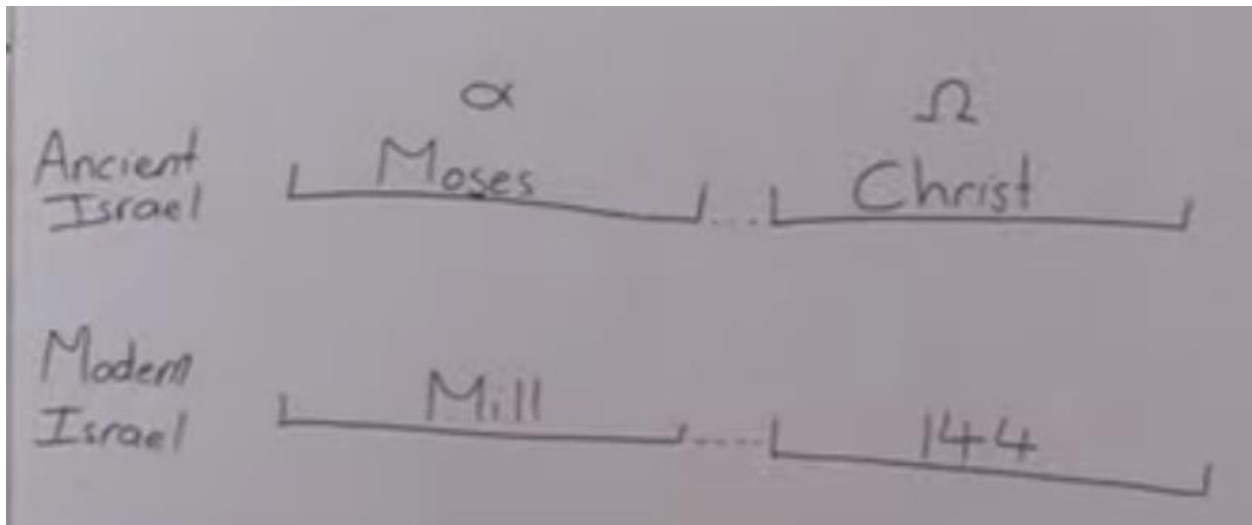
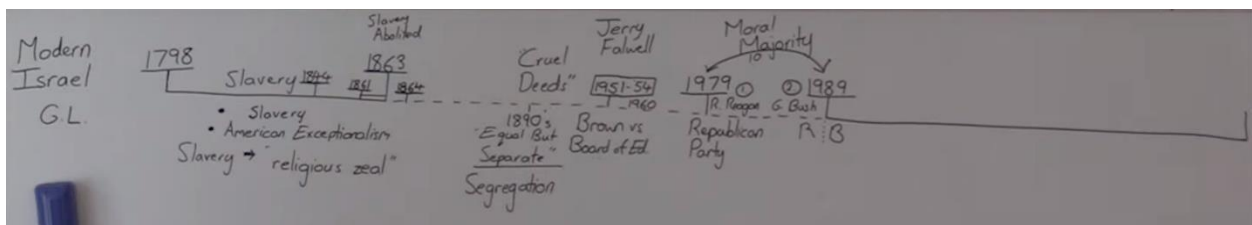


# Donald Trump, A Man for His Time

## Tess Lambert Australia



Quite a great deal recently we have been discussing this model. Where you look at ancient Israel and see that there is an alpha history, which is the history of Moses, and an omega history which is the history of Christ. The beginning and the end of ancient Israel. Then we take that to the history of modern Israel and see the same repeating pattern that you would have the history of the Millerites, the beginning, and then the history of the 144k, the end. Alpha and omega. Beginning of Modern Israeli and end of modern Israeli. That is relevant and we glean a lot of truth from that, but I want us to see a little differently today. We have already done this. We are doing this more and more, but I want us to actually see the progression and the connection between the beginning and the end of our history.



A lot of what we are going to cover today is really just a revisit in history. If we were to look at modern Israel, we could talk about the beginning of Adventism or what I would like to talk about is the glorious land of the U.S. We mark it coming up in what year? 1798. So in 1798 the U.S. comes up out of the earth. EGGW says it's rising to power. Here we have that alpha history. 1798. I want to mark this to 1863. So in this history 1798 - 1863 what is the issue within the U.S.? What is the great issue within America? This is all the issue about slavery. We find it dominated their election cycles. Really all through the issue is slavery but connected to that is this concept of American exceptionalism. That God has designed for them to be this huge Empire. It was actually the election of 1844 that defined what America would look like. In that election you had two sides. One side was arguing about the U.S. as remaining this country. America prior to 1844 the U.S. is largely the east coast. What they decided in that 1844 election was that they were going to take Texas, California, and Oregon. They decided that they were going to be a land that will be from sea to shining sea and that they were going to be an empire. So that whole discussion during that Millerite time period was a discussion about American exceptionalism and what it looked like. Also connected to that, connected to all of those issues was how they would relate to the issue of slavery. So we understand that towards the end of this Millerite history, towards the end of the 1850's it became more and more of a contentious issues until 1861 the Civil War broke out over the issue of slavery. Whether or not to continue slavery.

The South tried to rebrand that Civil War and say they weren't actually trying to fight about slavery and that that is a conspiracy theory. They fought purely because of slavery in those annexed new states of the Union. The Spirit of Prophecy gives us to that clearly as well as history. So, in 1863 slavery is abolished. Here is where we would cut our line and then we would create new line from 1863 but I want us to connect it. We connect it up to here. Up to 1863. We will expand this line further as we go along.

So the issue from 1798 from the time the U.S. arises, is the issue of slavery. In fact, slavery began in the same place in the same city as American democracy. It was 1619 when the first slaves arrived in the colonies. But in 1798 as the Nation is prophetically rising up out of the earth, the political tension is all over how this nation will relate to slavery. In 1863 it is physically abolished, but I want us to note what EGW says in around the 1890's. Late 1890's. This is from SpM collection 19.6. I want us to go just over halfway through.

---

E. G. White. {SpM 18.5}

Sunday Labor: And the Way to Oppose Error

On the morning of November 20, 1895, a council meeting was called at the large tent on the Armadale campground to consider some questions arising from the discussions of our brethren regarding the religious liberty work. The positions recently taken by some of our brethren indicated that there was a necessity for a more thorough understanding of the principles which must govern our work. {SpM 19.1}

There were present Brethren W. W. Prescott, A. G. Daniells, W. C. White, M. C. Israel, L. J. Rousseau, W. A. Colcord, M. C. Kellogg, W. D. Salisbury, James Smith, and Sisters E. G. White and E. J. Burnham. {SpM 19.2}

Several letters were read with reference to the questions at issue, then Sister White read a letter which she had written to Elder A. T. Jones in May, 1894, which had been unavoidably withheld until very recently. {SpM 19.3}

In this letter reference was made to the necessity of our speakers presenting the truth in such a simple manner that even the small children could comprehend the lessons which it was designed to teach. Remarking on this, Sister White said: "According to the light which has been given to me, when the heavenly intelligences see that men will no longer present the truth in simplicity as did Jesus, the very children will be moved upon by the Spirit of God, and will go forth proclaiming the truth for this time." {SpM 19.4}

The brethren were invited to discuss the points treated in the letters, but all were desirous of hearing further from Sister White, and she made the following remarks:-- {SpM 19.5}

"There is a terrible crisis just before us, through which all must pass, and especially will it come and be felt in \_\_\_\_\_. My mind has been much troubled over the positions which some of our brethren are liable to take in regard to the work to be done among the colored people in the Southern States. There is one point that I wish to lay before those who work in the Southern field. Among the colored people, they will have to labor in different lines from those followed in the North. They can not go to the South and present the real facts in reference to Sunday-keeping being the mark of the beast, and encourage the colored people to work on Sunday: for the same spirit that held the colored people in slavery is not dead, but alive today, and ready to spring into activity. The same spirit of oppression is still cherished in the minds of many of the white people of the South and will reveal itself in cruel deeds, which are the manifestation of their religious zeal. Some will oppose in every possible way any action which has a tendency to uplift the colored race, and teach them to be self-supporting. {SpM 19.6}

"When the white people try to educate the colored people in the truth, jealousy is aroused, and ministers, both colored and white, will bitterly oppose the truth. The colored ministers think that they know how to preach to their own race better than the white ministers can, and they feel that the whites are taking the work out of their hands. By falsehood they will create the most decided opposition, and those among the white people who are opposed to the truth will help them and will make it exceedingly hard for the work of the message to advance. {SpM 20.1}

"When the truth is proclaimed in the South, a marked difference will be shown by those who oppose the truth in their greater regard for Sunday, and great care must then be exercised not to do anything to arouse their prejudice. Otherwise, we may just as well leave the field entirely, for the workers will have all the white people against them. Those who oppose the truth will not work openly, but through secret organizations, and they will seek to hinder the work in every possible way. Our laborers must move in a quiet way, striving to do everything possible to present the truth to the people, remembering that the love of Christ will melt down opposition. {SpM 20.2}

"From the light that I have received, I see that if we would get the truth before the Southern people, we must not encourage the colored people to work on Sunday. There must be a clear understanding regarding this, but it need not be published in our papers. Not a word should be spoken to create

prejudice, for if by any careless or impulsive speech to the colored people in regard to the whites any prejudice is created in their minds against the whites, or in the minds of the white people against them the spirit of the enemy will work in the children of disobedience. Thus an opposition will be aroused which will hinder the work of the message, and will endanger the lives of the workers and of the believers. {SpM 20.3}

"We are not to make efforts to teach the Southern people to work on Sunday. That which some of our brethren have written upon this point is not based upon right principles. When the practices of the people do not come into conflict with the law of God, you may conform to them. If the workers fail to do this, they will not only hinder their own work, but they will place stumbling blocks in the way of those for whom they labor, and hinder them from accepting the Truth. On Sunday there is the very best opportunity for those who are missionaries to hold Sunday schools, and come to the people in the simplest manner possible, telling them of the Love of Jesus for sinners, and educating them in the Scriptures. There are many ways of reaching all the classes, both dark or white. We are to interest them in the life of Christ from His childhood up to manhood, and through His life of ministry to the cross. We can not work in all localities in the same way. We must let the Holy Spirit guide; for men and women can not convince others of the wrong traits of character. While laboring to introduce the truth, we must accommodate ourselves as much as possible to the field, and the circumstances of those for whom we labor." {SpM 20.4}

Question: Should not those in the Southern Field work on Sunday? {SpM 21.1}

"If they do this, there is danger that as soon as the opposing element can get the slightest opportunity, they will stir up one another to persecute those who do this, and to pick off those whom they hate. At present Sunday-keeping is not the test. The time will come when men will not only forbid Sunday work, but they will try to force men to labor on the Sabbath. And men will be asked to renounce the Sabbath and to subscribe to Sunday observance or forfeit their freedom and their lives. But the time for this has not yet come, for the truth must be presented more fully before the people as a witness. What I have said about this should not be understood as referring to the action of old Sabbath-keepers who understand the truth. They must move as the Lord shall direct them, but let them consider that they can do the best missionary work on Sunday. {SpM 21.2}

"Slavery will again be revived in the Southern States; for the spirit of slavery still lives. Therefore it will not do for those who labor among the colored people to preach the truth as boldly and openly as they would be free to do in other places. Even Christ clothed His lessons in figures and parables to avoid the opposition of the Pharisees. When the colored people feel that they have the Word of God in regard to the Sabbath question, and the sanction of those who have brought them the truth, some who are impulsive will take the opportunity to defy the Sunday laws, and by a presumptuous defiance of their oppressors they will bring to themselves much sorrow. Very faithfully the colored people must be instructed to be like Christ, to patiently suffer wrongs, that they may help their fellow men to see the light of truth. {SpM 21.3}

"A terrible condition of things is certainly opening before us. According to the light which is given me in regard to the Southern Field, the work there must be done as wisely and carefully as possible, and it must be done in the manner in which Christ would work. The people will soon find out what you believe about Sunday and the Sabbath, for they will ask questions. Then you can tell them, but not in such a manner as to attract attention to your work. You need not cut short your work by yourself laboring on

Sunday. It would be better to take that day to instruct others in regard to the love of Jesus and true conversion." {SpM 21.4}

Question: Should the same principles govern our work and our attitude toward the Sunday question in foreign fields where the prejudices of the people are so strong? {SpM 22.1}

"Yes, just the same. The light that I have is that God's servants should go quietly to work, preaching the grand, precious truths of the Bible--showing that the reason why Christ died is because the law of God is immutable, unchangeable, eternal. The Spirit of the Lord will awaken the conscience and the understanding of those with whom you work, bringing the commandments of God to their remembrance. I can hardly describe to you the way in which this has been presented to me. The Lord says in Revelation 22:16: "I Jesus have sent mine angel to testify unto you these things in the churches." Have any of you seen this angel? The messengers from heaven are close beside those who stand before the people, holding forth the word of life. In preaching the truth, it is not always best to present those strong points of truth that will arouse prejudice, especially where such strong feelings exist as are felt in the Southern States. The Sabbath must be taught in a decided manner, but be cautious how you deal with the idol, Sunday. "A word to the wise is sufficient." {SpM 22.2}

"I have given you the light which has been presented to me. If followed, it will change the course of many, and will make them wise, cautious teachers. Refraining from work on Sunday is not receiving the mark of the beast: and where this will advance the interests of the work, it should be done. We should not go out of our way to work on Sunday. {SpM 22.3}

"After the Sabbath has been sacredly observed, in places where the opposition is so strong as to arouse persecution if work is done on Sunday, let our brethren make that day an occasion to do genuine missionary work. Let them visit the sick and the poor, ministering to their wants, and they will find favorable opportunities to open the Scriptures to individuals and to families. Thus most profitable work can be done for the Master. When those who hear and see the light on the Sabbath take their stand upon the truth to keep God's holy day, difficulties will arise, for efforts will be brought to bear against them to compel men and women to transgress the law of God. Here they must stand firm, that they will not violate the law of God, and if the opposition and persecution is determinedly kept up, let them heed the words of Christ, "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another; for verily I say unto you, ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come." {SpM 22.4}

"The time has not yet come for us to work as though there were no prejudice. Christ said, "Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." If you see that by doing certain things which you have a perfect right to do, you hinder the work of the truth, refrain from doing those things. Do nothing that will close the minds of others against the truth. There is a world to save, and we gain nothing by cutting loose from those we are trying to help. All things may be lawful, but all things are not expedient. We have no right to do anything that will obstruct the light which is shining from heaven; yet by a wrong course of action we may imperil the work, and close the door which God has opened for the entrance of the Truth. The final issue of the Sabbath question has not yet come, and by imprudent action we may bring on a crisis before the time. You may have all the truth, but you need not let it all flash at once upon minds, lest it become darkness to them. Even Christ said to His disciples, "I have many things to say unto you, but ye can not hear them now." We must not go into a place, open our satchel, show all we have, and tell everything we know at once. We must work cautiously, presenting the truth by degrees, as the hearers can bear it, and keeping close to the Lord. {SpM 22.5}

"The Waldensians entered the schools of the world as students. They made no pretensions. Apparently they paid no attention to any one; but, they lived out what they believed. They never sacrificed principle, and their principles put into practice soon became known to other students. This was different from anything the other students had ever seen, and they began to ask among themselves, what does this all mean? While they were considering this, they heard them praying in their rooms, not to the Virgin Mary but to the Saviour, whom they addressed as the only mediator between God and man. The worldly students were encouraged to make inquiries, and as the simple story of the truth as it is in Jesus was told, their minds grasped it. {SpM 23.1}

"These things I tried to present at Harbor Heights. These who have the Spirit of God, who have the truth wrought into their very being, prudent men, wise in their methods of reaching others, should be encouraged to enter colleges, as students live the truth, as did Joseph in Egypt, and Daniel, and Paul. Each one should study the situation and see what is the best way to represent the truth in the school, that the light may shine forth. Let them show that they respect all the rules and regulations of the schools. The heaven will begin to work; for we can depend much more upon the power of God manifested in the lives of His children than upon any words that can be spoken. But they should also tell inquirers, in as simple language as they can, of the Bible doctrines. {SpM 23.2}

"There are those who, after becoming established, rooted, and grounded in the truth, should enter these institutions of learning as students. They can keep the living principles of the truth, and observe the Sabbath, and yet they will have opportunity to work for the Master by dropping seeds of truth in minds and hearts. Under the influence of the Holy Spirit, those seeds will spring up to bear fruit for the glory of God, and will result in the saving of souls. The students need not go to these institutions of learning in order to become enlightened upon theological subjects; for, the teachers of the school need themselves to become Bible students. No open controversies should be entered into, but opportunity given for questions upon Bible doctrines, and light will be flashed into many minds, and a spirit of investigation will be aroused. {SpM 23.3}

"But I scarcely dare present this method of labor; for there is danger that those who have no decided connection with God will place themselves in these schools, and instead of correcting error and diffusing light, will themselves be led astray. But this work must be done; and it will be done by those who are led and taught of God. {SpM 23.4}

"Jesus was a teacher when He was but twelve years old. He went in before the rabbis and doctors of the law as a learner, asking questions that surprised the learned doctors, and showing eagerness to obtain information. By every question he poured light into their darkened minds. Had He allowed them to suspect that He was trying to teach them, they would have spurned Him. So it was all through His life. By His purity, His humility, His meekness, He rebuked sin. Those around Him could not find a single thing for which to blame Him, yet He was at work all the time. He worked in His own home until He had no home. His lot was no more pleasant than that of the young people who today are trying to walk in His footsteps. {SpM 24.1}

"If all our people would work in Christ's way, what a blessing it would be. There are many ways in which to diffuse light, and a great work can be done in many lines that is not now done. "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." This spirit will inspire others to do the will of the Lord also, in earnest, self-sacrificing effort. {SpM 24.2}

"This world is God's property. Wicked men are only permitted to live in it till they have filled up the cup of their iniquity. It was deeded to Abraham and His children, and ere long God's people shall take possession of it. In our work for the saving of souls, we must not think that we can receive help from those around us; by a close connection with Jesus, we must be in that place where we can help them. Advance truth! Give those with whom you may come in contact an opportunity to learn what is truth, and to become converted. But do not think that your light gives you license to make a raid on those who are in error. {SpM 24.3}

"When we begin to work with parliaments, and with men holding high positions in governments, the enemy is aroused to exert all his strength against us, and he will make the work hard. Do not let your work be known any more than is necessary: the best course to follow is that which will avoid opposition. The least said about the foolish errors of others, the better. Do not speak disrespectfully of ministers. Satan and all his hosts are working to make of none effect the law of God and when we begin to work on controversial lines, he will lead men to believe that we do not regard their laws or obey their decrees. Believing this, they will make it as hard as possible for all who will not worship their idol Sunday. {SpM 24.4}

"We are not to reveal all our purposes and plans to men. Satan will take advantage of any indiscretion shown on this point. He does not work openly and above-board. He works in an underhanded manner, and will continue to do so. Before the people are prepared for it, he leads men to set a powerful movement on foot by working on their minds. {SpM 24.5}

Question: Can we not get the truth before the minds of the members of parliament in a quiet way, by furnishing them with reading matter? {SpM 24.6}

"From the light that has been given me, I see that we should fear lest rulers take their position against our work. If they do this, they will act like the enemy of all good. Every opportunity to become acquainted with these men should be embraced: but we should do nothing that will produce anything like prejudice. It means a great deal to be as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves. We have so much determination in us that often we do things unguardedly and rashly. We must appear before these men as trying to help others, working on the lines of the Christian help work. As they see the good work we do in these lines, their prejudice in a measure will be removed; their hearts will be opened to the truth. Do not present the Sabbath abruptly: present Christ. Should they begin to oppose you, saying, "Oh, he is a Seventh-day Adventist, 'lift up Christ higher, and still higher.'" {SpM 25.1}

Question: Would it not be as well for us to present principles, rather than to dwell upon what the government will do? {SpM 25.2}

"We should have nothing to do with the actions of the government. Our duty is to obey God. When you are arrested, take no thought what you shall say or do. You are to follow Christ step by step. You need not commence weeks beforehand to examine the question and lay plans as to what you will do when the powers shall do this or that, neither need you think what you are to say. Study the truth, and the Spirit of the Lord will bring to your remembrance what you shall say. Our minds should be a treasure house, filled with the Word of God. {SpM 25.3}

"When the enemy begins to work, we need not allow our feelings to control, and resort to strange fire. We need not become combative. By doing this, we may thus betray the cause at the very point where victory is ours. If we let go our hold of Jesus, and trust in ourselves, it may take months, or

perhaps years, to counteract that one wrong move. Unless we are converted, and become as little children, we shall never see the kingdom of God. These are the lessons we need to bring into our schools. The students do not need science as much as they need these principles. Teach them how to advance the truth as it is in Jesus. {SpM 25.4}

"The world is not to be condemned until after it has had the light. We must tell people the simple story of the cross. They are to be pitied, and just as much as possible we must soften the message we bring to them. This will soften their hearts, so that the Spirit of the Lord can mold them. In all their past life they have been receiving false ideas. If we come close to them, and tell them of the love of Christ, we can do much for them." {SpM 25.5}

Question: Is it wrong for our brethren to work out their fines? {SpM 25.6}

"Christ, the King of Glory, carried the cross upon which He was about to be crucified. The people had not the slightest semblance of right to inflict this upon Him, but He did not refuse to submit. Christ suffered and died for us. Shall we refuse to be partaker of His sufferings? Let the servants pay tribute as the Master did, lest others be offended. {SpM 25.7}

"When brought before courts, we are to give up our rights, unless by so doing we are brought into collision with God. We are not pleading for our right, but for God's right to our service. Instead of resisting the penalties imposed unjustly upon us, it would be better to take heed to the Saviour's word, 'When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another: for verily I say unto you, Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel, till the Son of Man be come.'"

---

she says this

"There is a terrible crisis just before us, through which all must pass, and especially will it come and be felt in \_\_\_\_\_. My mind has been much troubled over the positions which some of our brethren are liable to take in regard to the work to be done among the colored people in the Southern States. There is one point that I wish to lay before those who work in the Southern field. Among the colored people, they will have to labor in different lines from those followed in the North. They can not go to the South and present the real facts in reference to Sunday-keeping being the mark of the beast, and encourage the colored people to work on Sunday: for the same spirit that held the colored people in slavery is not dead, but alive today, and ready to spring into activity. The same spirit of oppression is still cherished in the minds of many of the white people of the South and will reveal itself in cruel deeds, which are the manifestation of their religious zeal. Some will oppose in every possible way any action which has a tendency to uplift the colored race, and teach them to be self-supporting. {SpM 19.6}

So the context of this paragraph is she is talking about the work in the Southern states. What she is arguing is that you cannot share the gospel in the Northern states the same way you would in the Southern states. You have to change your tactics. If you are sharing in the North, you can be much more open with your thoughts. If you are sharing in the South, she says you have to, like Jesus, speak in parables essentially. You have to cover up what you are saying. Then she says why. About halfway through.



She says....

for the same spirit that held the colored people in slavery is not dead, but alive today, and ready to spring into activity.

So it's the late 1890's She is talking about the work in the Northern states compared to the Southern states and she says in the South they must be much more careful. They must be much more careful in the South because this spirit of slavery has never died. It's continuing through. It's alive today in the 1890's. She says it's ready to spring into activity. The same spirit of oppression is still cherished in the minds of the white people of the South and will reveal itself in cruel deeds. Those cruel deeds are the manifestation of what? In the paragraph she tells us. They are the manifestations of their religious zeal. So you have slavery abolished here in 1863 but this isn't just a story of slavery. This is a story of how the United States views itself. It's a story of how they view equality. She says that they will oppress the colored people by enacting cruel deeds. They will reveal their heart essentially in the manifestation of cruel deeds and those cruel deeds are a manifestation of their religious zeal. So, when it comes to this issue of slavery... What is slavery? Why are they enacting slavery? Not just slavery but the racism that continues throughout. It's because all of this is just a manifestation of religious zeal. The oppression of the black people by the white is a manifestation of their religious zeal, it's directly connected to their protestant beliefs.

What does religious zeal mean? If you were to go to Romans chapter 10:2. Paul is speaking about the Jewish Nation

10:1 Brethren, my heart's desire and prayer to God for Israel is, that they might be saved.

10:2 For I bear them record that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.

So, what did Israel have or the original glorious land? They had a religious zeal, but it was not according to knowledge. It was that word for knowledge. Discernment. It was a religious zeal without a discernment. Without a correct understanding of God essentially. So, Paul is identifying that is ancient Israel and then we come to this time period and we find the in Protestantism. What they are doing through this history, through the history of slaver, through the history after slavery as they continue to oppress, is connected directly to their protestant beliefs. If we were to go back into history, we can identify that. I have a few times in studies quoted from a book written in 1864. A book written in the South in 1864 titled "Southern Slavery and the Bible". In that book what do they argue? The North must give up the bible and religion or adopt our views of salvery. Through this extensive book they are going to argue that their position on slavery is a biblical mandate.

When we look at this history and the world looks at this history how do they view it? This is all just politicism. This is politics between Northern States and Southern states. This is al about the economy. This is all about political power. This is all about whether or not there is going to be state rights or large

expansive government. It's all seen as political issue, but it was not a political issue. It was a religious issue. It was an enactment of religious zeal of protestants. We find that that religious zeal didn't end with the abolition of slavery. EGW is identifying it as a living threat in the 1890's and she says it's going to come back which we find did happen in history. So, in the 1890's they decided to bring in a law. It began in one state and then it spread. This law was called "Equal but separate". They placed it into law. What they are saying is that black equals white "but" that they must be separated. You must separate the black from the white. You must have separate schools, hospitals, colleges, spittle's, doors, everything. A black person would enter a building through one door and the whites through another. Always separated. when they say equal "But" what do they mean? Can you have an equal? No, they destroyed the equal. So, you have the law of "Equal but Separate" introduced in the 1890's and this was the beginning of government ordered segregation by law. So, segregation became law in the U.S. First in one state and then at the federal level.

So we find that mindset just as EGW identified, it continued through. That law of segregation continued until 1951. In 1951, a collection of black families with little children decided that they wanted their children to have access to the same education as the white children. So, these families came together, and they decided to sue their local government, their local district to allow their black children access to a white school because "Equal but Separate", there was no equality. The white schools were funded, and the black schools weren't. So, they were never able to reach the same levels of education, of job opportunities, of anything on any level. So, they said if they wanted their children to have a future, they were going to have to send them to a white school that is funded by the government. So, in 1951 there begins a court case. First in the district level, and it was known as Brown Vs. Board of Education. One of the most famous court cases in U.S. history. Brown v. Board of Education. They sued their local district and they lost because of this law. Because it was in law that they had to be segregated and black and white children couldn't attend the same school. They lost it in the district level and took it to the supreme court. In 1954 they won the case. The Supreme court ruled that black and white children should be able to go to the same school. It ended this law of segregation. This segregation began to be dissolved. You can mark the end of segregation beginning here but it took time. It took time because there was such opposition particularly in the Southern states. Many of us are aware of what happened in little rock in Arkansas where for a year the army had to take the little black children and lead them into the school. There are these famous photos of these nine children being escorted into white schools by the U.S. Army because the white population was so opposed to the intermingling.

The connection I want us to see is how this impacted Protestantism. It's something that has been in existence in American history since it first arose in 1798. This enactment of first slavery and then persecution, segregation, was all part of Protestantism's religious zeal. They saw slavery as a biblical mandate. From Abraham, really through Canaan and then through Abraham through the nation of Israel who own slaves, through the new testament, the book of Philemon. They believed it was Gods order that they should be a slave owning nation. They justified it by such ideas as that they were taking the gospel to the heathen nations by putting them into slavery and forcing them to attend church. But this concept continued through this history, but the mindset of Protestantism never ever stopped. So, when this Supreme court rules against segregation, what is the mindset of the Evangelical leaders? Here is where we introduce one prominent evangelical leader, Jerry Falwell. There were other but he was the key leader of this history. Jerry Falwell saw this court case that ended segregation and he said, if those supreme court justices and their associates had known the word of God, had desired to do God's will, I am confident that the 1954 decision would never have been made. He preaches that from his pulpit in Lynchburg. The facilities should be separated. When God has drawn a line of distinction, we should not attempt to cross that line. So, he is preaching from the pulpit that this end of segregation is a violation

of the word of God. This is a manifestation of his what? Religious zeal. Because his mindset about segregation, about the separation of black and white, is all a manifestation of this and this religious zealotry within Protestantism never died. It continued through history. It is this ending of segregation that starts to, you could say mobilize the religious right in America.

Falwell continued in his sermon... The true black person does not want integration. He realizes his potential is far better among his own race. He announced that integration would destroy the white race eventually. In one Northern city he warned that a pastor friend of his was already living next door to an interracial couple. He sees this as starting to happen not only in schools but now they are also starting to live next to each other. He sees this as the destruction of the white race. This escalates through the 1960's. 1960' the civil rights movement within America. Jerry Falwell in this history attacking Martin Luther King Jr. as a communist subversive. A left-wing propagandist. So already he is starting to attack the civil rights movement. After the civil rights movement he wasn't getting his way within the civil rights movement. He starts to pull back from making political statements. Around the 1960's he goes quiet and instead he forms the Lynchburg Christian academy. In 1966 he forms his academy and it's described in the local new paper as a private school for white students. So, what he has done is instead of forcing the political issue, he decides to side step politics. He is going to form a private school. The reason that he is forming a private school is that only the public schools were forced to end segregation. But he and other leading evangelical Protestants in the South start to create Southern Private schools where because of their private status they can enact segregation and refuse access to black students. And that's how they are going to make sure that at least in the Christian communities in the South they are able to enact segregation which he would say is his religious right.

At the beginning this is successful. This attempt to circumvent integration. He later calls it Liberty University. It's one of the largest Christian Universities in the U.S. still today. It's Liberty University. But beginning the early 1970's, the government started to react against these private segregated schools and the government wrote to them because there was more than school, particularly beginning with Bob Jones University, and the government told them that if they want to segregate the private schools that's fine but they lose the tax exempt status. Now they have to pay taxes. This made Falwell furious. In response to this he said, in some states it's easier to open a massage parlor than to open a Christian school. This made him extremely angry that they would lose their tax-exempt status all because of segregation. This is what began to unite these religious leaders together. Bob Jones University, Liberty University, Pat Robinson, Jerry Falwell, Paul Weyrich, they all started to unite over this issue in the early 1970's. What they decided is if we cannot sidestep the government and enact our religious beliefs driven by our religious zeal, then what we need to do is to influence the government, to take over the government. Paul Weyrich was a leader in this work in the mid 1970's. So, 1971 the government tells them that they need to end not just segregation, but once they allowed black students, they forbade interracial dating. They still had laws in place that were racist. So, from 1971 through the 1970's they begin to come together. They have meetings, they start deciding on their agenda and how they are going to be able to impact the government and to bring the government back around to what they believe is a biblical mandate.

Paul Weyrich said they must form a new political philosophy, package it in nonreligious language. So, it has to look secular. It has to look political not religious. When they achieve political power, then they can recreate the U.S. He terms this as a holy war. We need to lead the nation back to the moral stance that made America great. We need to yield influence on those who govern us. American evangelicals had long steered clear of politics but that all changed in the 1970's with the advent of the Moral Majority. In 1979 they formed what was known as the Moral Majority. They had understood in the

history previous that it was not their role to impact politics but because of this history, there is more connected to this history, you have womens rights, you have gay rights, and you have the civil rights movements. There are three different rights movements in this history. It was particularly this issue of ending segregation that mobilized them. American evangelicals had believed that they should steer clear of politics but that all changed in the 1970's and they formed this coalition the moral majority. A professor of religion at Dartmouth college, Randal Balmer, for really the first time in any significant way, evangelicalism becomes interlocked with the republican party. They are not just working with any politicians. Once they begin this political movement, they are targeting one political party and that is the republican party. They had become interlocked and you see an alliance develop between Ronald Raegan and the evangelical leadership known as the moral majority.

The moral majority is politically active for 10 years from 1979 to 1989 and their first agenda item was to get Ronald Raegan elected. They succeeded with that in 1980. 1980 they get Ronald Raegan elected, that was step one. This is straight from Jerry Falwell. 1980 they get Ronald Raegan elected. 1988 they get George Bush elected. This is step 2. They have united with the republican party; they have placed two presidents in power that they believe will enact their political agenda. First Raegan and then Bush. In 1989 their ten-year movement dissolves and Jerry Falwell says the religious majority, the moral majority are now firmly in place. They will continue to impact politics for the generations coming.

I want to quote on sociologist, Martin Riesebrodt. He argued that his movement, the moral majority, is a patriarchal protest movement and it's intended to reestablish the leadership and the authority of males in their families, in governments and in religious institutions. So, it's a patriarchal protest movement in response also to the feminist movement.

Quote from article

Scholars such as sociologist [Martin Riesebrodt](#) have argued that movements such as the Moral Majority were “[patriarchal protest movements](#),” intended to reestablish the leadership and authority of males in their families, in government and in religious institutions.

The emergence and popularity of the Moral Majority came at a time when there were growing efforts to establish the rights of women, people of color and the LGBTQ community. Moral Majority, thus, represented the conservative religious reaction to those efforts.

The Moral Majority [drew primarily](#) from white fundamentalist and evangelical Christians, although it also included conservative Catholics and mainline Protestants. It thus mobilized a broader conservative religious and political coalition than just white conservative evangelicals.

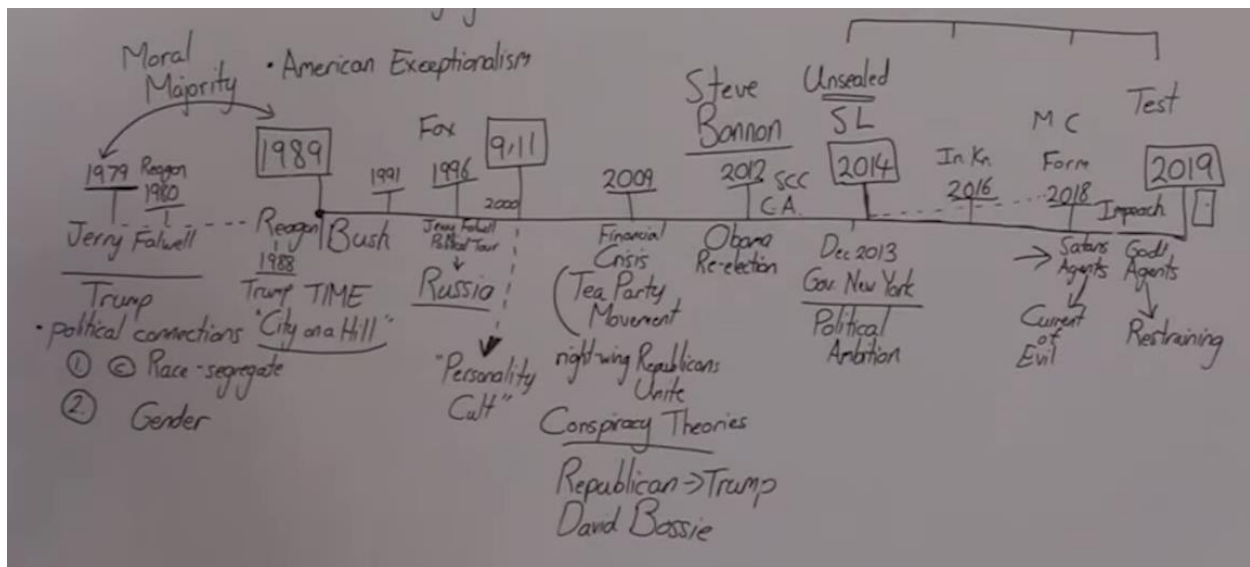
Throughout its [10 years of existence](#), the Moral Majority [became a decisive and powerful force](#) within conservative politics and the Republican Party. Falwell and the Moral Majority worked with other equally conservative evangelical and fundamentalist Christian leaders, such as [James Dobson](#), [Tim LaHaye](#), [Pat Robertson](#), [Phyllis Shlafly](#) and the like. Ultimately, this broad coalition of conservatives – mostly white Christians – came to represent the “Religious Right.” It has had an enormous impact on both the Republican Party and on public policy more generally since its founding.

Beginning with particularly Reagan, the Republican candidates recognized the power of the religious right as a voting block and they routinely visited evangelical and fundamentalists institutions such as liberty university, Bob Jones University etc. It was the efforts of the moral majority and other important organizations within the religious rights such as the equal forum and the focus on the family, that lead to the defeat of legislation such as the equal rights amendment. That was an amendment that was supposed to be made to the constitution declaring that women and equal and should have equal rights. They defeated that. Also, to block legislation favoring LGBTQ plus rights. Similar issues echo today as well presented in the guise of religious freedom for Christians. I want us to remember that statement. We are going to finish with it. Similar issues echo today. Falwell's move into politics detail his shift in theological perspective. He moved from a separatist's stance that taught that God controls everything including politics, to one that required human action to fulfill God's intended destiny for America. So, prior to this history there was some understanding that God controls politics and we will stay out of it. Once all this begins to be enacted his stance changed and how he sees it now is that God is going to control politics through His people or the Christian right. So, we have to be active if we wish to fulfill God's will for the Nation. Falwell died in 2007. His efforts to combine his religious and political commitments have fallen to his son Jerry Falwell Jr. Jerry Falwell Jr. is made after the exact same material as his father. He has continued all of that conservative republican thinking to the extreme that he has encouraged and even advocated that students at his own University carry guns. He built a shooting range on campus to demonstrate his approval of the second amendment rights or his interpretation of it.

Recent scholarship argues that the white Christian America upon which the religious right remains dependent, is in decline. Yet in the 2016 election 81 % of them voted for Donald Trump making Jerry Falwell Sr. and his legacy as important a figure for the republican party as Ronald Raegan.

We talk about this history 1979 and 1989 and we focus on the Catholic church, John Paul II. it's easy for us to slip into our Adventist conspiratorial mindset and we see there is this secret alliance, that wasn't that secret, and we picture John Paul II, there is probably a black pope and some evil people behind him, they are probably into some cult action, he is secretly united with the U.S. for the fall of the Soviet Union and we make this all about the action of the Papacy. There is a place for understanding John Paul's role in this history but that has not impacted our present reform line to see Donald Trump where he is today, as much as the rise of Jerry Falwell and the Moral Majority. We have been too blind to see Protestantism in this history. We are focused to Catholicism. When we have done that, we have missed this history. If we miss that history of what brought them to 1989 and Raegan and Bush, we are missing the history of what is leading to 2019.

Line



Our reform line I will draw down below. 1989. If we were to look at 1989, we have two presidents Reagan and Bush. So, we identify two presidents in 1989 Reagan Ending his term and Bush beginning his. So, 1989 the beginning of our reform line. What brought us to 1989 was the 10 years of the moral majority where the morality of the so-called majority decides to enforce their morality on the minority through politics. You can trace Jerry Falwell through this history. Jerry Falwell beginning in 1979 is going to endorse Ronald Raegan in 1980 and help him be elected. So, 1979 Jerry Falwell forms the moral majority. He throws his political power behind Ronald Raegan and in 1980 helps bring about his election. I want to go a little bit faster through our history because I want to come back and I want to bring Donald Trump into this story. Connect him to these waymarks. Because really, we are looking at two different subjects. When we come to our history, particularly from 2014, we begin to see the republican party and the evangelical right, but you also begin to see Donald Trump. The two powers begin to become one but really you can trace them all the way back into the 10-year history. We will do that.

So, if we skip through a little bit more quickly we come to 1996 and Jerry Falwell again goes on a tour of America. It's really a political tour trying to encourage pastors to become politically active. The problem that they are facing in this history is that their views are quite radical. Right back from this history they are pro segregation, they are against womens rights, they are against gay rights, and they are against black rights or the civil rights movements. They are against all of those things and they have had to change their tone as they have gone through this history and been losing the fight. But when they have Ronald Raegan elected, by the time he is in office, he is not fully enacting their vision of what they want done. Raegan to them, it was good, but it wasn't good enough for Jerry Falwell and George Bush was the same. Then you the Clinton presidency and you start to see their goals undermined. Clinton early on in his presidency trying to allow homosexuals to join the army and he was torn apart for that. So particularly the Clinton years. But then you come to 9/11. I will just review this quickly because many of us are familiar with this history.

9/11 You have the terrorist attack and how does the Evangelical right respond to that including Jerry Falwell? They blamed the 9/11 attack on America's decadent acceptance of feminism and homosexuality. They are becoming less outspoken about the race issue because that becomes less

politically correct, but they still have two others to target. Feminism and Homosexuality. The daughter of Billy Graham. She says that we have abandoned God as a Nation. We backed away and He is withdrawing His favor from us. That's why God allowed 9/11 to happen. So she says this is punishment of God because of our immorality. She says that as a nation we have shaken our fist in God's face, we have told Him to get out of our politics, out of our schools, out of our businesses, out of our marketplace and off the streets. God has backed away. Her brother has voiced very similar thoughts. Both are children of Billy Graham. Particularly noted Jerry Falwell and Pat Robinson. Soon after 9/11 they asserted on U.S. television that an angry God had allowed 9/11 to succeed because the U.S. had become a nation of abortionists, homosexuality, secular schools and courts, and the American civil liberties union. They say this is just the beginning of the judgement of God.

When there have been natural disasters such as New Orleans, again conservative ministers, here Kevin Swanson, said Jesus sends the message home, unless Americans repents, unless Houston Repents, unless New Orleans repents, they will all likewise perish. His targeting there particularly with Houston is homosexuality. They had a homosexual mayor. He is saying that is why they came under God's judgement. Or he was a pro homosexual mayor. So, this has been their thinking all the way through. There are really three issues. Three rights movements that have galvanized them. Womens Rights, Gay Rights, and Civil or Black Rights. We see that today. I want to quote someone more recently. Earlier this year there was a school shooting, and this is on Fox News, which we can also mark in 1996. So, you see a coming together in this history of really three things. Fox News a media stream, with the Republican part, with the Evangelical right. this is really the story of their Union. In a school shooting recently one republican politician, he was actually the governor of Arkansas in 1996 Mike Huckabee. He went on Fox News and said the reason that there is school is the fault of our culture and the fact that we have a culture in which we say there is no God. He says that is the common denominator. It's not about the fact that everyone has guns. It's not all of those issues. It's our culture that says there is no God, that there is hate inside the heart, the loss of morality. So again, they are sighting, whether it's 9/11 or school shootings or natural disasters, it's all judgement of God because of a loss of Morality.

In this history we go from a Raegan Presidency, a George Bush presidency. In this history we have Clinton and then we have George Bush Jr. Through this history you find that they are struggling to enact the political change that they had wanted to. You come to the history of 2008 and their worst nightmare, an Obama Presidency. But I want to talk about our waymarks. I am going to highlight our waymarks. They have begun back here but they are not achieving the political change that they had wanted. Even within their own Republican candidates. These are the way marks we place on our reform line. 1989, 9/11, 2014, 2019. And within here you have 2016 and 2018. 2008 you have an Obama presidency, but you also have the beginning of a financial crisis and that financial crisis bottoms out or reaches its fullest extent in 2009. When this financial Crisis devastates the U.S. economy, you have the beginning of movement within the U.S. That movement is known as the Tea Party Movement. It's a response to that financial crisis. The Tea Party movement is a republican movement within the republican party but it's righter wing. So, this financial crisis brings together the particular extreme right wing elements of the Republican party and unites them. I want to quote; this is from the Washington post.

Quoting: One important group blazed the path Trump followed. The Tea party Movement, in substance and style, Trump realized the agenda that the movement, those republicans forged from 2009. What distinguished Tea Party Republicans in the House was not their views on fiscal issues but their views on social and racial issues. House members most aligned with the Tea party were more socially and racially conservative than other Republicans. It arose as a fringe wing of the Republican party.

Again, this isn't just economic. This is them uniting on social and racial issues.

The tea party movement rose up after the financial crisis as a fringe wing of the Republican Party. Its ideological underpinnings are often described as opposing government intervention in the economy. [CNBC anchor Rick Santelli's "tea party" rant](#) against bailouts in 2009 is cited as one of the movement's catalysts. Yet it was also [aligned](#) with the conspiracy theory regarding Obama's birth.

## **Santelli's rant heard round the world**

Scott Reynolds Nelson, a historian who studies the politics of American financial crises, said that the tea party movement is precisely the type of fringe group that often rises up in the wake of an economic calamity. He said that after major panics, conspiracy theories can flourish, and elevate extreme politicians who seek to paint their political opponents as the root of the pain felt by voters.

"Political parties always sort of had plausible deniability when it comes to these fringe organizations, but these fringe organizations have a great deal of power," Nelson said. "The fringe groups are the things to look at if we want to understand what our future will look like."

## **Another target: Immigrants**

Trump blamed the financial crisis on the secretive insiders who run the government, but he also had another target — immigrants.

Trump staked his campaign on a hard-line immigration stance, complete with mass deportations, a ban on Muslim immigration and a border wall paid for by Mexico. He also claimed that Mexico was sending violent criminals, including rapists, to the United States.

Ever since his political rise, many have credited Trump's appeal among white, working-class voters to economic anxiety. Struggling with unemployment and stagnant wages, the common narrative is that voters liked the populist anti-Wall Street rhetoric Trump used in his push toward Washington. That economic anxiety is tied to racial animus, experts argue.



“Resentment against bankers wasn’t the only line he picked up on in his campaign for president,” said Geoffrey Kabaservice, director of political studies at the Niskanen Center, a Washington think tank.

“No one is claiming immigrants had anything to do with the financial crisis, but that was an even more effective line of attack he had,” Kabaservice added.

From <<https://www.cnn.com/2018/09/10/how-the-financial-crisis-led-to-the-rise-of-donald-trump.html>>

So this right wing, within the republican party movement, the tea party movement, comes together in 2009. What characterizes them is conspiracy theories. This is Obama's Birtherism. So, it's not just about economic policy. This is also about social, racial issues and conspiracy theories. You see in that history that Donald Trump begins to question Obama's birth saying he wasn't actually an American Citizen, saying he was born in Kenya, all that conspiracy theory. He found the more he questioned it the more he became popular. There was a response. So out of this economic collapse comes a populist fringe movement in the Republican party. It has its basis in conspiracy theories and race and social issues. Particularly regarding Obama. It begins to pin the blame for the country's economic war on immigrants.

This is all a repeat of the history of Nazi Germany. When the economy of Germany collapsed in the late 1920 early 1930's what did Hitler say? How did he use that? He used it for his own political agenda saying that the economic trouble within Germany was the fault of who? The Jews. He used conspiracy theories to wield political power and to manipulate the people.

Indeed, the financial crisis made Americans more comfortable expressing views that were anti-immigration, according to a study [published](#) in the International Migration Review in July. Post-election [survey data](#) suggest Trump's appeal was mostly due to a fear of cultural displacement among white, working-class voters.

A more [recent study](#) in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences also challenges the simple economic anxiety narrative. The findings suggest that white, Christian and male voters turned to Trump because they felt their status was at risk.

It's the exact same issues that they are struggling with in this history when they are finding their status at risk (1979 history). So, in 2012 you see this really, while you have all this happen in the Obama years, and then their worst possible nightmare for the Republican party, something they swore they would never allow to happen. It's Obama's re-election. Now those fringe elements within the republican party come together and they are essentially saying "whatever it takes". Whatever they have to do to make sure that the next president elected is not one after the cut of Obama. They want a conservative Republican and from 2012 forward you have Steve Bannon, what he would call the Judo-Christian west, begin to mobilize and prepare for the next election cycle. We have done studies and seen Steve Bannon's work in this history. It's really the mobilization of the Republican party in 2012. They begin to

work with a company that we have discussed before at some length. SCL and Cambridge Analytica. Those companies are attempting to use those disillusioned, particularly white Christian male population, to use those race and social issues to their advantage to manipulate the public to in to voting after their own agenda.

We have talked about those years how Obama was separating Church from state but 2014 really is the turning point. In 2014 Steve Bannon warns. He is speaking actually at the Vatican. He is a very conservative strong catholic. He says in the Vatican, we are at the very beginning stages of a brutal and bloody conflict. Outright war against Jihadists. He talks about Islam but also the secularization of the west. Socialism, the left, atheism, he says that we are also at war with them and this is all at the beginning of a populist revolution.

I want to go back into history now. Go back to this history and talk about how Donald Trump fits into this story. We find him hitting the exact same waymarks. In 1979 a journalist Wayne Barret wrote the first detailed examination of Donald Trump. It was two articles. One article really in two parts and he for months worked on this story conducting a detailed examination into Donald Trump and his business practices. It wouldn't surprise us that those magazine articles were not positive to Donald Trump. So the first detailed examination of Donald Trump happened or was released in 1979. He had come in that examination to a couple of conclusions. Before we get to his conclusions, I want us to note how Donald Trump responded to this investigation. As Trump began to note that someone was preparing to write articles about him and was investigating him, Donald Trump began to call Wayne Barret. He handled this journalist in two different ways. First of all, he threatened to sue him and destroy him. Second he said if you write about me favorably I will get you an apartment, you don't have to live down where you live in Brownville (essentially a poor district), I will get you an apartment in one my units. So, in Wayne Barrett's words he says "Donald Trump had the bribery and the threat". "He had the carrot and the stick". This is how Donald Trump is working with the media from his very inception. Either threatening or bribery.

This is quoting from the 1979 Article. Wayne Barrett says

" In this, the first of a two-part series, I'll examine the character and history of Trumps' Brooklyn base. In the second, I'll trace the details that led to his extraordinary acquisitions of the three Manhattan properties"

So, he is going into his business dealings.

and the government negotiations that are turning them into personal windfalls. Each history - the Brooklyn empire, the Manhattan purchases, and the government contracts - is a tale of over-reaching and abuse of power. Like his father, Donald Trump has pushed each deal to the limit, taking from it whatever he can get, turning political connections into private profits at public expense.

The very first investigation what he is identifying is that Donald Trump works through abuse of power and he is using his political connections to create a private profit. He inherited those political connections from his father who had powerful connections to politics. He has taken those connections that his father had, and he has used them in a way that is described as overreaching and an abuse of power. It's a long article. It goes through all the details of that but it's an interesting read. His other two

points that he investigates and notes in these articles is how Donald Trump leased his properties. When you went to an apartment that Donald Trump owned and you wanted to rent an apartment and you gave the receptionist your name, if you were black next to your name, they would put a little "C" for colored. You went down the list. They did not want to rent any of their apartments to black families. So, the first issue he had was race. He was sued. They were actually sued by the government for this issue. Him and his father. That they segregated race within their apartments. They did not want to lease apartments to black families. First investigation that is released in this report.

The second. If you were white and you wanted to rent an apartment, they needed to assert your income to tell whether or not you could afford your lease. When they would look over your income, they would only count the income of the male of the household. So, if the female worked, it was not counted towards whether or not they could afford that apartment. So, there is no chance, no hope of a woman being able to lease an apartment based on her own job whatever that is. It had to be counted through the male.

It's actually later in 2011 Donald Trump was asked whether or not he would hire working moms. He said a working mother is not giving an hundred percent, she is giving me 84% and 16% is going towards taking care of children. So even in 2011 he is open about how he sees women in the work force.

That is 1979. In 1988 he hints for the first time that he has political ambition. This is in an interview with Oprah Winfrey. He is complaining of the same things in that 1988 history that he complains about in 2016, American allies aren't paying enough, we are being ripped off, the Japanese are living in the lap of luxury while we protect them, all of the same thinking that he used in the election. Oprah says to Donald Trump, what you are saying sounds like political presidential talk. Donald Trump responds, he probably wouldn't run for president, but he wouldn't rule it out entirely. He is tired of American allies taking advantage of them, he says America would make a lot of money if he was president, he says the way America has been is not the way it would be under me believe me.

So it's the first hint at political ambition and the host of that show picks up on that. 1989 his first cover on time magazine.

I actually want to go to two news articles. Two journalist who wrote where we are in 2019 and they tried to pin it back, how did we get here, how did we get to this situation in 2019. Those two articles took different approaches. One said, it's all because of 1989. The second said it's all because of 2014. So, I want to look at the first that spoke of 1989.

This article states. The present situation arises out of a past that we are too quick to forget, misremember, or enshroud in myth. But where we are today in 2019 is because of past choices. Different decisions back then might have yielded different outcomes in the here and now. Donald Trump ascended to the presidency as a consequence of many choices that America has made over the course of decades. Although few of those were made with Trump in mind, he is the natural result of the choice America has made. Where di Trump come from? How can we account for his presence as Commander and Chief and Leader of the free world?

They begin that journey where it all began in 1989. The fall of the Berlin wall. As the cold war wound down, members of the Washington smart set declared that the opportunities not presenting themselves went beyond the merely stupendous. Indeed, history itself had ended. The U.S. is the world's soul superpower. Liberal Democratic Capitalism was destined to prevail everywhere. There would be no way

accept the American way. In fact, the ending of the cold war should have caused them to reflect about the many mistakes moral compromises that America made from the 1940's through the 1980's. But they had no interest in revisiting their mistakes. Certainly not in remorse or contrition. Instead they became controlled by extraordinary hubris or gaud and a patent of reckless behavior informed by an assumption that the world would ultimately conform to the wishes of the indispensable nation.

So, what's the issue in this history? American exceptionalism. The end of the Cold War, what's driving them again is this concept of American exceptionalism. The one world superpower. They have to define what that looks like. They made the wrong choice in the slavery history and they made the wrong choice in our history at the end of the cold war.

Raegan really, more than anyone before him, took that point of American exceptionalism the farthest and he called America the city on a hill. He took that from a centuries old speech about how America is this exceptional nation "the city on the hill" looking over the world. 1989 we could discuss Trump there; he is on the cover of "Time Magazine". It's also, if we want to trace him through this history, in 1989 that his wife accuses him of rape. That is a pattern that we see continue through. The next time we find him accused of rape is 1996, but it was his ex-wife in 1989. 1996 he turns 50. He bought the Miss Universe organization and immediately began to attack the weight of the woman who won that miss universe pageant. That something people still discuss. He called an eating machine and just destroyed her because of her appearance, in 1996. You can trace his behavior through that history. In 1996 he also unites with an American company in a plan to extend his buisness practices into Russia with the idea of building a hotel there. That plan falls apart, but people go back to that history and trace how he has interacted with Russia. In 2000 he began his first presidential campaign and that fails. He pulled out of that race. If he had of been successful, then in 2001 maybe he would have been the U.S. president right back then but that ends in failure.

I want us to note how he responds to 9/11. This is still a subject again today. He used 9/11. That national disaster is fuel for his personality cult. He still speaks about it today, how he was there on the ground, how he saw people fall from the building even though he was four miles away in Trump hotel. He has used this even in the recent months. This concept of the role he played as a first responder at 9/11 none of which is proven. Large amounts of which is actually disproven but again we see the connection with the same way Hitler worked. Hitler used national disasters to fuel his personality cult and Donald Trump has done the same thing all the way through. He also said Muslims celebrated and danced as the towers came down. Another, again, conspiracy theories, personality cult.

In 2009 we begin to see a change. First of all, he joins twitter which changes politics as we know it. Second, he becomes a republican. He joins the Republican party and why does he join them? It's in response to Obama, a black president. 2009 he joins the Republican party. Before this he had given more political donations to the Democrat party than the republican, but this begins to change in 2009 - 2010 until in 2012 he throws his financial support behind the Republican party more than any year. 2009 he connects with David Bossy. David Bossy is a prominent Clinton conspiracy theorist. He worked against the Clintons when Bill Clinton was president and he has more than hardly anyone else, fueled the conspiracy theories around the Clinton family. He admits that was a right-wing agenda and that that was done intentionally by the right-wing republican party. He was actually fired from his job as investigating the Clintons in this history because he was doctoring evidence. 2010 and 2011. We could go through those years and see the escalation. David Bossy introduces Donald Trump to another major player, Steve Bannon. So, these people start to connect. So, 2010 Steve Bannon is introduced to Donald Trump. 2011

Donald Trump conducted preliminary talks to consider another bid for president. He meets with evangelical leaders and they tell him it is not yet the right time. Bannon tells him it is not the right time.

In late 2013 Donald Trump met with Republicans to discuss a possible run for governor of New York. So December of 2013 Donald Trump is starting to think about entering politics. The first step that he is thinking would be as governor of New York. The Concept written up in this document that the republicans give to him, is that if he starts with governor of New York, it's the first step to what in a couple years' time become a presidential bid. So, he is already beginning here with presidential ambition. January 2014 a small number of political operatives met privately with Trump in Trump tower. The chairman of the Erie County Conservative Party called that he brought the necessary papers for Donald Trump to form an exploratory committee to run for governor. Donald Trump was considering the idea. I won't go into the details but what Donald Trump asked of them, what he asked of this man particularly, is that he wanted all the political opponents, the other people running for the same position, to drop out of the race. He told him that they could not pave the path for him straight to the governor's office. He would need to run as an ordinary candidate. This made him angry and he pulled out of the race for governor. 2014 he makes the statement on twitter "while I won't be running for governor of NY state, a race I would have won, I have much bigger plans in mind. Stay tuned. Will happen". I would suggest in 2014 he is already planning his political career. It won't be as governor of New York. He has bigger plans in mind stay tuned.

In 2014 we have the work Steven Bannon begins to do with the Republican party in Cambridge Analytica. This is where we begin to see the different agendas unite. We talk about Fox news but also the Republican party. But not just the republican part, particularly the right wing within the republican part, the tea party movement, begin to unite with the evangelical right. They are finding, in 2014 forward, their ideal candidate. They are also in 2014 beginning to enact that work under Cambridge Analytica where they are already sending out political messaging. That political messaging is over those same issues of race, gender, and what the United States is meant to look like. Another article. This is written in 2017.

He says "a year into the presidents first term, I have been trying to answer about the question Donald Trump. When was American's emotional table set for his election? Trump has been driving the American political conversation in one way or another for a while now, ever since he came down that escalator in 2015. But I think the real emotional build up to Donald Trump started before he appeared on that escalator. It all starts in 2014. People have many theories why Donald Trump won. Racial resentment, economic anxiety... but in 2016 Donald Trump turned the campaign into something deeply personal for all Americans. A referendum on our national self-worth. Were we really great or were we in need of greater improvement? Trump brought out our sentiments of fear, of loathing and hope in a way holy unfamiliar to our sober, strait laced politics. Of course, the results of the 2016 election can't be traced to just one year, there are many events. The sentiments of people grow and change year over year. But a series of events can also surface strong feelings in a group of people and feed the idea that a change is a foot, that Americans self-presumed exceptionalism has atrophied."

Again, it's this idea of American exceptionalism.

"Perhaps that's why the themes of fear and mortality that hovered over the 2016 election made some sense with 2014 in the rear-view mirror. It's hard to tell how long it takes for an emotional response like

mine to get into the political blood stream of a country, but when pricked by the right needle, America's righteous worry and primal anger bleed out into an election."

It's all those events of 2014 that paved the way for 2016. it lists them. You have "Black Lives Matter", Racial issues. You have America entering Syria. You have Russia entering Ukraine. You have ISIS and what they did in 2014 to their captive American citizens. So, all of these issues in 2014, what it has done to the American public is make them question their American exceptionalism that they were promised in 1989. They find the candidate who promises to bring it back. We understand this from the internal that 2014 is the waymark of SL and that there is a message unsealed that continues to swell. It's going to swell to the Loud Cry, or for our history we would call it the Midnight Cry. All this comes down to this period of Test. That is how we, internally, view this history. The unsealing of a message, the growth of that message to where there is an increase of knowledge and a formalization. And what we do, the methodology we use is to parallel, to parallel two different things. In this history we can parallel the internal message, the internal movement with the external. Internally we have had a movement from the very beginning. That movement does not start as an organized structure. It takes time to grow and develop. But from 2014 you can mark organization entering into this movement progressively.

The message is not all understood in 2014. Instead it has to grow and swell to where it is formalized at this waymark. If that is how the internal message behaves, what about the external message? If that's how the internal movement operates, it is unsealed here but takes time to develop and become visible, what about the external. Internally we can see 2014. We can see what happens in this year that leads to the message of 2018. Externally we can see what developed here that lead to 2016 and 2018. But, I would suggest that this waymark, the waymark we associate with SL, we don't actually visibly see that much. Why does EGW say that the LC begins here and then swells? If it begins here it begins with a whisper. It's not that Loud, it's not that visible. It must need to grow just like our message does. So, with the external. And all those catalysts in 2014 are going to grow and swell. That movement, the uniting of the republican party, the evangelical right, all begins in 2014. It begins to grow and swell. You begin to identify external leadership. Donald Trump. Then you have him elected but restrained. Then he starts taking over the branches of the government. He begins taking over the other offices. The role of the attorney general, the supreme court. It begins in 2014 but it has a work of escalation. So just as it's identified in that article, what led to Donald Trump began in 2014. You can see it different ways. You can talk about 2009, 1989. But when we consider our dispensation it's particularly the events of 2014 that come together that developed into Donald Trump's candidacy and election.

We became organized in that history; they became organized in that history. I would suggest that behind all of this whether it looks political or not, is a religious zeal. The problem people are having is that they cannot identify, in the current politics in America, that it is a result of the religious zeal of the evangelical right. What Donald Trump is enacting is the morality of the majority. As he has taken over the supreme court, he has done that more and more. He started to take away rights for women from those who identify as LGBTQ, rights away from other races. Civil rights are under threat. Black lives are under threat. Immigration. All of those issues that we actually find right back in 2014 and if we want to go back, we can find it in 1989.

I want us to finish in Great Controversy chapter 38. GC chapter 38 is titled the Final Warning. So where are we in history? If it's the final warning given to the world, it must be the last warning they have before their door is shut, before probation closes. So, we would identify the final warning as the Loud Cry. If you were to see the chapters before they are all dealing with the SL history. In the Great Controversy she steps through the Sunday Law history, then the Final Warning, and then the Shut door.

So, this chapter 38 the Final Warning is dealing with this history. The Sunday Law history. We will go to 610.3.

GC 610.3 She is talking about the history of the Loud Cry.

But so long as Jesus remains man's intercessor in the sanctuary above, the restraining influence of the Holy Spirit is felt by rulers and people. It still controls, to some extent, the laws of the land. Were it not for these laws, the condition of the world would be much worse than it now is. While many of our rulers are active agents of Satan, God also has his agents among the leading men of the nation. The enemy moves upon his servants to propose measures that would greatly impede the work of God; but statesmen who fear the Lord are influenced by holy angels to oppose such propositions with unanswerable arguments. Thus a few men will hold in check a powerful current of evil. The opposition of the enemies of truth will be restrained that the third angel's message may do its work. When the final warning shall be given, it will arrest the attention of these leading men through whom the Lord is now working, and some of them will accept it, and will stand with the people of God through the time of trouble. {GC88 610.2}

But as long as Jesus remains man's intercessor in the sanctuary above, the restraining influence of the Holy Spirit is felt by rulers and people. It still controls, to some extent, the laws of the land. Were it not for these laws, the condition of the world would be much worse than it now is.

So, what is she saying about this history? We understand that the Loud Cry history what is happening to the constitution? The laws of the land? They are being broken down. But she says there is still a restraining influence felt by the rulers and the and that it still controls to some extent the laws of the land. So, there are still laws restraining the power that be from enacting their dictatorship.

While many of our rulers are active agents of Satan, God also has his agents among the leading men of the nation. The enemy moves upon his servants to propose measures that would greatly impede the work of God; but statesmen who fear the Lord are influenced by holy angels to oppose such propositions with unanswerable arguments. Thus a few men will hold in check a powerful current of evil.

Whats happening in this history? You have Satan's agents and God's agents. And what are God's doing to Satan's agents? They are restraining them through unanswerable arguments. They are holding in check a powerful current of evil. So where is the current of evil? Here.

The opposition of the enemies of truth will be restrained that the third message may do its work.

We are in the history of the 3rd angels' message. And so that we can do this work, God has agents in the government holding back the tide of evil.

When the loud cry shall be given, it will arrest the attention of these leading men through whom the Lord is now working, and some of them will accept it, and will stand with the people of God through the time of trouble.

So in this history we are not talking about this movement, God's agents and Satan's agents or some nebulous force, we are talking about U.S. politics and two groups within U.S. politics that between MC and the Shut Door are pulling from opposite ends. Satan's agents are bringing about a current of evil and what is acting as a restraint? Why is it that in this history we are tracing the events of an internal civil war? Because one is a tide of evil and one is a restraint to that tide of evil. Why is it that in 2018 in October we predicted that in this history there would be an impeachment? Why do we see an impeachment here? Because there is one side that is working to restrain the tide of evil. People don't like it when we call that restraint the agents of God, but we don't do that EGW does that in the Great Controversy. People identified as God's agents. They are the ones, the ones on the right side of the argument, those impeaching Donald Trump, by and large 99 % of them Democrats who have the only hope of accepting the truth and joining God's movement when the final warning is given. Some of them will accept it. Some of those one Democrats side not Republicans. She is identifying externally two streams of information. And they are putting that restraint on Donald Trump right in the history where we see him taking over the supreme court, taking over the different branches of government.

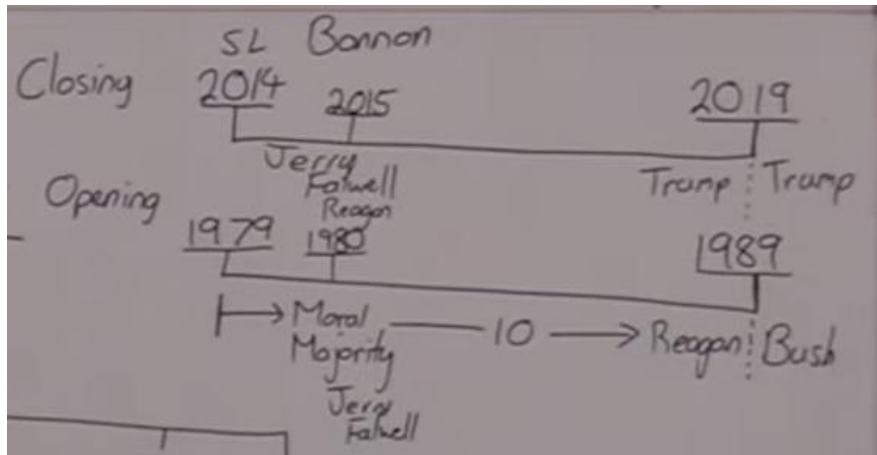
I want us to just look at one quote further down within the Great Controversy. It's just the first sentence of 611.3.

The great work of the gospel is not to close with less manifestation of the power of God than marked its opening.

When did the great work of the gospel close on our reform line of the priests? 2019. When does it begin? When would we say that this work began? 1989. That is when I would suggest began that work if we were to take that phrase over to our reform line.

Images of board work.





I want to use that phrase and I don't want to talk about the internal because we can see that we are ending the way we began but I want us to see the external. The way the internal came about is the way the internal came about. If we were to line up 2019 and 1989 it gives us the ability to cut our reform line. If we were to overlay the closing and the opening what would we put here? If we have the closing what is that waymark? 2019. The opening what is that way mark? 1989. Just as it opened so will it close. If we take that to the external, think about what we have discussed today. What would you place here that led to the close? I would like to suggest 2014. What began in 2014 led to 2019? It all began with the SL and it swelled. If this is 2014 then this down here are the opening is 1979. it's 1979 that began the work that led to 1989. 2014 the work that led to 2019. In 1989 how many people do we place? Who are they? Reagan and Bush. 2019 who are they? First the literal and then the spiritual. We have cut our line, remember the revolutions. How many people do we place? Really literally it's one, symbolically it's two people. That was laid out in the lines of the revolutions. It changes from one dictatorship to another dictatorship.

What brought about the election of Raegan and the Election of Bush? That was the work of the Moral Majority. They achieved their first victory when? 1980 with the election of Ronald Raegan. The Moral Majority is headed by who? I want to remind us of that article we read earlier. The movement that lead to 1989, this ten-year movement of the moral majority, was...

"a patriarchal protest movement intended to reestablish the roles of males in their families, in the government, and in religious institutions. It came at a time when there had been a growing effort to establish the rights of women, the rights of people of color and the rights of the LGBTQ community. The Moral Majority thus represented the conservative religious reaction to those efforts."

It's an example, the manifestation of their religious zeal that led to 1989.

"The moral majority drew primarily from fundamentalists and white evangelical Christians, although it also included conservative Catholics and main line protestants. It thus mobilized a broader conservative religious and poltical coalition than just white conservative evangelicals."

There was also a catholic involvement. Is there a catholic involvement in this history? Steve Bannon. It's not just the evangelicals. He united with the conservative faction of the catholic church.

"furthermore it was the efforts of Moral Majority and other important organizations within the board of the religious right, including focus on the family, that led to the defeat of legislations such as the equal



# Article 1

## Revisiting the legacy of Jerry Falwell Sr. in Trump's America

[Richard Flory@richardflory](mailto:Richard.Flory@richardflory)

POSTED July 17, 2017

READING TIME 7 minutes

*This article was originally published on [The Conversation](#).*

Recently, President Donald Trump appointed evangelical Christian leader Jerry Falwell Jr. to [head the White House education reform task force](#). Not much is known about the task force or what its work will be. And, tapping Falwell Jr. as its leader may seem odd to some observers given that he is president of Liberty University, a Christian university founded by his father, Jerry Falwell Sr., and not a top research university.

Falwell Jr. has recently been active in the political realm, particularly in his [outspoken support](#) of Donald Trump.

From my perspective as someone who has been studying Protestant fundamentalists and evangelicals for more than 20 years, Falwell Jr., to date, remains a relatively minor political and religious figure. His appointment could be better explained by his family legacy, particularly that of his late father, Jerry Falwell Sr. – an enormously influential figure in American politics still today.

### From televangelist to political activist

Falwell Sr. was a pastor of Thomas Road Baptist Church, a fundamentalist Christian megachurch in Lynchburg, Virginia. Along with several other [evangelical televangelists in the 1970s](#), he enjoyed a large national following who tuned in to his weekly televised church service.



Rev. Jerry Falwell in front of a scale model of Liberty Village on May 30, 2002 in Lynchburg, Virginia.

AP Photo/R. David Duncan III

Coinciding with the popularity of Ronald Reagan, Falwell founded the Moral Majority in 1979 as a conservative Christian political lobbying group. Although the founding of the Moral Majority is popularly seen as an anti-abortion and pro-family movement, its real roots were different. Falwell and other evangelical leaders felt the federal government [was overreaching](#) with its guidelines into how Christian groups maintained racial restrictions in their schools.

The Moral Majority [ultimately expanded](#) its platform from segregation in schools to include what is now a familiar agenda: supporting and sponsoring legislation for “traditional” family values and prayer in schools. It also opposed LGBT rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion and other similar social-moral issues.

Through his nationally televised church services, Falwell Sr. [reached beyond his original followers](#) to other groups that were in agreement with the conservative, pro-family, racial agenda of the Moral Majority.

## Rise of the religious right

=

Scholars such as sociologist [Martin Riesebrodt](#) have argued that movements such as the Moral Majority were “[patriarchal protest movements](#),” intended to reestablish the leadership and authority of males in their families, in government and in religious institutions.

The emergence and popularity of the Moral Majority came at a time when there were growing efforts to establish the rights of women, people of color and the LGBTQ community. Moral Majority, thus, represented the conservative religious reaction to those efforts.

The Moral Majority [drew primarily](#) from white fundamentalist and evangelical Christians, although it also included conservative Catholics and mainline Protestants. It thus mobilized a broader conservative religious and political coalition than just white conservative evangelicals.

Throughout its [10 years of existence](#), the Moral Majority [became a decisive and powerful force](#) within conservative politics and the Republican Party. Falwell and the Moral Majority worked with other equally conservative evangelical and fundamentalist Christian leaders, such as [James Dobson](#), [Tim LaHaye](#), [Pat Robertson](#), [Phyllis Schlafly](#) and the like. Ultimately, this broad coalition of conservatives – mostly white Christians – came to represent the “Religious Right.” It has had an enormous impact on both the Republican Party and on public policy more generally since its [founding](#).



President Reagan shakes hands with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, right, during a convention of National Religious Broadcasters on Jan. 30, 1984 in Washington.

AP Photo/Ira Schwarz

For example, Republican candidates for office, [dating back to Reagan](#) and George H.W. Bush, [recognized](#) the power of the religious right as a voting bloc, and routinely visited evangelical and fundamentalist institutions such as Falwell’s Liberty University and [Bob Jones University](#) in South Carolina.

Further, it was the efforts of the Moral Majority and other important organizations within the broader religious right – such as Schlafly’s [Eagle Forum](#) and Dobson’s [Focus on the Family](#) – that led to the defeat of legislation such as the Equal Rights Amendment and efforts to block legislation furthering LGBTQ rights. Similar issues echo today as well, presented in the guise of [religious freedom for Christians](#).

## Politics of morality

Political involvement was a shift for Falwell, who as a fundamentalist Christian avoided political organizing as a matter of religious conviction. Fundamentalists, as distinct from evangelicals, [tended toward separation](#) not only from other Christians who didn't share their particular brand of Christianity and its emphasis on theological, personal and social purity, but also from entanglements with the political world.

Thus, Falwell's move into politics also entailed a shift in his theological perspective. He moved from a separatist stance that taught that God controls everything, including politics, to one that required human action to fulfill God's intended destiny for America.

For Falwell, and the mostly white, conservative fundamentalist and evangelical Christian world that his movement represented, these political battles were [moral and spiritual battles](#) intended to save America from the moral quagmire that they believed it was becoming.

## The Falwell legacy

Falwell died in 2007, and his efforts to combine his religious and political commitments seem to have fallen to his son, Jerry Falwell Jr., who as president of [Liberty University](#) has been [outspoken](#) in his support of Donald Trump. Trump, in turn, seems to have rewarded him for his support with the appointment to the education reform task force.

Falwell Jr. is as outspoken in his religiously glossed opinions on issues as was his father. Perhaps this is seen most famously in his support for Second Amendment rights, to the point of advocating that [students at Liberty University carry guns](#). He even built a shooting range on campus. Yet, Falwell Jr. [faces a different world](#) than his father did. The core of the religious right activists is older. Its separatist and culture wars approach is [less appealing to younger evangelicals](#) – even to those who may generally agree with some of the positions put forth by Republicans and their older evangelical supporters.

Recent scholarship argues that the white Christian America upon which the religious right remains dependent [is in decline](#). Yet, as exemplified by the over [80 percent of white evangelicals who voted](#) for Donald Trump in the 2016 election, the legacy of Falwell Sr. lives on – at least for the near term – making him a figure as important as Reagan for the Republican Party.

Whether Falwell Jr. will rise to the level of influence attained by his father remains to be seen. But, he has signaled his goals for the education task force, which are similar to the issues that motivated Falwell Sr. in the 1970s. In an interview, for example, he said that he saw the [goal of the task force](#) to reduce “overreaching regulation” into the affairs of schools like Liberty University.

Much like Falwell Sr., [his goal](#) “is to pare it back and give colleges and their accrediting agencies more leeway in governing their affairs.”

Read the [original article](#) on The Conversation.

*(Caption for primary photo: U.S. President Donald Trump stands with Liberty University President Jerry Falwell, Jr. after delivering keynote address at commencement in Lynchburg, Virginia, U.S., May 13, 2017. REUTERS/Yuri Gripas.)*

*Richard Flory is the senior director of research and evaluation with the USC Center for Religion and Civic Culture.*

From <<https://crcc.usc.edu/revisiting-the-legacy-of-jerry-falwell-sr-in-trumps-america/>>

## Article 2

I could not find Exact article. This is from CNBC and had a lot of the same stuff.

# Secretive cabals, fear of immigrants and the tea party: How the financial crisis led to the rise of Donald Trump

PUBLISHED TUE, SEP 11 20187:00 AM EDTUPDATED TUE, SEP 11 20188:54 AM EDT

### KEY POINTS

- The tea party movement rose from the ashes of the financial crisis and became a formidable force in the Republican Party.
- Donald Trump, in turn, seized the momentum built by the movement, attacking global elites as well as immigrants and demographic shifts in the U.S.
- “The fringe groups are the things to look at if we want to understand what our future will look like,” one historian says.



With four days left to go before the 2016 presidential election, was in a familiar spot: second place.

For more than three months, his Democratic opponent, [Hillary Clinton](#), had held an untouched advantage in public polling. Private data collected by Trump's own party, [shared that day](#) with reporters, predicted that Trump would be handed a 30-point defeat in the Electoral College.

It was on that Friday that the Trump campaign launched its closing argument for the presidency, a last-ditch effort to win over voters in the battleground states that every major prognosticator said he would lose. In an unusually long two-minute ad that the campaign paid \$4 million to air in nine target states, Trump railed against “those who control the levers of power in Washington.”

“It’s a global power structure that is responsible for the economic decisions that have robbed our working class, stripped our country of its wealth, and put that money into the pockets of a handful of large corporations and political entities,” Trump said.

In some ways, it was a political message that had been in the works for nearly a decade. The tea party movement rose from the ashes of the 2008 Lehman Brothers collapse and the subsequent global financial crisis to protest the “establishment” politicians that it saw running Washington. In other ways, it was a message that stretched back much further, tied up in the history of American financial panics — and the secretive cabals accused of inciting them — going back to the 17th century, according to historians.

The White House did not respond to a request for comment from CNBC.

## **Raging against the elites**

If Trump's closing argument for the presidency attacked the legitimacy of the political system, his opening argument attacked the legitimacy of one particular politician: President .

In March 2011, as he first toyed with the idea of a serious presidential bid, Trump rose to prominence in the Republican field through his singular focus on Obama's birth certificate.

“The more Mr. Trump questioned the legitimacy of Mr. Obama's presidency, the better he performed in the early polls of the 2012 Republican field,

springing from fifth place to a virtual tie for first,” The New York Times [wrote](#) in 2016.

**Read more:** [The Lehman Brothers collapse pushed the Democratic Party left](#)

Of course, Trump’s accusations were false. Obama was born in Hawaii, and is a U.S. citizen. But before Trump became president and launched his attacks on the “deep state” he saw as opposed to his presidency, latching onto Obama’s place of birth enabled him to tap into the resentment that was bubbling up on the right among groups like the tea party, according to Ron Formisano, a historian at the University of Kentucky and the author of a history of the tea party.

The tea party movement rose up after the financial crisis as a fringe wing of the Republican Party. Its ideological underpinnings are often described as opposing government intervention in the economy. [CNBC anchor Rick Santelli’s “tea party” rant](#) against bailouts in 2009 is cited as one of the movement’s catalysts. Yet it was also [aligned](#) with the conspiracy theory regarding Obama’s birth.

## **Santelli’s rant heard round the world**

Scott Reynolds Nelson, a historian who studies the politics of American financial crises, said that the tea party movement is precisely the type of fringe group that often rises up in the wake of an economic calamity. He said that after major panics, conspiracy theories can flourish, and elevate extreme politicians who seek to paint their political opponents as the root of the pain felt by voters.

“Political parties always sort of had plausible deniability when it comes to these fringe organizations, but these fringe organizations have a great deal of power,” Nelson said. “The fringe groups are the things to look at if we want to understand what our future will look like.”

### **Another target: Immigrants**

Trump blamed the financial crisis on the secretive insiders who run the government, but he also had another target — immigrants.

Trump staked his campaign on a hard-line immigration stance, complete with mass deportations, a ban on Muslim immigration and a border wall paid for

by Mexico. He also claimed that Mexico was sending violent criminals, including rapists, to the United States.

Ever since his political rise, many have credited Trump's appeal among white, working-class voters to economic anxiety. Struggling with unemployment and stagnant wages, the common narrative is that voters liked the populist anti-Wall Street rhetoric Trump used in his push toward Washington. That economic anxiety is tied to racial animus, experts argue.

"Resentment against bankers wasn't the only line he picked up on in his campaign for president," said Geoffrey Kabaservice, director of political studies at the Niskanen Center, a Washington think tank.

"No one is claiming immigrants had anything to do with the financial crisis, but that was an even more effective line of attack he had," Kabaservice added.

Indeed, the financial crisis made Americans more comfortable expressing views that were anti-immigration, according to a study [published](#) in the International Migration Review in July. Post-election [survey data](#) suggest Trump's appeal was mostly due to a fear of cultural displacement among white, working-class voters.

A more [recent study](#) in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences also challenges the simple economic anxiety narrative. The findings suggest that white, Christian and male voters turned to Trump because they felt their status was at risk.

## Could the 2008 Financial Crisis repeat?

Vanessa S. Williamson, a fellow in governance studies at The Brookings Institution, said that Trump's campaign boiled down to ethno-nationalism.

"The data are very clear on this: both tea party activists and Trump supporters were distinguished, not by deep concern about Wall Street, but by fears of immigration and ethnic minorities," Williamson said.

### Concern for the future

In a divisive political climate, some argue that the tea party movement has staying power as more people grow anxious that traditional American values are being replaced by more socially liberal ideals. To the chagrin of Republicans, an embrace of progressivism has helped define this season's primary elections, with a number of surprise victories in Democratic primaries across the country.

Tea party conservatives, along with the president, rallied a base around fears that America was changing, leaving the white, male voter behind, and Trump's victory gave conservatives ground in their movement. But the midterms and 2020 election loom ahead, and Democrats threaten to unseat sitting House Republicans in the so-called blue wave they hope to ride into Congress.

"The Democratic base is energized. That makes a huge difference," said historian Formisano. "Resistance to Trump is extremely important and so many people, some who never were involved in politics before, are rising up. And meanwhile, Trump will keep riding the conspiracy theories, he'll keep riding his trade war, and he'll tell his loyal supporters that the Russia investigation doesn't matter."

Democrats have [flipped more than](#) 40 state legislature seats in special elections since Trump became president, including some deep in Trump country, have more candidates running for office than ever and are seeing increased voter turnout in the primaries.

On the other hand, the economy is doing well, and Democrats aren't as likely to vote in the midterms, [according to](#) NBC News. Strategists differ on just how powerful the forces are ahead of the November elections, and while some Republicans believe their party will maintain House control, most are far more concerned.

There's also widespread speculation about the future of tea party-style movements since Trump's victory. Trump successfully mobilized a population in which many fear foreign ideologies, experts say, and ran a campaign that fed these fears.

Yet while Trump ran as "an outrageous maverick," he is not an outsider, Formisano said.

"He made comments in primary debates about how the campaign finance system is broken, but he knows just how the system works," he added.

From <<https://www.cnn.com/2018/09/10/how-the-financial-crisis-led-to-the-rise-of-donald-trump.html>>

# Article 3 part 1

## Part 1

Like Father Like Son: Anatomy of a Young Power Broker  
By Wayne Barrett

Donald Trump, A 32-year-old self-proclaimed real-estate-colossus price tagged at \$200 million. The brash, streetwise son of Brooklyn's largest apartment building, transplanted from his father's boxlike office at the Avenue Z tip of the borough to a Fifth Avenue penthouse bounded on both sides by his own stunning Manhattan ventures. The New York Times puffs him as the city's "number-one real-estate promoter of the mid-seventies...the William Zeckendorf of hard times."

But the most accurate description of Trump's real-estate genius was contained in a deposition from a four-year-old Philadelphia bankruptcy-court file. When a Penn Central representative was asked why he'd contacted Trump alone out of lists of developers. It was uppermost in our minds that...the developer...be very high in his political position. Trump is doing what, in our judgment, if anyone can do, he can do."

--A no-money-down exclusive option to purchase the two largest tracts of undeveloped land left in Manhattan: 144 acres of unused railroad tracks along the Hudson River, from 30th to 39th streets, and from 59th to 72nd streets;

--His transformation of the 30th Street Yards from a long-rejected convention-center site into an acceptable \$400 million project that Trump used to call his Miracle City Center;

--His vision of a Co-op City-sized development on the 60th Street yards, now pared down by community pressure to a Manhattan version of his father's 4,000-unit Brooklyn project - Trump Village. The new project is to be surrounded by lucrative commercial space as his father had done before him;

--His packaging of the most extraordinary structure of city and state tax breaks ever arranged, camouflaged as an \$80 million hotel, and now rising - one politically negotiated pane at a time - as the glass-enclosed Hyatt replacement for the Commodore at 42nd Street and Lexington Avenue.

**Trump's problem is not so much** what he's done, but how he's done it. I decided at the start that I wanted to profile him by describing his deals - not his lifestyle or his personality. After getting to know him, I realized that his deals are his life. He once told me: "I won't make a deal just to make a profit. It has to have flair." Another Manhattan developer said it differently: "Trump won't do a deal unless there's something extra - a kind of moral larceny - in it. He's not satisfied with a profit. *He has to take something more.* Otherwise, there's no thrill."

In this, the first of a two-part series, I'll examine the character and history of Trumps' Brooklyn base. In the second, I'll trace the details that led to his extraordinary acquisitions of the three Manhattan properties - and the government negotiations that are turning them into personal windfalls. Each history - the Brooklyn empire, the Manhattan purchases, and the government contracts - is a tale of over-reaching and abuse of power. Like his father, Donald Trump has pushed each deal to the limit, taking from it whatever he can get, turning political connections into private profits at public expense. [Editor's note: Read Part 2 of the series online at [bit.ly/BarrettTrump2](http://bit.ly/BarrettTrump2)]

## THE CONNECTIONS

Abe Beame, whose municipal largesse to the Brooklyn organization that spawned him was cut short by the city's fiscal collapse, has left the Trump penetration of Manhattan as the only tangible sign of his administration's Brooklyn base.

Beame had known Trump's family for 30 years. They'd eaten the same clubhouse dinners at the same annual dances given by the borough's regulars. Like Beame - and most other pols who came up through the local machines - Fred Trump owed his biggest breaks to the country's party organization. In the beginning, Donald Trump used Beame's closest political associates - publicist Howard Rubinstein; lobbyist, lawyer, and fund raiser Abraham "Bunny" Lindenbaum; and Bunny's son Sandy - now part of a large Manhattan law firm - as the major political brokers on his Manhattan projects.

But the Trumps were too shrewd to rely only on the power of the Beame brokers. There were contributions, too. Beame's recollections of the Trump firm's donations were hazy, but the former mayor did say: "I don't know if he [Trump] gave and when he gave, but he's a friend of mine. I know he tried to help every time."

What does seem clear is that Donald's success in acquiring and developing the Commodore, the convention - center site, and, to a lesser degree, the 60th Street yards, was, in part, due to Beame's support. "It was the Brooklyn crowd at work," said one top city official.

Hugh Carey, another product of Brooklyn politics, has virtually turned a state agency - the Urban Development Corporation - into a temporary Trump subsidiary, UDC is developing Trump's hotel, convention center, and some new projects, including a multi-million-dollar renovations of Grand Central Terminal. But as Carey has done for Trump, so Trump has done for the governor - to the tune of nearly \$125,000 in campaign contributions from the family and their companies: \$35,000 in 1974, \$66,500 in 1978 plus a \$23,000 share of a loan totaling \$300,000 - a group venture with an inner circle of other Carey financiers including lawyer Bill Shea, MTA chairman Harold Fisher, realtor Sylvan Lawrence, and ILA [International Longshoremen's Association] leader Anthony Scotto. The only individual to have exceeded Trump's election-year generosity was the governor's oil-rich brother.

In case the donations weren't enough, Trump retained chief Carey fundraiser Louise M. Sunshine as his "director of special projects" and registered her as his Albany lobbyist for the convention-center plan. Additionally, Sunshine accompanies Trump to meetings at various government agencies throughout the state. When asked what she does on such trips, one official remarked: "She just hands around...gets a document if it's needed...calls the governor..." During the three years she's worked for Trump, Sunshine has directed Carey's campaign finances - first, paying off the governor's substantial 1974 debt and then serving as his executive director of finance for the 1978 campaign, She was rewarded with a \$17,000-a-year, one-meeting-a-month job as vice-chairman of the State Thruway

Authority and a position with the Job Development Authority. Although the latter post carries no salary, it does provide up to \$5,000 in expenses - and \$34 million worth of industrial loans to administer.

For Trump, the donations are the glue that holds together the public/private relationships.

The developer sees his companies' political contributions as part of the cost of doing government business - for tax purposes, most of the money is supplied as corporate contributions. For Trump, the donations are the glue that holds together the public/ private relationships.

Although Trump says he joined the 1974 Carey campaign early because, "I knew he was a winner," he hedged his bets pretty carefully. Ken Auletta, then campaign manager for Carey's primary opponent, Howard Samuels, recalls, "I got a call from Trump. He said he wanted me - as a Samuels staff person - to know that he'd contributed \$10,000 to Samuels. Just so I'd know who he was if her ever called. I usually kept far away from the finance end of it, but I checked this donation - and he'd made it."

Besides the \$125,000 donated to Carey, Trump-owned firms have recently contributed an additional \$34,000 to city and state candidates in positions to affect his Manhattan projects - \$10,000 to [Ed] Koch, after Beame lost; \$5,500 to Beame; \$4,000 to Mario Cuomo, \$10,000 to State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein's personal or Democratic Senate campaign committees; \$2,000 to city comptroller Harrison Goldin; \$2,000 to City Council president Carol Bellamy; and \$200 to City Planning Commissioner Robert Wagner, Jr.

After Manhattan councilman Henry Stern led the opposition to his Commodore tax-abatement scheme, trump called and offered Stern a contribution. "I declined," said the councilman. Few others have.

Finally, Trump has retained Roy Cohn as advisor on each of his major deals, on a host of legal actions, and as a conduit to the upper reaches of power - public and private. In recent years, Cohn and Sunshine have replaced the Lindenbaum and Rubinstein as young Trump's primary resources and agents. The Manhattan hard sell has supplanted the friendly, shrewd, understated style of the old Brooklyn days.

#### THE BROOKLYN BASE

Abe Beame met Fred Trump in the 1940s, when Trump tried to sell him a single-family home he'd build on Remsen Avenue in the East Flatbush section of Brooklyn. The middleman on the transaction, predictably, was Bunny Lindenbaum, Fred Trump's lawyer and Beame's oldest and closest friend. Beame and Lindenbaum had begun their political careers together, as captains in Brooklyn's Madison Club - also the political base of two Assembly speakers, Irwin and Stanley Steingut.

Beame, who worked in the city's bud-get office from 1945 until 1961, said he continued to see Trump over the years at political and social events, including the annual dinner dances of the Brooklyn Democratic organization and the fundraising functions of various Brooklyn clubhouses, Lindenbaum told me: "That relationship developed because both of them were close friends of mine. I've represented Trump for 40 years."

The relationship, ultimately, meant money for Fred Trump. In 1960, both Beame and Lindenbaum participated in the Board of Estimate decision that shaped Trump's largest real-estate project - the development of Trump Village. That year the nonprofit United Housing Foundation had received City



Planning Commission (CPC) approval for a tax abatement to build a major housing cooperative off Ocean parkway in Brooklyn. Publicly, Trump attacked the abatement as a "giveaway": "The taxpayers of the borough of Brooklyn should not be asked to subsidize more luxurious housing than they themselves enjoy. "Not long afterward, he reversed himself and applied for the abatement. According to Lindenbaum: "I went to see Wagner, and talked to him. Then I took [Brooklyn Borough President John] Cashmore out to Trump's buildings and persuaded him it [the UHF project] was giveaway. He supported us." Trump's proposal also won the support of the then budget director, Abe Beame.

Lindenbaum recalls that the man who finally settled the dispute was Robert Moses - though he'd already resigned from the CPC and had no official connection with the issue. "He sat and listened to both sides," said Lindenbaum. "Then he suggested the split. "Trump wound up with two-thirds of the site, UHF the rest. Though, years later UHF, Trump, Lindenbaum, and others would testify at a State Investigations Commission hearing on the Trump project, no one ever mentioned Moses' role. Two months after Trump got his site, Wagner appointed Lindenbaum to Moses' seat on the CPC.

Lindenbaum remembers the senior Trump as a guest at one famous political luncheon - the 1961 fundraiser at Skakele's Restaurant on Montague Street in Brooklyn - where Lindenbaum gathered 43 builders and landlords who did business with the city. Each pledged campaign contributions for the honored guest, Mayor Wagner, and Trump's \$2,500 contribution was among the largest. The resulting front-page flap cost Lindenbaum his Planning Commission post and became a major issue in the 1961 mayoral campaign. Nonetheless, Wagner was reelected and, with him, Abe Beame became comptroller.

In 1966 the Fred Trump/Bunny Lindenbaum relationship became a major city scandal. The State Investigations Commission, after extensive public and private hearings, issued a report on the handling of Trump Village's \$60 million Mitchell-Lama mortgage and prompted the commission chairman, Jacob Grumet, to publicly assail Trump, Lindenbaum, et al., as "grasping and greedy individuals" and asked housing finance officials: "Is there any way of preventing a man who does business in that way from getting another contract with the state?" The main findings of the investigation were:

-Trump retained MacNeil Mitchell, the East Side senator who'd written the Mitchell-Lama legislation. the developer paid Mitchell \$128,000 in legal fees.

-Trump also retained Lindenbaum on the project and tried to pay him a \$520,000 legal fee out of the mortgage funds. State housing officials who testified at the hearings characterized the fee as "unconscionable" and "outrageous." When pressed, Lindenbaum's firm claimed it had spent 4,500 hours in court at condemnation trials. But an assistant corporation counsel swore in an affidavit that his office had handled every condemnation on the Trump site. The transcript contains the following exchange;

*Commissioner:* "When you said you were engaged in the trial of a condemnation proceeding. It's my impression that you were trying the case."

*Lindenbaum:* "Oh, no, I'm sorry. I was an observer."

*Commissioner:* "You sat there?"

*Lindenbaum:* "I sat there."

Then Lindenbaum submitted a 60-page list of tenants and claimed that his firm had handled their dispossessions, evictions, and relocations. But the representative of a private relocation firm testified that Lindenbaum had simply copied the list from his

records; that a blanket dispossession notice for all tenants had been handled by his office: that no tenants were evicted; and that his office had handled all relocation

--Trump overestimated his costs on the project by \$8 million. Eventually, he was forced to return his \$1.2 million overestimate on the land - but not until he'd used part of the money to buy the site for a nearby shopping center, avoiding the expenditure of a nickel of his own money.. Moreover, since the builder's fee is based on his estimated - not real - costs, Trump took what the State Commission called a "windfall" \$600,000 profit on top of his already handsome \$3.2 million fee.

--Trump created an equipment-rental company for the job, failed to disclose his ownership of the corporation, and then billed the state at rates far in excess of normal fees. For example, he charged \$21,000 rent on a dump truck only valued at \$3,600. He billed the housing companies another \$8,280 for two tile scrapers, which, together, were valued at \$1,000, \$9,600 for a \$3,500 truck, and so on.

Further, field reports demonstrated that much of this same equipment was being used to build Fred Trump's nearby shopping center and was being falsely billed on the housing companies. The investigations commission cited this as an example of Fred Trump's "talent for getting every ounce of profit out of his housing project." It is a talent that he has passed on to his son. Fred Trump, irritated at being questioned about the rentals, characterized them as "peanuts."

As a result of the investigation, part of Trump's and Lindenbaum's payments were withheld. But years later, arbitrators awarded full payment to both. Trump even won a claim for the interest he'd lost in the interval. Though Lindenbaum was paid through the city, then-comptroller Beame can't recall having ever audited the controversial claim.

I asked Donald Trump about the issues raised by the commission. "I stand by everything we did on that job," he said "Trump Village is the most successful Mitchell-Lama job ever. There's never been a vacant apartment or a tenant protest. It's the highest voting district in the State of New York."

Trump Village was the last project Fred Trump built. In 1965 he acquired Coney Island's Steeplechase site, sought to redevelop it as a housing project, and ran up against the Lindsay administration's interest in creating an amusement park there. In 1969 the city took the land from Trump in a condemnation proceeding. This time Bunny Lindenbaum did not "just sit." He got a \$3.8 million price on land Trump had purchased for \$2.5 million only four years before. The city's never done anything with the site.

"We stopped building and started acquiring then," explains Donald Trump. Trump the building became Trump the management firm. It is clear that while the company's properties are surely vast, they are exceeded by those of other landlords. The assessed value of the Trump holdings has varied considerably. Today, Donald hints at a figure well in excess of the \$200 million estimate he offered the *Times* in 1976. He says the firm has acquired highly profitable land in Las Vegas and southern California. But *Business Week* quoted an independent valuation of \$100 million. And the financial institutions backing Donald's Hyatt deal with Fred as guarantor of the loans - took 18 months to decide that the Trumps were an acceptable risk (indeed, Fred Trump started Trump Village as a private job in 1960 and, though he'd been in the business 20 years, he couldn't get private financing).

In his interviews with me, Donald Trump repeatedly suggested that the firm was an awesome force in the industry. He also claimed that his convention center and hotel would be the largest in the country. They will not be. Real-estate entrepreneurs do their own advertising, and Trump has a way of doubling

or shaving every number when it suits him. In interviews, Donald Trump has laid claim to 22,000 units in Brooklyn, Staten Island, Queens, Virginia, Washington, D.C., and New Jersey. But his testimony in federal court put the total figures around 12,000 units actually owned and managed. What ever the size or exact dollar value, however, there is no question about the racial, economic, and sexual character of the Trump holdings. Tenants are mostly white. People receiving welfare do not live in Trump-owned apartments. Households with substantial *male* incomes do.

#### THE RACE CASE

Under the Federal Housing Act, the U.S. Justice Department's Civil Rights Division brought a landmark complaint against the Trump organizations in 1973. The suit charged that the Trumps refused to rent to blacks. After a year and a half of furious legal and rhetorical combat, the Trumps, in 1975, agreed to a consent decree described as "one of the most far-reaching ever negotiated." It required Trump to advertise vacancies on a preferential basis with the Open Housing Center of the Urban League.

Last March the Justice Department complained that Trump was in contempt of the consent decree and filed pending motions in Brooklyn federal court to compel compliance. The new complaint charges that "racially discriminatory conduct by Trump agents has occurred with such frequency that it has created a substantial impediment to the full enjoyment of equal opportunity."

The evidence for the original charge against Trump was largely obtained through Urban League testers - white and black - who sought apartments in various Trump - owned complexes. Whites got them; blacks didn't. The case was also based on a series of individual complaints to Eleanor Holmes Norton, then chairperson of the city's Human Rights Commission. Norton resolved a half-dozen individual cases by compelling Trump to admit black complainants. She asked the federal government to look for a pattern. But perhaps the most compelling evidence came from Trump employees and former employees.

According to court records, four superintendents or rental agents confirmed that applications sent to the central office for acceptance or rejection were coded by race. Three doormen were told to discourage blacks who came seeking apartments when the manager was out, either by claiming no vacancies or hiking up the rents. A super said he was instructed to send black applicants to the central office but to accept white applications on site. Another rental agent said that Fred Trump had instructed him not to rent to blacks. Further, the agent said Trump wanted "to decrease the number of black tenants" already in the development "by encouraging them to locate housing elsewhere."

Donald Trump charged in the press that the suit was part of a "nationwide drive to force owners of moderate and luxury apartments to rent to welfare recipients."

"We are not going to be forced by anyone to put people...in our buildings to the detriment of tenants who have, for many years, lived in these buildings, raised families in them, and who plan to continue to live there. That would be reverse discrimination," he said. "The government is not going to experiment with our buildings to the detriment of ourselves and the thousands who live in them now."

Trump's attorney, Roy Cohn, filed an equally shrill affidavit with the court, charging that the government sought "the capitulation of the defendants and the substitution of the Welfare Department for the management corporation!"

In March 1974, Donald Trump testified as president of many of the Trump housing companies. He assumed a color-blind posture throughout much of the questioning, claiming he "had no idea of the racial composition" of his tenants or employees (he lapsed when he described "an all-black job in Washington," and conceded that the company owned projects that were 100 percent white).

He was, he continued, "unfamiliar" with the Fair Housing Act of 1969, and said that the company had made no changes in its rental policies since the law's passage. He claimed that the only test of tenant eligibility was that the tenant's rent should not exceed 25 percent of his income. He testified that "we don't generally include the wife's income; we like to see it for the male in the family." Then he changed his testimony the next day, to try to include some assessment of the wife's income.

Cohn explained the Trump policy of only advertising apartment vacancies in the *Times*: "We think the *Times* is geared to minorities. It supported a Puerto Rican for mayor against a Jew..."

In October 1974, Cohn filed a motion to dismiss the case and charged - in an ironic reversal of his earlier McCarthy days - that federal agents were engaging in "gestapo-like tactics" against his client. Cohn's affidavit described the agents as "stormtroopers." In court he said the Trumps were being subjected to "undercover agents going in and out of their buildings, lying as to who they are and where they are from...trying to trap somebody into saying or doing something."

The judge found Cohn's charges "utterly without foundation" and said, "This is the first time anyone's charged FBI agents in a civil matter with...gestapo-type conduct." Cohn, who fundraises for the J. Edgar Hoover Foundation, suddenly switched: "I have never brought a charge against the FBI in my life. I have personal reasons why I haven't and I never would. My relationship is much too close."

The disastrous failure of the dismissal motion - which may have been prompted more by what the agents were finding than how they were looking - was the last Trump offensive in the case. A few months later, the firm settled the decree. Trump's press statement at the settlement was an unreconstructed version of the release the company sent out when the case began. It said the agreement satisfied the firm because it did not contain "any requirements that would compel the Trump organization to accept persons on welfare as tenants." I asked Donald Trump why he'd stopped advertising vacancies in the *Amsterdam News* when the two-year court mandate had expired. "It's a neighborhood paper for Harlem," he said.

I've interviewed a couple of dozen people about Trump - in and out of government. Many had vague awareness of the charges against him; but no one seemed to think that the Trump race record should affect what the company gets from the city or state. In fact, no one had bothered to ask the U.S. Attorney's office in Brooklyn, which is handling the case for the Justice Department, just what the facts are. Trump has proposed housing on the West Side - perhaps the most integrated neighborhood in the city. He's justified the city's largesse in the Commodore deal partially by pointing to the long-term jobs it will generate. Trump's 1974 deposition in this case was 100 pages of uncontained contempt for the whole issue. Cohn said it for him: "this is a spit in the ocean." I got the sense when I interviewed him that Trump has mellowed into a low-keyed indifference to the suit and the issue. It has nothing to do with profits or what he calls commercial "creativity." It is not part of his real world. Neither is it for the people in government who keep making deals with him.

**Early in the reporting of this story** I was at the State's Urban Development Corporation, reading records on Trump's commodore deal in a conference room. No one knew I was there but some UDC officials,

and I hadn't intended to talk to Trump until I'd learned what I could about him from documents. The phone in the office where I was working rang and the secretary said it was for me. It was Trump, buoyant over his surprise call: "I hear you've been going around town, asking a lot of negative questions about me. When are you going to talk to me?" he asked. "I'm circling," I said.

I met him three times after the call - twice in his Manhattan apartment and once, at my insistence, in his Avenue Z office, still the base of the Trump organization but not where Trump likes to entertain reporters.

"Donald is embarrassed by his Brooklyn roots," one of his business associates told me. "He uses Manhattan as his business address to put distance between himself and Avenue Z." When I asked Bunny Lindenbaum what he thought of Donald's - and his own son's - preoccupation with Manhattan, his voice rose:

"They want to do their work in Manhattan. I was born in Brooklyn, I always practiced in Brooklyn. I still live in Brooklyn. I still have my office in Brooklyn. They can't take Brooklyn out of me."

Wealth is supposed to convey an enviable status. I rode with Trump through Manhattan in his double-car-length silver chauffeured Cadillac with its DJT plates while he talked about how hard New York is on a developer, how communities fight him, how other cities want him. Through 30 blocks of slow Manhattan traffic, not a single New Yorker peered into the back of the carpeted limo.

The West Side groups who'd challenged him on his grandiose housing plans for the 60th Street yard had placed demands on his wealth and were not impressed with the symbols of it that he rushed to accumulate. Why lurch through Manhattan streets in an expensive advertisement of one's wealth if no one even notices?

Until the last couple of weeks - when he became uneasy about what I'd been doing - Trump would call me for progress reports on my story: "Tell me," he'd say, "you finding out what we've been doing is good for the city? What do people say about me? Do they say I work hard?" But at the last interview, before I began my questions, he went through a prepared speech about his reputation: "I really value my reputation and I don't hesitate to sue. I've sued twice for libel. Roy Cohn's been my attorney both times. I've won once and the other case is pending. It's cost me \$100,000, but it's worth it. I've broken one writer. You and I've been friends and all, but if your story damages my reputation, I want you to know I'll sue." Then, back to the smile - "but everything'll be all right. We're going to get together after the story."

He'd been working gentler versions of this carrot-and-stick approach since the first interview. When I arrived at his apartment the first time, he opened with: "The Voice? That's owned by Murdoch, right? Don Kummerfeld is running Murdoch's operations, right? You know the former deputy mayor? He's a good friend of mine." At our very first meeting, he'd even begun talking about someone he'd threatened with a slander suit over a harmless comment.

When he found out I lived in the battered Brownsville section of Brooklyn, he called to say: "I could get you an apartment, you know. That must be an awfully tough neighborhood." I told him I'd lived there for ten years and worked as a community organizer, so he shifted to another form of identification. "See we do the same thing," he said. "We're both rebuilding neighborhoods." And again: "We're going to have to really get to know each other after this article."

Trump was testing me, to see what would work - convinced that either fear or the suggestion that I could have some undefined future relationship with his wealth or his influence could help shape the story. He only had to figure out what I wanted. Every relationship is a transaction.

He told me that he'd had to move from a prior Manhattan apartment because a reporter had printed his address. The rich are supposed to insist on privacy, right? But the Times had photographed him in the living room of one prior address, and he's used the other at the top of his business letterhead. The next time I saw him he said he'd moved because he'd lived across from Gucci and that was no place to raise his new son. Now he lives across from Central Park.

His tendency to view things to his own advantage was made clear to me when I asked him about campaign contributions. He told me he had not contributed to Beame's 1977 campaign. To do so, he said, would have been a conflict because of the Commodore and convention-center deals. But I found \$5,000 in Trump-company contributions to the Beame deficit filed at the Board of Elections in 1978.

He angrily denied that he'd ever given a dime to Ohrenstein individually or to his campaign for Senate majority and threatened to sue anyone who said he did. The Trump organization was among the largest contributors to Ohrenstein individually one year and helped bankroll his campaign for Senate majority. Does he lapse into his fiercest denial when he just doesn't know? When I confronted him on the Beame and Ohrenstein contributions, he said the donations must have come from his father.

Similarly, in his deposition in the federal discrimination case, Trump refused to acknowledge responsibility for accepting or rejecting individual tenants. Those statements were a material part of his testimony since they went to the heart of the case - Trump's ability to control the discriminatory practices of his companies.

Shortly after he'd given his deposition, he was interviewed by a field investigator for the secretary of state. The interview had nothing to do with the federal case; the investigator was trying to determine if Trump met the experience requirement for a real-estate broker's license. The report states: "Mr. Trump further stated that he supervises and controls the renting of all apartments owned by the Trump organization...During my interview with applicant he showed me hundreds of files... Each contained numerous leases both for commercial and residential tenants...and rental records, all of which contained applicant's signature and handwriting." Trump's lawyer, Mathew Tosti, also claimed in a letter to the secretary of state that Trump had "negotiated numerous leases for apartments."

Yet he'd testified in federal court:

*Government:* "Do you ever have anything to do with rental decisions in individual cases?"

*Trump:* "No, I really don't."

Donald Trump is a user of other users. The politician and his moneychanger feed on each other. The moneychanger trades private dollars for access to public ones. Trump, Sunshine, Lindenbaum, and their counterparts Carey and Beame are classic expressions of this relationship. The transactions that result are contained in the father's story of Trump Village and in next week's account of Trump's Manhattan conquests.

# Article 3 part 2

Behind the Seventies-Era Deals That Made Donald Trump

by [WAYNE BARRETT](#)

JULY 20, 2015

**Black-and-white photo by Janie Eisenberg, 1979, for the Village Voice**  
COLOR PHOTO BY MICHAEL VADON, VIA WIKIMEDIA COMMONS

*Editor's Note: This is the second of a two-part series on Donald Trump and the real estate empire he and his father built. In 1979, Wayne Barrett spent two months researching the story. He read thousands of pages of court documents in Philadelphia and New York and campaign contribution filings in Albany. He spent fifteen hours interviewing Donald Trump. The Voice is republishing Barrett's accounts as Trump, now 69, is making news as a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. Part one of Barrett's series, which originally ran in the January 15 and January 22 issues in 1979, [can be found here](#).*

Donald Trump Cuts the Cards: The Deals of a Young Power Broker  
*By Wayne Barrett*

This is the profile of a power broker at work. It is also the deal-by-deal account of how a \$400 million convention-center site was acquired and selected. Next to Westway, the convention center has been New York's single largest development issue of this decade. At center stage is Donald Trump, the young man who managed the land deals, profiting by his relationship with a mayor and a governor. He has left a trail of tradeoffs behind him that is — in a city where political brokers learn to cover their tracks — exceptionally clear.

It is a November day in Philadelphia, 1974. On sale in a federal bankruptcy court are the largest undeveloped tracts of land left in Manhattan — the West Side rail yards, stretching along the waterfront from 30th to 39th streets and 59th to 72nd streets. One of these properties — the 30th Street parcel — has since become the designated site for the city's convention center. The other is being promoted as a 5,000-unit housing project surrounded by parks and a shopping area.

The seller is the bankrupt Penn Central Transportation Company (PCTC), which is attempting to reorganize itself by turning its real-estate portfolio into capital. The buyer is Donald Trump, then 28 years old, the son of Brooklyn's largest apartment builder.

Trump proposes to build up to 30,000 units of partially subsidized housing on the sites. He seeks an exclusive option on the property and offers Penn Central the promise that he will obtain the required zoning changes and taxpayer subsidies to guarantee a minimum land-purchase price of \$62 million — the least he expects to obtain in government mortgage funds. Trump's firm advances no cash.

But, of course, without City Hall's cooperation, this remarkable proposal would have remained just that. Trump's father, Fred, had known Abe Beame, then the mayor, for some 30 years — and had been a campaign contributor for 20; the firm is tied to the same Brooklyn Democratic machine which spawned Beame's political career. Trump's attorney Bunny Lindenbaum, seated beside him in the courtroom that morning, is Beame's oldest and closest friend. Penn Central representatives began negotiating with Trump two weeks after Beame became mayor. Trump's option is scheduled to end when Beame's term is up. There can be no misunderstanding: Trump, in that Philadelphia courtroom, was executing a political option.

Edward Eichler, who had represented the railroad in its negotiations with Trump, explained what had led to the acceptance of Trump's proposal. In a 150-page deposition he said the railroad had had lists of real-estate brokers, developers, and attorneys who were interested in the sites. But PCTC chose not to contact any of them. "It seemed self-evident that they would be interested," he said, but Penn Central had to find a developer who was "very, very high in his political position. We proceeded to make a judgment as to which one we thought would be best, and we judged that Trump would." The basis for that judgment — at least in part — could have been a meeting Trump had arranged some months prior to submitting his proposal. Present were Abe Beame, Trump and his father, and Eichler. According to Donald Trump: "I called the mayor because Penn Central wanted to know whether or not the city was interested in developing the land. The mayor said his administration would be..." Eichler told me that Beame had indicated "he'd known the family and that it was a good organization."

Further, Eichler said, Penn Central was looking for the developer "who seemed best positioned in the New York market to get rezoning and government financing." He emphasized that zoning is a "highly political activity in the City of New York," and that there had not been a "rezoning of this magnitude on a piece of property this politically sensitive in the recent history of the city.

"There are going to be opponents from the neighborhood," Eichler continued, "who have already...stated that they are going to oppose anything but very low densities. They are going to oppose very high buildings and view-blocking...and the real swing in value is...to a high density."

Trump was selected to transcend these petty community interests. After all, records on file with the board of standards and appeals show that over a 10-year-period, clients of his attorney, Lindenbaum, have received more zoning variances than clients of any other attorney in the city. With Beame as the new mayor, Lindenbaum's batting average was improving.

But there were two other significant actors in the courtroom drama unfolding that morning. One was Herman Getzoff, a Manhattan real estate broker who had previously worked with PCTC and had opposed the Trump transaction for months. The other was David Berger, senior partner of Berger and Montague, a Philadelphia law firm representing the stockholders and unsecured creditors of the Penn Central Company. Berger's clients, whose stock had lost its value with the PCTC collapse, had the strongest interest in maximizing profits from the sale of the railroad's properties. So, Berger, too, was opposing the Trump deal.

Earlier, Herman Getzoff had brought in other potential buyers. Through friends, he'd learned of the Eichler/Trump negotiations — which had been conducted in secret — and, in July, he'd submitted to Eichler a formal offer from the Starrett Brothers and Eken Co., another major New York builder. According to Getzoff, Starrett had offered a \$150 million purchase price for the railroad's land, as opposed to Trump's offer of \$62 million plus a share of the potential



development profits. Though Getzoff had made daily efforts to reach Eichler after the bid's submission, he never did. And, toward the end of July, a week after the Starrett bid had been submitted, Eichler went to court and put forth Trump's bid as the recommended proposal of the trustees. He had not met with Starrett, though he wrote an internal memo conceding that Starrett's 30th Street offer "would generate more money than the Trump deal." But he stuck with Trump because "the rezoning will only be the result of an especially powerful political effort, which Trump is much more likely to pull off..." Then he wrote Starrett a letter, suggesting it apply for "other parcels."

On August 7, Trump and Starrett's chairman, Robert Olnick, met. The same day, Olnick withdrew the Starrett offer. According to Trump: "Starrett and Trump are partners in Starrett City, of which we own 25 percent, and they own 5 percent. Frankly, if we hadn't put in the \$7 million equity, the project wouldn't have been built. We have a big relationship with Starrett. Olnick never responded to a half-dozen calls from me.

Getzoff then obtained a second bidder, HRH Construction Company, another housing developer, Richard Ravitch, HRH president, wrote to the court: "We've been interested in developing the yards over a period of almost a decade...However, we were not advised that the trustees were considering selling the yards until after a petition was filed with the bankruptcy court..."

The HRH offer, like Starrett's and Trump's, was dependent on obtaining a government-guaranteed mortgage to finance both the land purchase and the housing construction. The difference between Trump's proposal and the HRH/Starrett offers was that neither Starrett nor HRH sought a percentage of the land profits. Trump required 15 percent, which meant that in fact Penn Central would only get 85 percent of the sale price. Another difference was that neither Starrett nor HRH demanded that Penn Central foot the bill for \$750,000 worth of risk capital investment to be used to develop the project. Trump did.

What Trump offered the railroad that Starrett and HRH did not was an option for the company to pay for and obtain an equity interest in the projects eventually built. According to HRH, the primary value of such an interest in a Mitchell-Lama housing project was in a highly speculative tax-loss sale. The return to Penn Central on such an interest depended on the unpredictable state of the tax laws four to 10 years later.

### **Costello trumped Trump on the cover that week.**

The final, and most important, difference between the Trump and HRH offers was that Trump's attempt to share in the land profits appeared to violate the then-applicable Mitchell-Lama guidelines barring a developer from profiting on land he does not own when he submits the site to government agencies for approval.

The consequence of Trump's ill-conceived sharing plan was that, if the project were approved at all, the government agencies would have to purchase the land at its minimum price in order to eliminate potentially illegal Trump profits. The HRH offer contained a minimum that doubled Trump's.

Getzoff's early ally in opposing the Trump transaction was David Berger, attorney for the Penn Central stockholders. An associate in Berger's firm at the time, Edward Rubenstone, took the

deposition from Eichler, stating on the record that “no honest attempt was made” by Eichler to “determine what other persons were willing to pay for these properties.”

Rubenstone also grilled the appraiser selected by Eichler in a 235-page deposition that revealed that:

- The Philadelphia appraiser had never estimated a New York residential or industrial property. His appraisal assigned no value to the existing structures on the two sites, which had been previously assessed by the city at \$6 million. In arriving at his value for the 30th Street yards (as zoned), the appraiser compared the parcels exclusively with land sales in Queens, Brooklyn and the Bronx.
- The resultant appraisal pegged the 30th Street yards at \$4 per square foot — or \$8 million — as currently zoned, with the value increasing to \$27 million if rezoned for residential use. These depressed values were compared by Rubenstone and Getzoff to two nearby Penn Central sales — at \$26 and \$32 per square foot. The land under Manhattan Plaza, located in between the two yards on the West Side, had gone for as high as \$82 per square foot after rezoning. Even the land for Trump’s own Starrett City project in Brooklyn had sold for \$11 per square foot.
- Most important, the appraiser conceded that he had applied a 50 percent discount on the land to cover the time and costs a developer would incur over the years it would take to complete such a large project. The appraiser did not anticipate that under the Trump deal a major portion of these costs were to be assumed by Penn Central. He figured them as the buyer’s burden and discounted for them. HRH had indicated a willingness to pay the undiscounted price of \$124 million for the 30th Street and 60th Street properties.
- 
- Rubenstone told me: “I thought we had the deal broken. The appraiser’s deposition was pretty devastating in terms of the fair-market value of the property.”

The same day Rubenstone took the appraisal deposition he called Getzoff and asked him to come to Philadelphia to testify at the hearing as a witness for the stockholders. Getzoff was to testify about the Starrett bid and withdrawal as well as the terms of the forthcoming HRH offer.

When Getzoff arrived in Philadelphia on November 11, he learned that Berger, Eichler, and Trump (Rubenstone had been taken off the case a few days before the hearing) had been meeting for several days and Berger no longer wanted him to appear as a witness. In fact, Berger said, he would now speak on behalf of the Trump deal, which had been amended to increase Penn Central’s share of the land price as well as the size of its option in the development project. Trump had also amended the contract to provide that if he were not allowed to share in the land profits — as the guidelines indicated he would not — then he could walk away from the deal. The only loser would be Penn Central, which would then forfeit the \$750,000 it would have advanced to cover the developer’s preliminary expenses.

Getzoff was stunned. But even more indicative of Berger’s new attitude was his approach to Getzoff and a housing consultant who had accompanied him to Philadelphia that morning. Getzoff wrote a memorandum to himself immediately after these events. It reads: “Mr. Berger took us aside and suggested that ‘instead of fighting,’ wouldn’t I ‘withdraw the HRH proposal so the whole matter could be settled at the hearing.’ Mr. Berger stated that he was ‘sure that if we

played ball, he could work out a very satisfactory brokerage commission' for us...We [Getzoff and his consultant] informed Mr. Berger that 'we don't play that kind of game.'"

Getzoff also recalled that later that day Trump approached him with a similar question: "This arrogant young man patted me on the back in a most patronizing manner and asked me if I might be his broker. I assured him that I was not in the need of having a patron builder. He said that it's rare that you people — meaning brokers — are honest."

"I don't think I said that. If I did, fine," Trump said to me.

I also talked with Edward Rubenstone, now a member of another Philadelphia law firm, who confirmed Getzoff's account of his conversation with Berger. "I do recall being a little distressed at what happened there." Asked if he could explain the Berger shift, he replied: "To tell you the truth, I really can't...The negotiations were really taken over by Berger. What happened was that at some point it was decided that we were not going to continue to oppose the sale to Trump. And there was really no substantial explanation given. I thought I had 'em nailed. I wasn't in a position to argue or make a stink. I thought we had a pretty solid case and suddenly it was decided not to pursue it. That troubles me."

One immediate consequence of the Berger switch was that Getzoff would no longer be able to present the HRH case as a witness for a party to the action. Indeed, Penn Central attorneys tried to prevent him from detailing the offer in court at all by arguing that he had no legal standing. But Judge John Fullam wanted to hear it, complaining that, "I am not at all satisfied...that there has been necessarily adequate consideration given to the competing offers..." Fullam reserved decision and ended the hearing.

The debate continued. Ravitch wrote Fullam in January 1975, enclosing a 20-page comparison of the Trump and HRH bids and requesting that he re-open the hearing. Instead the judge issued an order that March, confirming the Trump deal. His basic reason: "No party to the reorganization proceeding has expressed objections to the present proposal. Berger's switch had been decisive.

Fullam said that it is "the function of the trustees to make business judgments" and that he "should interfere with the trustees' proposed actions only if they are legally impermissible." The Eichler firm's (and thus, the trustees') support of the transaction had also been decisive.

Fullam concluded that the HRH had not "placed itself in a position of litigating." Ravitch had expressly refused to file a motion to reopen the case. His attorney later explained: "He did not want to litigate. He was content to make the bid and not go beyond the bid."

This curious reluctance might have been prompted by the relationship both Ravitch and Trump enjoyed with the new governor, Hugh Carey. Trump had been Carey's largest post-primary contributor in 1974, having donated a total of \$35,000. Both he and Ravitch had just been named by Carey as the only developers on the statewide housing task force. Ravitch had also just been asked by Carey to take over the fiscally troubled state Urban Development Corporation. A public court fight between Ravitch and Trump over two prime Manhattan housing sites would have been unseemly and time consuming. Ravitch told me that his failure to press his bid legally had nothing to do with his and Trump's relation with Carey. He said that his appointment at UDC had left him "with no time to pursue new business ventures." In the

end, Trump got his land, investing nothing but his time and effort, and squeezing every ounce of potential profit out of the deal.

### The Berger Connection

On January 19, 1977, Fred and Donald Trump filed a \$100 million antitrust suit in Brooklyn federal court against nine major oil companies for fixing the price of heating oil. The suit was not a class action; only those landlords listed as plaintiffs will benefit from a favorable settlement. It seeks damages, to be divided between Trump and the law firm that had originated the case in 1974 and is listed on all court records as attorney for the Trumps: David Berger of Philadelphia. It should be remembered that in 1974 David Berger was also the attorney representing the Penn Central stockholders.

The suit began in July, 1974, with a single plaintiff — the Lefrak organization. Richard Lefrak says that “Berger felt that more than one plaintiff should be involved.” Berger’s reason for having additional clients was not just to raise the total amount of damages from which Berger takes one-third. Each plaintiff landlord also paid an advance to Berger, a former Philadelphia corporation counsel and unsuccessful candidate for D.A. Berger was experienced in oil-company conspiracy cases, having won a \$29 million settlement in a gas-price-fixing case in New Jersey in 1973. “Berger is running the case,” Lefrak said. “He’s the bandleader.”

The record of the heating-oil case revolves around the issue — raised by the oil companies — that in 1974 and early ’75 Berger actively engaged in the recruitment of potential plaintiffs for it — a violation of the legal canons and grounds for disqualifying Berger from the suit. As evidence of this allegation, the oil companies introduced blank law-firm retainer forms on Berger letterhead, describing the terms of the agreement between Berger and the plaintiffs. The forms were being widely distributed to co-ops and apartment owners by a New York real-estate firm.

Berger denied that he’d had any knowledge of the real estate firm’s activities through an associate in his law firm stated in court in January 1975: “We are going to have to have a substantial number of additional plaintiffs, some of whom fall into the commercial relationship as Lefrak, others who may be cooperatives and the like.”

The judge dismissed the issue, commenting that “The distribution of the law-firm retainer forms...was regrettable, since one not privy to the intricate chain of events could misinterpret the distribution as involving improper solicitation.”

Eight plaintiffs joined Lefrak, bringing the damages sought to almost a billion dollars. Berger’s advance fees were based upon the number of apartment units each plaintiff brought into the case. Trump’s number of apartments was among the largest.

I asked Trump how he’d gotten involved in the suit and first he described himself as one of the “original instigators” of the case. “Though I was involved in the case from its inception,” he said, “I didn’t file as a plaintiff until later.”

When I raised the subject again, noting Berger’s roles in the Penn Central case at the same time, Trump began to emphasize that his suit had occurred two years after the Penn Central sale. He also contended that it was another attorney, Eugene Morris of Demov and Morris, who

contacted him about the case, not David Berger. But Richard Lefrak, who'd started the suit with Berger in 1974 recalled that "Trump was involved in the beginning. He joined the case within 90 days of the filing of the complaint." Lefrak said that Trump had attended meetings at the office of realtor George Mehlman "three or four years ago." Mehlman confirmed Trump's attendance at an early meeting: "He went along right away. This was in 1974, and may have been prior to the filing of the case. Berger came up and attended the meeting, too." Lefrak said, however, that Trump "may not have filed his complaint until 1977," because there were different categories of complaints, and the case was broken into separate parts...."

Last month Trump made a deposition in this case. While he would not pinpoint just when he began his involvement with it, he said it was "a very substantial number of months" before the January 1977 filing. Whenever the oil company attorney attempted to question him about how he'd entered the case, Berger's associate instructed Trump not to answer. At one point he said, "There will be no questions about the nature of why the Trump organization is or is not a plaintiff in this lawsuit...."

In my brief interview with Berger, he was just as evasive. He began by contending that he hadn't represented Trump on the case; that Demov and Morris did. I countered by pointing out that Demov and Morris's name didn't appear in any case records until November 1978. He replied that he couldn't explain that. I pointed out that his name had, again and again. In fact, Berger had been present at Trump's deposition.

What seems clear is that Trump's association with this case — one of Berger's most important and potentially profitable legal actions — dates back to the same time frame of his sudden switch on the Penn Central transaction.

### **A portion of Barrett's story.**

#### The Palmieri Connection

In September 1973, prior to the Trump negotiations in the sale of the Penn Central railyards, a small Los Angeles-based investment-and-management firm, Victor Palmieri and Co., had been retained by the PCTC trustees as an outside contractor "to develop, sell or lease" PCTC properties. Edward Eichler was then Palmieri's vice-president. The Company's profits were, in part, pegged to a percentage of sales negotiated. Palmieri and Co. would negotiate a sale, propose it to the trustees, and, with their approval, petition the court for acceptance. That is how Trump obtained not only the 30th and 60th street yards, but the Commodore Hotel, which he is now transforming into a government-aided \$80 million Hyatt Hotel. All of Trump's historic Manhattan ventures, and the extraordinary terms he negotiated for these purchases are rooted in his relationship with Palmieri.

Victor Palmieri, 49, is the founder of VPCO, a company that has made a fortune out of the collapse of Penn Central. In addition to the fees he has received managing Penn Central real estate, he's already made in excess of \$21 million in incentive fees alone — on top of salaries, expenses, and a flat annual fee — for handling the assets of other Penn Central subsidiaries. In a profile last year, the *Wall Street Journal* cited Palmieri critics who claimed that he'd gotten his lucrative court assignments "due to his influence with the important people he knows." The Journal said he is described by these critics as "an active Democratic Party member." Other

critics have gone even further. They say that Palmieri's contracts create a momentum to dump properties simply to accumulate fees.

There is no question but that Palmieri's political connections are national in scope. In 1967, he was named deputy executive director of the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorder by President Lyndon Johnson. In that position, he made contact with a host of national political figures — including commission member John Lindsay. His aide at the commission, John Koskinen, wound up working for Lindsay and Connecticut Senator Abraham Ribicoff, before rejoining Palmieri as a principal of VPCO in 1973. Palmieri was active in John Tunney's 1970 Senate campaign in California and through Tunney, is said to have entered the Kennedy political circle.

Last year Palmieri was selected by the scandal-ridden Teamsters' Central States Pension Fund to manage its \$600 million worth of real estate west of the Mississippi River. The selection was made by the Teamsters themselves, though approved by the Department of Labor.

Palmieri and Trump were drawn together. It is clear from the Eichler affidavit in the Penn Central case that the Palmieri strategy is to identify political entrepreneurs not merely to develop sites, but to develop relationships. Palmieri and Trump operated in the same way — Palmieri was a national broker in search of a local broker and ally. One sign of the relationship was that in 1976 Trump located an office for himself next door to Palmieri's. Recently a note on the door indicated that packages for Trump could be delivered to Palmieri's office. The business relationship between Trump and Palmieri soon extended beyond the Penn Central Properties. In July 1975, Palmieri was named by a Connecticut federal judge to manage Levitt and Sons, Inc., a home-building company that International Telephone and Telegraph was being forced to divest as part of a government antitrust action.

The judge told me he'd picked Palmieri in part on the reference of another federal judge who'd known Koskinen when both had worked for Ribicoff. A bonus was built into the contract with Palmieri. The quicker they sold Levitt, the larger Palmieri's take. But that was no simple task: For four years there'd been no takers.

In early 1977, Palmieri suddenly had an interested potential buyer, Starrett Housing Company. The leadership and name of Starrett had changed since the 1974 bid on the Penn Central sites: Olnick was gone, but Donald Trump was still a principal equity owner of Starrett City and had just selected Starrett to build his Hyatt Hotel (Starrett's largest domestic contract that year). Starrett studied Levitt and its potential market for what it described in its annual report as "many months." In February 1978, Starrett purchased the company for \$30 million. Although Trump admitted to being the broker for the deal, he refused to say what his commission was.

Neither Palmieri nor the judge was too clear on just what Palmieri's profit on the sale was either — though the judge was certain that part of the healthy fee was due to his speedy disposition of the company.

As part of the acquisition package arranged by Trump, Starrett gave a five-year employment contract to Levitt's top executive, who had been installed by Palmieri. Levitt's president — now operating on a lucrative Starrett contract — is none other than Trump's old friend, Edward Eichler, who'd handled the Penn Central deal with Trump.

Birth of a Convention Center

Even before Trump's deal on the 30th Street yards had been confirmed by the court, he had dropped any pretense of developing it as a housing site: "I envisioned it as a convention center prior to the final court decision," he said. Despite the clear terms of his agreement with Penn Central, which called for housing on 30th Street and foreclosed a role for him in any government purchase, he began to promote the site. The problem was that Abe Beame and City Planning commissioner John Zuccotti, both of whom had aided him in the acquisition of the yards, were committed to another convention-center site, on the waterfront at 44th Street. Even Bunny Lindenbaum, his son Sandy, and publicist Howard Rubenstein — the brokers closest to Beame — were under retainer to the 44th Street convention center corporation formed by the state legislature.

In 1974 some Clinton opponents of 44th Street had actually advocated the 34th Street site as a possible alternative. However, after the Board of Estimate voted to fund a rehabilitation plan for Clinton around the 44th Street site, neighborhood groups became persuaded that the only way the city would deliver on its promised rehabilitation was to accept the convention center.

But, just as community opponents were becoming resigned to the center, its political supporters were pulling back. Tom Galvin, then executive vice-president of the Convention Center Corporation, said he quit in May 1975, because: "With Beame as mayor, I could see the death knell of the project coming." Though the city continued to pour money into the site, paying \$1,500 a month for Rubenstein and \$36,000 to the Lindenbaum firm — ultimately wasting up to \$17 million on it — the project was going nowhere.

Neither Beame nor Trump can recall when they first discussed the 30th Street yards as a convention-center site. But Trump told me that when he conceived the idea, his "initial approach was to Beame directly." Since he had been spending money on the site, Beame, clearly, had not discouraged him, although Trump remembers the mayor as "skeptical."

A Palmieri affidavit filed in Philadelphia dates the beginning of Trump's negotiations with the city as October 1975, around the same time as Beame, citing fiscal problems, announced that the city would pull out of the 44th Street convention-center project.

A few weeks after the Beame announcement Trump retained Howard Rubenstein, quickly ending three years of Rubenstein's promotional efforts on behalf of the 44th Street site. The same week Trump brought in Sandy Lindenbaum, who had handled zoning on 44th Street. Bunny Lindenbaum, who also left the 44th Street project, told me he began working with Trump "more in the role of an informal family adviser than as a lawyer."

Trump's proposal of a privately financed state-guaranteed center was, on the face of it, dubious. If attainable at all, it was as applicable to 44th Street as it was to 34th. He now concedes that this proposal — made primarily to counterbalance a sudden Battery Park City proposal — was not serious. "I never wanted to be the developer of the convention center," he said. "I wanted the site to be chosen ... there was no way a profit could be made as a developer." But Battery Park City emerged with its own financing. Tom Galvin recalls that the Port Authority had been quietly trying to strike a deal with Beame, offering to finance the center. The Port Authority's willingness to take the expected operating losses on the center could have been counterbalanced by the city's willingness to waive other Port Authority payments. Beame

balked. He and the Port Authority did announce, however, that the authority would do a \$100,000 feasibility study of the Battery Park City site for the city.

### The Sun Shines on 34th Street

For this new enemy — which Trump characterized as the “Rockefeller interests” — Trump needed new, up-front, allies. Trump says that “in the middle of 1975” he had begun discussing his convention-center idea with Carey fundraiser Louise Sunshine at a dinner to pay off the governor’s campaign debts. Sunshine, who was the finance director of Carey’s 1974 and 1978 campaigns, was the right person to talk to. In addition to her role with Carey, she was treasurer of the State Democratic Party and national Democratic committeewoman from New York. She had been a fundraiser for former assemblyman Albert Blumenthal and had important political relationships on the West Side, where Trump needed allies to counter 44th Street. One significant contact was with State Senator Manfred Ohrenstein who, as minority leader, had named her to the Advisory Council to the Democrats of the New York State Senate.

“I told her I was looking for someone to take the burden of the convention center off my back,” Trump told me. “and asked who she’d suggest I hire. She called me the next day and said she’d driven to the site herself. She said it was the greatest site for the convention center. She worked on it a long time without pay. Finally she came on staff.”

Rubenstein issued a press release announcing Sunshine’s position in February 1976, at the peak of the enthusiasm for Battery Park. She registered as a Trump lobbyist with the secretary of state. In November, Trump filed the obligatory, end-of-session, corporate statements, detailing \$13,058 worth of salary and expenses associated with Sunshine’s lobbying efforts.

[Sunshine failed to file her pre-session lobbyist statements in 1977 until she was reminded by the secretary of state’s office at the end of the session. She didn’t file at all in 1978, nor did Trump file his corporate report. Since Trump refers to her continuing efforts on behalf of the convention-center site, it appears that she is currently an unlicensed lobbyist, having failed to file her 1979 pre-session statement. The last record of Sunshine’s lobbying activity is Trump’s report of her \$25,000 salary in August 1977. Failure to file annually constitutes a class “A” misdemeanor for both employer and lobbyist under the existing disclosure laws.] In her 1976 filing, Sunshine had stated that she “intended to appear before the legislative committees and the governor upon all measures affecting the proposed 34th Street convention-center site.” While she lobbied, she would retain here position as an advisor to Senate Democrats and fundraiser to the governor. Carey has since appointed Sunshine to the Thruway Authority and the Job Development Authority.

Her alliance with Trump was widely perceived as the tangible sign of Carey’s commitment to Trump’s site. That is how Trump intended it, to counter any movement toward Battery Park.

Working simultaneously for Trump and Carey, Sunshine’s functions as Carey appointee, lobbyist, and fundraiser had blended together. The largest individual Carey campaign contributor (exceeded only by the governor’s brother) was none other than Donald Trump’s companies — \$125,000 since 1974.

Howard Rubenstein says that Sunshine made the great bulk of the contacts that produced lists of 34th Street supporters. Not surprisingly, those lists read like a Carey campaign financial



statement. Many of the new corporate and real estate boosters were quickly shifting allegiance from the 44th Street site, which had become the site championed by the Clinton groups and Community Planning Board 4, whose area included both the 44th and 34th Street sites.

Trump eventually forced the Port Authority to add his site to its study. By the time the Port Authority reported in June, the political impetus and financial feasibility of the Battery Park City idea had already receded. The report gave the Port Authority's evenhanded blessing to either site. It also put to rest Trump's ruse of private financing and concluded that a bond-issuing authority would have to develop the center.

Trump started manufacturing reports. In November 1976, a group of graduate students at the New School for Social Research did a class study of the available sites and favored 34th Street. Then-City Councilman Robert Wagner, Jr., who taught at the school, served as an adviser on the study, which was never released. He and the school agree: "The study did not, in any way, represent Wagner's views." But Trump wound up with a copy and started touting it as the Wagner report. Wagner says that he later told Trump and Sunshine to stop using it. Nonetheless, Trump described it to me as "a professionally done report" and said: Bob Wagner Jr. came out with a very strong statement that 34th Street was the best site."

Then Trump parlayed Sunshine's relationship with Manfred Ohrenstein into a stunning blow against the 44th Street site. In 1973-74, Ohrenstein had refused community pleas that he support 34th Street. But, by 1976, after the special zoning district had been created and Clinton had been promised rehabilitation, there was a near-unanimous community consensus around 44th Street. Beame's decision to forego building the center was seen as merely a temporary setback.

Suddenly, according to neighborhood activists, Ohrenstein released a report favoring 34th Street. "He consulted no one in the neighborhood," said one. In 1976, Trump began contributing to Ohrenstein's personal and Senate-majority campaign committees. He's given \$10,000 since.

But the Ohrenstein — and implicit Carey — support did not move the defenses now formed around 44th Street, headed by Deputy Mayor John Zuccotti. Around the time of Ohrenstein's report, Zuccotti had formed the State/City Working Committee and stacked it with proponents of 44th Street. Beame told me: "I didn't name anybody to the thing. Zuccotti sparked that. I had no objection." The working committee had a staff component and a quasi-board of high-level officials. The staff favored 34th Street, with various caveats. The board leaned toward 44th, with some advocates of the Battery. So, in April 1977, the committee disbanded without reaching any public conclusion. Zuccotti later left the city and Beame moved into his mayoral primary campaign, promising that after the election he'd final settle this thing.

\*\*\*

#### **A portion of Barrett's story.**

Beame had, in effect, killed the 44th Street site in 1975. He'd killed Battery Park City in 1976, when he'd turned a cold ear to those Port Authority officials who had wanted to finance and operate a center, but only at the Battery.

Indeed, court records suggest that Beame had quietly acquiesced to the 34th Street site as early as April 1976, when Palmieri and Co. had asked Judge Fullam to change 34th Street from a housing-use to a convention-center site. The new terms anticipated approximately a \$17 million increase in the cost of the land to the city and built into the agreement a Trump fee of

up to \$2 million. (Not surprisingly, David Berger, who was only months away from formally representing Trump in the oil-company case, raised no objection to the new deal — even though Trump’s fee would come out of whatever amount the city or state would pay Berger’s clients, the Penn Central stockholders.)

Since the Penn Central appraisal had valued the convention-center portion of the site (roughly half of the 30th Street property) at \$4 million, the city could have probably acquired it by condemnation for that amount and avoided the payment of any fees to Trump.

Under the amendment, Trump was cut into a condemnation sale and guaranteed a flat fee of \$500,000. He was also given a third sales price if he could drive the city’s price past a minimum of \$13.5 million. Trump is now seeking \$21 million for land the city or state might have got for roughly \$4 million 3-and-a-half years ago. Ironically, Palmieri and Co. had described the site as a “wasting asset,” declining in value, in order to get court approval of the original sale in 1975.

These amendments — plus the affidavit stating that Beame had “abandoned” 44th Street and indicating that the Port Authority was the only obstacle to the 34th Street site — were formally served on the city. The court awaited any comments or objections. Finally, Judge Fullam approved the amendments in late May, 1976. By an act of omission, the city had permitted approval of the terms that had made Trump’s search for convention center-support so potentially profitable to begin with.

Shortly after his primary defeat, Beame appointed another committee. Richard Ravitch — who’d lost the site to Trump in Philadelphia and whose firm had subsequently been retained by Trump to cost out his convention center — chaired it.

Ravitch’s report, while favoring 34th Street, concluded that the differences among the three sites were marginal.

Ravitch reported and Beame endorsed the site right before he left office. Last April, Koch, Carey, Ohrenstein, and Trump confirmed Beame’s selection and jointly announced agreement on 34th Street. Since then, Ohrenstein has been introducing legislation and the Republicans have been blocking it. After last month’s special legislative session, Carey and Majority Leader Warren Anderson indicated that they’d agreed on a plan of state funding.

But word out of Albany is that State Senator John Marchi, angered by what he regards as the Ohrenstein-organized and Trump-financed electoral challenge he just went through in November (a product of Ohrenstein’s drive to elect a Democratic majority in the Senate) says he will block any convention center built on Trump-owned land. No one is quite sure how serious Marchi is. But in Trump’s world, there is something fitting about Marchi’s strange reasoning. It is a kind of ultimate quid-pro-quo in a transaction plagued, in every detail for half a decade, by quid-pro-quos. There is bound to be at least one deal too many in this chronology.

There is nothing terrible about Trump’s convention center site. It is, I am sure, as good as the others. In hours of interviews Trump almost sold me on it and he’s clearly prevailed with some government officials — like City Planning Commissioner Robert Wagner — despite, rather than because of, his brand of political intrigue. My quarrel is that \$400 million of state funds could salvage entire neighborhoods; that New York City already is the top convention city in America and has an exhibition hall that is turning a profit for the city; and that Trump’s site will never pass any fair environmental test, precisely because it sees midtown as the city and will

concentrate thousands of people — with their cars and their sewage — right where the city can't cope with them. Trump's answer to this kind of pro-neighborhood argument was contained in a *New York Times* piece about him two years ago: "I think the city will get better," he said. "I'm not talking about the South Bronx. I don't know anything about the South Bronx."

What he doesn't understand is that the South Bronx *is* this city. Its problems were created by someone else's deals. And the problems remain, at least partially because of deals that ignore them. Deals like his own.

There is one final twist to this story. State laws provide that no one can get a broker's commission on a transaction unless he was a licensed broker throughout the negotiations of the deal. Trump and the City Planning Commission have described Trump's services on 34th Street as those of "a broker." The problem is that young Donald Trump didn't become a licensed broker until after his contract with Penn Central had been completely negotiated and approved by Judge Fullam. But brokerage licenses are merely pesky requirements of the law.  
\*\*\*

In this two-part history we've been looking into a world where only the greed is magnified. The actors are pretty small and venal. Their ideas are small, never transcending profit. In it, however, are the men elected to lead us and those who buy them. And in it, unhappily, are the processes and decisions that shape our city and our lives.

[Read Part One of the Village Voice's 1979 profile of Donald Trump.](#)

From <<https://www.villagevoice.com/2015/07/20/behind-the-seventies-era-deals-that-made-donald-trump/>>