trump had sidelined from the task force. He said of Fauci, *“A lot of our people don’t like him ... he’s a promoter.”* During a call with campaign staff and reporters that day, Mr. Trump said that “people are tired of hearing Fauci and all these idiots.” He disparaged Fauci as “a disaster” whose advice, if heeded, would have caused up to 800,000 Americans to have died from the coronavirus. The baseless remarks came a day after Fauci, on “Sixty Minutes,” had criticized Mr. Trump’s disdain for face masks. (Also during the rally, Mr. Trump said of the mainstream media, *“You turn on CNN. That’s all they cover. Covid, covid, pandemic. Covid, covid, covid . . . They’re trying to talk people out of voting. People aren’t buying it, CNN, you dumb bastards.”* The attendees at the rally were crammed shoulder to shoulder, and almost entirely mask-less.)<sup>599</sup>

On October 20, the CDC announced that “excess deaths” in the U.S. from roughly February through September of 2020 had totaled 299,000 – that is, deaths statistically in excess of those in a typical year. Most of the excess deaths had resulted from Covid-19, but many were from other illnesses that were not timely treated because patients at home feared or couldn’t access hospitals due to the pandemic. At least 220,000 Americans were known to have died of Covid-19 so far in 2020, making that disease the country’s third largest killer. Mr. Trump continued to downplay the slaughter.<sup>600</sup>

As recorded in the first section of this Addendum, on October 22, Politico reported that Health and Human Services Secretary Alex Azar was openly plotting to oust FDA chief Stephen Hahn for insisting on stringent standards for the approval of any coronavirus vaccine.<sup>601</sup>

Media reported on October 24 that Vice President Mike Pence’s chief of staff Marc Short and several other top aides were infected with the coronavirus. Short was one of the administration’s fiercest skeptics of coronavirus restrictions. Defying cautions raised by health experts, Pence refused to suspend his in-person campaign activities. The White House initially sought to conceal the aides’ infections from the public.<sup>602</sup>

At a rally in Waukesha, Wisconsin on October 24, Mr. Trump pushed the false conspiracy theory that hospitals and doctors were inflating the number of coronavirus cases that they were treating so as to make more money. The American Medical Association and National Nurses United (the country’s largest professional association for nurses) promptly refuted the claim.<sup>603</sup> But Mr. Trump repeated the allegation at a rally in Waterford Township, Michigan on October 30.<sup>604</sup> CSD found astonishing that Mr. Trump had insulted medical professionals rather than praising them for their extraordinary efforts during the pandemic. For many months, they had been working through exhaustion and at risk to their own lives in attempting to save Americans – both those Americans who had tried to protect themselves from the pandemic, and those who, like Mr. Trump, and goaded by him, had rashly, narcissistically, insolently and parasitically thought to out-muscle the pandemic, only to be rescued in the end by the very medical community that they had spurned.

At rallies in Pennsylvania, New Hampshire and North Carolina from October 24 through 26, Mr. Trump falsely claimed that the U.S. was “rounding the turn” in defeating the coronavirus.<sup>605</sup>

On October 27, the White House’s science policy office ranked “ending the Covid-19 pandemic” at the top of the list of Mr. Trump’s first-term accomplishments – even as infections were mounting and hospitals filling.<sup>606</sup>

The Washington Post described on October 28 how the White House had consistently refused to assist in routine efforts at contact tracing relative to the several outbreaks of Covid-19 in and around the White House – thus preventing the evaluation of who might yet spread the disease, and how.<sup>607</sup>

A CNN investigation released on October 29 revealed that 82% of the counties that had held mask-less Trump election rallies between mid-August and late September had experienced surges in diagnosed coronavirus cases four weeks after the rallies, and that those surges were anomalous in comparison to neighboring counties.<sup>608</sup> On October 30, Stanford University researchers reached similar conclusions, determining that the rallies had likely led to more than 30,000 Covid-19 cases and 700 deaths.<sup>609</sup>

Also on October 30, the Justice Department filed papers in support of a lawsuit brought by a veterans’ group seeking to overturn Philadelphia’s coronavirus-based ban on large, scheduled events such as rallies and parades.<sup>610</sup>

At a rally in Montoursville, Pennsylvania on October 31, Mr. Trump said that Democrats “do not believe in science,” because they had called for rigorous testing of vaccines before deployment – vaccines that he said were “ready to go,” and were being held back only in an effort to defeat his

bid for re-election. But the vaccines were not ready to go.<sup>611</sup> Claiming that Democrats, not he, disbelieved in science was the latest iteration of Mr. Trump's signature stunt of baselessly projecting his own demerits onto the reputations of his enemies.

Also on October 31, Atlas gave an interview to the RT television station. In that interview he disparaged criticisms of the administration's progress in handling the pandemic. Afterwards he (improbably) claimed not to have known that RT was a creature of the Russian government – a fact that was generally well known.<sup>612</sup>

At a rally in Opa-locka, Florida on November 1, Mr. Trump suggested that he might fire Dr. Fauci after the election. Mr. Trump's supporters rejoined with a chant, "*Fire Fauci!*"<sup>613</sup> The episode followed Fauci's televised caution on October 30 that the country was poorly prepared for what appeared to be a grim, looming winter with the coronavirus – a warning that the White House had promptly disparaged.<sup>614</sup>

A report issued by Dr. Deborah Birx – one of the respected epidemiologists on Mr. Trump's coronavirus task force whom he had sidelined from visibility for months – flatly contradicted his claim that the U.S. was "rounding the turn." She wrote that the worst phase of the outbreak in the U.S. was approaching, and that mask-less events such as Mr. Trump had been conducting were unacceptable.<sup>615</sup>

At the dawn of Election Day on November 3, the U.S. death toll from the pandemic had come to exceed 230,000.<sup>616</sup> The following day brought the largest single daily diagnosis count, at 104,000, with new infections raging across the Midwest.<sup>617</sup> Judging in part from the closeness of the election, the electorate appeared to be split as to whether and how to deal with the pandemic, with nearly half of it – following Mr. Trump's lead – seeming to want to just wish it away.

On November 5, more than 121,000 coronavirus cases were diagnosed.<sup>618</sup>

Also on November 5, Steven Bannon proposed in a podcast that Dr. Fauci be beheaded and his head hoisted on a pike. Bannon was Mr. Trump's former campaign manager and former strategic advisor, and he was currently under federal indictment for fraud.<sup>619</sup>

On November 6, media reported that Mr. Trump's chief of staff Mark Meadows was infected with the coronavirus. Meadows, who had long advanced Mr. Trump's claims downplaying the need for face masks and social distancing, had sought to conceal his condition from the public. Five others in the White House were currently infected.<sup>620</sup> On November 9, Ben Carson – a physician, and the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development – tested positive. Both Meadows and Carson, plus a third top administration official who tested positive, had all attended the election night party at the White House on November 3, which observers speculated might have been a super-spreader event comparable to the celebration of Amy Comey Barrett's nomination to the Supreme Court.<sup>621</sup> That speculation advanced on November 11 as several more attendees – including Corey Lewandowski, Mr. Trump's primary election campaign manager – were diagnosed with the disease.<sup>622</sup>

By November 9, 10 million cases had been recorded in the U.S., and public health experts were projecting that the darkest months of the pandemic were imminent. Over 1,000 daily deaths had been recorded recently.<sup>623</sup>

But also on that date, Pfizer announced what tentatively appeared to have been an experimental vaccine breakthrough. Although the FDA had not yet reviewed and cleared the research, financial markets were heartened. Mr. Trump's son Donald Jr. insinuated that Pfizer had withheld its announcement until after the November 3 election for political reasons, but Pfizer rebutted that charge. On November 11, Mr. Trump repeated it, asserting that the "medical deep state" – the FDA – together with Pfizer had intentionally sabotaged his election by delaying the announcement.<sup>624</sup>

On November 10, Atlas publicly called Dr. Fauci a "political animal" for having turned more sanguine on stemming the pandemic after Pfizer announced the tentative success of its vaccine.<sup>625</sup> (Fauci had served with distinction under six presidents of both political parties, and – unlike Atlas – he was reputed to be scrupulously apolitical.)

On November 11, the CDC reported more than 140,000 Covid-19 cases, a one-day record.<sup>626</sup> By November 12, the figure had risen to 151,000, emergency rooms and intensive care units were overflowing and hospital staff nearing exhaustion in some parts of the country, particularly the Midwest.<sup>627</sup> But since television networks had called the election for Joe Biden on November 7, Mr. Trump had been silent about the pandemic, and about virtually everything else – except for the election, which he continued (by way of Twitter) to falsely rage had been stolen from him.<sup>628</sup> To that date he had also forbade his agencies, including his coronavirus team, from participating in the normal presidential transition process with the president-elect's staff.<sup>629</sup> That is, whether through blind rage, utter callousness or otherwise, he was strangling the transition for the nation's pandemic response – jeopardizing untold thousands of lives – as he stewed and fulminated in his electoral defeat.<sup>630</sup>

On November 13, Mr. Trump emerged from his post-election silence to praise the development of the Pfizer vaccine and to take credit for that development. But he threatened to withhold the vaccine from New York State (where he was at odds with the governor, Andrew Cuomo), and he was silent about the skyrocketing of cases and the suffering of affected patients and their families.<sup>631</sup> He had not attended a coronavirus task force meeting in many months. Now absorbed with convincing the nation and the courts that he had won re-election when he patently had lost, he seemed to some observers to have given up on even pretending to govern, and on protecting American lives.<sup>632</sup>

The Post reported on November 13 that 130 Secret Service agents – 10% of the force – were currently infected by the virus or quarantined due to close contacts with co-workers who had been infected. Many of the cases were believed to have arisen from agents accompanying Mr. Trump on his final campaign rallies. A total of 300 agents had had to isolate or quarantine since March.<sup>633</sup>

As Covid-19 cases soared to meteoric levels, particularly in the Midwest, Atlas tweeted that Michigan residents should “rise up” against the state’s Democratic governor to protest additional public health measures that she had recently imposed.<sup>634</sup>

The development of a second promising coronavirus vaccine, this time by Moderna, was announced.<sup>635</sup>

On November 16, The American Hospital Association, the American Medical Association and the American Nurses Association implored the Trump administration to work closely with the Biden transition team relative to the nation’s Covid-19 response.<sup>636</sup>

On November 18, Atlas encouraged Americans to hold large family Thanksgiving gatherings in their homes, contrary to the advice of nearly all public health officials.<sup>637</sup> The White House called some states’ Thanksgiving restrictions on large gatherings “Orwellian.”<sup>638</sup>

As of November 18, the pandemic had killed over 250,000 Americans – more than ten times the number of motor vehicle deaths in a year.<sup>639</sup>

On November 20, Stanford University’s faculty senate condemned Atlas – a faculty member – for spreading disinformation about Covid-19, stating that his behavior was “anathema to our values and belief that we should use knowledge for good.”<sup>640</sup>

In his annual Thanksgiving proclamation, on November 25 Mr. Trump urged Americans to “gather” – in direct conflict with his own public health officials, who were urging that people gather minimally and cautiously, if at all, as the pandemic roared to record levels.<sup>641</sup> The Post reported that foreign observers were watching the U.S. holiday unfold with “dread and disbelief.”<sup>642</sup>

Also on November 25, the U.S. Supreme Court, in a ruling joined by Mr. Trump’s three appointees, forbade New York State from limiting religious gatherings with a view to slowing the spread of the virus.<sup>643</sup>

On November 26, Thanksgiving Day, Mr. Trump said of President-elect Biden, “*Don’t let him take credit for the vaccines because the vaccines were me and I pushed people harder than they’ve ever been pushed before. We are rounding the curve.*”<sup>644</sup> In fact he had been fretting for weeks about the president-elect taking credit.<sup>645</sup> During a Fox News interview on November 29, in which Mr. Trump falsely asserted that the U.S. was controlling the coronavirus better than other countries, he also falsely asserted that he personally “came up with vaccines.”<sup>646</sup> As for rounding the curve and controlling the pandemic, U.S. infections and deaths were still soaring, nearing 14 million and 275,000, respectively, by November 30.<sup>647</sup>

On November 30, his reputation in tatters, Atlas resigned. In his resignation letter, he “congratulated” Mr. Trump for his “vision.”<sup>648</sup>

On December 2, Mr. Trump released a video on Facebook in which he ranted for 46 minutes on how the election had been stolen from him. Mr. Trump called it “the most important speech I’ve ever made.”<sup>649</sup> He did not mention the coronavirus pandemic except in connection with what he

alleged were mail-in voting abuses. Indeed, he had continued to remain almost totally silent about the pandemic since Election Day, except for boasting about the vaccines that he claimed to have developed, and denouncing any credit for that that President-elect Biden might seek to claim. On the same day, Dr. Redfield, the CDC director, said that the coming January through March threatened to be “the most difficult in the public health history of this nation.”<sup>650</sup>

On December 2 and 3, media reported that the White House was planning 20 indoor holiday parties and the State Department was planning others. One State Department event, hosted by Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, had 900 invitees. The District of Columbia had forbidden indoor gatherings in excess of ten people.<sup>651</sup> On December 15, The Post reported that few people had accepted the State Department invitation, out of coronavirus concerns; and that as a consequence, Pompeo had canceled his own appearance.<sup>652</sup>

Mr. Trump tweeted on December 6 that his attorney Rudy Giuliani had contracted Covid-19. Giuliani had been traveling around the country for weeks – buffoonish and mask-less – as he had mounted unsuccessful legal challenges to Mr. Trump’s electoral loss on baseless grounds of fraud.<sup>653</sup> Giuliani had potentially exposed many hundreds of people to the disease.<sup>654</sup> On December 8, media reported that lawyer Jenna Ellis – Giuliani’s equally buffoonish and mask-less colleague – was also infected, and that White House staff were frightened from having interacted with her at a recent holiday party.<sup>655</sup> As of December 7, 40 people in Mr. Trump’s direct orbit had become infected.<sup>656</sup> (Ellis possibly made it 41.)

On December 8, Mr. Trump ordered that U.S.-produced vaccines be distributed first to Americans before other countries. But the vaccine manufacturers already appeared to have had at least preliminary agreements in place to distribute abroad. Reports now emerged that the Trump administration had earlier foregone the opportunity to purchase sufficient doses to treat Americans, and now seemed to be trying to make up for that error. When asked by a reporter for clarification of the new executive order, the chief scientist for the vaccine program appeared confused on video and said that he knew nothing about it.<sup>657</sup>

Also on December 8, Mr. Trump claimed that 15% of Americans had been infected, thus leading the country toward herd immunity, which he said was “terrific.”<sup>658</sup> (On December 9, over 3,000 Americans died from the disease, which was a record, and consistent with the daily trending.<sup>659</sup>)

On December 8, in Idaho, a virtual county health meeting on whether to impose a local mask mandate was prematurely ended due to physical threats being flung at some of the attendees at their homes.<sup>660</sup>

On December 8, Pompeo hosted 200 people at a holiday party at the State Department. On December 9, Mr. Trump hosted a large holiday party at the White House. Many or most of the guests at both events were mask-less, and un-distanced.<sup>661</sup>

On December 10, Giuliani left the hospital, feeling well, and boasting that as a “celebrity” he had received treatments with scarce drugs unavailable to most people. Mr. Trump, his advisor Chris Christie, and Housing Secretary Ben Carson had also received those treatments. Mr. Trump proposed that many other top officials receive preferential priority as well.<sup>662</sup> (CSD can

appreciate the commander-in-chief receiving special treatment with a scarce medical resource; but not necessarily every boot-licking sycophant associated with him, including those who had declined to wear face masks before getting sick.)

On December 11, Mr. Trump's chief of staff Mark Meadows told the FDA's director Steven Hahn that Hahn would be terminated if he didn't approve the pending Pfizer vaccine by the end of the day, according to schedule. Hahn complied.<sup>663</sup>

Also on December 11, the Department of Homeland Security held an indoor holiday party, in likely violation of the District of Columbia's numerical attendance restrictions. There the acting secretary Chad Wolf was photographed mask-less and un-distanced.<sup>664</sup>

As reported in the first section of this Addendum, on December 12, thousands of mostly mask-less Trump supporters rallied in Washington, DC to support Mr. Trump's claims of election fraud. Attendees included conservative church groups, pardoned felon Michael Flynn, and 200 members of the extremist group Proud Boys.<sup>665</sup>

Huffington Post reported on December 17 that eight senators (all Republicans) and 37 House members (26 of them Republicans) had tested positive for Covid-19 since March.<sup>666</sup> The report did not indicate how many of the victims were anti-maskers.

On December 19, The Washington Post published a lengthy analysis, based on dozens of interviews, of how Mr. Trump's response to the pandemic had failed the country. The Post wrote: "The catastrophe began with Trump's initial refusal to take seriously the threat of a once-in-a-century pandemic. But, as officials detailed, it has been compounded over time by a host of damaging presidential traits — his skepticism of science, impatience with health restrictions, prioritization of personal politics over public safety, undisciplined communications, chaotic management style, indulgence of conspiracies, proclivity toward magical thinking, allowance of turf wars and flagrant disregard for the well-being of those around him. ... Trump's repeated downplaying of the virus, coupled with his equivocations about masks, created an opening for reckless behavior that contributed to a significant increase in infections and deaths, experts said." The Post also reported that Mr. Trump had given up trying to fight the pandemic after the November election.<sup>667</sup>

On December 21, the House select committee on coronavirus released new documents revealing the extensive efforts of Mr. Trump's political commissars at the CDC to alter or quash the agency's scientific reports on the pandemic.<sup>668</sup>

Also on December 21, armed, far-right protesters opposed to coronavirus restrictions tried to storm an Oregon legislative session and attack police with bear spray and other chemical agents.<sup>669</sup>

The Post reported on December 24 that although Mr. Trump had been crowing about "his" development of coronavirus vaccines, he and his supporters were undermining their deployment. Specifically, he (unlike numerous other national political figures) had declined to be publicly vaccinated and had not vocally promoted the actual use of the vaccines; and some of his

followers (including Powell, one of his most outlandish legal advisors) were spreading conspiracy theories about malevolent features of the vaccine program. Mr. Trump's deployment of conspiracy theory thinking generally was also seen as a retardant for vaccine acceptance.<sup>670</sup> (Months later – on March 1 – media reported that Mr. Trump and his wife had been secretly vaccinated in January.<sup>671</sup>)

On December 30, New Hampshire's Republican governor Chris Sununu canceled his planned January 7 outdoor inauguration ceremony, due to armed protesters having aggressively targeted his family and his home after he had issued a mask-wearing order.<sup>672</sup>

In a December 31 year-end review, The New York Times reported in detail how Mr. Trump's response to the pandemic had been driven entirely by strategies that he believed would benefit himself politically. Among other things, he had refused to endorse mask-wearing for fear that his base would resent it, and he had resisted the testing program because he believed that the infection counts discredited him.<sup>673</sup>

Also on December 31, in a tweeted White House video, Mr. Trump boasted that "everybody's calling to thank me" for the "miracle" of Covid-19 vaccines. (The vaccines had been developed by private companies, and, in the case of Pfizer, without the financial assistance of his administration.) The boast came even as Mr. Trump was being raked daily for the painfully slow distribution of the vaccines, for want of earlier logistical planning by his administration. He meanwhile was silent on the toll of the disease, on the suffering of its victims and their families, on December having been the pandemic's most devastating month yet, on his having delayed relief legislation – and silent even on his own silence about any of this since losing the presidential election in early November.<sup>674</sup> (The death toll, now over 345,000, far exceeded the number of American combat deaths in World War II.<sup>675</sup>)

As though for a final send-off to 2020, hundreds of mask-less and distance-less guests flouted local Florida guidelines by attending a gala New Year's Eve party at Mr. Trump's Mar-a-Lago, paying up to \$1,000 per head for the privilege. Attendees included three of Mr. Trump's children and Giuliani. (Mr. Trump himself had abruptly changed his plans to attend and had instead flown to Washington.) Photographic accounts of the event featured cleavage, wealth and material excess, at a time of continuing national economic and medical crisis.<sup>676</sup> For CSD, in the visual, the connection between Mr. Trump and the hundreds of millions of Americans in the homeland that for five years he had been purporting to champion was unclear. Possibly that was why he had flown to Washington.

On January 2, Mr. Trump tweeted that the CDC's count of coronavirus casualties was greatly exaggerated. He was quickly contradicted by both Dr. Fauci and Surgeon General Jerome Adams.<sup>677</sup> Mr. Trump responded by Twitter: *"Something how Dr. Fauci is revered by the LameStream Media as such a great professional, having done, they say, such an incredible job, yet he works for me and the Trump Administration, and I am in no way given any credit for my work. Gee, could this just be more Fake News?"*<sup>678</sup>



On January 6, the day of the storming of the Capitol by a mob that Mr. Trump had incited, some 3,800 Americans died from Covid-19, for a cumulative total of 360,000. Mr. Trump was silent about that.

On January 8, the U.S. surpassed 300,000 daily Covid-19 cases.<sup>679</sup>

On January 11, a Democratic congresswoman announced that she had contracted Covid-19, likely during the lockdown during the siege of the Capitol when she was stranded with nine Republican House members who had refused to wear masks.<sup>680</sup> On January 12, two additional House Democrats announced the same.<sup>681</sup>

Some 4327 Americans died from Covid-19 on January 12, a new record.<sup>682</sup>

As of February 8, The Times had identified 66 sitting members of Congress who had contracted Covid-19, and when they contracted it. More than twice as many Republicans as Democrats had been infected.<sup>683</sup>

An NPR-Marist poll released on March 11 revealed that almost half of Trump voters and almost half of Republican males did not wish to be vaccinated – the largest anti-vax sentiments of any demographic group that was polled.<sup>684</sup> Much of the anti-vax sentiment appeared to turn on the belief that whether to get vaccinated was a matter of liberty, and of personal choice. For CSD, that was incomprehensible: as though it was or should be acceptable, and a matter of personal choice, to not drive on the right side of the road to avoid mayhem.

By the last day of Mr. Trump's presidency, 23,884,299 Americans had contracted Covid-19,<sup>685</sup> and 405,212 had died.<sup>686</sup> As of the date of this Addendum, 530,693 had died.

Many observers believed that Mr. Trump's dithering, denial and obstructionism were responsible for a large portion of those deaths.<sup>687</sup>

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