

A black and white photograph of Jared Kushner walking on an airfield. He is wearing a dark suit, a white shirt, and a striped tie. He is holding a mobile phone to his ear with his right hand and is looking towards the camera with a slight smile. In the background, the tail section and engine of a large commercial airplane are visible. The overall scene is brightly lit, suggesting an outdoor setting.

JARED KUSHNER

**BREAKING HISTORY**

A White House Memoir

# Dedication

To Arabella, Joseph, and Theodore—  
may you always chase your dreams and use your God-given potential to  
improve the lives of others.

# Epigraph

If you can fill the unforgiving minute  
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,  
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it,  
And—which is more—you'll be a Man, my son!

—Rudyard Kipling

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# Preface

I never planned to write a book, but then again I never planned to work in the White House.

As my time in government was coming to an end, several friends encouraged me to record my memories while they were still fresh. After years of nonstop action, I paused long enough to see the panorama of all I had experienced inside one of the most consequential presidencies. While I thought this chapter of my life was closing, I realized that my service would not be complete until I captured this history.

The story that follows is not your typical White House memoir, because mine was not a typical Washington experience. My untraditional role as senior adviser to a unique president made for a journey that would be hard for a writer to script if it wasn't true.

When Donald J. Trump announced his candidacy, I had no intention of getting involved in his campaign. Before long, however, I met men and women across the country who felt like Trump was finally giving them a voice, and they inspired me to play a bigger role than I had ever expected. After the 2016 election, Ivanka and I left behind our lives in New York and moved to Washington with our three young children. We knew we would face challenges, but we had no idea of the intensity of the storm that awaited us. It was probably better that we didn't.

Nothing could have prepared us for the ferociousness of Washington—the attacks, the investigations, the false and salacious media reports, and perhaps worst of all, the backstabbing within the West Wing itself. On several occasions I wondered if Ivanka and I had made the wrong decision about working in government. Yet we had been given this unexpected chance to serve, and it was up to us to make it count.

Each day was a race against our limited time in office. In an environment of maximum pressure, I learned to ignore the noise and distractions and instead to push for results that would improve lives. Across four years, I helped renegotiate the largest trade deal in history, pass bipartisan criminal justice reform, and launch Operation Warp Speed to deliver a safe and effective COVID-19 vaccine in record time. Humbled by the complexity of the task, I orchestrated some of the most significant breakthroughs in diplomacy in the last fifty years. In what has become known as the Abraham Accords, five Muslim-majority countries—the

United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Kosovo, Morocco, and Sudan—signed peace agreements with Israel. And Saudi Arabia and other members of the Gulf Cooperation Council resolved a bitter diplomatic and economic rift with Qatar, paving the way for additional peace deals in the future.

The Abraham Accords were a true turning point in history. If nurtured, they have the potential to bring about the complete end of the Arab-Israeli conflict that has existed ever since the founding of the State of Israel, seventy-five years ago. Already, hundreds of thousands of Arabs can make pilgrimages to the holy sites in Jerusalem. Israeli and Arab innovators, scientists, and business leaders are forging partnerships to create jobs, build infrastructure, and improve the lives of people throughout the Middle East and around the world.

As we advanced our strategy in the Middle East, we couldn't publicly discuss our approach or the positive signs we were seeing from Arab leaders. Our negotiations progressed on a knife's edge. A single untimely leak could have prompted traditionalists in the region to oppose Arab leaders who were bravely breaking with the past to make peace with Israel. Experts initially dismissed our goals as impossible, and critics delighted in my every stumble. Yet I pursued what I believed was the most logical pathway forward. Since I left government, people have often asked me how we reached these breakthroughs. I have done my best in this book to chronicle the surprising events that made them possible.

Throughout the Trump presidency, the media relied on leaks by officials who often had personal agendas. Until I saw high-stakes politics from the inside, I didn't realize how much goes on that the press fails to capture. The gap between the media's portrayal of events and the reality is far wider than I ever imagined. I eventually came to see that staff in the White House can spend their time trying to shape public perception, or they can spend it getting things done. Every administration wrestles with this challenge. It is the ticking clock in the background of every story in this book.

Many authors—including former senior administration officials—have tried to explain Trump through a conventional lens. Most of these accounts fail to convey how Trump thinks, why he acts the way he does, and what really happened in the Oval Office. The truth was often hiding in plain sight. Through his untraditional style, Trump delivered results that were previously unimaginable: five major trade deals, tax cuts for working families, massive

deregulation, the lowest unemployment in fifty years, criminal justice reform, a COVID-19 vaccine in less than a year, confronting China, defeating ISIS, no new wars, and peace deals in the Middle East. In this book, I don't try to speak for Trump, but I do share a lot of previously undisclosed personal interactions that will hopefully give readers a deeper understanding of Trump's personality and management style.

During my four years in the White House, I learned countless lessons that changed my perspective about how the government—and the world—really works. Three stand out.

The first is that it's easy to make promises, but it's hard to achieve results. Trump came into office without an army of experienced bureaucrats and Washington insiders. Finding people who both believed in his agenda and knew how to operate the levers of power proved to be an ongoing challenge. At every turn, people within the government tried to prevent the president from keeping his promises to move the American embassy to Jerusalem, withdraw from the Iran deal, build the wall on the nation's southern border, and renegotiate NAFTA, among many bold actions. I met hundreds of smart, competent, and patriotic people who worked tirelessly behind the scenes to get things done. Yet it takes only one bureaucratic barrier, congressional complication, or powerful individual to stop progress. Washington is programmed to resist change, even though change is what voters say they want most.

I remember one meeting that typified the resistance Trump faced in Washington from both Republicans and Democrats. A veteran of the George W. Bush administration came to see me to discuss US-China trade policy. While he fully agreed with our aims on China, he thought that using tariffs was a grave mistake. When I asked him what he would recommend instead, he suggested more rounds of talks. I said the first thing that came to mind: "So you want us to accomplish something you couldn't by doing it the same way you did it?" For the Washington establishment, the answer to that question was a resounding yes. Many Beltway insiders are experts at pointing out problems, but they're even better at shutting down solutions. When confronted with the potential risks of change, they play it safe for fear that any disruption to the current system will jeopardize their political careers. This explains why even some of Trump's own cabinet members clashed with him and those of us who believed that it was time to take calibrated risks and deliver more opportunities for the American people.



Instead of spending endless energy diagnosing the problem, I focused on clearly defining the optimal solution and then worked backwards to reach the best possible outcome.

Second, I learned that our political differences are not always as insurmountable as we think. Ordinarily, the Washington game revolves around the party out of power trying to stop the party in power from accomplishing its priorities. While initially I found this frustrating, I learned to keep moving ahead and to focus on the long game. Almost all of the greatest accomplishments of the administration involved former adversaries coming together to make the lives of normal people better. Rather than starting from two different sides of the table on any given issue—from criminal justice reform to peace deals in the Middle East—I tried to bring everyone to the same side of the table to agree on shared goals and search for win-win solutions. I wasn't always successful, but it is the responsibility of those in power to try. We can't solve problems by talking only to those who agree with us. For anyone who's looking to advance bipartisanship, I hope this book provides insight into how it's possible—and why it often fails.

Finally, we all have the ability to make a difference in the lives of others, whether it's in our own families, communities, states, or on a national scale. In each case, the way to find solutions is by engaging with one another—not by criticizing each other or virtue signaling. If we try to understand the perspectives of others, and work to find common ground, we can move beyond the stalemates of the past and forge a new path forward. No problem is too big to solve.

As George Orwell once wrote, “It is difficult to be certain about anything except what you have seen with your own eyes.” On these pages, I recount my personal story. I do not detail every action of the president or the administration, of which there are enough to fill volumes. While this book is primarily about my time as senior adviser, I open with a few defining moments from my life that shaped and prepared me for this unexpected opportunity to serve my country. Many of the quotes in the book are drawn from published records, such as transcripts, but others come from private conversations. In these cases, I've relied on my memory and extensive interviews with colleagues and counterparts. In some instances, I recreated dialogue to help readers experience what it was like to be in the room.

In Washington, history books were often my best survival manuals. They helped me realize that my predecessors had confronted similar problems. I learned to contextualize my situation, shift my approach, and navigate complex challenges. I hope that through this story, other leaders, dreamers, and risk takers—from all backgrounds, political persuasions, and industries—will be inspired to go beyond what's comfortable and chase the impossible.

My journey is a mostly unknown part of history. Now I am ready to share it in hopes that it enhances our shared journey.

# 1 Sentenced

**I**'m going to be arrested.”

As my father told me the startling news over the phone, I was walking the block from my apartment in Lower Manhattan to the subway station on Astor Place. It was a muggy July morning in 2004. I had just completed my first year of law school at New York University, and I was on my way to my internship at the office of Robert Morgenthau, the legendary New York district attorney. I'd been working long days, carefully reviewing wiretap transcripts and helping to secure warrants for brave cops who had gone undercover to infiltrate a drug ring.

Across the Hudson River in New Jersey, my father was having a very different experience with a US attorney. He was ensnared in an investigation led by a brash, ambitious, and hard-charging federal prosecutor named Chris Christie.

The focus of Christie's investigation was a private family feud that had boiled over into public view as my father battled with his brother Murray and brother-in-law Billy, who were attempting to dismantle his control of the company he had spent his life building. They coordinated with an accountant in my father's company to surreptitiously access documents. Then they turned them over to the government and the media, alleging mismanagement and illegal avoidance of taxes.

It was an astonishing betrayal. In building his business into a billion-dollar enterprise, my father had made his siblings fabulously wealthy. The lawsuit and investigation had placed a heavy burden on him, and he reacted in anger. Billy's infidelity was an open secret around the office, and to show his sister Esther what kind of man she had married, my father hired a prostitute who seduced Billy. He had their resulting tryst recorded and sent the tape to Esther, who turned it over to the Feds. Unbeknownst to my father, Esther was cooperating as a witness in their investigation. My father was arrested and charged with witness tampering and violating the Mann Act, a century-old statute against transporting a prostitute across state lines. He had gone too far in seeking revenge, and now he was paying dearly.

After hanging up with my father, I rushed down the stairs into the subway station and waited for a few minutes on the platform before entering

the 6 train and riding to my stop on Canal Street. When I emerged from the subway, I walked my normal path to the DA's office building and tried to turn my attention to the files on my desk. But my mind was racing. How could this really be happening to my dad? He had worked his whole life to build a great company and provide good-paying jobs to his employees. He had given generously of his time and money to serve the community. I also worried about my mother and what it would mean for her.

I stared at my computer screen for twenty minutes, but for the first time in my life, I couldn't push myself to keep working. I wanted to be there for my dad, just as he had always been there for me. I left the office, drove to New Jersey, and picked him up after his arraignment. During the ninety-minute trip home, he looked out the window and didn't utter a single word. It was the longest drive of my life. That afternoon he paced on the patio, adjusting his stride to account for his ankle tracker. I didn't know what to say or do, so I walked with him in silence, trying to support him simply by being at his side. After what seemed like an eternity, my father paused, turned to me, and said, "In life, sometimes we get so powerful that we start to think we're the dealers of our own fate. We are not the dealers. God is the dealer. Sometimes we have to be brought back down to earth to get perspective on what is really important."

Two days later, I arrived back at my apartment on Mercer Street in the NoHo neighborhood of Manhattan. The moment I opened the door, the weight of reality hit me. I'd been strong for my father and my family, but now I sat alone on the floor, with my back against the wall. For the first time since I was a kid, I put my face in my hands and cried.

I tried to make sense of my emotions. I was angry at my uncles and aunt. I was angry at my father. I was angry at my father's lawyers, who had known about his revenge plot and assured him that there was nothing illegal about it. I was angry at Chris Christie, who knew my father had been a major backer of his Democratic rivals in New Jersey.

When I woke up the next morning, I felt like I had a concrete block in my stomach. As I laid in bed staring at the popcorn ceiling of my apartment, I realized that my anger wasn't going to lead to anything productive. I was at a critical crossroads and had to make a choice. I could choose to be angry about things I could not control, or I could choose to help. I knew the answer immediately. I had to help my father, who had been through a lot and who was about to suffer more. I had to help my mother, who was the kindest

person I knew and didn't deserve to have her husband of thirty years taken from her. I had to help my two sisters, Dara and Nikki, and my brother, Josh, who was about to begin his freshman year of college.

Despite my resolve, that first day back in the DA's office was agonizing. That night, I boarded the subway to go home, but when I got to my stop, my legs froze. I couldn't muster the strength to get up. I skipped my stop and rode the 6 train all the way to the end of the line in the Bronx and back downtown. For the next few hours, I watched New Yorkers get on and off the train—workers heading to the night shift, homeless people looking for their next meal, teenagers causing mischief, senior citizens trying to shuffle out of the train car before the doors shut on them. I studied their faces and saw, maybe for the first time, how much was weighing on everyone around me. Perhaps this woman had just lost her job, or that man couldn't feed his family. Maybe the person sitting across from me had just received a diagnosis of cancer.

It made me realize a simple truth: everyone has difficulties, but it's up to each of us to choose whether we are going to focus on ourselves or on helping those we love. I decided not to look back, but to look forward.

## 2

# Improbable Existence

**M**y family's mere existence is improbable. I'm here today only because my grandparents survived the Holocaust and later came to America. They taught me one of the most important things that I've ever learned: life is a gift that can be taken from us in an instant.

My grandmother, Rae Kushner, was sixteen when the Germans invaded Poland in 1939. Her family of six lived in Novogrudok, a quiet town located in eastern Poland, now part of Belarus. In 1941 the Germans seized control of the area and relocated about thirty thousand Jewish people to a ghetto. Over the next two years, the Nazis systematically exterminated the occupants of the ghetto, including Rae's mother and sister. In one round of killings, the Germans brought the remaining educated Jews—about 150 doctors, lawyers, professors, and teachers—down to the town square. While an orchestra played and my grandmother and the other occupants of the ghetto looked on, the Germans shot them in the head, one by one. The Nazis then forced fifty young Jewish girls, including my grandmother, to clean up the blood and stack the bodies on wagons to be hauled off to a mass grave. All the while, the Germans were dancing in the square. The music continued to play as the young women washed the blood off the stones.

By 1943, only a few hundred of the original thirty thousand Jews were left. Risking death, my grandmother and the remnant secretly dug a six-hundred-foot-long tunnel and waited patiently for a nighttime thunderstorm to cover their escape. About 250 people crawled through the narrow tunnel. The younger people went first, because they could move more quickly through the tunnel and had the best chance of escaping, but Rae chose to wait toward the back with her father. In a twist of fate, this decision likely saved her life. Her brother emerged from the tunnel with the rest of the young people only to be shot and killed by the Nazis. Of the 250 people who entered the tunnel, only 170 escaped into the nearby forest. Rae, her father, and her younger sister were among the survivors. They fled deep into the woods and found refuge with the partisans—a group of freedom fighters who created hidden camps deep in the forest and carried out daring acts of resistance against the Nazis. Among the partisans, Rae reconnected with a

young man from a neighboring town, Joseph Berkowitz, the youngest of eight children born into an impoverished tailor's family.

When the war came to an end, Rae and Joseph fled to Hungary, where they quickly married. The day after their wedding, they trekked through the Austrian Alps and snuck across the border into an Italian displaced persons camp. They applied to come to America, using my grandmother's last name, Kushner, since my grandfather had accrued a rap sheet from smuggling cigarettes into the camp to provide for his family. As my grandmother recalled years later, "We would go anywhere where we could live in freedom, but nobody wanted us."

They waited three and a half years in that refugee camp to come to America. Like so many others during that time, they knew they had finally made it when they spotted the Statue of Liberty in New York Harbor. Two days after arriving, my grandfather showed up early at a construction site in Brooklyn, willing to work hard, with one limitation: he was afraid of heights. The foreman told him that he should consider going to New Jersey, where the buildings were not as tall, so he began commuting two hours from their tiny Brooklyn apartment to jobsites in New Jersey. He worked seven days a week, sleeping at jobsites to maximize work and spare the daily bus fare. Only on major Jewish holidays would he go home. He earned the nickname Hatchet Joe by using the dull end of a hatchet—which required fewer, though much heavier blows—to hammer nails.

My grandfather was a simple, quiet man who had no formal schooling. But he spoke six languages, and he lived the American dream, starting a successful construction company that built thousands of homes. A lifelong smoker of Camel cigarettes, he died in 1985 from a stroke at the age of sixty-three. I was just four years old, so much of what I know about him is through my father and grandmother's recollections. She was proud of their survival story.

In many ways "Bubby Rae," as we called her, was a typical European immigrant, full of life, sharp in wit, and overflowing with love. When I was a young kid, I'd go over to her house on Saturday evenings and sit in her lap as she played gin rummy with her friends, placing five-cent bets. She promised us she had given up smoking, but the bathroom always smelled like smoke after she used it. When we confronted her about the smell, she retorted: "Your dog really needs to stop smoking." She doted on her

grandchildren, slipping us quarters to play games at the arcade or a piece of candy while my parents were looking in the other direction.

My dad met my mother, Seryl, when they were both eighteen. On their first Shabbat together, my mom still wasn't old enough to buy wine. They were married by the time they were twenty. My parents raised us in Livingston, New Jersey, a middle-class suburb forty-five minutes west of Manhattan. My mom is an incredibly selfless and caring person, who taught us to treat others with respect and take responsibility for our actions. She never made excuses for me. When I got in trouble, she always sided with my teachers and told me that it was my responsibility to figure out how to get along and make things work.

Like my grandfather before him, my father worked all the time. After he briefly practiced law, he started a company with my grandfather. My dad purchased, financed, and managed the properties, and my grandfather ran construction of the new buildings. My dad had no experience in construction, and when my grandfather died unexpectedly, he had to find a way to finish a project that was in process. My grandfather's close friend Eddie Mossberg, also a Holocaust survivor, sent workers from his own jobs to help my father complete the project. To this day, my father still recounts this act of kindness, and it has inspired him to help many others who face hardship. My father's company grew quickly, and he began outcompeting the same companies that had employed my grandfather a decade earlier when he was Hatchet Joe.

On Sundays, my dad would take me to the office so we could spend time together. On the days we toured properties, we'd stop for a treat at a local farm stand and buy fresh bread, butter, and famous Jersey corn. Right on the side of the highway, we'd tear off the husks and eat the corn raw off the cob. My dad always treated me like an adult, asking what I thought about a potential deal or what I noticed about jobsites—which one was nicer, what the manager could be doing better, or why one commanded higher rent than another. I worked every summer once I turned thirteen. My first job was on a construction site, beginning at six o'clock in the morning. I worked under the scorching sun alongside carpenters, plumbers, and electricians, who taught me how to hammer, saw, wire, and clean. When I got home each night, I was so filthy my mom would hose me off before letting me into the house. Each summer I gained more knowledge and responsibility, eventually



helping my father manage rental properties and creating financial models for projects.

During my senior year of high school, I woke up at 4:30 each morning to train with my dad for the New York City Marathon. I will never forget what he told me as we ran up the big hill at the north end of Central Park: “Running is like life. When there’s a big hill at the end, don’t look up, keep your head down and watch your feet. Don’t think about the top of the hill, just think about your next step. Before you know it, you will achieve your goal and be at the top of the hill.”

In 1999 I was thrilled to learn that I had been accepted into Harvard. Like most students on campus, I was initially nervous about how I would perform against the world’s top students, but I quickly learned that while many kids had high IQs, some didn’t work hard or have common sense.

I met my best friend while I was in the laundry room, switching loads. Nitin Saigal was from India and quipped that because I wasn’t taking economics professor Marty Feldstein’s legendary Economics 10 class my freshman year, one day I’d be working for him. We hit it off immediately and roomed together for nearly a decade, until I married Ivanka. Today, Nitin remains one of my closest friends. He manages a successful hedge fund and is one of the hardest workers I know.

My sophomore year, an acquaintance tried to sell me an apartment in Cambridge. I told her that I liked living on campus, but I asked a few questions and learned that apartments in Cambridge cost 30 percent more than apartments just across the street in Somerville. I saw an opportunity. The Somerville apartments were just as close to campus and, once retrofitted, could be listed very near to Cambridge prices. I called my dad and pitched him on purchasing a number of older apartments in Somerville. He agreed to put up half the capital if I could raise the rest. I began slipping off campus after class to show bankers potential investment sites. A few months later, I had posted my share of the financing. At the age of nineteen, I bought my first building. From that point on, I would go to class, then to the jobsites, where I would check on the progress, issue work orders to the contractors, and make deals with tenants.

I made plenty of mistakes. On one purchase—an historic apartment building at 82 Monroe Street—I took the seller at face value when he quoted the number of units in the building. But after I purchased it, I discovered that many of the apartment units were illegally constructed. The lower number of

rentable units dramatically reduced the projected revenue and eliminated much of the return that I had told investors we would make. After looking at several scenarios, I concluded that to salvage the project, I had to convert the building into condominium units, a far more involved and extensive construction project than I was anticipating. It took us longer, but we ultimately made a nice profit. The experience taught me the importance of conducting due diligence on every detail of a business deal, even those typically taken for granted. Growing up so close to my dad's business, I had been immersed in real estate, but I learned that nothing could replace the experience of being responsible for an entire project, where I had to answer to investors, manage contractors, and keep tenants happy. I graduated from Harvard with honors, while making millions of dollars from my real estate investments.

During my college years, I interned in New York each summer. The night before one interview, my dad asked me what time I planned to leave our house in the morning for an appointment at nine o'clock. I planned to leave at eight. "What if there is traffic?" he asked. I had accounted for that. "But what if there is an accident in the tunnel?" That seemed unlikely, but I would leave earlier just in case. "The only excuse for being late is that you didn't leave early enough," my father said. I left at six o'clock, breezed into the city, and waited in a Starbucks for two hours. I got the internship.

My most valuable experience was working at SL Green Realty Corporation, where I met Marc Holliday, who ran the company and was widely viewed as an up-and-coming star in the real estate business. One evening, he asked me to run a complex analysis for his negotiation the next day. I stayed up all night to get it done. When he reviewed it the next morning, he thought I had done a good job, but added that if I wanted to be great, I needed to internalize concepts around eight principles of real estate. He offered to extend my internship by several weeks and spend an hour on Fridays walking me through each principle. This education was better than any I received in school.

After interning at Goldman Sachs and Morgan Stanley, I realized that I did not want to go into investment banking. So I applied and was accepted to New York University's dual JD/MBA program. During my first year, I was inspired by the public policy focus of the law program and wanted to start my career in public service as a prosecutor. After my father's arrest,

however, as I watched a prosecutor inflict havoc and hardship on our family, I began to have second thoughts. I didn't think I could do that to others.

My father ultimately decided not to fight his case in court. He recognized that he had let his emotions get the better of him and felt that he had sinned before God and was ready to take responsibility for his actions. He knew that fighting the charges would be a painful five-year ordeal for our family and diminish morale at his company. He pleaded guilty and was willing to accept the consequences, which the judge decided would be two years in federal prison.

\* \* \*

In April 2005, during my second year of graduate school, I traveled with my parents to the federal prison in Montgomery, Alabama. My mom and I gave my father one last hug before he walked inside. I later learned that as he entered, a prison guard smirked and whispered in his ear, "Welcome. They love to fuck billionaires in here."

The prison tightly controlled his calls, and we had to split the time between my mom and the four kids. I got about three minutes a week, ninety seconds at a time. The timing was unpredictable, and if I missed the call, that was it. I kept my phone with me all the time, even when I showered.

I offered to drop out of grad school to help manage the company full-time, but my dad pleaded with me not to make that sacrifice. We compromised that I would stay enrolled, but spend the bulk of my time helping with the business. We were fortunate that my dad's close friend and mentor Alan Hammer, a lawyer and experienced real estate executive, generously offered to run the company in his absence.

Every weekend I flew with my mom to Alabama for a six-hour visitation with my dad. The first time I saw him lined up with all of the other inmates in his green prison uniform, it was hard not to cry. We were always the first to arrive and the last to leave, and we spent countless hours sitting in the waiting room with the other families, eating popcorn and Pop-Tarts from the vending machine. For years after, I couldn't stand the smell of either. We often became so engrossed in our conversations that we would forget we were inside a prison—until a siren rang, calling for my father to line up against a wall for the regular count of all the prisoners.

Prison is a great equalizer, and my dad's fellow inmates grew to love him because he is down-to-earth. He spent time reading, exercising, and working in the cafeteria. At night, he sat in the library and doled out advice.

One visitation day, we were surprised to see two mothers smother him with hugs. He explained that he was teaching their sons how to interview for a job.

On another trip, we were sitting on benches outside, soaking in the heat from the sun, when an inmate yelled across the yard, “Hey, it’s Charles the Great!” My dad turned to me and quipped, “Maybe I don’t want to leave here—no one in my company ever called me that.”

During this difficult period, Chris Christie sought to punish my father in a way that would hurt the most: by putting other Kushner Companies executives in jail, bankrupting the family business, and shutting it down for good. I often played the office psychologist to employees at every level of the company, who came to me worried that the company would collapse, and that they would lose their jobs. Every day felt like a kick in the gut. At the lowest points, I would tell myself that at least my dad wasn’t gone forever. I had to learn how to absorb bad news, put on a strong face, and keep moving forward. I couldn’t have known this at the time, but being thrust unexpectedly into a role leading our company prepared me for an equally unexpected, but much more consequential, role in the federal government.

Eleven and a half months after entering prison, my father was released to house arrest. It was the happiest day for our entire family. But it almost didn’t happen. Christie tried to invalidate my father’s earned time credits and block his release. Thanks to the brilliance of Washington lawyer Miguel Estrada, Christie’s cruel and punitive effort failed.

My father’s time in prison was the most humbling, difficult, and formative experience of my life. It had a way of uncluttering my thinking. I learned to separate the fleeting—money, power, and prestige—from the enduring: the way we react to difficult situations, the faith we hold on to, and the people we love. I had now seen for myself the truth of my grandparents’ maxim: life really can change in an instant.

### 3

## Making It in Manhattan

Shortly after my father's release from prison, we finished the biggest real estate deal in our company's history, with what at the time was the highest price ever paid for a single real estate asset in the United States. For \$1.8 billion, we bought a midcentury skyscraper located at 666 Fifth Avenue. Maybe the bad-luck street number should have given us pause: the purchase closed in early 2007, right before the market collapsed at the onset of the Great Recession. Twenty months later the major investment firm Lehman Brothers filed for bankruptcy, and office vacancy rates in midtown Manhattan tripled overnight.

We thought 666 Fifth Avenue could be worth \$2.5 billion, a valuation driven in large part by the building's pristine commercial space and prime storefronts on New York's iconic Fifth Avenue. In the lead-up to the crisis, the building was collecting rents of about \$120 per square foot—a rate that soon dropped precipitously. I remember Steve Roth, founder of Vornado Realty Trust and one of the smartest real estate moguls in New York, remarking as the crisis hit, "I'm getting sixty-dollar rents now in my best buildings. Do you know why I'm not getting fifty? Because the tenants aren't asking for it." We had counted on the revenue from renters to service our debt payments, and we found that we were falling short of the amount we needed. Titans of finance and real estate began circling our investment like vultures. Plenty of people told me that there was no way to recover. I saw it differently. There was no way I was going to let the investment fail.

I had very little leverage, so I was willing to talk to anybody. To salvage the purchase, I restructured the debt to prevent foreclosure and raised more than \$500 million by selling a 49 percent interest in the retail space to the Chera family and the Carlyle Group. I brought in a real estate investment firm to co-own the building, and modernized the retail and commercial space to attract more lucrative tenants. I gradually convinced Brooks Brothers to sell their lease, which we rented to Uniqlo for a record \$300 million. For several years, I tried unsuccessfully to convince National Basketball Association commissioner David Stern to give up his prized lease for the NBA store, which was located in the ground-floor retail space. Then I met rising NBA executive Adam Silver, and enlisted his help to negotiate a deal.

Stern used to call and rib me: “Leave Adam alone! We are never leaving the store!” Silver explained to me that Stern’s money-losing push for the NBA to open a retail store had initially been used by his antagonists at the owners meetings to embarrass him. After Stern dug into the operations and had the store turning a profit, he proudly opened every owners meeting, where the league announced billion-dollar deals, with an update about the couple hundred thousand dollars of profit generated by his beloved Fifth Avenue store. Silver and I ended up becoming close friends. I tried for three years to get them to sell the lease—Silver drove a hard bargain. Eventually, Stern made a good deal to give it up. We later sold the space to Inditex, the parent company of Zara, for \$324 million—a record price per square foot.

Navigating the fallout of 666 was the biggest challenge and learning experience of my business career. Being thrust into complex, high-stakes negotiations at a young age gave me unique training. I forged relationships with many of the titans in the industry, which proved invaluable moving forward. I did not win every negotiation, but I gained credibility by being honest about our difficult situation, offering constructive solutions, and seeking successful outcomes for all parties. My goal was to increase the size of the pie rather than eliminate slices from it. Two of my creditors, with whom I developed close personal relationships, told me flat out over lunch meetings that friendship was separate from business and that they were going to do everything in their power to make sure I lost the building. Fortunately, others were more magnanimous and went out of their way to help find a win-win outcome. At one point I flew to California to meet with Tom Barrack, a real estate giant whose firm was one of our creditors. I expected him to be hostile and jockeying for the kill, but after our meeting, he became an ally. “Most people in your position are looking to take advantage of their lenders,” he said. “I appreciate your pragmatism and I’ll work with you to figure this out.”

After salvaging our investment in 666, I didn’t fear failure in business. I learned how to focus on important decisions and ignore petty distractions. I got better at mitigating potential downsides, taking calculated risks, identifying market trends, and developing in up-and-coming neighborhoods.

My first successful deal in New York City was the purchase of a building on 200 Lafayette Street from John Zaccaro. No one thought he would ever sell. I met with him and offered to put down money immediately and sign whatever contract he put in front of me. While the building was in

terrible shape, I knew that if I achieved my business plan, I would make a substantial profit. At the time, I had been helping my brother start and build his venture investing business, Thrive Capital, and I saw that start-ups like his wanted more modern offices spaces that didn't yet exist in New York. I thought this building could serve a new niche. After convincing Zaccaro to sell me the building for \$50 million, I went looking for a partner. I found Avi Shemesh, an Israeli immigrant who started as a gardener and built a multibillion-dollar real estate firm. As Avi and I stood on the roof of 200 Lafayette Street, he asked, "How large are the floors?" "Seventeen thousand rentable square feet," I replied. He inquired if this was the right floor size for the tenant I wanted. "It's what we've got." He liked my honesty and enthusiasm for the project. "Jared, I'm making this investment, but not because of the building. I'm betting on you." After twenty months of executing my plan, we sold the building for nearly \$150 million.

After that success, I went on a major buying spree, acquiring more than twelve thousand apartments across the country and completing \$14 billion of transactions in roughly ten years. One of the best deals I made was purchasing the Jehovah's Witnesses headquarters in Brooklyn. When I heard that they were selling, I called their representative, Dan Rice, and asked him to let me participate in their auction. Located on the river next to the Brooklyn Bridge, the properties were unbelievable. They were the best-run buildings I had ever toured—they were so clean you could eat off the floors. I went to the representative's office that day and asked how much he wanted. He quoted \$325 to \$350 million. I told him I'd pay \$375 million if he promised not to have an auction. He called his board, got approval, and shook my hand. The next day, a competitor offered him a higher number, but he said, "Nope, we're Jehovah's Witnesses; we honor our word." He sold the property to me, and after renovations and rebranding, it is now worth close to a billion dollars.

With every new purchase, I focused not on the last dollar but on the next deal. I saw the potential in buildings that most people overlooked and learned how to make that vision into a reality through building consensus, motivating hundreds of people, making quick decisions, and solving problems as they arose. Before long, many of the big players started following me to the changing neighborhoods in which I was investing.

People found that they could make money by working with me, which led to many incredible opportunities. I never forgot what Greg Cuneo, a

consultant who became a friend and mentor, advised while we negotiated with subcontractors on the 200 Lafayette Street project: in his thick Italian accent he urged, “Tutti mangia”—loosely translated, “Everyone has to eat.” He added, “If you make too good of a deal, they will cut corners and not perform.”

In addition to building a reputation through real estate deals, I also met New York’s top business leaders through another investment I had made in 2006. That July, I visited Arthur Carter, the owner and publisher of the *New York Observer*, a weekly newspaper read by New York’s elite. I told him that I wanted to buy the paper. He said that Robert De Niro and Jane Rosenthal were far along in negotiations but were raising new issues at the last minute. I put a check for \$5 million on the table. He said if I closed by Monday, it was mine. I worked all weekend on the due diligence to finalize the deal. In the *Observer*, I saw an opportunity to bring a sophisticated paper into the digital age, while making helpful business connections in the process. I soon learned that, particularly in journalism, change is like heaven: everyone wants to go there, but nobody wants to die.

One of the real estate giants who noticed the paper was Donald J. Trump. I will never forget receiving a letter in the mail from him: upset about his placement on the *Observer*’s annual Power List, he asked to be removed. “Interestingly, the name Trump is used prominently in your title and mentioned in the snippet along with the person ranked #1. I guess you’re trying to get people to read the article.” It ended, “P.S. Please stop sending me your paper, so I don’t have to read bullshit like this anymore!” I’m sure I wasn’t the first to receive a message from Trump regarding a press article, and I certainly wouldn’t be the last.

\* \* \*

Around the time of my 666 Fifth Avenue purchase, Donald Trump suggested to his daughter Ivanka that she talk to the guy who was actively buying buildings to see if I was interested in purchasing any of their properties. In the spring of 2007, we had lunch. We spoke about business, but the conversation soon turned to NASCAR, New Jersey diners, and other unlikely interests that we had in common. That led to a second lunch at my favorite Indian restaurant, the Tamarind Flatiron & Tea Room on Twenty-Second Street, where we talked for three hours. We both had to keep calling our assistants to reschedule our other meetings for the day.



Ivanka was not what I had expected. In addition to being arrestingly beautiful, which I knew before we met, she was warm, funny, and brilliant. She has a big heart and a tremendous zest for exploring new things. Soon I was taking Ivanka to parts of the city she had never seen before, using our dates to check out neighborhoods where I was looking to purchase property. We walked the streets, observed the people, and debated which neighborhoods would evolve over the next few years. On Sunday mornings we would take our backgammon board to a new restaurant and sit there for hours as we played games, read the papers, and sipped coffee. I loved how she always treated everyone with charm and respect, whether they were business leaders, waiters, or cabdrivers. She made everything fun. We also seemed to have a great deal in common. Both of us worked with our fathers in the family business, but we also had started our own companies. We were both driven and ambitious, with a healthy appetite for adventure.

When I realized that I was falling in love with Ivanka, I grew concerned about our different religions. As hard and painful as it was, I broke up with her. Ivanka told me it was the worst decision of my life. She was right. Several months later, our mutual friend Wendi Murdoch invited me away for a weekend with her and her husband, Rupert Murdoch—the owner of News Corp, then the parent company of Fox News and the *Wall Street Journal*—on their boat *Rosehearty*. I had first met Wendi and Rupert through my work with the *Observer*, and they had become good friends. To my surprise, Ivanka was there. She was equally shocked, but it wasn't long before we got back together.

That same weekend, Rupert made the final offer to the Bancroft family to purchase the coveted Dow Jones Company. He shared with me a letter he had just sent to board members informing them that if they didn't accept his offer by Monday, he was going to pull the offer, and the stock would fall. I was amazed by his negotiating style. Rupert struck me as an intellectual, in addition to being a brilliant businessman. When we spent time together, he started his days by reading every line of his company's newspapers, as well as the competition's. He devoured books and gave me his favorites. On that Sunday, we were having lunch at Bono's house in the town of Eze on the French Riviera, when Rupert stepped out to take a call. He came back and whispered in my ear, "They blinked, they agreed to our terms, we have the *Wall Street Journal*." After lunch, Billy Joel, who had also been with us on the boat, played the piano while Bono sang with the Irish singer-songwriter

Bob Geldof. Rupert joked to me that we were clearly the least talented people there.

As the months went on, Ivanka told me that she was open to exploring the possibility of converting to Judaism. We began meeting with a rabbi and studying and practicing Shabbat together. I saw that Ivanka was enjoying these rituals. After a few Friday evenings eating takeout from 2nd Ave Deli—my favorite New York deli—Ivanka decided she wanted to learn how to cook to make our Friday nights together more special. She loved it and quickly became an excellent chef.

As our relationship turned more serious, Ivanka suggested that I should try to get to know her father, so I called Trump and asked if I could see him. He suggested lunch the next day in the grill at Trump Tower—an unusual offer, as he rarely met people for lunch. As we sat down, I could feel my voice shake as I managed to say that Ivanka and I were getting more serious and that she was in the process of converting.

“Well, let me ask you a question,” he said. “Why does she have to convert? Why can’t you convert?”

I replied that it was a fair question, but Ivanka had made the decision on her own, and we were both comfortable with it.

“That’s great,” he said. “Most people think I’m Jewish anyway. Most of my friends are Jewish. I have all these awards from the synagogues. They love me in Israel.” Then he added, “I just hope you’re serious because Ivanka is in an amazing place in her life right now. You know, Tom Brady is a good friend of mine and had been trying to take Ivanka out . . .”

Before he got any further, I quipped, “If I were Ivanka, I’d go with Tom Brady.” He looked at me with complete seriousness. “Yeah, I know,” he sighed.

A few months later, I made a clandestine trip to Trump Tower to ask for Ivanka’s hand in marriage, and I mentioned that I had planned a surprise engagement. Later, I learned that right after I left, Trump picked up the intercom and alerted Ivanka that she should expect an imminent proposal. That night, I took her to see *Wicked* on Broadway. I had asked my brother Josh to scatter rose petals across my apartment and light candles right before we came home. But the show started late and ran long, which rarely happens. The engagement ring was in my pocket the entire time, and I was anxious that the candle wax would be melting all over the place. In the

hallway outside my apartment door, I nervously pulled out the ring and proposed to Ivanka. Fortunately, she said yes.

We got married at Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster, New Jersey—a majestic and serene getaway with lush trees and rolling hills an hour from Manhattan that remains one of our favorite places. Trump drove out each week leading up to the wedding to check on the construction of the tents. He was respectful of our Jewish traditions, and before he walked Ivanka down the aisle, he asked for a yarmulke to wear. We were happy to share the day with so many friends, but I did not forget one person’s advice: Never let go of your wife’s hand on your wedding day.

I had planned an African safari for our honeymoon, but when we got to Amsterdam, bad weather delayed our connecting flight until the next day. The airline wouldn’t release our luggage, so we stopped at a gift shop in the airport, bought the cheapest coats, scarves, and hats we could find, and went to explore the city together. I scrambled and reserved a room at the Dylan, and we finally made it there after running around the city in the snow for several hours. We were drenched from head to foot, and didn’t have a spare change of clothes. Some brides would have had a meltdown as their dream honeymoon was thrown off track, but Ivanka smiled and improvised. We donned hotel bathrobes and slippers and went down to dinner at the hotel’s Michelin star restaurant. It was a blast and the perfect start to our marriage—the first of many unexpected adventures.

During our early years of marriage, both Ivanka and I were busy growing our respective companies and building relationships with members of New York society, but most often we preferred to have dinner just the two of us. We took turns planning date nights exploring the city. We’d go rock climbing at Brooklyn Boulders, trapeze at the South Street Seaport, take cooking lessons at a local restaurant, or play shuffleboard at a new bar in a trendy neighborhood. Soon, our first child, Arabella, arrived and added more joy to our lives. I would sit in her room for hours and watch her sleep as I worked on my laptop. Joseph followed two years later. We tried to raise them both with as normal an upbringing as possible, teaching them good values, spending quality time with them, and observing Jewish traditions together. Life was full. We had no idea that our world was about to turn upside down.

## 4

# “Everything Will Be Different”

After I announce this week, everything will be different.”

Ivanka and I were gathered with her family for lunch in the clubhouse at Trump National Golf Club in Bedminster to celebrate Trump’s sixty-ninth birthday. Typically, he’s totally focused on the present moment, especially when surrounded by his family. But this day, his mind was on the future. Trump interrupted the typical banter and ribbing to utter his prediction about what would happen after he declared his intention to run for the presidency. We had no idea where this would go or how it would change our lives. We just knew that with Trump, there is always something going on, and it’s never boring.

Trump asked Ivanka to introduce him for his campaign announcement on that coming Tuesday, June 16, 2015. She told him that she would do it, but only if he was serious this time. He had explored a presidential bid in years past but ultimately had decided not to run. Preparing to introduce her father was a new challenge for Ivanka: she was not political and had never given a nationally televised speech. As we worked on her remarks, I tried to reassure her. “Don’t worry,” I said. “It’s just the introduction. No one will notice it unless you screw something up.” That didn’t help.

At the time, I was serving jury duty. I asked my supervisor for Tuesday afternoon off to attend a family event. A driver picked me up in an SUV and sped toward Trump Tower. In the back seat, I changed into a suit. As I arrived and waited for the elevator up to Trump’s office, where Melania, Eric, and Don Jr. had assembled, I could hear the melancholic echo of the song “Memory” from the 1981 musical *Cats*—the tune that Trump had chosen as Ivanka’s walk-out music. While Ivanka delivered her introductory remarks, the rest of us took the elevator down to the atrium. Right before he descended the iconic gold escalator, Trump turned to Don Jr., Eric, and me. “Okay, kids,” he said, “now we find out who our real friends are.”

Trump took the makeshift stage, framed by eight American flags. His campaign manager, Corey Lewandowski, released the text of his prepared speech to the press, but Trump didn’t use a word of the script. Instead, he delivered a forty-five minute off-the-cuff speech that was a thunder-clap above the Republican political landscape. He spoke as an outsider

confronting a corrupt and feckless political establishment that had traded away American manufacturing jobs, failed to secure our borders, upended our health-care system, and plunged the country into two endless wars costing trillions.

I thought the speech was vintage Trump: raw, authentic, and effective. In other words, nothing like a politician. As a novice to politics, I didn't realize that one line would become a flashpoint: "When Mexico sends its people, they're not sending their best. . . . They're sending people that have lots of problems, and they're bringing those problems with us. They're bringing drugs. They're bringing crime. They're rapists. And some, I assume, are good people." The press immediately seized on the "rapists" comment. I later learned that Trump was inspired to use the controversial line by a Customs and Border Protection officer who had come to his office to enroll him in Global Entry. During the screening, Trump asked the officer how things were looking on the border. The officer told Trump that things were a mess, that they were sending busloads of people back to Mexico every day, but they kept coming back faster than we could return them. Trump asked him what kind of people they were—were they families or young children? "No," the officer said. "The people we're sending back on buses mostly have criminal records, even including some rapists and murderers."

Trump has a habit of seeking information and opinions from people whose views are often overlooked. As a builder, he would visit construction sites and ask the frontline workers for their input on serious design questions. When Ivanka was leading the renovation of the Old Post Office in Washington, DC, a general contractor gave him a complicated blueprint for the heating and air-conditioning system. Trump turned to one of the hard-hat workers and asked what he thought about the schematic.

"It's stupid," the worker responded. "You're putting all of the ductwork in these precise locations to keep temperatures stable during a once-in-a-hundred-year hot or cold day. Just blow air up through the middle, and you'll save on the cost of installing all of the ductwork. Guests walking the thirty seconds from the elevator to their room might be two degrees warmer if there are extreme weather conditions, but you'll save millions." Trump called for the plans to be redrawn immediately.

Dealing with the crises confronting the Trump Organization fell on the shoulders of Ivanka and her brothers. She drafted an op-ed for her father to

clarify his position on immigration—that he was for legal immigration and against human trafficking, drug smuggling, and ungoverned borders. To help her draft the op-ed, Ivanka called upon Hope Hicks, a communications ace who joined the Trump Organization in 2014 and quickly earned both Ivanka’s and Trump’s trust. As early as January 2015, Trump told Hope, “I’m thinking about running for president, and you’re going to be my press secretary.” A brilliant communicator who remained poised under pressure, Hope helped craft the campaign’s message, fielded hundreds of press inquiries each week, and designed creative events that brought out the best in Trump.

When Ivanka and Hope brought the op-ed to Trump, however, he refused to back down. “I haven’t said anything wrong, and the media knows that I haven’t said anything wrong,” he insisted. “I don’t plan to follow their rules, and they just want me to apologize for entering this race. There is no way I am doing that.” Despite the fact that he had lived a glamorous life in a gilded, three-story penthouse on Fifth Avenue, Trump understood intuitively what other politicians had long ignored: citizens across the country were feeling the effects of globalist trade and immigration policies that jeopardized their jobs, safety, and very way of life. And they were angry.

This first of many media crises taught me what I later called the “three rules of Trump.” Number one, controversy elevates message. Number two, when you’re right, you fight. And number three, never apologize. Most politicians follow polls, but Trump changed the polls. Before he entered the political arena, immigration wasn’t a hot issue. Suddenly, people were talking about the very real immigration crisis on our southern border—a problem that other candidates had desperately tried to avoid. The debate was playing out on Trump’s terms.

Shortly after the president’s campaign launch, Rupert Murdoch tweeted, “When is Donald Trump going to stop embarrassing his friends, let alone the whole country?” A week later, on July 21, the *New York Times* published a tabloidesque story that described Rupert’s disparaging views of Trump and his chances as a candidate.

Trump called me. He’d clearly had enough. “This guy’s no good. And I’m going to tweet it.”

“Please, you’re in a Republican primary,” I said, hoping he wasn’t about to post a negative tweet targeted at the most powerful man in

conservative media. “You don’t need to get on the wrong side of Rupert. Give me a couple of hours to fix it.”

I called Rupert and told him I had to see him.

“Rupert, I think he could win,” I said, as we sat in his office. “You guys agree on a lot of the issues. You want smaller government. You want lower taxes. You want stronger borders.”

Rupert listened quizzically, like he couldn’t imagine that Trump was actually serious about running. The next day, he called me and said, “I’ve looked at this and maybe I was misjudging it. He actually does have a real following. It does seem like he’s very popular, like he can really be a kingmaker in the Republican primary with the way he is playing it. What does Donald want?”

“He wants to be president,” I responded.

“No, what does he really want?” he asked again.

“Look, he doesn’t need a nicer plane,” I said. “He’s got a beautiful plane. He doesn’t need a nicer house. He doesn’t need anything. He’s tired of watching politicians screw up the country, and he thinks he could do a better job.”

“Interesting,” Rupert said.

We had a truce, for the time being.

Within four weeks of entering the race, Trump skyrocketed to first place in the polls. At the first debate, in August, Fox News anchor Megyn Kelly brought up provocative comments Trump had made when he was in the entertainment business. From that point forward, he was locked in a brutal battle with Fox News. He got a call from the network’s CEO, Roger Ailes. “Donald, in your business, your assets are buildings,” said Ailes. “In my business, my anchors are everything I have. If you attack my anchors, I’m going to have to come after you with the full force of the network. We need to find a way to deescalate this thing.” Trump was undeterred by the threat.

The more irreverent Trump was toward the media and the political establishment, the more my friends in New York thought he was on his way out, but he kept climbing in the polls. I was glad to see Trump’s growing momentum, but I had no plans to get directly involved in his campaign. Our company was on a hot streak, and I was focused on growing our portfolio.

\* \* \*

On a November morning in 2015, Trump called and asked if I wanted to come to a rally that evening in Springfield, Illinois. Like any smart son-in-law, I said yes. I knew this was an opportunity to see how the billionaire developer from New York City was playing in America's heartland.

We were greeted by a crowd of fans waiting at the airport and lining the road to the venue. The Prairie Capital Convention Center was packed. We felt the pulse of energy from backstage. The event manager greeted Trump at the entrance. "Congratulations, sir," he said. "You just broke the attendance record for this arena, previously held by Elton John."<sup>1</sup> Trump quickly joked, "See, Jared, and I don't even have a piano. Imagine if I played the guitar."

As we went to a reception area to meet with local officials and volunteers, I was surprised by Trump's willingness to shake every hand and pose for a picture with everyone who asked, even though he was a germophobe. This was a big sign to me about his total devotion to winning the race. When he took the stage, more than ten thousand people erupted in cheers and applause. I walked around the arena and watched in amazement as my father-in-law interacted with the enthusiastic crowd. He riffed for an hour, occasionally looking at the few notes he had jotted down on the plane. In contrast to media reports that described his rallies as a breeding ground for lunatics and neo-Nazis, I saw normal people: hardworking moms and dads as well as students and grandparents. People of different ages, races, and backgrounds believed someone was finally speaking for them. His message about illegal immigration, unfair trade deals, and endless foreign wars resonated. When Trump promised to end Common Core, the crowd went wild.

I couldn't believe it. Weeks before, I had attended a dinner hosted by the Robin Hood Foundation, one of the largest philanthropic groups in New York. The group's chairman, a finance billionaire, had given a speech hailing Common Core as the savior of American education and urging participants to call their contacts in Washington to support it. When I heard the crowd's reaction that night in Springfield, it reminded me of a book that Rupert Murdoch had given me months earlier: Charles Murray's *Coming Apart*, which makes a case that over the last fifty years America has divided into upper and lower classes that live apart from each other, geographically and culturally.<sup>2</sup> They attend different schools, consume different foods, and seek different forms of entertainment. They share so little, and have such minimal contact, that they no longer understand each other. Now, as I stood among



my father-in-law's supporters, I was beginning to understand why Trump's message resonated with so many Americans. Washington's upper-class elites were out of touch with the lower- and middle-class citizens they supposedly represented, leaving their constituents feeling forgotten and disenfranchised. While these decisions did not hurt people like me in New York, they were stripping opportunity from many families and communities throughout Middle America. The rally was a wakeup call for me.

On the flight home, as we chowed down on McDonald's Big Macs, Filet-o-Fish sandwiches, and fries, I told Trump how much I enjoyed watching him connect with the crowd. I was moved by the patriotism that so many of his supporters had expressed. I mentioned that he could do more with his Facebook page to engage many energetic supporters like those in the Springfield arena. Trump was an early adopter of Twitter and had already revolutionized politics with his viral turns of phrase. He suggested that I talk to Dan Scavino, who was managing content for his Twitter and his other social-media accounts. Scavino had started working for Trump as a golf caddy when he was sixteen, and over the course of a decade, he had climbed the ranks and proven to be an indispensable executive at the organization.

As we sat in Scavino's campaign office in Trump Tower, a small concrete, windowless room with a plastic card table and folding chairs, we tested Facebook's ad options. Soon we asked Corey Lewandowski to give us a budget so that we could experiment with tactics to boost content on the platform. As manager of the nimble campaign team, Lewandowski had many good qualities. He worked around the clock, was staunchly loyal to Trump, and had a good sense of how to connect with the Republican primary base. But he couldn't see the strategic significance of getting into Facebook. He gave us \$500 per month, which seemed more like a ransom payment to get us off his back than a calculated investment, but it was enough to start trying out different tactics in Iowa and New Hampshire.

Scavino and I soon learned that if we targeted a message to the appropriate demographic, it would catch like wildfire, spreading across the social media platform and receiving tens of thousands of likes and shares for little cost. As Trump's strongest admirers revealed their support for him online, their friends also started to publicly acknowledge support.

Because so much of this was happening organically, Scavino and I struggled to spend our tiny budget. When we went to purchase an ad, Trump's message had already reached and fully saturated the demographics

we had planned to hit. By 2017, Facebook changed its algorithms, making it more difficult to get as much free, organic exposure as we did during the campaign.

Back in the summer, I was walking through Trump's corporate office in Trump Tower when I passed by the desk of Amanda Miller, head of marketing and communications for the Trump Organization. I noticed a wide-brimmed, old-school red baseball hat with four words in bold white lettering: MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN. "You've got to be kidding me," I said, laughing. Amanda said that Trump had called her to his office and designed the hat himself and asked her to order a thousand. She'd ordered a hundred, thinking he'd never know the difference. Soon after, Trump wore the hat on his visit to the southern border, and it became the hottest thing on the internet. It even appeared on the front page of the *New York Times* style section in an article by Ashley Parker entitled "Trump's Campaign Hat Becomes an Ironic Summer Accessory." The demand was so incredible that I worked with Amanda to create an online store, where we started selling roughly \$8,000 in hats per day. By December, when I attended a rally in Iowa, red hats blanketed the crowd. When I looked closely, I saw that there were twelve knock-off hats for every official one. We could sell a lot more of our authentic hats if we scaled marketing. Amanda introduced me to Brad Parscale, the vendor of the campaign's website, and we worked on a plan to start spending \$10,000 a day on Facebook ads to sell the hats, bypassing Lewandowski's budget restrictions and correctly guessing that by the time he noticed the large expense, we would have positive results to share. Soon we increased online hat sales tenfold from \$8,000 to \$80,000 per day, which funded most of the campaign's overhead costs.

At the suggestion of former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, I began filming daily Facebook videos of Trump riffing on trending topics. The videos went viral, picking up traditional news coverage and reaching more than seventy-four million viewers before the Iowa caucuses. For this project, I was given a budget of \$400,000, but only spent \$160,000 because supporters shared the videos faster than we could spend the money.

Just as the campaign's lack of structure and experience created room for innovation, it could also lead to colossal mistakes. On January 13, two weeks before the Iowa caucuses, the *New York Times* reported that the campaign had virtually no ground game in the first primary state: "Mr. Trump . . . may well win the caucuses, now less than three weeks away. But

if he does, it will probably be in spite of his organizing team, which after months of scattershot efforts led by a paid staff of more than a dozen people, still seems amateurish and halting.” By that time Trump and I were talking more frequently, and he asked what I thought about the news reports. “These articles make me look incompetent,” he said. “I’m running as a businessman—if I can’t run a campaign, how can I run the country?” Lewandowski reassured me that we had a great operation. But there were signs that trouble was brewing. Parscale and I built a mobile tool to help many likely first-time caucus-goers find the closest location. We asked Lewandowski for our Iowa voter list, which he had previously told me included eighty thousand emails. When Parscale got the list, he called me, alarmed: the data file had roughly twenty thousand names, and the file quality was garbage.

A week before the caucuses, Trump announced that he intended to skip the Fox News primary debate in Des Moines because Megyn Kelly was scheduled to be a moderator. Ailes struck back with a sarcastic statement: “We learned from a secret back channel that the Ayatollah and Putin both intend to treat Donald Trump unfairly when they meet with him if he becomes President.” But when Trump doubled down, calling Megyn Kelly a “third-rate reporter who is frankly not good at what she does,” Ailes grew nervous about the bad ratings that would result from a Trump boycott, and he called Trump to negotiate. It played out like two old friends looking for an off-ramp from a situation neither wanted to escalate further. Trump had planned to host a rally to raise money for veterans in lieu of the Fox News debate. Ailes agreed to donate \$5 million to a veterans’ organization of Trump’s choice in exchange for his participation in the debate.

Ailes took this agreement to Rupert Murdoch, who told him, “No way!” Trump asked me to speak with Rupert and get him to approve the deal. I called Rupert and suggested that it would be a win-win-win: the vets would get \$5 million, Fox News would receive a huge ratings bump, and Trump could declare victory. “Are you crazy?” Rupert exclaimed. “Once I start paying one person, I have to pay everyone to show up to debates. No. The answer’s no,” he said, abruptly ending the call. That night as we landed in Iowa, Trump skipped the debate, raising millions of dollars for veterans and stealing the thunder from the Fox News debate.

The morning of the caucuses, the *Des Moines Register* poll, the gold standard in Iowa, reported that Trump was five points ahead of Texas senator Ted Cruz. Trump had asked Ivanka, who was six months pregnant with our

son Theodore, to speak at one of the largest caucus sites in the state, alongside Cruz and Kentucky senator Rand Paul, while he spoke at another caucus location. When we arrived at the DoubleTree convention center in Cedar Rapids, where more than 2,500 caucus voters from dozens of precincts had converged, all the other campaigns had large booths manned by packs of volunteers. They displayed slick posters and gave away loads of swag. Ivanka and I could not find a single Trump campaign staffer on site. I called Lewandowski, who promised that a team was on its way, but I could hear in his deflated voice that he wasn't sure how he was going to make that happen. I asked the campaign aide who was accompanying us, a woman from Arizona named Stephanie Grisham, to grab the other side of an empty card table. We carried it to the entrance and set up a makeshift display. While Ivanka shook hands and took photos with supporters, Grisham and I frantically looked up site-specific caucus instructions, the information most people requested when they came to our table. This lack of professionalism at the most important test to date was not a reassuring sign of Lewandowski's management.

As we boarded a small plane to Des Moines to meet up with the rest of the family, the initial results showed Trump stuck several points behind Cruz. We were silent on the forty-minute flight as the race slipped away. Despite leading by an average of seven points in ten polls in the days before the primary, Trump lost Iowa by more than three points.

Lewandowski knew he was on shaky ground, and rather than bringing in the talent he needed to help our campaign succeed, he seemed to become more insecure and territorial. I tried to help him by recruiting Bill Stepien, an experienced campaign operative recommended by one of my few Republican friends, Ken Kurson, the editor of the *Observer*. Stepien was the first political person I'd encountered who made any sense. He explained his straightforward approach to running a campaign: first, determine how many people you think are going to vote, and work backward to find blocks of voters that add up to 51 percent of that number. Then, do whatever it takes to get them to the polls. Since Lewandowski was constantly traveling with Trump, the campaign desperately needed someone like Stepien to organize the headquarters and field operations. I pitched Trump and Lewandowski on hiring him. After Trump initially agreed to bring him on, Lewandowski claimed that Stepien would be too high-profile and would cause problems.

Knowing that New Hampshire could be decisive for him, Trump spent the week barnstorming the state. On election eve, I got a call from Ailes, who told me that the Fox News exit polls were showing that Trump was going to win the state by more than ten points. We were staying with Trump and the rest of the campaign staff in an outdated hotel that had hot tubs in the middle of the bedrooms. Ivanka and I went up to Trump's room, which we knew was right above ours because the sound of his blaring TV had woken us up at four o'clock that morning. I relayed the news from Ailes. Trump was elated. New Hampshire had validated his conviction that he could win.

Less than two weeks later, Trump won big again in South Carolina. But the race was far from over. A consortium of establishment Republican politicians, donors, and media influencers began to mount a full-throttle campaign to prevent the outsider candidate from winning the Republican nomination.

## An Unlikely Upset

**B**y March, the primary had effectively narrowed to a two-man battle between Trump and Cruz. Trump was driving virtually every news cycle and honing his populist message, but we knew that if he was going to become the front-runner, he needed to show skeptical Republicans that he was going to offer concrete plans and serious policy solutions.

I reached out to Howard Kohr, executive director of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), a well-established advocacy group, and offered to have Trump participate in a question-and-answer session at their upcoming convention in Washington, DC. Four days before the event, Trump called and said he wanted to give a big policy speech instead. To compose the speech, which would be the first scripted policy speech of the campaign, I worked with Ken Kurson. The first draft sounded nothing like the candidate, but after reading through it, Trump gave us extensive edits that made it his own.

The day before the event, Lewandowski called me from Mar-a-Lago, my father-in-law's palatial beachfront estate in Palm Beach, Florida. "You have to call him ASAP," Lewandowski said. "He wants to cancel the speech." Trump had seen news reports indicating that protesters were now coming to AIPAC. I immediately got on the phone with him. "These protesters are not going to be like the ones at your recent rallies," I said. "If anything, it will look like seventy people getting up to buy a hot dog or use the bathroom in a stadium of twenty thousand. Canceling at the last minute will look weak and will isolate your pro-Israel voters." Trump was also reluctant to use a teleprompter. He had poked fun at the politicians who used them. "You can use it as notes," I suggested. "We have a teleprompter set up in the ballroom with the speech loaded. Try it for fifteen minutes and see what you think. If you don't like it, you never have to see one again." He practiced for more than an hour, and the teleprompter operator commented that he was a natural. AIPAC was back on.

As Trump took the podium the next day, I paced back and forth behind the stage. To my surprise, Trump mostly stuck to the script, with one exception. He read the line, "With President Obama in his final year," and then added one exclamation: "Yay." The delighted crowd erupted in

applause. Their frustration toward President Obama had been building since he signed the Iran deal a year earlier. As Trump walked offstage, he gave me a rare compliment: “Good job.”

Even his critics praised the address. Charles Krauthammer hailed the speech as presidential. The only negative call I received was from Kohr, who said Trump’s playful comment about Obama’s impending departure had elicited backlash from the White House. Kohr was going to put out a statement. I was shocked. “You’re making a big mistake,” I warned. “Trump just made AIPAC hotter than ever, and he now has a one-in-two shot of winning the nomination. Why would you alienate someone who has that much potential to be president of the United States?” The statement went out the next day. Trump didn’t forget it. During his four years as president, he never returned to address the AIPAC conference, despite being a hero to its attendees.

One month later, at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, DC, Trump again delivered a substantive, scripted speech that we entitled “America First.” It called out decades of rudderless, dangerous, and wasteful foreign policy perpetrated by the leaders of both political parties. And it proposed a new vision that departed from the previous thirty years of failure in Washington. But the event at the Mayflower was also significant for a different reason. During a small cocktail reception, Jeff Sessions, the US senator from Alabama, and I were introduced to roughly forty guests, including Sergey Kislyak, Russia’s ambassador to the United States. We shook hands, exchanged niceties, and moved along. At the time, I thought nothing of it; these sorts of functions are always bustling with foreign dignitaries. Little did I know that our benign encounter would become central to an enormous, convoluted, and ultimately pointless investigation.

On March 27 Ivanka and I welcomed our third child. Because he was a political baby, conceived and born during a presidential run, we named him after the twenty-sixth president of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt, a courageous and transformative president who, like Trump, was energetic and irreverent. A week after Ivanka gave birth, her father called and asked if she would come to a rally on Long Island that evening and introduce him. He was coming off a loss in the Wisconsin primary, and Ivanka always lifted his spirits. She agreed, and her appearance at the rally—along with the momentum the campaign was gaining—reinvigorated Trump. From that point forward, he won every single remaining primary.

Ivanka and I were with her father in Trump Tower as the Indiana primary results came in on May 3. Fox News flashed a breaking headline: Cruz was dropping out of the race. Against all odds, Trump had achieved a victory never before reached by a Republican candidate without a political or military background. He had put everything on the line, fought for what he believed in, and defeated sixteen candidates to earn the Republican nomination. Ecstatic, Trump turned to Ivanka and me: “Can you believe we pulled this thing off?”

The more time I spent with Trump on the campaign trail, the more I began to understand why millions of people felt like the American dream was becoming harder and harder to achieve. I agreed with my father-in-law that the status quo was no longer working. Washington and its ruling class needed to be disrupted. I didn’t want to look back in twenty years and regret not having gone all-in on an insurgent effort to change America for the better. So as the campaign entered the general election phase, I became more involved than I had anticipated, including on personnel and finance decisions, our digital advertising strategy, and the president’s travel schedule. I learned that when Trump worried about details, he grew frustrated and distracted. When his team was running operations well, he was more focused on the strategy and message. A happy Trump was a winning Trump.

I began working with Brad Parscale to ramp up our digital operation. I was connected to the founder of a tech company who had purchased record amounts of digital advertising, and he agreed to fly down to San Antonio to meet with Parscale and his team. He arrived a few minutes early and asked for Parscale, who was in the conference room having a team meeting. Not one to waste time, the tech company founder walked right into the conference room. “Who are your top three advertising designers?” he asked Parscale. Without waiting for an answer, he began barking orders to everyone else in the room as if he were a drill sergeant. He sent one person to buy air mattresses so that the staff could start working in shifts, twenty-four hours a day. “You only have a hundred and fifty days until the end of the campaign, you are far behind the competition, and you are going to need every second between now and then to make up ground,” he said.

We set up a trading-floor-style operation, where the advertising teams competed against each other to drive engagement and raise donations for the campaign. To run the operation, we tapped Gary Coby, the Republican



National Committee’s most impressive digital expert and one of the few people in the Republican establishment who wanted Trump to win. Each day, the team that achieved the best return on investment received additional money to buy a larger share of ads the following day. The teams tested everything, down to whether the “Donate Here” button should be green or red, or whether an ad performed better with an eagle, an American flag, or a picture of Trump. This highly competitive environment produced staggering results. Under Parscale and Coby’s leadership, the advertising teams tested more than a hundred thousand ad combinations each day, gathering real-time public opinion data that preceded polling by several days and informed the campaign about which messages resonated most with voters. We quickly saw that ads did better when they were focused on Trump’s pro-America policies, like building the wall, rather than on attacking other candidates. In total, our campaign produced about six million ad variants, far surpassing the Clinton campaign’s sixty-six thousand.<sup>3</sup>

In the last four months of the campaign, our digital operation raised more than \$250 million in small-dollar donations—an unprecedented number—and persuaded millions of voters to support Trump in the process. Andrew Bosworth, the Facebook executive who oversaw the company’s advertising during the 2016 election, later wrote a memo in which he argued that Trump was elected not because of Russia or “misinformation” but “because he ran the single best digital ad campaign I’ve ever seen from any advertiser. Period.”<sup>4</sup>

\* \* \*

Around the same time that we stood up our digital operation, Trump decided to expand his campaign’s leadership. He wanted to elevate Paul Manafort—a seasoned campaign consultant who had joined our campaign back in March—to the position of comanager of the campaign. Trump asked me to break the news. When I met with Lewandowski, I explained that it wasn’t personal. The campaign was growing; the stakes were increasing.

“Take this as a sign of your success,” I reassured him. “Trump won the primary, and you’re doing a great job.”

Lewandowski started to whimper and walked away, but he pulled himself together for a meeting with Manafort and the campaign leadership. Early that evening, he called me, sobbing. “I can’t do this anymore,” he said. “I’ve given up my whole life for this.”

I asked Lewandowski what would make him happy, and he suggested that Manafort could be the chairman instead of comanager of the campaign. I hung up, thinking we had reached an amenable solution, but Lewandowski called me two more times that evening, sounding incoherent and threatening to quit. Exasperated, I updated Trump on the situation. I was afraid that Lewandowski was cracking under pressure. "I'll handle it tomorrow," Trump told me.

The next morning, Trump called Lewandowski and said, "Look, you're a very good campaign manager, but there are also sixteen other really good campaign managers who are sitting at home now because they didn't have me as their client. Jared is not your psychiatrist. I am not your psychiatrist. You either get your act together or go home."

## “I Am Your Voice”

The clash between Lewandowski and Manafort didn't take long to manifest. Both wanted to lead the search for a vice presidential running mate. I asked Trump how he wanted to proceed, and he replied, “I will run the search myself.”

Manafort suggested that a vice presidential candidate should be able to deliver on three fronts: a clean rollout that excited supporters, a winning debate performance, and the ability to not steal the spotlight. After going through half a dozen names, Trump narrowed the vice presidential search to three: Mike Pence, Newt Gingrich, and Chris Christie. Christie had endorsed Trump in February, becoming one of the first major figures in the Republican establishment to do so. Trump well understood the tension between him and my family. When Christie offered his endorsement, in fact, Trump called my father and asked if he was comfortable with him accepting the endorsement. Trump and my father had become close friends after Ivanka and I married, and my father appreciated the sincere gesture. He told Trump that he was happy with his current life and encouraged him to do whatever was best for the campaign. Suddenly, my family's old nemesis was a political ally.

After we read the vetting files of the three candidates, I joked that Christie's file read like a John Grisham thriller, Gingrich's read like a Danielle Steel romance novel, and Pence's read like the Bible. I thought Pence was the perfect choice. A midwestern governor with experience in Washington as a congressman, he was respected by evangelicals, and his steady nature counterbalanced Trump's enthusiasm. I suggested that Trump invite the Indiana governor to Bedminster for a round of golf so they could get to know each other. I had no clue how painful this informal interview would be for Pence, who was not an avid golfer and probably would have preferred a CIA interrogation. Trump gave him three strokes per hole, and the round took four hours—more than double the time Trump usually takes to play eighteen holes. At the end of their round Trump good-naturedly poked fun at Mike for notching a hole-in-zero on a par three, when he shot an actual par on the hole.

Having run a family business for decades, Trump was accustomed to consulting his adult children on big decisions, so he wanted them to meet Pence before he made the announcement. Trump was campaigning in Indiana and planned to bring Pence back to New York with him. But his plane, Trump Force One, busted a tire and was grounded for the night. Eric called and said we needed to get to Indiana right away. The next morning, the media was surprised when Trump and his family walked through the front door of the governor's mansion. The Pence family showed us around their home. During the brief tour, Karen Pence pointed out that the furniture was all made by prison inmates through a program she supported, and Pence gave Trump a book called *The Forgotten Man*, a history of the Great Depression.<sup>5</sup> Inside, Pence inscribed a note: "To Donald Trump, with great admiration for the way you have given voice to the Forgotten Men and Women of America." Since the visit was last minute, Karen displayed flowers she had picked from her garden that morning and served breakfast in aluminum takeout trays from a local restaurant. Pence opened with a simple prayer, asking the Lord to watch over our family as we fought for the country.

On Friday, July 15, Trump announced Pence as his running mate. Over the next five years, I kept waiting for Pence to break character—to do what most politicians do behind the scenes and criticize others, complain about situations, and push back on requests to travel to events—but he never did.

Manafort and Lewandowski's coleadership of the campaign was short-lived. In both style and strengths, they were polar opposites. While Lewandowski was quick, visceral, and instinctual, Manafort was measured, methodical, and analytical. It didn't help that they were viciously sabotaging each other, each claiming the other was leaking to the press. By the middle of June, Lewandowski was out. As Manafort took the helm, Trump asked me to handle the campaign's finances. I brought in Jeff DeWit, treasurer of the state of Arizona, Sean Dollman, and Steven Mnuchin, the campaign's national fundraising chairman, to help manage the cash flow and track expenses. We had learned from watching our primary opponents like Scott Walker and Jeb Bush that expenses can quickly balloon out of control as a campaign grows. We wanted to avoid their mistakes.

\* \* \*

Leading up to the Republican National Convention in July, Manafort had suggested that Trump's acceptance speech should be packed with poll

tested slogans and themes. We later learned that Manafort had spent roughly \$300,000 to have a pollster named Tony Fabrizio craft the message. To draft the speech, Manafort called upon Stephen Miller, a former top aide to Jeff Sessions, who I had installed as the campaign's primary speechwriter and policy coordinator months earlier.

When Trump reviewed the draft, he hated it. For three hours, he dictated a new speech to Miller. Trump wanted to focus on the recent horrific attacks on police. On July 7, a deranged gunman had shot and killed five Dallas police officers. Days later, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, another murderer attacked six police officers, killing three of them and badly wounding the others. Trump fumed about the evil and injustice. He felt that President Obama had stoked hatred toward law enforcement, putting police officers everywhere in jeopardy. When they finished the draft, Trump said, "I like the speech just like this—don't change a thing."

It was Sunday, July 17, just four days before Trump's most important speech to date. Stephen called me in a full panic: "The reading did NOT go well. He gave me an entirely new speech that will make his past controversial comments seem tepid by comparison."

I had planned to depart for Cleveland the next day with Ivanka.

Trump had asked her to introduce him, and I wanted to support her as she prepared for her big moment. After initially receiving a stilted draft of her introduction from Manafort, she scrapped it and wrote her own remarks. But Stephen Miller asked me to stay in New York and help him finalize the speech with Trump. Knowing the stakes, I asked Ivanka if that was okay with her. As usual, she was prepared for her moment and felt it was more important for me to stay back.

Stephen and I printed out the speech that Trump had dictated and laid the twenty-two pages out on a large conference-room table in Trump Tower. Trump has a near-photographic memory, so we knew he would notice if so much as a comma was out of place. If we tried too hard to change his words, he would double down. So we reorganized the paragraphs for logical flow and tweaked the lines that we thought would cause too much backlash. The next day, we nervously handed the new draft to Trump. As he read it, he frequently paused and asked: "Why did you change this line?" or "Why did you move this?"

By the time we got through two and a half hours of edits, Trump was both exasperated and satisfied. "Now, please don't touch it this time for

real.”

On July 21, Trump delivered his convention address to a packed Quicken Loans Arena in Cleveland and thirty-five million viewers across the nation. It was a smashing success. The next morning, the front page of the *New York Times* ran the headline, “Trump, as Nominee, Vows: ‘I Am Your Voice.’” Ivanka crushed her speech as well. She delivered her message with ease and grace, highlighting many of the same issues she had championed in her company, including supporting mothers in the workforce and making childcare affordable and accessible. They weren’t traditionally Republican issues, but she knew her father would endorse them.

Manafort executed a highly successful convention that was authentic to Trump and ensured that he secured the delegates for the nomination. A few weeks later, however, reports began percolating about Manafort’s business dealings with the Kremlin-backed political party in Ukraine. At the time, Manafort was struggling to develop chemistry with my father-in-law. He spoke slowly and muffled his words. Trump would brush him off, and Manafort never modified his approach. It didn’t help that Lewandowski regularly criticized Manafort on CNN and called Trump to point out all of the ways in which Manafort was failing the campaign. Behind the scenes, Manafort was doing an excellent job building out the infrastructure of the campaign, but publicly he was taking on so much water that his position was becoming untenable.

In the lead-up to Trump’s decision to fire Manafort, I had been working twenty-hour days for weeks on end, splitting time between overseeing my business and helping to build and run various parts of the campaign. Ivanka had assumed a disproportionate share of the parenting duties while also helping lead her father’s business and running her own company. In August we took a weekend trip to recharge before entering the final campaign sprint. Less than twenty-four hours after we left, I received a call from Trump. “It’s time for Paul to go,” he said. “I like him, but he doesn’t have the energy we need.” He mentioned Steve Bannon and asked me to bring him on board.

Bannon was the executive chairman of Breitbart News Network, a news website with strong ties to Trump’s antiestablishment conservative base. A former naval officer, Harvard Business School alum, and Goldman Sachs banker, he came highly recommended by Republican donor Rebekah Mercer. At sixty-three, Bannon cut an unorthodox political profile. He was gruff and unkempt, with a perpetual five o’clock shadow, and he had never

led a campaign. When I called Bannon to pitch him on joining the team, he responded with his trademark bluntness: “I don’t want to join a sinking ship. You have an undisciplined candidate. You have no operation.”

I pushed back: “This is a much better opportunity than you think. The RNC has a good ground game that we are integrating with our field operation. I just hired Jason Miller, a communications pro with extensive campaign experience, to manage our messaging and build up our press team, and we have a state-of-the-art digital data operation that I built like a start-up—you just haven’t heard about it because the people running it aren’t political.”

I reported back to Trump that I had made a deal with Bannon that he be campaign CEO, and I recommended that he promote Kellyanne Conway to campaign manager. I had hired Conway about a month earlier as a polling consultant to help with our messaging. While Trump was initially hesitant to hire her given all the negative things she had said about him when she worked for Ted Cruz, he grew to appreciate her skill at defending his campaign on television. She would make history as the first female Republican presidential campaign manager. Trump signed off on the plan, but Manafort was still technically the campaign chairman.

Early in the morning of August 19, Trump called me and wanted to sever Manafort’s involvement with the campaign. Another story had broken that alleged shady dealings with Ukraine. I met Manafort for breakfast at eight o’clock that morning at Cipriani on Fifth Avenue, a wood-paneled Italian restaurant across the street from Central Park.

“I hate doing this because I have grown very fond of working together and appreciate the amazing contributions you have made, but it’s time to make a change,” I told Manafort.

He was shocked. “Okay, I understand, let me have a week to figure this out.”

“I wish I could give you a week,” I said, “but this needs to be done today. I have a draft statement thanking you for your service. Trump lands in Louisiana at ten thirty this morning, and he wants to have the news out beforehand.”

Manafort was angry, but he took it like a gentleman. We went back to the campaign headquarters, where he signed off on the statement, and we released it just before Trump landed. Manafort packed up and left. With just

eighty-one days separating us from Election Day, the sprint to the finish had begun.



## “We’re Going to Win”

Trump’s promise to make Mexico pay for a new wall on the United States’ southern border had become a live-wire issue on the campaign, equally controversial in the United States and Mexico. Back in the spring of 2016, a friend reached out to me to relay a message: Luis Videgaray Caso, President Enrique Peña Nieto’s finance minister, wanted to make contact with the Trump campaign. I figured this was a joke, but she insisted, “This is a very serious and important reach out, and he is a very serious person.” I had no idea how important Luis would become to me in the years ahead.

In a dingy hotel cafeteria in a Maryland suburb of Washington, DC, Don Jr. and I met Luis for coffee. During the discussion, we found more in common than one would have thought. Luis, who has a PhD in economics from MIT, was cerebral and brilliant at politics. He looked past the media’s spin on Trump’s statements and saw an opportunity. American presidential candidates rarely paid attention to Mexico. He felt that the United States and Mexico could improve their relationship through modernizing the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, the trade deal between the United States, Mexico, and Canada that Trump routinely condemned. He also believed that reforming immigration, and stopping the flow of illegal guns and cash, would be mutually beneficial. Most surprising of all, Luis was sure that Trump was going to win the election, and he wanted to establish a relationship immediately.

After a couple of false starts, I was able to arrange a breakfast between Trump and Luis in Bedminster. During the breakfast, Trump floated the idea of traveling to Mexico City to meet with President Peña Nieto.

“If we invite you,” Luis explained, “we would also invite Hillary.”

Trump laughed. “That’s okay, she’ll never come.” He was right.

I knew a trip to Mexico would be a big risk, but I also knew that Trump was at his best when he was doing the unexpected. At the time, Trump was down by thirteen points, his polls reeling from the most recent campaign turmoil and shakeup. We needed to play big to stay in the game. A trip to Mexico would catch everyone by surprise. It would show that Trump could conduct himself presidentially on the world stage, which would counter the media narrative. It would also show that he wasn’t against the Mexican

people; he was against the unimpeded flow of illegal immigration. I asked Bannon for his thoughts, and he agreed that the trip was worth the risk, so we began to plan the logistics.

Each detail of the visit had to be meticulously scripted and flawlessly executed. We needed to keep our plans a secret. If word leaked in advance, it could put pressure on President Peña Nieto to withdraw the invitation. There were also massive security implications; Trump's comments on illegal immigration had supposedly drawn the ire of notorious drug kingpin El Chapo, who reportedly had placed a \$100 million bounty on Trump.<sup>6</sup> The Friday before we were scheduled to depart, Trump called off the trip. Apparently, his campaign fundraising chairman Steven Mnuchin had told him that one small misstep could turn the whole trip into a humiliating debacle. At the time, there were signs that Trump was making a comeback in the polls, and he didn't want to push his luck.

"It's too risky," he said. "What if we travel all the way down to Mexico, and he stands next to me at the podium and lectures me, saying, 'I'm not paying for your stupid wall.' It would be a disaster, and the campaign will be over." I tried to explain that I trusted Luis and thought I could mitigate, though not fully eliminate, these risks. But deep down, I was a bit relieved; I knew that if anything went wrong, I had full responsibility.

I called Bannon and asked what he thought we should do. "This trip is too good to let pass," he replied. The two of us met with Trump in Bedminster and addressed his concerns before he decided to proceed. The night before departure, the news broke that we were heading to Mexico. People were shocked.

As we boarded the unmarked plane for Mexico City, I made sure that a campaign staffer loaded an important delivery that I had commissioned as a gift to the Mexican president: red hats, embroidered with five words, "Make Mexico Great Again Also."

We arrived in Mexico City on August 31. Trump and Peña Nieto met in private before emerging for a press conference with Mexican reporters as well as a few American journalists who had jumped on a plane as soon as they found out about the trip. Both politicians delivered statements, holding their ground on their key issues but showing that the United States and Mexico had many overlapping interests.

"Even though we may not agree on everything," the Mexican president stated, "I trust that together, we will be able to find better prosperity and

security.”

“A strong, prosperous, and vibrant Mexico is in the best interest of the United States and will keep and help keep, for a long, long period of time, America together,” Trump said.

This could not be going better, I thought. Then just as Trump was about to conclude, ABC’s Jonathan Karl shouted a question, asking whether they had discussed Trump’s plan to make Mexico pay for the border wall. We had agreed with the Mexicans that Trump and Peña Nieto would not take questions from reporters. But when Karl shouted the million-dollar question, Trump answered, “We did discuss the wall; we didn’t discuss payment of the wall.” I looked at Luis, who hurried to get someone to cut off the public address system. As the reporters began to yell questions, Mexican music started blaring from the loudspeakers, and the politicians walked offstage. But the damage was done. For the Mexican public, it was unthinkable that their president could have discussed the wall without raising opposition to Trump’s payment proposal. It was an insult they couldn’t bear, and it made Peña Nieto look weak and potentially complicit.

The press conference triggered a political nightmare for the Mexican leadership—especially for Luis, who took the blame for his role in planning the trip. He resigned the next week. I felt terrible. I called Luis and told him I was sorry he had resigned. I relayed the news to Trump, and he put out a tweet: “Mexico has lost a brilliant finance minister, and wonderful man who I know is highly respected by President Peña Nieto. With Luis, Mexico and the United States would have made wonderful deals together—where both Mexico and the US would have benefitted.” Luis was incredibly honorable in the way he conducted the visit, and we trusted him implicitly each step of the way. When he took the fall, he did so gracefully and without bitterness, believing that he did the right thing for his country.

For Trump, the trip was a massive success. It showed voters that he could go into the lion’s den and fight for American interests. Afterward, the campaign settled into a positive groove. To maximize the schedule for the final stretch of the campaign, I consulted Newt Gingrich, a political mastermind and former Speaker of the House. He knew how to coordinate political travel to highlight messaging that would reach voters in swing districts. David Bossie came on as deputy campaign manager. He was a tremendous help in leading and executing the operations, as was Bill Stepien, who I was finally able to bring on board. Eric Trump did an

amazing job organizing the campaign's ground game, and Don Jr., Ivanka, and Lara traveled around the country, drawing large crowds and increasing our campaign presence in all the swing states.

As we entered the last two months, I learned that our ad teams were not getting timely internal feedback on their video scripts. When campaign political consultant Larry Weitzner explained the problem to me, I told him to skip the approval process and just spend the money making the ads; I would show them to Trump and get his approval. I called Roger Ailes, who had recently resigned from Fox News, and asked if he would oversee Weitzner and edit our ad scripts. He agreed, and Weitzner worked closely with him to make some of our most effective ads in the final stretch. Trump was mostly staying on message, crowds continued to swell at rallies in swing states, and we were raising tens of millions of dollars from small individual donors online—a solid signal that our message was connecting. A few of our internal polls even had Trump pulling ahead. We had survived many controversies that would have sunk any traditional politician. The biggest controversy, however, was yet to come.

On Friday, October 7, as Trump was preparing for the second debate with Hillary, Hope Hicks received an inquiry from the *Washington Post*. They'd found a video of Trump having a vulgar conversation with Billy Bush during his time on *Access Hollywood*. I stayed late at Trump Tower that evening to help Trump prepare an apology, which he recorded and released as a video message that night. It was the first time since Ivanka and I were married that I broke from observing the Sabbath. I regretted my father-in-law's words, but as I had learned from my own family, forgiveness means not defining people based solely on their past transgressions.

The next day, Republican National Committee chairman Reince Priebus came up from Washington, DC. "You have two choices: withdraw now or lose in the worst landslide in the history of presidential elections," he told Trump. The rest of us looked at each other in bewilderment. Anyone who knew Trump knew there was zero chance he was going to withdraw. Meanwhile, we noticed that hundreds of people had gathered in front of Trump Tower to show their support. Trump insisted on going out to thank them. Secret Service rushed into action, and ten minutes later, Trump went down and spoke off-the-cuff. The visual of Trump surrounded by adoring fans on Fifth Avenue was just the image we needed to hold off the calls for

him to bow out and get to the debate the next day. Trump went on to deliver an amazing performance under fire. We were back in the game.

Election Day was approaching, and the campaign was entering its final push. I asked our political directors in the swing states how much money they needed to win. The total amount they quoted exceeded \$25 million. When I showed the numbers to Bill Stepien, he took one look at them and said, “Only \$1.25 million of this will make a difference. The state directors are padding their requested budgets, so if they lose, they can tell their future clients they would have won if they were given enough money.” I went with Bill’s recommendation, knowing that if we overspent and still lost the election, Kellyanne Conway and Steve Bannon would be long gone, and I would have to be the one to ask Trump to write another check. I wasn’t going to put myself, or him, in that position unless I was convinced that every extra dollar would push us closer to victory.

Trump was like a gladiator in the arena, delivering speech after speech in the closing days. Knowing that his previous undisciplined tweets and off the cuff comments had hurt his chances with some voters—and wanting to win badly—he focused on keeping his message tight. He joked at a rally in Pensacola, Florida, with thousands of fans, “We’ve gotta be nice and cool . . . no side-tracks, Donald, nice and easy, nice and easy.”

During the final night on the campaign trail, in front of a packed arena in New Hampshire, Trump thanked his family. “I’ve been reading about all these surrogates going all over for Hillary Clinton, but I had my family. I had the best surrogates of all.”

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On the morning of November 8—Election Day—I was working in my office at 666 Fifth Avenue. I had just traversed the country and watched Trump perform at 10 rallies in the final 48 hours. I received a message from Savannah Guthrie, host of NBC’s *Today Show*. I had not met her—and I rarely talked to reporters—but I was curious what the media was thinking about the election, so I returned the call. After hearing that her colleagues thought Trump was going to lose in a landslide, I predicted with cautious optimism that he was going to win. I had studied our data. In 2012, Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney had failed to turn out enough voters in smaller, rural counties across America. Trump was significantly outperforming Romney in these areas, and he was motivating people who didn’t typically vote. I also knew that the election could easily

swing the other way if Hillary even slightly outperformed him in key suburbs. After months of nonstop action, it was unsettling to wait for results with nothing more to do.

At five o'clock, shortly before the first polls closed, deputy campaign manager Dave Bossie called me with exit polling data. He warned me that it looked like a nightmare. I had promised Trump that I would update him, so I nervously called up to his apartment. "The exit polls aren't great," I told him before I walked him through the numbers. "They show us behind, but Stepien thinks their methodology is flawed, and our voters are working Americans, so they will likely be heading to the polls late. Let's see what happens." I will never forget his response: "We left it all on the field. I worked my butt off, and there is nothing more we could have done. I am proud of what I've done. I am proud of the team. I am proud of you. Win or lose, let's have some fun tonight as a family." I was blown away. He couldn't have been calmer or more at peace.

As the night progressed, things started to look more positive: just after ten thirty, the Associated Press called Ohio for Trump. Parscale came over to me and whispered in my ear, "Our data science team says the optimistic models are playing out as we expected based on the actual turnout data. It's a rust-belt Brexit. We are going to win." They called Florida roughly fifteen minutes later, when the massive vote margin in the pan-handle dropped. Preliminary results from Pennsylvania were in line with our optimistic data-modeling scenario. Phone calls and texts from well-wishers began pouring in. I asked Stephen Miller if we had a victory speech. The answer was yes, but it was a very rough draft that spent more time gloating than bringing the country together. At 11:00 p.m., Trump reviewed the speech. After seeing a television clip of despondent Hillary supporters at the Javits Center, he knew it wasn't the right tone. He wanted to be gracious.

While we waited for the results to trickle in, Ivanka, Stephen, and I huddled in the dining room of Trump's apartment to rewrite the speech as Trump dictated what he wanted to say. As we wrote, we looked out at the Peninsula Hotel to the south, where the Clinton campaign had reserved the rooftop bar for a victory party to taunt our group in Trump Tower. The press was holding back on actually calling the race, so we went over to the New York Hilton in midtown around 2:00 a.m.

Trump hadn't wanted to spend millions of dollars on an election-night party like 2012 presidential candidate Mitt Romney had done. In fact, he had

told me that he didn't want to spend a single dollar on a party. He suggested that if he won, he'd just send out a tweet, and supporters would spontaneously gather. "If we lose, I'm going right to my beautiful 757 plane and heading to Scotland to play golf for a few months," he joked. When I insisted that we needed to have some venue, he told me to get the cheapest ballroom I could find, and that's what we did. At two thirty in the morning, as we were discussing what to do next, Kellyanne Conway got a call and brought Trump the phone. Hillary spoke to him for less than one minute. She offered her congratulations on a hard-fought campaign and conceded. President-elect Donald Trump walked out onstage before an elated audience and delivered a fifteen-minute victory speech. Trump became the first true outsider to be elected to the presidency. His victory changed the course of history.

Before the night was over, I rang Luis Videgaray, who seemed surprised to hear from me on such a historic night. "You bet correctly," I said. "I want to thank you. Now we have a chance to fix the US-Mexico relationship."

Intellectually, I always believed Trump could win. But emotionally, I never let myself think about what would happen if he did. As messages started to flood my in-box from new and old friends all over the world, I began to realize that Ivanka and I had a major life decision to make. The hard part was about to begin.

## “I’ll Never Get Used to This”

As a New Yorker, I was used to sitting in traffic, not causing it. Yet thirty hours after Trump’s victory, I found myself in a Secret Service motorcade rolling through the streets of Manhattan toward LaGuardia Airport, flanked by a counterassault team with semiautomatic rifles and night-vision goggles. Through the bulletproof windows of the armored Chevy Suburban, I watched the blocks pass by as a phalanx of NYPD officers held back the cross traffic and pedestrians. Even FDR Drive was closed off to Manhattan traffic. For the first time, I began to appreciate how much my life was going to change. I asked Trump if he thought he’d ever get used to it.

“I grew up as a kid from Queens,” he said. “I’ll never get used to this. This will always be cool to me.”

As we caravanned onto the tarmac at LaGuardia Airport, Port Authority fire trucks blasted their water cannons fifty feet into the sky, forming an arch over Trump’s 757 aircraft, which he had parked there for decades. The Port Authority officers loved Trump. He always greeted and thanked them when he arrived at the airport. Their salute that day was the ultimate sign of respect.

We were on our way to see President Obama, who had invited Trump and Melania to visit the White House. As we drove up the long circle drive that forms a ring around the South Lawn of the White House, where the president’s Marine One helicopter lands, we were greeted by two Marines in formal dress, standing at attention. President Obama met us outside and graciously ushered us into the Diplomatic Reception Room, the elegant oval room often used to greet foreign leaders during state visits. Dan Scavino was filming Trump and Melania’s entrance, but a White House protocol official told him to turn off the camera as First Lady Michelle Obama greeted Melania. As the two went upstairs to the Executive Residence for tea, President Obama led Trump and the rest of us across the famous colonnade that connects the residence to the West Wing. I had seen the passageway on television, but this was the first time I’d walked along the storied corridor past the Rose Garden, and I tried to take it all in during the forty-five-second walk.



As someone who always paid attention to real estate, I was shocked by the limited square footage of the West Wing. Desks lined the perimeter of cramped, windowless rooms where administrative assistants were stacked on top of each other. Senior staff offices were scattered throughout the three-story structure. This was the exact opposite of the open workspaces that I had found conducive to collaboration in my companies. It was beautiful, but it didn't seem designed for running the free world in the modern era. As soon as we stepped into the Oval Office, however, I understood why the place enamored people. It was breathtaking. The eighteen-foot ceiling decorated by an oversize plaster presidential seal; stunning views of the Rose Garden and South Lawn with the Washington Monument towering in the distance; the custom oval rug covering the hundred-foot circumference of the oak and walnut floor; the ornate carvings of the timbers salvaged from the British vessel HMS *Resolute* to make the iconic desk. The Oval Office is the greatest home court advantage in the world. I would later watch heads of state, business titans, and powerful lawmakers become so awestruck by the grandeur of the room that they stumbled over their words, trying to deliver their carefully prepared remarks during their precious few minutes with the president of the United States.

Obama and Trump met privately for about an hour and a half. Afterward, Trump described Obama as a candid politician who was cordial—warm even. He recalled that Obama kicked off their meeting with a backhanded compliment: “I’ve been watching your speeches for the past years, and I must say you are an amazing politician. On so many issues, I still can’t figure out where you stand. Are you for guns, are you against guns? Are you pro-life? Are you pro-choice? You have this amazing ability to be on every side of an issue.” Obama warned Trump not to hire General Michael Flynn as national security adviser and said that he believed North Korea was America’s greatest threat.

After their meeting, Obama motioned to an aide to bring in the press. Hope Hicks, Dan Scavino, and I were invited to stand in the back of the room. The serenity of the Oval Office was shattered as reporters rushed in and began yelling one question after another as cameras clicked twenty times per second. It was unlike anything I had experienced, even on the campaign. Just as quickly as the stampede had begun, it was over, and Obama offered Trump a piece of advice: If you don’t answer their questions,

they will stop asking. It was a good suggestion, but I couldn't imagine my father-in-law ever adopting it.

On our way out to the motorcade, as we passed through the colonnade again, Obama turned back toward me and asked, "Have you and Ivanka decided if you are coming to Washington?" I said that we had not. "You definitely should," he encouraged. "You could do a lot of good here."

On the trip back to New York City, Melania mentioned that the White House living quarters were dated and were going to need work before they moved in. Trump turned to her and said, "Honey, don't do too much. It's the White House—it's perfect. If it was good enough for Honest Abe Lincoln, it's good enough for us."

Trump was particularly reflective. He felt the gravity of the responsibility entrusted to him. He genuinely wanted to help the country unite. He asked Ivanka to call Chelsea Clinton, who we knew socially, to convey that Trump had no intention of looking backward and hoped to have a cordial relationship with Hillary to unite the country. He even told Ivanka to invite Hillary and Bill for dinner in the coming weeks. Ivanka did call Chelsea, but days later Hillary backed Jill Stein's challenge to the election, and Trump ended his outreach.

While Trump was intent on building bridges, the Clinton campaign was busy hatching plans to cripple the Trump presidency before it started. As Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes reported in *Shattered*, less than twenty-four hours after their loss, at the Clinton headquarters, campaign heavyweights John Podesta and Robby Mook came up with the idea of blaming Hillary's loss on Russian interference.<sup>2</sup> When news reports started percolating, I thought the claims were absurd and would never be taken seriously. I had no idea that the fabricated story would loom over Trump's administration for years.

In the days immediately following Trump's improbable victory, he seemed optimistic about resetting his relationship with the media. He asked Hope to invite the editorial staff of Condé Nast—the publisher of the *New Yorker*, *Vanity Fair*, *GQ*, and *Vogue*—to his office for a meeting and worked hard to charm them. He did the same with the *New York Times*.

Afterward, the *New York Times* published one of the most unfair stories in its history. The heads of Obama's intelligence agencies—CIA director John Brennan, director of national intelligence James Clapper, and FBI director Jim Comey—had come to Trump Tower to give the president-elect

his first intelligence briefing. As the meeting wrapped up, Comey pulled Trump aside and told him about the existence of the notorious Christopher Steele dossier, a salacious and patently false file that we later learned had been funded by the DNC. Many journalists had seen it, but they couldn't confirm the unfounded rumors. The FBI knew it was unverified, but Comey decided to brief Trump on the dossier. The briefing itself was newsworthy, so the *New York Times* could now justify reporting about it.

The rest of the press obsessed over the dossier, the Clinton campaign amplified it, television talking heads said it was the tip of the iceberg, and a narrative about collusion between the Trump campaign and Russia took root. Watching this unfold, I mostly dismissed the claims because I knew they were baseless. A credible media would realize that, I thought.

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Setting up a new administration is a monumental undertaking. Back in May of 2016, Trump appointed Chris Christie to head the transition. I was in the meeting.

“What should we do about Chris?” Trump started, looking in the governor's direction. Christie explained that he really wanted to lead the transition and could do a good job with it. “Well, what about the Charlie issue?” Trump asked, referring to my father's complicated relationship with Christie.

“I spoke to my father this morning after your request,” I said. “And he holds no grudge and thinks you should do whatever you think is best for you and the country.”

“So, we are good then?” Trump asked.

“My father is good,” I responded. “Between Chris and me, if we're going to work together, I should express that I felt the way you handled my father's case was overzealous, and it brought serious hurt to me and my family.”

Christie explained that he had just been doing his job, that my dad had committed a crime, and that it wasn't personal.

“Well, respectfully, I have a different point of view on that,” I said. “If it wasn't personal for you, then how come you challenged my father's release date after he had served his sentence? I hope you can understand how brutal it is for a family to have a loved one in prison. The only solace is having a date when your nightmare will end. When the prosecutor comes back and challenges the release date, and it gets delayed indefinitely, that's

devastating to a family. So don't tell me it wasn't personal, because if it wasn't personal, you would have let him come home on time."

"You know, the crime your father committed was terrible," Christie started to say.

Then Trump interjected: "Chris, it was a family dispute."

"Look, at the end of the day, it doesn't matter," I said. "Donald wants you to do a job. You have my word: I've put that in the past, and I'll do everything I can to support you in that effort. I'm here to help. This is about an opportunity to help the country. This is about service. And we can take the personal situation that has happened and put it aside, because that's not relevant right now to what we're doing."

"Okay, let's do that," Christie agreed.

Six months later, a few days before the election, Steve Bannon called me in a panic. "Christie is trying to get on the plane," Bannon said. "We've got to keep him off. He wants to talk Donald into letting him be chief of staff. We can't let that happen—the transition effort is a train wreck. He's angling to slot his closest political cronies—including anti Trump establishment types—into the most important appointments, regardless of their qualifications." Both Bannon and Steven Mnuchin reviewed Christie's transition materials and believed they failed to meet proper vetting, research, and professional standards for hiring key personnel. They told Trump and me that Christie was unprepared for the task. "Plus," Bannon added, "Chris is politically radioactive. He has an eighteen percent approval rating and is enmeshed in the Bridgegate scandal. Trump shouldn't have to carry his baggage."

Trump didn't want his incoming administration tainted by the legal mess in New Jersey. "I want a nice, clean Mike Pence administration—not a corrupt New Jersey administration," he told us.

In fairness to Christie, during the summer months, Trump had made clear that he did not want to focus on the transition before the election. At one point, when I told Trump that I had attended a three-hour transition meeting, and assured him that Christie and I were working well together, my father-in-law gave clear instructions: "Don't spend another minute on the transition. Romney spent all this time on the transition, with his binders of women, and he lost the election. Spend all your time on the campaign, and if we win, we will figure it out." So Christie had been working for months without much support from the campaign leadership.

To get the transition on track, I quietly reached out to Chris Liddell, a former chief financial officer for both Microsoft and General Motors who had been executive director of the Romney Readiness Project. Liddell volunteered to help immediately. He arrived less than twenty-four hours later, the day before Thanksgiving, and worked through the holiday. Liddell became a trusted friend and confidant and was one of the few people who served in the White House for all four years of the presidency.

As we raced to set up the administration, business executives, politicians, and military brass came to Trump Tower and Bedminster to interview for cabinet positions. Romney called me and pitched himself for secretary of state, pledging to be loyal to Trump. While Trump flirted with the idea, he decided not to take the risk of hiring Romney, who had criticized him throughout the campaign. The revolving door of Trump Tower was buzzing with high-profile candidates coming in and out constantly. When Trump interviewed James Mattis for defense secretary, he asked the four-star Marine general about his thoughts on torture.

“I don’t believe in it,” Mattis said with conviction.

“What do you mean?” asked Trump.

“I can get these guys to talk with a cup of coffee and a cigarette better than I can by waterboarding.”

We were all impressed. Given the serious threats from Iran and ISIS, Trump wanted a general who knew the situation on the ground, was already up to speed, and could quickly build morale with the troops. Mattis seemed like a natural fit. He had a storied military career and a reputation for being beloved by frontline service members. While his nickname in the military was “Chaos,” Trump thought “Mad Dog” was better and started using it. Before the interview was over, Trump offered Mattis the job.

During the campaign, Trump had asked me to be the point of contact for the representatives of foreign countries who occasionally contacted us. I agreed, assuming it would be a minor responsibility among my growing list of duties, but it became far more intense during the transition as we began receiving hundreds of meeting requests from dignitaries. Foreign governments hadn’t planned on a Trump presidency and were scrambling to establish contact with a bunch of Washington outsiders.

Months earlier, I had met Henry Kissinger, the historic former secretary of state and national security adviser under presidents Richard Nixon and Gerald Ford. The advice he had given me then rang even truer now: “Trump

is talking about a lot of critical issues that have been ignored, which is making foreign leaders nervous. Don't reassure them. Right now, they're all doing reassessments. They are taking inventory of their relationship with America and determining what they have that they don't want to lose and what they are willing to give up to keep it. That puts the United States in a better negotiating position if you win." He further warned me to "be careful who you interact with in every country. A relationship with you is valuable currency in a capital city. Select carefully whom you want to give that power to."

In one of Trump's many congratulatory calls with foreign leaders, he spoke with Prime Minister Shinzō Abe of Japan. Abe told Trump that he would love to meet. Honored, Trump invited him to visit Trump Tower. Soon after, I received a call from Obama's chief of staff, Denis McDonough, who explained that typically a president-elect declines meetings with foreign leaders out of deference to the current commander in chief. "One president at a time," he told me. I relayed the message to Trump. "Forget protocols," he said. "It's not a big deal. It's just a meeting. If the leader of Japan wants to travel halfway across the world to see me, I am happy to meet with him."

Trump also took a call with Tsai Ing-wen, the president of Taiwan. The call broke a diplomatic norm and the Chinese interpreted it as a challenge to their One China policy, which claimed that Taiwan was a Chinese province rather than an independent nation. Outraged, the Chinese sent over one of their highest-ranking diplomats to meet with our team: Yang Jiechi, the director of the Central Foreign Affairs Commission. To avoid the crowds and barrage of cameras outside Trump Tower, the national security transition team advised that the Chinese should come to my office at 666 Fifth Avenue. Before the Chinese arrived, Peter Navarro, an eccentric former professor whom I hired as the campaign's trade adviser after reading his book *Death by China*, insisted that I refrain from greeting them at their car, which I had offered to do as a courtesy.<sup>8</sup> Navarro was adamant that such a gesture would be interpreted by the Chinese as weakness. When they arrived, Yang read from a script, while a second Chinese official looked intently at me to gauge my reaction. A third Chinese official sat nearby, taking notes. When Yang got to the talking point on Taiwan, he looked up sternly and drew a hard line: "The territorial integrity of China is nonnegotiable." After the meeting, Navarro demanded that the Secret Service sweep the office for bugs.

Hess Corporation chief executive John Hess and Blackstone Group founder Steve Schwarzman asked me to meet with several high-ranking Saudi officials, who were eager to strengthen their relationship with the United States after the disaster in the Middle East with the previous administration. When Flynn, Bannon, and I met in New York with a small Saudi delegation, led by Dr. Fahad bin Abdullah Toonsi, they explained that they had a fraught dynamic with Obama over his positions on a number of challenges in the region—including Syria, ISIS, Iran, and Yemen—and were anxious to begin a new and hopefully more productive relationship with our administration. Bannon and I were tough. We told the Saudis that they needed to stop funding terror, improve their record on women’s rights, pay for their own military, and begin taking steps toward working with Israel. We weren’t interested in building the relationship if they weren’t committed to making real progress on these goals. Fahad assured us that change was underway and that we would be very surprised by the reforms that they planned to make. The kingdom had a new young leader, Mohammed bin Salman, colloquially known as MBS, who wanted to transform Saudi Arabia. They would come back with a plan to show how we could make progress together.

As I interacted with dozens of foreign officials, from the United Kingdom’s newly appointed foreign minister Boris Johnson to the Norwegian foreign minister Børge Brende to the Russian ambassador, I learned diplomacy on the fly. There was no rulebook for success or protocol officer guiding our interactions. When I developed new relationships in business, I would spend time listening and learning before showing my cards, and I took a similar approach here. After Trump tapped Exxon oil executive Rex Tillerson for secretary of state, I handed off most of the files and turned my attention to other pressing domestic issues, which was a relief.

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On a cold, quiet afternoon in December, Ivanka and I were walking with our kids in Bedminster and taking time to think about what we were going to do next. Before election night, we hadn’t let ourselves focus on what a victory would mean for us. But as we thought about it, we realized that we couldn’t imagine looking back one day, knowing that we had walked away from an opportunity to help solve some of the greatest challenges facing our nation and the world. Through the campaign, we had seen

firsthand how the president-elect's message resonated with millions of forgotten men and women. Their stories led the two of us—longtime Manhattanites with limited exposure to national politics—to believe in the core principles Trump was fighting for. Hundreds of Republican power players, who had done nothing to help him on the campaign and in many cases actively opposed and undermined him, were vying for top positions. We believed that he needed people like us—family members who understood him and were committed to helping him succeed, without any hidden agenda. We knew that this opportunity to serve would come at a steep cost. It would mean giving up our thriving businesses, leaving our lives in New York, and coming to Washington amid claims of nepotism.

As we mulled it over, I received a call from Risa Heller, who handled public relations for our companies. “The *New York Times* just asked me for comment. They have been told that you are moving to DC and leading the Middle East peace effort.”

“That’s bullshit,” I replied. “We haven’t made a decision yet. Who’s their source?”

“Their source is your father-in-law,” Risa said.

Trump’s announcement of my appointment to the *New York Times* was his way of offering me the job. Ivanka and I decided together to take this once-in-a-lifetime chance to serve the country we love. When we told Trump that we were coming to Washington, he was happy, but warned us that we had to be very careful: “You’re too young, too skinny, too rich, and too good looking. They’ll be gunning for you.”

As I prepared to exit Kushner Companies, I was glad that I had recruited my younger sister Nikki to come join the family business the year before. At the time, I never imagined that I would be leaving to enter government service, but now Nikki, who had spent ten years as an executive at Ralph Lauren, would be able to assume some of my responsibilities and help my father and longtime partner Laurent Morali lead the company. I knew that our family business would inevitably come under scrutiny because of my government service, but fortunately we ran an extremely professional and aboveboard business and I was confident the company would sail through the scrutiny. Because of my father’s situation, we had learned that money was not the most important thing. My family was prepared to prioritize my government service over the company’s profit. For that, and for their constant love and support, I will always be deeply grateful.



A few days after Ivanka and I had made the decision to move to Washington, I took our daughter Arabella, who was five at the time, on a dinner date. Just as our pizza arrived, my phone rang. It was Israeli ambassador Ron Dermer, right-hand man of Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu. Born and raised in Miami Beach, Florida, Dermer studied at both Wharton and Oxford before renouncing his American citizenship and diving into Israeli politics. He was appointed as Israeli ambassador to the United States in 2013, and we maintained regular contact throughout the campaign.

I had a rule not to let work interrupt our father-daughter time, but I took the call. Dermer told me that twenty blocks south, at the United Nations headquarters, several countries, led by Egypt, were preparing to introduce a resolution to denounce Israeli jurisdictional claims in the West Bank as having “no legal validity” and as being “a flagrant violation of international law.” Dermer was hearing that the Obama administration intended to abstain. If the United States abstained, it would be an unprecedented abandonment of Israel. It would also threaten our future efforts to forge peace by tilting negotiations toward the Palestinians and discouraging them from negotiating directly with the Israelis.

As we ordered ice cream, my phone rang again. It was Mike Pence. I looked helplessly at Arabella as it began to dawn on me that working in government would be far more time-sensitive and consequential than my old job. Pence had heard similar rumors about the resolution. After hanging up, I dialed Denis McDonough, who had given me his number when we visited the White House and told me to reach out if I ever needed anything. He said that he had no knowledge of the resolution, but would keep me updated. That was the last I heard from him.

Unsure what the Obama administration would do, I thought it was important for Trump to make clear that he opposed the resolution. Though it is rare for a president-elect to comment on a policy of an outgoing president, Trump agreed that it was worth breaking protocol for an issue this important. Working with David Friedman and Jason Greenblatt, our campaign’s top liaisons to the pro-Israel and Jewish community, we drafted a statement, which Trump modified and pushed out on Twitter and Facebook: “Peace between the Israelis and Palestinians will only come through direct negotiations between the parties and not through the imposition of terms by the United Nations. This puts Israel in a very poor negotiating position and is extremely unfair to all Israelis.”

The next day, President Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt called to let us know that his team had not been working under his direction and that Egypt was going to rescind the resolution. For a moment, it looked like we had succeeded and were already making an impact.

Two days later, Malaysia, New Zealand, Senegal, and Venezuela resubmitted the resolution. Flynn, Bannon, and I stayed up late into the night calling dozens of ambassadors, pressing them to oppose or abstain from voting on the resolution. We were rookies, we didn't know the key players in the countries on the UN Security Council, but we weren't going to let the resolution pass without doing everything we could to stop it. On many of these calls, we were introducing ourselves for the first time. At one point, I asked Dermer if he had any influential contacts in Russia whom Flynn could call—other than the Russian ambassador. After our first meeting with the Russian ambassador during the transition, both Flynn and I had determined that he didn't have any sway in Moscow. Dermer later reminded me of this conversation as proof that we had not colluded with Russia.

On December 23, UN Security Council Resolution 2334 passed 14 to 0. In a move that many suspected was punishment for Bibi denouncing the Iran deal in a 2015 address to Congress, the Obama administration abstained. Despite our efforts, we had not flipped a single vote. After forty-eight hours of working the phones, I was exhausted and deflated by the result. I called Bannon to commiserate on our first failure at the United Nations. Without missing a beat, Bannon said, "Welcome to the NFL, partner."

## Learning on the Job

Ivanka and I stood on the inaugural platform in the cold drizzle as Donald J. Trump took the oath of office and became the forty-fifth president of the United States. As we looked out at a sea of people who had come to witness the historic moment, newly sworn-in President Trump delivered a message that rang across America and around the world: “January twentieth, 2017, will be remembered as the day the people became the rulers of this nation again. The forgotten men and women of our country will be forgotten no longer.”

Trump invited us to stay the night in the Lincoln Bedroom, a stately room located on the second floor of the White House where President Abraham Lincoln had hosted his legendary cabinet meetings. Before we left for the balls, we lit Shabbat candelabras and prayed. A member of the White House residence staff told us that it was the first time Shabbat candles had been lit in the private residence. At one ball, Trump—who’s not known to be a dancer—asked the vice president and Second Lady, as well as Ivanka and me and her siblings, to follow shortly behind him and Melania, so that they didn’t have to dance alone for a full three-minute song.

The next day, Ivanka and I walked through the West Wing with Trump as he went from room to room, selecting artwork to hang in the Oval Office and in his private study. A team of White House workers followed him around, moving furniture and paintings to the places he directed. For the Oval Office, he requested a portrait of Andrew Jackson, America’s first outsider president. At the end, Trump thanked the team and its supervisor, a gentleman named David Jagdahne, and asked if he could tip the guys a couple hundred dollars because they did an amazing job. David laughed and told him they were federal employees and it was their greatest pleasure to work for the president of the United States. As we walked out, David asked me, “Is he always like this? He is treating us all like equals. I have spent more time with him in his first twenty-four hours than I did with President Obama in eight years.”

My office was located on the first floor of the West Wing, next door to Bannon’s and two down from Chief of Staff Reince Priebus. Unlike my New York office, a steel-and-glass skyscraper with modern furniture, this office

was cramped, narrow, and dark, illuminated by light falling through a single ground-floor window that looked out on a few shrubs. Walking in my first day, I discovered an old desk, a few built-in shelves, and a worn-out couch with nylon upholstery. The only modern element was the two phones—a black one for general use and a yellow one for secure communications only. I hadn't yet gotten around to changing anything, other than putting a picture of my grandparents on my desk, hanging a mezuzah from my rabbi on the doorpost, and placing an HP-12C calculator that Marc Holliday had given me in my drawer. Despite the office's modest size, it had one highly coveted feature: it was the closest to the Oval Office. I was told that its former occupants had included George Stephanopoulos and John Podesta.

As Ivanka and I left the White House to take the kids to our new home for the first time, two gentlemen introduced themselves and told me that they would be my Secret Service agents. Up to that point, I did not know that I would have a Secret Service detail, but this was just one of the many changes in our life. My detail assigned me the Secret Service code name "mechanic," because they had observed me quietly and methodically fixing problems behind the scenes during the presidential campaign. We quickly came to see our Secret Service detail as an extension of the family. The kids would frequently run out the front door, where the agents faithfully stood guard, and throw the football or color the sidewalk with chalk as they talked to the agents. Years later, in January of 2021, the press wrongly reported that we would not allow the Secret Service to use a bathroom in our home. This was one of many false reports. When I offered to set up a way for the agents to access our home and use the restroom, the leader of our detail declined. They were looking for a larger space that could double as a command post. We set up a pantry inside our home for the agents, and for the next four years we kept it stocked with snacks, coffee, and other drinks. Whenever we ordered meal deliveries, we ordered extra for them, and on Sundays our kids loved baking cookies and sharing them with the agents.

During the first few days on the job, every hour felt like a race. The policy team rushed to draft dozens of executive orders so that the president could follow through on his campaign promises. The press team cycled through an onslaught of inquiries on everything from the inauguration crowd size to turf wars within the West Wing. I tried to navigate the unfamiliar realm of government, which seemed to be filled with endless processes and obstacles designed to prevent anything from getting done. Foremost on my

list of priorities was finding a workable solution to the North American Free Trade Agreement, or NAFTA, negotiated by George H. W. Bush and signed by Bill Clinton in the 1990s. In the decades since, NAFTA had sent tens of thousands of US manufacturing jobs to Mexico, shutting down steel mills and factories in Midwest cities and towns, where generations of workers had made lifelong careers in good-paying jobs, earning a stable living for their families.

Trump's promise to tear up NAFTA animated the campaign and broke from Republican free-trade orthodoxy, reflecting his long-held belief that the deal hurt American workers. When their factories closed, some found new work, but many did not, and drug use and crime now plagued these once-thriving working-class communities. While Trump had agreed to let me try to renegotiate the agreement, I knew his patience was somewhere between thin and nonexistent. At any moment, he could act on his desire to terminate the \$1.3 trillion deal completely, which would create tremendous uncertainty for American businesses that traded with Canada and Mexico—our two largest export markets, covering about 40 percent of America's annual exports. This uncertainty would give us a weaker hand to play in our looming trade negotiations with China.

To hammer out the details of a new deal, I invited Mexico's freshly minted secretary of foreign affairs, Luis Videgaray Caso, to Washington. Following our election-night call, President Peña Nieto had asked Luis to return to government as Mexico's top diplomat and primary interlocutor with Washington. He was reluctant at first, having just settled into a calmer lifestyle with his family, but he accepted because he knew our established trust uniquely positioned him to help Mexico navigate the complicated road ahead.

Luis came to my office early on the morning of January 26. As we strategized, Bannon heard that a senior diplomat was with me, so he joined as well. The three of us discussed the trade talks that we planned to announce in the next few weeks at a White House event with President Peña Nieto and Canadian prime minister Justin Trudeau. To finalize our plans, we called Trudeau's chief of staff, Katie Telford, a talented operator whom I had met during the transition.

“Are the meetings still on?” Telford asked.

“What do you mean?” I said.

“Didn't you see his tweets this morning?”

We had missed the president's tweets because Luis and I had placed our cell phones in a secure, soundproof box, which was White House protocol when discussing sensitive national security matters. Our phones were surprisingly susceptible to foreign infiltration: hackers could turn on our microphones and cameras to record conversations—even when the phones were powered off. I grabbed my phone to pull up the tweets: “The U.S. has a 60-billion-dollar trade deficit with Mexico. It has been a one-sided deal from the beginning of NAFTA with massive numbers . . . of jobs and companies lost. If Mexico is unwilling to pay for the badly needed wall, then it would be better to cancel the upcoming meeting.”

I hung up, left Luis and Bannon in my office, and headed to the Executive Residence. As I raced along the same colonnade we had crossed with President Obama in November, I thought about all the White House aides before me who must have run down this walkway when the cameras were gone, as I was doing now. Until that moment, I had always thought of the colonnade as a majestic and dignified walkway. But I started to wonder if, for people who worked inside the White House, it was actually a panic corridor.

Because Melania had not yet moved to Washington, I walked straight into Trump's bedroom, where he was reading documents with the news blaring on the television. The previous day, he had signed an executive order for the secretary of Homeland Security to direct all available resources toward constructing the border wall. In the hours following the signing, anonymous sources within the Mexican government had told the *New York Times* that President Peña Nieto was considering canceling his impending visit to the White House. Seeing these reports, Trump, who doesn't like it when people cancel on him, had decided to go on offense.

I confronted him about the tweet: “Luis is in my office right now. He assures me they are willing to make some major changes, and we have a plan to announce the NAFTA renegotiations during Peña Nieto's visit. This could derail the whole thing.”

Trump skeptically asked if I thought we could actually make a deal with Mexico, and I urged him at least to let me try. Realizing that he might have fired off his tweet prematurely, he responded half jokingly, “I can't make this too easy for you.”

I had put Trump in a difficult situation. Mindful of the numerous priorities he was juggling, I had not yet updated him on the positive

indications we had received from the Mexicans and Canadians. I couldn't expect him to know what I didn't tell him. I was used to running my own business, but I was no longer the boss. I was a staffer, and my approach needed to change. From then on, I provided more frequent updates. In this case, however, it may not have made a difference. A natural negotiator, Trump was establishing his opening posture with Mexico and all foreign nations. Projecting weakness and predictability now would put him at a strategic disadvantage. As I stepped out of the president's bedroom, I wondered why I was taking on this impossible problem. Holding NAFTA together until we could negotiate a better deal cut against the instincts of a president who was inclined to tear it up and deal with the fallout.

Meanwhile, back in my office, Luis sat awkwardly with Bannon, who advised him to embrace the conflict and stand up to Trump. "It will make you a hero," he said. "Your poll numbers will go up immediately." Luis remained silent. When he later told me about the conversation, it struck me as odd. Bannon had previously agreed that renegotiating a deal could bring back jobs and benefit American workers. I couldn't figure out why he was now trying to blow it up.

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On March 2, Trump traveled to Newport News, Virginia, to commission the USS *Gerald R. Ford*, a spectacular new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier that was about two years late and \$2.8 billion over budget. Trump was in a great mood. He was clearly having fun as he toured the massive ship. It had a familiar feel to him, like visiting one of his hotel construction sites. As he inspected the ship's new electronic catapult system, he told the crew he thought it was too expensive and complex. The old steam-powered system had worked perfectly fine for decades. A similar scene played out when he inspected the new magnetic elevators, which, he noted, would malfunction if they got wet.

As Trump made his way back to Washington, Attorney General Jeff Sessions announced that he had recused himself from any investigation into accusations that the campaign had colluded with Russia. The recusal shocked the president, who had told the press during his tour of the ship that he had "total confidence" in Sessions. Just as I had, Sessions had shaken hands with Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak during the cocktail reception at the Mayflower Hotel in 2016. It was an entirely innocuous interaction, one that Sessions would repeat scores of times with various ambassadors

throughout the campaign and transition. When news broke that he had failed to disclose this exchange in his clearance paperwork and during his Senate confirmation hearing, Democrats immediately called for his resignation, and the press drummed up the story to ridiculous proportions: “Why Would Jeff Sessions Hide His Talks with Sergey Kislyak?” questioned the *New Yorker*. “Sessions Discussed Trump Campaign-Related Matters with Russian Ambassador, U.S. Intelligence Intercepts Show,” read the *Washington Post*. Sessions’s recusal proved to Democrats that their baseless attacks would yield political rewards. His decision ultimately led to the appointment of a special counsel with virtually unlimited power and resources to investigate the phony claims of Russian collusion.

The next day Trump summoned Reince Priebus, Steve Bannon, and Don McGahn, his White House counsel, into the Oval Office and reamed them out. “Has Sessions come to his senses? If he doesn’t want to oversee the Department of Justice, then he should just resign,” Trump declared. He couldn’t understand why Sessions would recuse, or how the White House team had allowed the attorney general to do it. The collusion narrative was pure politics compounded by media hysteria, and Sessions surrendered to it. Neither he nor the Trump campaign had colluded with Russia. Half the time, we couldn’t even collude with Trump; his team often contradicted him in the press. The gap between the facts I knew to be true and the media’s reporting could not have been wider.

As Trump continued dressing down his leadership team, Marine One landed a few dozen yards away, at the center of the South Lawn. It was ready to take Trump to Florida for an event at a charter school, which Ivanka had arranged, before heading to Mar-a-Lago for the weekend. Like most members of the senior staff, Bannon and Priebus felt like they needed to be in the room with the president at all times, and they had made sure they were included on the flight manifest to Florida that afternoon. But Trump had different plans. “Why are you coming to Florida for the day? I don’t need you there. Stay here. There was no reason for Sessions to recuse himself, and this is going to unleash a disaster.” An adept student of American political history, Trump had watched previous special counsels dismantle past administrations. By nature of their appointment, special counsels seemed to think that their investigations needed to find a smoking gun to rationalize their existence, regardless of the merits of the case.



That evening, Priebus called and said that Maggie Haberman was writing a story about how Priebus and Bannon were in trouble with the president, who had kicked them off the trip to Mar-a-Lago. Someone had leaked to Haberman, a White House correspondent for the *New York Times* who had covered Trump for more than twenty years. Priebus wanted to tamp down the story and asked if I would tell her it wasn't true. Up to that point, I had never called Haberman. Priebus gave me her number, and I tried to head off the story, telling her that it wasn't a big deal. The president had asked Priebus and Bannon to stay back and work on time-sensitive issues at the White House.

Minutes after I spoke to Haberman, Bannon called. "How fucking dare you leak on me? If you leak out on me, I can leak out on you twenty-eight ways from Sunday."

I pushed back hard. "Steve, are you fucking kidding me? This wasn't a leak. I spoke to Maggie because Reince asked me to call to defend you guys and dispel the story. I've been with you in the trenches. When have you ever seen me talk to a reporter? I don't talk to the press. I've never leaked on anyone. I wouldn't know how to leak. Don't accuse me of anything."

A few days later, Bannon apologized. I accepted it and asked him never to do that again. "It's not the game I play," I told him. "I'm a foxhole guy. If I have a problem with people, I tell them, but I don't air grievances through the press. It doesn't help the team, and it doesn't help the president."

Bannon's behavior became more erratic, which confirmed the warnings that a few of my friends from New York had conveyed: he had been a destabilizing presence in his previous organizations, where he always seemed to leave with an explosion. There was an obvious uptick in negative stories about Ivanka and me, which portrayed Bannon as the savior against our supposedly liberal crusade. Shortly after one of these stories appeared, a reporter rang Hope Hicks, saying, "I'm not your friend, but I'm being your friend." The reporter revealed that the leaks were coming at the direction of Bannon.

On March 27, the *New York Times* reported about a routine and unremarkable meeting I had during the transition with a Russian banking executive named Sergey Gorkov. Democrats heralded it as evidence that I had colluded with the Russians and sought business-related favors from Gorkov. In reality, I met with Gorkov at the specific request of the Russian ambassador, who implied that Gorkov was a direct line to the Russian

leadership. We did not discuss business—it was simply a thirty-minute introductory meeting. I received an update on Russia’s foreign policy priorities and communicated Trump’s desire to form new relationships on shared objectives, such as reining in Iran and countering Islamic extremism. As a gift, Gorkov brought a bag of earth from Novogrudok, the town in Belarus where my grandparents had escaped. I turned it over to the transition office as a foreign gift. I never followed up or talked with Gorkov again. After being pressured by the media, Republican senator Richard Burr, chairman of the powerful Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, announced that he planned to question me about the meeting and any involvement the campaign might have had with Russia.

The same skills that made Bannon valuable as a fighter during the campaign made him toxic in the White House. Even though he was only with the campaign for the final eighty-eight days, he positioned himself as the keeper of the Trump flame. He wrote down all of the president’s campaign promises on a whiteboard—most of which Trump made months before Bannon joined the campaign—and he made sure to display the list to the endless parade of reporters who filed through his office. I, too, believed in most of Trump’s policies, but I realized that achieving them would often demand time, effort, and technical expertise. We were now playing with live ammunition, I explained to Bannon, and we needed to lay out the options and help the president execute them in a thoughtful and strategic way. I also believed that as staff, we should keep our heads low, get things done, take the blame for mistakes, and make sure the president received credit for any success.

Bannon’s approach was on full display when Trump signed an executive order on his seventh day in office, resulting in a public-relations mess. The order blocked travel from countries that failed to meet commonsense standards for preventing terrorists from traveling to the United States. The seven countries covered by the policy were Muslim-majority, but nothing changed with dozens of other Muslim countries around the world that had better vetting standards and controls in place. At a time when ISIS remained strong, and national security experts were concerned about domestic terrorist attacks, this policy made sense. Yet Bannon bulldozed it through the approval process, keeping it hidden from me and most of the senior staff until the president had already signed the document. The lack of planning caused confusion about how and when federal agencies

should implement the travel ban. It unleashed chaos at our airports and created an information vacuum about why Trump was taking this action. The Democrats framed the action as a “Muslim ban,” which it was not. But the facts got lost in the chaos that flowed from Bannon’s botched rollout.

Bannon tried to bolster his position by using me as a foil: the liberal New Yorker who was undermining Trump’s agenda and was riddled with business conflicts. He was also demonstrating the truth of a warning Ivanka had received early on from a former senior aide to Nancy Pelosi: “In Washington, if you don’t define yourself, your enemy will happily do it for you.” I should have pushed back from the beginning. Instead, I took a page from the Howard Rubenstein public relations playbook: refrain from engaging with the press to avoid drawing more unwanted attention. This let Bannon and others define me. But there’s no guarantee that the opposite strategy would have worked. We didn’t know the players in the press or how to speak to them, and Bannon was a black belt in the dark arts of media manipulation.

I was far from the only person Bannon turned against. During the transition, Bannon expressed frustration that Kellyanne Conway inserted herself in discussions and leaked to the press to constantly overstate her role. Bannon bet that he could engineer her exit in the first three months. He was convinced that she wouldn’t pass a White House drug test, and he didn’t hide his disappointment when she did.

It quickly became obvious that the White House was very different from my experience in the private sector. Bureaucracy, egos, and people’s obsession with holding on to power stifled collaboration and progress on policy goals. In one instance Gary Cohn, the former Goldman Sachs president appointed to lead the National Economic Council, pulled me aside.

“Bannon is leaking on me nonstop,” he said. “I’m not going to take this. I know how to fight dirty.”

In retrospect, I should have just told him to take it up with Bannon directly, but instead I pulled Bannon into the Cabinet Room. “Steve, you gotta stop leaking on Gary. We’re trying to build a team here.”

“Cohn’s the one leaking on me,” Bannon retorted. “Jared, right now, *you’re* the one undermining the president’s agenda,” he continued, his eyes intense and voice escalating into a yell. “And if you go against me, I will break you in half. Don’t fuck with me.” Bannon had declared war, and I was woefully unprepared.

From the beginning, the West Wing was fractured by competing camps. There were the Trump originals like Hope Hicks and Dan Scavino, who lacked government experience but had no political motivations and were entirely focused on seeing Trump succeed. There were the Trump ideologues like Peter Navarro and Stephen Miller, who believed deeply in his pro-American policies. There were the experienced executives like Gary Cohn and Dina Powell, who believed the White House should be run more professionally. And there were the RNC establishment types, who were skeptical of Trump but loyal to Chief of Staff Reince Priebus. It was an impossible situation for any chief of staff.

Compounding the problem, Priebus didn't have an existing relationship with Trump and deferred to Speaker of the House Paul Ryan on setting the White House legislative agenda. Ryan made health-care reform the Republicans' number one legislative priority. Since Obamacare's enactment in 2010, Republicans had voted to repeal the law more than sixty times. We quickly learned that they didn't have a real replacement plan because they had assumed that Trump would lose the election. They scrambled to draft one, and the result was a catastrophe.

One afternoon, just as Trump was preparing to leave the Oval Office for an event, Ryan called the president. "Where is your health-care plan?" Trump demanded. "We are getting killed for not releasing one."

"It's ready, and I'm trying to get it out, but your team is holding it up," Ryan responded.

Surprised, Trump looked around the room. "Who on my team is doing that?"

I raised my hand. Trump demanded to know why I was holding it up. I was blunt: "Two reasons. First, it doesn't do what you campaigned on—providing health insurance to more people, lowering prices, and preventing people from dying in the streets. Second, Paul hasn't shown us that he even has the votes to pass his bill."

Despite these concerning facts, Ryan released the plan, the American Health Care Act of 2017, which some studies say would have increased the number of uninsured people by twenty-three million. Fortunately, the bill died on its own.

## The World Is Watching

I climbed into a Black Hawk helicopter after landing in Baghdad. American service members placed belts of bullets around their necks and positioned their machine guns. “It’s a nice day out,” Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Joseph Dunford said. “Let’s fly with the doors open.”

As the helicopter lifted off and headed to an American military base, the hot desert air rushed through the cabin and the twin engines drowned out our voices. I looked down below and watched an unexpected scene unfold. Amid the charred buildings, turned-up asphalt, and other scars of war, we saw new signs of vibrancy. Makeshift storefronts, farmers markets, and carnivals were springing up in the war-torn city. As we flew, General Dunford pointed down at the roof of one of Saddam Hussein’s former palaces, where a bomb had exploded and left a gaping hole. To our left, I caught a glimpse of a V-22 Osprey. A soldier was standing on the back platform strapped into a cable, with his machine gun ready. I looked up at the Black Hawk’s rotors, which somehow seemed to freeze in the air. Three months ago, I was making real estate deals in New York, I thought. Now I’m flying over Saddam Hussein’s bombed-out palace in Iraq with the head of the Joint Chiefs. What the hell am I doing here?

It was Monday, April 3, 2017. I certainly hadn’t planned to travel to Iraq in the first few months of the administration, but a few weeks earlier, at an intimate dinner with the president and several of his top military leaders, General Dunford pulled me aside and invited me to join him on the trip. I had been listening intently to the spirited debate about how to approach the ongoing wars in the Middle East, and he suggested that the visit would give me a real sense of our force structure and capabilities in the region and a firsthand account that I could bring back to the president. My father taught me that executives can’t make business decisions from a glass tower; they need to be on the ground, getting dirt under their fingernails and interacting with and learning from the men and women on the front lines. I accepted the invitation.

Two days before we left, a White House doctor stepped into my office and asked for my blood type. I was taken aback, but he reminded me that I

was going into a war zone—this was clearly a different kind of job. On the long flight to Iraq, Dunford invited me to sit next to him in his executive quarters on the military plane, a Boeing 757. Inside his cabin, which was furnished with a large bolted-down table, a couch, and two captain’s chairs, we spent the next four hours discussing a range of topics related to the Middle East. I asked him what he would do differently in Iraq if he could start from scratch. How should we change our objectives and strategy to make them more forward-looking? Who were the most valuable regional partners? Where should we invest our resources so they would have maximum effect? Why hadn’t we gained more ground over the past sixteen years? I was impressed by Dunford’s reservoir of knowledge. When it was time to get a few hours of sleep, the general took off his jacket, flipped it over to use as a blanket, reclined his seat, slipped on a camouflage sleeping mask, and within minutes was out cold. It was like sitting next to G.I. Joe.

While we were in Baghdad, a loud air-raid siren blared, and we were whisked into a secure area. Totally unfazed, Dunford explained that this sort of thing happened all the time. Insurgents had apparently fired off a few mortars. No big deal. The next morning, helicopters dropped us off at an installation about ten miles from Mosul, which at the time was an active war zone. General Dunford had his commanders explain the force structure—Americans were training and arming Iraqi soldiers to do the fighting. It was an impressive operation, and the way our forces were leveraging the capabilities of the Iraqis made me optimistic about the future stability of the country.

Later I learned that I had made a mistake: dressed for our morning meetings, I wore my sport coat and sunglasses to the war zone, and when someone handed me a flak jacket, I threw it on top. The N-E-R in my last name was covered by the Velcro, so my name read K-U-S-H. I didn’t know that photos would be taken, and I was used to being a behind-the-scenes guy in politics—not a principal who had to think about optics. When the resulting visual quickly became a meme on social media, I thought it was hilarious. I clearly had missed the memo on the dress code, and *Saturday Night Live* and Jimmy Fallon were not going to let me forget it. Even Ivanka still pokes fun at me for this one.

When we met with Iraqi prime minister Haider al-Abadi, he asked to see me one-on-one. The prime minister took seriously Trump’s public statements that he wanted countries to pay a larger share of the defense cost.

Al-Abadi said that he was willing to pay something for US protection, but essentially hoped for the “cheapest deal.” We probably could have gotten 20 percent of Iraq’s oil revenues in exchange for our military support, but Secretary of State Rex Tillerson and Secretary of Defense Jim Mattis thought Trump was crazy for suggesting such a proposition and stalled the discussion indefinitely.

In another instance, Mattis and his leadership team came to talk to the president about their budget and claimed that \$603 billion—the largest request since 2012—wasn’t enough to keep the country safe. They needed \$609 billion to achieve “military readiness.”

“So with one percent more, you are military ready, but with one percent less you’re not?” Trump queried skeptically.

After the brass had filed out, Trump pulled me aside and remarked, “These guys may be the best at killing people, but they sure don’t understand money.”

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One of the greatest challenges from the very beginning was finding the right personnel to staff Trump’s White House. The president needed talented people who aligned with his agenda, could adjust to his style, and knew how to operate the levers of bureaucracy. It was possible to find people with one or two of these traits, but rarely all three.

Trump was initially impressed by his choice for secretary of state, Rex Tillerson. The Texas oil tycoon had run an iconic American company and possessed long-established relationships with world leaders. But the two men began to clash almost immediately. Tillerson talked slowly, often didn’t return phone calls, and siloed himself off from most of the State Department. The president grew to dislike Tillerson’s swaggering style. During one dispute with head of White House personnel Johnny DeStefano, Tillerson said, “That’s right, Johnny, you can talk back to me freely. I don’t know about you, but I’m all man.” But more fundamentally, he and the president had opposite views and approaches on many foreign policy questions. Tillerson was risk-averse and wanted to manage the world’s problems. Trump, on the other hand, was a calculated risk-taker and dealmaker who wanted to disrupt the ways of the past and change the world.

Early on, I scheduled a weekly lunch for Tillerson to meet with the president in a casual setting to help the secretary bridge his two biggest challenges: his lack of a preexisting relationship with Trump and his lack of

alignment with the president's policy goals. A secretary of state becomes useless the instant his foreign counterparts know he doesn't speak for the president or have influence in the decision-making process.

Tillerson and I worked together to set up the first official call with President Xi Jinping of China. The Chinese remained outraged by the call Trump had taken from the president of Taiwan and his refusal to endorse the One China policy. We both thought it was important to establish direct communication between the two most powerful world leaders. It took weeks to negotiate the terms of the call, but when the two leaders finally spoke, it was friendly. As we had negotiated in advance, Trump invited Xi to come to Mar-a-Lago for their first in-person meeting. Over the next several weeks, I worked with Ambassador Cui Tiankai, China's longtime top diplomat to Washington, to carefully orchestrate the details of the trip.

On April 6, President Xi arrived at Trump's Palm Beach estate. Knowing that his tough rhetoric had put the Chinese on edge, Trump wanted to begin the visit with something that would break the ice. He asked Ivanka and me if five-year-old Arabella could greet the Chinese leader in Mandarin. She had grown up learning Mandarin thanks to the encouragement of our good friend Wendi Murdoch and to XiXi, our beloved nanny and tutor, who has been with us since Arabella was an infant. At the leader's welcome tea, Arabella recited Tang poetry. Xi was so impressed that he asked to meet XiXi and complimented her on Arabella's perfect Beijing pronunciation and the selection of poems. The flattering gesture put him at ease and the video circulated like wildfire in China. It was a major sign of respect that the granddaughter of the president of the United States knew Mandarin.

Scheduled to last fifteen minutes, Trump and Xi's introductory tea continued for well over an hour, and the two leaders quickly developed a warm and respectful dynamic. Trump treated Xi like a regular person, and Xi responded in kind. In one meeting Xi started going into the history of China, stretching back to the Opium Wars and the signing of the "unequal treaties," and continuing through the so-called Century of Humiliation, which ended with Mao Zedong's rise to power. Xi's forty-five-minute performance was fascinating, and Trump was taken by how even the stoic leader of the Chinese Communist Party could not hide the motivation his country derived from the Century of Humiliation. Xi was certain that China had learned from their past and would rise again. When Trump asked Xi how much influence he had over North Korea's mercurial young leader, Kim



Jong Un, who was testing long-range missiles and threatening America with North Korea's nuclear arsenal, the Chinese president was surprisingly candid with his response: he'd had a relationship with Kim Jong Il, the deceased former leader of North Korea, but didn't really know his son.

After four hours of meetings, the president was summoned to a secure room that had been converted into a sensitive compartmented information facility, or SCIF, so that he could receive classified information and military briefings while in Palm Beach. Two days earlier, Syrian dictator Bashar al-Assad had launched a chemical weapons attack on civilians, killing more than eighty people and injuring more than five hundred. Trump was horrified, as we all were, by the photos of mothers and children suffocating to death, and he was concerned by the incoming intelligence on the situation. He felt strongly that the United States must make clear that it would not tolerate the use of chemical weapons. During the campaign, he had excoriated Obama for drawing a "red line in the sand" on Syria and then meekly pulling back from confrontation. Obama's failure to enforce the "red line" had undermined America's influence around the globe. Trump was determined not to repeat this mistake.

This was Trump's first big test as commander in chief, and he was acutely aware that his decision could have consequences for American troops in the region. He had asked Mattis to present him with strike options, sparking a fierce internal debate about what to do. Bannon vehemently opposed a strike, warning the president that it could begin a war. The rest of us believed that the president needed to send a strong signal, but that the strike would have to be surgical. The Syrian military base we were targeting was co-populated with Russians—if we accidentally hit one, it could start World War III.

One of the most inspiring parts of watching my father-in-law as commander in chief was seeing how he responded in moments of military crisis when no cameras were present. That day, he went around the room and asked tough questions of the generals, sought out opinions, listened intently, and carefully weighed the implications before taking decisive action. I was grateful that the president was surrounded by so many experienced people at the table, particularly the new national security adviser, H.R. McMaster, who thoroughly briefed the president on his options. A legendary Desert Storm tank commander, McMaster was a bulldog of a man, possessing so much physical energy that he exercised twice a day. As an active-duty officer, he'd

written a scathing critique of America's handling of the Vietnam War in a book called *Dereliction of Duty*.<sup>2</sup> The book earned McMaster a reputation as an iconoclast general, which slowed his career trajectory. He was passed over twice for a promotion from colonel to one-star general. But by the time he entered the Trump administration, he had earned his third star.

Earlier in the day, the president had asked Mattis if the strike plan was going to work without creating an international incident. "No problem, sir," said Mattis, cool as a cucumber. "You have the finest and most lethal military equipment in the history of the world. These missiles will do what they were intended to do—one hundred percent. You don't have to worry."

During dinner that night with President Xi, the national security team let the president know that the strike was going very well. Fifty-eight of fifty-nine missiles "severely degraded or destroyed their target," and no Russian soldiers had been harmed. It was still nighttime in Syria, and we didn't expect to have conclusive satellite images for another few hours. When an aide whispered an update into Trump's ear, he immediately told Xi the news. Xi couldn't hide his shock. He was clearly impressed that Trump was so relaxed in such a consequential moment, and I got the sense that he didn't know what to make of Trump. The Chinese had never dealt with anyone like him before. No one had.

Part of what ultimately made Trump successful in his foreign policy objectives was that leaders found him unpredictable. He built warm rapport with his counterparts and approached each situation with an open mind. He was willing to change course at any minute and take calculated risks. His opponents never could tell whether he was bluffing or making a serious threat.

That day, a story broke in the *New York Times*: "Kushner Omitted Meeting with Russians on Security Clearance Forms." When filling out my security forms for the White House, I was required to disclose foreign contacts and relationships that had occurred within the last seven years. The process of going back through my records and calendars to produce this list took weeks, and our incoming National Security Council (NSC) team advised me to submit the first part of my application immediately to get the initial security clearance process started, and then follow up at a later date with my full list of foreign contacts. I followed this counsel, submitted the initial form, and weeks later filed my list of foreign contacts. When the press got hold of the fact that I had submitted my foreign contacts after the initial

form—a process that is supposed to be classified and had never before leaked to the press—they further connected me to the false Russia collusion narrative, noting that I had left Ambassador Sergey Kislyak and Sergey Gorkov off the initial form. They took something benign and made it sound nefarious, and I couldn't fathom why it had been so unfairly framed.

I had not included any foreign contacts on my initial form, exactly as I had been advised to do, so I couldn't believe that the *New York Times* singled out the Russian contacts. You've got to be kidding me, I thought. Had I submitted a completed form and included two hundred foreign contacts while omitting only Kislyak and Gorkov, perhaps that would have justifiably raised eyebrows, even though my contact with those two was minimal and harmless. But no one—not even my harshest critics—could have honestly believed I was trying to claim I had met zero foreign nationals and traveled to no foreign countries over the past seven years. It was obvious to any fair-minded observer that this was exactly as I'd stated: a submission of an incomplete form with a complete disclosure to come. Questioning how they could have gotten this so wrong, I suspected that Bannon leaked and framed the information. He was one of only a handful of people who had access to the form.

Around the same time, the media ran a series of stories on Ivanka, claiming that because her business had previously applied for trademarks in China, she was profiting from her government position. In reality, following the 2016 election, numerous companies in China had filed hundreds of trademark applications to exploit Ivanka's name and brand on products completely unrelated to her. On March 8, the headline of a *Washington Post* article read, "From Diet Pills to Underwear: Chinese Firms Scramble to Grab Ivanka Trump Trademark." The article went on to say that "an astounding 258 trademark applications were lodged under variations of Ivanka, Ivanka Trump and similar-sounding Chinese characters between Nov. 10 and the end of last year." Ivanka had a successful business and owned hundreds of trademarks globally before her father ran for public office, and in May and June of 2016, after Trump entered the race, she submitted a number of additional trademark applications in an effort to protect her name in countries where trademark theft was rampant. Ivanka's applications had been caught up in the Chinese bureaucracy for a full year. When several of the requests were approved around the time of Xi's visit, the media tried to make it sound nefarious, but Ivanka had no control over

the timing and was merely doing her best to prevent Chinese companies from counterfeiting her brand and deceiving customers.

Nearly a hundred days into the administration, I wanted to focus on real policy wins, but negative stories kept hitting me. On the campaign, the press mostly ignored me—probably because they had no idea the role I was playing behind the scenes. In the White House, however, I had a target on my back. A consortium of senior staffers saw me as a threat to their power and influence. When my father-in-law confronted me about my negative press, I complained that people were leaking on me. “Jared, this is the White House,” Trump said. “If you want to work here, you have to figure out how to get people not to leak on you.”

On Wednesday, May 3, FBI director James Comey testified before Congress regarding his infamous decisions during the 2016 election cycle. Trump watched the hearing with great interest and commented afterward that “something was off.” He found Comey’s testimony to be erratic and inauthentic. A few days later, while we were in Bedminster for the weekend, the president invited Ivanka and me to join him and Melania for dinner. Midway through, he called for Stephen Miller and began dictating a letter firing Comey. I encouraged Trump to wait until he got back to the White House, where he could get input from his legal counsel and chief of staff, which he ultimately decided to do.

When we got back to Washington, Priebus and McGahn met with the president and handled the situation from there. They asked Trump to hold off while they coordinated the matter with the Department of Justice leadership, who had lost confidence in Comey. On Tuesday, Trump fired the FBI director. Steve Bannon, who was kept in the dark about the discussions to prevent him from leaking, was furious. “This is the end of the presidency,” he said. Soon after, in what I suspected was a Bannon leak, the press reported that I advised the president to make the decision, which was false. Democrats framed Comey’s firing as an attempt to obstruct the FBI’s Russia investigation and began calling for the appointment of an independent counsel. Soon after, deputy attorney general Rod Rosenstein appointed Robert Mueller as special counsel to lead the investigation.

One weekend while the president and the usual entourage of senior staff were in Mar-a-Lago, I had the White House maintenance team seal off the internal doorway between my office and Bannon’s.

# 11

## Riyadh to Rome

**J**ared, read my lips: we're not going to Saudi Arabia. Take no for an answer!"

I was having dinner with Trump on a Saturday evening in April. Along with Ivanka, we were tucked in the corner of the restaurant at the Trump International Hotel on Pennsylvania Avenue, where the president would occasionally visit when he needed a change of scenery from the White House.

Our meal had started with Trump and Ivanka reminiscing about the hotel itself, which they had painstakingly worked on together for several years. Formerly the historic Old Post Office, the hotel had opened the previous October, just before the election. The conversation turned to how our kids were adjusting to their new schools in Washington, DC.

As Trump talked, he relaxed. Yet the business of the presidency was never far from his mind. Its challenges and opportunities dominated his days and nights, and nearly all of my conversations with him touched on his massive responsibilities. This one was no different and soon he shifted our discussion to one of my major projects: his first foreign trip as president. I had been planning the trip for months. His first stop would be Saudi Arabia, where he would deliver a major address to fifty-four Muslim and Arab leaders. Our departure was just a few weeks away.

"I know you've been working hard on this trip," Trump said, "but I need to stay here right now." He was reluctant to leave the country while a growing chorus of Washington lawmakers and pundits called for the appointment of a special counsel to conduct a Russia investigation.

"Plus," he added, "Rex doesn't believe the Saudis will come through."

I began to explain why I disagreed with Tillerson, but the president cut me off. That's when he told me to take no for an answer.

During the campaign, I had picked up on Trump's decision-making style: his first answer was often provisional, used as a method of drawing out different viewpoints from his team and seeing how strongly we believed in them. So I didn't interpret his words as a hard no.

"Let me come by tomorrow," I said. "I'll show you the package I've negotiated, and you can make the final decision."

To end the stalemate, he agreed.

Around 10:00 a.m. the next day, a Sunday, I met Trump in the residence and briefed him on my proposal. In addition to convening Muslim and Arab leaders, the Saudis had promised to execute up to \$300 billion in job-creating business deals with American companies, take unprecedented measures to block the financing of terrorism, open a global center to combat extremism, have the king of Saudi Arabia denounce violence in the name of Islam, purchase a substantial amount of US military equipment, and provide more military support in the fight against ISIS. On top of all of that, they would roll out the red carpet for Trump and show America tremendous respect with military flyovers and a magnificent state dinner, a noticeable contrast from President Obama's visit a year earlier, when they refused to greet him on the tarmac. The trip would give Trump an opportunity to forge stronger ties with the Arab world, issue a tough call to action against terrorism in the region, and lay the groundwork for normalizing relations between the Arabs and Israel. Plus, he would bury the media's false narrative that he was Islamophobic. All of this would be accomplished in just forty-eight hours.

"Let's give it a shot," Trump decided. "Tell Rex the trip is on, but I want everything in writing."

Back in January, during Trump's first call with King Salman bin Abdulaziz, the Saudi ruler told us to coordinate the potential trip with his son Mohammed bin Salman, the charismatic thirty-one-year-old deputy crown prince and minister of defense, known as MBS. Trump said that I would be his point person. When I got back to my desk, I already had an email from MBS asking to set up a call. In March, while MBS was in town to negotiate the details, a blizzard hit the Northeast. Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany, who was scheduled to have lunch with the president, canceled at the last minute because her plane could not take off from Germany. I asked Trump if he would have lunch with MBS, since the deputy crown prince was already in town. Trump thought it was a great idea, despite White House National Security Council staff insisting that presidents don't have lunch with foreign officials who are not the head of state. Trump dismissed that bureaucratic protocol and decided to explore a potential partnership that could advance America's interests in the Middle East.

Because MBS was technically Saudi Arabia's third-ranking official, the National Security Council staff wouldn't let him skip the security checkpoint

and drive right up to the West Wing, as they allowed for heads of state. So my deputy and only staffer at the time, Avi Berkowitz, waited in the snow outside the security checkpoint to meet MBS. When the deputy crown prince arrived, there was a paperwork issue and the Secret Service denied him entry. I ran to the gate and convinced them to let him through.

Despite the rough start to the visit, the lunch was a success. Trump told MBS directly that he wanted stronger cooperation in combating terrorism, countering extremism, and ending terrorism finance. He also expected Saudi Arabia to take on more of the defense burden in the region. America was not going to keep spending precious blood and trillions of dollars on endless foreign wars. It was a tough message, and Trump did not shy away. In response, MBS unveiled an ambitious and thorough antiterrorism plan. This ad hoc meeting reinforced my instinct that we should take a risk on Saudi Arabia for the president's first foreign trip. Trump gave me the green light to continue planning.

As I coordinated the trip, I found a talented and effective partner in the president's deputy national security adviser, Dina Powell, a veteran of the Bush White House and State Department. Ivanka had recruited Powell to the administration from Goldman Sachs. Powell's guidance and support helped me navigate the stiff internal resistance I encountered in planning the trip. I also found an ally in NSC director for the Middle East Derek Harvey, a former US Army colonel who believed that the trip was critical to strengthening America's relationships with Arab countries in our efforts to confront Iran's aggression.

In one Situation Room meeting, portrayed in Bob Woodward's book *Fear*, I argued forcefully for the trip against Tillerson, Mattis, and McMaster.<sup>10</sup> "I know you have a lot more experience than I do with Saudi Arabia," I told Tillerson. "But this is the way I view it: we can't allow the broken promises of the past to determine the future."

The secretary of state countered: he had engaged in serious business negotiations with the Saudis during his thirty-plus years as an oil executive, and he didn't think we could trust them. "They never come through," he said. "They won't deliver on their promises."

I pushed back. "I may not have diplomatic experience, but I have done hundreds of hard transactions, and I can tell when people want to do deals and when they don't want to do deals. MBS is not just saying he wants to do

it. His top negotiator is literally sitting in the Four Seasons down the street, ready to come over and put the finishing touches on these documents.”

Tillerson and the others in the room waffled. They thought we were trying to do too much on a tight timeline. So I put it more bluntly: “If you don’t like this idea, what’s your idea? If you have an alternative, let’s hear it. But no one has put forward any alternative. We didn’t come to government to sit outside a cigar shop and talk about how the world should be. We’re the ones in charge, and we need to get things done. I think the downside of my proposal is super low and the upside is super high. If it is a failure, I’ll take responsibility.”

After the meeting, I dialed MBS: “Everyone here is telling me that I’m a fool for trusting you,” I said. “They are saying the trip is a terrible idea. If I get to Saudi Arabia, and it’s just a bunch of sand and camels, I’m a dead man.”

He laughed and assured me that he was also facing internal skepticism, but would not let us down: this was going to be a massive success for the president, the Saudis would deliver on their promises, and we would see changes in Saudi Arabia beyond our imagination.

\* \* \*

Few times in my life have I felt as nervous as I was boarding Air Force One to depart for Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, on May 19. The whole world was watching the trip, and we needed to nail it. Short on sleep and running on adrenaline after months of working around the clock, I couldn’t help thinking that it would have been so much easier to follow the pattern of previous presidents and travel to Mexico or Canada for a ribbon-cutting type event.

As Air Force One began to accelerate on the tarmac of Joint Base Andrews, Chief of Staff Reince Priebus appeared in an absolute panic. He read me a tweet from the Associated Press: “Exclusive: Draft of Trump speech abandons the harsh anti-Muslim rhetoric of his presidential campaign.” The staff secretary’s office had circulated a draft of the president’s keynote speech for the Arab American summit to a large group of senior staff, and someone had leaked it to the press. Major excerpts of the speech were already circulating online.

In crafting the speech, Stephen Miller and I had gone to extraordinary lengths to keep it under wraps. We wanted to hold the world in suspense and build anticipation right up until the moment Trump stepped onstage—not to



mention, the president hadn't yet reviewed a single word of the draft. For all we knew, he would take it in an entirely different direction. Priebus was on the verge of a meltdown. Stephen calmed him: "It's no big deal. The flight is over ten hours. I'll write a new one." As we sped across the Atlantic and through the night, I kept running through the details for the trip, trying to distract myself from worrying about all the things that could go awry.

When we landed, King Salman was waiting on the tarmac to greet President Trump and Melania. Cannons boomed, and nine F-16 military jets screamed overhead, leaving behind a trail of red, white, and blue smoke. The dramatic welcome contrasted starkly with the reception that Obama received during his final visit to Saudi Arabia in 2016, when King Salman did not even greet him at the airport. After Trump and the king finished exchanging pleasantries, we made our way to the Saudi Royal Court as the president's limo was escorted by a dozen Saudi guards on Arabian stallions carrying the American and Saudi flags.

Shortly after arriving at the Saudi Royal Court for the formal welcome ceremony, President Trump and King Salman presided over a military arms transaction worth \$110 billion, intended to offset the cost of US expenditure in the Middle East. That night, King Salman hosted our delegation for an intimate dinner at the Murabba Palace, the residence of King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud, the late founder of the modern kingdom of Saudi Arabia. As Trump arrived at the palace, the doors of his limousine swung open into a sea of Saudi Arabians in their traditional white and red garments, swaying back and forth to the rhythm of a beating drum and chanting in chorus the melody of a traditional song. As the president walked toward them, the sea parted in front of him, funneling him into a spacious courtyard where our hosts commenced a ceremonial sword dance that the tribal warriors of Saudi antiquity would perform before battle.

In a gesture of respect, the king handed the president a sword and invited him to join, which he did. The resulting footage of Trump and King Salman with arms linked, bouncing up and down to the banging of drums, went viral. During a break in the action, I looked over at Rex Tillerson, who couldn't hide his enjoyment. "This isn't my first sword dance," he grinned, while commending me for how smoothly the trip was going so far. Inside the palace, we were feted with an elaborate spread of traditional Saudi Arabian food, including camel meat, which is not kosher, so I moved it around on my plate.

The next morning Trump attended a meeting of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) as a guest of honor. The United States and the GCC countries of Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and the UAE entered into an historic agreement to pool resources and intelligence to block the financing of terrorism. During the meeting, economic adviser Gary Cohn slipped the president a note: “For a change, you are the poorest guy at the table.” The president couldn’t contain his smile.

In the main banquet hall for lunch with the Arab leaders, MBS had seated Ivanka and me at a table with him. When we sat down, he introduced me to the other leaders at the table. These were the “Jared Kushners” of the Middle East, he told me—they didn’t all have obvious titles, but if I needed to get anything done in their countries, I should call them. As we got to know each other, I was impressed by their openness to reform. At one point, the UAE’s national security adviser, Tahnoun bin Zayed Al Nahyan, said to Ivanka with a smile, “Go ahead, ask MBS when he’s going to let women drive.” MBS overheard the suggestion and flashed a big smile. “Very soon,” he said. Ivanka was surprised but also pleased. It confirmed what she had heard at the roundtable for women small business leaders earlier that day. The women had openly discussed how the driving ban wasn’t the only hurdle to their success. Guardianship laws—preventing them from owning a bank account or property—inhibited their ability to start and grow businesses. The fact that the women were speaking about this challenge at an event organized by MBS was an indication that they knew he was open to reforms. One year later, MBS surprised the world and took steps to lift the ban on driving. The following year, he changed the guardianship laws.

As Trump approached the stage for his keynote address to the leaders of fifty-four Muslim majority nations, the stakes couldn’t have been higher. In agreeing to make the trip, Trump had insisted on bringing a tough message that the United States was done spending trillions of dollars and thousands of American lives on endless foreign wars. Our allies must step up and contribute more to their own defense. “I don’t want to go there to kiss ass,” he warned. Inside the banquet hall, the leaders were seated at ornate desks beneath a thirty-foot ceiling and chandeliers the size of Buicks. The hall was so spectacularly large that it made everything else seem tiny by comparison, and it was eerily silent as the president began his thirty-five-minute speech.

“I stand before you as a representative of the American people, to deliver a message of friendship and hope,” he began, and implored the

Muslim world to step up their efforts to eradicate terrorism. “Drive. Them. Out. Drive them out of your places of worship. Drive them out of your communities. Drive them out of your holy land. And drive them out of this earth.”

He renewed his pledge to work with the Arab nations to isolate their common enemy and the world’s number one sponsor of terrorism, Iran. He called on Arabs to set aside old grievances and pursue a new spirit of partnership for the region. He then turned, in closing, to the key question for his audience: “Will we be indifferent in the presence of evil? Will we protect our citizens from its violent ideology? Will we let its venom spread through our societies? Will we let it destroy the most holy sites on earth?”

It was a tour de force. Afterward, as we were walking in the lobby of our hotel, Secretary Tillerson’s top policy adviser Brian Hook overheard a few of the Arab leaders say among themselves, “Trump really gets us.” After nearly two decades of fraught relations between the United States and the Middle East, we were adopting a new approach—an approach that didn’t seek to remake nations in our image, but that instead sought to build coalitions based on our shared goals.

The trip was going better than I possibly could have hoped. Trump was at the top of his game, and the king’s hospitality impressed him. The Saudis spared no effort in demonstrating their commitment to reform. In the thirty days leading up to the president’s arrival, they had constructed a state-of-the-art facility called the Global Center for Countering Extremist Ideology and staffed it with more than two hundred data analysts to confront the Islamic radicalization online and other terrorist activity that had plagued Saudi Arabia for decades. Online extremism had also become a threat in America, contributing to the attack in San Bernardino, California, in 2015 and the brutal assault on the Pulse nightclub in Orlando, Florida, in 2016. During the election, many feared that Jihadist-motivated shootings would continue to plague the United States and countries around the world. If we could get Saudi Arabia, the leader of the Arab world, to crack down on radicalization online, other Muslim countries would follow. This historic effort improved the safety and security of American citizens and innocent people everywhere.

I did make one error: I scheduled too many engagements for Trump. The Saudis had originally wanted the visit to be a five-day summit, but I negotiated it down to two and packed Trump’s schedule with meetings to

accommodate requests from the Saudis and other Arab leaders. In the forty-eight hours in Riyadh, Trump attended eight bilateral meetings, two different summits, numerous receptions, several lunches, and a state dinner. At the end of a long day, when we told him about an additional event, he turned to me and complained, “Jared, this schedule is inhumane. You know you aren’t in my will. Why are you trying to kill me?”

Trump asked Ivanka to take his place at the event, a forum with social media leaders in Saudi Arabia, which has one of the highest social media usage rates in the world. This was a major initiative for MBS, and part of his strategy to foster tolerance and condemn extremism. With only a few minutes to prepare, Ivanka went out onstage before hundreds of people. Throughout the visit, she trended on social media across Saudi Arabia.

As we taxied on the tarmac the following morning, we were about to embark on the first reported direct flight from Saudi Arabia to Israel. King Salman had agreed to waive their airspace restrictions and allow our plane to fly directly to Israel, which would reduce the flight time by three hours. Just before we took off, I got a call from US ambassador to Israel David Friedman. The Israelis were nervous about Trump’s expectations for his visit: they didn’t have the limitless budget or lavish palaces that the Saudis had, but they had still planned a first-rate trip by their standards. I told him they shouldn’t worry.

Shortly after we arrived in Jerusalem, the president and First Lady led a delegation to the Western Wall, and Trump made history as the first sitting US president to visit this holy site. As Ivanka and I walked alongside Trump, I prayed that God would protect my family, help me to live up to my potential, and give me the wisdom and strength to use the responsibilities I had been given to serve my country faithfully. The sun began to set, and Trump desperately wanted a night to relax before another busy day. But he and Melania were scheduled for a private dinner with Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu and his wife, Sara. In what I jokingly referred to as a massive failure of Israeli intelligence, Bibi planned a multicourse meal that dragged on for hours. Bibi should have known his audience better—he would have won Trump’s favor if he had simply served a hamburger and allowed him to go to the hotel to relax. Trump called me after, frustrated: “The guy kept me up for three hours and was talking my ear off. It was beautiful, but every time I thought the meal would end, another course would come out.”

The following morning, the president was scheduled to meet with the president of the Palestinian Authority, Mahmoud Abbas, in the West Bank. Abbas had come to the White House in May, told the president he was ready to negotiate, and expressed confidence in Trump as the arbiter of a peace agreement between the Palestinians and Israel. We were intrigued, but still waiting to hear more. Just prior to our departure, Trump was briefed by Ambassador Friedman, who showed Trump a video compilation of Abbas making menacing threats toward the Israeli people. Friedman's message was clear: Be careful with Abbas—he tells you he's for peace in English, but look carefully at what he's saying in Arabic. Tillerson saw what was happening with the video and went ballistic, claiming it was dishonest. Friedman pushed back: "Are you saying he didn't say these things?" Tillerson had to admit that they were Abbas's words, but he was fuming because he was losing control. It was important for the president to see all sides of the issue, especially since he was hearing from several respected businessmen that Abbas was an earnest man who sincerely wanted to make peace.

During the bilateral meeting in Ramallah, Abbas recited the same talking points he'd used during his recent White House visit. It was as if the first meeting had never happened. He failed to show any progress on the issues he and Trump had previously discussed. Disappointed by the Palestinian leader's behavior, Trump grew exasperated and did not parse words: "You pay people who kill Israelis. This is an official government policy. You have to stop this. We can make a deal in two seconds. I've got my best guys on it. But I want to see some action. I want to see it fast. I don't believe you want to make a deal." Abbas became defensive and complained about Israeli security. Trump responded, "Wait: Israel is great at security, and you are saying you won't take free security from them? Are you crazy? Without Israel, ISIS could take your territory over in about twenty minutes. We spend so much on the military. Everyone in this region spends a fortune on security. If I could get free high-quality security for America and save the cost, I would take it in a second." After witnessing Abbas's intransigence, I better understood why twelve previous presidents had tried and failed to reach a peace deal.

When we arrived in Rome, Ivanka and I treated the team to dinner to thank them for their hard work on the trip. Joe Hagin, the president's deputy chief of staff for operations, directed us to one of his favorite pasta spots, Da

Sabatino. After a classic Italian dinner, Dina Powell and Gary Cohn, neither of whom are Catholic, offered to give their spots to meet the pope to two Catholics on the staff, Brian Hook and Ivanka's chief of staff, Julie Radford. The Vatican adhered to strict protocols about the number of people allowed to accompany the president and the First Lady. The manifest, negotiated weeks in advance, was restricted to the president's immediate family members and seven staff members. But when the delegation passed through Vatican security the next morning, a guard stopped Radford and told her that someone else had already taken her spot—one of Tillerson's top aides had put herself in one of the front vehicles and had rushed to the entrance and signed in as Dina Powell. The Vatican officials would not let Radford in, and while she was disappointed, we later joked that at least she didn't lie, cheat, and steal to meet the pope.

Contrary to how the press reported the visit, Pope Francis was warm and gracious to Trump and Melania, and during their discussions, the pope said that he felt like we were living through World War III, only with the conflicts broken into pieces all throughout the world. While at the Vatican, Ivanka met with the Holy See to discuss human trafficking, and they agreed to work together to combat this evil form of modern slavery.

That night Ivanka and I accepted a generous offer from the Italian government for a tour of the Pantheon and its magnificent dome. We assumed we would be among the many tourists visiting the ancient temple, but when we pulled up in a Secret Service car, the police had roped off the entire area and hundreds of people were waiting for our arrival. While flattered by the kind greetings, we wished we could go back to the days when we could go almost anywhere without causing any fuss. Our lives were no longer our own.

Ivanka and I broke off from the trip after Rome, flying commercially back to the United States, while Trump continued to Brussels for the commemoration of the new NATO headquarters. Trump exhorted the European leaders to honor their NATO commitments and spend more to build up their collective defense. He revisited this concern throughout his presidency, along with his strong opposition to Europe's reliance on Russia for natural resources. He privately warned German chancellor Angela Merkel that her country's dependence on Russian gas and support for the Nord Stream 2 pipeline would enrich Putin financially and give Russia leverage over the European economies. He cautioned European leaders that

pressing to include Ukraine in the NATO alliance would provoke Russia and back Putin into a corner, even as Europe was in a weak position strategically. This could lead to war.

Just before Ivanka and I took off, a press aide alerted me to a breaking story. The *Washington Post* was planning to report that I was under criminal investigation by the FBI. From the tarmac, I called Fred Ryan, the CEO of the *Washington Post*, and told him that I had not been informed that I was under investigation and didn't know what on earth I could possibly be under investigation for. I argued that they were basing their story on a lie from someone within the intelligence community who was willing to breach confidentiality standards by leaking to the newspaper. I told him it was totally irresponsible to publish such a damaging story based entirely on an unsubstantiated claim. Doing so would make me radioactive in Washington and have major implications for my life. He said there was nothing he could do. We took off and had no internet for the twelve-hour flight. I had no idea of the intensity of the storm awaiting me back home.

## 12

# The Art of War

Upon landing back in the United States on Thursday, May 25, Ivanka and I had an important engagement: Arabella's ballet recital. We had promised her we would attend, and we made it just in time. As we settled in to enjoy her performance, my phone rang. A reporter wanted my reaction to the *Washington Post* story, which had just posted: "Jared Kushner Now a Focus in Russia Investigation." I called my lawyer, Jamie Gorelick, who had recently delivered me a gut punch when she told me that she needed to step down from representing me due to a conflict of interest. Bob Mueller worked at the same firm, and he had been appointed special prosecutor. She told me that she was also receiving a flurry of calls from reporters. I returned to Arabella's ballet, but Gorelick called back a few minutes later with urgent questions. Throughout the performance, I kept stepping out into the hallway to take the incoming calls. A deluge of news and misinformation had begun.

The next day, a Friday, the *Post* ran another hit piece: "Russian Ambassador Told Moscow that Kushner Wanted Secret Communications Channel with Kremlin." That weekend, to escape the media camped outside our Kalorama home, Ivanka and I went to Bedminster. Even from there, two hundred miles outside Washington's beltway, we could feel the heat. CNN seemed to be going completely berserk, rotating between panels of "experts" who assumed that this unsubstantiated claim was true. Shocked and perplexed, I called Gorelick. "This is crazy," I told her. "I've got to put out a statement. They're making an inconsequential transition meeting sound nefarious. I didn't meet a single Russian during the campaign; there was absolutely no collusion with Russia." I forwarded her a statement I had drafted and asked for her legal clearance to send it out.

"I wouldn't do that," she said. When I asked why, she responded, "We're going through your tens of thousands of emails, and I found one email that you're going to want to see. I know it's painful now, but my job is for you to get to the other end in good shape. I'm thorough, I'm expensive, but there's a reason people use me. And you don't want to put out any statement until I've reviewed all the facts."

"Well, what does the email say?" I inquired.



“I’d rather show it to you in person. Come to my office when you get back.”

I racked my memory, but nothing came to mind. I had received three hundred emails a day during the campaign, but I couldn’t imagine what Jamie had referenced. I knew for certain I hadn’t done anything inappropriate with Russia.

When I got back to Washington, a close friend flew in from Arizona for dinner to cheer me up. At my lowest moment in Washington, he encouraged me to have faith, stay strong, and keep my head up. I would make it through, he said. It was a much-needed pep talk.

The next day, I went over to Gorelick’s office at the WilmerHale law firm, three blocks west of the White House on Pennsylvania Avenue. Gorelick placed a three-page document in front of me. I scanned the first page. It was a campaign email from Don Jr., asking me to stop by a meeting. This was a frequent and ordinary occurrence.

“So, what’s the big deal?” I asked. She told me to go to the third page of the printout and read the end of the email thread—something I never would have done during the campaign. At that time, I was still running my businesses and joining a dozen meetings a day. I didn’t scroll through long email chains when the message at the top was about logistics. At the very bottom of the thread, on page three of Jamie’s printed document, I saw the initial email that was part of a chain I had not been on. It was a description of the purported topic of the meeting: to share information “that would incriminate Hillary and her dealings with Russia,” as part of “Russia and its government’s support for Mr. Trump.”

Seeing the email triggered my memory. “The meeting was a joke,” I told Gorelick.

“That doesn’t matter,” she said. “You can’t say you never met a Russian during the campaign since this meeting took place. I don’t care how innocent or uneventful it was. The media will have a field day with this. Tell me what happened in that meeting.”

I remembered arriving a little late, just as a Russian attorney launched into a monologue about how Trump could win the election if he got Russia to reverse its misguided ban on US adoptions of Russian children. Immediately recognizing that the meeting was a colossal waste of time, I emailed my assistant to pull me from the meeting: “Can u please call me on my cell? Need excuse to get out of meeting.” When my assistant called, I

stood up, excused myself from the room, and forgot that the meeting even had occurred. Campaigns have a way of bringing out crazy people who think they know best. They're like sports fans who whine about the decisions of coaches and managers.

Gorelick and I discussed what to do, and I began to grasp the new reality. The stories I'd been dealing with on Russia weren't going away anytime soon.

After the press reported that I was the subject of an FBI investigation, I started to notice Priebus, Bannon, and McGahn excluding me from White House meetings. They seemed to avoid me in general. Years later, it was reported that during this time Bannon had sent an email to a staff member at Breitbart asking him to investigate a story linking me to a Russian oligarch I had never met. I could hardly wrap my mind around this sinister and destructive behavior. The president was beset by a false Russia collusion narrative that was hampering his presidency and causing him significant stress, and yet Bannon seemed to be deliberately stoking the narrative to hurt a colleague. It was a level of betrayal that I had never conceived possible, even in Washington.

In late June my old friend Eric Herschmann, a former New York prosecutor and a senior partner at the law firm Kasowitz, Benson & Torres, called and said, "Jared, you have a big problem." He had heard that Bannon and McGahn planned to hire a high-powered defense lawyer to help the White House legal team on the Russia defense. His name was Ty Cobb, just like the famous baseball player. "If he gets hired, I'm afraid you're dead," Herschmann warned. He explained that he thought Cobb was unwittingly part of a plan by Priebus and Bannon to push me out: hire a lawyer who would tell the president that I had become a serious liability and needed to leave. New hires typically had a honeymoon period with Trump; for the first three or four weeks of their tenure, he showed them a lot of deference. If Herschmann's information was correct, and Cobb was hired, he would be at the peak of his powers as he pushed for my removal. Bannon had masterfully choreographed a series of leaks and lies over the past few months, keeping my name constantly connected to Russia in the press. The House and Senate intelligence committees were preparing to question me.

Herschmann also flagged that Trump had an off-schedule meeting with Cobb at noon that day. I walked into the Oval Office shortly after the meeting started and sat down in one of the chairs next to the lawyers,

directly in front of the Resolute Desk. Priebus and McGahn, who had not expected me to join, looked uncomfortable. Priebus stepped out of the room, and after ten minutes of discussion, McGahn politely asked me to leave, explaining that I was an official witness in the Russia investigation and therefore shouldn't be a part of their discussion. The president took his counsel's advice. When I got back to my desk, I learned that while I had been in the Oval Office, an agitated Priebus had been circling the reception area outside the main entrance to the Oval, anxious about how to get me out of the meeting.

After several agonizing minutes, I decided that I couldn't sit by while others planned my execution. The president has a private dining room in the West Wing that opens onto the main hallway through a two-foot-wide service pantry; it can also serve as a back entrance into the Oval Office. To avoid Priebus, I snuck through this back entrance. Reappearing in the middle of the meeting, I interrupted and told Trump that I really needed to speak with him. Surprised to see me and annoyed that I had disrupted an intense discussion, he reluctantly agreed, stood up from his chair behind the Resolute Desk, and followed me into the dining room.

"I understand you feel like you can't fire Bannon because you don't want him to go rogue," I began, "but don't hire Ty Cobb."

"I was literally just about to make a deal with the guy," Trump responded. "Why can't I hire him?"

"Because I'm told he has another agenda," I said.

Trump looked at me silently for a moment, told me to wait there, and went back into the Oval Office, where he called for John Dowd, his personal lawyer, who was also in the meeting. When they both entered the study, Trump asked me to repeat my concern to Dowd. It was clear that in my desperation, I had made a major mistake, and my Hail Mary attempt to save myself was about to make my situation much worse: through Dowd, Ty Cobb would now know that I opposed his hiring. Just as I was about to speak, miraculously, Trump got distracted by a Fox News segment and asked us to pause so that he could hear what the pundits were saying. I quietly suggested to Dowd that we go in the other room to talk, and we proceeded into the small study located between the Oval Office and the private dining room—referred to around the White House as the "Monica Lewinski room."

"Tell me about Ty Cobb," I began.

"He's a great lawyer."

“Do you trust him?”

“Yeah, I trust him.”

“It feels like there are so many people surrounding the president who don’t have his best interests in mind,” I continued. “They are causing more problems than they are solving. Look, our lives would have been so much easier if we had stayed in New York, but we decided to come to Washington to help the president succeed. We didn’t come here to fight with people and play political games. We care about him, and we care about our country.”

Dowd, a former Marine and retired litigator who believed in Trump and saw this chance to work for the president as his final tour of duty, probed me with questions. I answered each one honestly and took him through the facts of my Russia case. After about ten minutes, he looked at me and said, “You know, from the moment I got here, McGahn, Priebus, and Bannon each came up to me individually and said that you and Ivanka were the problem and that everything would be resolved if I was able to get you out. But I think I get it now. You’re the only ones who actually care about the president. I see what these self-serving bastards are trying to do. I’m onto them. I’ve got your back, and I’m going to get every single one of them.” I was later told that McGahn, Priebus, and Bannon had drafted my resignation letter and were pushing the president to get me to sign it.

Ten days before my scheduled congressional testimony, the president and Ivanka traveled to Bedminster to make an appearance at the US Women’s Open golf championship. I went with them to clear my mind and finalize my testimony as I prepared for the consequential day. The news coverage that weekend was especially salacious.

While I pored over my testimony, Trump walked into our cottage and sat down across from me. Frustrated by the negative news cycles and concerned about me, he remarked, “You’re too hot right now. Did you do anything?”

I told him I had not done anything wrong. “You have to clean yourself up and fix this,” he implored.

I explained that I was working on my testimony and couldn’t say anything publicly until then. I could tell that he was pained that people who opposed him were coming after his family. What bothered him most deeply was that there was nothing he could do to stop it. He had my back, but he couldn’t solve my problems for me. He told me to stay strong and do my best, but to be careful not to make it worse.

\* \* \*

On the morning of July 24, Ivanka kissed me goodbye as I left for my hearing with the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence. Just before I shut the door behind me, she gave me one last piece of advice: “Just remember, you did nothing wrong. You have nothing to hide, so don’t let them intimidate you. Keep your head held high and smile.”

Earlier that morning, I had publicly released my comprehensive eleven-page statement.<sup>11</sup> My new lawyer Abbe Lowell had suggested that we release the statement in advance to prevent Democrats from inaccurately spinning selective parts of my testimony to fit their narrative. For months I had held back on refuting the accusations, and now I could finally respond, methodically addressing each claim and providing a thorough defense that destroyed the false narratives.

At 9:45 a.m. I walked past hundreds of cameras and reporters and mustered a smile as I entered the Hart Senate Office Building. Flanked by security escorts and my two lawyers, I entered a private room and sat down at a table with senior staff members from the intelligence committee. Based on their questions, which were surprisingly rudimentary, I could tell they knew next to nothing about how we had run our campaign. When they asked about my interactions with Russia, I told the truth: “I did not collude with Russia, nor do I know of anyone else in the campaign who did so. I had no improper contacts. I have not relied on Russian funds for my businesses. And I have been fully transparent in providing all requested information.”

When I returned to the White House, drained but also relieved, I found the president preparing in his private study for a press conference on Paul Ryan’s health-care bill. I told him that the testimony had gone well, and I was going out to the “sticks”—the spot in front of the ceremonial entrance to the West Wing where administration officials make formal statements to the White House press corps. Just before I walked outside, Sarah Sanders, who had recently been named White House press secretary, dusted me with some makeup powder—a first for me—and offered a tip: “When you go out there, it will be overwhelming. Take a deep breath and read really slowly because, believe me, your heart will be racing.” As I faced the sea of cameras, I was intimidated and scared, but I remembered Sarah’s advice, took a deep breath, and read my statement. When I walked back in, Madeleine Westerhout, the president’s assistant, called to say that Trump wanted to see me. I went back to the Oval Office, and he congratulated me on the statement.

The next day I testified before members of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence. When Democratic ranking member Adam Schiff kept asking me additional questions past the previously agreed time limit, I stayed and answered them. “I don’t want him to be able to go out and say, ‘I have a lot more questions,’” I said. “I’m going to keep going until—as long as you’d like.”

Unlike court cases across America, this congressional investigation presumed that I was guilty until proven innocent. One misstep, one poorly phrased answer, or one accidental omission would mean humiliation, eviction from Washington, and possibly jail. Fortunately, the testimony was a major success. I cleared the decks of the false accusations. I hoped that Congress would accept the truth and that the public would eventually see that there was nothing to investigate.

That night Ivanka and I celebrated together over dinner at home with the kids. For the first time in months, I felt a true sense of relief. Now that the testimony was behind me and I finally had the chance to correct the record, I was eager to focus more energy on achieving things that actually mattered. Through the experience, I learned that it wasn’t enough to avoid stepping on the line. I needed to stay six feet back from the line, and I needed to be more careful not to give my adversaries easy opportunities to hit me.

Other developments in the West Wing quickly swallowed up the news of my testimony. A week earlier, the president had hired Anthony Scaramucci as his new director of communications. The successful financier had come to the Oval Office to pitch himself for the job, and Trump gave it to him on the spot.

Bannon and Priebus lost it. They had a stranglehold on the communications department and used it to attack their foes and protect themselves. Shortly after making the decision, the president brought Priebus and Bannon into the Oval Office, along with Scaramucci, Hope, Scavino, Ivanka, and me. During the meeting, the phone rang: it was Mike Pompeo, the CIA director at the time, returning a call. Trump praised Pompeo for a speech he had recently given at the Aspen Security Forum, which persuasively laid out the president’s America First foreign policy approach. We couldn’t hear what Pompeo was saying, but at one point the president said to him, “You are a star. We have some real stars in this administration.” He paused for dramatic effect, looked across the room at Bannon, and then

continued, “We also have some real losers and leakers as well, but that will change.”

Scaramucci’s White House tenure was short-lived, but his arrival had disrupted the organization. The president decided it was time to clear the decks. Later that week, after months of work, the Senate failed to pass Paul Ryan’s health-care reform bill, and the president decided it was time for Priebus to go. He unceremoniously fired his beleaguered chief of staff by tweet on July 28 as they returned to Joint Base Andrews from an event with law enforcement officers on Long Island, New York.

I sympathized with Priebus, despite the fact that he had aligned himself with Bannon. He had to contend with me, Bannon, Kellyanne Conway, Gary Cohn, Dina Powell, former *Apprentice* contestant Omarosa Manigault, and many others who had a direct line to the president. Trump was new to Washington and had an unconventional governing style. Months later, Priebus aptly described the situation: “There were so many natural predators in one zoo.” He also told me that if he could do it over, he would have gone with me instead of Bannon. “You weren’t the problem,” he admitted. “Steve had me fully convinced that you were the problem and that nothing would work until we got rid of you. I just made a mistake. I understand you now—you play the long game.”

In the same series of tweets Trump used to fire Priebus, the president announced General John Kelly, the retired four-star general who was running the Department of Homeland Security, as his next chief of staff. My interactions with Kelly had been limited during his time at Homeland Security, but I respected his reputation and his lifetime of service to our country. There was, however, something unsettling about the early signals he sent to the White House staff. After Kelly was announced as the new chief, he instructed the White House operator not to put any calls through to him, and he didn’t make calls to introduce himself to members of the senior staff. In hindsight, it became clear to me that he was establishing distance and dominance—and trying to foster insecurity.

Shortly after Kelly became chief of staff, I had a drink with him while we were both at Bedminster with the president. As the general sipped his gin and tonic and I nursed a beer, I told him that I wanted to see the president succeed and walked him through my portfolio. “I just want to work on these things,” I said. “And I’m here to help you with anything else—I know and understand Trump and how to make things work, but you’re the boss.” I then

offered him two unsolicited pieces of advice. The first was to get the president to stop talking about health care—a losing issue without a cohesive plan—and to focus instead on tax reform. Our economic team was working on a proposal to cut taxes and bring relief to working families: “It’s way more popular to tell people you’re cutting taxes than that you’re taking away their health care. Besides, Mnuchin and Gary are two of our best athletes, and they will make sure we have the best chance of achieving our first legislative victory before the end of the year.”

My second piece of advice was to get rid of Steve Bannon. “He has lost his mind, wants everything to be a conflict, and he’s leaking to the press all day.” Kelly assured me that he had already taken steps to take care of that.

On August 18 the president fired Bannon. Stephen Miller joked to Hope and me, “I have a plan to split up Steve Bannon’s extensive workload. Hope, you leak to Jonathan Swan at *Axios*. Jared, you call Mike Bender from the *Wall Street Journal*. I’ll call Jeremy Peters from the *New York Times*, and . . . we’re done.”

I remember a conversation at the time with a close friend. Admitting that I didn’t yet have any major policy successes to show for my seven months in government, I joked, “At least I was able to get Steve Bannon fired. That partially saves the world from immediate disaster.” My friend shot back, “You don’t get credit for that. It’s like paying your mortgage. You’re supposed to do that.” Those words really stuck with me. I knew he was right; just surviving wasn’t enough. I recommitted myself to finding a way to make my service count.

As I learned how to navigate government, books became some of my best advisers, providing historical and factual perspective that many in government had forgotten or never even knew. An added advantage, of course, was that books didn’t leak to the press. One book in particular shaped how I understood government: *The Gatekeepers* by Chris Whipple.<sup>12</sup> The book describes how chiefs of staff operated in different administrations and helped me realize that the power struggles in our White House were not unique. Every West Wing teems with rivals who vie for the president’s ear, and there has often been tension between the “pragmatists,” such as President Reagan’s chief of staff James Baker, and the ideologues, like Reagan’s longtime friend and counselor Ed Meese. To counter these dynamics, the chief of staff must install a strong internal process for preparing decisions for the president. I also learned that there was a big



difference between leaking to the press and spinning to the press. A leak occurs when an unauthorized person divulges sensitive—and in the worst cases untrue—information to advance a personal agenda or to disparage a colleague. Spinning, on the other hand, is the sharing of nonpublic information to advance the president’s agenda by helping the public better understand an issue. This is often done in full coordination with the White House communications office.

I couldn’t change the game. I just needed to excel at it—adapt my approach, get smarter, get tougher, navigate the process, weather attacks, and solve problems. I needed to find the effective people within our government and in other countries who actually managed to get things done. For every Bannon, there are a thousand people who are in government for the right reasons. Most of the time, no one knows about them because they are busy doing their job, not leaking to the press.

The other book that most helped me was Sun Tzu’s *Art of War*, the ancient military manual written by a Chinese general.<sup>13</sup> I learned three invaluable lessons from Sun Tzu. First, he writes, “The good fighters of old first put themselves beyond the possibility of defeat, and then waited for an opportunity of defeating the enemy.” I was too exposed politically and needed to hunker down like a turtle in its shell and rebuild strength before I could start feeling my way out. In practical terms, this meant focusing on my files, making more friends and fewer enemies, and not trying to fight everyone else’s battles. Second, “The opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself.” Rather than directly trying to go after those going against me, it was smarter to avoid conflict and let them create the conditions for their own defeat. This didn’t ensure that they would be defeated, but it gave me the space to survive. Throughout my time at the White House, I never defeated my enemies; nearly every one of them defeated themselves. Bannon illustrated this perfectly. I never attacked Bannon. He chose to go after me, and his relentless attacks created a high-stakes situation where one of us had to go. This eventually led to his demise. And third, “Avoidance of mistakes establishes the certainty of victory, for it means conquering an enemy that is already defeated.” I needed to be error-free. Working in politics was like balancing on a ball: I had to find ways to advance my goals without falling out of bounds. Every problem I tried to solve came with risks and countermoves, and the terrain could shift at any moment.

Seven months into the administration, Priebus and Bannon were finally gone. We had a US Marine general who seemed to be establishing order in the West Wing. My congressional testimony was behind me, and the whole Russia nonsense seemed to be simmering down. Now I hoped to focus more energy on a major responsibility that the president had entrusted to me: achieving the elusive goal of peace in the Middle East.

## Great Expectations

For decades, even the most seasoned foreign policy experts had failed to broker peace in the Middle East. These experts were skeptical that I could succeed where they had repeatedly failed. What chance did a thirty-six-year-old real estate investor have? I understood that the probability of success was slim, but I was determined to search for a breakthrough. I told myself that the worst that could happen was that I would fail like everybody else.

As I talked to foreign policy luminaries to get their perspectives, I met with Richard Haass, the president of the Council on Foreign Relations, a heavyweight among the foreign policy establishment. I described the general approach I planned to pursue and then asked if he thought it had any chance at success.

“Nope,” he said.

I asked him why he was so sure.

“Simple,” he replied. “No one has made money betting on success in the Middle East over the last twenty-five years.”

Haass was so dismissive that I began to realize how defeatist the foreign policy establishment had become. As I read books that past negotiators had written on the subject, I noticed a familiar refrain: they all explained that it wasn't that they had failed, but that the problem was too hard.

Former secretary of state Henry Kissinger was a valuable sounding board. Kissinger literally wrote the book on modern foreign policy; his 900-page treatise *Diplomacy* is required reading for students of the subject.<sup>14</sup> From the first time I met him on the campaign, I leaned on his wisdom, knowledge, and graciousness. Despite his advanced age of ninety four, he was sharp and always up-to-date on the current geopolitical landscape. “Call me anytime,” he offered after Trump won the election. He saw it as his patriotic duty to offer his vast experience and advice. I was deeply grateful and solicited his counsel often.

Shortly after Trump assigned me the Middle East peace file, I asked Kissinger how he would approach the job. He recommended that rather than trying to achieve a grand deal, I should focus on creating progress through short-term agreements. In 1974, as Israeli and Arab forces fought for control

of the Golan Heights, he had negotiated a cease-fire.<sup>15</sup> The text of the deal made it explicitly clear that the agreement was “not a peace agreement.”<sup>16</sup> Even so, Kissinger explained, it had become a new status quo over the last five decades. Permanent peace deals make for challenging domestic politics in the Middle East, he said, but if you can get rivals to agree to a short-term pact, or even a change of the status quo, it will last. Kissinger also warned me to resist efforts to run foreign policy out of the State Department. “You always have to run the foreign policy in the White House,” he said. “If the White House loses foreign policy to the State Department, you will never get anything done.”

After we arrived at the White House, I began spending several hours each Sunday receiving briefings from the US government’s foremost intelligence, military, and foreign policy experts. The briefer who I found most insightful was CIA expert Norm Roule, who had served in the intelligence community for more than thirty years and knew the intricacies of the Middle East like few others. Roule deepened my knowledge of the history of the countries in the region, the roots of the conflicts, and the key alliances and important players. He explained that the best way to gather intelligence was to get on a plane, form relationships, and listen to people. He and others painted a picture of a Middle East in turmoil. Terrorist groups like Hamas and Hezbollah were amassing tens of thousands of rockets and aiming them at Israel. The Iranian regime was targeting American troops through its terrorist proxy organizations in the region. Syria had devolved into a humanitarian and refugee crisis. And ISIS had a caliphate the size of Ohio and was recruiting radical disciples online.

A half century of conflict and failed negotiations had left the relationship between Israel and the Palestinians and other Arab countries in shambles. Neither side had much of an incentive to make a deal. Abbas was thought to be scared to reach a compromise, and Israel had no desire to make any concessions. Both viewed any new action as a potential threat to the fragile equilibrium they had reached over decades.

Roule’s briefing reminded me of what I had just read in *The Fight for Jerusalem*, by Dore Gold, which describes why the Israelis are distrustful of the international community on the question of Jerusalem.<sup>17</sup> In 1948 the United Nations overwhelmingly passed Resolution 181, a proposal to partition Palestine into separate Jewish and Arab states while maintaining international control of Jerusalem. Six months later, military forces from

Egypt, Transjordan, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq invaded Palestine and occupied areas of East Jerusalem, including the Jewish Quarter in the Old City. The United Nations remained quiet during the war that followed, allowing the Temple Mount, including the Western Wall, to fall under Arab control. For the next nineteen years the Jewish people were barred from the holy site, even for peaceful prayer, while many of the other Jewish sites were desecrated. In 1967, during the Six-Day War, the Israelis were attacked and won back control over Jerusalem. Since then, they had become skeptical of any change that could once again compromise their jurisdiction.

Another book that informed my thinking was Jimmy Carter's bestseller *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*.<sup>18</sup> In the appendix, I found a draft of the 1979 peace agreement that Carter negotiated between Israel and Egypt. Up to this point, I had been so consumed with understanding the problem that I had not yet thought about what a solution would look like in technical terms. Carter's 1979 draft was not an in-depth legal document. Rather, it was a brief set of principles. Intrigued, I asked the National Security Council and State Department to pull all of the signed agreements that related to peace in the Middle East, as well as every document that had been drafted or negotiated but not signed. As I studied the stack of documents, I found that they were all scant on details. These one- to two-page documents consisted of high-level concepts that were heavily wordsmithed to avoid the most contested issues: they failed to offer specific compromises on the most pressing questions, such as where exactly to draw the lines dividing Jerusalem, what Palestinians needed to do to achieve their own state, and how to handle the hundreds of thousands of Palestinian refugees who had fled to other countries during the 1948 and 1967 wars and now wanted to return. A number of experts had alleged that the Israelis and Palestinians had been close to a deal at Camp David in 2000, but I inferred otherwise from the documents and firsthand accounts.

I was equally surprised when I studied the Arab League's 2002 Arab Peace Initiative, which the Palestinians and Arab nations cited as a basis for negotiations.<sup>19</sup> It was all of ten lines that didn't say much. At the time of its publication, it offered a hopeful framework for peace because it professed that the Arabs were willing to negotiate an end to the conflict and normalize relations with Israel. But it lacked viable, nuanced solutions to the major unresolved issues. On perhaps the most contentious issue—the status of East Jerusalem and its crown jewel, the Temple Mount—it had the right wording

to avoid upsetting the Arab world, but it didn't include specifics. In fact, it called on Israel to accept the establishment of an independent Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital without providing any detail around how it intended to define East Jerusalem, where it would draw boundaries, or how it planned to respect religious claims and keep sacred sites safe and open. After being denied access to the Temple Mount for decades, Israel would never agree to give up control of East Jerusalem. According to a Palestinian Center for Public Opinion poll, more than half of the Palestinians who lived there wanted to be Israeli citizens rather than live under a Palestinian regime that had proven incapable of caring for its own people.<sup>20</sup>

In searching for a fair compromise, I turned to Scott Leith, the National Security Council's top expert on Israeli and Palestinian affairs who had previously worked on Secretary Kerry's State Department team as a special adviser on Israeli-Palestinian negotiations; I perceived that he was deeply sympathetic to the Palestinians and asked him to represent their point of view in our internal debates. To my surprise, when I requested background on the origins of the Palestinian claim on East Jerusalem as their capital, Leith didn't know offhand. He asked to get back to me with an answer. Two days later, Leith admitted he could not find evidence of a formal, independent Palestinian claim on East Jerusalem as their capital that predated 1988. That was the year the Palestinians declared it as their capital in a charter of the Palestinian Liberation Organization. I couldn't believe it; Scott had spent two days delving into the research and speaking with his fellow policy specialists, and this was all he could find. This was irrational, I thought. For three decades, the international community has accepted the Palestinian claim to a capital in East Jerusalem as an immutable fact of international law. And yet the legal basis for their claim is a 1988 charter organizing a group of revolutionary fighters. This helped explain a fact of history that struck me as odd. Following the 1948 war, Jordan had annexed the West Bank and East Jerusalem, but had kept its capital in Amman.

No one had ever come close to a real solution that could be signed and implemented. Those who had gone before had made sincere efforts, but they were more focused on managing the political reaction to their negotiations than they were on producing detailed proposals that would have a practical impact. I decided to test a new approach: I wouldn't try to dodge the details. Instead, I would embrace them. I asked my team to make a comprehensive "issues list" that explained the major points of contention between the two

sides. This would help me understand the granular differences between the two parties. I would then work through this issues list with leaders in the Middle East to hear their perspectives and find concrete resolutions. This was how we approached transactions in business, and it made sense to apply the same technique here.

I began formulating the working strategy of our peace plan with the advisers who composed my small but talented Middle East peace team: my deputy Avi Berkowitz, special representative for international negotiations Jason Greenblatt, State Department director of policy planning Brian Hook, US ambassador to Israel David Friedman, and deputy national security adviser Dina Powell, a Coptic Christian who spoke Arabic.

I first met Avi in 2011 at the Biltmore Hotel in Phoenix. It was Passover, and I was playing basketball with my brother and brother-in-law at the resort's court. We noticed Avi and his cousin waiting to play, and we invited them to join us. I learned a lot about Avi watching him on the court. He was a team player and a skilled passer who hustled hard, anticipated the next play, and had a great attitude. I invited him to intern at Kushner Companies. After gaining admittance to Harvard Law School, he joined our company for the gap year between college and law school. Upon graduating, he set aside other professional opportunities to volunteer on the Trump campaign, and he was the first person I hired at the White House.

Greenblatt had been Trump's real estate lawyer for twenty years, and served as the Trump campaign's liaison to the Jewish community. He had the president's confidence, deep knowledge of the subject matter, and a terrific poker face.

Brian Hook had served in the two previous Republican administrations, which made him an invaluable source of institutional knowledge, but he was also suspect among the Trump loyalists in the West Wing. I quickly saw for myself that he was a steadfast team member, and he served as our primary interlocutor with the State Department.

David Friedman rounded out the core team. A successful bankruptcy lawyer in Manhattan, Friedman had earned the confidence and friendship of Trump over fifteen years. Some criticized his selection as ambassador because he was a pro-Israel hawk with connections to the evangelical and Jewish right wings, but I saw this as an asset. He was well positioned to build relationships with the Israelis and report information back to Washington.

Early on, Friedman suggested that we should treat an Israeli-Palestinian agreement like a bankruptcy proceeding. “Israel is a secured creditor: they are the only democracy in the region with a stable government, a strong economy, and a viable market. The Palestinians are an unsecured creditor: they have corrupt leadership, a flailing economy, and no stability, and yet they think they have parity with the secured creditors. From my experience, you always end up in trouble when you let the weaker party think it can call the shots.”



## Tear Up the Talking Points

As I dealt with the barrage of false news about the Russia investigation, Secretary of State Rex Tillerson pounced on the opportunity to remove me from the Middle East file. One afternoon I received a call from US ambassador to the United Nations Nikki Haley, with whom I had developed a productive working relationship. Tillerson had told her that I was off the Middle East file and instructed her to stop routing issues and requests through my office.

Rather than confronting Tillerson, which I knew would be counterproductive, I figured it was better to assert my role. So I booked my first solo trip to the Middle East. On June 21 I traveled to Israel with Avi and Greenblatt to meet with Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu. A war hero, diplomat, and Israel's longest-serving prime minister, Bibi was a bold defender of Israel. As the most formidable opponent of the Iran deal, Bibi had taken steps to improve diplomatic relations with a number of countries, including some Arab nations who shared Israel's concern about a nuclear Iran. During his tenure, Bibi had made Israel into an economic powerhouse, an oasis of innovation, and an ever-ready battle nation with one of the most elite and advanced militaries in the world.

I had met the Israeli prime minister many years earlier, when he spent a weekend with my family on one of his trips to the United States. At the time, he was a private citizen and was speaking around the world. My father, who met Bibi through his support of pro-Israel causes, invited him to stay at our home in New Jersey while he was in town. Bibi stayed in my bedroom, so I was relegated to the basement, where I slept with his security guards on pullout couches. Jet-lagged, Bibi couldn't sleep so he pulled a book off my shelf—*Great Expectations*, the classic novel by Charles Dickens—and got halfway through it.<sup>21</sup> The next morning, he asked if he could take the book to finish it on the road. Ordinarily, I would have been happy to give my book to the Israeli leader, but this book was a gift. I flipped to the front page and showed him the inscription—it was from my girlfriend at the time. Bibi smiled and graciously left it behind.

When we met in the prime minister's office on June 21, Bibi expressed his thanks for the president's recent visit. He was grateful that I had worked

to defend Israel at the United Nations during the transition and was relieved that the United States was once again supporting the Jewish state after eight years of strained relations under the Obama administration. When I brought up the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, Bibi thought we should delay working on the issue. He had survived as prime minister for eleven years by appealing to his conservative base and opposing a Palestinian state. “This is not the right time,” he said. He went on to explain that he didn’t want Israelis to think that he was using peace negotiations to distract from an ongoing government investigation.

“This is a high priority for President Trump,” I said, “and if we’re going to work with you on Israel’s many requests, we need Israel to work with us on this.” Bibi reluctantly agreed.

As we drove from Jerusalem to Ramallah, Greenblatt reminded me, “Don’t say that we’re for a ‘two-state solution,’ because it means different things to different people.” It was good advice, and I decided to avoid the term until we had defined what it meant to be a state. When we arrived, we were ushered through a maze of stairways into a small room that had regal chairs arranged for a diplomatic meeting. Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas entered, proceeded to the front of the room, and shook our hands. He was staffed by his top negotiators: Major General Majed Faraj, a trustworthy and insightful member of Abbas’s inner circle and head of the Palestinian Security Forces; and Saeb Erekat, a loquacious and always aggrieved diplomat who had been the lead negotiator for twenty-five years but had little to show for his efforts. As they served us tea, I glanced in the direction of the Palestinian leader. Abbas sat hunched over in his seat, looking every bit of his eighty-plus years. He smoked constantly, so every few minutes he would pull a cigarette from the table, put it in his mouth, and wait for an attendant to light it. I thought that Abbas seemed more like a king than the representative of an historically downtrodden refugee population.

After exchanging niceties, I started the meeting right where Abbas and Trump had left off during their May visit, and asked Abbas whether he had made progress on the details of an initial proposal.

He said they were willing to take steps that they hadn’t made with anyone else—they would be incredibly flexible on the land. But they needed to know exactly what percentage of the disputed territory they would get, and they wanted us to get Israel to propose a detailed map. If we could get

them a map, they would be flexible, and everything else would be easy, Abbas pledged.

I asked him if they had an initial offer on the land issue, but as I tried to drill down, Abbas wasn't willing to talk specifics. He delivered the same set of diplomatic platitudes he'd conveyed to Trump several weeks earlier. Our conversation circled back around to my request for him to share concrete details about a land proposal he could accept. Again, he refused. I started to see why people were so skeptical of our efforts: Abbas was a savvy diplomat who was unfailingly polite and expressed a desire to make progress, but he appeared unwilling to let our negotiation reach a starting point. He said repeatedly that he had a lot of new ideas and would be flexible, but he then just rehashed the same general demands the Palestinians had requested for decades.

"I'm going to go back to the president, who's not a very patient person," I said. "He's going to ask me where we are on the deal, and I'm going to tell him that the Israelis are engaged and constructive, but you guys came back and weren't willing to be flexible at all. Is that the message you want me to relay?"

Abbas insisted that he wanted to be flexible, but then it was more of the same. I wasn't sure whether he didn't know how to make a deal, or if he just didn't want to. Sensing my exasperation, Abbas made what I perceived to be a factitious offer: he seemed to imply that if I didn't like the way things were going, then he would simply give back the keys to the West Bank and let the US run things.

"Sure, I'll take the keys," I retorted. I sensed Greenblatt shifting uncomfortably in his chair, like he was trying to tell me, telepathically, *You can't say that.*

The NSC foreign policy experts had warned me not to push Abbas too hard. Over the years, he had become a valuable security partner against extremist activity in the West Bank, and they feared that he was frail, politically weak, and on the verge of resigning his position. While they considered this to be a real and dangerous concern, I saw it as an opportunity, but I knew Abbas would never follow through. If he actually turned over the keys, he would forfeit his power and relevance. And his successor would inevitably scrutinize his internal affairs, which would expose his apparent corruption and luxurious lifestyle that came at the expense of his own people. Tens of billions of dollars had been injected into

the West Bank, and while there was some progress, clearly lots of the money had gone missing. He had a good life and a presidential palace in Ramallah, as well as a beautiful mansion in Amman, Jordan. While the prime minister of Israel typically flew on a commercial El Al plane, Abbas traveled the world in a \$50 million private jet for meetings with heads of state. I was calling his bluff, and he knew it.

“Look, if you guys give back the keys and you resign,” I persisted, “we’ll work with the United Nations and our local allies and put in place a provisional government. We’ll pump in a lot of money to build out your infrastructure and grow your economy. We will create tons of jobs and establish a fair and independent judiciary. In five years, we’ll draw fair boundaries, and we’ll conduct an election, and your people will have a new leader, better lives, and a fresh start. I’m okay with that path forward, if you really want to do that. It might actually be the easiest way for us, and better for the Palestinian people.”

Though Abbas would not admit it, he seemed content to leave things as they were. Across Palestinian territory, his picture hung next to that of the former Palestinian Liberation Organization leader Yasser Arafat. Meanwhile, each year the Palestinians received more than a billion dollars in aid from the international community.<sup>22</sup> If Abbas made a deal, they might lose this funding stream and the one issue that gave them attention on the world stage. The world would shift its focus away from his nearly five million people, Hamas would pounce on even the smallest concession, and Abbas’s people would view him as a traitor. We had heard that Abbas often stated that he would rather go to the grave as a martyr than as a traitor. He was in the twelfth year of a four-year term. The international community didn’t seem to care, so why would he risk changing the status quo?

Immediately after our meeting, confidential information about our discussion started appearing in the press, and I further understood why Abbas was so afraid to show compromise: everything leaked from his office. He had worked hard to get the entire world to stand by the Arab Peace Initiative. If he showed flexibility toward compromise, he would run the risk of frustrating his supporters. I began to lose faith that we would ever get anywhere with him. He was in a tough position and had little incentive to make a bold change. Hoping to shake loose a solution, I continued to engage with Abbas and the Israelis. I knew failure was a possibility, but I was determined to try for success.

\* \* \*

Upon our return, I asked Jason Greenblatt to start drafting our first iteration of a peace plan. I wanted to design a plan robust enough to sustain an agreement between Israel and the Palestinians far into the future. The plan would rest on three principles. First, all religions should have access to their holy sites for respectful observance. Second, the Palestinian people should have the opportunity to achieve better and more prosperous lives. And third, Israel had a right to maintain its security.

The old way seemed like a sure path to failure, so I decided to do something untraditional: propose a highly detailed plan and try to get both sides to react to it. Until both parties could react to a substantive plan, it seemed to me that they would keep fighting over vague concessions and hypothetical solutions, rather than coming to the table and negotiating a deal that would last long after it was signed and executed. Our initial draft was a ten-page document, but it soon morphed and expanded.

I wanted to solicit input from Arab leaders, who had supported the Palestinians for decades. Because they lived in the region, they would have to live with the consequences of what we produced and could help me gauge whether my approach was viable. As I planned an August trip to visit several countries in the Middle East to update them on our approach, MBS invited me to join a previously scheduled gathering with Mohammed bin Zayed (commonly known as MBZ), the de facto leader of the United Arab Emirates, at his coastal residence near the Red Sea.

During two days of constructive meetings, the leaders described the challenges and opportunities in the region. They presided over two of the largest economies and most powerful militaries in the Middle East, and they had much to say. Just as we had heard during the president's visit to Riyadh, they reiterated that their most critical issue was the threat from Iran. They told me that after Obama signed the Iran deal in 2015, Arabs started learning Chinese because they believed China could be a better future partner than the United States. The UAE had been among the first Muslim nations to join the fight against extremism after the September 11 attacks, and many Emiratis expressed disappointment that the Obama administration did not consult their leadership before finalizing the Iran deal.

When we discussed the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, they were sympathetic to the cause of the Palestinians and expressed a sense of sadness about the situation. They were frustrated that the Palestinian leadership had

failed to create a better pathway forward for the Palestinian people. They wanted the problem to be solved, whether through the framework they set forth in the Arab Peace Initiative or through a new proposal.

To my surprise, our conversation shifted to the relationship between Israel and the Arab world more broadly. We had an eye-opening discussion about the history of the region and how the conflict had reached its current state, which was far more nuanced and fair-minded than I had expected. We exchanged ideas about how we could improve the relationship between Israel and the Arab world. In the seventy years since Israel declared independence, only Egypt and Jordan had made peace and established diplomatic relations with it, in a move known in diplomatic circles as “normalization.” The remainder of the Arab League, and many other Muslim countries around the globe, had refused to recognize Israel as a sovereign nation. This meant that these countries had no diplomatic relations with Israel, including no official travel, communication, business, or commerce with the Jewish state.

At one point, MBS and MBZ acknowledged that the allies of their countries were the allies of Israel, and that the enemies of their countries were the enemies of Israel. When I asked them point-blank if they would be open to normalizing, they expressed a desire to make progress on the Palestinian issue, but did not express animosity toward Israel. I sought their advice on how to approach the problem, given Abbas’s intractability. They implied that if I could get Israel to agree to a credible plan that included a Palestinian state, access to al-Aqsa Mosque, and investments to improve the lives of the Palestinian people, that could change the dynamics. They indicated that if the Palestinians rejected the plan, they would be even more open-minded.

Before we departed, MBZ made one more comment: The United States typically sent three types of people to conduct diplomacy, he said. The first were people who fell asleep in meetings; the second were people who read talking points with no ability to converse; the third were people who came and tried to convince them to do things that were not in their interests. He observed that I was different. I was the first person to come asking questions and really trying to understand their perspectives. He believed we would make peace in the region.

I was honored by MBZ’s observation, and I never forgot his words. After our visit, one of my Secret Service agents remarked that he had

enjoyed watching a soccer game with an Emirati security guard named Mohammed. I told him that the person he had presumed to be a security guard was actually MBZ. The agent was taken aback—the crown prince had been shockingly humble and low-key, and he had taken a genuine interest in the agent's life, background, and family.

I left Saudi Arabia encouraged. I had become familiar with how diplomatic talks typically play out: the two sides sit opposite from each other, reading from note cards handed to them by their career staffers. But this was different. We tore up the talking points and engaged in a genuine discussion. The meeting clarified why it would be so critical to talk directly to the leaders of these nations: they were the ones with the authority to veer from the established talking points and make the difficult decisions on behalf of their countries.

It also helped that we quickly developed a mutual understanding. In the Arab world, politics is a family business, with members of royal families ruling for generations. As the son-in-law of the president, and a former executive of a family business, I represented something that they found familiar and reassuring. They knew that when I spoke, I did so as an extension of the president in a way that few administration officials could.

From Saudi Arabia we traveled to Qatar, Egypt, Jordan, and Israel, listening to the leaders and gauging their reactions on our approach to a peace deal. Meeting with Emir Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani of Qatar, President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt, and King Abdullah II of Jordan reaffirmed my sense that Arab leaders were ready for new ideas on the Israel Palestinian conflict and that the most important issue to them was expanding Muslim access to the al-Aqsa Mosque. The Arab leaders appreciated Trump's larger-than-life personality, unscripted and unconventional style, toughness on Iran, and the fact that he was more interested in working with them to solve problems than lecturing them, as previous Washington diplomats had done.

## Great Power Competition

“Where is Arabella?” the president asked as Air Force One leveled off at cruising altitude on its way to Asia on November 3, 2017.

I glanced at John Kelly, the White House chief of staff. In planning for this twelve-day swing through China, Japan, South Korea, Vietnam, and the Philippines, Kelly had made clear to Ivanka and me that he didn’t want any of us on the trip. He was fine with me chasing Middle East peace, which he dismissed as quixotic, but he didn’t want me to play a role in our dealings with China. This put me in an awkward spot, given the relationships I had developed through President Xi’s successful visit to Mar-a-Lago.

After Arabella’s Chinese poetry recitation at Mar-a-Lago, President Xi had asked if she could accompany her grandfather to China. Kelly had been particularly hostile toward the idea of Arabella joining, claiming that there wasn’t enough room on the plane, even though he knew that the president wanted her to come. Ivanka and I didn’t press the issue. We didn’t want to pick a fight with Kelly. Plus, Ivanka and Secretary Mnuchin were in the last stretch of their push for tax reform. If she skipped the trip, Ivanka could continue to advance the president’s top legislative priority.

With Kelly standing nearby, I answered the president’s question. “Kelly said Arabella couldn’t come, but we recorded a special video of her singing in Chinese, and I have it on an iPad, in case you want to show it to President Xi.”

The president didn’t mask his disappointment. “Make sure my military aide has the iPad,” he said, and then he turned to Kelly. “Why did you stop Arabella from coming?”

“Sir, we didn’t have enough room on the plane,” Kelly replied.

The president knew this was nonsense. He looked around the spacious cabin of Air Force One and remarked sardonically, “We’re on a 747, and are being followed by a support plane, which is another 747. We sent another twenty cargo planes filled with equipment, and you’re telling me we don’t have room for a six-year-old who’s more popular in China than any of us?”

When we arrived in Beijing, the city glistened in the reflection of the pure blue sky. At the command of the Chinese Communist Party, the coal-burning power plants and factories had been shut down for the three weeks



leading up to our visit to allow the smog and soot to dissipate. As our motorcade entered the Forbidden City, the grounds were eerily empty. The Chinese had cleared the tourists from the vast imperial gardens and ornate palaces, which attract more than fourteen million visitors a year. The opulence, meticulous detail, and symbolism of the fifteenth-century complex was as magnificent as it was foreboding. It seemed like Xi's choice of location was intended to remind us that the Chinese had endured for thousands of years and would continue for thousands more. China was playing the long game.

Xi greeted Trump warmly and proceeded to give him a personally guided tour of the ancient city, followed by a lavish dinner and an opera performance. As Trump had anticipated, Xi was disappointed by the absence of Arabella. The Chinese leader had prepared a performance for her in an ancient pavilion that had not been used in more than a hundred years. Trump immediately called for his military aide to bring the iPad, and he played the video of Arabella singing the popular Chinese folk song "Jasmine Flower." Xi was so delighted by the video that he played it on a massive screen at the state dinner.

The next day, in a meeting on economic policy, Trump and Xi sat across from each other, facing off in a long conference room deep inside the Great Hall of the People, a massive Communist Party building on the western edge of Tiananmen Square that China uses to host foreign delegations. The two leaders were flanked by their top officials as they prepared to continue the discussion that had commenced at Mar-a-Lago seven months prior. In attendance was one key member of the US delegation who hadn't been at the meetings with Xi in Palm Beach: US trade representative Robert Lighthizer. A tough, no-nonsense lawyer from the manufacturing town of Ashtabula, Ohio, he possessed a gravelly voice to match his rust-belt roots. Lighthizer had been a force in Washington trade circles for more than four decades, serving on the Senate Committee on Finance for Bob Dole and as deputy trade representative under Ronald Reagan. Lighthizer was a thorn in the side of his fellow Republicans, advocating for protectionist trade policies that defended the jobs and livelihoods of American workers. In Trump, Lighthizer had finally found a champion of his lifelong cause.

After Lighthizer's confirmation in May, there was initially confusion about who would take the lead on negotiations with the Chinese. Each of the

“trade principals”—Secretary Mnuchin, Secretary Wilbur Ross, Ambassador Lighthizer, Gary Cohn, and Peter Navarro—thought he would own the file. At one contentious meeting, Lighthizer said, “There are six trade negotiators in this room and I’m the only one with a law degree and a confirmation.” We began discussing a message many of us had been hearing from our contacts in the business community: though Trump was talking tough on China, threatening unprecedented tariffs on tens of billions of dollars in Chinese imports, the Chinese didn’t know specifically what he wanted in a deal. We thought it was important to put together a specific list, but Lighthizer pumped the brakes.

“They know what we want, and we’re not giving them shit,” he said, before providing a brief history of the economic dialogues between the United States and China. Since China entered the World Trade Organization in 2001, the US had conducted a series of technical discussions to address China’s unfair trade activities. Over the course of thirteen meetings spanning the Bush and Obama administrations, the US trade deficit with China had more than quadrupled, increasing from \$80 billion in 2001 to \$375 billion in 2017.<sup>23</sup>

“These guys play us like a fiddle,” Lighthizer said. “What we need to do is hit them with tariffs to show that we’re not like the other idiots. And we need to stop with all these dialogue meetings, because they are a waste of time. It’s their way of tapping us along.”

Despite his curmudgeonly disposition, I liked Lighthizer from the outset. He was one of a handful of people who understood and agreed with Trump’s pro-America agenda and also had the technical skills and knowledge to implement the changes we needed to make. Trump liked him for the same reasons and asked him to come on the China trip to give a presentation to Xi on the US-China trade relationship.

With the international press in the room, Trump opened the meeting with an effusive statement about the warm relationship that he and Xi had established so swiftly. When the opening statements concluded, the press filed out of the room, and Trump turned the meeting over to his trade negotiator. Lighthizer didn’t hold back anything. He detailed a litany of China’s trade abuses. They had broken nearly every rule governing modern trade: stealing American intellectual property, manipulating their currency, illegally dumping cheap products into our markets to make our companies uncompetitive, and forcing American companies to hand over their trade

secrets as a precondition for entering the Chinese market.<sup>24</sup> Trump wanted Lighthizer to send a strong message, but Lighthizer's presentation surprised even Trump, who was typically respectful and warm to his foreign counterparts, despite his tough negotiating style. Lighthizer was neither. He later explained that the Chinese desire stability above all else. If Trump prevented them from attaining it, he would gain the upper hand in negotiations. After that, the Chinese tried to find friendlier channels to the president.

This reminded me of what I had read in Michael Pillsbury's provocative book *The Hundred-Year Marathon*.<sup>25</sup> During the 1992 presidential campaign, Democratic candidate Bill Clinton had talked tough on China—at one point accusing George H. W. Bush, then president, of cozying up to “the butchers of Beijing.” In his confirmation hearings Warren Christopher, Clinton's choice for secretary of state, served notice that he would take a tough line with China. So, in a move that the Chinese later dubbed “the Clinton coup,” China's top diplomats developed warm relations with two of Clinton's top economic advisers, Robert Rubin and Larry Summers, who were more sympathetic to China, and worked through them to persuade Clinton to dial back his antagonism. The Chinese had used the same tactic during the Bush and Obama administrations, and they had largely succeeded.

Also on the schedule was a smaller, restricted meeting between Trump and Xi to discuss North Korea. Flanked by Tillerson, McMaster, and Kelly, Trump walked through a hallway and made his way into the restricted meeting space. As the president's military aide attempted to follow him through the hallway so that he could stand outside the meeting room, a Chinese security official closed a door to prevent him from passing through. This was an alarming diplomatic breach. It's a well-known fact that the military aide is always within earshot of the president, carrying a large leather briefcase known as the “nuclear football.” It contains the codes to authorize a nuclear attack when the president is away from a secure operations center such as the White House Situation Room. As the president began his meeting with Xi, his military aide insisted that he needed to be near the president. The Chinese security officer held him back. Kelly caught a glimpse of the scuffle and rushed toward the doorway, grabbing the Chinese officer by the neck and pinning him against the wall.

“You people are rude,” he screamed. “The Chinese people are rude! This is terrible! This is not how you treat your guests!”

A protocol official rushed in, realizing the security officer's mistake, and apologized profusely. But Kelly stormed away, boycotting the meeting and leaving a chair next to the president conspicuously empty. He came into the room where the rest of our staff was waiting and regaled us with the story of what had just unfolded. He bragged that he had shown the Chinese that America would no longer be bullied. In the middle of his recounting, a staff member came in and said that the head of Chinese protocol was outside and wanted to apologize personally for the mistake. Kelly paused and smirked. "Tell them I'm busy." He then turned back to us and resumed his bullshitting.

About an hour later, I saw Kelly walking next to the head of Chinese protocol with his arm around him, chummy as could be. In that moment, I finally understood John Kelly. To him, everything was a game of establishing dominance and control. He made people feel small and unimportant to establish the relationship from a place of power. Then, with his position firmly established, he would charm and disarm, leaving people relieved that they were on his good side, but fearful of what would happen if they crossed him. I thought about how he had put the entire White House senior staff on edge when he refused to take phone calls after the president announced him as chief of staff, but when he arrived on campus he had been gregarious and fully engaged. I realized that his Jekyll-and-Hyde routine would work only if the people he bullied allowed it to work. When I got back to Washington, I shared the story with Ivanka, who agreed with my perception of Kelly.

Throughout his time as chief of staff, Kelly was careful not to elevate anyone who had a close relationship with the president. The relationship that Ivanka and I had with Trump made him uneasy because he feared that we might break ranks and circumvent him. We worked hard to assuage these fears, but to no avail. He excluded us from critical policy meetings in the Oval Office relating to our own portfolios and slow-walked, or simply killed, our meeting requests or policy proposals for the president.

Kelly seemed consistently duplicitous. Normally he would shower Ivanka with compliments to her face that she knew were insincere. Then the four-star general would call her staff to his office and berate and intimidate them over trivial procedural issues that his rigid system often created. He would frequently refer to her initiatives like paid family leave and the child tax credit as "Ivanka's pet projects."

Only once did Kelly let his mask fully slip. One day he had just marched out of a contentious meeting in the Oval Office. Ivanka was walking down the main hallway in the West Wing when she passed him. Unaware of his heated state of mind, she said, “Hello, chief.”

Kelly shoved her out of the way and stormed by.

She wasn’t hurt, and didn’t make a big deal about the altercation, but in his rage Kelly had shown his true character. An hour later he came to the second-floor and paid a visit to Ivanka’s office to offer a meek apology, which she accepted. Ivanka’s chief of staff, Julie Radford, had been meeting with Ivanka and heard the apology. It was the first and only time that Ivanka’s staff saw Kelly visit their second floor corner of the West Wing.

When Trump hired Kelly, he asked him to be the West Wing’s four-star general, and Kelly took that request way too literally. Trump was an unorthodox president who thrived on hearing from multiple viewpoints when making decisions. After Kelly came in, Trump joked that his office became so quiet and empty that he missed the action. Kelly cared more about controlling the process than producing results. Trump cared way more about results than process. Assistant to the president Chris Liddell had the best analogy for the transition from Priebus and Bannon to Kelly: “We went from a full liquid to a full solid, when we should have had something in between.”

When Kelly sidelined me, it initially felt like another setback, but I gradually learned to view it differently. Because I was no longer arbitrating squabbles among staff members or putting out daily firestorms, I was able to focus my energy on my policy priorities, including NAFTA, criminal justice reform, and Middle East peace. During that period I had a conversation with Bob Lighthizer that helped me see my narrowed role as a hidden blessing. Lighthizer and I were discussing our ongoing trade negotiations with Mexico when Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina called me with a suggestion on immigration policy. I asked Lighthizer what he thought, and he curtly replied, “I’m not telling you.”

When I asked him why not, he explained, “I have my dream job right now. I have been talking about these trade issues for forty years, and there is finally a president who understands them and has the balls to take them on. If I am great at my job, I have a one-in-ten chance of being successful given the difficulty of the task. The moment I start getting into other people’s issues, these odds go to one in a million.”

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On November 1, two days before we departed for Asia, the Secret Service picked me up at 7:30 a.m. We drove to the office of my lawyer, Abbe Lowell. I was fortunate to have hired Lowell as my attorney. He was a meticulous lawyer who examined every detail and anticipated how a partisan prosecutor might spin the case. There, in Lowell's office, I began my first interview with a team of Mueller investigators and FBI agents. I assured them that I intended to participate, and that I had nothing to hide—no smoke, no fire, no collusion. They grilled me about the structure of the transition team, my relationship with former national security adviser Michael Flynn, and the circumstances around his firing. They asked about my meeting with Ambassador Kislyak and the nature of the Trump team's interactions with the Russians during the transition. As I answered their questions, I remembered being a teenager and hearing all about independent counsel Ken Starr's investigation of the Monica Lewinsky scandal. I couldn't believe I was now at the center of a globally followed investigation. Months later, Mueller's team called me back and grilled me for another six hours. Again, I answered every question they asked.

It sometimes seemed that the whole world was rushing to convict me and other administration officials without evidence. On two separate occasions, when I was about to leave our house in Kalorama and head to the office, I heard the commotion of camera crews as the press set up in front of our house. When I looked out the window and noticed that these were not the standard *Daily Mail* photographers, who had a weird obsession with Ivanka's outfits, but instead actual news teams, I called Lowell and asked what was happening. Both times, he told me that the outlets had been tipped off that I was going to be arrested that day.

The hardest part of the ordeal was knowing the stress it was causing my family, especially my mom. With my father's experience seared in her memory, she would see news articles that claimed I was guilty and would call, worried. Throughout, Ivanka was my rock. She somehow knew exactly when I needed encouragement or just needed her by my side. She held me up while I treaded on paper-thin ice.

At my lowest point, Ivanka was at the top of her game. During the president's Asia trip, she traveled across America to sell tax reform, and her hard work paid off. She visited the congressional districts of the Republicans who were wavering in their support for the plan, and she got each one of

them to vote for the bill. She delivered the two senators who no one in the West Wing thought we could get, but whose support was critical to passing the bill: Susan Collins of Maine and Bob Corker of Tennessee, both of whom were at odds with the president. Through many visits to their offices, dinner conversations at our house, and long phone calls, Ivanka became their most trusted confidant at the White House. And because of her skillful diplomacy and delicate negotiation, she got them both to a yes.

Without Ivanka, tax reform probably would not have passed, and it certainly would not have included provisions to double the child tax credit and establish a new incentive for employers to offer paid leave to working parents. These were two of the most successful aspects of the tax reform legislation, and they have given more than forty million American families an average of more than \$2,000 in tax savings each year.<sup>26</sup>

As I navigated through all the forces that tried to take me down, I managed to maintain the confidence of the president. There were times, however, when I could feel that even his faith in me was dwindling. Soon after my interview with the Mueller investigators, I was alone with the president in his cabin aboard Air Force One. He asked me how Ivanka and I were holding up. I told him we were weathering things okay, all things considered.

“I want you to know, I wouldn’t hold it against you guys if you wanted to return to New York,” he said. “Washington has turned out to be a vicious place, and you guys had great lives before this, and they are still waiting for you if you want them.”

I wasn’t sure if this was his way of suggesting that I should leave, and I didn’t want to ask. With as much confidence as I could muster, I told him that the media smears and accusations didn’t bother me—I wanted to clear my name, and I was still excited by the progress I could make on several of my files. I was also concerned about what would happen if we left Trump without family in the West Wing, where Kelly and the other self-interested players would try even harder to exert more power and subvert the president’s agenda. I kept that fear to myself.

## 16

# Building Capital

Now is the time,” I said.

The president had just asked me one of the most important direct questions that I faced in the Oval Office: Should we move America’s embassy in Tel Aviv to Jerusalem?

After the AIPAC speech in 2016, Trump vowed repeatedly to move the embassy—a promise that animated many evangelical and Jewish voters. He had contemplated doing this by executive order on his first day in office, but Mattis and Tillerson warned that it would result in catastrophic violence. Trump held off, and ten months into the administration, Tillerson still had no plan to move the embassy. He thought he had delayed the decision indefinitely, which seemed to be his goal, despite the wishes of the president.

By November, my team and I saw an opportunity. For more than twenty years, supporters of Israel had waited for a president to move the embassy to Jerusalem. In 1995 Congress passed the Jerusalem Embassy Act, which required the president to move the embassy. Buried in the legislation was a provision allowing the president to delay the move if he signed a waiver every six months. Since then, every president had repeatedly signed the waiver. The first time it arrived on Trump’s desk in June, Tillerson urged him to sign it. As the waiver came back for a second time in late November, we planned to recommend to the president that he follow through on his campaign pledge, reverse twenty years of broken promises, recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, and move the US embassy.

On November 17, Tillerson, Kelly, McMaster, Friedman, Greenblatt, and I gathered in the Oval Office. The stated purpose of the meeting was to update the president about our ongoing dialogue with the Israelis and Palestinians and to solicit his feedback. After we briefly discussed our progress, Trump asked what we were doing about the embassy. Friedman, Greenblatt, and I had expected this and were prepared for the discussion. McMaster jumped in and explained that the issue was complicated—there was a great deal at stake in the decision, and it was running through the NSC process to ensure all factors and viewpoints were considered before they brought him a recommendation. He and Tillerson were sympathetic to the decades-old logic that moving the embassy would compromise America’s



position as peace broker and cause the region to explode in violence. They wanted another six-month delay, at which point they would no doubt seek another, and then another, ad infinitum.

Certain that McMaster's NSC process would stall the move, Friedman took the floor. This was an early test of Trump's presidency, he argued. The whole world—from Tehran to Pyongyang—was watching to see if he was going to be a president who kept his promises, or if he was going to fall into the familiar patterns of conventional wisdom.

Trump turned to me and asked if moving the embassy would make it harder to reach a peace deal with the Palestinians.

“In the short run, it will be more difficult,” I said, “but in the long run, it will be easier because we will build capital with Israel, while showing world leaders that you aren't constrained by convention. The Middle East is a rough neighborhood, where leaders respect those who do what they say and don't cower under pressure.”

Concerned about the peace plan, Trump then asked if we should wait six more months and see if the plan gained traction.

“While that should be considered, this is a relatively quiet period in a normally volatile Middle East,” I said. “Anything can happen, and in six months you might not have the same hand to play.”

After hearing the opposing view from Tillerson and weighing the potential risks and benefits, the president made his decision: “I want to do it. Run your NSC process, and let's meet on it soon.”

I was thrilled by the decision—but I didn't have time to celebrate. My assistant Cassidy Luna stopped by my desk with a note that my lawyer Abbe Lowell had called. He had received a press inquiry about the ongoing Russia investigation. I had already been interviewed by Mueller's prosecutors, submitted testimony to both houses of Congress, and had gone to extraordinary lengths to accommodate requests and to be fully transparent. But after a year of baseless investigations, I felt deflated. I couldn't imagine going through another round of inquiries.

Just then Tillerson strode into my office, huffing in exasperation and seething with anger. He had been blindsided by the meeting with the president. He had assumed it would be solely about the peace plan, and he was woefully underprepared for the embassy discussion. To compound his ire, he had spoken with MBS earlier in the day, and the crown prince had told Tillerson that he was pleased that his team was now working with the

White House on a daily basis. Tillerson thought this meant that MBS and I were talking regularly. It infuriated him to think that this was happening without the State Department's knowledge.

In June, less than a week after the president returned from his first overseas trip, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt cut off diplomatic relations with Qatar and halted air, sea, and land traffic. They accused Qatar of fomenting terrorism by funding the Muslim Brotherhood and working with Iran to destabilize the region.

Tillerson's sympathies were with the Qataris. Under his leadership, Exxon had invested tens of billions of dollars to build up Qatar's gas industry. He had developed close bonds with the Qatari royal family. He knew that I often spoke to the Emirati leader MBZ and had also established a friendly rapport with MBS. He speculated that the quartet of Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Bahrain, and Egypt was taking advantage of our goodwill to bully the Qataris. He claimed that I was to blame for the Saudi rift with Qatar, which was the exact opposite of the truth. In fact, I saw the hostility as counter to American interests, and when I first learned that the Saudis might take action against Qatar, I tried to convince them to delay the decision. I told them about an encouraging meeting I'd had weeks earlier with the Qatari foreign minister, Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman, who made clear that the Qataris wanted to diffuse the mounting tensions. Sheikh Mohammed had strongly denied the allegations against Qatar and promised to immediately rectify any issues if I could bring him a specific list. My efforts to mediate were unsuccessful, so I called the Situation Room and asked to be connected to Tillerson. His chief of staff, Margaret Peterlin, intercepted the call and told me he was busy. Over the next several days, Tillerson's efforts at diplomacy drove all sides further into their corners. He had not only failed to negotiate a solution but made matters worse. From that point on, I felt like I'd lost Tillerson's trust—he seemed to stop turning to me as a confidant and ally and instead viewed me as a dangerous impediment.

"Thanks to your efforts," he snapped, "the Middle East is much worse today than when we got here. The embassy move is going to be a disaster. Between this and your relationship with MBS, you are lighting a match in a dry forest, and the whole Middle East is on fire."

He claimed that MBS would destabilize Saudi Arabia and the entire Middle East. "If you keep maneuvering around me and making these decisions," Tillerson continued, "you might as well go before the Senate for

confirmation because you are going to cause a war, and I am not going to be the one to be blamed for it.”

Now I was heated. I told him that he was flat-out wrong. While I did fully support MBS’s vision to modernize, I hadn’t spoken to him in at least three weeks, and anytime my team or I dealt substantively with the Saudis, we included NSC and State Department officials. Knowing that MBS was a 24/7 worker, I asked Cassidy to try and get him on the line. She did, and I said to the crown prince, “Secretary Tillerson told me that you implied that we are coordinating daily. I can’t have this. He is the secretary of state, and while I work on the Middle East file, I report to him on foreign policy, and we try hard to stay in sync on everything.”

With Tillerson standing there listening to our conversation, MBS replied that Tillerson must have misunderstood: MBS’s brother Khalid, who at that time was the Saudi ambassador to the United States, had followed Tillerson’s suggestion and had met in the White House that very day with the whole NSC Middle East team and staff from the State Department. MBS questioned whether Tillerson was perhaps unaware that his State Department team had been meeting with Khalid and his team regularly.

As Tillerson listened, his face turned bright red. I hung up the phone and told him to get a better grip on his team’s activities before accusing me of things I had not done. Tillerson lashed back. He said the Saudis were the biggest funders of terrorism and predicted that MBS would never make the reforms he promised. “I’m selling Saudi short,” he added, using a stock market term to indicate he was betting against them. Then he threw his hands in the air and screamed, “I can’t operate like this! I feel like we have four secretaries of state.”

Usually I avoid engaging in futile arguments, but this was enough. I could feel my voice rise. “If you actually did your job and implemented what the president asked, we would have only one.”

My words had stung. The former oil titan was growing more frazzled and insecure, so I softened my tone. “Look, I know this was a misunderstanding,” I said. “You are the secretary of state, and I want to work with you. If you give me any suggestions on how I can change my style or process to make you comfortable, let me know, and I will do it.” He stared at me for a few seconds, offered no suggestions, and stormed out.

\* \* \*

On November 27 Kelly directed McMaster to schedule a small meeting with the president in the Situation Room to seek a final decision on the Jerusalem embassy. Kelly invited Vice President Pence, Tillerson, Mattis, McMaster, and Ambassador Friedman. Despite the fact that I was the White House lead on Middle East policy, Kelly refused to let Jason Greenblatt or me join. This was for our own protection, he assured me. He explained that he was concerned that the decision would result in violent attacks on our embassies, and if Americans died as a result, he didn't want me to be blamed for it. Later I learned that he had given Friedman an entirely different reason: he didn't want history to show that three Orthodox Jews, who might be biased in favor of Israel, had participated in such a consequential meeting. This was another one of Kelly's power plays. By design, Friedman was outnumbered in the meeting, but he was more than prepared to respond to those who opposed the move. Based on my private discussions with Trump, I also knew where he stood on the issue.

While the meeting took place on the floor below us in the Situation Room, Greenblatt, Avi, and I waited anxiously in my office. Friedman stopped by afterward and gave us the blow-by-blow. As the president took his customary seat at the head of the table, he set the ground rules for discussion: he wanted to hear from those who disagreed with moving the embassy, and after each spoke, Friedman would provide a rebuttal. Tillerson went first, reading from a loose sheet of paper. In his Texas drawl, he argued that the Trump administration had reestablished a solid working relationship between the United States and Israel. The current US posture on the embassy had been our policy for a long time, and moving it wouldn't dramatically improve our standing with the Israelis, so why do it? From his prepared script, he walked the president through the modern history of Jerusalem, but he made an embarrassing factual blunder when he told the president that the Israelis had controlled Jerusalem since "the war in 1996."

When Tillerson finished, Trump turned to Friedman and asked him to respond. "Mr. Secretary," he said, "I'm willing to concede that in ninety-nine percent of this world, you know the issues one thousand times better than me. I'm just not willing to concede that for Israel. I didn't bring any notes with me; you, on the other hand, were just reading from talking points that someone wrote for you. And whoever wrote them should be fired, because they contain a lot of mistakes. For example, the war was in 1967, not 1996. We can have this debate, if you want it, but it's not going to be fair to you."

Tillerson looked down his nose and over his reading glasses at Friedman, slammed his notebook shut, and stated, "I've said my piece."

Next, the president turned to Mattis, who explained that he couldn't understand why so much focus had been placed on the Jerusalem issue. He had been to Israel on countless occasions, and each time he went, his meetings were in Tel Aviv. Why move the embassy to Jerusalem if Israel's defense department is in Tel Aviv?

The group turned to Friedman for a response. "Where is the Pentagon?" he asked Mattis, who replied that it was in Arlington, Virginia. Then Friedman continued: "Is our capital in Virginia? Based on your logic, it should be. When you go to Israel, you meet at their defense headquarters, which is in Tel Aviv. And when they come here, they meet at the Pentagon, which is in Virginia. But America's Congress, Supreme Court, and the White House are all in Washington, DC. Similarly, their Knesset, Supreme Court, and prime minister's residence are all in Jerusalem." Mattis conceded that point. By the end of the meeting, the president announced that he wanted to go forward with the decision to move the embassy to Jerusalem.

Tillerson spoke up again. Apparently, he really had not said his piece. "I'd like to note for the record that this is a mistake," he said. "I've got American diplomats in Muslim countries from Morocco all the way to Pakistan. And I don't know how I will keep them safe when violence breaks out."

Mattis looked at Tillerson and said, "Look, I was against this as well, but the president has made a decision, and I'll make sure we get enough Marines to your embassies to keep every single diplomat safe."

Trump wanted to be prepared if violence did erupt, and he directed me to speak to all the leaders in the Middle East and report back if there were any problems. While many leaders made clear that they were against the embassy move, they were also committed to working with us to prevent violent backlash in their countries. As we approached December 1, the day the existing waiver was set to expire, my team received an inquiry from the press asking me to confirm a report: "On Monday a major meeting took place in the WH regarding the question of Jerusalem as Israel's capital. POTUS rejected the recommendation of his national security advisers and decided to move the embassy." Someone had leaked. Concerned, Saeb Erekat and Majed Faraj, two of the top Palestinian interlocutors with Washington, paid an emergency visit to see me at the White House.

Erekat warned that the move would be a big mistake. Faraj echoed these concerns, predicting that there would be dire consequences in the region if the president went forward with the move. Critics claimed that the decision would weaken America's relationship with the entire region, including the UAE, Saudi Arabia, Jordan, and Egypt, and suggested that anarchy would break out and the United States would be disqualified from playing any role in regional mediation.

I explained that the decision was with the president and that no decision was final, but that he was a man of his word. I told them that if the president did decide to recognize Jerusalem, we would watch their actions and statements closely to judge the degree to which the United States should maintain all aspects of its relationship with the Palestinian Authority, including our generous annual foreign aid package.

On Saturday afternoon, December 2, I received an email from Kelly: "Jared, Given this is an unsecured email I'll be careful. Just got off the phone with Secretary Mattis who is in Jordan (Aqaba Dialogue) having just left Cairo. Now that he is on the ground he is even stronger in his recommendation on this issue. Secretary Tillerson and the intel community have grown stronger in their recommendations since the POTUS discussion as well. I see POTUS tomorrow and will convey. I will ask DNI and might ask Secretary Mattis to cut his trip short to report and re engage back here in D.C."

With all presidential decisions, nothing is final until it is signed and released. During the tense forty-eight hours leading up to the embassy announcement, Trump stared down twenty years of convention, troubling intelligence predictions, and the opposition of his own secretaries of state and defense. Foreign leaders called to warn him that the Middle East would burst into flames. And the security concerns weren't his only consideration. As a businessman, he had built a real estate empire by properly identifying leverage and using it to extract concessions out of his negotiating partners. Here, it appeared that we were asking him to give Israel a big gift for free, which cut against his instincts. When a smart businessman friend called and advised Trump that he should get the Israelis to freeze their settlement activity in exchange for the embassy move, the president questioned whether it was a mistake to give something so significant to Israel without asking for something in return. He called me to get my reaction to this idea, and I assured him he was getting something in return.

“This move will build capital with the Israeli people,” I said. “If we ever make progress on the peace file, the Israeli leadership will need to make some politically tough compromises, and having them trust you is invaluable. Besides, you promised to move the embassy during your campaign, and you are working hard to keep all of your promises.”

## Papier-Mâché Wall

On December 3, Trump called Ivanka and me up to the Executive Residence. He had just spent the previous two and a half hours at the White House Christmas party for the Secret Service, taking pictures with every single officer and family member who attended. They were protecting him and his family, and he wanted to thank them in return.

Trump had been 100 percent committed to his embassy decision, he told me, but earlier that day, he had received panicky calls from Tillerson and Mattis. These were two men who liked to project a tough and calm swagger in the face of danger and difficulty, so he interpreted their fears as genuine and well-founded. Both painted an apocalyptic scenario: this decision would plunge the region into chaos, violence, and extremism. The intel was coming in fast, and it was disturbing.

“Do you still feel confident this is the right move?” Trump asked.

I could tell he was still committed, but he was aware of the risks. I also knew that he was gauging the strength of my conviction, as he often did with his advisers when wrestling with important decisions.

“Yes, you’re making the right decision,” I said, and updated him on my conversations with the Arab leaders, who also wanted to avoid an eruption of violence in their countries.

On December 5, the day before the planned announcement, Trump called Bibi and told him the news. Bibi said he’d support the move, if that’s what the president wanted to do, but he didn’t sound overly enthused.

Thinking that Bibi must not have understood, Trump repeated that he was going to recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and move the US embassy. This would send an unprecedented signal to the world that the United States stood behind Israel’s sovereignty in Jerusalem. He added that when the time was right, the United States would expect Israel to come to the table and make a peace deal—something Bibi hadn’t done before.

Again, Bibi responded with less-than-expected enthusiasm. Thrown off by the lukewarm response, Trump began to second-guess his decision. As he continued his conversation with Bibi, he wondered aloud why he was taking this risk if the Israeli prime minister didn’t think it was that important.



Trump's voice hardened into a stern tone: "Bibi, I think you are the problem."

If Bibi was taken aback by this comment, he didn't show it. He coolly countered, insisting that he was part of the solution.

After the two leaders hung up, I could tell that Trump was frustrated. Anxiety about what could go wrong weighed on everyone. Many other foreign leaders called the White House to speak to the president. Trump knew what they were calling about and told his team to schedule his return calls after he announced the decision. This way, he wouldn't have to listen to the same arguments again and then turn down the callers' requests. Instead, when he called them back, he could move past the decision and on to the next set of priorities.

The next day, everything proceeded as planned. The president signed a memo to notify a handful of senior administration officials that he intended to sign a presidential proclamation officially recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and stating his intent to move the embassy immediately.

At one o'clock in the afternoon on December 6, the president stood behind the podium in the Diplomatic Reception Room. "After more than two decades of waivers," he said, "we are no closer to a lasting peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians. It would be folly to assume that repeating the exact same formula would now produce a different or better result. Therefore, I have determined that it is time to officially recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel." He made it clear that he was not taking a position on the contested borders, he urged people to respond with calmness, and he asked leaders to "join us in the noble quest for lasting peace." Trump signed the proclamation, and everyone held their breath to see what would happen next.

The words of one Middle East leader I had spoken to the day before echoed in my head: "I'm not going to tell you to do it, or not to do it, but if you do it, you will find out who your friends are." Immediately after the announcement, NSC senior director Michael Bell began to convene interagency meetings twice a day to monitor developments. As it turned out, the reaction across the Muslim world was strikingly mild compared to the forecasts. The protests in the region remained peaceful, though the West Bank and Gaza were notable exceptions. Within forty-eight hours the crowds had dissipated without major violence. In fact, one of our key partners sent signals that bolstered our position. "Despite Furor over Jerusalem Move,

Saudis Seen On Board with U.S. Peace Efforts,” declared a Reuters headline, in a story that described the kingdom’s intention to continue working with us on a peace plan. “Initial Mideast Violence from New U.S. Policy on Israel Is Limited,” reported the *Wall Street Journal*.

The Palestinians were growing nervous. Perceiving that their influence on the world stage was waning, President Abbas turned to the strategy that the Palestinians had employed since Israel’s founding in 1948: using the United Nations as a forum to confront Israel and the United States. He convinced Egypt, one of the nonpermanent members of the UN Security Council, to draft a resolution condemning the recognition of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel. When Tillerson learned of the UN resolution, his instinct was to offer a concession. He approached me at a White House holiday reception and explained that the situation was dire.

“We should acknowledge the Palestinian claim to East Jerusalem to give them a bone and allow them to save face,” he said. “Otherwise, they will walk away from the table and not come back for a generation.”

“If they don’t come back, they don’t come back,” I said. “If you respond to their threat by offering a concession, that sets a terrible precedent. For decades our diplomats have accepted a dynamic where the Palestinians say ‘Jump,’ and US diplomats ask, ‘How high?’”

Tillerson rolled his eyes. He wasn’t convinced, but I didn’t belabor the issue. Trump had told me privately that he wanted to fire the secretary by the end of the year; he thought that Tillerson was “a below-average negotiator” and was frustrated that he kept trying to promote the conventional Washington establishment foreign policy agenda that rebuked Trump’s America First philosophy.

I called the ambassador to the United Nations, Nikki Haley, who I thought was an ally of the president’s agenda. I knew she supported the decision to move the embassy and was unafraid to go around Tillerson.

“Nikki, we have to do something,” I said. “If I was a private citizen, and all of these countries who receive foreign aid voted to condemn America at the UN, I would think we were run by a bunch of schmucks. But we’re the ones in charge now, and if we allow this to happen, then we are schmucks.”

Haley wholeheartedly agreed. She called Trump directly and explained that she’d like to announce that if countries voted against us, we would take away their foreign aid. Trump loved the idea of using America’s leverage to

defend our interests and stop allowing our supposed allies that received billions of dollars in US funding to bully the president of the United States.

Haley and I split up the list of permanent and nonpermanent members of the UN Security Council and our key allies in the General Assembly and began making calls, asking countries to abstain from the vote. The scene had a feeling of *déjà vu* after our fight on the anti-Israel Resolution 2334 during the presidential transition, except this time I knew the players, and I had their numbers in my phone.

The Palestinians are a force within the hallways of the United Nations, so when the General Assembly voted on the resolution, I considered the forty four countries that either abstained or voted against it to be a positive indicator that we were forging strategic partnerships, using our leverage, and slowly shifting the paradigm in the Middle East.

Sadly, President Abbas walked away from the US-led peace process and stoked outrage. “May God demolish your house,” Abbas fumed against Trump.<sup>27</sup> “We will not accept America as a sole mediator between us and Israel, after what they have done.”

I relayed a message to Abbas through our intermediary: “We understand you need to look strong while people in your streets protest, but we will be ready to engage when you are. If you want to work with us, work with us. If not, we’re not going to chase after you. We intend to move our plan forward with or without you.”

Foreign policy experts had always assumed that Abbas could manipulate the sentiment on the Arab streets. But in the aftermath of the embassy announcement, it became evident that this was not the case. It was a consequential revelation for Arab leaders, who were always trying to judge the true sentiment of the region. The limited violence on the street and the mild reaction of Arab leaders proved that we could take calculated risks and question prevailing assumptions. To the growing number of Arab leaders watching, Abbas’s counterproductive reaction demonstrated that the current Palestinian leadership was incapable of delivering a better life for the Palestinian people. I had previously told my team, “Our mission is to try to break through this previously impenetrable barrier,” referring to the conflict between Israel and the Arab world. “Let’s hit it with everything we have and find out whether the wall is made of concrete or papier-mâché.” The successful embassy move confirmed that a breakthrough for peace might be more possible than conventional wisdom assumed.

## Fighting for the Forgotten

When my father was in prison, he found an unlikely exercise partner. The young man, who I will call “Sean,” was serving a drug-related sentence. He told my father that he had become a drug dealer because his dad was a drug dealer. It was all he knew—and because of it, he wound up in trouble with the law. Sean was a bright guy who scored an 1140 on his SAT, and my father believed he deserved an opportunity to redeem himself. From the prison pay phone, he called his friend Monsignor Robert Sheeran, the president of Seton Hall University. The monsignor agreed to give Sean a scholarship to Seton Hall after he was released from prison. Sean graduated from the university with a 4.0. His story was an eye-opening example of the tremendous human potential that is often wasted through our prison systems. The incarcerated shouldn’t have to meet a billionaire behind bars to earn a second chance.

I hadn’t exactly planned to share Sean’s story with the president at a roundtable on criminal justice reform on January 11, 2018, but when US attorney general Jeff Sessions asserted that all people in prison were irredeemable, I couldn’t help but think of Sean.

Prior to the meeting, I had briefed Trump on my criminal justice reform effort, and he expressed skepticism about the subject. He was a law-and-order president, and the topic was new to him. I explained that numerous conservative and evangelical leaders supported reforms; this wasn’t just a “liberal Jared” cause, as he liked to joke. He asked Sarah Sanders, a bona fide conservative, what she thought. This was a great issue, she told him. Her father, Mike Huckabee, had enacted similar reforms when he was governor of the deeply red state of Arkansas, and the reforms were effective and popular. That was not the answer Trump expected to hear.

In the Roosevelt Room, the president greeted a group of political dignitaries: in addition to Attorney General Sessions, we were joined by many conservative advocates of criminal justice reform—including Kentucky governor Matt Bevin, Kansas governor Sam Brownback, chairman of the American Conservative Union Matt Schlapp, Koch Industries executive Mark Holden, and Texas Public Policy Foundation president Brooke Rollins. At the time, I was in the process of recruiting Rollins to lead

our criminal justice reform efforts in the White House. She had helped enact successful reform in Texas, but was reluctant to come to Washington since she knew the move would be hard on her four school age children. I had to make a hard sell, joking that she would never work more hours, make less money, and be less appreciated in her life. But, like me, Rollins saw the sacrifice as an opportunity to help people get a real shot at the American dream.

At the top of the meeting, the president gave brief remarks, making clear that he would be tough on crime but was looking for a way to provide former inmates with “a ladder of opportunity to the future.” After Trump dismissed the press from the room, I kicked off the discussion with a summary of the current state of the prison system in America. I explained that the United States made up less than 5 percent of the world population, but our prison systems held nearly 25 percent of the world’s prisoners.<sup>28</sup> The federal prison population was growing at an alarming rate, having increased nearly 800 percent since 1980, with much of the trend driven by the incarceration of nonviolent drug offenders from low-income communities.<sup>29</sup> Nearly 75 percent of released offenders went on to commit a new crime, and 25 percent ended up back in prison within eight years.<sup>30</sup>

I had become convinced that we could do better. Inmates often leave prison with mental-health or substance-abuse issues that are never properly treated. To compound these challenges, they often lack money, family support, and the skills they need to live stable lives. Their criminal records make it even harder for them to gain employment and overcome the odds stacked against them. When they find jobs and stay employed, however, they are much less likely to commit future crimes. Some of America’s strongest red-state governors, including Rick Perry, Sam Brownback, Nathan Deal, and Mike Pence, had reformed their prisons to provide more effective treatment and job training. In each case, the reforms reduced recidivism rates, improved safety, and saved taxpayer dollars.

We went around the room, and each participant offered supporting facts and stories in favor of reform, save for Sessions, who had opposed criminal justice reform for years. Sessions made an impassioned argument for imposing the harshest sentences.

As the meeting drew to a close, my longtime friend Reed Cordish, one of the president’s senior staffers and a former real estate developer in Baltimore, turned to Trump. “When you ran for president, you promised to

fight for the forgotten men and women of this country. Well, no one is more forgotten or underrepresented than the men and women in prisons.”

That registered with the president. “I wasn’t expecting to like this,” said Trump. “But this makes sense. If we don’t help these people, of course they will go back and commit future crimes. Let’s do it—this is the right thing to do. But get with Jeff to make sure it’s not soft on crime.”

The Roosevelt Room meeting was an inflection point for my criminal justice reform effort. We had the president’s approval to move forward, and the press coverage was terrific. “Trump Hosts Discussion on Prison Reform, Reducing Recidivism,” CBS reported. “Trump Tackles Prison Reform: ‘We Can Help Break This Vicious Cycle,’” wrote *USA Today*. Even commentators who didn’t like the president admitted that this was a surprising and positive step.

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I had been quietly working on the issue since shortly after inauguration, when I received a call from Pat Nolan, a former Republican leader in the California State Assembly who served a two-year term for charges of corruption. While in prison, Nolan met evangelist Chuck Colson and decided that he wanted to devote his life to helping inmates live with a new sense of purpose.

During my father’s imprisonment in 2005, a friend suggested that we meet Nolan. So my mom and I flew to Washington, DC, and met him in a conference room at the airport. Nolan greeted us warmly and asked if he could begin our meeting in prayer. As he prayed, he recounted a story in the Old Testament about Joseph, who was sold into slavery by his own brothers, but whom the Lord lifted out of bondage and placed at Pharaoh’s right hand to help guide Egypt through a famine and save his family from starvation. What had been intended for Joseph’s evil, the Lord had used for his good. Nolan’s prayer filled me with hope when I needed it the most.

A decade later I was sitting at my desk just down the hall from the Oval Office, with Nolan on the other end of the line. He asked me to help make long-overdue reforms to the federal criminal justice system that had failed to pass during the Obama administration.

Shortly after my conversation with Nolan, Senator Chuck Grassley, the powerful chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, summoned me to his office for a meeting on the issue. The eighty-four-year-old Grassley had the energy of someone half his age. At first his manner of speaking

baffled me. I thought he was yelling at me until I realized that's just how he talks. Beloved in his home state of Iowa, Grassley had famously gone twenty-seven consecutive years without missing a single vote. At least one of those votes, however, Grassley wished he could take back. In 1993 he had voted for Bill Clinton's crime bill. One of its lead drafters in the Senate had been Grassley's colleague from Delaware, Senator Joe Biden. The law had led to the mass incarceration of Black men for nonviolent drug offenses. Grassley was determined to rectify that injustice.

The Iowa senator introduced me to two of his Senate colleagues: Mike Lee, a constitutional conservative from Utah, and Dick Durbin, the Democratic whip and a fixture in Illinois politics for more than three decades. Grassley explained that for several years they had been attempting to pass the Sentencing Reform and Corrections Act. They had come close in 2016, advancing the legislation out of Grassley's judiciary committee, but Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell had held it up. When I asked why McConnell had blocked the legislation from coming to a vote, they looked at each other knowingly. Jeff Sessions, then a senator from Alabama, had spread misinformation about the bill and accused its Republican supporters of being "soft on crime." Not wanting to split the Republican conference, McConnell refused to advance the bill. Grassley, Lee, and Durbin pitched me on what they called a "simple" request: convince the president to tell McConnell to bring the bill to the floor. But nothing in Washington is ever that simple.

Back at the White House, I scheduled a meeting with my team to get a full download on the status of the bill and which provisions had caused it to stall. Typically the White House Domestic Policy Council would lead this analysis, but after one meeting, in which they explained that we could never pass criminal justice reform, it was clear that its leadership was closely aligned with Sessions.

Instead I found a smart, friendly colleague in the staff secretary's office named Nick Butterfield and asked him to research Grassley's legislation and help me understand Sessions's objections. Butterfield explained that the prison reform portion of the legislation had broad support. It included provisions to reduce recidivism rates by better matching prisoners with job training, drug rehabilitation, and faith-based programs. The sentencing reform section, however, contained several controversial provisions. It shortened sentences, gave judges more discretion in sentencing, and

expanded eligibility for early release. The bill divided Senate Republicans because some believed that sentencing reforms would release violent criminals back into the community. Whether or not these concerns were accurate or fair, we would have to address them.

We spent several months going through the provisions, consulting with advocates and legislators, and developing a new plan that we thought could garner enough votes. After having a bipartisan discussion with lawmakers in September of 2017, I huddled with Ja’Ron Smith, a member of the White House Domestic Policy Council who supported reforms and quickly became crucial to our efforts. A graduate of Howard University and longtime Capitol Hill staffer who had worked for Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, Ja’Ron had strong relationships on the Hill. I asked him to be my point person on the legislative negotiations.

To help build public support for the effort, I called Sam Feist, CNN’s Washington Bureau chief, and asked if the network could take a short break from its breathless Russia coverage to pay attention to criminal justice reform.

“I know you are going to think I’m crazy for suggesting this,” said Feist, “but would you be open to meeting Van Jones? He hates Trump and has been a vicious critic of the administration, but he is a super guy, and no one cares more about this issue than he does. You should speak to him.”

I thought he was kidding. CNN commentator Van Jones was a former high ranking official in the Obama White House and a vocal opponent of Trump. It had been reported that I told CNN president Jeff Zucker that Van Jones should be fired, and in this instance the reporting happened to be true. But Feist insisted that I talk to him, and I was happy to try anything.

Van Jones and I had a surprisingly constructive conversation the next day. I was frank about the road ahead: I was just one person, and the president wasn’t on board yet, but I was preparing to present him with the facts and try to get his buy-in. Jones seemed to appreciate my honesty and passion for the issue. He told me that he’d get killed by his liberal friends and supporters for working with us, but if I thought there was a real chance at success, then he was willing to take the arrows. “Count me in on the team,” he told me before we concluded our first of many calls. I was grateful for his offer and knew I needed his help. I needed to overcome a trust deficit between Democrats and the Trump White House.



One of the lead Democratic negotiators in the House of Representatives was Hakeem Jeffries, an influential member of the Congressional Black Caucus. I had briefly known Jeffries from my time developing properties in Brooklyn, but we hadn't yet formed a strong working relationship. Jones agreed to speak with Jeffries and other Democrats and to advise me on their internal dynamics so that I could address their fears and anticipate any problems. He also connected me to Jessica Jackson, the cofounder of #cut50, his criminal justice reform organization. Jackson became instrumental to our bipartisan effort.

After Trump gave us the green light to work on criminal justice reform, I began aggressively engaging with lawmakers on Capitol Hill to draft legislation. Just as I started to make progress with conservatives, Sessions sent a formal letter to Grassley condemning his bill and simultaneously released it to the press: "The legislation would reduce sentences for a highly dangerous cohort of criminals. . . . If passed in its current form, the legislation would be a grave error." Any official expression of the administration's views on legislation typically runs through an extensive interagency review process. But Sessions had ignored the process and sent his letter directly to Grassley.

A famously colorful personality on Twitter, Grassley responded with gusto: "Incensed by Sessions letter An attempt to undermine Grassley/Durbin/Lee BIPARTISAN criminal justice reform This bill deserves thoughtful consideration b4 my cmte. AGs execute laws CONGRESS WRITES THEM!"

Top Secret

**K**elly summoned me to his office, closed the door behind us, and delivered some bad news. “I need to downgrade your security clearance,” he said. “It’ll just be temporary, and I will make sure that it doesn’t impact your ability to do your job.”

The date was Monday, February 19, 2018. The president had recently returned from a successful trip to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, where he declared that “America is open for business.” Many of the corporate leaders at Davos were beginning to see that Trump’s policies were making America’s economy the envy of the world. These same leaders were initially skeptical of Trump, and had even heralded China’s President Xi as the leader of the global economy. Following the president’s speech, several Fortune 100 CEOs publicly praised the administration—something they wouldn’t have felt comfortable doing before.

Despite the investigations and the internal battles during the first year of the administration, the White House was beginning to rack up policy victories. Trump had enacted some of the largest tax cuts in American history. He had slashed unnecessary and burdensome regulations on businesses. America’s economy was adding a record number of new jobs and expanding opportunities for Black, Hispanic, and Asian Americans. And Trump had appointed a record number of new federal judges, including a Supreme Court justice. Even *Wall Street Journal* columnist Peggy Noonan, normally a sharp critic of Trump’s style, wrote a column that was her version of nice: “He’s crazy . . . and it’s kind of working.”

On a personal level, the negative news had mostly subsided. After adjusting my approach, I had found a way to operate within Kelly’s system, and was making progress on my files. But the momentum evaporated on Tuesday, February 6, 2018, when the *Daily Mail* broke the first installment in a story that would dominate the White House for the next ten days. Staff secretary Rob Porter, a clean-cut Harvard alumnus and Rhodes Scholar, had allegedly abused his former wife. Porter managed all paper flow to the president. Kelly had brought Porter into his inner circle, and given him expansive authority to run the policy processes across the federal government.

During that Friday's senior staff meeting, Kelly claimed that he'd found out about the Porter allegations on Wednesday—at the same time as everyone else—and that he had immediately demanded Porter's resignation. It was a perplexing thing to say, and it left the staff dumbfounded. Kelly had issued a strong statement in defense of Porter on Tuesday, so he absolutely had known about the allegations prior to Wednesday. Everyone knew this. What purpose, then, was there in telling such an obvious and blatant lie to the staff? Whatever the reason, his deceitfulness caused a number of the senior staff to wonder what he'd known and when he'd learned it. Many staff members felt betrayed by Kelly's lies and were angry that he had failed to act on the Porter news earlier. His conflicting statements heightened the media scrutiny and frustrated the president.

As additional details emerged, it seemed evident that Kelly and White House counsel Don McGahn had known about the abuse allegations for several months, when the FBI had flagged them for the White House security office during Porter's security review. Porter had been operating under an interim Top Secret clearance—a temporary clearance granted to high-ranking officials after an initial background screening so they can perform their duties while the FBI conducts a more extensive background check. At the time, the FBI process was so backlogged that the background checks were taking more than a year to complete. After the *Daily Mail* story broke, reporters asked predictable questions. When exactly had Kelly and McGahn learned about the accusations? Why had they allowed Porter to continue serving in such a sensitive position, overriding the FBI's concerns about his clearance request? Speculation mounted about Kelly's job security, and a chorus of people began calling for his resignation. The *New York Times* posted a story: "Kelly Says He's Willing to Resign as Abuse Scandal Roils White House." Kelly vigorously denied this claim, but he sank to his lowest point as chief of staff.

What happened next was textbook 101 on how to avert blame in a scandal. On Friday, February 16, ten days after the scandal broke, the White House press office started getting a flood of calls from the media asking for comment on Kelly's new security clearance policy and whether my clearance was going to be downgraded. This caught me by surprise. I wasn't aware that Kelly had issued a new policy, and no one had told me that my clearance was being downgraded. I soon learned that earlier that day, Kelly had sent a private memorandum to McGahn, directing him to consider a

number of changes to “improve” the security clearance process, including a measure to discontinue interim Top Secret and SCI-level clearances—a higher-level clearance that granted access to “sensitive compartmented information”—for individuals whose background checks had been pending since June 1, 2017. At the time, the FBI process was so backlogged that clearances were taking more than a year to complete.<sup>31</sup> I was among the more than one hundred White House staff members who had been granted an interim clearance while the FBI conducted its more extensive background check.

Within hours, Kelly’s “private” memo was circulating publicly, and my brief period out of the spotlight was over. Even though I had learned a lot about navigating the media storms induced by surprise legal developments, I felt uneasy. As I read the stories, it struck me that Kelly was attempting to shift attention away from his own poor management of the scandal and redirect it toward me. Nearly every story pushed a narrative that Kelly had taken charge of the situation and, with a fair and impartial hand, was fixing the broken security clearance process. Though Kelly’s new policy affected many White House staffers, these stories inevitably carried my photo at the top and speculated about whether I would be allowed to keep my Top Secret clearance. Bannon would have been proud of the way Kelly used me as a foil.

When Kelly finally called me into his office on February 19 and announced that he was yanking my clearance, I protested. “General, I’ve done nothing wrong,” I said. “I’m getting clobbered in the press for something that has nothing to do with me. Why am I being penalized because you created an arbitrary policy with an arbitrary date that is only warranted because the FBI is being slow?”

“I inherited a mess here in the White House, and we can’t have another Rob Porter situation,” Kelly insisted.

“Has the FBI raised any concerns or red flags about my clearance, like they did on Rob’s?” I asked.

“No,” Kelly replied.

“Then why are you doing this to me?”

Kelly stared at me blankly, seeming to suggest that the facts of my case didn’t matter.

Kelly’s downgrading of my security clearance was humiliating, but I wouldn’t let his power play defeat me. Ivanka reminded me about the advice

we had received from one of the best politicians we'd met: Japan's longest-serving prime minister, Shinzō Abe. At a dinner in Japan, he told Ivanka: On your worst days, wear your best suit, walk with your head held high, show no weakness, and project that nothing has changed.

In the wake of the clearance downgrade, I followed Abe's advice and decided to work even harder. Since I was no longer pulled into classified meetings, I had hours of additional time. I started to realize that I could get more done by not being involved in every decision. When the president asked me about bits of intel I hadn't seen, I tried to steer him to his national security adviser, H.R. McMaster. To borrow a concept from philosopher Isaiah Berlin's popular essay "The Hedgehog and the Fox," I became less of a fox who knew many things relatively well, and more of a hedgehog who knew a few things very well. With my new-found time, I drilled down into my three policy portfolios: criminal justice reform, Middle East peace, and America's strained relationship with Mexico.

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Back in April of 2017, Trump had instructed me and several others to prepare documents to terminate the \$1.3 trillion North American Free Trade Agreement. I knew Trump was impatient to fix America's broken trade policies, but I wondered whether he really wanted to take this massive gamble, or if he was trying to motivate his negotiating team to work faster. Gary Cohn and I advised the president that it would be premature to terminate NAFTA; our talks with the Mexicans had been productive. Plus, we had no replacement plan ready. The economic costs of simply tearing up the deal could be catastrophic. Trump hadn't made a final decision, but he wanted us to draft an executive order right away. White House trade adviser Peter Navarro firmly believed that tearing up NAFTA would be a political win and pounced on the president's directive to prepare documents to terminate the deal. Not coincidentally, the president's request leaked to *Politico*, putting public pressure on Trump to follow through.

Mexican foreign secretary Luis Videgaray saw the article and called me. He warned that this was a fight in which Mexico would get killed, but the United States would lose a leg and an eye.

I told him I was working to find a solution.

"We're not moving Mexico and we're not moving the United States, so I guess we have to figure this out," I joked. Luis wasn't the only person caught off guard by the *Politico* story. Secretary Mnuchin, Secretary of

Commerce Wilbur Ross, and Secretary of Agriculture Sonny Perdue were equally alarmed. They wanted to present the president with a set of options that would curb the offshoring of American manufacturing jobs to Mexico, but came short of terminating NAFTA. After the report leaked, Perdue and Cohn swung by my office on the way to a weekly trade meeting with White House staff. Perdue made an impassioned case against withdrawing from the trade deal. He explained that in 2016 alone, American farmers had exported nearly \$40 billion in goods to Mexico and Canada. He held up an oversize map of the United States that showed all the counties across America that would be adversely affected by terminating NAFTA. Many farmers had been operating on razor-thin profit margins during the Obama administration, and any sudden market disruption could put them out of business.

The president deserved to hear from Perdue directly, so I told him to skip the trade meeting and brought him to the Oval Office, where the secretary made the same presentation. Trump found Perdue's chart so persuasive that he later had it blown up into a poster that he kept in his private dining room for the remainder of his time in office. The president wanted to protect farmers, but he wasn't willing to let Canada and Mexico string him along like a normal politician. The leak to *Politico* had backed him into a corner—anything less than a withdrawal order would appear weak and indecisive.

Sensing that Trump was looking for a solution, I suggested a short-term plan of action: “What if I get President Peña Nieto and Prime Minister Trudeau to call right now and ask you not to cancel NAFTA, and then you can put out a statement that says you will give them time to negotiate. They will feel committed to following through in good faith if you show them good faith by not terminating.” Trump agreed.

I phoned my counterparts in each government and explained the dynamics, and within fifteen minutes both Peña Nieto and Trudeau called the president and urged him not to terminate, promising to speed up the negotiations if he held off. The immediate crisis abated, I had begun walking back to my office when it struck me that the regular trade meeting probably was still going on. I opened the door to the Roosevelt Room and glanced around a full room of senior staff and cabinet officials. There wasn't an empty seat.

“Is this still the NAFTA meeting?” I asked. “We just spoke to the president. The withdrawal is off for now. He is giving us a short window to

make a deal.”

Nearly a year after that discussion, Trump’s relationship with Peña Nieto had stabilized, and Luis and I were still working behind the scenes to improve US-Mexico relations. We had coordinated policy between our two governments on more than a dozen shared interests, including addressing illegal immigration and curbing the flow of illegal guns, drugs, and cash across the border. We believed it was time to bring the two heads of state together for their first meeting at the White House.

Before we could announce the visit, which would be a politically combustible event for both leaders, we planned for them to touch gloves by phone. Luis and I arranged a call on February 20, 2018. The conversation quickly became heated when Peña Nieto raised the issue of what the two leaders were going to say about who was going to pay for the border wall—the same question that had caused such controversy during Trump’s visit to Mexico in the 2016 campaign. Peña Nieto wanted Trump to announce that he had dropped his demand for Mexico to pay for the wall. Trump would not agree to this, but he offered to say that they were still working through the payment issue, and that Mexico hadn’t agreed to anything. This was not enough for Peña Nieto, and after a fifty-minute phone call, his White House visit was canceled for a second time.

The lack of chemistry between the two leaders now threatened to kill our effort to renegotiate NAFTA. As a last resort, I decided that I needed to sit with Peña Nieto face-to-face and explain the dire circumstances. If he didn’t start to negotiate in good faith, the US-Mexico relationship would head over a cliff.

I flew to Mexico on March 7, 2018, with State Department director for the Western Hemisphere Kim Breier and several others. Luis had tipped me off to the fact that influential members of Peña Nieto’s team were getting reticent about moving forward with trade negotiations. The Mexican president was in the final year of his term, with an election coming up in July. They didn’t see the benefit of taking the political risk. If they dragged discussions out for a few more months, it wouldn’t be their problem anymore, and everyone could move on. As Peña Nieto contemplated whether to negotiate or run out the clock, I was prepared to deliver a simple message: There is no comfortable pathway here. If they wanted a good outcome, they needed to trust me and make a deal soon.

Given my troubles in Washington, Peña Nieto might have brushed me off, so I was surprised by his warm reception. Before I could say anything, he thanked me for the efforts to strengthen the relationship between our two countries.

The discussions between our teams culminated with a small three-hour lunch with Peña Nieto at Los Piños, the official residence of the Mexican president. We had a friendly but intense discussion, and I made my argument for embarking on serious negotiations.

“Doing nothing is a decision,” I said. “Why can’t we get this done now? If we don’t try, President Trump will likely tear up the deal, which will hurt both of our economies.”

Mexico’s secretary of economy, Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal, then asked about our discussions with Canada.

“We don’t think they want to make a deal now,” I explained, “and they are holding out on too many issues. Mexico does \$500 billion worth of trade with the United States annually, and only \$30 billion with Canada. It makes financial sense for Mexico to strike a deal with us first. Both sides respect and understand each other, and if we both stretch a bit further, we can reach an agreement—let’s finish it. Then we will offer Canada the ability to make limited modifications and join. It’s not the most elegant way to do this, but it’s the only one I can see, given the playing field.” If the United States and Mexico announced an agreement to move forward with or without Canada, it would place significant pressure on Trudeau, who was publicly threatening to abandon trade talks.

Peña Nieto looked at me warmly, nodded his head, and motioned to a server to bring a flight of tequila shots. “It’s five o’clock somewhere,” he said. He made a toast, and we collectively knocked back the reposado.

\* \* \*

When I returned to Washington, I was anxious for the FBI to finish my clearance—but I increasingly felt like I was trapped in a Franz Kafka novel, the victim of a bizarre, opaque, and irrational bureaucracy. I didn’t know what, if any, concerns existed. I had no insight into Kelly’s process. I had no judge, jury, or forum for due process.

When I made a rare visit to Kelly’s office to see if he had an update, he said that the FBI had completed its process, and my file was now with the head of the White House Personnel Security Office, Carl Kline, a respected career professional with more than forty years in the military and the civil



service. Kline was the person who had come to my office to have me sign paperwork when my clearance was downgraded. As Kline handed me the documents, he said, “Look, Jared, I’ll be honest. I don’t see any problems. There’s media speculation about a lot of things, you’ve been accused of a lot of things, but there’s nothing we have seen that makes me think that I won’t be reading you back in very soon to your Top Secret/SCI clearance.”

Several weeks later, Kelly called me into his office.

“I have good news for you,” he said. “Your security file has been adjudicated positively. It was reviewed by two people at the lower levels, and then elevated to Carl. Without any influence, Carl said that you are eligible for the Top Secret clearance.”

I was relieved. Kelly told me that I should receive an email within the week to reinstate my clearance. Then ten days went by without an email. Kelly eventually called me to his office and said he was concerned about how it would look if I got my SCI clearance back.

“If there’s an open issue or any security concerns, they can interview me further,” I said. “I know my personal life. I have nothing I’m worried about. Is there something more I should do or someone I should talk to?”

He swiftly dismissed my offer. “No, there is no need for that. Let me think about how to manage this.”

Fed up, I pushed back: “You told me that I got my Top Secret clearance back through the normal course. Is that correct?”

“Yes,” Kelly admitted.

“You said they would turn it back on, so if you are telling me you don’t have visibility into the timing of my SCI or whatever is holding it up, then why don’t we just proceed with the Top Secret clearance?”

He agreed. On May 23, the security office was scheduled to reinstate my clearance. But Kelly was still playing games. He had previously said that White House press secretary Sarah Sanders should personally give the press background on my clearance update, but that morning he told her to instead travel with the president to an event on Long Island, New York. When she said she didn’t need to be there, Kelly ordered, “You’re going, and you can’t talk to the press about Jared’s clearance.”

Meanwhile, my lawyer Abbe Lowell released an off-the-record statement to the press, as Kelly had originally suggested he do after the press received the background from Sarah. The story broke in the *New York Times*: “Jared Kushner Gets Security Clearance, Ending Swirl of Questions over

Delay.” Later, Acting Director of National Intelligence Ric Grenell, CIA Director Gina Haspel, and National Security Advisor Robert O’Brien told me that there were no concerns or security risks with my file.

Having my clearance restored was an even bigger moment than I had expected. It became a public vindication against the false allegations that I had colluded with Russia, clearing up a narrative that never should have existed in the first place. As I emerged from the unfortunate series of events, I thought about what I could do differently to avoid being in the crosshairs of investigations moving forward. I realized that the best way to shrink the target on my back was to achieve results. From that point forward, my goal was to avoid internal battles, stick to my files, and focus on policy changes that would leave a lasting impact.

## The Cost of Peace

It's time to fire Rex—I'm ready to make the change," the president told Ivanka over the phone one morning in early March of 2018. We had known it was only a matter of time. Tillerson had been on the ropes for a while. Trump had nearly fired him a week before, but several staff members persuaded him to wait because the news cycle was unusually positive. They didn't want to upend the good press coverage unnecessarily.

While Tillerson had entered the administration with sky-high expectations, his tenure was a failure by any measure. In the summer of 2017, reports surfaced from a cabinet-level meeting at the Pentagon that Tillerson had called the president a "moron." Soon after, Tillerson told the press that he'd opened a dialogue with the foreign affairs office of North Korea, but his weak messaging was out of sync with the president, who wanted to use a different tone to set the stage for negotiations with North Korea's impetuous young dictator, Kim Jong Un. In a humiliating tweet, Trump pulled Tillerson off the file: "I told Rex Tillerson, our wonderful Secretary of State, that he is wasting his time trying to negotiate with Little Rocket Man . . . Save your energy Rex, we'll do what has to be done!"

This exchange revealed something to the world that we already knew internally: the president and his secretary of state were not on the same page. Such a public rebuke from the president cast doubt among Tillerson's foreign counterparts about whether he had influence with the president, rendering him effectively useless in his role as the nation's top diplomat. Rather than fixing the relationship, Tillerson became resentful. We began to hear that he was openly undermining Trump with foreign leaders.

In early 2018, I was meeting with the president in the Oval Office when Cassidy walked in and told me that Tillerson was on the line and wanted to speak to me immediately. I excused myself and took the secretary's call. He was on a plane flying to Mexico City, and his staff was briefing him on a package of twenty-five smaller agreements we'd nearly finished negotiating, which covered a range of issues affecting the US-Mexico relationship, from immigration to drugs and weapons trafficking to energy exports.

"What is up with all these deals with Mexico?" he demanded. "Who gave you authorization to negotiate all these agreements?"

“I have been working with Kim Breier on these deliverables for months,” I said, referring to the State Department’s director of Western Hemisphere affairs. “Your team has been with us every step of the way. We have made more progress in one year than in the previous ten years. Which ones do you not like?”

Tillerson ended the call in a huff. I later learned from Luis that after a bilateral meeting, Tillerson pulled him aside and launched into a rant. He accused Luis of making a strategic blunder by working with me in the White House instead of someone at the State Department.

Tillerson must have known that his haranguing would get back to the White House. He was lighting himself on fire, and if that was his deliberate strategy, it worked. From what I could tell, the former oil tycoon had made it clear that he was no longer interested in faithfully representing the president’s foreign policy agenda.

Trump asked Ivanka who she thought should replace Tillerson, and she strongly recommended Mike Pompeo. That was Trump’s instinct too. In recent weeks, he’d been asking his inner circle what they thought about moving the CIA director over to the State Department. By all accounts, Pompeo was the perfect fit. He not only had stellar credentials but also shared Trump’s foreign policy views, understood his sense of humor, and didn’t try to steal the spotlight.

Shortly after the president’s inauguration, Pompeo invited me to the CIA headquarters for a visit, adding, “You’re a power user of our material.” He was referring to my regular Situation Room briefings with CIA analysts, who were helping me get up to speed on the Middle East. I met with several high-ranking CIA staff members. I asked them if there was any noticeable difference between our administration and the prior administration. They said that in the previous administration nearly every expenditure or action, down to the purchase of a motorcycle for an agent to slip a cover, needed White House approval. By contrast, Trump had delegated more authority to Pompeo, enabling his staff to do their jobs. They made clear that they didn’t always agree with Trump’s directives, but they appreciated his decisiveness. Most of the top-level policy meetings under the Obama administration ended with a decision to meet again in two weeks to discuss the issue further. Our administration held fewer meetings, and the ones that did occur facilitated robust discussions and ended with decisions that provided clear direction. I was impressed. Pompeo had empowered the staff to carry out their missions,

boosting morale inside the CIA—the opposite of Tillerson’s reclusive approach at the State Department.

On the morning of March 13, 2018, Trump offered Pompeo the job, and he accepted on the spot. When they discussed his replacement at the CIA, Pompeo made a case for Gina Haspel, his talented and hard-nosed deputy, who had worked her way up through the ranks during her thirty-year career at the agency. Trump agreed to promote Haspel. That morning, he announced the change in a tweet: “Mike Pompeo, Director of the CIA, will become our new Secretary of State. He will do a fantastic job! Thank you to Rex Tillerson for his service! Gina Haspel will become the new Director of the CIA, and the first woman so chosen. Congratulations to all!”

Feeling blindsided and figuring that I must have known about the decision before he did, Kelly questioned me. “Do you know what happened?” he asked. “I thought Tillerson was doing a great job, and the whole cabinet loved him,” he said in a daze of cluelessness.

It was clear that Kelly was rattled that the president had fired Tillerson—a top cabinet member and Kelly’s close ally—without consulting him. From that day forward, Kelly grew more insecure about his own standing.

Later, Kelly spoke with reporters off the record. In an apparent effort to be chummy, he gave them gossip so colorful and absurd that it was bound to leak: on his swing through Africa, Tillerson was dealing with a bout of “Montezuma’s revenge” and had been on the toilet when Kelly called and told him he was going to be fired. Multiple members of the press broke a long-established code of journalism and gave this irresistible off-the-record nugget to another reporter, who was not in the room and thus not bound by the protocol against off-the-record disclosures. Those reporters should never have shared the story, but more importantly, Kelly should have known better. Giving this embarrassing detail to reporters accomplished nothing other than humiliating the outgoing secretary of state, Kelly’s supposed friend. For someone who held himself up as the adult in the room, it was a juvenile act of betrayal. The visual of the tough-as-nails Texas oilman getting the call while suffering on the toilet was hard to forget. Tillerson’s unceremonious dumping illustrated one of Sun Tzu’s principles: “The opportunity of defeating the enemy is provided by the enemy himself.” Tillerson had knocked himself out of the cabinet.

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In Pompeo, the president finally had a secretary of state who would faithfully advance his foreign policy aims. Within his first few weeks on the job, Pompeo invited Ambassador David Friedman and me to meet with him. In his wood-paneled office, Pompeo treated us like two old friends.

“Mike, I have a bit of a problem,” Friedman said with a hint of irony. “I have all these issues I’m working to get approved, and you’re really slowing me down. With Tillerson, it was very easy. He hated me, and I hated him, so I did whatever I wanted. The problem is that I really like you, so I’m trying to follow all these processes, but they are slowing me down like crazy. I know you are drinking from a firehose, but can you give our files a bit of elevated attention?”

Pompeo laughed. “Okay,” he said. “I promise I’ll pay attention to your issues, and we’ll push them forward quickly.”

It was my turn now. I started by saying that he had a big job to do, and I was flexible and open to working with him in any way he thought was most productive. I then carefully walked him through our peace efforts and the latest details around the trade discussions with Mexico and Canada.

“Are you okay if I keep working on these two files?” I asked. “I’m pretty determined when I’m given a task, but I never want to overstep my lane, so if I am ever out of line, just call and tell me. If you want me to do something differently, I’ll do it. You’re the secretary of state. There are not two secretaries of state, and I don’t want the media ever to make such a case, as they did under Rex. I’m here to support you and the president.”

“Jared, this place is a mess,” Pompeo responded. “Rex hollowed out the whole building, and the staff is demoralized. I have almost no political appointees, and most of the ones I do have don’t like the president. I have a lot of housecleaning to do, fifty files to catch up on, and everyone around the world wants to talk. I’m working twenty hours a day, and I need another twenty. I wish I had someone like you on every file. Keep running forward. If you need me, call, and I will always get back to you fast. If I have any suggestions, I’ll call you. But at least for the next thirty days, just run forward. Don’t walk, don’t go slow. Do whatever you need. I trust your judgment. Call me when you think I should know about something.”

His response was so cool and confident that I knew the president had made the right choice and that this was the beginning of a great working relationship. I soon noticed another welcome change. Pompeo would often call to keep me in the loop and get my thoughts on an issue. When he did, he

was always friendly, but to the point. The calls rarely lasted more than three minutes. Tillerson seldom had called and often did not promptly return calls—a frequent complaint among foreign diplomats. On the rare occasion when he did, the calls almost always took thirty minutes and accomplished little. I figured that from a mathematical perspective alone, Pompeo would be able to do ten times as much diplomacy.

Trump usually made changes in batches. The week after he fired Tillerson, he decided to replace his national security adviser, General H.R. McMaster. Along with many others in the West Wing, I considered the three-star Army general a friend and a devoted leader. However, McMaster found himself outside the elite four-star generals club occupied by Marines Kelly and Mattis, both of whom had spent their recent careers telling three-star generals what to do. Not surprisingly, the four-stars were loath to defer to McMaster, despite the fact that the president charged him with running the policy process for military and foreign policy matters.

Mattis and Kelly were military heroes who had devoted their lives to America and served with sacrifice and distinction. Kelly, in particular, had paid an enormous personal cost when his son Robert, an American hero, was killed by explosive ordnance while on patrol in Afghanistan. I never doubted their love of country. At some point, however, it seemed like Mattis and Kelly decided that they knew better than the president of the United States and made it their mission to protect the world from Trump. McMaster would complain to me that they resisted his efforts to coordinate policy on Iran and North Korea, stalled the president's request to withdraw from the Iran deal, and refused to give the president the information he needed to bring troops home from Iraq and Afghanistan.

McMaster did not always agree with the president, and he could push back forcefully. His academic style was often at odds with Trump's pragmatic approach. Unlike the four-stars, however, McMaster did his best to implement the president's directives. Because of this, Kelly and Mattis constantly knifed McMaster. When the president asked for a concrete plan to withdraw from Afghanistan, for example, Kelly and Mattis delayed and then blamed McMaster when the president expressed frustration about the holdup. They became obsessed with taking out McMaster and replacing him with the deputy national security adviser, Ricky Waddell, an experienced but lower-ranking flag officer whom they felt they could control. In one heated exchange, McMaster warned them, "You guys are trying so hard to get rid of

me. Just be careful what you wish for. You might be successful and get someone like John Bolton.”

McMaster’s admonition proved to be a harbinger of his fate and theirs. Just as McMaster predicted, Trump replaced him with Bolton. A cantankerous foreign policy academic and TV personality who had served as George W. Bush’s UN ambassador, Bolton was a neoconservative and more hawkish than Trump, but he agreed on the need to withdraw from the Iran deal. When it came to Iran, Trump saw through the bureaucratic excuses and never lost sight of the grim facts: the deal had lifted economic sanctions and handed more than \$100 billion to the ayatollah and his malign regime. As a result, Iran made a fortune and boosted its military budget by nearly 40 percent. The Iranian regime built missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads and funneled support to al-Qaeda, the Taliban, Hezbollah, Hamas, and other terrorist organizations, which were actively working to destabilize Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Yemen, and other countries. Most consequentially, perhaps, the deal failed on the very issue it set out to address: it allowed Iran to continue to enrich nuclear material, lacked a robust inspection and enforcement mechanism, and made no mention of Iran’s missile program. As a result, the world’s leading sponsor of terrorism was emboldened to pursue a nuclear weapon.

On April 30, 2018, Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu convened a press conference in Tel Aviv and revealed to the world that Mossad—Israel’s intelligence agency—had broken into a secret warehouse in Tehran and obtained thousands of documents showing, conclusively, that Iran had been engaged in a clandestine program to develop and test nuclear weapons. The regime had hidden its designs from the international community and lied in claiming that it did not have a nuclear weapons program. Netanyahu’s revelation provided concrete evidence that the Iranians had failed to comply with the terms of the deal—and in fact showed that they had never intended to comply. The president now had a firm basis for withdrawing from the deal, reimposing the highest level of sanctions, and asking our partners to follow his lead.

On May 8 the president announced his decision from the Diplomatic Reception Room. “At the heart of the Iran deal was a giant fiction: that a murderous regime desired only a peaceful nuclear energy program,” Trump declared. “Today’s action sends a critical message. The United States no longer makes empty threats. When I make promises, I keep them.”



The president's announcement commenced America's "maximum pressure" campaign against Iran.

## A Step toward Justice

Every day at 5:00 p.m., the photographers from the *Daily Mail* packed up their cameras and left our house. It was like clockwork. You could set your watch by their behavior. They were the most devoted of the paparazzi who constantly staked out our house, seeking pictures of Ivanka—and sometimes settling for me—as we came and went. Little did they know that the best action at our house in Washington’s leafy Kalorama neighborhood often took place later on in the evening.

One night in the fall of 2017, shortly after the paparazzi had departed into the dusk, a black Suburban with tinted windows rolled up our street. Out jumped the third most powerful Democrat in Congress, Senate minority whip Dick Durbin. He was joined by fellow Democratic senators Sheldon Whitehouse and Amy Klobuchar and Republican senators Lindsey Graham and Mike Lee. As they gathered in our dining room for a discussion on criminal justice reform, Senator Klobuchar raised her glass for a toast.

“It’s just really nice to do this,” she said. “Because this used to happen in Washington all the time. And I just feel like we don’t get to talk across the aisle anymore.”

Ivanka and I hosted this gathering, and many others like it, at the request of White House legislative affairs, who asked us to bring together members of opposite parties in a relaxed, closed-door setting. Many Democrats were willing to engage and discuss bipartisan reforms, but a few refused to meet, including California senator Kamala Harris.

After watching the successful tax reform effort, which Secretary Mnuchin, Gary Cohn, and Ivanka led, it was clear to me that if we wanted to pass criminal justice reform, we needed to work collaboratively with members of Congress. To get any bill passed, the White House needs to engage lawmakers on the front end, ask their opinions, understand and address their concerns, and apply the right amount of pressure. Congress governs a democracy, not a company. Changing a law is not meant to be fast, and it shouldn’t be easy.

By April of 2018 we had built a formidable coalition of members on both sides of the aisle. We decided to focus the legislation on prison reform, which would improve job training programs for inmates and provide better

treatment for addiction, among other priorities. This was more widely supported among Republicans than sentencing reform, which would let certain nonviolent offenders out of prison earlier. If our prison reform bill passed in the House, then we could work to add sentencing reform to the Senate version.

We were ready to put our legislative strategy into motion. The first hurdle was Chairman Bob Goodlatte's House Judiciary Committee, which needed to consider our prison reform bill before it could come to the full House floor for a vote. Republican Doug Collins and Democrat Hakeem Jeffries both sat on the judiciary committee, and I had worked with them from the beginning to draft legislation and build a coalition of support within the committee. By the end of April we had persuaded nearly half of the committee's members to cosponsor the bill. Goodlatte scheduled the markup for April 25. Legislative horse-trading and negotiations typically take place until about forty-eight hours prior to a markup, but my team was confident that the bill would sail through.

On the morning of April 25, I received an urgent alert that Chairman Goodlatte had canceled that day's markup. At 7:45 a.m. I called our legislative lead, Ja'Ron Smith. "What the hell happened to our bill?" I asked. In the background I could hear the faint automated announcement—"Step back, doors closing"—of the Metrorail car; he was on his way to the White House and limited in what he could say. "Come to my office as soon as you get in," I requested. When Ja'Ron came to my office, he explained that Sessions's team at the Department of Justice had sent over several changes that Jeffries viewed as poison pills. He briefed me on the details of Sessions's edits.

"These changes are ridiculous and show bad faith," I said. "Ignore Sessions's edits, present pragmatic compromises, and see if that gets Jeffries back on board."

Ja'Ron got to work, and by the end of the day we had removed Sessions's modifications and added Jeffries's provisions to expand the application of good-time credits and ensure that prisoners were not placed in prisons more than five hundred miles from their homes, making it more feasible for loved ones to visit. Once we had made these changes, Jeffries returned to the table, despite the pressure he was facing from the left to walk away.

I still wasn't sure what to do about Sessions. I had tried earnestly to get him to a better place on the policy, but he remained intransigent. Brooke Rollins, Ja'Ron, and I met with him at the Justice Department and went through the bill, line by line, asking him to describe his objections.

"Well, my guys will tell you," he said, asking his lawyers to explain their position. Their concerns were either easy to address or didn't make sense. Finally Sessions turned to me and in his southern drawl declared, "Jared, it's very simple. If the boy does the crime, you've got to lock him up." That's just where he was. From that point forward, I realized that he would try to subvert us at every single turn, making a nearly impossible task even harder.

Rather than meet Sessions head-on, I decided to make my case directly to the most conservative members of the House. The attorney general's objections carried weight with them, and obtaining their support would send a powerful signal to the president that law-and-order Republicans backed prison reform. On the evening of May 7, I met with the House Freedom Caucus, a conservative coalition. While many of the members were open to federal reforms, some were unconvinced. One of these skeptics was Mark Meadows, the North Carolina representative and leader of the caucus. As I addressed his concerns, I could tell that he was considering my arguments and keeping an open mind. The meeting was the beginning of a great collaboration and friendship with Meadows, who later said, "I would have thought I would have died before voting for criminal justice reform. You'll never know if I voted for this because I value our friendship, or if I voted for it because I now agree with this policy." After becoming Trump's fourth and final chief of staff, Meadows would often spring to my defense when the president accused me of being a liberal, jokingly countering, "Actually, Jared is an honorary Freedom Caucus member."

On May 9 the House Judiciary Committee finally marked up the bill. Renamed the First Step Act, it passed the committee with strong bipartisan support by a vote of 25-5. Iowa congressman Steve King was the sole Republican to vote against it, but King was known to hold extreme views, so being on the opposite side of him wasn't a bad place to be. On the Democratic side, we also lost the vote of one of our original cosponsors, Representative Sheila Jackson Lee. After we incorporated her requests to provide tampons to women inmates and ensure that women were not shackled while giving birth, she made a third demand that we couldn't

accept: she wanted to allow mothers to keep their babies in prison with them for three years. “Uh, I think our goal is to help get people out of prison,” I tried to explain. “We’re not trying to put babies in prison with this bill.”

With the committee hurdle cleared, we set our sights on moving the bill to the House floor for a full vote. Nervous that the legislation was actually gaining traction, Sessions scrambled to mount an internal effort to stop the bill in its tracks. He scheduled an Oval Office meeting to try and dissuade the president. Knowing this, I brought an all-star cabinet member for reinforcement: Secretary of Energy Rick Perry, who had successfully pioneered similar reforms while governor of Texas.

As the meeting kicked off, Sessions voiced his objections. The bill was soft on crime, he told the president, and it would put dangerous criminals out onto the street. “You don’t want to be accountable for the next Willie Horton situation, do you?”

Disgusted that he would try to equate our effort with the Mike Dukakis scandal, I nearly lost my cool. Instead I answered with the facts, quoting from the text of the bill and explaining why the attorney general’s claims were wrong: nothing in our bill would allow violent criminals like Horton to walk early. Sessions didn’t have a response, which was rare.

The president, not used to seeing me that worked up, was impressed by my passion. “You really know this stuff,” he said.

“This is serious—it’s about saving lives and keeping people safe,” I replied. “I would never put you in a bad position, and I know that if anything goes wrong here, it’s on me, so yes, I reviewed every detail.”

I showed him a list of the members who supported the bill in committee, including Jim Jordan, Ron DeSantis, Louie Gohmert, and John Ratcliffe. The president looked at Sessions and glanced back at me. “I’m going with Jared on this one.”

Soon after, five Democrats—Senators Durbin, Harris, and Cory Booker, and Representatives Jackson Lee and John Lewis—penned a public letter to their congressional colleagues opposing the bill, claiming that the First Step Act was a “step backwards” and would “institutionalize discrimination and likely fail to reduce recidivism.” Besides the letter’s unfounded claims, what disappointed me most was seeing Booker’s name in the signature block. I had met Booker when I was fifteen and my father supported his unsuccessful first run for mayor of Newark, New Jersey. He became a friend, and we stuck by him for years. Now, when we had a chance to work together on an

issue that we both believed was crucial to improving the lives of millions of Americans, he'd emerged as one of the effort's most vocal opponents.

The Democrats' letter was intended to convince their colleagues, particularly those among the Congressional Black Caucus like Hakeem Jeffries and Cedric Richmond, to abandon the bill. But neither Jeffries nor Richmond backed down. I called Jeffries and told him that we were working on a response. "Jared, don't worry about it," he told me. "I'm drafting a response." In a seven-page excoriation, Jeffries refuted the claims before concluding, "Ultimately, it should be our mission to improve the lives of the people we are here to represent. In this regard, the perfect should never be the enemy of the good, particularly when it comes to the least, the lost and the left behind. That is what the FIRST STEP Act is all about. Accordingly, it is my hope that the authors of the opposition letter will reconsider their position, cast aside partisan ambition and join the House's fight to fix our broken criminal justice system."<sup>22</sup>

It was a masterpiece of political courage. I knew it was hard for Jeffries to break with members of his own party, including American civil rights legend John Lewis, and I was grateful for his determination to do what was right in the face of opposition.

As we entered the final stretch before the big House vote, we convened an event for the president to announce his support of the First Step Act. Trump spoke about the need to break the cycle of recidivism by helping former prisoners find jobs and contribute to society. "America is a nation that believes in second chances," he said, before cracking a smile, "and third chances in some cases. And, I don't know, I guess even fourth chances." His statement marked an important moment: it was the first time that Trump, a law-and-order president, had called on Congress to pass prison reform legislation. Over the coming days, nearly every Republican in the House agreed to support the bill.

On May 22—the day before Kelly restored my Top Secret security clearance—the House-passed the First Step Act by a vote of 360 to 59, with only two Republicans opposing the bill, Steve King and Bill Huizenga. The bigger test was still to come. Senator Chuck Grassley had made clear that he would not consider the First Step Act in the Senate Judiciary Committee unless it included sentencing reform. I invited him and Senators Tim Scott, Mike Lee, and Lindsey Graham to pitch the president on the idea of incorporating sentencing reforms into the First Step Act. In the Oval Office,

we presented our case for sentencing reform. The House passed bill helped prisoners who were currently incarcerated, but it was missing robust provisions to reduce the number of nonviolent prisoners serving disproportionately harsh terms. Grassley explained that the sentencing relief he proposed would be available only to nonviolent offenders, and actually strengthened sentences for domestic violence and weapons trafficking. Grassley expressed confidence that he could build on our momentum in the House and get a more comprehensive bill through the Senate. By the end of the discussion, Trump expressed interest in moving forward. Afterward Lee was jubilant about Trump's support, but I gave him fair warning.

"This is just a soft yes," I said. "The president has still only heard our side of the story. Now I need to bring in the people who disagree to make their case to him before he comes to a conclusion."

With the president increasingly supportive of criminal justice reform, I decided it was the perfect moment to bring him Alice Johnson's clemency case. I'd first learned of her case back in December, when Kim Kardashian had reached out to Ivanka. Alice was a sixty-three-year-old grandmother serving the twenty-first year of a life sentence, without parole, for drug conspiracy and money laundering. Hers was a nonviolent drug offense. In the early 1990s she had fallen on hard times and gotten wrapped up in a drug-trafficking ring, where she facilitated the flow of illegal drugs and cash. While incarcerated, Alice had transformed her life. She'd become an ordained minister, completed multiple vocational certifications, mentored fellow inmates, and maintained a spotless behavioral record.

In an Oval Office meeting in May, after working closely with Kim Kardashian to vet the file, I presented Alice's case to the president. I explained that Alice had been sentenced for a nonviolent drug crime in the 1990s, and the methodology used to calculate her sentence was unfair and wouldn't be allowed today.

White House counsel Don McGahn countered. "Her file says she also had a murder for hire," he argued. "The reason she got such a harsh sentence was because she was really the kingpin."

I couldn't believe it. Were we discussing the same person? "She's a grandma. She's in Christmas plays and gospel concerts in prison. And she never touched the drugs."

McGahn shot back, "Jared, you were in the construction business. You were in the real estate business. I'm assuming you weren't touching the

hammers.”

“Why?” I said.

“Because you were the CEO. Similarly, Alice didn’t touch the drugs, because she was really the mastermind.”

“Look, she was a low-level person who got caught up in this thing,” I responded. “But even if you’re right, she’s served twenty-one years for a first-time crime where nobody got killed. And by all accounts, including her prison warden’s, she’s fully rehabilitated. Are we going to deny her a chance at life because of a mistake she made twenty one years ago?”

By the end of the meeting, Trump said, “If you end up on the wrong side of our justice system, you don’t have a prayer. Let’s seriously consider the commutation.”

On May 30, Kim Kardashian met with Trump in the Oval Office. She gracefully presented Alice’s case to the president. She knew the details backward and forward. McGahn and one of his team members presented the counterarguments, though he was far more mild than usual because he was starstruck by Kardashian. Trump thanked her for coming. Two days later, he called me early in the morning and said, “Let’s do the pardon. Let’s hope Alice doesn’t go out and kill anyone!”

I called McGahn to set the wheels in motion, but he kept delaying the legal documents. Shortly thereafter, the *Washington Post* ran a story saying that Trump had grown “obsessed” with pardons and that Kardashian’s celebrity was influencing his views on Alice’s case. I suspected that McGahn and Kelly had leaked these falsehoods as part of a last-ditch effort to foment conservative backlash and change Trump’s mind. After the torturous security clearance situation, I was keenly aware of the power that McGahn and Kelly could have over me, so I was wary of taking on another fight. But I decided to keep pushing for Alice’s case, regardless of the fallout, because this was about saving a life.

Eventually, Kelly and McGahn ran out of stalling tactics, and on June 6 the president commuted Alice Johnson’s sentence. Later that evening, as he sat in the small presidential dining room with Ivanka, Trump watched Alice’s release from prison on the evening news. Alice ran into the arms of her family, embracing them as tears streamed down her face. With cameras surrounding the emotional reunion, she declared, “I’m free to hug my family. I’m free to live life. I’m free to start over. This is the greatest day of my



life.” Her emotion was raw, her joy contagious, her long suffering and love emanated from her smile.

The president called me afterward. “Jared, that is one of the most beautiful things I have ever seen. I’ve been around for a long time, and that was beautiful. I can tell she is a solid person. There must be more like her in prison. Let’s find more worthy cases to do.”

## No Time for Triumph

Ivanka and I arrived in Israel on May 13 to witness an historic moment in US-Israeli relations: the opening of our embassy in Jerusalem. My older sister, Dara, had made a surprise trip from New Jersey to meet us there. This day was especially meaningful for her. After high school, she had studied in Israel for a year and returned to the United States with a redoubled commitment to our family's Jewish faith. Her devotion inspired the rest of our family, and I was delighted that she was with us for this moment.

This day almost didn't happen. In the weeks that followed the president's announcement on December 6 about moving the embassy, the State Department mapped out an extensive process involving land negotiations, costly construction bills, and potentially more than a billion dollars in congressional appropriations requests. Ambassador David Friedman adeptly perceived this as a stall tactic and called the president directly.

"State is going to kill the embassy move," warned Friedman. "I thought you should know. If you don't want to do it, just tell me and I won't bother you again."

Apparently the department had already gotten to the president. "They tell me it's going to cost a billion dollars and will take five to ten years," Trump replied.

These estimates flowed from an intricate plan that wasn't optimized for speed, Friedman said. It wasn't the only option. He suggested a different plan. The US government already owned a state-of-the-art building on a sprawling seventeen-acre campus in the heart of West Jerusalem. Friedman said he could convert it into an embassy for less than \$200,000, and have it ready for a big celebration on May 14, Israel's Independence Day.

"Done," the president said. "But for the first time in my life, I'm going to say that's too cheap. Why don't you spend \$500,000—make it nice."

As the opening day approached, I asked the president if he wanted to travel to Jerusalem to lead the historic ceremony.

"Why don't you go?" said Trump. "I know you like to be in the background, but you should speak for a change. Moving the embassy was the right thing to do and I know that it was very important to you."

I had never addressed an audience on such a grand scale. Hundreds of officials from around the world were gathering at the new embassy for the dedication, and it would be carried on live television to a global audience. Despite my nerves, I agreed to go.

When we arrived at the freshly renovated building in Jerusalem's Talpiot neighborhood, Prime Minister Netanyahu and his wife Sara greeted us warmly. Typically, I would notice every detail of any building I entered, a trait picked up from a career in real estate, but this day I was so anxious about my speech that I couldn't have told you the color of the walls. I had spent hours meticulously crafting each line of my speech. Finally, the moment came.

"The pursuit of peace is the noblest pursuit of humankind. I believe peace is within reach if we dare to believe that the future can be different from the past, that we are not condemned to relive history, and that the way things were is not how they must forever be," I said as I stood before the newly opened American embassy in Jerusalem. "When there is peace in the region, we will look back upon this day and remember that the journey to peace started with a strong America recognizing the truth."

The crowd erupted in applause as I concluded and made my way back to my seat next to Ivanka, who squeezed my hand and whispered, "You nailed it." Beaming, Dara turned to me and said, "Bubby and Zayda would be so proud. Only God could write this script." It was a special moment that I'll never forget, but like every other surreal experience during my time in government, it too was fleeting.

Minutes after the event concluded, I saw the television coverage. It was a split screen, with footage from my remarks alongside images of protesters in Gaza being hit with rubber bullets and tear gas by the Israeli Defense Forces, which killed more than fifty people. It appeared to be a harmful overreaction to predictable Palestinian opposition, though days later a Hamas leader admitted that nearly all of those killed were members of Hamas, which the State Department has designated as a "Foreign Terrorist Organization."

Leading up to the embassy opening, Abbas had given a crazed speech before the Palestinian legislative body, in which he openly questioned the circumstances around the Holocaust, claiming, according to a transcript acquired from the BBC, that the Nazis weren't against the Jewish people but against their exploitative lending and banking practices. In other words, the

greedy Jews had brought the Holocaust upon themselves. Even the famously anti-Israel *New York Times* editorial board penned a scathing call for his resignation: “Let Abbas’s Vile Words Be His Last as Palestinian Leader.”

\* \* \*

As the Palestinian leadership continued to prove their unwillingness to seek a constructive solution for their people, I was eager to release our peace plan as soon as possible so that the world could react to it. I hoped this would urge Abbas to consider our proposal, which would deliver prosperity and peace for the Palestinian people.

In June I traveled back to Israel to discuss our plan with Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu. But shortly after I landed, Ivanka called me with an urgent update.

“This is as bad as I have seen. Sessions’s zero-tolerance policy has created a massive crisis at the border. Kelly is refusing to admit that he made a mistake, and he is not telling my father the truth about the situation.”

Two months earlier, on April 6, Attorney General Jeff Sessions had issued a press release announcing that he would enforce immigration law with a “zero-tolerance policy” against immigrants who crossed the southern border illegally. At the time, the practical implications of Sessions’s prosecutorial change were a bit murky. Under a 1997 federal court ruling called the Flores Settlement Agreement, the Department of Homeland Security could not detain illegal immigrant children for longer than twenty days. Adults, on the other hand, could be detained for much longer periods while they waited for their immigration hearings to occur. If our nation’s immigration statutes were truly enforced, with zero-tolerance, it would cause some children to be separated from their parents. With Sessions pushing hard for his policy, Secretary of Homeland Security Kirstjen Nielsen flagged the child separation concern for Kelly. The chief of staff called an immigration meeting in the White House Situation Room in early May. Given that immigration was outside our portfolios, neither Ivanka nor I were invited, but we later learned that Kelly decided to proceed with the zero-tolerance policy. It took about six weeks for the ramifications of Kelly and Sessions’s policy to filter into the press. During that period, DHS separated 2,816 children from their parents or guardians. By the third week of June, just as I departed for the Middle East, the press got hold of the story, which almost immediately erupted.

When Trump saw the breaking headlines, he quizzed his team about the veracity of the reports and asked what could be done to end child separation. Sessions and Kelly did not present him with a full range of options, and they urged him to continue with the policy, which they believed would serve as a deterrent to people crossing the border and would put pressure on Congress to fix the broken immigration laws. Ivanka became aware of this when two staff members, including immigration staffer Theo Wold, paid her an unexpected visit. Wold was concerned that the president was not getting the full picture from his leadership team. Trump could stop child separation immediately by signing an executive order directing Sessions and Nielsen to end the zero-tolerance policy and implement a more humane approach. Ivanka thanked Wold and asked him to start working on the executive order.

When Ivanka called me, she asked me what I thought she should do. “Kelly is telling the president that there is no other option. I’ve been trying to raise this issue with him, but he’s excluding people with differing opinions from meetings in the Oval. He’s going to be absolutely irate, but I don’t see any other path other than bringing this solution directly to the president.”

“I wish I was there to help you,” I said, “but there is not much I can do from here. You don’t really have a choice. Kelly made this mess—ignore him and do what you think is right.”

Ivanka was typically careful not to bypass West Wing protocols, but in this case she felt that the president wasn’t being well served, and the issue was too important. She knew the president wanted to find a solution, and he wasn’t being given all the options to fix the problem. She went to see her father in the Executive Residence and handed him the draft executive order that she had asked Wold to prepare.

“I know they are telling you this can’t be done,” she said. “They might be right, but sign it anyway and dare anyone to challenge it.”

After reading the draft order, the president called McGahn.

“I’ll be down in the Oval in thirty minutes, and I want an executive order ending this policy on my desk when I get there,” he instructed. “Get in touch with Ivanka and review the one she showed me.”

As Ivanka anticipated, Kelly was livid. Normally she tried to avoid his wrath, but this time she didn’t care. Kelly had put her father, the country, and three thousand families in this terrible situation, and she was willing to face his wrath to stop the unfolding humanitarian debacle. The next day the

president signed an executive order ending Sessions's zero tolerance policy. Ivanka had defused the immediate crisis. She wasn't looking to publicize her involvement, but when the president spoke to House Republicans about why he was going to reverse the policy, he revealed her role in his decision. The next day, he publicly recognized Ivanka when he signed the executive order. This led to a series of news stories she had hoped to avoid.

This was one of the many examples of the gap between reality and the media's portrayal of Ivanka. While they were quick to criticize her for not forcefully denouncing the policy—even though every journalist knew it would have been wildly unusual for a staffer to publicly object to an administration policy—Ivanka worked quietly behind the scenes to find a constructive solution. She was in an impossible situation, but she handled the crisis with grace under pressure. This would not be the last time that Ivanka's good judgment, compassion for people, and relationship with her father resolved a big problem and helped our White House achieve a better outcome.

## “No One Gets Smarter by Talking”

In politics, it's much easier to kill a deal than to make one. Even if everything goes right, success is not guaranteed, and failure can happen with the slightest misstep. In the spring of 2018, our trade talks with Mexico and Canada were starting to fall apart. It took a handwritten note on a scrap of paper to rescue them.

The note rested in my suit pocket as I left the West Wing one afternoon in May and hurried across Seventeenth Street to the building occupied by US trade representative Bob Lighthizer. One of the oldest structures in the capital, it served during the Civil War as the office of Quartermaster General Montgomery C. Meigs, a Georgian who stayed loyal to the Union and coordinated the supply of food, clothes, and other items to the field. Legend has it that Abraham Lincoln used to make the same walk from the White House when he wanted to commiserate with Meigs about the performance of his generals.

My objective had nothing to do with commiseration. I was trying to save a trade deal. When I walked into Lighthizer's office, I took the paper from my pocket and handed it to him. The country's top trade diplomat studied the document, deciphering its scribbled numbers and arrows. Then he looked at me. "I have never before seen a trade agreement resolved on a three-by-five piece of paper," he said. "But if they will really do that, I think that's a fair compromise, and we should make the deal."

Back in March, I had left Mexico with a commitment from President Peña Nieto that his team would work to resolve the disputes that continued to separate our two sides. The task fell to Ildefonso Guajardo Villarreal, Mexico's secretary of economy and a former legislator. With an eye trained on his political future, Ildefonso understood the political peril of compromise. Trump's insistence on bringing jobs back to America meant any deal would force Mexico to lose jobs. Mindful of how this would look to Mexicans, Guajardo avoided a potentially unpopular outcome by delaying discussions and twisting technical issues into unsolvable deal-breakers.

From the start, we'd known that the central sticking point in our talks involved auto-industry jobs. Under NAFTA, the United States had lost 350,000 of them to Mexico, where the labor is cheaper and regulations are

looser.<sup>33</sup> In 2018, autos alone made up nearly \$64 billion of our \$78 billion trade deficit in goods with Mexico.<sup>34</sup> To achieve a more balanced relationship and reverse the southern migration of jobs, we wanted to require vehicles made in Mexico to use more American-made parts. After months of trade talks, Lighthizer and Guajardo stood at a stalemate. Mexico simply wouldn't budge on this central issue.

Then Trump intervened. In May, he directed his trade team to prepare a 25 percent tariff on autos imported from Canada and Mexico into the United States. This threatened to devastate both of their economies and potentially push them into recession. His bold move unnerved Washington and Wall Street, but Trump was fighting for Main Street. As a former businessman, he knew a lot more than the typical politician or fund manager about imposing leverage over a rival.

After news broke of Trump's tariff threat, Luis Videgaray, the Mexican foreign secretary, flew to Washington. When he walked into my office, he got right to the point. As an emissary of President Peña Nieto, Luis came ready to address the tough issues. He pulled out a blank piece of paper and drew a chart illustrating a potential compromise. Under NAFTA, for Mexican auto imports to come into the United States tax-free, 62.5 percent of the automobile had to be made in the United States.<sup>35</sup> Lighthizer wanted to raise this "rules of origin" standard to 85 percent. Each percentage represented billions of dollars of potential investment and tens of thousands of jobs. Luis suggested that we meet near the middle, proposing a 75 percent threshold for both countries, while also demanding that USTR make concessions on other sectors. This was a big move. It would practically eliminate the outsourcing of American factories to Mexico. It meant that we might have a deal. And so after Luis left, I took the note across the street to Lighthizer.

Lighthizer was on board with Luis's concept for a rules-of-origin compromise on autos, but much work remained on other contentious issues. In the middle of these discussions, on July 1, Mexico elected a new president: Andrés Manuel López Obrador, known as AMLO. His term would start on December 1. AMLO quickly named Jesús Seade, an experienced economics professor, as his preferred trade negotiator. Soon after, official trade talks resumed in Washington, and Seade joined the Mexican delegation along with Luis.



The US and Mexican negotiators packed into Lighthizer's sparse conference room, with the two teams sitting on opposite sides of a long table. Lighthizer kicked off the conversation with an optimistic tone, which was unusual for him. "I'm glad we have a deal for autos—at seventy-five percent—so now we can move forward to the other issues," he said.

Sitting across from Lighthizer, with his hands clasped in front of him, Guajardo delivered an unwelcome surprise. He rejected Lighthizer's offer and proposed moving forward at a lower percentage.

Lighthizer turned beet red with anger and shot a glare in my direction. He was stunned and asked for a break. He motioned me into his office, shut the door, and started screaming.

"Jared, I thought you said we had a deal. This is a disaster. We made our big move too soon."

"Bob, stop screaming," I shot back. "This is actually your fault."

"You told me you had a deal for that number. How the hell is this my fault?"

"You have been doing this for forty years, and I have never done this before. You shouldn't have listened to me!"

My joke broke the tension. Bob chuckled and cooled down.

"Give me ten minutes to try to fix this," I said. "I trust Luis to keep our deal."

I left Lighthizer's office and pulled Luis aside in the hallway. "Luis, what the hell is going on here?"

"I'll get us there," he said. Then he went into a side room with Guajardo. I later learned that they called President Peña Nieto, who made his orders crystal clear. After the tumultuous start, we reconvened in the conference room and moved forward with our initial agreement on cars. We had resolved a threshold issue, but several other deal-breaking concerns remained. Among other issues, we wanted stronger labor and environmental protections and a better process for resolving trade disputes.

For the next several months, Lighthizer's suite at USTR became my adjunct office, where I spent many eighteen-hour days working through the outstanding issues of the deal with the USTR staff. Though they were mostly Democratic career officials, they were energized by the fact that President Trump had empowered them to fight for American workers and businesses.

As we made progress, an important question emerged: How long should the new deal last? Like every other American trade agreement,

NAFTA had no expiration date. It existed in perpetuity, with no way to adjust or amend it if parts became outdated or unfair. We had essentially sold permanent access to our market. This encouraged corporations to move jobs overseas.

To fix this flaw, Lighthizer demanded a sunset clause, which would terminate the new agreement after five years unless the three countries agreed to renew it. This was controversial. The Mexicans, Canadians, and even Speaker Paul Ryan dismissed the idea, calling it a nonstarter. With guidance from Lighthizer, I worked with Luis on a compromise. After an intense day of negotiations, I invited the foreign minister to my house so that we could discuss the sunset clause issue privately.

We arrived after 10:00 p.m., hungry and exhausted. I found leftover Chinese food in the fridge, and we helped ourselves. When Ivanka came downstairs, she found us sitting among a pile of empty white boxes. She was mortified that I'd allowed a guest to eat our children's leftovers. "Next time, if you give me a bit more notice, I'll prepare a proper meal," she said.

Luis and I strategized past midnight. Finally I pitched him on an idea that I had previously cleared with Lighthizer: What if we included a sunset clause that automatically terminated the agreement after sixteen years, unless all three countries agreed to an extension in the interim? The parties could hold a joint review in six years to evaluate the agreement and make adjustments. If the parties agreed to an extension, the term of the agreement would reset for another sixteen years. If they didn't, a ten-year termination clock would start to tick, and pressure would build on the parties to resolve their differences as the expiration date approached.

At our next official meeting with the Mexicans, held in Lighthizer's office, I raised the matter of sunset. "Let me share a proposal to resolve it," I said.

Before I could get any further, Jésus Seade interjected: "No, no, I have an idea!"

Rule number one of negotiation is to always let the other side go first. "By all means," I said.

Seade pulled out his briefcase and circulated a two-page document that was strikingly similar to my idea, but with one substantive difference: rather than a deadline of sixteen-years, he proposed twelve. This was even more advantageous for the United States—and a case study in why it's best to let the other side make the first move.

“That’s constructive, but not as good as we need,” I said, trying to hide my disbelief.

We took a quick break, and I pulled Luis into a small conference room. Trying to contain my amusement, I asked what he wanted to do. We’d already unofficially agreed to a sixteen year term, which we knew both of our presidents could approve. Seade’s proposal threw a wrench in our plan. Luis had an idea: we could ask Guajardo to object and ask for eighteen years, and then we could negotiate and settle on the sixteen we’d originally planned. This would get Seade off the hook for his offer. Most importantly, it would close out the final outstanding issue of our marathon negotiations.

We all filed back into Lighthizer’s office for a round of Kabuki theater. Everyone played their roles perfectly, delivering a win for all. After the Mexican delegation departed, Lighthizer and I looked at each other and laughed. That was one of the worst negotiating moments either of us had ever seen. “Just remember,” Lighthizer said, “no one gets smarter by talking.”

The next day, August 27, the Mexican delegation came to the Oval Office. With President Peña Nieto on the phone and the press corps in the room, Trump announced that we had reached a preliminary deal with Mexico. Shortly before the president’s announcement, Seade and Ildefonso stood outside the USTR office and held their own press conference. Seade proudly claimed credit for the sunset clause. Here and throughout my time in government, I saw firsthand the wisdom in President Harry Truman’s adage: “It’s amazing what you can accomplish if you do not care who gets the credit.”

## 24

# USMCA

**P**lease let the prime minister know that his negotiators are about to blow up a \$600 billion trade relationship over butter.”

It sounded like an outlandish skit from *Saturday Night Live*—but I was talking on the phone with Steve Schwarzman, the founder and chairman of the Blackstone Group. I had made the call from my apartment in New York, where I was getting ready to attend Trump’s address to the General Assembly of the United Nations on September 25, 2018. When I learned that Schwarzman was planning to meet Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada, I asked him to relay a message. Although we had come to an agreement with Mexico, we were still waiting on a final answer from Canada—and we were nearly out of time.

Peña Nieto’s term as president of Mexico would end on November 30, and we needed to sign an agreement before he left office. To complicate matters, US law required the text of any deal to be made public for sixty days before the president could sign it. This gave us a deadline of September 30—just five days left on the clock.

“We are down to the short straws,” I told Schwarzman. “They are playing chicken with the wrong guy. Trump would be thrilled to go forward with Mexico and impose tariffs on Canada. He made a promise to the dairy farmers, and he isn’t going to budge.”

Schwarzman called back a few hours later. He said that Trudeau had gotten the message loud and clear and had instructed his team to give a final counter offer that he wanted to review himself.

It had taken a month of hard work to get to this point.

The bargaining began within twenty-four hours of Trump’s announcement that we had struck a deal with Mexico. Canadian foreign minister Chrystia Freeland, Trudeau’s chief of staff Katie Telford, and Trudeau’s top adviser Gerald Butts flew to Washington. Upon their arrival, Telford came to my office and leveled with me. We needed to settle three issues. The first two were Trump’s tariffs on steel and aluminum, and Canada’s one sided mechanism for resolving trade disputes. I knew we could solve these, so it came down to the third issue: dairy. This one would be tougher and a potential deal-breaker.

Back in the 1970s, Canada had imposed domestic price controls that allowed its dairy farmers to charge artificially high prices. At the same time, an import tax prevented American farmers from enjoying access to Canada's market. These barriers applied to a wide range of dairy products, but not to ultrafiltered milk, which is an ingredient in baby formula, cheese, and other processed foods. Because this sliver of the market remained relatively open, many Wisconsin dairy farmers had invested in expensive equipment to make ultrafiltered milk. In 2016 alone, they had rung up more than \$100 million in sales.<sup>36</sup> To stymie these profits, Canadian policymakers came up with new restrictions on ultrafiltered milk, which threatened to put dozens of American dairy farms out of business.<sup>37</sup> Trump had met some of these farmers early on in his presidency, and he was determined to fight for them.

For the next three weeks, Lighthizer and I met daily with Freeland, Telford, and Butts in what became an increasingly frustrating series of negotiations. Though Telford and Butts instinctually wanted to drive the discussions toward a constructive conclusion, Freeland was in no hurry. Like Guajardo of Mexico, she was a rising star in her country's political ranks. During hours of meetings, she read from the notes she had scribbled in ink on her hand. Then she let Lighthizer spar back and forth with her trade experts on technical matters, all while refusing to commit to any substantive changes. Following this theater, she would walk to the steps of the USTR building and hold an outdoor press conference, uttering platitudes like "I get paid in Canadian dollars, not US dollars."

After three weeks of delay from Freeland, Lighthizer directed his staff to prepare two documents: a bilateral deal with Mexico and, in case our northern neighbors decided to join at the eleventh hour, a trilateral deal that also included Canada.

After I called Schwarzman and asked him to speak to Trudeau about our impasse over butter, I learned that Peña Nieto had also had a frank discussion with the Canadian prime minister. He encouraged Trudeau to consider whether his trade negotiator had brought the deal as far as she could. She had set the table, but finishing the deal would require an executive decision. When Trudeau confided that he still didn't want to do it, Peña Nieto delivered an ultimatum: he intended to sign for Mexico, with or without Canada.

Around the same time, on September 26, Trump held a press conference and a reporter asked him whether Canada would join the deal.

The president seized the chance to negotiate through the media, a tactic he had mastered. “With Canada, we’ll see what happens,” he said. “They are charging us three hundred percent tariffs on dairy products; we can’t have that. . . . So Canada has a long way to go. I must be honest with you, we are not getting along at all with their negotiators. . . . If Canada does not make a deal with us, we’re gonna make a much better deal.”

Less than an hour later, the Canadians gave us an offer in writing. After sixteen months of stalling, they were finally ready to talk specifics.

I knew a lot about what separated our two sides, but I was no expert in the arcane details of the dairy provisions. I sent pictures of the documents to Lighthizer and his top deputy, C. J. Mahoney, before heading into a long meeting with Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu to discuss our peace plan.

When I called Lighthizer after the meeting, he exclaimed, “This is all rubbish! They don’t want to make a deal—this doesn’t work.”

“Can C. J. and I get on the phone with Katie and explain why it doesn’t work and give them one last chance to take our final offer?” I asked.

“No,” Lighthizer shot back.

“Why not?” I questioned.

C. J. piped in. “Haven’t you seen *The Godfather*?” he asked. “That’s how the Godfather gets shot.”

“Okay, guys, you don’t have to break ranks,” I said. “But I think they want to make a deal and this is a good faith offer. Let me go back to them one more time. In order to do so, I need to get every detail exactly right. Can you walk me line by line through their offer and tell me what we would accept?”

Lighthizer agreed, and the next morning, we spent nearly two hours going through the details. Then I called Telford and went through the changes we needed.

She said it was going to be tough to get Trudeau on board, but she and Butts were heading into a meeting with the prime minister shortly, and promised to call me back after and let me know his answer. Telford and Butts called an hour later: The prime minister was going to take the deal.

We had less than eighty hours before the deadline to submit the new deal for congressional review. Lighthizer and his team worked through the night to finalize the technical details. On Sunday afternoon, Lighthizer and I visited Trump in the White House residence and briefed him.

“Bob,” said Trump, “why don’t you go out and do the press conference tomorrow and sell the deal? I have never seen a trade deal in my life that was received positively.”

Lighthizer and I were completely deflated. We had worked on this agreement for nearly two years. At times, it felt like an impossible task. But when we encountered resistance, we kept pushing forward, reaching an even better agreement than we’d expected. Now, the president wanted us to prove that the typically hostile press was going to portray the deal as positively as we described it to him.

Just as we were walking out, Trump added, “I want it to be called the U-S-M-C-A, like the US Marine Corps,” he said, making a final tweak to the deal.

As the clock neared midnight, we sent the freshly inked deal to Congress, beating the deadline by just thirty minutes and ensuring that we stayed on schedule to wrap up before Peña Nieto left office.

The media reception the following morning was overwhelmingly positive. Ivanka called the president, read him the upbeat headlines, and encouraged him to embrace the victory by making the announcement himself.

A few hours later, Trump took the podium in the Rose Garden. Lighthizer and I stood behind him, along with Treasury secretary Steven Mnuchin and other members of the cabinet. Joining us onstage at Trump’s request were the USTR career staffers who had worked tirelessly to draft the highly technical agreement at record speed—just one example of Trump’s instinct to thank people who often did not receive enough credit. After the president spoke, he asked Lighthizer to say a few words. Though I did not expect it, Lighthizer thanked me onstage: “I’ve said before, and I’ll say again. This agreement would not have happened if it wasn’t for Jared.”

Amazingly, the draft agreement never leaked to the press. In fact, days before the president’s announcement, *Axios* reporter Jonathan Swan wrote, “Only a tiny circle of administration officials, including Robert Lighthizer and Jared Kushner, have full visibility of the NAFTA negotiations. They’ve been almost entirely leakproof.” That was a high compliment and a rare accomplishment in the Trump White House.

Negotiating a trade deal is like a game of chicken, with real consequences. The other side has to believe you are going to jump off a cliff. We succeeded because Trump was absolutely prepared to terminate NAFTA

—and Mexico and Canada knew it. His style made many people uncomfortable, including his allies in Congress, foreign leaders, and his own advisers, but it led to unprecedented results. After thirty years of free trade globalism that shuttered American factories, USMCA reshaped trade to bring back jobs and achieve better wages for American workers. The \$1.3 trillion deal implemented strong “rules of origin” requirements to drive manufacturing back to the United States. It opened up new dairy markets for American farmers. It included detailed and enforceable requirements to give workers a fair wage and to protect the environment—a first in the history of American trade. It took steps to counter China’s malign influence in the world economy through a provision to kick any party out of the deal if it joined a trade agreement with China. It also featured an innovative sunset provision to hold Canada and Mexico accountable to the terms of the deal, and it ensured that trade disputes would be settled in American, Mexican, or Canadian courts, rather than in a globalist international forum. The USMCA changed America’s legacy on trade. We set forth a new “America First” template for American officials to use in future negotiations with other countries.

\* \* \*

Several weeks later, on October 18, I took a rare day off and traveled to New York for my brother Josh’s wedding. We forged our close bond growing up, playing basketball and hockey together almost every day after school. As we drove to a friend’s house near the wedding venue, I was reminded of what life was like outside the pressure cooker of Washington. Halfway through the car ride, however, my government phone rang. I glanced at the caller ID and saw the source of the call: “White House Situation Room.” A call from this number usually meant that the president wanted to speak with me. When I picked up, the operator asked me to hold for General Kelly. He rarely reached out, so I thought this was odd.

“Where are you?” Kelly barked.

I said that I was up in New York to attend my brother’s wedding.

“You need to get back down here right away,” he said.

“What’s happening?” I asked.

Kelly said that caravans from Central America were moving across Mexico’s southern border and heading to the United States. “The president is going nuts and yelling at Secretary Nielsen. I need you to come back right away and work on this.”



I said that if the situation was truly a crisis, I would charter a plane to Washington later that night after the wedding. He didn't seem satisfied, but we ended the call.

I dialed Luis and asked him for background on the situation, explaining that Kelly had called me with his hair on fire. Luis said that the caravans were still several hundred miles away from the US border and did not present an immediate crisis. And he told me that Mexico could take several measures to ramp up enforcement and confront the caravans. "Let us get these efforts in motion, and we can revisit this in twenty-four hours," he said.

His solutions seemed reasonable, and I surmised that Kelly's fire drill was designed to cater to an audience of one: the president. So I decided to go straight to the source and see if Trump approved of Luis's plan. When I called Trump's assistant Madeleine Westerhout, she informed me that he was in the Oval Office with Mnuchin, John Bolton, and Homeland Security secretary Kirstjen Nielsen as well as Kelly.

"Perfect," I responded. "Patch me through to the president and ask if he can put me on speaker."

I described Mexico's proposal to the group. Trump seemed satisfied, asked me to thank Luis, and told me to enjoy the wedding.

A few minutes later, Mnuchin called me: "You will never believe what happened. When Madeleine came into the Oval Office and said you were on the phone, Kelly jumped up and objected to your involvement."

Apparently Kelly had insisted that I should not be talking with the Mexicans about the caravan issue. The crisis fell under Nielsen's jurisdiction, he insisted, and she had it under control. Trump looked at Kelly dismissively and said, "Of course we want Jared involved in this. He's the only one who's gotten anything done with Mexico. How else are we going to stop the caravans?" Furious that the president had questioned his and Nielsen's ability to solve the problem, Kelly stormed out of the office, left the building, and didn't return to the West Wing for several days. By then, however, he seemed so checked out that no one in the West Wing really noticed he was gone.

## The Zombie Bill

Around Washington, our criminal justice reform legislation gained an unwelcome nickname: “the zombie bill.” After the bill passed in the House with overwhelming support, our opponents ratcheted up their public criticism and stalled its momentum in the Senate. The probability of a bill reaching the president’s desk seemed to be diminishing, but I was determined to forge ahead.

In August, while Trump was camped out at his golf club in Bedminster, New Jersey, as the White House underwent renovations, I seized the opportunity to plan a forum on sentencing reform with several of America’s most successful governors.

As we convened, the president was running behind schedule. Waiting outside his cottage, I made a call that I’d postponed for too long. Released from prison by presidential pardon two months earlier, Alice Johnson had become something of a celebrity. Initially, I had been reluctant to interject myself into her story: it was hers to tell, and the last thing she needed was a public official taking attention away from her example. But I wanted to let her know that her story was helping our efforts, and so I dialed her number.

“Thank you so much for calling!” she said immediately. “I’ve been hoping you would. Thank you for saving my life. Kim kept me updated along the way on every one of your conversations. I know what you were up against and thank you for fighting for me and for believing in me. I will never let you or President Trump down. I hope you know, everyone in prison loves you and is following your efforts closely. They’re praying for you every day.”

I was surprised and pleased to hear this—but the point of my call was to let her know how much good *she* was doing.

“Your story has touched a lot of people, but most importantly, it has touched President Trump,” I said. “Your case opened his eyes and his heart. We are about to go into a meeting to get his sign-off on sentencing reform, and I think we are going to get it done.”

We concluded the call just as Trump emerged from his cottage and made his way toward a fleet of twenty golf carts and what seemed like a

battalion of Secret Service agents wearing tactical gear and carrying massive machine guns.

The governors presented a compelling case for sentencing reform, and I could tell that Trump was giving serious consideration to supporting the provisions that Senator Chuck Grassley had insisted on adding to the bill passed by the House. As we approached the end of August, however, the window for passing any legislation was closing fast. The midterm elections of November loomed. Every member in the House was up for election, and so was one-third of the Senate. For Grassley and a few others, passing the First Step Act remained a priority, but for most members of Congress, getting reelected took precedence over almost everything else. To complicate matters, the political forecasters were predicting that the Democrats would retake the House and Senate. Many Democrats believed that if they gained a majority, they could push for a more liberal bill. If we wanted to pass criminal justice reform the president would actually sign, we needed to get it done before the end of the year.

Meanwhile, from his perch at the Justice Department, Attorney General Sessions watched our activity and grew increasingly nervous that the president might endorse sentencing reform. With his long experience in Washington, Sessions knew that he didn't have to convince the president to oppose us. He just had to persuade him to delay a decision until 2019. This would be enough to doom our efforts. General Kelly scheduled a meeting on August 23 so Sessions could make his case to the president.

By this point, the attorney general's relationship with the president had fully deteriorated. On the day of the meeting, footage from Trump's taped interview with Fox News host Ainsley Earhardt hit the television networks. "Jeff Sessions never took control of the Justice Department, and it's sort of an incredible thing," Trump said, visibly frustrated as he sat in the Rose Garden.

The attorney general fired back with a statement: "While I am Attorney General, the actions of the Department of Justice will not be improperly influenced by political considerations."

Trump could barely stand to look at Sessions during their meeting, which I attended along with Brooke Rollins, but when Sessions warned that sentencing reform would be a jailbreak for criminals, he took the attorney general's warnings seriously and decided to wait until after the midterm elections to make a decision.

His verdict caught me off guard. Prior to the meeting, I had signaled to many advocacy groups and conservative lawmakers that Trump was going to back sentencing reform. I had gotten ahead of myself, and should have seen this coming. Brooke Rollins and I debriefed in my office. We were disappointed by the setback, but from Trump's standpoint politically, it was the right call.

Running low on options, I turned to Vice President Pence for advice. "This is a noble effort, and as a Christian I believe in second chances," he said. "I got this done in Indiana only after gaining the support of law enforcement. That way, anytime somebody would criticize me from the right, I could say 'I worked with law enforcement to do these reforms.' Look, some people are for criminal justice reform, some people are for safety, but for me it's about redemption and I believe you can be for all three."

I went back to my team. "Okay, guys, before we return to the inside-DC game, let's focus on our outside game. We need to get the police groups on board," I said. Rollins jumped into action and reached out to the major law enforcement groups. They all loved and appreciated President Trump and were willing to work with us on sentencing, as long as our reforms made communities safer.

One group that was especially helpful was the International Association of Chiefs of Police, the world's largest organization of police leaders. I arranged for Trump to speak at their annual conference in Florida on October 8, so he could thank them for their service and express his gratitude for their endorsement of the First Step Act.

On our way back from the event, as we boarded the Marine One helicopter at Joint Base Andrews for the ten-minute flight back to the White House, an aide handed Trump a draft of the remarks for the event that evening: the swearing-in ceremony for the newest member of the Supreme Court, associate justice Brett Kavanaugh, whom the Senate had just confirmed after one of the most contentious judicial hearings in American history. When accusations about Kavanaugh's alleged conduct in high school had surfaced, many in Washington called the president and begged him to pull the nomination. Trump often said that nominating a Supreme Court justice was the second biggest decision a president makes, because it's a lifetime appointment. Only the decision to go to war is more important.

The whole controversy surprised Trump. “You’re a choirboy,” he had quipped, shortly after nominating Kavanaugh. Trump felt good about holding strong on Kavanaugh and not caving to what he believed were false accusations. Yet he was also concerned that the experience would alter the new justice’s outlook, and that he’d spend the rest of his career trying to win the approval of liberals and the media by making decisions they favored.

As he marked up the draft of the speech, Trump looked at me. “What did you think of the crying?” he asked, referring to a moment in the hearings when Kavanaugh had broken down in tears.

“I thought it worked for him,” I said. “It seemed genuine, and it changed the dynamics of the hearing.”

Trump paused and gazed out the window of Marine One as we flew past the Washington Monument, not more than a hundred feet away. Then he looked back toward me and said, “Jared, you go down before you cry.”

\* \* \*

Though Trump had handed Sessions a victory by agreeing to delay criminal justice reform, their relationship was rapidly nearing its end. The attorney general’s vehement opposition to reform began to irritate the president and the media. Rollins and I had assembled a robust coalition of conservative support, which included many of Trump’s friends and allies. They reinforced with the president that our reforms were consistent with his conservative values—and that Sessions was dead wrong.

By November we had earned the endorsement of seven major law enforcement organizations as well as more than two thousand conservative and faith-based leaders. Pastor Paula White, a longtime friend and pastor to Trump who led our outreach to evangelicals on the 2016 campaign, worked tirelessly with faith leaders to build support for our bill. The faith community’s passion for the issue was key to keeping Republican members of Congress engaged.

In the Senate, we continued to lean on a group of lawmakers who brought unique skills to the table. Chairman Grassley held the judiciary committee gavel, and his principle and passion combined to make him a bulldog for reform. Mike Lee was an exceptional lawyer and carried significant sway with Senate conservative holdouts like Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio. Tim Scott, the only Black Republican senator, was an effective legislator and could speak with moral authority on the disparities in America. And Lindsey Graham, the gregarious and dogged South

Carolinian, had mastered the art of getting skeptical colleagues to yes and was a fearless advocate in the press.

On the Democratic side, I had been speaking almost daily with Dick Durbin. When the House passed the First Step Act without sentencing reform, he withdrew his support from our proposal. He later rejoined our effort after he saw that we were serious about including sentencing reform in the Senate bill. We were constantly worried about losing his support. Because of the Senate's filibuster rules, we needed to secure more than sixty votes. This meant that we couldn't lose the backing of Durbin or the other key Democrats. Cory Booker, who had previously opposed the bill, came on board and proved instrumental in expanding our coalition.

At one point, we made several concessions to law enforcement groups, which required us to remove a few provisions that were important to Durbin. Ja'Ron Smith, our legislative lead, called me in a panic. He had heard that Durbin was on the verge of pulling his support. I headed straight to the Senate: "If you aren't comfortable, then I am not comfortable," I told Durbin as we met in Grassley's office. "We all started this together, and we are going to finish it together." Our teams worked through the night, and Ja'Ron masterfully led the negotiations to a consensus that held our coalition together.

The updated bill contained several breakthroughs. First, it lowered mandatory minimums for nonviolent offenders, including the life-in-prison sentences for certain nonviolent drug offenders like Alice Johnson. Second, it made sure that the penalties for possession of crack cocaine, the most prevalent form of cocaine in Black communities, were proportionate with the penalties for possession of powder cocaine—and it applied this relief retroactively, so that those currently serving unfair sentences could gain release. Third, it gave judges more discretion in sentencing, so they could impose harsh sentences on genuine threats to the community and more lenient sentences on those with minor or no criminal histories. And finally, it reformed "good-time credits" to make sure that inmates who demonstrated good behavior were not imprisoned longer than they should be.

As we incorporated these sentencing reforms into the bill, I received an unexpected call from Anthony Romero, the executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Knowing that the ACLU's endorsement would encourage Democrats to join our coalition, I had met with Anthony several months earlier to ask for their support.

“Congratulations, you now have our endorsement,” he said. “I promised that if you included retroactive sentencing reforms, we would support it—and I always keep my promises.” I had forgotten about Romero’s promise, but I was grateful that he kept his word. Nearly every Democrat who had initially opposed the bill—including Jerry Nadler and Kamala Harris—immediately came on board after the ACLU endorsement.

In the midterm elections on November 6, the Democrats won back the majority in the House of Representatives, but the Republican losses were milder than expected. In the Senate, Republicans not only retained control but gained two seats—a rare achievement in a midterm election, when the president’s party usually suffers setbacks.

The day after the midterms, Trump fired Sessions, removing the biggest internal impediment to sentencing reform. But even with Sessions gone, two daunting obstacles remained. First, the president still hadn’t made a final decision about sentencing reform. Second, even if he did decide to support it, we still needed Senate majority leader Mitch McConnell to move the bill through the Senate, and we knew he wasn’t eager to do so. Several prominent Republican senators still opposed the legislation, and McConnell—a six-term Kentucky senator and a virtuoso in the art of electoral politics—was loath to spend Senate floor time on an issue that divided the party.

On November 14, Rollins, Ja’Ron, and I organized a presidential meeting with a broad swath of our coalition: lawmakers, advocates, and law enforcement leaders. On several occasions, Trump had hinted that he was almost ready to endorse our expanded version of the First Step Act, including the sentencing reforms. I thought that if he heard from some of the most powerful conservative reform advocates, he might endorse the bill on the spot. The timing was important because the next day Trump was scheduled to meet with McConnell to discuss the legislative priorities before the end of the year.

I briefed Trump on the meeting that we were about to attend, handing him a copy of my bound, two-inch-thick book of endorsement letters from supportive groups, including law enforcement and his strongest evangelical supporters. I wanted to be ready in case he decided to come out publicly in favor of sentencing reform then and there. I even prepared a draft speech, in case he needed it.

Hoping for the best, I asked the president if he was ready to endorse. It was a big moment, and I knew that the fate of our project probably rested on

what he said next.

“Let’s do it,” he said.

When McConnell met with the president the next day, the majority leader explained that there wasn’t enough time to pass criminal justice reform. He was trying to pass other legislation, including a contentious bill to fund the government. General Kelly had excluded me from the meeting, but Trump summoned me: “Get Jared in here,” he ordered. As soon as I walked in, Trump said, “Mitch, why don’t you tell Jared what you just told me about his bill.”

McConnell chuckled. “I’ve been in Washington a long time, and I must say, Jared is one of the best lobbyists I’ve ever seen. Mr. President, at this point, I think Jared has had every single person I know call me to lobby for this bill.”

“Mr. Leader, that’s not true,” I quipped. “I have spoken to a lot more of your friends who haven’t called you yet.”

Everyone, including McConnell, laughed.

“I appreciate your passion for this issue and your persistence,” said McConnell, “but it will take ten legislative days to do this. We don’t have time on the calendar. We have to fund the government. Why don’t we wait until next Congress?”

“If we punt until the next Congress,” I said, “the Democrats will change the deal. We have carefully negotiated this bill to get everyone on board, and my coalition is already hanging by a thread.”

While I knew a lot less about Senate procedure than McConnell, I was certain that I could get the Democrats to shorten the time to just one or two days. But I didn’t want to fight about process in front of the president, so I made a suggestion: “Let me work and see if we can reduce the number of days this will take.”

“That sounds good,” McConnell said, ending the conversation. He probably believed that he had effectively delayed the vote, but just the opposite was true.

After the meeting, I updated Chairman Grassley and suggested that he call the president as we flew to Florida. Grassley did and told Trump that McConnell was dead wrong on the timing. If we applied enough pressure, he said, McConnell would take the path of least resistance and move the bill.

Aboard Air Force One, Trump drafted a tweet: “Really good Criminal Justice Reform has a true shot at major bipartisan support. @senatemajldr



Mitch McConnell and @SenSchumer have a real chance to do something so badly needed in our country. Already passed, with big vote, in House.” The president typed it on his phone, adding one of his signature flourishes at the end, “Would be a major victory for ALL!”

Then Trump made a comment to me that he did not share on Twitter: “McConnell only cares about staying in power. Let’s do something great to help a lot of people.”

Between Grassley’s call, the president’s tweet, and the Democrats agreeing to reduce the amount of floor time needed, McConnell relented and scheduled a vote.

Now we just had to make sure it passed.

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Amid the wrangling over the criminal justice reform bill, I joined Trump on a trip to Argentina for a meeting of the G-20, a forum for the world’s wealthiest countries. In the days leading up to the trip on November 29, I worked nonstop to pass the First Step Act and to prepare for what would be the signature moment on Trump’s itinerary: a ceremony for the signing of the USMCA. Because Peña Nieto was about to leave office, we had to wrap up the North American trade deal in South America.

A few weeks earlier, Luis had called to tell me that Peña Nieto wanted to present me with the Aztec Eagle. Not one for awards—or the pomp and circumstance that can surround them—I thanked Luis but demurred. I thought that the signing of our unprecedented new trade deal was reward enough. Besides, I’d never heard of the Aztec Eagle. Curious, I did a quick Google search and found that it was Mexico’s highest civilian award—their equivalent of America’s Presidential Medal of Freedom. Luminaries like Walt Disney, Dwight Eisenhower, and Nelson Mandela had received it.

I called Luis back. “I didn’t realize that this is such a big honor. I’m humbled. Thank you very much. Please tell President Peña Nieto thank you as well.”

When I mentioned the Aztec Eagle to Trump and asked his permission to receive it, he joked: “After sticking it out when no one thought we would ever get this deal with Mexico done, you deserve more than a sash.”

His itinerary for the two-day trip was packed, and I didn’t want him to feel obligated to attend the ceremony, so I didn’t invite him and requested a small, private event. But as we flew in Marine One from the White House to Joint Base Andrews, where Air Force One awaited us, Trump leaned toward

me, so I could hear him over the thrumming blades of the helicopter. “Do I have to wait for you to invite me to your award ceremony?”

“I learned my lesson from overbooking you in Saudi Arabia,” I said. “I didn’t want to bother you.”

“I want to come,” he said. “This is a big honor, and you earned it. You are always there for me. I want to come and be a part of this for you.” I thanked him and rearranged the time of the ceremony so that he could be there.

I spent the ten-hour flight to Argentina calling dozens of senators to secure their votes for the First Step Act. Air Force One had several telephone operators on its upper level. They could track down almost anyone in the world, and no one could turn down their announcement: “Hello, this is the Air Force One operator calling you on behalf of Senior Adviser Kushner from Air Force One, please hold while I transfer the line.” Trump once joked: “These guys are so good at finding people that if I asked, they could probably get Elvis on the phone.”

On the morning of November 30, less than twenty-four hours before Mexico inaugurated its new president, Trump, Trudeau, and Peña Nieto signed the United States–Mexico–Canada Agreement. The USMCA was the largest and most advanced trade agreement in the history of the world. Its thirty-four chapters, four annexes, and sixteen side letters created the highest standards in environmental and labor protections, and it was by far the most favorable trade deal for American workers ever signed.

Right after the USMCA signing ceremony, Peña Nieto presented me with the Aztec Eagle, a beautiful medallion with a golden eagle layered over a turquoise backdrop and framed by a five-pointed star. Before handing me the award and pinning a bright yellow ribbon on my lapel, Peña Nieto called me a “great ally of Mexico” and “an important actor” in the relationship between our two countries. While I felt uncomfortable being the center of attention, especially with the president sitting in the front row, I was proud of what the award symbolized: the respect and friendship I had built with Peña Nieto and Luis, and the magnitude of what we had achieved in resetting the US relationship with Mexico. Just two years before, Democrats had made the US–Mexico relationship a central issue on the campaign, accusing Trump of racism and xenophobia toward the Mexican people. Against every expectation, we had completely flipped the script, leaving both countries better off.

That evening, the leaders of the G-20 dined in the renowned Teatro Colón opera house in Buenos Aires. Before the meal, each head of state sat in an opera box with a spouse and two guests. Trump invited me and Ivanka to attend with him and Melania. We absorbed the breathtaking beauty of the magnificent theater. Gold-gilded boxes, red velvet seats, and mid-century light fixtures wrapped around the oval theater, which was crowned by an octagonal dome with a 700-bulb crystal chandelier. Built over two decades around the turn of the twentieth century, it was widely considered to have some of the best acoustics in the world.

As we took our seats, the lights dimmed, the room quieted, and the performance began. After the frenetic pace of meetings, remarks, and press conferences, the world's top leaders listened in stillness to the magnificent performance. I glanced around the room and thought about how all the leaders had to confront the burdens of their offices. The sleepless nights, constant worries, and impossible decisions were etched into their furrowed brows. While they put on a strong face to represent their countries on the world stage, the fear of future problems penetrated their gaze. They were all masters of their craft, who had outmaneuvered their opponents. But in that moment, I realized that while Trump faced enormous challenges at home, so did every other leader.

Emmanuel Macron of France was confronting yellow-vest protesters who were marching in the streets, vandalizing property, and calling for his resignation. Angela Merkel, who had indicated that she was nearing the end of her thirteen-year tenure as chancellor of Germany, could not escape the sharp criticism for her management of Syrian refugees. In the United Kingdom, Theresa May had struggled with her country's looming exit from the European Union and was essentially a lame duck prime minister. In Russia, Putin was Putin—he always had problems but maintained his grip on power and caused chaos for others. Saudi Arabian crown prince Mohammed bin Salman was dealing with the global outcry from the death of the journalist Jamal Khashoggi, who was murdered at the Turkish consulate in Istanbul. In Japan, Shinzō Abe's popularity had plummeted after an alleged scandal within his government, and his upcoming election suddenly looked difficult. These world leaders appeared calm and in control, but they all had challenges, they all had flaws. They were all human.

At the corner of the concert hall, I caught a glimpse of Luis, a solitary figure in Mexico's box. It was November 30, Peña Nieto's final day as

president of Mexico. Before the expiration of his term at midnight, Peña Nieto had flown back home, leaving Luis as his stand-in at the G-20. Luis had now served his country for fifteen years, first as chief of staff, then finance minister, and finally foreign minister. There in the presidential box, surrounded by the most powerful people in the world, he served out his final hours of a successful government career, engrossed in the performance and smiling from ear to ear, an unmistakable expression of happiness and relief.

After the formal dinner, Luis met Ivanka and me at a famous Argentinian steakhouse. Katie Telford joined us as well. At midnight, we raised our glasses of Argentinian Malbec and toasted to the end of Luis's devoted public service and the beginning of his life outside of government. I reflected on the fleeting nature of our time in government, and I remembered the advice of Canada's former prime minister Brian Mulroney: The only things that remain after our service are the changes that we bring to government and the friendships that we build along the way.

The day after the USMCA was signed, Trump was scheduled to have a globally anticipated meeting with President Xi of China. The tariff war between our two countries had intensified. Since February 7, 2018, Trump had imposed five separate rounds of tariffs on Chinese imports into the United States. Xi had retaliated in kind by surgically placing tariffs on agricultural goods from swing states. But instead of retreating, Trump doubled down and retaliated with even more tariffs. Leading up to their meeting in Argentina, Trump was threatening to increase the tariffs on \$200 billion in Chinese imports from 10 percent to 25 percent. Despite economists' predictions that such tariffs would trigger a global economic downturn, Trump rightly believed that the United States had the upper hand, and that if he continued to apply economic pressure, China would bend.

As the two leaders met, Trump sensed that Xi was ready to make a deal. Trump agreed to put a ninety-day pause on the additional tariffs and instructed the negotiators to get to work quickly. He pointed to me at the far end of the table. "Jared did an amazing job working with Bob Lighthizer on the incredible USMCA trade deal we signed yesterday. He did so well that Mexico just gave him their highest award. Now I'm asking him to get more involved and work on this China deal with Bob and Steven Mnuchin. But no pressure, Jared," Trump said as he leaned forward, looking down the long table, and caught my gaze. "If it doesn't get done, I'm blaming it on you."

## Victory and Defeat

We were all glued to the TV. The speeches were nice, but we were yelling at the television “Trump, sign the damn bill already!” said Matthew Charles, as he described what it was like to sit behind bars and watch the president sign the First Step Act. He became the first inmate released because of the new criminal justice reform law. I invited him to the White House after he got out of prison, and I asked him what it had been like to keep track of the developments from afar.

“Politicians had promised us criminal justice reforms for more than a decade,” he said. “We all worried that it was a mirage that would vanish at the last second. We followed every twist and turn of the legislation, and when Trump tweeted at McConnell, there was a big applause in my prison.”

In December of 2018 Congress passed the new and expanded version of the First Step Act. In the House of Representatives, the vote was 358 to 36. In the Senate, it was 87 to 12. This handed the president a major bipartisan victory and one of historic magnitude—but more importantly, it would help thousands of people like Matthew Charles who deserved a second chance.

On December 21, at the signing ceremony in the Oval Office, the president was struck by the makeup of the group that had helped us achieve this remarkable victory: Republican and Democratic lawmakers, conservative and progressive advocates, law enforcement professionals, and former inmates crowded behind the Resolute Desk. This unique cross section of America was probably one of the most unlikely groups ever to assemble in the Oval Office.

From his chair behind the Resolute Desk, the president told the story of a judge he met who had recently left the bench because he was forced to sentence a young man to twenty-eight years in prison when he believed he only deserved two. Then he made a move that few politicians would ever have the chutzpah to do: he invited his guests to speak extemporaneously. In most administrations, public comments are carefully scripted. But Trump would often take a risk and invite his guests, many of whom he’d never previously met, to give remarks that hadn’t been cleared with anyone at the White House. This created raw and riveting made-for-television moments that brought his message home.

Mike Lee was quick to jump in: “It’s almost hard for me to speak about this without being emotional. In the process of this, this has brought together friendships that I will cherish for the rest of my life. I’m now texting buddies with Van Jones, Dick Durbin, and with Cory Booker, and I speak to Jared Kushner about five times a day.”

Trump next motioned to Van, his frequent critic.

“There’s nothing more important than freedom,” said Van. “And the freedom of people who are trapped in a broken system, the freedom of people who are trapped in addiction, the freedom of the people who are trapped in poverty—those are the people that your opportunity zones are targeted at, your opioid policy is targeted at, and your criminal justice policy is targeted at. And when you’re trying to help people on the bottom, sir, I will work with or against any Democrat, with or against any Republican, because there’s nothing more important than freedom.”

Van had suffered vicious attacks from many of his political allies on the left for working with Trump and me, but through his courage and conviction he had now made a more serious impact than any of his Twitter detractors could ever have imagined.

Around this time, Matthew Charles was probably shouting at the television for Trump just to sign the damn bill, but it took Chuck Grassley to get him to do it. Growing restless, the senator leaned toward the president and whispered: “Sir, would you mind signing the bill? I need to go back to the Senate for a vote—I haven’t missed one in twenty-five years!” The president signed the legislation with his usual oversize Sharpie.

As soon as the event concluded and I had said goodbye to our guests, I slipped into my office and called my dad. “God works in mysterious ways,” I said. “Maybe you paid the price then, so that thousands of families could get relief now and for years to come.”

“I’m nothing—my life doesn’t matter,” he said. “This is so much bigger than me. I’m so proud of who you are and what you’ve done. You just made the pain that we felt go away for thousands of families. Our family has paid a big price for your service, but to me, this alone makes everything worth it thousands of times over.”

Hours after Trump signed the First Step Act, Cassidy came in and told me that the president wanted to see me back in the Oval Office. I wondered if my father-in-law wanted to reflect on what we had just achieved. But as I walked in, I saw the legislative and budget teams assembled, and

immediately knew that our momentary celebration had passed: Trump had turned to the crisis at hand. The federal government was on the verge of shutting down because the congressional spending bill failed to include sufficient funds for building the wall on the southern border.

“Jared, why have you been spending all of your time on prison reform instead of working on immigration? I didn’t campaign on prison reform. The wall is my number one issue.”

“Sir, General Kelly has been running this issue,” I explained. “He gave me strict instructions not to touch immigration.” Trump sighed and told me to get involved immediately.

\* \* \*

Earlier in the year, Congress had sent the president a sprawling \$1.3 trillion government funding package with only \$1.6 billion for the wall—well short of the \$25 billion Trump had wanted for a project he had mentioned in nearly every one of his campaign speeches. On March 23, minutes after the bill arrived at his desk, Trump tweeted, “I am considering a VETO of the Omnibus Spending Bill, based on the fact that the 800,000 plus DACA recipients have been totally abandoned by the Democrats (not even mentioned in Bill) and the BORDER WALL, which is desperately needed for our National Defense, is not fully funded.”

After a frantic call from Speaker of the House Paul Ryan, who warned about the dangers of a government shutdown, Trump decided to sign. But he wasn’t happy. In televised remarks from the Diplomatic Reception Room, with the thousand-page bill stacked theatrically beside him, he made a promise: “I will never sign another bill like this again.”

Now, nine months later, Congress had done it again, sending him a huge bill to fund the government but providing a measly \$1.6 billion for the border wall. Trump had made up his mind to take a stand this time around. The wall became a benchmark for measuring Trump’s success: if the Democrats could stop it, they would claim that Trump was all talk and no action. Tens of millions of his voters closely associated the wall with the Trump presidency, and failing to deliver on his promise would hurt his credibility. Trump often joked that the easiest way for him to get the wall funded would be to come out against it; then the Democrats would again be for it.

If Congress and the president failed to agree on a budget, funding would lapse for more than half of the government. In practical terms, this

meant that nine of the fifteen major departments would shut down, along with dozens of smaller agencies. Approximately 380,000 federal employees would be furloughed, while another 420,000 would have to work without pay, including security officers at airports and customs and border officials at ports of entry and along the international frontier.

Was the president willing to risk it?

“I don’t know yet, but I need to try and fight for the wall—and hopefully find a way forward,” Trump said.

My reluctance to touch the immigration file extended back to the summer of 2017, when Ivanka and I had hosted a bipartisan dinner at our place in Kalorama. The group included Democratic senator Dick Durbin, Republican senator Lindsey Graham, and White House adviser Stephen Miller. Immigration had become such a toxic political issue that Democrats and Republicans were afraid even to talk to each other about it. At the urging of Graham and with the blessing of the president, I planned a private discussion with the Democrats to identify common ground to improve our nation’s immigration system and build the border wall. Watching the friendly repartee between Durbin and Miller at our dining room table, I was struck by the constructive discussion and the opportunity that lay before us. They had differences of opinion on some aspects, but both were surprised by a number of points on which they agreed. By the end of the dinner, we’d reached a general agreement to explore a deal allowing existing unaccompanied immigrant children—known as DACA recipients—to stay in the country in exchange for a fully funded border wall.

“That’s the first substantive discussion I’ve ever had with a serious Democrat on immigration,” Miller told me afterward.

The next day I called General Kelly, then still the secretary of Homeland Security, to fill him in. “The president asked me to explore a scenario where he could trade DACA for the border wall,” I said. “Can you share the technical specs of what we’re trying to build—how many miles of wall we need, how quickly we can build it, what else is involved to complete the wall system, and the price tag?”

“We don’t really have that together yet,” he replied.

This response astonished me. The border wall was the president’s signature campaign promise, and six months into the administration, the secretary of Homeland Security didn’t have a plan.



Kelly questioned why he was talking to me, rather than Reince Priebus, the chief of staff at the time. I explained that the president had asked me to work quietly on the issue. I didn't realize it at the time, but this exchange probably planted seeds of distrust. I was trying to protect the president and solve a problem, but in retrospect, my approach was amateurish. Had the situation unfolded in our fourth year at the White House, rather than our first, I would have asked the White House policy team to solve the dilemma for the president, and then would have helped to execute on his decision. When Kelly joined the White House staff, he probably thought I was a bad actor who operated around the chief of staff. One of his first moves as chief was to order me to stay away from the immigration portfolio. He wanted to run it himself.

One of the reasons Trump chose Kelly as chief of staff was the perception that he'd been enormously successful at cracking down on illegal immigration as secretary of Homeland Security. During the first several months of the administration, border apprehension numbers—a key indicator of illegal immigration from Mexico—dropped off precipitously, falling 75 percent from their preelection levels. The president was impressed, and everyone praised Kelly. It later became evident, however, that the steep drop in apprehensions was related not to any change that Kelly had implemented but to the deterrent effect of Trump's tough campaign rhetoric and the aggressive executive orders he signed in the first months of his presidency.

By the middle of 2018, border apprehensions were skyrocketing. Apparently human smugglers had realized that there had been almost no policy changes under Kelly or his hand-picked successor, Secretary Kirstjen Nielsen. For her part, Nielsen had a good grasp of the technical aspects of Homeland Security, but she seemed unprepared for the complexities of running a department of 240,000 employees. The positive trends from the first days of the Trump administration had reversed entirely.

By law, the president must submit a budget to Congress each year. It includes his funding requests for everything from roads and bridges to health care for veterans. In both the 2017 and 2018 submissions, Kelly and Nielsen had asked for \$1.6 billion for the wall. When I asked Kelly and Nielsen why they had submitted such low requests, they argued that \$1.6 billion was sufficient and implied that Trump simply didn't understand how the process worked and that there were too many bureaucratic hurdles to build the wall any faster. In a best-case scenario, it would take ten years to build the wall,

they claimed. If we asked for more funding, we wouldn't be able to spend it before the next fiscal year.

A few hours later, I went back into the Oval Office, where the president was still seething over his predicament. He was particularly furious at Paul Ryan and Mitch McConnell for sending him a bill without the wall funding.

"Don't be mad at Paul or Mitch," I said. "They got you exactly what Nielsen and Kelly asked for in our budget."

Trump could have called for Kelly and reamed him out, but at this point the two were barely speaking. Around the West Wing, it felt like Kelly had checked out of the day-to-day operations for months, and it only worsened after Trump's announcement on December 8 that the chief of staff would leave at the end of the year.

"You have a terrible hand to play here," I said. "If you veto the spending bill, the Democrats will blame you for the shutdown. They won't cave on the wall and have no reason to, since they will control the House on January 3. Let's retreat today and find another way forward. We can look at ways to get the funding without a shutdown."

Trump listened, but his resolve stiffened: "You are giving me rational advice, but I'm still not going to sign the bill. Throughout my life, I have taken on all kinds of fights with bad hands, and somehow I figure it out. Jared, if I go down, I'm going down with my boots on."

At the president's direction, I jumped into a limo with Vice President Pence and rode up to Capitol Hill, prepared to negotiate with Democrats. After several hours of unproductive meetings, it was clear that Pelosi and Schumer didn't care about finding a long-term legislative fix for the unaccompanied immigrant children if the tradeoff was giving Trump a win on his biggest campaign promise.

As Secret Service drove me home, I thought about the whirlwind of the last twenty-four hours. I had hoped to celebrate the passage of the First Step Act with Ivanka and the kids that evening. But I didn't leave the Capitol until long past the children's bedtime. While I had achieved a massive success, the rest of the White House was in crisis.

Now that Kelly was on his way out, I needed to integrate back into the team and help the rest of the West Wing succeed, while making sure the incoming chief didn't feel threatened. During this time, Sarah Sanders recommended me for the chief of staff job. Trump asked if I wanted to be considered.

“You already have me,” I said. “I think you would be better served if you find someone else who is more political and press savvy, and I can help them with operations and execution.” I wasn’t particularly excited to jump into the shutdown battle, but I knew it was important. One rule applies to both fathers-in-law and presidents. When they ask for help, there’s only one answer: yes.

Around the same time, Chris Christie was aggressively lobbying to be chief of staff, telling Trump that the Russia investigation was a result of bad staffing and that he needed a chief of staff who would forcefully defend him on television. When Trump asked me what I thought, I joked that Christie might be better at Homeland Security: “If he can close the George Washington Bridge, maybe he could close the border.”

Trump was concerned with Christie’s track record in New Jersey and also worried about Christie’s ability to keep information confidential: every time they met, the details of their meeting ended up with the same two reporters. I told Trump that Christie and I had worked well together on the criminal justice reform legislation and assured him that I felt comfortable with my role and would work well with whomever he chose. When Trump became aware that Christie had a book coming out in several months, he called Christie and asked him if there was anything that could become a problem. Christie told him that he mostly portrayed Trump well, but that he was a bit tough on me and my father.

This was a deal breaker for Trump, who told Chris that he couldn’t have a chief of staff publishing a book that attacked his family. Christie told Trump that he called the publisher to see if he could return his advance and cancel the book, but the publisher had already spent hundreds of thousands of dollars printing copies. It was too late. Months later, the book, titled *Let Me Finish*, came out. It was filled with vicious and untruthful attacks on me and my father.<sup>38</sup> Ironically, Christie’s petty obsession with using my family to get media attention had destroyed his dream opportunity to rehabilitate his image and finish his political career.

## The Longest Shutdown

The White House is a stunning national treasure, and it especially shines during the holidays, but anyone who spends weeks on end within its walls can start to feel like they are trapped in a museum. Sensing that Trump might appreciate an evening out, Pence invited Trump, Mick Mulvaney, and me to dinner at his residence, the Naval Observatory. Trump had appointed Mick Mulvaney as his acting chief of staff in December to replace Kelly. Before we departed, Mulvaney and I met with the president to discuss his upcoming schedule. Then Mulvaney handed Trump a document to sign. “This will end the practice Kelly started of listening to all of your phone calls,” he said, explaining that Kelly had given himself the ability to listen surreptitiously to the president’s calls.

“Kelly did what?” the president asked, stunned at the invasion of privacy. “End that immediately.”

Over the next four weeks, I traveled up and down Pennsylvania Avenue with Pence and Mulvaney. On the Hill, we talked with Democrats and Republicans and tried to find a path forward. During one meeting with Paul Ryan and other House Republican leaders, we discussed a possible compromise to end the shutdown.

Ryan interrupted: “How do we know if the president says ‘Yes,’ that he’s actually going to follow through?”

Taken aback, I replied: “With all due respect, I think you’ve misunderstood the president. If you give him all the information and brief him on the facts and the situation, he will make a firm decision. If you try to get him to agree to something without giving him all of the facts, however, he will likely change his mind when he learns them.”

I attributed Ryan’s disconnect with Trump to his lack of private sector experience. He’d been in Congress for nearly two decades—since he was twenty-eight. In business, negotiators often agree to a deal in concept, and then have lawyers work out the details. New issues can surface during this second step of the process. Ryan had assumed that he could just call Trump and get him to agree to a conceptual framework without his approval on the final details. As a former businessman, Trump didn’t work this way.

One of the greatest tragedies of the first two years of Trump's presidency, when we had majorities in both chambers of Congress, was that neither Ryan nor McConnell understood the president. Like many establishment Republicans, they resented his disruption of the system they had grown used to. They found themselves in a dilemma: they did not fully agree with Trump's style, but they couldn't defy him because their own voters loved him. They had become generals without an army. I often wondered why establishment Republicans didn't seem to respect the sixty-three million voters who elected Trump. Instead of working with Trump to pass legislation that delivered on his promises to voters, a Republican Congress wasted two years ducking the new leader of their party.

After a series of dead-end meetings on the Hill, I began looking for creative ways to fund the wall that didn't require approval from Congress. I collaborated with the president's new White House counsel, Pat Cipollone, a talented Washington litigator and principled conservative who had taken over when Don McGahn had departed in October, and his deputy, Pat Philbin, an understated but remarkably intelligent former Supreme Court clerk. Stephen Miller, Mick Mulvaney, and Russell Vought, who was running the budget office in Mulvaney's absence, and his deputy Derek Kan also joined the effort.

With the federal government spending about \$4.5 trillion a year, we figured that we could cobble together a few billion dollars for the wall. After spending a few weeks researching the president's authorities and the federal government's budget accounts, the team came back with a list that included \$600 million in a Treasury forfeiture account, \$3.6 billion in an account for overseas military construction, and potentially another \$6.3 billion through a general transfer and by pulling from a counternarcotics defense spending account.<sup>39</sup> This was incredible. They'd found the government equivalent of nickels and dimes and come up with \$11 billion in existing funding in the federal bank accounts.

"Are we certain we have the authority to divert these funds?" I asked.

They explained that under an emergency powers statute, the president had the authority to reprogram military funds. He just had to demonstrate that the United States was dealing with an emergency. With border apprehensions skyrocketing, drug and human trafficking proliferating, and caravans marching toward our southern border, the president had a clear basis for this. We took the idea to Trump.

“We’ve got to end the shutdown,” I said. “It’s going to look like you’re taking a loss on this, but what matters is that in June of 2020 there will be a big, beautiful wall, just like you promised. And we’ve now found the funding for it.”

The president crossed his arms and leaned back in his chair. “Jared, if I agree to do this, then you have to personally make sure the wall gets built fast. But let’s play this out a bit more with Congress and see where we get.”

By the end of January, it was clear that our only path forward was the emergency declaration.

On January 24, as we prepared the declaration, my five-year-old son Joseph called: “I miss you, Dad. Can Grandpa end the shutdown so that you can come home?”

My heart sank. I hadn’t made it home for dinner or bedtime in weeks. Figuring that this was one of the few problems that could potentially be solved with soft serve, I invited Joseph to come to the West Wing for frozen yogurt from the Navy Mess. Half an hour later, the Secret Service delivered him to West Executive Drive, just outside the West Wing. He had a big smile on his face, and I gave him a hug as we walked inside to the Navy Mess.

Located in the basement across the hall from the Situation Room, the Navy Mess is an intimate, windowless, wood-paneled dining room, lined with rows of mostly two-person tables bedecked with crisp linens, White House china, and fresh flowers. Since Harry Truman established the Presidential Food Service in 1951, the Mess, as it’s commonly called, has been a favorite feature of the West Wing among White House staff. It includes a carry-out counter with an excellent menu of items, ranging from salmon fillet to mozzarella sticks, so that overworked staff can grab a meal without leaving campus.

Joseph and I ordered two vanilla frozen yogurts, topped with Oreos. As we ate our soft serve in my office, Pence called for me from down the hall to talk about the emergency declaration and his latest discussions with members on the Hill. I left Joseph with my trusted staff member Cassidy Luna. While I spoke with the vice president, his assistant said that the president wanted us both to come to the Oval to work on his speech for the announcement the next day. I brought Joseph with me. He hugged his grandpa, who as usual slid a piece of chocolate into his grandson’s pocket. Joseph spotted the Lego replica of the White House that he had built for his

grandpa. Trump proudly displayed it on the mantel in the Oval Office and showed it to world leaders.

After an hour of patiently sitting through meetings about topics he didn't understand, Joseph came up to me with tears in his eyes. "This is boring," he whispered. "I want to go home."

It was the ultimate defeat. I apologized for being so distracted and walked him out to the car. He would barely look at me. That evening, while I was still at the office preparing for the announcement, I called Joseph before he went to bed and asked if he would come back with me to the White House the next morning before school for a special pancake date. No interruptions, and unlimited whipped cream, I promised.

That next day was January 25, the thirty-fifth day of the longest government shutdown in history. For Joseph and me, it began with a

7:00 a.m. pancake breakfast in the Navy Mess. I couldn't imagine a better start to the morning. A few hours later the president announced that he had reached a three-week deal to end the shutdown, fund the government, and ensure that the federal workers received back pay. When three weeks passed without Congress finding a solution, we handed Trump a presidential proclamation declaring a national emergency on the southern border. On February 15 he signed it, giving us access to \$11 billion for the border wall.

The president had been clear: it was now my responsibility to get it built.

As I took up the project—one of the largest American infrastructure endeavors since the building of the US highway system—I organized meetings in the Situation Room with key officials from within the Office of Management and Budget as well as the Departments of Defense and Homeland Security. I had them brief me on the details of exactly what we were building. Was it concrete, steel slats, or barbed wire? It soon became clear that no one had settled on the exact type of structure we intended to erect. As a former builder, the president would have a strong perspective, so I organized a briefing. The experts recommended a thirty-foot-high barrier made of long steel slats, with anti-climb panels lining the top. Trump didn't like the look of the anti-climb panels, but he approved the design at the strong recommendation of Border Patrol.

We also needed to identify the stretches of our border that were most vulnerable to illegal crossings and to the smuggling of people, narcotics, and weapons so that we could focus our construction efforts on priority

locations. Much of the land along the southern border was privately held, and the Army Corps of Engineers needed to engage in a cumbersome process of land acquisition, which at times could involve eminent domain, a less-than-ideal legal proceeding that gave the federal government the authority to force private citizens to sell parcels of their land. The Army Corps estimated that this step alone would take six to twelve months to complete. We didn't have that long.

After working through these issues, we decided to define success as building 450 miles of a new state-of-the-art border wall by the end of 2020. This was an aggressive but achievable target that would strengthen our border security in strategic locations, including San Diego, Yuma, El Paso, and the Rio Grande Valley. Some of the wall would rise in places where there were no barriers, and some would replace existing but ineffective fencing. As the construction ramped up, I held weekly meetings in the Situation Room. I always began with two questions, typical of any construction project: Why is it taking so long? And why is it costing so much?

"We are right on schedule," said Lieutenant General Todd Semonite, the impressive three-star general who ran the Army Corps of Engineers, in one of these weekly meetings. As he listed the construction numbers from the previous week, I opened my manila folder, pulled out the schedule from the week before, and double-checked the projections.

"With all due respect, General, you're not on schedule," I said. "Last week, you said that you'd be at a hundred and seventeen miles, and you're only at one hundred and fifteen."

"That's the old schedule," he said. "I'm talking about the updated schedule."

"General, unlike most of the jobs I have been assigned in government, this is one that I have a bit of experience in," I quipped. "I've never had a contractor admit to missing their schedule—they just keep revising the damn schedule."

Everyone laughed.

"I know how to do this stuff. Every time we meet, I need you to give me an update on where we were the day before, and where we were projected to be. There are a lot of moving parts, and things will go better and worse than we expect. Let's agree to have a transparent flow of information, and we will solve problems as they arise."



Out of that meeting, I created a one-page spreadsheet, with specific tracking and updates to monitor the progress, and tasked one of my top lieutenants, an affable jack-of-all-trades named John Rader, to run point on coordinating the project. General Semonite and his team stepped up to the challenge and did an outstanding job. We all accepted accountability as a team, and we started to steamroll through the project.

After Kelly and Nielsen took two years to construct 35 miles of new and replacement border wall, we worked with Acting DHS Secretary Chad Wolf to build more than 415 miles in 2019 and 2020—much faster than the experts predicted. To get it done, I applied a formula similar to the one I’d used for USMCA, the First Step Act, and the Middle East file. I defined success, developed a plan, and built a great team that was creative, agile, and focused intensely on execution. More than anything, I didn’t want to let Trump down. He had promised to build the border wall to keep Americans safe and secure. Subsequent reports have found that the wall we built accomplished this goal, disrupting the flow of criminals and smugglers across the border.

Mark Morgan, the charismatic and talented leader of Customs and Border Protection, joked after one meeting that immigration hawks in conservative media like Ann Coulter and Tucker Carlson would have heart attacks if they had known that the fate of the border wall’s construction depended on someone they maligned as a “liberal New Yorker.”

## Eureka

**B**y February 2019, the prospect of peace in the Middle East seemed more distant than ever. Israeli prime minister Bibi Netanyahu was caught in a holding pattern until after the April elections, and the Palestinians were still fuming over the Jerusalem embassy and refused to talk directly. Despite the dim outlook, my small team forged ahead.

Over the past six months, we had developed the Peace to Prosperity economic plan—a blueprint for investing \$50 billion into the West Bank, Gaza, and the surrounding region if the Palestinians accepted our political peace plan as the starting point for negotiations. Now it was time to gauge world leaders’ reaction to the proposal. We made plans for two overseas trips. We would start in Europe with a two-day, sixty-nation counter-Iran conference that Brian Hook, who had been appointed as special envoy for Iran, had organized in Warsaw, Poland. The conference was notable in that it brought together the prime minister of Israel and the foreign ministers of the UAE and Bahrain in a public forum. Next would come the Munich Security Conference in Germany, a vaunted yearly gathering of the world’s top authorities on defense and national security. Then, less than a week later, we would sprint through six Middle Eastern countries in five days on what would be my third extended trip to the region.

Vice President Pence was scheduled to deliver the keynote address at the Warsaw Conference on February 14. He invited me to fly with him to Poland on Air Force Two and join him and Polish president Andrzej Duda on a tour of Auschwitz-Birkenau, the former Nazi concentration and death camp where the Nazis had murdered a million Jews.

I had visited Auschwitz twenty years earlier as a high school senior. Back then, when I asked my headmaster to excuse my absence from classes for the trip, he refused, citing the school’s attendance requirements. At a meeting in his office, I confronted him: “If you fail me, I accept that, but I believe that in ten years, I will remember more from this trip than from a week of class.” He relented, and the trip indeed changed my life.

As we walked along Auschwitz’s corridors of death, one of the guides shared a story about his father, who had been a prisoner there sixty years earlier. His father had smuggled in his tefillin—a small box containing Torah

inscriptions secured by a leather band, and worn as an act of faith. As the Nazis forced the prisoners to line up and march in the prison yard each morning, he would duck down, take the tefillin's leather band, wrap it around his arm, and say a prayer before handing it to the next prisoner in line. Of all the things the prisoners could have smuggled into the death camp, they chose tefillin. They risked their lives to pray. As a teenager, too often I skipped the morning ritual. The story in Auschwitz inspired me to change my ways. If these prisoners were willing to die for their faith, I should embrace my freedom and make a better effort. From that day forward, I've started my mornings by wrapping the leather band around my arm and praying.

Now, twenty years later, as President Duda of Poland led our delegation through Auschwitz-Birkenau, I was struck by how little had changed since my high school visit. The sites, which together covered 470 acres, seemed frozen in time. We entered beneath the ominous wrought-iron sign—*arbeit macht frei*, German for “Work sets you free.” Then we moved through the carefully spaced rows between the barracks, where the Nazis packed emaciated human beings onto wooden shelves as ice, rain, sleet, and snow leaked through the ceiling. We passed the clinical room, where men, women, and children were stripped of their dignity. We stood where the prisoners had stood, in rows that separated the dead from the living, which seemed to stretch as far as the eye could see.

Visiting Auschwitz as an adult reminded me of why the Israelis constantly live in a state of fear that one day they will find themselves in a powerless position against an oppressor, and why they negotiate every little point as if it is a life-or-death issue.

As we prepared to leave Poland, taxiing on the runway in Krakow, a voice came over the plane's PA system: “Unlike the grandparents of my three sons, this Jew arrived at Auschwitz not in a cattle car but in a vice presidential motorcade. Today he doesn't depart Auschwitz as did more than a million Jews, by the night that ‘transformed the small faces of children into smoke under a silent sky.’ Today, he is delivered from that hell upon the wings of eagles on Air Force Two.”<sup>40</sup>

The voice belonged to Tom Rose, a senior adviser to the vice president. His family also had survived the Holocaust. Rose put words to what I felt, and there wasn't a dry eye on that plane.

When we arrived in Munich, I peered out the window of our motorcade en route to the hotel and marveled at the immaculate buildings and public squares that showcased the most brilliant engineering in the world. My mind flashed to Auschwitz. How could people have taken their ingenuity and creativity and twisted those talents to build perfectly designed factories of death? Even good people are capable of cooperating in incomprehensible evil. It's up to each of us to choose how we will use our brief time on earth.

At the Munich Security Conference, I planned to brief European leaders on our peace plan. To this point, I'd spent the bulk of my time soliciting feedback and building support among the Arab leaders, but I also needed Europe's input before releasing the plan, which we were tentatively scheduled to do following the Israeli parliamentary elections in April. Germany had gone to great lengths to acknowledge the atrocities and try to heal the wounds of the Holocaust, so I hoped that Chancellor Angela Merkel would be receptive. I briefed her on our efforts when our delegations met. She expressed support, but wouldn't commit to backing our plan. She asked me to work with one of her lieutenants. Soon after, I learned from Ric Grenell, our ambassador to Germany, that Merkel had connected me with a paper pusher. Her handoff was a sure sign that she had no interest in rethinking her Middle East policy. French president Emmanuel Macron was no different. When we spoke, he hardly acknowledged that past approaches had failed. His talking points were straight from the traditional foreign ministry playbook, and France would not support a plan unless the Palestinians signed on.

Europe's most powerful leaders showed little interest in breaking from the failed policies of the past in search of a new path to peace.

\* \* \*

On February 23 I departed for the Middle East, along with Avi Berkowitz, Jason Greenblatt, and Brian Hook. The trip included our first visit to the Sultanate of Oman. Strategically located along the mouth of the Persian Gulf, Oman shares a border with Saudi Arabia, the UAE, and Yemen. Across the Strait of Hormuz is Iran, a mere twenty-one miles away.

Upon arriving in the afternoon, we headed to the hotel and waited for a call from the palace with instructions on what time to arrive for dinner with the sultan. In the lobby of the hotel, we bumped into *New York Times* columnist and Middle East expert Thomas Friedman, who was there to give a speech. Over coffee, he revealed that he had followed my efforts closely

and appreciated that we were approaching negotiations differently. Whereas our predecessors had tried to play the role of neutral brokers, we were unapologetically standing with Israel on the policies where we agreed, knowing that it would build trust with them. He reminded me of his first rule about the region: “In the Middle East, you get big change when the big players do the right things for the wrong reasons.” He insisted that if we weren’t planning to offer the Palestinians a state, our efforts would never bear fruit. Not wanting to show my hand to a journalist, I said that we were still working through the issues and trying to capitalize on our strong relationship with Israel.

Shortly after our coffee, we received a call from the palace. It was time to meet Sultan Qaboos bin Said Al Said, a towering figure in the Middle East. A fourteenth-generation descendant of Oman’s founding monarch, Qaboos was the longest-tenured leader in the region and the only founding member of the Gulf Cooperation Council still living. Since overthrowing his father in a British-backed coup d’état in 1970, he had implemented significant reforms at a methodical pace. Over his nearly half-century reign, he had abolished slavery, recognized women’s right to vote, built modern infrastructure, and transformed his country from a land plagued by poverty and isolation into a prospering and diverse economy respected by its neighbors. Like most Arab nations, Oman did not have formal diplomatic relations with Israel, but the sultan had recently hosted Netanyahu for a visit. This was big news, and even surprised the US intelligence community, which interpreted the overture as a sign that our efforts were changing the sentiments in the region.

As we entered the palace, an official escorted us into a magnificent reception room, where we met three high-ranking ministers dressed in traditional Omani attire with muzzar-style turbans and heavily jeweled daggers on their belts. We exchanged niceties as we waited expectantly for the sultan. Half an hour went by, then an hour. We tried not to show our hunger and exhaustion as we made small talk, but maybe we should have, because they did not give us any indication of when the sultan would arrive. Finally, at 10:00 p.m., two hours after our expected start time, an official announced that the sultan was ready. We were escorted into a windowless mahogany-paneled conference room lined by chairs. Not a trace of food was in sight. Not even a dining table. Hook whispered to Avi, “I guess we aren’t having dinner.”

The sultan, a small-framed man with a neatly cropped beard and a regal turban, greeted us warmly. His proud and unhurried bearing seemed to convey a battle-tested aura earned from five decades in the world's roughest geopolitical neighborhood.

As we introduced ourselves, I asked questions about the history and personalities in the Middle East. Whereas most of the leaders in the region tended to be animated and even emotional, I was impressed by the sultan's calm demeanor, especially as he told a story about one of his neighbors who tried to kill him, but then coolly stated that they had resolved their issues and he didn't hold a grudge.

His matter-of-fact statement astonished me, but perhaps it shouldn't have. He had survived by picking his battles wisely and taking steps forward at his own speed. He knew his strengths and vulnerabilities, and he was focused on the long game.

When we reached the topic of the Palestinians, the sultan shared a view that I had heard from nearly every leader in the region. Yet he captured the essence of the issue with impressive precision and clarity: the most crucial element of Israeli-Arab peace was access to the al-Aqsa Mosque on the Temple Mount. Going further than other leaders, he expressed his disappointment that for years the Arab media had spread a false narrative that Israel wanted to destroy the mosque. This lie was commonly believed in most Muslim nations, and it needed to be addressed. The sultan clearly sympathized with Abbas, explaining how, for years, Arab leaders had deliberately stoked the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians to deflect attention from their own domestic shortcomings and rally popular support.

He was candid about the fact that, in the past, Arab countries had publicly put pressure on the Palestinians to stand up to Israel and not be traitors. Then, to my surprise, he admitted that these public statements often contrasted with what Arab leaders would say privately, when they were much more willing to admit the benefits that Israel brought to the region. He predicted that the hypocrisy would end only when leaders said publicly what they said privately. As our discussion continued, the sultan placed some blame on Abbas for his inability to find solutions and for his role in perpetuating the conflict. "We are supposed to learn from history," he said, "but you can't live in history."

I was shocked by what I was hearing. Coming from the longest-serving ruler in the Arab world, these statements gave me hope that the sultan would

support our peace plan or, even better, establish diplomatic relations with Israel. He told me about how much he had enjoyed his dinner with Bibi and how he saw tremendous opportunities for Oman and its neighbors to collaborate with Israel.

When we finished walking the sultan through the plan, I asked if he thought we had a chance at peace between Israel and the Palestinians. If we don't start, we we will never accomplish or change anything, he said. Abbas has his limitations, but his heart is in the right place. Then regret crossed the Sultan's face as he spoke: *I feel badly for the Palestinian people; they carry with them the burden of the Muslim world.*

For more than two hours, the sultan shared stories and gave insights from his unique perspective. I was so wrapped up in the conversation, I had forgotten my hunger. My team, however, was growing tired. Avi and Hook were fighting to keep their eyes open and readjusting in their chairs to stay awake. The meeting finally wrapped up after midnight. As we stood to leave, the sultan asked: "Shall we eat?" There was only one acceptable answer. I could see the deflated looks on the faces of Avi, Hook, and Greenblatt as I answered in the affirmative. They just wanted a little sleep before our 8:00 a.m. departure to Bahrain.

The sultan's staff opened the doors into a magnificent dining room, lined with grand columns and archways. At the center stood a hand painted marble table, adorned with gold trim. Three tuxedoed waiters stood behind each chair. The sultan of Oman was legendary for hosting dinners more formal than those at Buckingham Palace, but nothing could have prepared us for what followed.

Glistening silver plate covers dotted the table, accompanied by voluminous menus with descriptions of thirty different courses, separated by categories such as "soup" or "fish," written in elegant English and Arabic calligraphy. I expected to choose a single selection from each category, as is common in America. Before I could decide, however, a waiter delivered cold avocado soup, followed by cold lamb jelly soup and tomato basil soup. As each new dish arrived, the sultan described where he had discovered the original recipe. "Will you have some?" he asked, over and over. I couldn't refuse my generous host and sipped from each. After serving seven different soups, the waiters began to bring the seafood courses: grilled prawns, shrimp scampi, fresh lobster, grilled kingfish, fried cod. After fourteen courses, I peeked at the menu and saw that we weren't even halfway done.

I tried to avoid nonkosher food and took small bites so that I could make it through the meal as the sultan continued to explain the dynamics in the region. On multiple occasions, I was so engrossed in the discussion, I forgot to try a new dish. Eventually I noticed Hook and Avi glaring at me, and caught on: the waiters would not serve the next course until we stopped talking. The guys wanted me to shut up so we could keep the dinner moving.

As the sultan regaled us with stories of conquest and intrigue, he displayed a remarkable grasp of history. When a date slipped his mind, he looked to one of his ministers. “Was that in 1942?” “No, it was 1943,” came the prompt response. This routine happened several times. “Was that in 1973?” “No, it was in 1974.” For months, this was a running joke for my team. Hook would ask, “Was that in 1942?” Avi would shoot back, “No, it was in 1943.”

Four hours and thirty delicious courses later, we finished the meal. It was after 4:00 a.m. I couldn't have been more delighted by the productive and riveting discussion. In six hours, I had built a new relationship and gained tremendous insight into the world's most complex diplomatic issues. I felt I had a new partner. As the sultan walked us to the door to bid us farewell, he casually asked: “Would you like to see my car collection?” Knowing that he owned one of the best car collections in the world, with more than three hundred antique vehicles, I was about to agree. Then I looked at Avi, who shook his head. “We better not,” I said. “I will look forward to seeing it on our next visit.”

As soon as the doors of our SUV shut, I turned to Avi and Hook with a smile. “I wanted to see the car collection.” They lost it. “That was eight freaking hours of opulence torture!” Avi said. “We haven't slept in thirty hours, and we take off for Bahrain in less than four hours.” I sympathized, but we had traveled halfway across the world to meet with the sultan of a country, and he had clearly appreciated our company. If he hadn't, he wouldn't have kept us so long. I was happy to forgo a few hours of sleep to build greater trust and give us a better chance to make peace. Plus, I had enjoyed every minute of the experience. When else would we have the chance to talk through the night with the sultan of Oman? As it turned out, this would be our only meeting. The sultan died of cancer in January of 2020, at the age of seventy-nine.

On the flight to Bahrain, I couldn't stop thinking about the previous evening's conversation with the sultan. One line played over and over in my



head: *I feel badly for the Palestinian people. They carry with them the burden of the Muslim world.* It made me wonder who had appointed Mahmoud Abbas, with his incompetent band of negotiators, to represent the entire Arab world on the issue of the al-Aqsa Mosque.

This led to a eureka moment: maybe the reason the Israeli-Palestinian conflict hadn't been solved was because it is two separate conflicts, not one. There is the territorial dispute between Israel and the Palestinians about where to compromise and draw the borders in Jerusalem and the West Bank. Then there is the broader conflict between Israel and all Arabs about access to the al-Aqsa Mosque. For decades, conflating these two issues had made the conflict unsolvable. If we focused on each issue individually, perhaps progress would be possible.

Two years after the Allies defeated the Nazis in World War II, the United Nations called for separate Jewish and Arab states, while retaining international control of Jerusalem. The Jewish people in Israel supported this plan, including its Jerusalem proposal, but the Arab world rejected it. When British rule ended in 1948, the Jews declared their independence, announcing it on May 14. The next day, the nations of Egypt, Transjordan, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon attacked.

Surrounded by enemies and outnumbered by the Arab forces, the newborn State of Israel miraculously won what came to be called the 1948 Arab-Israeli War. At the outset of the Arab invasion, thousands of Palestinians fled the area, believing that they would be able to return and partake in the spoils of an impending Arab victory. But when their side was defeated, they could not return to their homes and became refugees. A similar scene played out during the Six Day War in 1967. Instead of calling for the over fifty Muslim and Arab nations to welcome these refugees and grant them citizenship, Egyptian general Gamel Abdel Nasser and his allies refused to admit defeat and pledged that one day the refugees could return to Palestine. These refugees became geopolitical pawns, used to promote the continued anti-Semitic quest by the then leaders of the Arab world to justify their opposition to Israel's existence. This failure to resolve the refugee situation has continued for seventy years, leading to regional instability and turmoil. While all other post-WWII refugees have been resettled, today only displaced Palestinians still live in refugee camps across the Muslim world.

Following Nasser's humiliating defeat, the Egyptian general directed significant ire toward Israel and the Jewish people. As a result of this and

similar rhetoric from other Arab leaders, some eight hundred thousand Jews, who had lived peacefully with their Muslim neighbors for centuries, were driven from their homes in Baghdad, Cairo, Fez, Damascus, and Tehran. They all resettled, and many found refuge in Israel. Unlike the Palestinian refugees, Jewish refugees were not given special designation by the United Nations.

When I met with leaders who objected to Israel's current position in Jerusalem, I would remind them that three times—in 1948, 1967, and 1973—the Arabs had attacked Israel and lost. After the 1967 and 1973 wars, the United Nations passed resolutions that called on Israel to return any land gained through the wars to the Palestinians. Anti-Israel internationalists ignored the fact that Israel had agreed to the 1947 UN resolution that created two sovereign states, with international control of Jerusalem. The real violators of international order were the invading parties. In most historical cases, there is a consequence to losing an offensive war. And they had lost three.

After two years of exploring every angle of this seemingly unsolvable conflict, I felt like I had finally reached a conceptual breakthrough: perhaps the way to achieve peace and reduce regional tension was to narrow our focus to the issue of access to the al-Aqsa Mosque. I was optimistic that this approach aligned with the sentiment of the Arab people—not just that of their leaders. Months earlier, I had commissioned State Department focus groups in the West Bank, Egypt, Jordan, and the UAE. When Arab respondents were asked to describe the source of the Arab-Israeli conflict, the vast majority cited access to the mosque. The issue of territorial sovereignty, which was the fixation of “experts,” hardly came up.

If Israel would guarantee Muslim custodianship of the holy site, and expand access to Muslim worshippers, then we could address the issue of greatest concern to Arabs. And if these nations made peace with Israel, flights to Israel would open up, making it possible for hundreds of millions of Muslims to make pilgrimages to the mosque. In order to do this, our peace plan would need to demonstrate a serious commitment to solving the Israel Palestinian conflict. We were ready to offer a plan that would require compromise, but still maintained Israel's security while improving the lives of the Palestinians.

A detailed proposal would put Abbas in a tough negotiating position. If he accepted the offer and ended the conflict, he would risk losing billions per

year in international aid. But if he rejected our proposal for a pragmatic two-state solution, which included a massive investment plan for the Palestinian territories, he would reveal his true indifference to the wellbeing of his own people. This would strengthen the argument I was making to the leaders of the Muslim countries—that it was time to focus on their national interests and move forward with normalization.

In the twilight of his tenure as secretary of state, John Kerry gave parting words of advice to a Washington audience. “There will be no separate peace between Israel and the Arab world,” he said at the Saban Forum. “I want to make that very clear to all of you. I’ve heard several prominent politicians in Israel sometimes saying, ‘Well, the Arab world is in a different place now, we just have to reach out to them and we can work some things with the Arab world and we’ll deal with the Palestinians.’ No, no, no, and no. I can tell you that reaffirmed even in the last week as I have talked to leaders in the Arab community. There will be no advance and separate peace with the Arab world without the Palestinian process and Palestinian peace. Everybody needs to understand that. That is a hard reality.”

This was the conventional wisdom for decades, and I initially accepted it as fact. But as I listened and learned, I felt like the reverse might be true. If we could make peace between Israel and the Arab world, then more likely than not, a path to making peace between the Palestinians and Israel would eventually open as well.

As our flight approached Bahrain, I leaned toward Jason and asked him to make two changes to the peace plan. First, he should reframe the issue of access to the al-Aqsa Mosque, removing it as a subject of negotiation with the Palestinians and turning it into the centerpiece of broader normalization agreements between Israel and the Muslim world. Second, we needed to finalize the boundaries in Jerusalem and the West Bank in a rational way that was based on the modern reality, not a UN resolution from 1967. Both concepts were rooted in finding a pragmatic solution that could end the conflict and move beyond the failed paradigm of the past.

If the Palestinian leadership rejected this approach, which they almost certainly would, the Arab leaders would recognize that Palestinian intransigence was undermining their own interests in a time of increased common threats and shared opportunities.

Our dinner with the sultan of Oman, and my subsequent eureka realization, crystallized our strategy and paved the way for the Abraham Accords. As we pursued a new paradigm, we began to see an enormous opportunity that had been hiding in plain sight.

## A New Cliché

“May I ask you a potentially inappropriate question?” I asked King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa of Bahrain, ruler of the thriving island nation off the coast of Saudi Arabia.

The king smiled and nodded.

“Yesterday in Egypt,” I continued, “at the Arab League meeting with the European Union, you called for a Palestinian state with East Jerusalem as its capital and the borders established in 1967. Those are the same Arab Peace Initiative talking points that everyone has been using since 2002. You know that’s not happening. I know that’s not happening. Everyone in that room knows that’s not happening. So why do you and others keep saying it?”

The king paused, gathered his thoughts, and spoke: It had become a cliché, he said, before conceding that perhaps it was time for a new cliché.

The king added that he had no ill feelings toward Israel and predicted that the region would move forward only when the three Abrahamic faiths reunited—and this was why he wanted to see progress for the Palestinians.

This was the best conclusion I could have hoped for after constructive meetings with the king and his son, Crown Prince Salman bin Hamad Al Khalifa, a forward-thinking leader who had taken great strides to modernize and diversify Bahrain’s economy. Both the king and the crown prince appreciated that our Peace to Prosperity economic plan included a detailed blueprint to bring jobs to the West Bank. They offered to assist in any effort to help the Palestinian people.

From Bahrain, we flew to Saudi Arabia and went straight to the Saudi Royal Court for a meeting with King Salman bin Abdulaziz. The eighty-three-year-old monarch expressed his appreciation for Trump’s work to stabilize the region, and fondly recalled the Riyadh summit he had hosted nearly two years earlier. He stressed that access to the al-Aqsa Mosque was the most important issue for all Muslims and directed his team to continue working with us to see what we could do to resolve the conflict. Knowing that Israel was not King Salman’s favorite topic, I asked Brian Hook, our special envoy for Iran, to give him an update on our actions against the regime in Tehran. I included Brian in most of my meetings with Arab leaders

not only because he was an astute policy adviser, but also because his presence reminded Arab nations that we were aligned on a key priority for them, and we expected them to engage constructively on our other priorities. In the past, they had cherry-picked the issues on which they were willing to engage, while saying that American priorities would be too destabilizing for them internally. I wanted this to stop. If they hoped to reap the benefits of the policies they supported, they couldn't run away from the issues they preferred to avoid.

After our meeting with the king, we entered another beautiful building in the Royal Court compound: the offices of Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman. It was our first in-person meeting since Saudi agents had murdered *Washington Post* columnist Jamal Khashoggi in October of 2018.

I made sure that the communications team released an official readout of the group meeting to the press, so it was clear that I wasn't hiding the meeting and that the United States was standing by its ally in a low moment. I walked MBS through our Peace to Prosperity economic plan, which included a \$50 billion economic investment into the West Bank, Gaza, and the surrounding region.

For decades, Arab countries had invested billions of dollars in these areas, with very little return. "If the investments were made directly into the Palestinian economy, rather than through their leadership, and conditioned upon making reforms, the people would benefit more," I said. "Right now, the current system is a massive uncapped liability."

MBS thought the plan made a lot of sense and asked how I was able to pull it together, observing that it looked like the work of a hundred McKinsey consultants.

I explained that I'd assembled three of the smartest people from the White House who had backgrounds in finance, and that we'd spent several months researching the problem and running the numbers.

I told him that his Vision 2030 plan for the Saudi people had inspired our blueprint.<sup>41</sup>

He predicted that our natural critics would claim that I was trying to buy the Palestinian people, but noted that this criticism would happen either way. It was a solid plan, he said, and the people would judge for themselves whether it would help them achieve a better life. The same thing happened in his country with Vision 2030.

When we discussed the murder of Khashoggi, the crown prince took responsibility for the fact that it happened on his watch, though he said he was not personally involved. He said that he was conducting a thorough investigation and planned to address the murder publicly as soon as it was complete.

We also discussed ways to resolve the Gulf rift with Qatar, which was entering its second year and was responsible for instability and economic damage in the region. “Let’s put aside the reasons for why this started,” I said. “Qatar now has to rely on Iran for groceries. The longer this fight continues, the more animosity there will be in the region, lowering your chances of achieving your ambitious dreams for your country.”

“I’m open to finding an agreement,” MBS said. “But it has to be a deal that really solves the problem. Past agreements between our countries only made the problem worse.”

I offered to speak with Sheikh Tamim, the emir of Qatar, and probe the Qataris to see whether a resolution that addressed Saudi concerns was possible. MBS agreed.

Several months later, MBS addressed the murder of Khashoggi during a CBS *60 Minutes* interview, telling the world what he told me: “This was a heinous crime. But I take full responsibility as a leader in Saudi Arabia, especially since it was committed by individuals working for the Saudi government. . . . And I must take all actions to avoid such a thing in the future.”

While this situation was terrible, I couldn’t ignore the fact that the reforms that MBS was implementing were having a positive impact on millions of people in the kingdom—especially women. Under his leadership, Saudi Arabia began allowing women freedom to travel, participate in the economy, and own property. It had loosened cultural restrictions on dancing and concerts. And it had dramatically scaled back its religious police, which for years had harshly enforced a stringent form of Islamic law. All of these reforms were major priorities for the United States, as they led to further progress in combating extremism and advancing economic opportunity and stability throughout the war-torn region. The kingdom was poised to build on this historic progress, and I believed it would.

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In Turkey, I met with President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in his massive presidential palace, which he recently had completed at the cost of \$600

million, and walked him through our peace plan. It didn't go well, but I didn't think it would.

A superbly talented politician and populist Islamist, Erdoğan expressed solidarity with the Palestinians suffering in Gaza and showed zero willingness to support my proposed compromises. When I suggested that Hamas had caused this suffering through its terrorism and political mismanagement, Erdoğan paused, looked at me incredulously, and changed topics. He was much more interested in discussing Turkey's economic relationship with the United States. He wanted to double the annual trade volume to \$50 billion. I told him that I would try to encourage more trade, but that Turkey's earlier purchase of anti-aircraft missiles from Russia would trigger statutory US sanctions on Turkey. Erdoğan thanked me for being willing to try. Then he looked at his finance minister, Berat Albayrak, who also happened to be his son-in-law, and said that advisers could sometimes let down their presidents—but not sons-in-law.

That wasn't his only comment about family. Before our meeting concluded, Erdoğan encouraged me and Ivanka to have more children, and expressed his sincere love for his own. He joked that at his political rallies, he always encouraged his supporters to grow their families.

I never expected Erdoğan to support our peace plan. After Iran and the Palestinians, he had been the harshest and most vocal critic of our decision to move the US embassy to Jerusalem. But it was worth a shot, and perhaps my visit would cause him to tone down his rhetoric or even remain neutral.

Our February trip through the Middle East confirmed my sense that we should release our economic plan first, followed by the political peace plan soon thereafter. After two years of building trust in the region, I was encouraged that Arab leaders seemed ready to move forward with a new paradigm for the Middle East. If Israel's prime minister endorsed the plan following the elections in April, the Arabs and Israelis would be closer than ever on several key issues, including the path to a Palestinian state and access to the al-Aqsa Mosque. This would shake up the status quo and put in motion our newly refined strategy to encourage the Palestinians to come to the table, while we pursued a parallel track of normalization between Israel and the Arab nations.



## Exoneration

It really was a hoax all along—and on March 24, 2019, even CNN had to admit the truth. It was a Sunday afternoon, and I was about to leave the house when Avi called.

“Turn on the television!” he said.

As I reached for the clicker, I barely had time to wonder what new crisis loomed. The first thing I saw on the screen was a breaking news chyron: “DOJ: Mueller Did Not Find Trump Conspired with Russia.”

The Department of Justice had reviewed the report of special counsel Robert Mueller and concluded that neither Trump nor his presidential campaign had colluded with Russia to influence the election in 2016. Investigators had spent two years and tens of millions of dollars searching for evidence of a link—and as I’d expected, they’d turned up nothing.

So it wasn’t a crisis at all. It was a relief. We’d waited years for this moment. I knew that we had done nothing wrong, but Trump was always concerned that Mueller would exaggerate some random fact of the case, handing his detractors something to seize on to claim proof of collusion. My mom also worried constantly. Sometimes it seemed like she tracked the press reports speculating about my legal status more closely than my lawyer did. I called her immediately and told her to turn on the news.

“I’m now one hundred percent in the clear,” I said. “See, I told you that you shouldn’t have been so worried.”

As we spoke, my eyes wandered back to the television screen, where CNN correspondent Manu Raju was discussing the announcement. “Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer just issued a joint statement about the Mueller report. They said that the fact that Special Counsel Mueller’s report does not exonerate the president on a charge as serious as obstruction of justice demonstrates how urgent it is that the full report and underlying documentation be made public without any further delay given Mr. Barr’s public record of bias against the Special Counsel inquiry.”

This whole thing is a sick game, I thought. We came to change Washington and serve our country. The media and the Democrats challenged the legitimacy of the election with a vengeance. Trump was right all along. This whole investigation had been nothing but a witch hunt.

After the announcement of Trump's exoneration, Senator Richard Burr, a North Carolina Republican and chairman of the Senate intelligence committee, sent me a letter asking me to answer another round of questions about collusion with Russia. My lawyer Abbe Lowell pushed back, noting that I had already answered the committee's questions in July of 2017. Plus, the Mueller report closed the case. Yet Burr refused to abandon an investigation into which he had invested so much time. So he threatened me with a subpoena.

Having nothing to hide, I agreed to go. But I wasn't happy that it pulled me away from my other priorities. When I arrived at the Hart Senate Office Building, Burr slid up to me outside the hearing room. "Thank you for coming today," he said. "These investigations have been incredibly fruitful. We've found stuff that will keep our intel community busy for the next ten years."

I turned to stand nose to nose with Burr. "Senator, are you serious?" I asked, without hiding my frustration. "This investigation is an embarrassment. What you are seeing has a simple explanation. Unlike everyone else in the Washington system, Donald Trump was an unknown entity to foreign governments. You picked up a high volume of unusual intel signals because the president's victory caught the world off guard. These countries know how to influence all of the long-established politicians, so you don't see intel traffic on them, but they had no idea how to try and influence Trump, so they were scrambling to figure it out. Your exhaustive investigation has found nothing. Mueller has found nothing. This thing is over. Go and look at how we are getting our butts kicked on intelligence by China and provide oversight on something that is actually a real problem. Stop wasting my time and the taxpayers' money with this bullshit."

I was pissed. Normally I'm composed, and I surprised myself with the tone and force of these words. But Burr had struck a nerve. It was one thing to deal with critics in the media and the other party. Yet I'd faced two years of baseless investigations from some Republicans as well. They also seemed reluctant to accept the truth.

Burr was surprised to encounter something other than the customary deference accorded to senators. Rather than responding to what I had said, he replied with a typical Washington nicety: "I'm just very appreciative of the respect you showed to the committee by coming today. Let's catch up

soon.” Then he walked away. The senators and their staff grilled me for four hours.

I’d come to see Burr as the sort of establishment politician who valued job security more than anything else. A year later, Burr would find himself entangled in a scandal over stocks he had allegedly dumped after receiving an intelligence briefing about the severity of the coronavirus threat. While the Department of Justice ultimately dropped its months-long investigation of the senator, he stepped down as chair of the intelligence committee and opted not to run for reelection in North Carolina.

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As I prepared for Burr’s committee interview, Ambassador David Friedman called from Israel with a request: “Bibi is asking if the president can recognize the Golan Heights.”

He was referring to the mountainous plateau that spans nearly seven hundred square miles along Israel’s northern borders with Lebanon and Syria. From its position three thousand feet above sea level, the Golan Heights offers a strategic platform for the Israelis, giving them the defensive high ground on the Syrian border and a greater buffer between Israel’s population centers and its northern neighbors. During the Six-Day War in 1967, the Arabs used this high ground to bombard Israel. In an act of defense, the Israelis drove their enemies from the area. After the war, they held on to it, despite demands from other countries that they return it to Syria, and the area had remained quiet for more than forty-five years.

Much like the acknowledgment of Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, I saw recognition of Israel’s sovereignty over the Golan Heights as a powerful opportunity for America to stand for the truth. After eight years of civil war, Syria was barely a country. It couldn’t control what was happening within its borders, so expanding them was not an option. Acknowledging the reality that the Golan Heights belonged to Israel was the right thing to do. It also would help us build credibility with the Israelis as we prepared to ask them to support a two-state solution with the Palestinians.

Even before Friedman called to convey Bibi’s request, National Security Adviser John Bolton and I had raised the issue with the president. Five minutes into that meeting, however, Trump stopped us: “I have done too much for Bibi already. Let’s see what he does with the peace deal first.”

So when Friedman called in late March—a few weeks before the Israeli elections—I told him that I had already run into a presidential brick wall.

But we agreed that he should call Trump and explain why it was so important to the Israelis and unlikely to annoy Arab leaders.

When Friedman called and made the pitch, Trump asked a valid question: Why hadn't any of his predecessors done it? The answer was that past presidents had dodged the issue. They had wanted to avoid condemnation from the international community and also expected that Israel's de facto control would continue indefinitely.

"Then why is it controversial?" Trump asked. He wanted to make sure that he understood both sides of the issue. Friedman briefed him on the history and politics. Trump asked more questions and then arrived at his decision: "Let's do it."

"Should I call Bolton?" Friedman asked.

"I have a better idea," Trump said. He turned to his ever-present adviser Dan Scavino, who was one of the few people Trump trusted with his Twitter passcode. I joked that Scavino carried the real nuclear football, as he could start a war at any time by firing off an errant tweet. "Stay on the line," the president told Friedman. Then he called out to his assistant: "Get Jared in here."

Minutes later, I walked into the Oval Office. Trump had already drafted a tweet on a piece of paper, which he slid across the Resolute Desk so I could read it: "After 52 years, it is time for the United States to fully recognize Israel's Sovereignty over the Golan Heights, which is of critical strategic and security importance to the State of Israel and Regional Stability."

It was a classic Trump tweet. It didn't say he had made a formal decision to recognize the Golan Heights, but simply signaled his intention to do it—a vague enough statement to allow him to dip his toe in the water and see how people reacted before he took definitive action. This was another important role of Scavino: in addition to occasionally recommending against some draft tweets that could cause unintended backlash, he told the president how his tweets were received—and never sugarcoated his observations.

"What do you think?" Trump asked.

"That's perfect," I responded. "This will go over well and be an historic action."

"David, are you sure about this one?" Trump asked one last time, wanting to make sure he didn't detect any hesitation in the ambassador's voice.

“One thousand percent, sir,” Friedman said. “This will get a great response.”

“Dan, put it out,” he said.

Scavino pushed the button.

“Now turn on the TV and see how long it takes before the fake news covers it,” Trump said.

It took mere minutes for the cable networks to break from their normal coverage.

Trump was willing to take calculated risks and often enjoyed his role as assignment editor for the news organizations. Caught off guard, reporters scrambled to research the issue, find their experts, and report on an historic policy. As I had anticipated, the announcement also surprised the troublemakers of the Middle East, and the blowback was minimal. This was one of many instances in which Trump’s decisiveness pushed forward a commonsense policy that would have never made it through a snail-paced and risk-averse bureaucracy. Soon after his tweet, Trump instructed us to move forward with a presidential proclamation formally recognizing Israeli sovereignty over the Golan Heights.

## An Unexpected Visit

On Sunday, May 26, 2019, Ambassador Yousef Al Otaiba of the United Arab Emirates called and asked to speak with me in person. Elegant and accomplished, at the age of forty-five, Yousef had become one of the leading players in Washington's social and diplomatic circles. On any given day he could be spotted at an important meeting or reception, or hosting his own dinner party with a guest list that could double as a who's who of Washington. With his close ties to his boss, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed (MBZ), the de facto ruler of the United Arab Emirates, Yousef was one of the most powerful men in his home country and one of the most influential in the entire Middle East.

I invited Yousef to come to our Kalorama home, and as we sat in the living room, he told me that MBZ had asked him to personally deliver to me an important message: the Emirati leader was ready to move forward and fully normalize relations with Israel.

I tried to hide my excitement behind a poker face, but my mind was spinning. The UAE and Israel were the two most advanced countries in the Middle East from a military, economic, and technology perspective, but they had no formal ties. Taking this step had the potential to unleash positive forces that the region had not seen in decades and change history in ways that were hard to fathom.

He noted that we had been gently pushing Arab nations to take this step. Our efforts had changed the region for the better, he said. Based on the trust we had built, MBZ believed that normalization was possible and he wanted to be first.

Yousef explained that normalized relations with Israel would carry tremendous risk for the UAE, both internally and externally. The Emirati government had chosen to hail 2019 as the Year of Tolerance. To celebrate it, they had invited Pope Francis for the first papal visit to the Arabian Peninsula in history. It was a great and generous act, but it triggered an outcry among religious clerics, regional activists, and the Arab media, most notably on Al Jazeera.

Yousef predicted that if the UAE took this step, others would follow.

The next afternoon Pompeo dropped by my office, lugging his oversize secure briefcase, which was always packed with the extensive briefings he loved to consume. He wore a big smile. Yousef had visited him at the State Department that morning and shared the concept. “It’s definitely a long shot, but crazier things have happened,” he said.

Pompeo’s skepticism was merited: lots of things could go wrong. First, we had to keep it quiet. Any leak about normalization would force both parties to issue public denials and make continued talks politically untenable. Second, Israel had just finished its elections and was still forming a government. Until this was complete, Bibi wouldn’t have time for diplomacy.

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Days later, I left for my next trip to the Middle East. My first destination was Morocco, a country I had not yet visited during my time in government. The visit came with some trepidation. The previous summer, the United States, Canada, and Mexico had competed in a joint bid against Morocco to host the 2026 FIFA World Cup. Trump had tasked me with leading the effort, which involved working closely with the US Soccer Federation and corralling dozens of unusual technical commitments from the departments and agencies. As FIFA prepared to vote, Trump asked me to call MBS and request Saudi Arabia’s support for our bid. The crown prince agreed. The Saudis’ critical vote marked a turning point in our effort and helped persuade many other Arab countries to back our bid over Morocco’s. Winning the bid to host the globally watched soccer tournament was a major diplomatic and economic success for the president. There was one downside, however: Morocco was the runner-up, and we were worried that our victory had come at the cost of a strained relationship with the country’s ruler, King Mohammed VI.

King Mohammed VI came from a noble lineage of Alaouite leaders—direct descendants from the family of the Prophet Muhammad, the founder of the Islamic faith. Accordingly, he had enormous credibility in the Muslim world. He served as a chairman of the Al Quds Committee within the Organization for Islamic Cooperation, a respected body that helped preserve the Muslim holy sites in Jerusalem, as well as other interests.

As I prepared for the trip, our internal foreign policy experts described the king’s popularity and his savviness as a businessman and predicted that he would want to discuss the question of sovereignty over the Western

Sahara, the expansive desert territory on Morocco's southwestern border. Moroccan rulers had presided over the area for centuries, and King Mohammed viewed it as essential to his country's national security. When the modern government of Morocco gained independence from France and Spain in 1956, it immediately staked a territorial claim on the hundred thousand square miles of mineral-rich desert, which remained in the possession of Spain. A local group of desert-dwelling people, the Sahrawis, also asserted jurisdiction over the area through their nonstate organization, the Polisario Front, leading the United Nations to include the Western Sahara on a list of "Non-Self-Governing Territories."

The more I researched the history, the more I believed Morocco had a legitimate claim. From a security perspective, it already controlled two-thirds of the territory, and it clearly served US interests for Morocco to control the rest. Most of America's military footprint in Africa was in response to the violent ambitions of ISIS, Al-Shabab, and Boko Haram, which were expanding into areas that were left ungoverned by corrupt, struggling, or failed states. The last thing we needed was for the Western Sahara to become a haven for chaos and conflagration. Unlike most of its neighbors, Morocco had a stable government, a sound economy, and, despite our World Cup rivalry, a warm relationship with the United States. Morocco's presence in the Western Sahara would keep the area from becoming a vacuum that left room for terrorism and instability.

When I asked our experts what stood in the way of recognition, they gave me one name: Jim Inhofe. The eighty-four-year-old chairman of the powerful Senate Armed Services Committee opposed Moroccan sovereignty over the Western Sahara. Inhofe's committee held sway over the Pentagon's \$700 billion budget, giving him immense power over American foreign policy. For whatever reason, he'd been traveling to the Western Sahara for twenty years and become a powerful patron of the Polisario Front's quest for independence. I had tremendous respect for the senator and figured there must be a smart reason for his position, so I made a note to reach out to him upon my return after I spoke to King Mohammed.

Upon arriving in Casablanca, I was surprised and delighted to see my beloved friend and rabbi, David Pinto. Through the highs and lows of my life, Rabbi Pinto had always inspired me to find solace and strength through my relationship with God. Rabbi Pinto was a proud French Jew of Moroccan descent, who often said that he prayed for the Moroccan king each day



because of the heroic deeds during World War II of the king's grandfather, King Mohammed V. When the Nazis asked King Mohammed V to identify and hand over the Jews in his country, he is said to have responded in defiance: "There are no Jewish citizens, there are no Muslims—they are all Moroccans."

King Mohammed VI had discovered that Rabbi Pinto's great-great-grandfather, Rabbi Haim Pinto, was buried in Casablanca's historic Jewish cemetery, a revered pilgrimage site. To my delight and astonishment, the king had arranged for Rabbi Pinto to meet me in Morocco so that the two of us could pay our respects at his grandfather's tomb.

That afternoon, the American attaché in Casablanca informed me that the king had invited me and a guest to dinner at his private residence—a rare honor, as he almost always met with guests at the Royal Palace. It was Ramadan, so Jason Greenblatt and I arrived after sundown and were escorted to a regal outdoor dining area by the pool, where we discovered a massive buffet of kosher food. As we sat with the king for an Iftar dinner to break the Ramadan fast, I thanked him for his thoughtfulness in setting up the cemetery visit. My trips to the Middle East never included sightseeing, but if there was one place I would have wanted to visit, it was that cemetery—and somehow the king had known before we ever met.

As dinner commenced, I sat on the king's right. To his left, across from me, was his son, a sixteen-year-old with the bearing of someone twice his age. The warmth between father and son was obvious. While some children of dignitaries lack the maturity to carry themselves in official settings, Crown Prince Moulay Hassan was fully attentive and engaged. The king and I discussed the Israel-Palestinian conflict, and he emphasized the importance of ensuring harmony and access to the sacred sites in Jerusalem. After carefully listening to his perspective on the Western Sahara, I was more convinced that recognition of Morocco's sovereignty was the logical policy and promised that I would take the issue back to Washington and explore how to change it.

Foreign Minister Nasser Bourita also explained why the king had not visited the White House as planned in 2018: he said that John Bolton would not agree to include language in the trip readout saying that the United States would work with Morocco to find a peaceful solution on the Western Sahara. Trump had been looking forward to the visit, and to my knowledge, Bolton never informed him why they had canceled. Bolton had a long history of

opposing Morocco. In the 1990s, when Secretary of State Jim Baker brokered the settlement plan that perpetuated the crisis, Bolton was his negotiator.

## Mexican Standoff amid Peace Talks

**W**e've got a really big problem," said Treasury secretary Steven Mnuchin, on a call from across the ocean. It was Wednesday, May 29, 2019. I was at the King David Hotel in Jerusalem, dealing with my own problem: Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu faced a midnight deadline to form a coalition government, following national elections the previous month. If he succeeded, he'd be able to endorse the peace plan publicly and potentially accept the UAE's offer to pursue normalization. Failure would trigger a new round of elections and more delays. I was supposed to meet with him the next day, but as the deadline approached, it still wasn't clear whether Bibi would succeed in forming a government.

Mnuchin yanked my attention back to Washington.

"You know the president has been threatening to put tariffs on Mexico due to the caravans at the southern border," said the secretary. "He just dictated a statement that says he is imposing tariffs immediately. He wants it to go out tonight."

I dialed the president's assistant and asked if Trump was alone. I had learned early on that it was much more effective to speak with him privately when I disagreed with him. Otherwise, someone in the West Wing would leak to the press that the two of us had clashed, which lowered the probability of persuading him. I felt strongly that staff should never put the president in a position where the public would know he changed his mind based on their advice.

Fortunately, Trump was alone. I caught him between meetings and in a relaxed mood. I briefed him on our trip, conveying the warm regards from the king of Morocco. Then I turned to the real purpose of my call: the tariffs on Mexico.

As soon as I mentioned them, Trump interrupted: "Jared, I'm tired of waiting. Everyone keeps telling me that they are working on a plan to stop the caravans and that Mexico is going to help. I think everyone is full of shit."

"I know you're frustrated," I said. "You should be. But just know you are playing with a powder keg here. Our team is really close to completing a plan with the new Mexican government that will work. AMLO gave me his

word that he will help. I feel confident the Mexican president will come through,” I said, referring to President Andrés Manuel López Obrador, who had assumed office on December 1, 2018.

Trump was unconvinced. “I have been hearing that they are going to help for months,” he said. “I don’t think they are going to do it.”

“Give me a few more weeks,” I pleaded. “AMLO may have left-leaning policies, but like you, he is proud and savvy. He has shown you a lot of respect to date, but he is tough. If you push him into a corner, he might come out swinging. If you put out that statement and announce the tariffs, you’re putting all your chips on the table and going all in.”

“I know you worked hard on USMCA,” Trump said. “I don’t care about the politics. I have lost patience with the border, and there is nothing anyone can do to stop me. Do me a favor: focus on Israel and let me handle this one.”

For several months, I had known that a continued surge in illegal immigration might cause Trump to do something drastic. Right after Mexico’s presidential elections in July of 2018, Secretary Pompeo and I had hosted AMLO’s soon-to-be foreign secretary, Marcelo Ebrard, a skilled politician who was the former mayor of Mexico City, for dinner at the State Department. At the meeting, Pompeo slid a document across the table. It outlined the monthly illegal border crossings data.

Pompeo bluntly conveyed that the US-Mexico relationship would be very simple. If the border numbers went up, there would be problems. If they went down, the United States would be an incredible partner and would help Mexico with its priorities.

Ebrard took the message back to Mexico, but failed to get results. By March of 2019, the influx of illegal immigrants had grown worse. I made a twelve-hour trip to Mexico City to deliver my message directly to AMLO: if Mexico didn’t act immediately to reduce illegal border crossings, all bets were off—including the recently negotiated USMCA, which was still pending congressional approval.

AMLO promised that he would give Ebrard whatever he needed to confront the crisis. I viewed this pledge as a success. But at the time of Mnuchin’s emergency call to me in Jerusalem, we still had not yet presented a solution to the president. And Trump was fed up.

When I told Mnuchin that I had failed to steer the president away from announcing tariffs on Mexico, I tried to joke about our predicament:

“Steven, I bet you never thought you’d be involved in a real Mexican standoff.”

We knew the matter was serious. Fortunately, Mnuchin and Larry Kudlow, the director of the National Economic Council, persuaded Trump to slow down the implementation of his announcement, making the tariffs effective the following week, instead of the next day. The secretary pointed out that it would take at least that long to change our customs systems so that we could collect the tariffs. Trump consented to the one-week delay, a small but significant win that bought us a few days to try to broker a deal. Soon after, Trump tweeted: “On June 10th, the United States will impose a 5% Tariff on all goods coming into our Country from Mexico, until such time as illegal migrants coming through Mexico, and into our Country, STOP. The Tariff will gradually increase until the Illegal Immigration problem is remedied.”

As I sat in that room at the King David Hotel, it felt like I was standing on the precipice of a dual disaster. Just as we were preparing to release the peace plan, it looked like Netanyahu would not form a government. Now Trump was about to start an economic war with Mexico that could upend two years of work on the USMCA.

No more than ten minutes after Trump posted his tweet, Ebrard called from Mexico. “What is the president doing?” he asked.

I didn’t want to tell him that I had opposed the tweet. My job was to represent the president’s views rather than my own. “I’ve been warning you for weeks that the president is at the end of his rope,” I said.

“Can I please come to Washington as soon as possible?”

“I’m in Israel, and I’ll be back soon, but Secretary Pompeo and others can meet with you. If you come, you will have one shot—at best—to close the deal. Bring every resource you have.”

Ebrard accepted the invitation, and I called Trump right away.

“Your bluff worked,” I said. “The foreign minister showed me his cards. Mexico is folding.”

“It wasn’t a bluff,” said Trump. “They’d better come up with something good, or I will go forward with these tariffs. I want the border solved.”

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By the morning of May 30, it was clear that Netanyahu’s government had fallen apart. Israel was headed for another election in September. I expected Bibi to cancel our meeting. But his staff confirmed that it was still

on, with one minor change: our breakfast meeting had been pushed back to lunch. When we sat with the beleaguered prime minister, the deep rings under his eyes told the story of the night before. Other than that, however, he remained composed, like the political master he was. Instead of jumping into a technical discussion about the peace plan, I tried to lighten the mood by asking questions about his political career.

Bibi told me that early in his political career, he had learned that the most important thing was momentum. Whenever he was down, he would find any bit of good news and would make it the biggest thing. In politics, wins beget more wins.

He grabbed a napkin and drew a triangle, separating it into three levels to illustrate “the pyramid of politics.” Pointing to the sketch, he expounded. All the people in the middle level were the politicians who want the leader’s job at the top. They didn’t give the leader power. They tried to take the leader’s power. Then he pointed to the bottom part of the triangle. The way for a leader to stay in power was to keep the relationship with the supporters strong. Deliver for them, and they never forget it. Even without the support of the press or the politicians in the middle, if a leader remained connected and loyal to these supporters, the group in the middle would be less likely to defeat the leader. It was a memorable statement at a moment when Bibi’s own political survival was in doubt.

He soon turned to the reason for our meeting, telling me that he was not ready for us to release the peace plan. He was concerned about the upcoming election. But he assured me that he wanted to make peace, and he believed that under President Trump it was possible.

After the lunch—always prepared by a special chef to showcase Israel’s national cuisine—I asked if I could speak to Bibi one-on-one. He led me into his private study, a small room with a desk covered in books. He displayed pictures of his family, including one of him and his brother Yonatan, who had been killed in the famous rescue of 102 Jewish hostages from a hijacked plane in Entebbe, Uganda, in 1976.

Sitting down, Bibi picked up his pipe, which was already loaded with tobacco. As he lit it and puffed, a sweet, musty smell filled the air.

“What I am about to tell you is completely real and needs to be kept between us,” I said. “The UAE is ready to normalize. I believe this is a real offer.”

He said he didn’t believe they were serious.

“Trust me,” I countered, and I described Yousef’s visit to my house. “I haven’t led you astray yet. If you’re willing to be flexible and not make it political, they are ready.”

Bibi explained that everything was political at the moment. He was in an election again, and he needed to focus on that. But he wanted to keep talking. If this was real, then he was in. He told me to let him know what he needed to do, and he would find a way to get there.

## Peace to Prosperity

**F**rom Israel, we traveled to Montreux, on the Lake Geneva shoreline in Switzerland, to attend one of the world's most secretive gatherings: the Bilderberg Meeting, an annual gathering of top leaders in government, industry, and academia. The meeting was established in 1954 to strengthen ties between the United States and Europe.

I was skeptical of these sorts of functions because they rarely produced tangible outcomes. I'd declined invitations to speak the two previous years, but I thought the meeting in 2019 could be a useful venue to explain our approach to Middle East peace and build support among an influential class of people.

I had another objective in mind as well. Between the productive meetings and stimulating panel discussions, I went to see someone who wasn't on the Bilderberg guest list: Kirill Dmitriev, chief executive officer of Russia's Direct Investment Fund. Up to this point, I had avoided interactions with anybody connected to the Russian government. After Mueller exonerated the president, however, I felt that it was finally time to reach out. Historically, the Russians had played a role in Middle East peace efforts, and I wanted to open a line of communication and make sure they didn't oppose our proposal.

Secretary Pompeo had suggested that US ambassador to Russia Jon Huntsman Jr. could help me identify the best interlocutor. "Russia's a proud country," he said in a call. "So if they're not consulted, they'll be against it." Huntsman offered to talk to Putin's chief of staff. "You're going to get one of two people," he said. "If you get Mikhail Bogdanov, their Middle East guy in the foreign ministry, that basically means no interest. You'll have a pro forma meeting, and they'll do nothing for you. Their foreign ministry is old-school, and many are stuck in the Cold War mentality. If you get Kirill Dmitriev, however, that means that Putin's interested and actually understands that this can be a way for Russia to work with the United States."

A few days later, Huntsman called with the news that the Russians wanted me to connect with Kirill, a Stanford University and Harvard Business School alumnus with strong ties to the American business



community. The ambassador worked to arrange a meeting in a neutral setting, and we settled on Montreux during the Bilderberg event. I'd learned from Mueller's investigation to avoid meeting one-on-one with Russians. The media would obsess about it and engage in thoughtless speculation. So I asked Matthew Pottinger, the National Security Council's top China expert—and soon-to-be deputy national security adviser—to join me for the meeting. A former *Wall Street Journal* reporter and retired Marine Corps officer, Pottinger had served under three different national security advisers and enjoyed the unusual distinction of being liked and respected by them all. He had been invited to the conference to discuss China.

“I hope you understand that the last time somebody came with me to a meeting with a Russian, they ended up with a lot of legal bills,” I joked.

During our meeting with Kirill, I briefed him on the key elements of our peace plan, and he thought it was a framework Russia could support. Before we concluded, I asked him to guard against leaks.

He said that, with Russia, if we showed them trust, they'd give it back. When they were disrespected, however, they didn't take it kindly.

That confirmed what I had suspected, and I was glad we had met.

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On June 22 we released the Peace to Prosperity plan, the most comprehensive economic framework ever created for the Palestinians and the broader Middle East.<sup>42</sup> Its 140 pages outlined a detailed strategy to turn around more than seventy years of economic malaise and political abuse in the West Bank and Gaza. Billions of dollars in foreign investment had flowed into the territories through the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), but these funds had done almost nothing to improve the lives of Palestinians. When their corrupt leaders weren't stealing the money, they were wasting it on dead-end and low-impact projects. In Gaza, the international investments were used to pay for programs that indoctrinated the youth to hate Israel and the United States. The funds also built secret storage facilities to hide Hamas military equipment, which the Israeli forces would try to destroy during skirmishes. These fundamental flaws deterred business leaders from investing in the West Bank or Gaza and denied the Palestinian people a better future. After we moved the American embassy to Jerusalem, the State Department informed me that the US approval rating was just six percent in Gaza. When I asked how high it was before the move, they admitted it was only nine percent. At the same time, USAID's approval

rating was about 70 percent, which further reinforced my point that America's current aid to Gaza made no sense.

Our plan proposed a \$50 billion investment in the Palestinian territories and the surrounding region, which would be released in tranches over the course of a ten-year period with strict accountability measures in place. It set forth a business framework for improving access to the Palestinian territories, which included building new roads and railways, demilitarizing and modernizing border crossings, and connecting the West Bank and Gaza. The plan also called for improving critical infrastructure, such as water treatment facilities, power plants, and telecommunications networks. Palestinian schools weren't equipping workers with the skills they needed to fill open positions in the local labor market, so our plan called for job training, curriculum changes, and a brand-new world-class university. We also included robust reforms to establish the rule of law and prevent corruption.

While proposals to resolve the political dispute between Israel and the Palestinians often seemed esoteric, a plan to improve the lives of the Palestinian people was much more concrete. The plan detailed 179 specific projects. It included charts with cost estimates and implementation timetables meticulously calculated by Thomas Storch, an analytic savant who had been my classmate at Harvard before going on to a successful career on Wall Street. He was my right-hand man on the economic plan, and worked closely on it with John Rader.

None of these investments would matter unless they were part of a political peace agreement—the second part of our plan, which we hoped to release once Israel formed a government. A flourishing Palestinian economy depended on regional peace, and without it, we couldn't ask the Israelis to loosen their security protocols at the border and allow the free flow of goods and people from the West Bank and Gaza. Israel's vibrant economy represented tremendous economic opportunity for the Palestinians if the leaders could resolve their old political disagreements. It was like having a Silicon Valley that was disconnected from the rest of California.

In the first week of its release, the Peace to Prosperity plan was downloaded more than a million times, sparking discussions and debate throughout the region and around the world. Before we even released the plan, the Palestinian leadership rejected it, which I had expected, and

President Mahmoud Abbas announced that the Palestinians were boycotting the workshop in Bahrain.

On June 25 I landed in Bahrain for the long-awaited Peace to Prosperity workshop. The purpose of the workshop was to build momentum for our economic plan by engaging with world leaders and business titans who had the ability to invest in the projects our plan recommended. I wanted to illustrate that our blueprint could quickly become a reality as soon as a political peace agreement was reached. My team had spent months planning the summit. They had coordinated every detail with the Bahrain government and the renowned marketing legend Richard Attias, who had converted a ballroom at the Manama Four Seasons Hotel into a sleek 360-degree oval stage.

The workshop drew an impressive cast of attendees that validated the seriousness and viability of our plan. Among the hundreds of participants were Bahrain's crown prince Sheikh Salman, Steve Schwarzman of the Blackstone Group, Emirati real estate tycoon Mohamed Alabbar, former British prime minister Tony Blair, IMF director Christine Lagarde, World Bank president David Malpass, Randall Stephenson of AT&T, Masayoshi Son of SoftBank, and FIFA president Gianni Infantino. In total, more than twenty-five countries were represented, including Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Jordan, Egypt, Qatar, Morocco, and Russia. Treasury secretary Steven Mnuchin led the US delegation.

The Bahrainis agreed to waive their traditional visa restrictions and allow Israeli businessmen and a few members of the Israeli media to participate—a significant development, given that Israel and Bahrain did not have formal relations. With each small gesture like this, we were giving Arab leaders another chance to test the waters on normalization.

The media delighted in pointing out that few Palestinian businessmen were in attendance, but Mohamed Alabbar, the CEO of Emaar, the largest development company in the region, perfectly captured the evolving perspective of the Arab leaders toward the Palestinian resistance: “Every one of us, we are really Palestinian at heart. Because the Palestinian issue is our issue. So, unfortunately, they are not here. It would have been great to have them. But I feel like I represent them,” he said during a panel discussion.

Ultimately, Abbas's stubbornness may have backfired. To those in attendance, his refusal to participate and his ban on other Palestinians attending seemed to be self-defeating decisions. The conference dominated

the airwaves in the Middle East for three days. When reporters asked Abbas what he thought about the workshop, he called the plan “a big lie that Kushner and others invented to make fools of the people.” His words insulted the leaders who had just attended. Far worse, I later received reports that the Palestinian Authority had imprisoned, intimidated, and tortured the few Palestinian businessmen who did defy the threats and attend the conference.<sup>43</sup> It was a deeply troubling display of Abbas’s brutal retaliation against his own people.

Two years earlier, it would have been unthinkable for these Arab ministers to attend a public conference with Israelis that the Palestinians had openly attacked. The metaphorical wall between Arabs and Israelis was beginning to dissolve before our eyes. Through the workshop, Bahrain had taken a courageous step toward normalization, and the praise far outweighed the backlash. The Gulf leaders began to consider what a bigger step could look like—not just for Bahrain, but for their own countries.

## The Demilitarized Zone

It's a shame we've come all of the way around the world and aren't meeting with Kim Jong Un," Trump said to Ivanka on a morning phone call while we were in Japan for the G-20. "My team says it's hard to communicate with him. They tell me that you can communicate only through formal letters, which have to be translated and then flown over to North Korea. But I've heard that Kim follows my Twitter account, so maybe I'll just tweet that I'd like to meet him when I'm in South Korea tomorrow. Who knows?"

"Dad, that would certainly be your way of doing things," said Ivanka.

That morning, Ivanka was putting the finishing touches on her remarks for a G-20 session on women's economic empowerment. Prime Minister Shinzō Abe of Japan had asked her to host a session on the topic, which he had taken up as a priority in Japan. Ivanka thought it would be a low-key session on the sidelines of the main conference, but nearly every world leader at the G-20 decided to attend, including the heads of state from Canada, France, Germany, and Saudi Arabia. Ivanka's father was especially proud to join.

Minutes after their call, Trump tweeted: "After some very important meetings, including my meeting with President Xi of China, I will be leaving Japan for South Korea (with President Moon). While there, if Chairman Kim of North Korea sees this, I would meet him at the Border/DMZ just to shake his hand and say Hello(?)"

Ivanka took the stage at her event. With clarity, warmth, and strength, she urged the assembled leaders to "elevate one of the most undervalued resources in the world: the talent, the ambition, and the genius of women." She discussed her program, the Women's Global Development and Prosperity Initiative (W-GDP), which aimed to empower fifty million women in the developing world by providing vocational education, access to finance for women entrepreneurs, and reforms to the legal and cultural barriers that prevent women from participating in the economy.

Soon after, we learned yet another lesson in how the media can trivialize and distort real events. The social media department of the French government innocently posted a twenty-second video of an informal

conversation between Ivanka, President Emmanuel Macron, Prime Minister Theresa May, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau, and IMF director Christine Lagarde. Ripped from its context, the video made it appear as though Ivanka was inserting herself into the conversation and that Lagarde was snubbing her. This was entirely inaccurate. Lagarde and the other leaders were attendees at an event that Ivanka had led at the request of the G-20's host, Prime Minister Abe. Further, Ivanka and Lagarde had a warm relationship. Just a few months earlier, Lagarde had even asked Ivanka to introduce her at an awards ceremony.

Despite these facts, snarky and dishonest detractors used the video, which was viewed more than twenty million times, to create the false narrative that Ivanka was unwelcome at the G-20. This was a painful and disheartening moment for Ivanka. A short video clip obscured two years of hard work, her incredible speech, and the fact that she succeeded in making women's economic empowerment a central pillar of nearly every world leader forum during Trump's time in office. Beneath her stoic smile, Ivanka has a big heart, and the media's petty attacks could sting. I wished I could do more as a husband to help her feel proud of her important work, even in the face of unfair criticism. Back when Ivanka was running a mission-driven business, she was universally praised throughout the media, even by publications like *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair*. Now, even though her government work was positively impacting millions of women globally, the media looked for every opportunity to criticize her efforts. It was often tempting to fight back, but I admired Ivanka for always opting to take the high road and stay true to herself and her service. We both had to learn to let go of the things we couldn't control and to keep perspective on what mattered most: our faith, our family, and what we were trying to achieve for the country.

From Ivanka's event, Trump moved immediately into his meeting with Xi, which was widely expected to be a showdown on trade. China's president opened with a story about the famous ping-pong diplomacy that had thawed US-China relations in the 1970s and ultimately led President Richard Nixon to open diplomatic relations with China. Xi told Trump that he spent the majority of his time thinking about his country's relationship with the United States, which he wanted to be based on mutual respect and mutual benefit. He observed that some in the United States were calling for a new cold war, but that he felt like the relationship could improve. Trump agreed, pointing to their friendly dynamic as a reason for optimism. This was

always Trump's negotiating posture with Xi: he would lead an honest and tough discussion on the issues, but would do so with charm, drawing upon his natural chemistry with the Chinese president.

When Xi raised the topic of tariffs, Trump made clear that he thought they were a great thing, and might leave them in place even if the United States and China reached a trade deal. Then Trump made one of his classic, offbeat remarks intended to put Xi off-balance. He mentioned what a great job Abe had done hosting the G-20, adding that Japanese fighters were among the best in the world, dating back to the era of the samurai. He then casually observed that the United States had saved China from Japan during World War II.

The moment the translator finished conveying Trump's impromptu comment, Xi's cordial manner gave way to anger. Xi emphatically disagreed with Trump's description. After fourteen years of fighting, China had liberated itself, and they had lost twenty million people in the process, he stated.

Realizing that he had touched a nerve, Trump redirected the meeting back to trade. Xi told Trump that he understood the president's concerns about the trade deficit, which had risen to \$400 billion annually, and that he was willing to take steps to create more balance. Xi said that he knew that Trump carried the farmers in his heart, and that he was their guardian.

This comment referred to the unprecedented subsidies Trump had given farmers to offset the impact of China's tariffs. Not missing a beat, Trump told Xi that American farmers had great pride, and that they didn't want the aid, but that he would continue to give it to them for as long as it took to work out a deal with China.

Toward the end of the bilateral, Xi raised the issue of North Korea. He commended Trump's previous two meetings with Kim Jong Un and offered a piece of advice: the United States should be prepared to make concessions. This would show flexibility compared to past administrations and bring North Korea closer to making a deal to denuclearize. Xi said that China was prepared to nudge North Korea to make a deal with the United States, but that Trump should be careful not to back Kim into a corner. Xi warned the president to make strong security assurances to Kim, so that Kim could feel confident that North Korean denuclearization wouldn't lead to a "Libya situation," referring to the Bush administration's approach to Libya's

denuclearization, which ultimately led to the assassination of dictator Muammar Gaddafi.

The following morning, in Seoul, Trump asked Ivanka and me to join him for the formal bilateral meeting with President Moon Jae-in and the South Korean delegation. Trump intended to discuss sharing the cost of housing twenty-eight thousand American troops in South Korea. In his view, the South Koreans benefited the most from having a strong American presence defending them against North Korea, and he wanted the South Koreans to pay \$5 billion annually to defray the expense. They had agreed to increase their yearly contributions to \$1 billion, but Trump wanted more.

He told Moon that he viewed this deal as month-to-month. He wanted them to get to \$5 billion, and he would give them five years to do it. South Korea was a great country, but the United States didn't want to continue spending billions of dollars on military costs, for the privilege of losing money to their country on trade. He wouldn't hesitate to pull American troops out of South Korea if they couldn't reach a resolution.

Trump privately remarked that even though he didn't get all that he was asking for, he did bring in an extra \$500 million for American taxpayers by making a few phone calls. The meeting wrapped up, and the two leaders began walking to a press conference at the bottom of the stairs in the Blue House, the executive residence of President Moon.

Meanwhile, National Security Adviser John Bolton, who had been in the meeting with the two leaders, spotted Acting Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney and made a beeline for him.

"This DMZ thing is off," said Bolton, pointing a finger at Mulvaney's chest. "This is fucking off."

"What happened?" asked Mulvaney. "Why is it off?"

"Because the North Koreans are insisting it be a one-on-one meeting between the two leaders, and that breaks every protocol rule in the book."

Mulvaney excused himself from the press conference and called deputy chief of staff for operations Dan Walsh, who was in the middle of impromptu negotiations with his counterpart in North Korea.

"I'll tell them that we're canceling if they insist on a one-on-one," said Walsh. "They'll back down because if this thing falls through, I'll probably lose my job, but the other guy will be executed."

Minutes later, the president announced that he was going to the DMZ and that he would meet with Kim. This infuriated Bolton, who never had



approved of the president's overtures.

"I'm not going to this fucking thing," Bolton said.

He made good on his promise: as Trump prepared to fly to the DMZ, Bolton took a separate airplane to Mongolia for unrelated meetings. The White House national security adviser abandoned his boss during a high-stakes moment with one of America's major adversaries.

As we boarded Marine One for the twenty-minute flight to the DMZ, none of us knew what to expect. When we arrived, the president greeted the American troops stationed there, and the military commanders escorted him to a platform overlooking North Korea. Across the border, the North Koreans had positioned heavy artillery weapons. Guards with large machine guns stood post, as if they expected an attack at any moment. But the small United Nations complex within the DMZ didn't seem like such a hostile place. The buildings were modern and clean, and nothing like the 1980s Communist war zone I had expected. As the president led our group into the Inter-Korean House of Freedom, a four-story glass-enclosed building on the South Korean side of the DMZ, Walsh walked Trump through the plan.

"You're going to walk out there and greet Chairman Kim right at the demarcation line, which is a short six-inch curb that separates the two countries," he said. "If you step over that curb, you will be the first American president to enter North Korea."

"What do I do if he invites me over?" the president asked.

"If he does," Walsh said, "you can take a step or two into North Korea but Secret Service has almost no control of what happens once you cross that line."

Trump turned to Ivanka.

"Should I go if he invites me?" he asked.

"Why don't you play it by ear and see how it feels?"

Seconds later, Trump began his solitary walk toward North Korea. When he reached the line of demarcation, he stopped and waited for Kim, who was walking energetically in his direction. The two leaders shook hands, and Kim invited the president to step into North Korea. With cameras snapping so fast they sounded like machine guns, the two men turned and walked about twenty paces into North Korea. This sent the Secret Service into a frenzy. The plan was for the president to take a step or two before turning around, but here was Chairman Kim leading Trump further into North Korea.

After a few tense seconds, they turned around, walked back toward the South Korean side, paused in front of the media scrum, and said a few words before greeting President Moon, who had insisted on playing a visible role in the visit. Then they walked into the House of Freedom, where Trump and Kim met for nearly an hour. When I was introduced to Kim, he thanked me for my role in connecting him with Mike Pompeo.

I had kept it quiet, but I had played a central role in establishing the initial line of communication between Trump and Kim. Shortly after Trump took office in 2017, Kim began a series of provocative missile tests that increased tensions with the US. The president refused to let Kim push him around. During his first annual address to the United Nations General Assembly, Trump declared, “Rocket Man is on a suicide mission for himself and for his regime. The United States is ready, willing, and able, but hopefully this will not be necessary.” The president had decided to insert the “Rocket Man” line into his speech just a few minutes before he went onstage to deliver it. Contrary to public perception, he’d been very careful with his word choice. He’d thought about calling Kim “*little* Rocket Man,” but felt that could be too incendiary. When he delivered the line in his speech at the United Nations, there was a four-second delay for the interpreters, and then everyone in the General Assembly Hall turned and looked at our delegation’s box with expressions of disbelief. When Trump met Kim at the Singapore summit, he was disappointed to learn that the North Korean had never heard the famous song by Elton John.

Around that time, Gabriel Schulze, a past business acquaintance of Ivanka’s, reached out. In earlier years, before the sanctions were tightened, he had built deep relationships with key North Koreans. “One of my old North Korean business contacts who I trust,” said Schulze “is telling me a very senior official wants to open a channel to the Trump family on behalf of Kim Jung Un. I’ve checked it out with my other contacts over there and this is serious. They want to explore a deal with Trump, and they believe you’re the best person to talk to.” Schulze pointed out that the North Korean government was a family business, having been led by the Kim family for three generations, so they naturally assumed the best place to start was with a family member on the other side. “How do you want to handle this?” Schulze asked.

At the time, I was walking on eggshells around Secretary Tillerson, who was supposed to take the lead on the North Korea relationship, but it

was apparent to everyone that he was getting nowhere and was out of sync with the president. The Russia investigation also had made me radioactive. So instead of engaging directly, I suggested to Schulze that the North Koreans work with Pompeo, who was then the CIA director. “Tell them that Pompeo has the president’s confidence,” I said. “Meeting with Pompeo is as good as meeting with me. I will stay involved in developing the relationship, but behind the scenes.”

Presented with such an opportunity, previous administrations would have passed it on to overcautious bureaucrats in the State Department. But Pompeo followed up with Schulze and established very productive contact with Kim’s government. This led to several meetings in Pyongyang, where Pompeo set the table for the 2018 Singapore summit between the United States and North Korea.

While Trump and Kim met in the Freedom House, Ivanka and I walked outside and went into one of the small blue wooden shacks straddling the border. Built to facilitate dialogue between the two parties, the simple structures were half on the North Korean side and half on the South Korean side. While everyone else was preoccupied, we stepped into North Korea. We didn’t linger, though.

On the flight home to Washington, Trump called the parents of Otto Warmbier, an American college student who had visited North Korea on a guided tour in 2016 but was arrested for removing a poster from the wall of his hotel. He had suffered a brutal and catastrophic brain injury while in a North Korean prison cell and passed away shortly after they released him to America in 2017.

“Each time I meet with Kim Jong Un, I think of Otto, and I think of you too,” he said to Cynthia and Fred Warmbier. “It’s a tough situation. I feel like I have an obligation to hundreds of millions of people to try to get them to deescalate. But when I see the images from today’s meeting on television, I think about both of you at home watching it, and I know it’s so tough for you. I need to try to make a deal, but anyone with even a little bit of heart knows how hard this must be on you. Seeing us walk and talk and smile—it might look hunky-dory, but it’s not. I need to act like that for diplomacy, but it’s hard. I don’t know how you handle losing your son. You are amazing people.”

The president invited them to the White House, so he could personally update them on what he’d learned. He also made them a promise: “If I get a

deal done, Otto will be honored like never before.”

## The Enemy from Within

After the president threatened to impose sweeping tariffs on Mexican imports back in May of 2019, the Mexican government strengthened its immigration enforcement. Illegal border crossings dropped from a peak of 144,000 in May to 52,000 in September. The numbers were continuing to fall, but Trump wanted to reduce them further.

I called Mexican foreign minister Marcelo Ebrard. “My number one rule about working with Trump is that you have to proactively keep him informed about your efforts,” I told him. “Otherwise, he will feel like nothing is happening and potentially take matters into his own hands. I operate under the assumption that if he calls me for an update on something, it’s too late. Why don’t you come to Washington for a working session, and then I can bring you into the Oval to brief the president on the steps Mexico is taking to curb illegal immigration. Come soon, or we could be back to square one with tariffs.”

I could tell Ebrard was nervous as we walked into the Oval Office on September 10. Trump greeted him warmly and motioned for him to sit in one of the chairs facing the Resolute Desk. “I don’t know if you saw the news,” he said. “But this morning I fired John Bolton.”

Ebrard had not expected Trump to mention Bolton, and he replied to Trump’s statement cautiously: “Yes, I saw the news.”

“John was crazy,” said Trump. “He was constantly trying to go to war with everybody. He wanted to go to war with China, Russia, Venezuela, North Korea, and Iran all at the same time. In the beginning, I didn’t mind his aggressiveness. Having him on staff made me look like the rational one for a change. It also kept our adversaries off-balance.”

Trump paused and looked directly at Ebrard. “This morning, John came to my office and said, ‘Mr. President, everything is ready. We have to invade Mexico; they aren’t doing enough at the southern border,’ and I said, ‘John, that’s too much. That’s the last straw. I would never do that to my friend AMLO or the great people of Mexico. You’re fired.’”

Ebrard was dumbfounded. But when he saw me laugh at the joke, he cracked a smile and relaxed.

Trump was pleased with Ebrard's work on curbing illegal immigration, which involved Mexico's deployment of national guard troops to police its side of the border. Our two countries also had designed a "remain-in-Mexico" agreement, which kept asylum seekers in Mexico while the US immigration courts reviewed their cases, rather than releasing them into the American interior, where they often vanished into an underworld of illegal work and residency.<sup>44</sup> The previous irrational system encouraged hundreds of thousands of migrants from Latin America and elsewhere to travel to the southern border and made it nearly impossible to figure out which were making phony asylum claims. With the remain in Mexico agreement in place, illegal migrants stopped coming. It wasn't worth paying tens of thousands of dollars to human smugglers for a treacherous journey if it would likely result in getting sent back home. As part of the agreement, the Mexicans also cracked down on these smugglers, known as "coyotes," who abused the women and children under their charge, in what was often a modern form of slavery.

Ebrard described these efforts, and Trump gave the minister his complete attention.

"I appreciate all your efforts," said Trump, after Ebrard's briefing. "Your actions have saved many lives, but Mexico can do more."

Ebrard promised Trump that Mexico would continue to improve border enforcement and combat human trafficking. We were finally making significant progress to curb the dangerous flow of smugglers, traffickers, weapons, and drugs—and it wouldn't have been possible if Trump hadn't pursued the paradoxical strategy of playing hardball with tariffs while building a positive relationship with AMLO and Ebrard.

Through these efforts, we had dramatically strengthened America's relationship with Mexico, improved the lives of people on both sides of the border, and increased American jobs. This contributed to a growing number of Hispanic Americans supporting Trump's policies. Unfortunately, Trump didn't have much of an opportunity to enjoy this success. A storm was quickly brewing in Washington.

\* \* \*

Late one afternoon in August, I got a call from an old friend who was a major donor to Nancy Pelosi, the Democratic Speaker of the House.

"I know I told you last year that Pelosi saw impeachment as a political loser and had no plans to pursue it," he said, "but now she's under so much

pressure from the far left that I think she's going to do it." He mentioned Representatives Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Maxine Waters as being especially aggressive. "They are threatening moderates with primary challenges if they don't get on board. You should get ready."

Just nineteen minutes after Trump took the oath of office in 2017, the *Washington Post* published an article with the headline "The Campaign to Impeach President Trump Has Begun." Five months later, Democratic representatives Brad Sherman and Al Green filed an article of impeachment against Trump for his firing of FBI director James Comey. And on January 3, 2018—the day that Democrats gained control of the House of Representatives—freshman congresswoman Rashida Tlaib pledged to "impeach the motherfucker." The Democratic base would not be satisfied with anything less than impeachment—they never accepted the results of the 2016 election and Trump's very presence in the White House was an affront they could not accept.

On August 8, 2019, Jerry Nadler, the chairman of the US House Judiciary Committee, announced that his committee had commenced an impeachment inquiry into the president, but it wasn't clear what for. By September, a growing chorus was demanding impeachment. I didn't realize how widespread the effort was until Representatives Hakeem Jeffries and Eliot Engel, who had been reasonable in the past, suddenly announced that they favored impeachment. They were trying to stave off far-left primary challengers.

On September 24, shortly after Trump delivered his annual address to the United Nations General Assembly, Pelosi announced a formal impeachment inquiry. It was a low blow, striking at Trump as he represented the United States on the world stage. She easily could have waited twenty-four or forty-eight hours to launch her attack.

The Democrats' stated cause for the inquiry centered on comments the president had made two months earlier, on a phone call with the newly elected president of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky. Trump had asked Zelensky to investigate whether Hunter Biden's appointment to the board of Burisma, a Ukrainian natural gas company, was an act of corruption. Hunter had no experience in the energy sector, a long history of questionable business dealings, and a checkered past that included being kicked out of the US Navy for cocaine use.<sup>45</sup> At the time of the appointment, his father was vice president of the United States, and Hunter netted a consulting fee of

\$83,000 per month.<sup>46</sup> The Ukrainian government's top prosecutor had tried to investigate the appointment, but he was ousted after Vice President Joe Biden allegedly pressed for his removal.<sup>47</sup> Trump viewed this as a potential violation of public trust and wanted to learn more about the circumstances around it.

At the same time, Trump was fighting with Congress over roughly \$4 billion in foreign aid, including \$250 million for Ukraine. The president habitually disapproved of wasteful foreign aid programs. He thought the money would be better spent in the United States, rather than in foreign countries that were often rife with corruption. Trump had notified Congress that he intended to "impound" these funds and return them to the public coffers unless the legislative branch overrode his decision. This was not the first time Trump had used the impoundment mechanism to rein in foreign aid. In 2018 he had cited it to avoid spending foreign aid dollars, and he even asked lawmakers for permission to return the funds to the Treasury, but Congress rejected his request.

The Democrats had a whistleblower claiming the administration was withholding funds from Ukraine, and they accused the president of a quid pro quo: denying the funds unless the Ukrainians restarted their investigation of Hunter Biden. Pelosi's sidekick Adam Schiff, chairman of the House intelligence committee, somehow obtained a rough transcript of Trump's July 25 call with Zelensky. Schiff presented his view as fact: "The notes of the call reflect a conversation far more damning than I or many others had imagined. . . . The President of the United States has betrayed his oath of office and sacrificed our national security in doing so."

After a failed two-year search for a reason to impeach the president, they settled on the best bad option they could find.

The day after Pelosi's announcement, we were still in New York for meetings with foreign leaders. As I sat in the president's secure holding room between meetings, Acting Chief of Staff Mick Mulvaney handed me a folder marked "Secret." It contained a transcript of Trump's call on July 25.<sup>48</sup>

"What do you think about this?" he asked.

I read the transcript.

"It doesn't seem like a big deal to me," I said. "This is Trump being Trump."

Top economic adviser Larry Kudlow was sitting next to me. He also read the transcript and felt the same way. We debated whether to release it.



The press had worked itself into a frenzy of speculation based on Schiff's distorted framing of the president's call. Releasing the transcript would punch a hole in Schiff's alarmist narrative. Mulvaney and I favored this approach. But it was a tough decision.

As we weighed the potential benefits and downsides of publishing the transcript, White House counsel Pat Cipollone called Mulvaney and argued that doing so would set a bad precedent. Foreign leaders would be less likely to speak candidly on future calls if they thought their private words could become public. And it was always better to err on the side of caution on a legal matter such as this. Cipollone was giving sound advice—the sort of technical legal guidance that one would rigorously follow in a courtroom. But we weren't dealing with a court of law. We were dealing with the court of public opinion, where the rules were different.

When the president reviewed the transcript, he instantly sided with me and Mulvaney, and he announced his decision by Twitter: "I am currently at the United Nations representing our Country, but have authorized the release tomorrow of the complete, fully declassified and unredacted transcript of my phone conversation with president Zelensky of Ukraine. You will see it was a very friendly and totally appropriate call. No pressure and, unlike Joe Biden and his son, NO quid pro quo! This is nothing more than a continuation of the Greatest and most Destructive Witch Hunt of all time!"

The same day the president released the transcript, he was scheduled to meet in New York City with President Zelensky. During the meeting, Zelensky was straightforward. Trump appreciated that the Ukrainian president was trying to fix a broken situation and that he didn't want to be in the middle of US politics. As the two leaders sat before a throng of press, a reporter shouted a question at Zelensky about whether he was pressured to start an investigation.

"Nobody pushed me," Zelensky said, confirming Trump's message.

Between the substance of the transcript and Zelensky's comment, the Democrats had made a tactical error by going all in on such a thin case. But as they embarked on formal impeachment proceedings in Congress and pummeled the president in the press, the White House had no communications strategy for refuting their attacks.

Unlike his predecessor, Mulvaney established a collegial culture within the West Wing. His door was always open, and he often played classic rock music while he worked. Most people felt comfortable collaborating with

him. He respected and understood the president, and he asked me to get involved on issues when I could be helpful. Many aspects of the White House had improved as a result, but he had developed a sort of rivalry with Cipollone, which was becoming concerning.

Mulvaney began holding an impeachment planning meeting each morning in his office. As White House counsel, Cipollone should have been giving his advice in these meetings, but he rarely uttered a word. When I asked him why he was so quiet, he said that he suspected Mulvaney was leaking on him. He didn't want to divulge sensitive information that might find its way into the press.

A familiar routine began: Mulvaney would come to my office and complain about Cipollone. Later, Cipollone would walk in and complain about Mulvaney. I understood the costs of engaging in interoffice squabbles, so I mostly listened and didn't take sides. After surviving the rivalries of the early years, I was effectively free of enemies inside the West Wing—and I wasn't looking to make any.

I was fond of both Mulvaney and Cipollone and tried to bring them together, but I couldn't bridge the gap. Their personal differences were hurting the president's defense, so I began tracking the impeachment response more closely. While outside my purview, the issue was potentially fatal for the president, and I felt like I had a responsibility to watch my father-in-law's back. That was one of the main reasons I moved to Washington in the first place.

Impeachment was coming at Trump like a freight train. To gain perspective, I read several books about the Clinton impeachment and realized that his team had also dealt with competing power centers and personality clashes. Chief of Staff Leon Panetta and Harold Ickes, the deputy chief of staff, set up a response operation separate from the White House Counsel's Office and installed a young lawyer named Jane Sherburne to lead it. This arrangement led to brutal infighting. Panetta, whose work as chief of staff I had grown to respect, ultimately steered the effort back on course by integrating the legal and communications teams into a single unit focused on defending the president.

This was clearly the model to follow. I was confident that the White House legal team, along with outside counsels Jay Sekulow, Alan Dershowitz, Eric Herschmann, and Pam Bondi, would handle the nuanced legal arguments before the Senate. But after studying the Clinton

impeachment, I knew we needed to assemble an equivalent communications team that would work in lockstep with the lawyers. History showed that impeachment cases turned on public sentiment. Members of Congress were not impartial judges—they were political by nature and swayed by the viewpoints of their constituents. The facts were on our side, but we needed to win the battle in the court of public opinion.

## Fight to Win

Amid the West Wing infighting, I received a call from congressmen Mark Meadows of North Carolina and Jim Jordan of Ohio. “You guys are blowing this thing,” said Jordan. That got my attention. Both men were savvy politicians who cared about Trump. When they offered to come by the White House, I accepted.

Less than an hour later, they showed up with two of their fellow Freedom Caucus members, Lee Zeldin and Matt Gaetz. We assembled in Cipollone’s office on the second floor of the West Wing.

“The way I see it, this case is simple,” said Zeldin. “Number one, the White House released the transcript, proving the president has nothing to hide. Number two, the aid was released. Number three, the investigation in Ukraine never occurred. And number four, when asked, the president of Ukraine said there was no pressure applied. No matter what any whistleblower or Democrat says, these four facts will not change. If we all stick to them and communicate effectively, we will win big. There was no quid pro quo, and they have no case.”

Meadows and Jordan asked why the White House communications team was missing in action. Not wanting to criticize my colleagues in front of members of Congress, I flipped the question.

“What do you think we need to be successful?”

“Right now,” said Meadows, “no one from the White House ever calls us to coordinate your message. When I try to find out where the White House stands on a topic, Stephanie doesn’t answer her phone or get back to me. Get us someone who is available twenty-four/seven to work with me and my members on this. We will help you amplify and win this battle.”

Meadows was referring to White House communications director and press secretary Stephanie Grisham. Trump had promoted her after Sarah Huckabee Sanders moved back to Arkansas in June of 2019. Before then, Grisham had served as the First Lady’s press secretary. Grisham was an unconventional choice for the top White House communications job. The role demanded a level of skill and commitment that far surpassed her responsibilities in the East Wing, where the pace was slower and tended to revolve around ceremonial events.

After it became clear that our communications and legal teams were not going to work together, I began searching for a senior communications person who could focus solely on impeachment—someone who would wake up every morning ready for this fight. It quickly became clear that the best person for the role was Tony Sayegh, a longtime communications pro at the Treasury Department who had helped us pass tax reform. Unlike the first year of the administration, when I made enemies unintentionally, this time I made a conscious decision to intervene, knowing that Grisham would likely turn against me. I wish I had seen another option, but protecting the president was more important than Grisham’s opinion of me.

Trump was aware of the internal dysfunction, and he gave me the go-ahead to hire Sayegh. When I told Grisham about the decision, I tried to be as gracious as possible. I said that bringing in Sayegh and letting him focus on impeachment would free her up to manage the rest of the communications operation. I was pleasantly surprised when she said that it was a great idea. She said that she liked Sayegh and considered him a dear friend. She asked that Sayegh report directly to her and not have an office in the West Wing, which I immediately agreed to. I thought that perhaps things between us would not be so bad after all.

An hour later, the president called. Grisham had dashed to the Oval Office and claimed that Sayegh would imperil Trump’s impeachment defense. That’s when I knew that she had turned on me. At the president’s request, I followed up with Grisham to discuss her concerns, at which point she accused me of trying to run her department.

“I don’t want to run comms,” I replied. “But you can’t seem to get along with the legal team, and we need to have a senior comms person dedicated solely to impeachment to prevent the president from getting removed from office.”

I felt confident the White House had the high ground on impeachment. Now we just needed to shell the Democrats rhetorically—and Sayegh would be our lead artilleryman.

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In the White House it’s impossible to deal with one problem at a time. Just as our team was coming together to handle the greatest domestic challenge of Trump’s presidency, a conflict arose overseas. At the direction of the president, the Department of Defense was drawing down the number of American troops on the Syrian border with Turkey, where they were

policing a controversial area. He warned President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan that he would “totally destroy and obliterate the economy of Turkey” if the Turks did anything “off-limits,” but Istanbul’s strongman ignored Trump’s threat. As US troops departed the area, Erdoğan launched a massive military offensive in northeastern Syria against Kurdish fighters who had been critical partners in the US fight against ISIS. Trump asked Pence to negotiate a cease-fire with President Erdoğan.

Before Pence departed for Turkey, he stopped by my office. I had met with Erdoğan a few times, and Pence asked for advice in dealing with him.

“You don’t need my advice,” I said, “but I will tell you that from my experience, when you sit down with him, he’s going to air all of his grievances. It will go on for a while, and I would just listen. My sense is that he values his relationship with Trump, so your success will depend on the degree to which you can convey that Trump is dead serious about a cease-fire. Erdoğan is very stubborn. I’m not sure how you solve this one, but I will root for you from here.”

On October 17, while Pence was in Turkey, Trump traveled to Dallas for the grand opening of a massive Louis Vuitton manufacturing facility. Soon after the 2016 election, I introduced Trump to my friends Alexandre and his father Bernard Arnault, head of LVMH—the Louis Vuitton parent company and largest luxury goods corporation in the world. Afterward, Arnault announced that he was looking to build another Louis Vuitton factory in the United States. Two and a half years later, he followed through on his promise with a hundred-thousand-square foot facility that would employ a thousand American workers to make the finest leather products in the world. Arnault joined us for the trip to Texas on Air Force One—a thrilling experience, even for the third-wealthiest person on the planet. As Trump and Arnault talked on the flight, Pence called.

“We made a deal,” the vice president said. “I was firm in telling Erdoğan that you love him, and that you were his friend before this, you’re his friend now, and you’ll be his friend always—but that he needed to stop this war he started, immediately, or there will be massive economic sanctions. He raised many objections, but after ninety minutes and seven versions of the same message, he said they’d stop it, and we went into the other room and finalized a deal.”

“That’s great,” said Trump. “This area has been a powder keg for a while, and I hated having so many troops there. We were there because both

sides wanted the territory, and we could never broker a compromise. Sometimes you just have to let the two sides fight it out a bit, and when they realize neither has a great situation, then it's much easier to make a deal. If I didn't do this, America would be stuck there for the next hundred years—or even worse, end up in another war over a piece of sand that no one in America has ever heard about.” Trump knew how to deal with big personalities to prevent combustible situations.

While he was on the phone with Pence, Fox News flashed to the White House press briefing room. Mulvaney was at the podium, taking questions about the ongoing impeachment inquiry. As a former elected official, Mulvaney was a sharp and effective communicator. Afterward, I dialed Mulvaney and commended him on a solid performance.

Shortly after I hung up, my phone rang. It was Cipollone.

“Did you hear what Mulvaney just said?” he asked.

I said that from what I had seen, Mulvaney had done a good job.

“That was an absolute train wreck,” Cipollone moaned. “He just said that the president engaged in a quid pro quo. That blows up the entire case. We need Mulvaney to correct that statement immediately.”

I had missed the most important thirty seconds of the briefing. ABC reporter Jon Karl had asked Mulvaney point-blank whether the president had committed a quid pro quo.

“To be clear what you just described is a quid pro quo,” Jon Karl said as he continued. “It is: funding will not flow unless the investigation into the Democratic server happened as well.”

“We do that all the time with foreign policy,” Mulvaney responded. “We were holding up money at the same time for . . . the northern triangle countries, so that they would change their policies on immigration.”

This was indeed a disaster. Mulvaney's point was fundamentally valid. Presidents regularly leverage foreign aid to extract concessions from their foreign partners. Trump was especially good at it. In a high-stakes moment where our messaging needed to be tight, however, it was sloppy. It energized the Democrats, who claimed that the president's own chief of staff had just provided a smoking gun.

Mulvaney tried to walk back the statement, but it was too late. Just as we were gaining momentum, our own White House team handed the advantage to our opponents. Now we were going to have to regroup and fight it out to the brutal end.

## Hospital Negotiations

There's an old story about Robert Lighthizer, the US trade representative. In the 1980s, when he was working in the Reagan administration, he participated in trade talks with the Japanese. One day, after receiving an unsatisfactory proposal from his counterparts, he took the page that contained the proposal, folded it into a paper airplane, and tossed it back to the Japanese. The incident earned him a nickname: "Missile Man."

Some three decades later, he was Trump's top trade negotiator—and he hadn't lost his sense of humor. In 2019, as our bargaining with China entered a new phase, he emailed a limerick:

*We are talking to President Xi*

*Whether progress is made we shall see*

*Should cheating continue*

*Beyond this brief window*

*Tariffs there surely will be.*

To the best of my knowledge, the Chinese never saw that email—but if they had, it would have played into their worst fears about Lighthizer. His reputation as a tough negotiator intimidated them. They even held him responsible for Japan's slow-growth woes in the 1990s, believing that the country's troubles could be traced to the "Missile Man."

What really rattled them, of course, was not just Lighthizer, but the fact that for the first time in history, an American president was standing up to Beijing's unfair economic behavior. When China entered the World Trade Organization in 2001 as a "developing economy," it promised to liberalize its economic practices. Yet China had failed to fulfill its promise, even as it gained a larger share of the global market through low-cost goods heavily subsidized by cheap local labor and state investments. By 2018 the US trade deficit with China had ballooned to more than \$400 billion annually, up from \$83 billion in 2001. At the same time, China forced American companies to disclose their trade and technology secrets as a precondition to doing business in China. In effect, China was stealing our best technology and turning it against us.

By the end of 2018, Trump's confrontation with China had advanced to the point where tariffs covered about 96 percent of all Chinese imports. This



raised nearly \$40 billion in revenue for the US government in 2018 and 2019 alone. The prevailing wisdom assumed that a Trump-led trade war between the world's two largest economies would tank US markets and threaten a global recession. But Trump didn't buy it. Whenever he imposed new tariffs, the markets got choppy for a few days, but the doom never came, despite the fearful predictions of conventional economists. Even Trump's biggest haters admired his courage to take on a fight that his predecessors had ignored.

After Trump told President Xi in December of 2018 that I would help broker a US-China trade deal, I regrouped with our team. I knew Lighthizer and Treasury secretary Steven Mnuchin had the technical expertise to get the deal across the finish line, so I told them to let me know how I could be helpful to their ongoing negotiations. Wary of Lighthizer, the Chinese preferred to work with Mnuchin, a pragmatic and talented dealmaker who made no attempt to hide his desire for strong and stable economic markets. The Chinese began talking almost exclusively to Mnuchin, attempting to sidestep Lighthizer altogether.

Nothing could change the fact that Lighthizer was America's lead negotiator on trade. He had earned the president's respect and trust. Having seen Lighthizer's effectiveness in our negotiations with Canada and Mexico, I was convinced that the Chinese needed to treat him as Mnuchin's equal to reach an agreement. At the request of Lighthizer and Mnuchin, I called John Thornton, the former president of Goldman Sachs, who in 1997 had helped China Telecom become listed as a publicly traded company in a groundbreaking deal. Thornton had high-level contacts in China, and I found him to be thoughtful and constructive.

"The Chinese are getting nowhere, and it's because they keep trying to play the game on their terms," I said. "That may have worked for them in the past, but it won't under Trump. They need to know that they're never going to get a deal if they don't go through Lighthizer. Please convey to them that he's reasonable and, more importantly, that he has the complete trust of the president. I'll work with him to keep things on track if they engage."

Throughout 2019, the United States and China slapped tariffs on one another, and both countries felt the pain. China's GDP growth rate dropped to a thirty-year low. In the United States, farmers and ranchers saw an important export market close. Not wanting to punish American farmers for China's obstinacy, Trump directed Secretary of Agriculture Sonny Perdue to find a way to provide relief. Through an obscure Depression-era program,

Trump redirected revenue from the tens of billions of dollars the United States was now collecting from the tariffs on China to American farmers and ranchers. This administrative master-stroke boosted farmers and gave Trump the leverage and staying power to hold strong in the fight, which he believed was hurting China far more than the United States. Unless the situation turned dire, I knew that Trump was unlikely to fold.

By September, the Chinese blinked. They signaled a willingness to buy American agricultural products. It was a smart way to show that they were serious. Words no longer mattered: as proof that they were not leading us on, we needed them to sign purchase orders and begin shipping containers. Lighthizer and Mnuchin closed in on a deal that would require the Chinese to purchase up to \$50 billion in farm products annually, double the amount they had ever purchased from the United States. When Trump described the size of these purchases to the farmers' lobbyists, they said that they weren't sure that America's farmers could even produce that much product to sell to the Chinese.

"Buy bigger tractors!" Trump replied. "The farmers have stuck with me through this fight, and I'm going to make sure they come out stronger."

The agreement also improved intellectual property protections and prohibited the Chinese from forcing American companies to reveal their trade secrets and technologies. And, for the first time in history, China agreed to an enforcement mechanism that would hold them accountable. If they broke the agreement, tariffs would go into effect to offset the economic damage. It was an unprecedented concession for the Chinese to make.

In exchange for these commitments, the Chinese asked the United States to cancel certain tariffs and to reduce others. Lighthizer and Mnuchin disagreed on some of the details: Mnuchin wanted to lift more tariffs than Lighthizer believed was necessary. So we arranged to meet with the president. Trump would decide how to manage the final stage of the negotiation and secure a massive win.

On a Saturday evening in October, Ivanka and I joined Mnuchin, Ross, Lighthizer, Perdue, Navarro, and Kudlow in the Executive Residence for dinner. Mnuchin and Lighthizer made their cases. Trump was relaxed and happy to have an agreement in sight. Sensing that China wanted to make a deal, Trump opted for Lighthizer's more aggressive proposal. After the dinner broke up, he invited the team to watch *Joker* in the White House movie theater, but Ivanka and I decided to get back to our kids. As we

walked out, Lighthizer pulled me aside and asked if I could have Thornton communicate our proposal to the Chinese so that they would know exactly what was needed to get a deal done.

I called Thornton, who agreed to carry the message to the Chinese, but also recommended calling Chinese ambassador Cui Tiankai to communicate our position.

Knowing that my call with Cui would be analyzed back in China, I spoke very deliberately. When I first walked the ambassador through the terms, he balked. China wanted more tariff reduction, he said.

I cautioned him not to think in terms of percentage, but to think in terms of what would happen if they didn't make a deal. I said I was fairly confident that Trump would do the deal I had outlined, but warned that dynamics could change if they delayed. If they said yes, it would pause the trade war and create space for the next round of negotiations to occur. If they didn't accept the offer, however, Trump would likely escalate. "My father once told me that no one ever sold him a building because they liked his tie—they sold it to him because he paid the highest price," I said. This was the price they needed to pay to make a deal and avoid a further increase in tariffs. While it was uncomfortable, they would look back and be glad that they did it.

My inflexibility seemed to get through to the ambassador. He assured me that he would relay my message to Beijing and that they would begin drafting a formal offer.

\* \* \*

As this high-wire act of trade talks with the Chinese progressed, I had to confront an unexpected and frightening personal problem. On the morning that I traveled to Texas to attend the opening of a Louis Vuitton factory, White House physician Sean Conley pulled me into the medical cabin on Air Force One. "Your test results came back from Walter Reed," he said. "It looks like you have cancer. We need to schedule a surgery right away."

Before he could say more, I put my hand on his shoulder. "Listen, Doc, let's pretend you didn't just say that and get through the next twenty-four hours," I said. "Come to my office tomorrow morning. Please don't tell anyone—especially my wife or my father-in-law."

The next morning, I told Ivanka what I knew. With as much confidence as I could conjure, I told her not to be concerned. Whatever this was, we would find a way to work through it. She joined me for the meeting with Dr.

Conley, as did Avi. Ivanka and Avi graciously offered to find the best specialist in the country. Dr. Thomas Fahey of New York-Presbyterian Hospital concluded that I needed surgery to remove an unusual growth in my thyroid, and we scheduled the operation for the Friday before Thanksgiving. That way, I would miss the least amount of time in the office. My absence might even go unnoticed. That's how I wanted it. This was a personal problem and not for public consumption. With the exception of Ivanka, Avi, Cassidy, and Mulvaney, I didn't tell anyone at the White House—including the president.

I threw myself into my work and tried not to think about the upcoming surgery or the unwanted growth in my body. When I did think about it, I reminded myself that it was in the hands of God and the doctors, and that whatever happened was out of my control. At moments, I caught myself wondering whether I would need extensive treatment. I thought about the many simple things I took for granted that the doctor warned could be different—or even vanish. Every night, before I went to bed, I lingered for a few extra moments in my children's rooms. I watched them sleep without a care in the world. I felt guilty that I had been so distracted and absent over the previous few years. I was always at work or taking phone calls when they wanted to spend time with their dad. I missed plays and sporting events. I had promised myself that when my service in the White House ended, I'd make up for lost time. Now I was forced to confront that possibility that my time might be up. I prayed that the surgery would be successful.

The day before the surgery, Trump called me into the Oval Office and motioned for his team to close the door.

“Are you nervous about the surgery?” he asked.

“How do you know about it?”

“I'm the president,” he said. “I know everything. I understand that you want to keep these things quiet. I like to keep things like this to myself as well. You'll be just fine. Don't worry about anything with work. We have everything covered here.”

I hadn't wanted him to know because I felt he didn't need another problem to worry about, but now I was glad he did. At the White House, I tried to have his back. Now he had mine, and I was grateful for it.

Thanks to the skill of Dr. Fahey, the operation went well. He had removed a substantial part of my thyroid. When I woke several hours later, Dr. Fahey was standing over me. “Please tell my wife I am okay,” I said. The

biopsy results arrived a few days later, revealing that the nodule indeed was cancerous. Thank God we caught it early. Before surgery, the doctors had warned me that the procedure could alter my voice, and it could take weeks or months to return to normal. Luckily, the impact was minimal. Several hours later, while I was still in the hospital recovering, I got a phone call from Thornton. The Chinese were ready to make a formal offer based on our proposal.

We discussed a few details, including exactly how much relief China would get on the tariffs. I suggested a compromise that tracked closer to Lighthizer's position than Mnuchin's, and said that if the Chinese agreed to it, I'd take it straight to the president.

After I hung up with Thornton, I called Lighthizer on my secure phone and told him what had happened.

"That is very close to what we wanted," he said. "If they really make that offer, that would be a great deal."

The Chinese had agreed to what would soon become known as the "Phase One" trade deal, a massive victory for the United States. To keep President Trump from further escalating tariffs, China had agreed to an unprecedented series of trade concessions. They consented to keeping the \$250 billion in existing tariffs on Chinese imports in place, without retaliating further. This completely reset the US trade relationship with China, raising the cost of their imports, while protecting American workers and netting tens of billions of dollars in annual revenue to the federal government. Through Phase One, the Chinese agreed to make systemic changes in their treatment of intellectual property and in their agricultural and financial services sectors, balancing the competitive playing field between American and Chinese companies. They also agreed to make significant purchases of US agricultural products. Finally, the agreement was enforceable: if China failed to follow through, the United States could impose sanctions—and possibly tariffs. This alone was a major breakthrough for the United States.

Excited by these developments, I called the president.

"That's great," Trump said. "Get it done."

Finally, I called Ambassador Cui and told him the news.

That was to be my last call in the hospital: Ivanka stepped into the room, gave me a kiss, and took away all three of my phones.

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# Soleimani

On January 2, 2020, as Trump met with his campaign team at Mar-a-Lago, National Security Adviser Robert O'Brien entered the room. Trump had recently hired the successful hostage negotiator and foreign policy expert to replace Bolton.

"Mr. President, it's time," said O'Brien.

Trump stood up and began to follow O'Brien out of the room. Before exiting, he turned around.

"Wait here, fellas. I'll be back."

We were in a small and dimly lit room off the library at Mar-a-Lago. Called the Monkey Room because of the intricate monkey carvings on the walls, it exuded a vintage, clubby feel that hearkened back to the Roaring Twenties, when the resort was built. Trump was reviewing options for a television ad to air during the Super Bowl, which would reach an estimated 80 percent of voters. Brad Parscale, Larry Weitzner, Dan Scavino, and I were going over the two spots with him when O'Brien came in.

"I don't expect him to return for a while," I said, after Trump left.

Over drinks the night before, Senator Lindsey Graham had suggested that something big was on the horizon: "What POTUS is thinking about doing tomorrow is courageous," he said, cryptically. "It comes with a risk, but it's going to be a game-changer." I was intrigued by Graham's comment, but I was totally unaware of what was about to come.

As the minutes ticked by, the others looked around restlessly, wondering how long they should wait around and whether the president would come back at all. Sooner than I had expected, the president returned to the Monkey Room.

"Can you play the Alice Johnson spot one more time?" he asked.

As we resumed our discussion, I noticed that Scavino was scouring Twitter. He knew exactly which journalists to follow for breaking news around the world, and he often flagged international events for the president and senior staff long before we received intelligence from officials at the CIA or others elsewhere. Ten minutes passed, then Scavino spoke up.

"There are images of an explosion in Iraq. People are saying it was by the airport."

“Dan,” said the president, “follow that closely and tell me if anything interesting comes up.”

Five more minutes passed.

“You all have got to see this!” said Scavino.

A journalist in Iran had tweeted a photograph of a severed, ash-covered hand adorned by a ring with a large blood-red stone.<sup>49</sup> Alongside this image, for comparison, was a recent photo of top Iranian general Qasem Soleimani, stroking his beard. On his hand, he wore the exact same ring.

As the news broke, Trump remained coolly engaged in our discussion. It was as if nothing out of the ordinary had happened. This was one of the traits I admired most about Trump. He was one hundred percent focused on the task at hand. The higher the stakes, the calmer and more engaged he became. Many of his critics assumed that he was erratic and undisciplined, especially because of his tweets. This perception missed something fundamental about the president: when making consequential foreign policy decisions, he was careful and deliberate. He always understood the gravity of the moment, and he never wanted to endanger American lives if he could avoid it.

The world soon learned that Trump had ordered the strike that killed the world’s top terrorist, General Qasem Soleimani of Iran. If Supreme Leader Ayatollah Khamenei was Iran’s head, then Soleimani was its clenched fist. He commanded Iran’s Quds Force, an elite unit of twenty thousand soldiers that worked clandestinely to destabilize the Middle East through Iran’s terrorist proxies. He had supplied the roadside bombs that America’s enemies used to kill and maim thousands of US troops in Iraq and Afghanistan. In Syria, dictator Bashar al-Assad had given Soleimani free rein to command militias that had access to Syria’s borders with Israel, Lebanon, and Iraq.

As Soleimani’s military grip on the region tightened, his popularity in Iran and his fame across the Middle East rose to unprecedented heights. Former CIA analyst Kenneth Pollack profiled Soleimani for *Time* magazine’s 100 Most Influential People list in 2017: “To Middle Eastern Shi’ites, he is James Bond, Erwin Rommel, and Lady Gaga rolled into one.”

In the months leading up to the president’s strike, the Iranians had escalated their attacks against America and our allies in the Middle East. On June 20, the Iranians shot down an American drone flying in international airspace over the Strait of Hormuz. Trump initially approved a retaliatory

strike, but reversed course just minutes before it was carried out. He tweeted about his decision: “We were cocked & loaded to retaliate last night on 3 different sights when I asked, how many will die. 150 people, sir, was the answer from a General. 10 minutes before the strike I stopped it. Not proportionate to shooting down an unmanned drone. I am in no hurry.”

On December 27, Iran-backed Shiite militias fired several rockets into a joint Iraqi-American airbase, killing a US military contractor and injuring four US soldiers. The president decided he had shown restraint for long enough. Trump knew that taking out Soleimani would degrade Iran’s military capability and send the strongest possible message that there would be no safe harbor for those who aim to kill Americans.

On January 2, Trump called in the strike. Soleimani had landed at Baghdad International Airport, just twelve miles from the US embassy, unaware that he had only moments to live. He climbed into a sedan and departed the airport. In an extraordinary twist of fate, he was joined by an unexpected passenger: Abu Mahdi al-Muhandis, one of the most dangerous but seemingly untouchable terrorist masterminds in the world. For years, Muhandis had been at the top of America’s target list. In 1983 he orchestrated the bombing of the US and French embassies in Kuwait, killing five civilians, before fleeing to Iran and developing a close relationship with Soleimani, who was establishing the Quds Force. In 2003 he shifted his operations to Iraq, creating a sophisticated web of highly trained terrorists known as the Hezbollah Brigade, which killed hundreds of American soldiers. The United States might have killed Muhandis years earlier, but in 2014 he was appointed to an official role within Iraq’s government, and the US didn’t want to damage its relationship with Iraq as it navigated the volatility in the region. When he placed himself in that vehicle with Soleimani, however, Muhandis unknowingly signed his own death warrant.

As the two killers and their entourage traveled along an airport access road with light traffic, a Reaper drone circling far overhead launched a Hellfire missile. It’s unlikely that Soleimani or Muhandis heard the whistling sound of the missile for more than two seconds before it left them in a smoldering pile of ash and steel on the airport access road. They were dead instantly.

Soleimani was a dangerous target. His military influence in the region and close relationship with the Ayatollah meant that killing him risked war. Military leaders who had served in the Middle East understood the



implications. “It is impossible to overstate the significance of this action,” General David Petraeus said on the public radio program *The World*. “This is much more substantial than the killing of Osama bin Laden. It’s even more substantial than the killing of Baghdadi,” the leader of ISIS that the military had killed at Trump’s direction several months earlier.

As the world reacted to the president’s decision, Trump dined with House minority leader Kevin McCarthy on the patio at Mar-a-Lago. I sat at a nearby table with Graham, Scavino, and O’Brien and his wife Lo Mari. Throughout dinner, O’Brien kept excusing himself and disappearing into a top-secret facility to take phone calls. When O’Brien returned to the table after one of his calls, I asked if he was preparing a statement for the president. Other than tweeting a picture of an American flag shortly after the strike, the president had refrained from commenting publicly. I thought Trump needed to send a clear and strong message about his reasoning for the strike and the consequences Iran would suffer if it retaliated. To my surprise, O’Brien said that he and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo felt that the strike should speak for itself.

The next morning, January 3, I paid a rare visit to Trump’s bedroom. He asked how the news was playing, and I said that it was getting massive attention from the press, and that many world leaders were calling O’Brien to express appreciation for the bold move, but they were afraid to say so publicly. When I asked if he was going to make a statement, Trump said that Pompeo had advised against it because it would draw unwanted attention to the strike and escalate the situation.

“That ship has sailed,” I said. “This is dominating the news.”

Three years earlier, when the president ordered the strike on Syria, I had kept my thoughts mostly to myself because I didn’t have confidence in my point of view. But now I knew more about the region. This time I had a strong conviction, and the stakes were even higher.

“Iran is vowing to retaliate,” I said. “You have an intended audience of one—Ayatollah Khamenei. He has to know that if the Iranians kill one American, you will unleash fury. Right now he is probably sitting in his version of the Situation Room with his top experts, discussing options. It is important that you explain that this was not a preemptive strike—it was retaliation for all of the murders and maiming of American soldiers that Soleimani had caused. If you don’t make a statement, we will be at greater risk of Iran hitting back at American troops in the region.”

Trump thought for a minute, and then asked me to put together a set of remarks. As I worked with the speechwriting team, Pompeo called the president to check in, and Trump told him that he was now considering making a public statement and asked the secretary to discuss it with me. When we spoke, Pompeo was initially resistant and a bit annoyed. In fairness, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the intelligence agencies, and the National Security Council had developed a thorough plan for all aspects of the Soleimani strike, and the consensus was to recommend against presidential remarks.

By the end of our discussion, Pompeo hedged. “There’s a fifty-fifty chance that your strategy is right.”

“Let me send you the remarks,” I said. “See if you like them, and let me know if you have any changes.”

A few minutes later, Pompeo called back. “I have no problem with these remarks,” he said. “I see what you are trying to do here. If the president is going to say something, this is the right thing to say.”

I called the president and updated him on my conversation with Pompeo.

“I want to give the speech today,” he said.

Shortly after 3:00 p.m., right before he took off on Marine One for an event at a church in Miami to launch one of his most important campaign coalitions, Evangelicals for Trump, the president walked into Mar-a-Lago’s temporary press briefing room and addressed the nation.

“As president, my highest and most solemn duty is the defense of our nation and its citizens. Last night, at my direction, the United States military successfully executed a flawless precision strike that killed the number one terrorist anywhere in the world, Qasem Soleimani. . . . Under my leadership, America’s policy is unambiguous: To terrorists who harm or intend to harm any American, we will find you; we will eliminate you. We will always protect our diplomats, service members, all Americans, and our allies. . . . We took action last night to stop a war. We did not take action to start a war.”

On Sunday, January 5, while I was on a run with Ivanka, UK prime minister Boris Johnson called my cell. He had put in a formal request to speak to the president but hadn’t heard back.

Johnson and I had been friendly since the transition in 2016, when he was foreign secretary and came to meet with me in New York City. We stayed in touch after he resigned from government in July of 2018 and

continued our friendship when he returned to government and became prime minister. I always found him to be accessible, engaged, and imaginative.

I immediately called the president's military aide, who handed the phone to Trump. When I told him that Boris Johnson had requested a call, he was frustrated that no one had told him about it and asked to speak to the prime minister immediately. The conversation went well, and Johnson issued a supportive statement: "Given the leading role [Soleimani] has played in actions that have led to the deaths of thousands of innocent civilians and Western personnel, we will not lament his death."

Johnson's positive message stood in contrast to the tepid responses of other European leaders, some of whom criticized the strike. These leaders knew that Soleimani was an architect of chaos, repression, and terrorism, but they were too scared to admit publicly that Trump had taken the right course of action.

In Tehran, Ayatollah Khamenei called for three days of mourning and openly wept at Soleimani's funeral—and he vowed "severe revenge" against the United States. Seeing this threat, Trump fired off a warning over Twitter: "Let this serve as a WARNING that if Iran strikes any Americans, or American assets, we have targeted 52 Iranian sites (representing the 52 American hostages taken by Iran many years ago), some at a very high level & important to Iran & the Iranian culture, and those targets, and Iran itself, WILL BE HIT VERY FAST AND VERY HARD. The USA wants no more threats! They attacked us, & we hit back."

Trump's bombast on Twitter belied his cool and calm demeanor behind the scenes. He used the platform to wage a psychological battle against our adversaries—and on numerous occasions, his tweets helped deescalate foreign conflicts.

On the evening of January 7, the president was back at the White House when O'Brien reported that Iran had struck installations at two Iraqi airbases where American troops were stationed. The military was still assessing the damage, but early indications were that no American service members had died—they'd been prepared for the attack and were sheltered in bunkers at the time of impact. Meanwhile, the Iranian media was falsely claiming that they had killed many American soldiers. Several hours later, the Iranians conveyed a message through a Swiss intermediary: if we were finished, they were too.

After a tense week, this was a moment of relief. Through Trump's strong, decisive, and unpredictable action, he had knocked Iran's queen off the chessboard, and they hadn't even taken a pawn.

Months earlier, Gold Star husband and Army Green Beret veteran Joe Kent came to the White House and asked to meet with me. His wife, Senior Chief Petty Officer Shannon Kent, had served in the Navy for sixteen years before a terrorist suicide bomber killed her in Syria. She left behind not only Joe but also their two young children. Joe could have been bitter that his wife was gone—no one would have blamed him—but he instead chose to devote his life to raising his two sons and honoring his wife's legacy by fighting to prevent deaths like hers from happening in the future. He reached out to me after Soleimani's death and shared his belief that when President Obama was trying to negotiate the Iran deal, the military operated under a protocol that if Iran struck, we wouldn't hit back. He felt that Iranians knew this, and they kept shooting at our bases and at American soldiers with no repercussions. "Every time Iran killed one of our service members, they faced no consequence," Joe told me. "We were sitting there with our hands tied behind our back for years just being tortured by the Iranians. And Soleimani was the mastermind."

Joe told me about meeting the president at Dover Air Force Base on the worst day of his life—the day that his wife's body was returned in a flag draped casket. He recalled that Trump spoke his name, shook his hand, and grasped his shoulder.

"I'm so sorry for your loss," Trump told him. "Shannon was an amazing woman and warrior. . . . We are lucky to have people like her willing to go out there and face evil for us."

Joe gave me a bracelet with his wife's name and ID number on it, which I kept on my desk until the day I left the White House. It served as an ever-present reminder of the brave men and women risking their lives on the front lines every day.

## Bank Shot

Politics rarely provides perfect moments for anything, but by January of 2020, I thought the time was finally as good as it would ever be to release the president’s peace plan. If we waited much longer, the noise of the upcoming presidential campaign could overwhelm our efforts.

I sat down in a chair in front of the Resolute Desk, along with Avi, CIA director Gina Haspel, Secretary Mike Pompeo, and National Security Adviser Robert O’Brien. Ambassador David Friedman joined on a secure conference line. Seated on the couches behind us were Mick Mulvaney and Marc Short, the vice president’s chief of staff.

“We think now is the right time to release your peace plan,” I said, to kick off the meeting on January 13. For more than an hour, Friedman and I walked the president through each aspect of the plan—the parts that would be controversial, the extensive feedback we’d received from both Arab and Israeli leaders, how we expected each country in the region to react, and how we planned to respond to the potential criticisms.

“Both Bibi and Gantz have agreed to endorse your proposal,” I said, referring to Prime Minister Netanyahu and his political rival Benny Gantz, the Israeli minister of defense. “This is a huge win, since they are locked in a contentious political campaign and at odds on nearly every other issue, and their joint endorsement will show a united Israeli position.”

“So both the Israelis and the Palestinians have agreed to this?” asked Trump.

“No,” I said. “We designed it as a ‘heads you win, tails they lose’ deal. If the Palestinians agree to it as a starting point for negotiation, that’s a huge win. I left enough meat on the bone in the plan for the Palestinians to leave a negotiation as winners. But if they don’t—which is the much more likely outcome—the Arab world will see that the Palestinians are unwilling to even come to the table to consider a plan with real compromises, including a path to a Palestinian state, and they will likely be more open to normalizing relations with Israel.”

I explained that this was the most detailed plan ever released, and the first time Israel had agreed to negotiate on the basis of a detailed map. It was also the first time Israel had made a meaningful commitment to ensuring that

Muslims would have permanent access to the al-Aqsa Mosque. If the Palestinians opposed this plan, it would bring Israel and other Muslim countries closer together, which would only increase pressure on future Palestinian leaders, and create the conditions for Arab countries to normalize with Israel.

“I have a lot of issues going on right now,” said Trump. “And this is not my top priority. I don’t want to do anything if Abbas says no. Set up a call with him. I’ll be able to tell by his tone if there’s a chance. Otherwise, let’s wait to release the plan at a later date and not waste our time.”

This was a surprise. Trump’s desire to solicit Palestinian president Mahmoud Abbas’s approval before we released the plan slammed the brakes on our strategy and flipped it in reverse. Back in my office, Avi collapsed into a chair, exasperated. Friedman called me in alarm.

“It’s over now,” the ambassador said. “Our plan is never going to see the light of day, and our whole effort was for nothing.”

“Let’s keep going and see what happens,” I said.

Avi looked at me like I was crazy.

Even if the president’s call to Abbas somehow failed to derail the plan, we still had many steps to complete before its release. I put together a matrix of every prominent foreign leader I thought might support our proposal, or at a minimum take a neutral posture. Pompeo, Haspel, O’Brien, Avi, and I met at the State Department to divide up the countries according to who had the best relationships, and we started making calls. At the top of my list was British prime minister Boris Johnson. We had discussed the Israel Palestinian conflict many times, dating back to the transition in 2016. He had even sent me a letter expressing confidence in my efforts and encouraging me to strike a deal that required courageous compromises from both the Israelis and Palestinians.

Johnson asked if his team could review the text of the plan. As our new special envoy for international negotiations, Avi traveled to London to meet with UK foreign secretary Dominic Raab and Richard Moore, a devoted civil servant who had risen through the ranks and would soon become the chief of the Secret Intelligence Service, known as MI6. Raab and Moore had proven to be trustworthy allies throughout my time in government, and they were glad that our plan included a path to an independent Palestinian state.

Meanwhile, I traveled with Trump to Davos, Switzerland, for his second address to the World Economic Forum. As we flew over the powder-

white Alps, the president reviewed a draft of his much-anticipated keynote address.

“What is this trillion trees bullshit?” he asked.

He had come across a line in the speech that pledged America’s support for an initiative to plant one trillion trees globally by 2050. I had been working on this initiative privately for several months with Salesforce CEO Marc Benioff, and thought it was a science-based approach to improving the environment without increasing burdensome regulations.

“Are you trying to push more liberal shit on me?” he asked.

“No, it’s a smart idea,” I responded. “It costs zero dollars right now and conservatives like Kevin McCarthy love it. You always say you agree with the environmentalists in wanting clean air and clean water. The quality of both has actually improved under your presidency, but you never take or get any credit for it.”

“Fine. I’ll leave it in,” the president huffed.

That evening, Trump attended a dinner Ivanka and Larry Kudlow had organized with top international CEOs. Trump clearly felt at ease among his former colleagues. He was a business guy first, politician second, and he would always be one of them. He also never missed an opportunity to recruit jobs and manufacturing to the United States, and he made a strong pitch to these leaders, touting America’s improved business climate and the unparalleled talent of America’s workers.

“Can we take a group picture?” one of them asked before the event concluded.

As the executives crowded around him, the president spoke up.

“I just want to say: all my life, I have followed you guys. You are the biggest, and I have respected all of you. I’ve seen you on the covers of magazines. I’ve read about you. I’ve done business with some of you. When I built a great building, someone else would build a bigger building. When I made a lot of money, one of you would make more money. I thought to myself, ‘I can’t compete with these guys. What can I do that these guys can’t do?’ So, I decided I should become president.”

The group erupted in laughter, and Trump grinned from ear to ear. The president didn’t take himself too seriously, and I always admired that about him. It made him far more relatable than he often appeared when he was sparring with pundits on television.

From Davos, I had originally planned to make stops in Saudi Arabia and Israel. I was hoping to work with the Saudis to finalize a statement urging the Israelis and the Palestinians to negotiate on the basis of our peace plan, and I needed to resolve a few outstanding issues with Bibi and Gantz. Just before we boarded Marine One for the thirty-minute flight from Davos to the Zurich airport, where Air Force One was holding, the president's military aide announced a bad weather call. We were going to have to drive for three hours to the airport. As we wove through the Alps on icy, narrow roads, I began to reconsider my trip to the Middle East. There had been an unexpected but fortunate development: when a

U.S. government official reached out to the Palestinian Security Forces to request a call between Abbas and Trump, amazingly, Abbas declined the call and conveyed that he would only speak to Trump after we released the peace plan. If Abbas had simply agreed to the call, he likely would have derailed our proposal.

We were now just six days out from the date we'd targeted for releasing the plan: Tuesday, January 28. Friedman assured me that there was no need to travel to Israel. The two Israeli leaders were still on board. During a trip that week to Jerusalem, Vice President Pence had met with both Bibi and Gantz and delivered invitations for a White House ceremony. After speaking to Friedman, I called Avi and Brian Hook. They both thought that the Saudi statement was in good shape and that a phone call could bring it the rest of the way. My biggest unknown variable was the president, so I decided to scratch my trip and fly back with him. If he agreed to release the plan, I wanted to be near the Oval Office in the days that followed in case someone tried to change his mind and disrupt the launch.

As Air Force One climbed to cruising altitude en route to Joint Base Andrews, I went up to the president's cabin. He was reading documents and watching the coverage of the opening arguments from his impeachment trial in the Senate. The screen flashed between scenes of Pat Cipollone and Jay Sekulow presenting their case on the Senate floor.

"We did as you asked, and Abbas said he would potentially agree to a call after the plan is released," I said, placing a glossy printout of the proposal on his desk. "Both Bibi and Gantz are ready to come to Washington to support this plan, and many countries have agreed to put out positive statements. I think the time is now."



After an extended discussion, the president finally looked at me and consented.

“I trust you,” he said. “I’m not going to nitpick you on the details. Israel can be a combustible file. You’ve taken responsibility and haven’t gotten me in any trouble. At least not yet. If you think this is the right thing to do, let’s do it.”

Trump was giving me latitude, but was also making clear that he would hold me accountable if anything went poorly. This was all I needed to hear.

Empowered by his approval, I jumped into action. With the assistance of the Air Force One switchboard operator, I called the vice president, the secretary of state, the secretary of defense, and the CIA director to let them know that the president was ready to move forward. We would need to choreograph the plan’s rollout. We had to finalize the peace plan document, coordinate dozens of statements of support by foreign leaders, orchestrate the visits of Bibi and Gantz, and alert the appropriate US officials to make security preparations at embassies in the Middle East in case of violence.

I still hadn’t decided on how we were going to let the press know that we were releasing our long-anticipated peace plan, but the president was one step ahead. The next day, as he flew to Florida, Trump walked to the back of the plane and spoke to the traveling press pool, as he often did. Unbeknownst to me, he announced that he intended to release the plan within a week. He had taken care of the media strategy himself. I sensed that Trump was floating a trial balloon to gauge people’s reactions. When the news broke that both Bibi and Gantz were coming to Washington for the announcement, the press recognized the significance of getting Israel’s political rivals to support our plan. Just as we had hoped, the coverage was more positive than usual.

Friedman called a few hours later with a problem: Gantz was apparently saying that he was no longer coming. He had heard that Bibi would speak, and he didn’t want to sit in the audience while his political opponent took the podium at the White House. After multiple phone calls, Gantz agreed to come to Washington to announce his support of our plan, as long as he could have a full meeting with the president prior to the rollout.

Gantz would not agree to attend the event, however. This wasn’t ideal, but it was better than him not showing up at all—or rejecting the plan altogether. I respected that every time Gantz had to make a decision between what was better for the State of Israel or for himself politically, he always

chose his country. When Bibi heard about Gantz's meeting, he insisted on having one as well. Fortunately, Trump agreed to meet with both leaders. As we edged closer and closer to the announcement, we had averted yet another crisis.

## Chaos and Peace

Two days before the release of the peace plan, while I was on my way to the White House to prepare for a meeting with Israeli prime minister Bibi Netanyahu, Brad Parscale called.

“What do you make of the latest *New York Times* story?” asked Trump’s campaign manager. It was late Sunday afternoon. The article was slated for the next day’s newspaper, but it was already online.

Political correspondent Maggie Haberman had obtained several excerpts from John Bolton’s forthcoming book, in which Bolton claimed that Trump had directly tied Ukraine’s foreign aid to the investigation of Hunter Biden. The man whom the president had fired just a few months earlier was contradicting Trump’s defense that he had never linked the two. It bolstered the Democrats’ accusation of a quid pro quo. To further complicate matters, Bolton had made it clear that he was willing to testify before Congress if subpoenaed.

It was clear to me that Bolton was trying to whip up media speculation to promote his book. Based on this report, the Democrats were already requesting a new round of hearings to investigate the matter. But when it came down to the legal case for impeachment, there was nothing new. Once again, this was not a legal issue but a messaging battle.

When I arrived at the White House, I headed straight to the residence. I entered the Yellow Oval Room to find Trump sitting with his impeachment lawyers, Pat Cipollone and Jay Sekulow. Halfway through the twenty-day Senate impeachment trial, both had dark circles under their eyes and were looking uncharacteristically beaten down. They had withstood round after round of questions from Democrats who were determined to destroy their case and remove the president from office. Their performance had been stellar, reflecting countless hours of careful preparation and the inherent strength of their legal case. Defending a president in an impeachment is a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity for a lawyer—one that defines their career. But the stakes were even higher for the president, and Cipollone and Sekulow both knew it. When I walked into the room, they were in a heated debate with the president about how to respond to Bolton’s claim.

“We have a big problem,” Sekulow said. “We had the Senate in a perfect place. They were not going to call witnesses. They were going to vote this week. The trial was about to end. This is going to change everything.”

“Why is that?” I asked.

“I spoke to Senator Lindsey Graham,” Sekulow responded, “and his sense from speaking to others is that they will want to hear what Bolton has to say. Graham knows that Bolton has an ax to grind, but if Bolton is willing to say something under oath, enough senators will feel like it’s their duty to hear him out.”

“I don’t agree,” I said. “Unless there is a bombshell that we don’t know about, I don’t think his testimony changes anything. This is an easy one. There is literally nothing new here, and that has to be our position. If we act panicked, this will be a big deal. If we stand firm and confident, we can make it through this one. We need to get out a statement that pushes back on the Bolton narrative and makes clear that the facts haven’t changed.”

Trump either liked the fact that I was presenting with confidence, or he understood my strategy. “Jared’s right,” he said. “Pat and Jay, go work with Jared on a statement and bring it up to me. I want to get it out fast.”

As we walked back to the West Wing, I got an earful from Sekulow on how dangerous it was for me to give legal advice on such a sensitive matter. “You don’t know what Bolton has written in the book,” he warned. “If the president puts out a statement that is incorrect, we are dead.”

Sekulow wasn’t wrong, but I sensed that he was wound up pretty tight and that we weren’t going to reach a consensus. I suggested that he and Cipollone draft a statement, while I worked on a separate draft. They agreed and disappeared into their office. I walked down the hall past the offices of the chief of staff and the vice president to the office of the national security adviser in the far corner of the West Wing.

I found O’Brien at his desk, waiting for me so we could walk across the street to the Blair House, where we were scheduled to meet with Bibi that evening. “I have a small problem to deal with first,” I said. “Do you have that Bolton manuscript?” Bolton had been required to submit an initial manuscript to the National Security Council for review to ensure that it did not disclose any classified material.

“I have it locked in our safe,” he said. “No one has seen it other than me and the career official reviewing it for classified information.”

I passed him a printed copy of the *New York Times* story. “I need to know what Bolton says in his manuscript about the Ukraine aid and whether there is anything explosive or new.”

“I’m not going to show you the manuscript,” O’Brien said as he reviewed the draft, “but in this section, he does something really interesting. Throughout the book, Bolton constantly quotes the president verbatim, but in this instance, he doesn’t. Instead, he implies that it was *his understanding* that the president wanted him to withhold the aid until Ukraine opened an investigation.”

“So is it safe for me to operate under the assumption that he does not directly quote the president in a way that contradicts our defense thus far?” I asked.

“Correct,” O’Brien replied.

I rushed back to my desk and drafted a statement, then called the White House operator and asked him to connect me to the president. I read the draft statement to Trump, and after he dictated some edits, I printed an updated version and walked back into O’Brien’s office.

“If I said something like the following—’I never told John Bolton that the aid to Ukraine was tied to investigations into Democrats’—would that be contradicted?”

“You’re on safe ground there,” said O’Brien. “Nothing in the book contradicts that.”

I took the statement to the residence. Trump carefully edited it. I ran back to my office and printed a revised version. As the president continued to refine the statement, I made several more trips back and forth from the residence to the West Wing. I eventually looked down at my watch: it was past 10:00 p.m.

“I really need to go,” I told the president. “Bibi has been waiting for over an hour.”

“Bibi can wait,” said Trump. “This comes first.”

I told my team to let the Israeli prime minister know that I would be delayed further, and I took the statement to Cipollone and Sekulow for their review.

“POTUS has signed off on this statement, and I think this will get us to where we need to be,” I told the lawyers as I handed them the draft.

“Don’t talk to my client!” shouted Sekulow. “You’re going to mess up our attorney-client privilege!”

“Jay, calm down,” I said. “This is not a big deal. Everything’s going to be fine . . .”

“I AM CALM!” Sekulow yelled.

Cipollone and I burst into laughter, and Sekulow cracked a smile too. I walked over and gave Sekulow a big hug. He was clearly feeling the pressure of a tremendous burden. We agreed on a compromise shortly thereafter.

At 12:18 a.m., Trump released his statement in a series of three tweets: “I NEVER told John Bolton that the aid to Ukraine was tied to investigations into Democrats, including the Bidens. In fact, he never complained about this at the time of his very public termination. If John Bolton said this, it was only to sell a book. With that being said, the . . .” “transcripts of my calls with President Zelensky are all the proof that is needed, in addition to the fact that President Zelensky & the Foreign Minister of Ukraine said there was no pressure and no problems. Additionally, I met with President Zelensky at the United Nations . . .” “(Democrats said I never met) and released the military aid to Ukraine without any conditions or investigations—and far ahead of schedule. I also allowed Ukraine to purchase Javelin anti-tank missiles. My Administration has done far more than the previous Administration.”

Meanwhile, I raced back to the Roosevelt Room, where Avi, O’Brien, Friedman, and Brian Hook had been waiting since 8:00 p.m. Just after midnight, we walked over to the Blair House. Bibi was gracious and didn’t complain about my delay. He understood firsthand the pressure of investigations. He did, however, make another big request: he wanted the media to be present for his bilateral meeting with Trump. This was not part of the agenda we had already negotiated. With the Israeli elections just a month away, we had orchestrated the visit to avoid showing partiality to either Bibi or Gantz. Both leaders would get a photo with the president—no media, no remarks, no major production. It was to be a simple meeting. But nothing was ever simple with Israel. My team called Gantz, who conceded to Bibi’s request and expressed that he just wanted what was best for Israel.

Bibi and I ran through the final version of the peace plan. As we finished, Bibi remarked that he could live with it.

“You won’t live with it. You’ll thrive with it,” I shot back with a smile.

This was typical of the veteran prime minister. We had spent two years haggling over every line, and we had created a thoughtful plan that Bibi

believed could actually work. In twelve hours, the right-wing prime minister, who had campaigned for decades against giving the Palestinians a state, was going to endorse a plan calling for a two-state solution. Bibi was careful to make sure that not a single word of the plan would put any Israeli at risk and was understandably nervous about how it could affect the upcoming election. To his credit, he recognized that the plan was reasonable, and the best compromise to solve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

We worked until nearly 2:00 a.m. When I checked my phone, I had several missed calls from Senator Graham. We had spoken earlier, and he had warned that the Bolton news could spell disaster for the president's impeachment defense. When I called Graham back, he said that the reaction to the president's statement had been surprisingly positive, and that he thought we had a chance at keeping the Senate Republicans united against calling witnesses.

On Monday, Bibi and Gantz had their separate meetings with the president. Trump was impressed with Gantz, who expressed a desire to try and reach a deal with the Palestinians.

Later on, Trump told me what he thought of Gantz: "I like this guy."

## A Vision for Peace

At noon on Tuesday, January 28, 2020, we prepared to reveal to the world our proposal for peace between Israel and the Palestinian people.

The morning was a blur of briefings, calls, and last-minute tasks before the rollout event. By 8:00 a.m., the White House had given a handful of reporters a background briefing on the plan, hoping that the added context would result in fair and accurate coverage. I spoke with members of Congress. I wanted them to see that we were proposing a balanced two-state solution. Even though Trump's usual sparring partners were likely to politicize our effort, I hoped the Democrats would consider its merits before issuing their denunciations.

It seemed like each time I checked my phone, I received another positive update. British foreign secretary Dominic Raab said that his government was preparing a supportive statement. Kirill Dmitriev touched base to say that Russia was in a good place on the announcement.

Then Avi called with unbelievable news. That morning, UAE ambassador Yousef Al Otaiba had asked if it was too late to RSVP for the ceremony. This was a major development. Emirati and Israeli officials virtually never appeared together in public. We had invited a wide swath of Arab dignitaries, but we didn't expect them to attend an event with Israel's prime minister. After Yousef confirmed that he would come, Avi immediately called our closest allies within the Arab diplomatic corps, urging them to join Yousef. We didn't know it at the time, but Yousef was also calling his fellow ambassadors with a similar encouragement. To our surprise, the ambassadors from Bahrain and Oman agreed to appear. This meant that three Arab countries with no current diplomatic ties to Israel were prepared to show public support for our plan as the new framework for peace negotiations. This would send a strong signal that the Middle East was ripe for normalization.

As good as it was, it could have been even better. After the event, Egypt's ambassador called me and asked why he had not been invited to the ceremony. He said he gladly would have joined. I was mortified by the thought that we had overlooked him by mistake. When I checked with my team, however, I learned that we indeed had invited the Egyptian



ambassador. It turned out that his staff had assumed that he would not want to attend. Despite the snafu, the rollout event was shaping up to be better than we had dared to hope.

Around 11:00 a.m., I went up to Trump's quarters in the residence with the draft speech. Trump was reviewing documents, looking sharp and ready to go.

"Good job last night on the Bolton statement," he said. "This morning, we will completely focus on Israel. Is this going to lead to peace?"

"This is a critical step," I said. "You are going to enjoy it. We've prepared a very special speech."

Just outside his bedroom, we sat down across from Claude Monet's *Morning on the Seine, Good Weather*, the painting former First Lady Jackie Kennedy had donated to the White House in memory of her husband. I handed Trump a manila folder, with the speech inside just the way he liked it: sixteen-point font and unstapled. He took it out and held it up high.

"Five pages? Why is this so long? I told the speechwriters never more than two pages for East Room events."

Except for major events such as the State of the Union address, Trump thought that short and punchy speeches were more effective than longer ones, which were often too wonky and less interesting for listeners. His insistence on brevity forced the writers to refine ideas down to their essence, and his speeches were clear and direct as a result.

"You can't do Middle East peace in two pages," I replied.

He reviewed the draft, making fewer changes than normal. After finishing each page, he handed it to me with his edits, and I coordinated with White House staff secretary Derek Lyons to make sure the changes were loaded into the teleprompter.

"This really is a good speech," he said. "You are right. We have done a lot. I don't even know how we have done so much, since we have had to spend most of our time fighting off phony witch hunt investigations and impeachments."

He paused, looked up from the draft, and quipped: "The being president part of the job is easy; fighting off the crazies is the hard part. Just imagine what we could get done if I could spend all of my energy on issues like this."

At noon in the East Room, as three hundred guests stood up from their chairs and the press hovered in the back, the military aide announced:

“Ladies and gentlemen, the president of the United States and the prime minister of the State of Israel.”

I took my seat next to Ivanka, and the president began his remarks.

“Today Israel takes a big step towards peace,” said Trump.

The room erupted in applause. I exhaled. It was finally happening, and it was off to a good start. I couldn’t have been prouder watching the culmination of three years of dedicated effort and careful planning.

As I watched history unfold just a few feet away from me—televised for the world to see—Bibi made a surprising statement. “Mr. President,” he said, “I believe that down the decades, and perhaps down the centuries, we will also remember January twenty-eighth, 2020, because on this day, you became the first world leader to recognize Israel’s sovereignty over areas in Judea and Samaria that are vital to our security and central to our heritage.”

This was not what we had negotiated. Under our plan, we would eventually recognize Israel’s sovereignty over agreed-upon areas if Israel took steps to advance Palestinian statehood within the territory we outlined. The two hinged on each other, and it would take time to flesh out the details. The prime minister then repeated the point, going one step further.

“Israel will apply its laws to the Jordan Valley, to all the Jewish communities in Judea and Samaria, and to other areas that your plan designates as part of Israel and which the United States has agreed to recognize as part of Israel.”

He had implied that our plan would allow Israel to immediately annex the Jordan Valley and portions of the West Bank. While Bibi had to navigate a difficult political environment at home, this was a step too far.

I grabbed my chair so intensely that my knuckles turned white, as if my grip could make Bibi stop. I had explicitly asked Israeli ambassador Ron Dermer to make sure Bibi kept his remarks brief and above the politics of the day. In both tone and substance, the speech was way off the mark. It contained nothing magnanimous or conciliatory toward the Palestinians. It was essentially a campaign speech for his domestic political audience, and it misrepresented our plan.

As the prime minister approached the twenty-minute mark, I could tell that Trump was becoming uncomfortable. He was pursing his lips, swaying side to side, and periodically glancing down at Bibi’s prepared speech to see how many pages were left.

I looked over at the three Arab ambassadors, and thought about our friends and partners in the region, whose trust I'd spent three years building. I had walked them through the peace proposal and given them my word that Trump would present a dignified and balanced proposal—one that required compromises on both sides. But that certainly wasn't the deal Bibi was describing.

Had the rollout gone according to plan, it would have put Abbas in an impossible position. Reacting harshly against a credible proposal would further alienate him while exposing the hollowness of his position. But the Israeli prime minister had given Abbas exactly the kind of opening he needed to reject our plan and potentially to persuade the rest of the major players in the region to side with him. I had expected to spend the afternoon on offense, selling the plan through the media. Now I was worried about damage control.

## The “Misunderstanding”

As I walked with the president along the colonnade back to the Oval Office right after the announcement concluded, Trump turned to me with noticeable disappointment on his face and said, “Bibi gave a campaign speech. I feel dirty.” Neither of us wanted the plan to become political, which was why we had waited more than a year to release it and had invited Bibi’s political rival to the rollout. This transcended politics. This was about making peace.

As it turned out, Ambassador David Friedman had assured Bibi that he would get the White House to support annexation more immediately. He had not conveyed this to me or anyone on my team. Shortly after the president’s announcement, he told reporters that Israel “does not have to wait at all” on the annexations and that the only limiting factor was “the time it takes for them to obtain internal approvals.”

When I confronted Friedman, he told me that he had accurately represented the plan. Our conversation got heated, and I pulled out the plan from the folder on my desk.

“Where does it say that in here?” I asked. “It doesn’t say that in here. You’re one of the best lawyers in the world. You know that’s not what we agreed to.”

Realizing he was losing the argument, Friedman tried to turn on the charm. “What’s the big deal?” he said. “Why don’t we just stay ambiguous and let Bibi say what he wants and let it play out?”

“You haven’t spoken to a single person from a country outside of Israel,” I shot back. “You don’t have to deal with the Brits, you don’t have to deal with the Moroccans, and you don’t have to deal with the Saudis or the Emiratis, who are all trusting my word and putting out statements. I have to deal with the fallout of this. You don’t.”

Friedman now saw that Bibi’s words posed a big problem and indicated that he was ready to back down. I asked him to speak with Bibi to clarify our position and to let the prime minister know that while I was going to try to minimize the glaring gap between our two positions, we weren’t going to back him on this one.

“Tell him,” I said, “that if we’re lucky, this hasn’t completely killed my credibility with other countries, and I will still be able to get the statements of support I have teed up.”

To his credit, Friedman cleaned up the misunderstanding with the Israelis and the media.

My own afternoon was filled with one television interview after the next. As I worked to shape the coverage and defend our plan, Avi was busy behind the scenes calling our closest partners and clarifying our position. He found that while some leaders were confused, they were still ready to move forward as long as we were not pushing immediate annexation. Avi assured them that we were not.

The trust we had built was holding up, and our partners were preparing to release their positive statements as originally planned. No one wanted to go first, however. I called Dominic Raab, who said that he had paused his statement until he was able to confirm that the United States was not going to support immediate annexation. I gave him my word, and the United Kingdom published the statement as planned: “This is clearly a serious proposal, reflecting extensive time and effort,” it said. The rest of our partners followed suit. Within twenty-four hours, over a dozen countries released statements of support. Saudi Arabia noted the king’s appreciation for our efforts and encouraged the “start of direct peace negotiations . . . under the auspices of the United States.” The United Arab Emirates called the plan “a serious initiative that addresses many issues raised over the years.” Bahrain commended the US for “its determined efforts to advance the peace process.” The Moroccans praised the plan and expressed their “wishes that a constructive peace process be launched.” Egypt thanked the United States for its persistent work to “achieve a comprehensive and just settlement of the Palestinian issue, thereby contributing to the stability and security of the Middle East.”

Diplomacy is commonly an exercise of words. People guard against new terms and sentiments. No one gets fired for sticking to the old talking points. This was why these statements of support were improbable and unprecedented. For nearly two decades, every Arab nation had held up the 2002 Arab Peace Initiative as the appropriate framework for negotiations. Now the most influential Arab nations were praising our plan as a starting point for the next round of talks. Importantly, the European Union and the United Nations refrained from denouncing our plan, and instead called for

both sides to begin negotiations. Given how negative both bodies had been toward Israel in the past, we viewed their neutrality as a major step in the right direction.

In interviews, I made clear that the Trump administration did not support immediate annexation, and I tried to minimize the gap between our position and Bibi's pledge. Behind the scenes, our relationship with the Israeli government had reached its lowest point to date. I felt like I was trying to move the Israelis forward and build partnerships with the broader world while they were stuck on internal politics.

Israeli ambassador Ron Dermer, who was usually a constructive force, came to see me several days after the rollout. I was expecting him to apologize on behalf of Bibi or to propose some kind of compromise. Instead, he said that Bibi needed to move forward with annexation immediately.

I couldn't believe it. Trump was still fuming over Bibi's speech. In fact, he had asked me whether he should take the unusual step of endorsing the prime minister's political rival, Benny Gantz. Had I walked twenty feet down the hall to the Oval and asked Trump to go forward with annexation, the president would have thrown me out.

Although the immediate response to our announcement had been positive, the African Union and the Arab League used Bibi's statements as grounds to condemn our plan. We had enough allies in the European Union to block the EU's top foreign policy official, Josep Borrell, from making an official statement, but he was so upset that he broke from protocol and issued a scathing personal statement rejecting our plan and condemning annexation. Russia also began walking back its initial support.

We had done so much to strengthen America's alliance with Israel—moving our embassy to Jerusalem and recognizing Israel's sovereignty over the Golan Heights, withdrawing from the Iran deal, and waiting a year to put out the peace plan to accommodate the turbulent Israeli elections. Now they wanted even more. Dermer said that if we didn't support the immediate annexation, Israel would no longer be able to trust the administration.

"Don't take us for granted," I warned. "We worked our asses off for three years to get to this point. For the first time, Israel has the moral high ground. You're offering the Palestinians a state and a map that Arab countries actually support as a starting point for negotiations. But now it's all screwed up. You guys think you have been so effective with this administration. I hate to break the reality to you, but we didn't do any of

these things because you convinced us to. We did them because we believe they were the right things to do.”

Dermer saw that he had gone too far. He apologized and left soon after, knowing that it was up to them to clean up the political mess that Bibi had created.

Between Friedman’s conversation with Bibi and my altercation with Dermer, the Israelis got the message. After three years of policies that had strengthened the US-Israel relationship, Trump’s popularity was so high in Israel that Bibi couldn’t afford to go against him. The prime minister walked back his statement about the Jordan Valley, and the Israelis canceled their plans to begin moving forward with immediate annexation. In private, Bibi continued talking tough with us, threatening to recognize the Jordan Valley within weeks, but I knew that he was bluffing. It would be political suicide to move forward without the backing of their closest ally and supporter.

As I tried to think about how to keep advancing our goal despite this setback, I took comfort in a lesson from Lawrence Wright’s account of the 1978 Camp David conference in *Thirteen Days in September*, one of my favorite books on Middle East peace.<sup>50</sup> It describes how a profound misunderstanding led to progress. Egyptian president Anwar Sadat’s closest adviser, Hassan el-Tohamy, an astrologer and Sufi mystic, told Sadat that he had learned through back channels that if Sadat traveled to Jerusalem and gave a speech before the Knesset, Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin would transfer control of the Sinai Peninsula back to Egypt. As the story goes, Sadat made the brave and historic journey to Jerusalem. After his speech, he met privately with Begin and asked how Israel wanted to proceed with the Sinai exchange. Begin said he had no idea what Sadat was talking about, and Sadat left Jerusalem empty-handed and disappointed.

Despite this misunderstanding, Sadat’s visit shattered a barrier and changed the world’s outlook on the Middle East conflict. It showed that peace with the Arabs did not have to run through the Palestinians, and that separate, bilateral peace deals were possible. This set off a chain of events that led directly to a breakthrough at Camp David: the first peace agreement between an Arab country and Israel in modern times.

Although it was hard to appreciate in the moment, something similar would happen with our efforts. This proved to be the greatest paradox of peace: Bibi’s annexation threat, and the tension and urgency it created, ultimately led to the breakthrough that became the Abraham Accords.

## Battle at the United Nations

Madam Speaker, Mr. Vice President, members of Congress, the First Lady of the United States, and my fellow citizens,” said the president as he rehearsed for his State of the Union address.

“Do I really have to say Madam Speaker?” Trump asked. “That crazy woman just impeached me over nothing. Maybe I can just leave her out and see if anyone notices.”

Trump’s sarcastic hypotheticals were famous among his friends and family, and we always got a kick out of how they landed with those who didn’t know him well enough to realize that he was joking. When he did it in public, his supporters appreciated his sense of humor. His critics, on the other hand, didn’t try to understand it. Writer Salena Zito best summed up the dynamic during the 2016 campaign: “The press takes him literally, but not seriously; his supporters take him seriously, but not literally.”

It was Tuesday, February 4, 2020, and Trump was standing in the corner of the Map Room, a small, wood-paneled parlor on the ground floor of the White House residence. Franklin D. Roosevelt had once used the room as a top-secret communications hub, a sort of precursor to the modern-day Situation Room, where he could track the latest military developments on large maps during World War II. Ceremonial versions of these maps still hang in frames around the room, giving it a sense of history. I faced Trump behind a table, along with Vice President Pence, Stephen Miller, Dan Scavino, Derek Lyons, and speechwriters Vince Haley and Ross Worthington. As he went through the draft, Trump stopped every few lines to insert an idea, tweak a phrase, or add his signature flair.

Some of my favorite moments in government came during the State of the Union address. There was always a temptation to load the speech with wonky policy proposals geared toward Washington special interests and political allies. But Trump’s speechwriters labored to keep the speech focused on a few core policy goals, while also using the world’s biggest stage to demonstrate how Trump’s pro-American policies were changing lives and restoring hope in our nation. Speechwriter Brittany Baldwin, who kept a running list of ideas generated throughout the year, drafted the stories of the “gallery guests”—the cast of heroes whose lives of courage, grace,



and patriotism created some of the most unforgettable moments. Ivanka and I sat with these remarkable individuals in the gallery of the House of Representatives each year, and it moved us to see their faces light up with pride as the president honored them. I will never forget standing next to former inmates Alice Johnson and Matthew Charles in 2019 as America celebrated their redemption stories, or joining with the entire chamber to sing “Happy Birthday” to Holocaust survivor and Tree of Life congregant Judah Samet, or watching D-Day hero Herman Zeitchik share an embrace with Joshua Kaufman, a Holocaust survivor whom he had liberated from Dachau, a Nazi prison camp.

These speeches had personal significance to Trump, who would make changes down to the minute he departed for the Capitol. I typically blocked off the entire day on my schedule so I could help him prepare—and 2020 was no exception. As we entered the final hours before the address, I received a note that Avi needed to speak to me. He knew I was in speech prep, so I had a feeling it was urgent.

“I just got off the phone with Dermer,” Avi said when I called him. “The Tunisians are circulating a UN Security Council resolution condemning our peace plan as a violation of international law.”

This was indeed urgent. That year, Tunisia was the Arab League’s rotating representative on the UN Security Council. In the week since we’d released the plan, the Palestinians had waged an all-out public-relations assault against it—and they were gaining momentum at the United Nations.

“Call the Tunisian ambassador to the White House immediately and ask him why, after all America does for Tunisia, they are prioritizing their relationship with the Palestinians over America,” I said to Avi. I had learned from our previous experience that the delegations at the UN complex in New York weren’t always in sync with their leaders at home.

Twice before I’d fought and lost battles at the UN. As we geared up for our third test, I knew the survival of our plan was at stake. If the UN denounced our effort, it would validate the Palestinian intransigence and effectively preclude our plan from being a credible basis for peace talks. I decided to make an emergency trip to New York to address the Security Council directly.

Avi reached out to the Tunisian ambassador at the embassy in Washington, DC. When they met at the White House, Avi expressed our consternation about the resolution. The ambassador turned pale and

apologized profusely. There had been a miscommunication, he claimed. Avi requested a call between me and the prime minister of Tunisia, and the ambassador quickly agreed.

When the prime minister called on February 6, I had just arrived in New York and was en route to a UN Security Council meeting. I expected the standard diplomatic runaround about his difficult political situation or international position. But to my great surprise, the prime minister explained that his UN representative had gone rogue. Tunisia was scrapping the resolution, and the prime minister had relieved the diplomat.

When the news broke that Tunisia had recalled its representative, it sent shock waves through the sleepy corridors of the UN. This development caught everyone off guard and showcased the progress we had made over the past three years.

At noon that day, I stepped off an elevator onto the penthouse floor of the US Mission to the UN, a recently renovated event space with thirteen-foot ceilings and an imposing panoramic view overlooking the East River and the United Nations complex.

As the fifteen Security Council representatives took their seats around an oversize square table, they were greeted by two large documents that I had placed at each setting: a copy of the peace plan and a PowerPoint presentation. I projected the presentation on several large screens and launched into the merits of our plan as if I were talking to a corporate board of directors. My first chart illustrated the irrationality of sticking to the failed approaches of the past. Since 1993, there have been nine rounds of peace talks between Israel and the Palestinians. Each time the negotiations broke down, Israel's settlement activity increased, and the Palestinian Authority received more money from the international community.

“For twenty years, much of the peace process has been a charade,” I said. The UN had adopted nearly seven hundred resolutions with regard to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Yet nothing had changed. Why would either side ever have reason to compromise so long as we continued along this path? Meanwhile, the quality of life for those in the West Bank and Gaza had deteriorated. The jihadists were manipulating the conflict to radicalize young Muslim boys and promulgate a false narrative that they needed to take violent measures to reclaim the al-Aqsa Mosque.

“I keep getting urged to play by the old rules, but the old rules don't work,” I argued.

Next, I walked them through the practical elements of the new offer on the table: a realistic two-state solution that maintained Israeli security and improved the lives of the Palestinian people. I reminded them that this plan was the first time that Israel had conceded a path to Palestinian statehood. Following my presentation, the representatives asked me questions for more than an hour. The tenor of our discussion was collegial and productive, and I departed the meeting hopeful that I had broken through.

For decades, Abbas had dominated at the UN. He was accustomed to winning every fight he started. But now it was unclear whether his Security Council resolution would get the unanimous support it needed to isolate the United States, and anything less would signify that his previously impregnable position at the UN was beginning to crumble.

After a brief period of uncertainty, the Palestinians recruited Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim-majority nation, to carry the resolution. A draft was circulated on Saturday, February 8, giving Security Council representatives twenty-four hours to provide edits—a step known in UN parlance as “breaking the silence.” Everyone assumed that we were simply going to veto the resolution. When Avi and I read the draft, however, we had another idea. Rather than vetoing it, what if we “broke the silence” and offered constructive edits? We could turn the resolution into a positive statement about the importance of pursuing new ideas and improving the lives of the Palestinian people. This sleight of hand would transform the resolution from a condemnation of our plan into an endorsement of our general approach. It would force Security Council representatives to decide whether they were really against the constructive path forward we were proposing. With the help of our new UN ambassador, Kelly Craft, who had succeeded Nikki Haley, we refined the new proposal over the weekend and called our contacts at each of the UN Security Council member countries. By Monday, Germany, France, the United Kingdom, and the Dominican Republic voiced support for our language. China, Vietnam, and Niger indicated that they would abstain. Left to choose between failure and retreat, the Palestinians chose retreat. Indonesia announced that it was delaying the resolution indefinitely.

We had won. We beat the Palestinians at their own game. Abbas arrived in New York on Tuesday, February 11, planning to formally address the Security Council after what he assumed would be another loss for the United States. Instead of taking a victory lap, he delivered a meandering speech

before the Security Council, where he vehemently rejected our proposed state as “Swiss cheese.” He browbeat the representatives with familiar and hollow words, threatening that if they didn’t act quickly, “the situation could implode at any moment.”

Everyone who tried to talk to the Palestinian leader on our behalf came away frustrated and hopeless. Even the Arab leaders were losing faith in Abbas. Their own people were growing tired of a Palestinian cause that was tethered to the past. One leader privately shared a common Arabic saying to sum up his feelings toward the Palestinian president: “It’s better to have a smart enemy than a dumb ally.”

\* \* \*

The same day that I had made my presentation before the Security Council, the president was in the East Room of the White House, celebrating his acquittal in the Senate. I was sad to miss the special moment. Trump had weathered an historic onslaught of attacks and come out stronger than before. His approval rating jumped ten points. Heading into an election year, the Republican party was united and brimming with energy.

Soon after Trump returned from his February trip to India, the president asked for his acting chief of staff. He wanted Mulvaney’s opinion on a pressing policy question, but Mulvaney was nowhere to be found. Trump soon learned that he had left on a personal trip. This was not the first issue that had arisen with Mulvaney. Deeply displeased, Trump called me down to the Oval Office, where he was sitting with Dan Scavino.

“It’s time to make a change,” he said.

“Mick’s actually had a discussion with me about this,” I said. “He told me that if you ever wanted him to resign, he’d be willing to do so on good terms. He’s not going to be a problem, and he’s already identified a job that he wants.”

Surprised but also relieved, Trump said, “Okay, well, it’s time to call him. Tell him that I want to be on good terms.”

Then he asked us who we thought would be the right replacement. Without hesitation, both Scavino and I said, “Meadows.”

Trump nodded in agreement and asked me to find out whether Mark Meadows, the North Carolina congressman and Freedom Caucus chairman, would accept an offer.

Trump had previously considered Meadows for the job. The two men had forged a strong mutual respect through the fire of the Russia

investigation and impeachment. Yet the congressman was worried about the legal fees and controversy that seemed to follow everyone who had served in Trump's orbit.

When I called Meadows to discuss the role, he was reluctant. "Mick's my friend," he said.

I filled him in on where the president was headed: a change was inevitable.

"This year is high stakes," said Meadows. "You know I love the president. If he's going to make a change anyway, I'd be honored to serve."

My next call was to Mulvaney, who accepted Trump's decision. That evening, Friday, March 6, Trump tweeted: "I am pleased to announce that Congressman Mark Meadows will become White House Chief of Staff. I have long known and worked with Mark, and the relationship is a very good one. . . . I want to thank Acting Chief Mick Mulvaney for having served the Administration so well. He will become the United States Special Envoy for Northern Ireland. Thank you!"

As Meadows prepared to enter the West Wing, I decided not to hold back on offering advice. Having so strongly supported his hiring, I felt like I had a responsibility.

"I've now worked with three chiefs of staff, four national security advisers, and more than thirty cabinet members," I said. "I have seen people take over government organizations. Some do it well, and others fail miserably. My advice to you is to come in and empower many of the great staffers we already have. Each chief of staff before you brought in their own people from their previous job, and this inevitably led to a culture clash. Reince brought in the RNC, Kelly brought in his DHS team, and Mick brought in his OMB staff. Each time it frustrated the existing team members, who'd been working hard for Trump and were uncomfortable reporting to a new cast of characters who didn't understand the president and hadn't paid their dues.

"The chief of staff has an impossible job—you need to manage the staff in the building while also being fully available and attentive to the president. You'll only be able to do this job well if you have a strong team around you."

I advocated for Chris Liddell as deputy chief of staff for policy to keep the trains running on time, Derek Lyons as a problem-preventing super lawyer, and Hope Hicks as a strategic communicator. I also made the case

for Dan Scavino as another deputy chief of staff. “Dan is the most important staffer in the White House,” I told Meadows. “He’s often with the president ten hours a day. When you go home, and the president is in his office working late into the night, Scavino will be sitting right next to him as he reads his materials, expresses his private opinions, and talks about all kinds of things. If something is going wrong, you want Dan to feel ownership over it and then work with you to correct it.”

Meadows thanked me for the advice, and for the most part, he took it.

As spring approached, the president’s prospects for the 2020 election had never looked more promising. Impeachment had finally come to an end. The American economy was humming. Since the 2016 election, the Trump economy had created 7 million new jobs, lifted 10 million people off welfare, brought 3.5 million working-age people off the sidelines and into the labor force, and raised wages for low-income workers. The unemployment rates for Hispanic Americans, African Americans, and Asian Americans had reached their lowest levels in history. Congress had just passed legislation approving the new USMCA trade deal, the final step in making it permanent. We had a trade deal with China. The president’s approval rating had soared to a personal best of 49 percent, a number we always thought underrepresented Trump’s supporters. An astounding 94 percent of Republicans favored him.

In Meadows, we had a new chief of staff who had Trump’s confidence and felt like the right fit for the job. By nearly every indicator, Trump was positioned to sail toward reelection.

Then everything changed.

## 44 Code Red

You should come to this meeting in the Oval,” deputy chief of staff Chris Liddell whispered into my ear. It was Wednesday morning, March 11, 2020, and I was midway through a meeting in the Roosevelt Room with a bipartisan group of lawmakers and business executives to discuss accelerating the Trillion Trees initiative, which Trump had given me the green light to coordinate after his Davos endorsement.

“The president’s considering closing down travel from Europe,” Liddell said. “This is a pretty major decision, and you should be there.”

Up until that moment, I had not been involved in the White House response to COVID-19. Before Trump banned travel to and from China on January 31, Health and Human Services (HHS) secretary Alex Azar and deputy national security adviser Matt Pottinger had been running a coronavirus task force—a team of federal officials to monitor the spread of the virus and oversee the administration’s response. As the virus spread, the nation’s top doctors and health-care experts began visiting the White House on a daily basis, following a predictable flight pattern that started down in the Situation Room, before moving up to the chief of staff’s office, over to the Oval Office, and then back down to the Situation Room. It was impossible not to notice the buzz of activity—or the mounting worries that it represented. And it certainly caught my attention when Trump put the vice president in charge of the task force on February 26, in response to growing concerns about testing shortages nationwide. The *New York Times* later cited an unsubstantiated source to claim that I downplayed the virus internally. This was false. I was told that the virus was a serious threat and that the government’s medical and public health experts had the response to the public health emergency under control.

On Monday, March 9, two days before Liddell pulled me into the Oval Office, the Dow plummeted two thousand points, the largest ever drop during intraday trading. As the stock tickers descended deeper into red, the television screen carried real-time footage of the *Grand Princess* cruise ship docking in the San Francisco Bay and more than three thousand people entering quarantine. One elderly passenger had already died from the virus

while the ship was at sea. At 1:45 p.m., the vice president's chief of staff, Marc Short, came to my office and beseeched me to help them.

"We're having a big problem with the task force," he said. "We're not getting support from White House comms or the Domestic Policy Council. The vice president's office is a pretty slim operation, and for this to work, we need more support from the rest of the White House. But they're refusing to work with us. Could you help bridge the gap?" I told Short that I'd try to resolve the issue.

Now, as I dismissed myself from the Roosevelt Room, I sensed that COVID-19 was about to become a crisis far beyond the scope of a typical public health emergency. The meeting in the Oval Office was already in motion, so I snuck in, slipped into one of the yellow chairs at the back of the room, and listened as the discussion unfolded. It was a large group: Vice President Pence, Steven Mnuchin, Alex Azar, Dr. Anthony Fauci, Dr. Robert Redfield, Dr. Deborah Birx, Robert O'Brien, Matt Pottinger, Larry Kudlow, Ivanka, Hope Hicks, and Stephanie Grisham. They were debating whether to block travel from Europe, and Mnuchin and Kudlow were explaining the devastating impact that the decision could have on the economy and global markets.

The president listened intently, weighing the magnitude of the decision and considering all the variables. He seemed to be siding with his national security and public health teams, who wanted to impose a ban immediately.

"We don't know what we don't know," Fauci argued. "Taking this step could end up being a really big deal."

The situation in Italy, as portrayed on television, appeared borderline apocalyptic. Hospitals were running out of ICU beds. Patients lined hallways and field hospitals as overwhelmed doctors triaged the sick and were forced to make life-or-death decisions about who would receive care. A travel ban could help prevent this from happening in America.

As I listened to the debate, I was struck by its abstractions. The two sides were discussing the idea of a ban in principle, but it wasn't clear if they had developed a concrete proposal or implementation plan. These details should have been fleshed out through the White House policy process, which was finally operating at a high level of professionalism. This was the best way to present Trump with clear options, informed by stakeholders. But due to the urgency of COVID-19, the topic had bypassed the policy process.



I sensed that the president might appreciate a bit of time to think about such a consequential decision. Stopping travel from our closest partners and allies would be unprecedented. After sitting quietly through the meeting, I suggested that the staff recess for two hours and come back with a tactical plan for the president to consider.

The team assembled in the Cabinet Room, and I started to ask questions. What would a travel ban mean for trade and commerce? What would be required of returning American citizens? Would we attach an expiration date to it, or leave it open-ended? How quickly would we begin enforcing it?

We worked through these questions and went back to the president several hours later. Trump was ready to make his decision.

“Let’s do it,” he said. “This is a big step to take, and I’m going to get a lot of blowback from our allies, but we have to do it. If this is a mistake, the Europeans will do more complaining, corporations will lose some money, and travel plans will be delayed. If we don’t do it, and this threat is as real as it looks, people are going to die.”

I was proud of the president’s decisiveness. It was a strong move that would help keep America safe and show the country that he was willing to go to great lengths to deal with the virus.

We agreed that a presidential address from the Oval Office was the best way to explain the decision and calm the public. The president would show Americans that he was steady, in charge, treating the matter with concern, and taking definitive action.

Over the next few hours, we scrambled to put together a speech. Our speechwriting team was top-notch, but because the policy was not fully fleshed out, we struggled to get the input we needed from the key experts to make sure we struck the right message and proper tone. I huddled in Stephen Miller’s office on the second floor of the West Wing with Pence and staff secretary Derek Lyons, trying to write the perfect speech. The topic was new to us, and we were hopelessly pressed for time.

At 9:00 p.m., the president began his second-ever address to the nation live from the Oval Office. “My fellow Americans: Tonight, I want to speak with you about our nation’s unprecedented response to the coronavirus outbreak that started in China and is now spreading throughout the world.”

In a ten-minute address, he announced the Europe travel ban, framing it as the latest installment in a series of bold actions the administration had

taken to keep Americans safe. He had closed travel from China, declared a national public health emergency, and activated a mandatory quarantine for the first time in more than fifty years. In the middle of his speech, as he began to describe the practical aspects of the Europe ban, the president misread his speech, adding a word that was not in the script. The travel restrictions “will not *only* apply to the tremendous amount of trade and cargo,” he said. In reality, the ban did not apply to trade or cargo, but the inclusion of the word *only* reversed the meaning of the line. I made a mental note of the mix-up, but the president recovered and finished strong. The speech wasn’t a masterpiece, but it provided critical information to the nation on the severity of the threat, the reasons for the European travel ban, and Trump’s plan moving forward.

Immediately after the speech, the White House released a statement clarifying that trade and cargo were excepted from the travel ban. It was critical to get the message out quickly: the US and EU exchange \$700 billion in goods on an annual basis, and stopping this flow would disrupt our economies.<sup>51</sup>

The rest of that evening, and throughout the following day, the media covered the speech like they would cover a scandal, with an initial round of criticism followed by a series of process stories ascribing blame for the missteps. They found a familiar target. “The speech was largely written by Kushner and senior policy adviser Stephen Miller,” reported the *Washington Post*.

On the night of the speech, Pence stopped by my office. “Thank you for what you did today,” he said. “Can you get involved and help me with the task force? This is a big challenge, and if we are going to be successful for the president and for the country, I need the muscle of the full White House and the entire federal government.”

It wasn’t an assignment I had invited, and I knew it would draw criticism, but through an intense three years in government I had learned how to navigate the federal bureaucracy and deliver results. And after seeing the task force in action that afternoon, I was concerned about the state of the federal response. Many of the task force members had frozen like deer in headlights. I felt a responsibility to the president and the country to help where needed. I told the vice president that I would clear my schedule for the next thirty days and work at his direction: “I’m all in.”

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On my way to the White House early the next morning, March 12, my brother Josh called from New York City. He described the worrisome signs: the city had canceled its annual Saint Patrick's Day parade, thousands of people were self-quarantining, and millions more were leaving the city. When I told him that I was asked to jump into the response, he made a suggestion: "You should call Adam."

Adam Boehler was the CEO of the International Development Finance Corporation, a powerful new \$60 billion foreign investment agency within the federal government. I'd known him since the summer of 2001, when we had roomed together in a quad unit in New York University's student housing. Boehler went on to start four successful health-care companies, including Landmark Health, the nation's largest in-home health-care provider. And we had remained good friends over the years.

In the spring of 2018, Seema Verma, administrator of the Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services (CMS), asked me to help recruit Boehler into her agency. I invited him and his wife, Shira, to the Navy Mess for lunch. At the time I was at one of my lowest, most politically toxic moments. Recent polling showed that I had the lowest approval rating in the Trump family: 10 percent. "That means that even though I rarely speak publicly, thirty-three million Americans appreciate the job I'm doing," I joked.

Boehler and his wife laughed, and I leveled with them about what public service entailed. "It's hard to get attacked—by people who don't know you—for giving up your business and comfortable life to do what you think is right," I said. "Don't come to Washington for appreciation, but if you want to have an impact on the country and millions of people's lives, there's no better place to work."

After a prolific eighteen-month stint at CMS, Boehler was tapped to lead the Development Finance Corporation, and the Senate confirmed him unanimously in September of 2019. Boehler was the perfect person to help us with the federal government's COVID response, especially because he had the skills to overcome the fierce rivalries among the administration's health-care team. I called him, and after failing to get him on the phone, I messaged him at 7:47 that morning: "Come to White House."

A few minutes later I walked across the street to the Eisenhower Executive Office Building for an 8:00 a.m. meeting in Matt Pottinger's office with Chris Liddell and Dr. Deborah Birx, who was the vice president's

hand-selected coronavirus task force coordinator. A well-regarded physician, Birx was a retired Army colonel and had successfully led the federal government's global HIV/AIDS response for years. About a dozen people were scattered around a conference table and sitting on the couches and chairs that dotted the office. Seven minutes into the meeting, Boehler arrived.

Birx led us through a sprawling discussion that touched on nearly every aspect of the COVID response. She grew animated when discussing her frustrations with the bureaucracy and her inability to get people to move with the urgency she had been feeling over the previous weeks. Two points stood out: we had fallen far behind on testing, and supplies of critical materials like face masks, gloves, and gowns would soon become scarce.

After the meeting, Boehler and I huddled in my office and began sketching out how we could help with testing and supplies. To get additional support, we called our mutual friend and successful health-care entrepreneur Nat Turner. We also reached out to three of the very best public servants at HHS: Brad Smith, head of the CMS innovation office; Brett Giroir, head of the Public Health Service Commissioned Corps; and Secretary Azar's deputy chief of staff, Paul Mango.

That afternoon, in the Situation Room, a man whom I had just seen on television approached me. "Thank you for what you did yesterday," said Dr. Anthony Fauci, the top infectious disease official at the National Institutes of Health. "It's really not fair how the press is beating you up. You made a very positive contribution. If you'd like me to say that to the press, I would be happy to."

"Thank you for saying that, Doctor," I said. "I have come to accept that when I step into a problem situation, I tend to become an irresistible target."

With Pence sitting at the head of the table, Birx updated the group on the latest COVID case data from across the country. Her charts showed grim developments. New York cases were beginning to swell, and she expressed concern that the virus had proliferated in New Orleans during Mardi Gras several weeks earlier. CDC director Robert Redfield promised that the CDC and FDA were looking at all options to ramp up testing. Admiral Brett Giroir, a gifted public health official with impressive medical credentials, reported that we had completed only 30,000 tests to date, well short of where we needed to be.<sup>52</sup> By contrast, the South Koreans had already completed more than 230,000.<sup>53</sup> The discussion exposed deep acrimony between HHS

leadership and CDC about who bore responsibility for the debacle. The agencies were playing the blame game. They were clearly more focused on explaining why it wasn't their fault than on mapping out a concrete plan to fix the situation moving forward. Nowhere is the expression "failure is an orphan" truer than in politics.

As we wrapped up the two-hour meeting, the vice president ran through his talking points for that evening's task force press conference. He went around the table to get final thoughts and asked for my perspective about the message they were planning to convey from the podium.

"I'm the new guy at this task force, so take what I say only as my blunt assessment with the limited perspective I have," I said. "Right now, we have a *facts* problem, not a *messaging* problem. The public won't be satisfied until we can describe a concrete plan for fixing this testing mess we are dealing with. Once we have a plan in place to fix this testing nightmare, then we will be able to communicate better."

Back in my office, I challenged my team to think strategically about how we could accelerate the distribution of tests and improve public access. We examined South Korea's system of drive-through testing for potential best practices and brainstormed about how we could implement a similar system in America.

"What is in every community in America?" Boehler asked.

I paused and thought for a moment before guessing: "Walmart?"

Partnering with large pharmacies like Walmart, CVS, Rite Aid, and Walgreens would play to the great strength of America's private and not-for-profit sectors. Unlike the federal government, which was not equipped to roll out testing at scale, these large pharmacies were efficient operators that already provided millions of flu shots each year. With their collaboration, we could distribute COVID-19 testing as quickly and widely as possible.

We jumped into action, calling the CEOs of the companies to pitch the idea. Without hesitation, they agreed to devote resources to explore the possibility further.

That evening Boehler, Smith, Giroir, Turner, and I joined a conference call with the pharmacy CEOs and their teams. The heads of the large testing companies Labcorp, Quest Diagnostics, Roche, and Thermo Fischer joined as well. Our initial concept involved patients entering the stores for testing. As we sketched out a plan, a CEO piped up.

“I don’t think it would be too good for our businesses to bring sick people into our stores. It would be much better if we could use our parking lots.”

It was a fair point, so we adjusted, and the CEOs agreed to work through the night so that we could finalize details when we met the next day at the White House. As we hung up the phone, my team looked at each other with a surge of hope. We had stepped into the middle of a mess, but our crazy long-shot idea might just work. If we could harness the power and imagination of America’s private sector, we might have a chance at turning testing around.

We hunkered down and fleshed out the drive-through testing plan. There were so many variables: we needed to know how many tests the US had, where exactly they were located, how many we could acquire immediately, which communities needed them the most, and the best way to distribute them. We heard that Verily, a sister company of Google, was setting up a pilot program in California to help connect people to testing services. Turner called its CEO, Andy Conrad, to see about setting up something similar on a national scale.

By the time we broke for the night, it was 4:00 a.m.

Early in the morning on Friday, March 13, after we prodded the FDA for an expedited review, the agency announced that it had granted approval for a coronavirus test developed by Roche—a significant breakthrough for the testing effort and a necessary step for our plan to work. The new test could be processed ten times faster than the existing tests. We had promised Roche that the FDA would approve the test in record time, as long as its data was accurate. And the company had taken us at our word, prepositioning systems to process the tests throughout the United States.

At around 11:00 a.m., the pharmacy and testing company CEOs convened around the conference-room table in the Roosevelt Room to continue our planning from the previous evening. We outlined the rough parameters of a public-private partnership between their companies and the federal government to deploy four hundred testing locations in communities across America. Everyone was energized and excited to help. I’ve rarely seen such a powerful mix of altruism and collaboration from the private sector. There was only one word for it: patriotism.

Afterward, I stopped by the Oval Office to update the president on our work. “Can we make an announcement today?” he asked.

Trump always had a keen sense of public sentiment, and he felt that people were anxious to see the government taking decisive action at a time when testing delays continued to dominate the headlines, and the markets were headed for another rotten day.

“We could, but we hadn’t planned on that,” I said. “Not everything is fully fleshed out, but it’s promising.”

Trump decided to make an announcement that afternoon. This presented a contrast in our management techniques. I preferred to be methodical and never wanted to make an announcement until I had painstakingly mapped out the potential scenarios, next steps, and contingencies for when things went off course. This took time, and it was difficult to resist the public pressure to share information. Trump, on the other hand, was much more willing to make a bold announcement and trust his team to live up to it. I was hesitant, but deferred to his instinct as our nation’s leader to make the call.

Back in the office, where our team had assembled, I updated them on Trump’s request. Their jaws dropped. We’d been working on this plan for less than twenty-four hours. Everyone rushed into action to finalize the key outstanding details and to make sure our stakeholders knew what was coming. Thankfully, they all stayed on board.

In the Rose Garden at 3:30 p.m., flanked by officials and CEOs, Trump spoke: “Today, we’re announcing a new partnership with the private sector to vastly increase and accelerate our capacity to test the coronavirus.”

As the press conference continued and the president described our plan, aided by Birx, Fauci, and the CEOs, the markets began to rally.

“Google is helping to develop a website,” the president went on to say. “It’s going to be very quickly done, unlike websites of the past, to determine whether a test is warranted and to facilitate testing at a nearby convenient location. . . . Google has seventeen hundred engineers working on this right now.”

By the market’s close, twenty minutes after the start of the press conference, the Dow had rallied fourteen hundred points—a 6 percent jump and the first positive economic news in days. We weren’t trying to juice the market, of course, but we saw this result as immediate positive feedback.

Bad news came that evening around 5:30 p.m. Google and its sister company Verily released a statement that scaled back their commitment to the drive-through testing effort, announcing that the website at its outset

would serve only the San Francisco Bay Area.<sup>54</sup> That was not what Andy Conrad had promised. In fact, before the president delivered his speech, Boehler had specifically read him the lines describing Verily's involvement.

I was in the Oval Office when Sundar Pichai called me. I motioned for Boehler to follow me into the president's study, and we put the CEO of Alphabet, the parent company of Google and Verily, on speakerphone.

"What happened?" I asked.

"Andy gets ahead of himself sometimes," said Pichai. He blamed the misunderstanding on an internal miscommunication.

"Sundar, this website will help a lot of people, regardless of the misunderstanding. Can you get it up and running?" I asked.

"Let me look into what's possible," he said. "We're here to help, and I don't want to let the country down."

Eager to make the president look bad, the media had a field day with the mix-up. "Trump Oversold a Google Site to Fight Coronavirus," gloated the *New York Times*.

The experience provided an important lesson in the early days of the crisis. It was a reminder that in this extremely difficult situation, even the minor mistakes we made would be broadcast in real time.

On Saturday I convened a conference call with the CEOs of the companies supporting our drive-through testing plan and encountered new and unexpected headwinds, perhaps caused by the misunderstanding with Verily. Several of the executives on the call expressed reservations about the legal liability posed to their companies by a drive-through testing system. They were growing hesitant, and I worried that they would back out. The tide was turning against us.

Then Walmart's CEO, Doug McMillon, interjected: "Guys, if we don't do this, who's going to do it? Our country needs us right now. Walmart is willing to take the risk."

By the end, the CEOs had redoubled their commitment to help. It made me proud to be an American as we rushed headlong into the fight of our lives.



## Battle Rhythm

Whatever happened between Wednesday night and Friday afternoon at the White House, let's please have more of it," wrote the *Wall Street Journal* editorial board in a March 13 op-ed that boosted morale among my team.

But suddenly, we didn't have enough cotton swabs in our country.

I learned about the problem on Sunday afternoon, as we congregated in an office on the seventh floor of the Health and Human Services headquarters. Brad Smith described the problem, which he had just discovered: "We only have one point two million cotton swabs in the entire Strategic National Stockpile."

I knew the federal government kept a strategic stockpile of basic medical supplies. It hadn't occurred to me that cotton swabs were among them, but of course they were—and each COVID test required at least one cotton swab. We were short on lots of other supplies as well, from gloves and gowns to masks and ventilators. The H1N1 flu pandemic in 2009 had seriously run down the stockpile, and for some inexplicable reason, nobody had bothered to build it back up.

This was a major kick in the stomach. Smith had obtained this information only after wrestling it from Dr. Bob Kadlec's team in the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Preparedness and Response (ASPR). Prior to the pandemic, all of these supplies were low-cost and readily available on the market. ASPR could easily have purchased tremendous amounts to fill the stockpile. Now that we were in the middle of a pandemic, however, the supplies were nearly impossible to find and procure. Private citizens, businesses, and hospitals were buying up everything. Was the lowest-cost item really going to be our bottleneck? How could the world's most powerful nation not have enough testing supplies for a single city, let alone the entire country? How were we so unprepared, on basically every front? As much as I wanted to understand ASPR's failure, these questions would have to wait. We were in triage mode, and we needed every spare second to stop the bleeding.

We had to find millions more swabs in short order.

As we dealt with the shortage of cotton swabs and other supplies, we faced another problem: the need to develop public health guidelines. Given that people across the country were confused and concerned, Birx and Fauci had been discussing the need for a unified set of federal standards to help Americans understand what they should do to keep themselves safe and slow the spread of the virus. They insisted that these guidelines would help prevent hospitals from becoming overwhelmed. Despite all the talk over the past week, no one had taken steps to produce a document. When Nat Turner flagged the issue, I asked him to coordinate with Derek Lyons to produce a draft and encouraged him to call Dr. Scott Gottlieb, the former head of the FDA and a renowned public health expert. I had been trying to persuade Gottlieb to come back into government for a short-term stint to help us better organize our response and support our effort to develop a vaccine.

When we called Gottlieb, he was grateful that we were preparing guidelines. “They should go a little bit further than you are comfortable with,” he said. “When you feel like you are doing more than you should, that is a sign that you are doing them right.”

That evening, I received an unexpected call from Governor Andrew Cuomo of New York. I had known Cuomo for years. He had reached out after my father’s arrest back in 2004, which my family never forgot. “I’ve had highs and lows as well. You’ll be back,” he told my dad at the time.

On the phone with me, his typically confident voice was shaky with alarm. “Jared, this is getting really bad, and I fear we are soon going to run out of ICU beds,” he said. “We only have three thousand ICU beds in the city, and at this rate, we could need another hundred and fifty thousand in the coming weeks. I’m pleading to you and the president as fellow New Yorkers. I need your help. I need the help of the federal government to get through this.”

He said that he was looking at retrofitting college dormitories and buildings to create space for additional beds. “From my time as secretary of housing and urban development,” he said, “I know that if you want to build fast and money is no object, the Army Corps of Engineers is the best. Can you send them up here immediately to help me start converting facilities?” The governor went on to express his fear about how uncontrollable the spread of the virus could potentially be, especially among New York’s elderly population. “For nursing homes, this could be like fire through dry grass,” he said.

I promised that I would do everything I could to lend the federal government's support, and that I would be available to him 24/7.

"I want you to be prepared," Cuomo said. "There's going to be a lot of things we can't solve, but let's just acknowledge on the front end that we'll do everything we can do. And then let's show people that we're leading, because right now, people need to feel that their leaders are working together and leading. People are so freaked out at this point, you almost can't make a decision that's too extreme. Indecision is the only bad decision you can make. You have to be decisive."

After a thirty-minute discussion, I asked him who on his team I should contact to coordinate our response. "Just deal with me directly," he said. For the next sixty-odd days, we worked on a daily basis to ensure that we quickly addressed any concern raised by New York.

The panic in Cuomo's voice and his dire predictions, compounded by the exhaustion I felt from four straight days of trying to improve the testing situation, hit me hard. We were miles behind where we needed to be, and I felt powerless to improve our outlook. The worst-case scenarios flashed through my mind: nurses and doctors without protective equipment, overflowing hospitals with no beds for patients, ventilator shortages forcing doctors to choose who would live and who would die, limited ability to detect new outbreaks due to the testing supply shortage, and tens of millions of Americans stuck in their homes, growing more and more anxious by the hour.

I looked at my watch. It was past 9:00 p.m. I walked downstairs, through a mostly empty West Wing, to see how the team was doing, and found Turner, Smith, and Giroir huddled around Derek Lyons's computer in the staff secretary's office. They were working on the draft guidelines, which they had titled "15 Days to Slow the Spread." They were running on fumes, too, but they were determined to get a draft ready to present to the president the following morning.

"You guys have done great work over the past ninety-six hours, and I have no doubt that what we're doing will help save lives," I said.

I didn't want the team to sense the fear I felt, but my voice dropped down a bit, betraying my lack of confidence in our ability to avoid a disaster. I struggled to speak. "There is a chance that the challenge we are about to face is bigger than we thought. Maybe there are problems that are just too big to solve. I hate to say this to you guys, but right now, it feels to me like

we are on a beach working frantically trying to build a protective hut made of sand and leaves, while a massive tsunami is coming.”

As the team looked at me, not sure what to say, I regained my composure. “We’re all exhausted. After you finish this revision, go home and get some rest so that we can be ready for the fight we have ahead of us.”

On the short ride home, I sat silently in the back of the Secret Service SUV, replaying my conversation with Cuomo in my head. As I walked through the front door, Ivanka sensed my mood and asked how it was going. I recounted my last twelve hours.

“Right now is the calm before the storm. Nothing else matters anymore,” I told her. “This is bigger than politics, bigger than every other problem we’ve had to solve, combined. Bigger than immigration, trade deals, and prison reform.”

Ivanka looked at me with concern. “This is the first time I have ever seen you wear your worry,” she said, wrapping her arms around me. I realized that not since my father’s arrest had I faced a challenge so out of my control that I let fear and helplessness overtake me.

As we talked, the vice president called to compare notes from the day.

“We made good progress, but I fear it’s too little too late. This is going to be really tough,” I said. “I’m not confident we are going to be able to meet the demand for supplies. This could be a horror show.”

I will never forget the vice president’s calming response: “Jared, I was a governor. At the federal level, we will absolutely do our best,” he said, steady as always. “But we won’t have to solve this alone. Governors have resources, teams, and their own ingenuity. And in times of crisis, the American people step up and figure it out.”

I don’t know if he felt as confident as he sounded, or if he was showing the strength of leadership I had failed to show to my team earlier that night, but it was exactly what I needed to hear to jolt me out of my discouragement. More importantly, it was what I needed to believe as I prepared for the battle ahead. Pence lifted me up when I needed it the most, and his words looped in my head as I fell asleep.

\* \* \*

The next morning, Monday, March 16, I woke up at 5:00 a.m. as usual, but that day I had a renewed sense of resolve. As I rode to the office, I thought about my message to the team the previous evening. I had made a mistake by showing them the cracks in my confidence. If we were actually

going to pull off miracles, I needed to show them that I believed we would pull off miracles.

“This is going to be the hardest thing that we’ve ever done,” I said to them that morning. “For whatever reason, God put us here. The only judgment we should care about, when this is all over, is being able to look ourselves in the mirror and say that we did everything possible to make the greatest difference. And if we come up short, we come up short, but we’re going to give it everything we’ve got.”

Turner and the team had finished the first draft of the guidelines. We walked the document to Pence’s office for a final review with Birx, Fauci, and Redfield. They offered a few constructive changes, but overall they were very positive on the document we had produced.

“You think the president will support these?” Fauci asked.

“I don’t know,” I said. “But we’re going to try.”

Alone in my office, I called the president to preview the guidelines and give him a chance to react honestly, without fear of the doctors leaking about his response to the press.

“Vice President Pence and the doctors are going to come to you with strong public health guidelines,” I said. “They may seem draconian, but we think they could save tens of thousands of lives. We are critically low on supplies, and it will take us several weeks to track down more. Asking people to take these precautions will slow down the spread of the virus, reduce the number of new cases, and buy us much-needed time.”

He understood. That afternoon, we took the guidelines to Trump. Birx, Fauci, and Redfield made their case.

“That’s it?” Trump said. “I thought you were going to ask me to call in the military to make people stay in their homes. We can’t do this forever, but people will tolerate this for a few weeks.”

At a press conference a few hours later, Trump announced “15 Days to Slow the Spread,” which urged all Americans to work and attend school from home, to avoid gatherings of more than ten people, to postpone travel, to avoid eating or drinking in restaurants and bars, and to refrain from visiting nursing homes and retirement centers.<sup>55</sup> Health experts later estimated that the guidelines helped save millions of lives.

As Americans hunkered down for fifteen days, we ramped up our efforts to wartime-level operations. Dr. Bob Kadlec was running point on the operational aspects of the coronavirus response, from the repatriation of

passengers aboard cruise ships to the management of the stockpile. Kadlec seemed overwhelmed by the responsibility of it all. According to ASPR's estimates, we would need at least 3.5 billion masks to confront the pandemic. We had one percent of the masks we needed, and our current supply would expire within weeks.

"Don't worry," Kadlec said. "I ordered six hundred million masks."

"Great." I exhaled. "When will they be delivered?"

"The first shipment comes in June."

"Are you fucking serious?" I threw my pen against the wall. It was one of the few instances in which I lost my composure. "We are in March! We could run out of masks in a week. We could all be dead by June!"

Kadlec was a nice man and had a reputation for being a hard worker, but he clearly needed help. On March 18, we transitioned the COVID response from Kadlec's office at HHS to FEMA's National Response Coordination Center (NRCC), an interagency operation designed to function on a 24/7 basis during national emergencies. With all of its research and intellectual capacity, HHS runs more akin to an academic institution, while FEMA has a completely different orientation. It is built to move fast, make decisions, and handle hurricanes, wildfires, floods, blizzards, and other natural disasters. With offices around America, it serves as a key federal interface with the governors.

For weeks, Birx and the NSC's top disaster response staffer, Brian Cavanaugh, had pushed to activate the NRCC, but Azar fought the idea. The secretary had lost much of his control when Pence took over the task force, and moving the center of operations from HHS to FEMA would further loosen his grip on the response. I knew Azar wouldn't like it, but I went to the vice president and told him that we needed to make the change immediately. Activating the NRCC would give the governors a system they understood for receiving, adjudicating, approving, and shipping requests.

I knew immediately that it was the best decision we could have made. FEMA administrator Pete Gaynor was a former Marine Corps lieutenant colonel with the mentality of a wartime planner. "We need to establish a battle rhythm," he told me when we first met at FEMA headquarters. "Right now we are spending too much time in meetings discussing high level topics. When principals are in these meetings, they can't be running their departments. We need to identify objectives, create a chain of command, and then start making this happen." It was music to my ears.

The following day, at our request, the Joint Chiefs of Staff dispatched Rear Admiral John Polowczyk, one of the military's top logistics experts, to FEMA to run point on procurement and distribution of supplies. Working together, Gaynor and Polowczyk brought structure and credibility to the management of the stockpile, and directed the process for managing incoming requests and shipping materials to states within twenty-four hours.

Around that time I was sitting in Gaynor's office at the NRCC when New York senator and Democratic minority leader Chuck Schumer called to plead for supplies for his state. I was in constant contact with New York's state and local decision-makers. They called me regularly—usually to express gratitude for the targeted flow of supplies we were sending. Schumer apparently wasn't in touch with them, and complained that we weren't sending supplies. I reached for a folder that contained the latest data on the supplies we had sent to New York and rattled off the extensive list of supplies that were en route. Then I told Schumer that we would even work with him on an announcement so that he could take credit for the delivery.

Gaynor had listened to this conversation, and when I hung up, he gave me a wary look. "We need to be meticulous on all of this," he said in his thick Rhode Island accent. "Once we get through this crisis, every single contract, every single delivery, is going to be investigated. I'm going to be called before Congress, and I'm going to have to answer questions."

"You're telling me that there's an unprecedented natural disaster, for which we were theoretically prepared but not actually prepared, and while everyone is running away and trying to avoid blame, you run into the disaster, use every bit of ingenuity and whatever else you can think of to save lives, and then your reward for doing all of this is that you get hauled before Congress and harassed with subpoenas to answer questions about the small percentage of things that went wrong?"

"Precisely," Gaynor said with a wry smile.

"And you volunteered for this job?"

"We're a sick bunch in the emergency response community," said Gaynor. "We're gluttons for punishment, but at least the pay sucks."

## Project Airbridge

This place is a black box,” said Adam Boehler. “It isn’t designed for a global pandemic.”

Boehler was calling from FEMA headquarters, where he and a dozen private equity volunteers he had recruited set up a makeshift office in the basement and were urgently dialing around the world for supplies. To our surprise, we were locating more equipment than we expected, but FEMA’s procurement system wasn’t allowing us to make rapid purchases. Even though the agency often responded to fast-striking natural disasters, it typically drew from stockpiles it had built during long periods between national crises. Now, in a time of global crisis, we needed FEMA to buy millions of items at breakneck speed. Brad Smith forwarded me an itemized list of supplies they had found but couldn’t get approval to purchase: in total 160 million masks, 223 million gloves, and 1.3 million gowns, among other critical items.

“Ask the FEMA leadership team to meet me,” I told Boehler. “I’ll be over there in thirty minutes.” I called White House counsel Pat Cipollone and budget director Russ Vought and asked them to join me.

More than two million civilians work directly for the federal government, but after spending five minutes at FEMA with Admiral Gaynor that afternoon, March 18, there was one person whom I desperately wanted to meet: Bobby McCane. As FEMA’s chief procurement officer, he was in a unique position to buy the medical equipment and supplies we needed to fight the spread of the virus. But like many bureaucrats, he wouldn’t be empowered to act unless he was given prior direction from leadership.

I asked Gaynor’s team to get McCane. When he appeared in our room, my team’s eyes lit up: here was the guy they’d been trying to find for several days.

“Bobby, right now you are the most important person in the entire federal government,” I said. “My team is finding badly needed equipment from all over the world, and we’re at risk of losing it if we can’t contract fast. People’s lives depend on it.”

I asked him to solve our problem by creating a form that listed the criteria we needed to provide so that he could approve a purchase order



quickly. I motioned toward Pat Cipollone and Russ Vought. “I’ve brought the top White House lawyer, and the top government funder. If you need extra authority or money, they will solve it for you. We will do whatever due diligence we need to do on the front end, but we need you to be able to sign the order and wire the money within ten minutes,” I said.

I sensed that McCane was excited by the prospect. Having worked in the federal government for many years, he had learned to perform his job within the confines of seemingly irrational mandates. We were offering to cut through the red tape. It was a procurement officer’s dream.

I wrote my cell phone number on a piece of paper and gave it to McCane. “You have two hours,” I said. “Call me if you need anything.”

About seventy-five minutes later, when I was back at the White House, my phone rang. It was McCane. He’d gotten it done.

The system we established at FEMA unleashed a global procurement effort not seen since World War II. Boehler, Smith, and the FEMA team leaped into action, calling every major medical supplier around the globe in a race to purchase millions of masks, gowns, gloves, testing swabs, and other critical supplies. As we sourced supplies from all over the world, we discovered that the factories with the most available supplies were in China. Despite their abundance of product, the Chinese government was blocking supplies from leaving the country. I knew that in time Americans would be able to manufacture much of what we needed, but at this moment we had no time to spare.

We needed to ask the Chinese government if they would allow us to purchase supplies, which meant that we needed to address the growing tension between our two governments. As the coronavirus grew from a localized problem in Wuhan into a global pandemic, the president’s rhetoric toward China had grown increasingly antagonistic. He was genuinely upset that China had unleashed the virus, especially because it had tried to cover up the source of the problem and failed to alert the world about the nature and scale of the threat. For example, the Chinese restricted flights from Wuhan to Shanghai and Beijing but didn’t stop flights to Milan and Los Angeles.

I went to speak with Trump privately. “We’re scrambling to find supplies all over the world,” I told him. “Right now, we have enough to get through the next week—maybe two—but after that it could get really ugly really fast. The only way to solve the immediate problem is to get the

supplies from China. Would you be willing to speak to President Xi to deescalate the situation?”

“Now is not a time to be proud,” said Trump. “I hate that we are in this position, but let’s set it up.”

I reached out to Chinese ambassador Cui Tiankai and proposed that the two leaders talk. Cui was keen on the idea, and we made it happen.

When they spoke, Xi was quick to describe the steps China had taken to mitigate the virus. Then he expressed concern over Trump referring to COVID-19 as the “China Virus.”

Trump agreed to refrain from calling it that for the time being if Xi would give the United States priority over others to ship supplies out of China. Xi promised to cooperate. From that point forward, whenever I called Ambassador Cui with a problem, he sorted it out immediately.

As we worked to source supplies, I was impressed by the spirit of devotion and public service in America’s private sector. The executives were willing to put the common good ahead of themselves and their companies. When Boehler and Smith first began hunting for Personal Protective Equipment (PPE), for example, they asked US-based manufacturing companies for production data, such as how many supplies they were making in their factories around the world and what portion of the supplies were coming to America. This data was key to knowing what supplies were available. Nearly every company shared the information, and when we dug into their spreadsheets, we found that most were sending about 70 to 80 percent of their supplies to America. Those sending a lower percentage willingly agreed to step up and increase the allotment for the United States.

One corporation, however, was initially resistant: 3M, a Minnesota based company and the world’s leading manufacturer of masks.

Boehler tried to get ahold of Mike Roman, the CEO of 3M. A few hours later, he received a call back—not from Roman, but from a government affairs representative. “We understand you want to know about our masks,” the representative said, “but we already sent a million to the stockpile, and we’re reading media reports that they haven’t been distributed. You can speak to Mike, but we need you to tell us what happened with those masks.”

Boehler told the 3M representative not to believe everything he read in the press and promised to track down the status of the masks, but insisted on speaking to Roman immediately.

When Roman finally called Boehler, the CEO admitted that of the tens of millions of masks his company was making in China and elsewhere, the United States was receiving only about a quarter.

“We have a factory in the United States that serves the United States,” Roman said. “It accounts for twenty-five percent of our global production, and those are the masks you are getting—about thirty million a month. We just announced a big investment that will increase that capacity in a few months. Our factories in the United Kingdom, China, Singapore, and South Korea are serving those areas with about ninety million masks a month, and those masks will stay there.”

“We need seventy million of those masks,” Boehler pressed.

“I’m not sure that’s possible because the masks made in China are made for smaller faces and I’m not sure they’ll fit Americans.”

Boehler told him that we would work out the sizing issues, and reiterated that we needed the masks within twenty-four hours. The next day, 3M’s government liaison, Omar Vargas, followed up with Boehler and refused to provide the number of masks in China. After a heated back-and-forth, Vargas admitted the truth: “We have business relationships in China, and we’re not going to break those relationships.”

Boehler filled me in on the conversation. Just then, Vice President Pence walked in. He knew we were clashing with 3M.

“Great news!” he said. “The CEO of 3M just called me, and ten million more masks are on the way.”

In an apparent attempt to circumvent Boehler and me, Roman had called Pence, promised the ten million masks, and encouraged the vice president to announce it at a task force briefing that afternoon. It was a crafty ploy, but it also confirmed that our pressure was working.

“That’s a good start,” I told Pence. “But don’t let him buy us off that cheaply. If we get more, we can solve our short-term crisis with this deal alone.”

Pence agreed and left it to us to close the deal.

To compel 3M to send us the masks, we’d have to invoke the Defense Production Act (DPA). For several weeks, Trump had faced tremendous political pressure to use that heavy-handed authority, a vestige of the Korean War. So far, we hadn’t needed it because most US companies were eager to help America in this hour of crisis.

In the Oval Office, we explained the problem with 3M to the president.

“Bring me a DPA,” he requested. “I’m dying to use it. It’s important to make sure that every American company is pulling its weight.”

Trump signed the order and announced it with a tweet: “We hit 3M hard today after seeing what they were doing with their Masks. ‘P Act’ all the way. Big surprise to many in government as to what they were doing—will have a big price to pay!”

Later, I called Roman and told him that we were sending him a contract for all of 3M’s masks in China.

“I can’t sell them to you,” he said. “The Chinese government has taken over my factory and is controlling my distribution.”

“That’s not your problem anymore,” I said. “It’s our problem. Under the DPA, we technically control your company. We’re going to send you a contract, and federal law requires you to sign it. You can tell the Chinese that you had no choice.”

Within thirty minutes, Roman signed the contract and the masks were ours. Now I had to work with the Chinese to get the masks to America.

“I need your help with an important issue,” I said to Ambassador Cui. “We have a contract with an American company for forty-six million masks per month for the next six months. We need them right now. I’m told that there’s an issue with the Chinese government holding them. I can’t imagine that’s the case right now. People in America are very angry at China. If word gets out that the Chinese government is not allowing us to ship masks we contracted from an American company, this could get very ugly.”

The ambassador said that he would look into the issue. An hour later, he called back and said that the masks we had contracted for were cleared for travel.

Once Roman saw that we had used diplomacy to work out the situation with the Chinese government, and that we weren’t looking to take the rest of his global supply, he became much more agreeable. In the end, he and 3M became great partners in our effort.

\* \* \*

Now that we could rapidly source and procure materials from around the world, we needed to figure out how to get them quickly to our shores. Typically, supplies from overseas were transported by boat and took an estimated forty-five days to cross the ocean. Airlifting the supplies, however, would reduce the transit time to twenty-four hours, if we could just find the planes to carry the tons of cargo.

The military was an obvious choice, but its planes were slow and required refueling stops. I thought that FedEx and UPS might be better options. They had fleets of cargo planes built for carrying massive loads. When we called Fred Smith, the chairman and CEO of FedEx, and David Abney, the chairman and CEO of UPS, they both immediately agreed to have their companies help. We didn't even have to mention the DPA.

"Consider our planes to be your Air Force," Smith said. "We will do whatever it takes."

These two phone calls commenced a public-private partnership that delivered tons of PPE to our nation's health-care workers on the front lines of the pandemic.

Admiral Polowczyk dubbed the initiative Project Airbridge and meticulously ran the operations of the monumental undertaking. Between March 29 and June 30, Project Airbridge completed 249 flights and delivered approximately 1 billion gloves, 130 million masks, 60 million surgical gowns, and other lifesaving supplies to hospitals, nursing homes, and health care facilities, right as their shelves were becoming bare. It was nothing short of miraculous. When I ran into Abney several months later, he pulled me aside and said, "Jared, in all of my career, I have never seen anything like Project Airbridge. As fast as we could land our planes, you guys filled them up and turned them around."

In the first days of responding to COVID, there were many factors we couldn't control. We couldn't extinguish the pandemic or instantly invent a vaccine. That would take time. But we could search the globe for lifesaving supplies. My goal was to do everything within our power to give health-care professionals the supplies they needed to save every possible life. I will never forget the innumerable ways that Americans from across the country rose up to serve their fellow citizens. Factory workers and truck drivers worked long hours to produce and deliver supplies. Students brought groceries to elderly neighbors. Communities came together to help families in need. And brave doctors, nurses, and health care workers risked their own lives to save others. The spirit, strength, and sacrifice of the American people carried our nation through one of the greatest trials of the twenty-first century.

## Life Support

On the night of March 23, I spoke to Governor Andrew Cuomo of New York and promised that the federal government would send his state 4,400 ventilators from a national stockpile of less than 11,000. As a percentage of the stockpile, this was a big shipment, but New Yorkers desperately needed ventilators. So I was surprised the next day when he attacked us.

“FEMA says, ‘We are sending four hundred ventilators,’” he complained at his press conference on the morning of March 24. “Really? What am I going to do with four hundred ventilators when I need thirty thousand? You pick the twenty-six thousand people who are going to die because you only sent four hundred ventilators.”

He misstated the number we had sent, and I knew from our call the previous evening that he was unsure how many ventilators he really needed. When I asked him to share how he arrived at his thirty thousand estimate, he couldn’t answer. He had no data on how many ventilators he already had, how many were in use, or how many he anticipated needing in the next week.

At that time, the medical experts still believed that ventilators were the most critical medical device available for saving lives. Doctors used them on patients whose virus-ravaged lungs could not supply their bodies with enough oxygen. As cases of COVID-19 skyrocketed, every governor in America demanded the largest possible share of the federal stockpile’s diminishing supply. They didn’t know how many they would need, but they feared that the stockpile would run out, so they requested as many as they thought they could get from us.

Amid the flood of competing requests, we needed to create a process to allocate this scarce resource. Nat Turner recruited Blythe Adamson from Turner’s former company, Flatiron Health, to help our team estimate how many ventilators, ICU beds, and other critical medical supplies America would need. A brilliant PhD epidemiologist and economist, Adamson had a colorful background: she was raised by hippies and grew up in a tree house in Washington State. Adamson initially planned to help us for a few weeks until we’d built reliable models, but she decided to extend her stay. She was

inspired by the military service members at FEMA, who regularly went on long deployments away from their families. If the service members could be gone for six months at a time to keep Americans safe, Adamson wanted to stay longer to serve our country in this medical crisis.

Five hours after Cuomo's comments, I headed from the White House to FEMA to get the first draft of Adamson's ventilator projections. In a windowless conference room, Adamson briefed Pence, Azar, Gaynor, Boehler, Smith, Turner, and me. She handed out a one-page chart forecasting the expected ventilator shortages. I looked at her sheet in shock.

"So you're saying that Cuomo's estimate is actually right, and we will be thirty thousand ventilators short within a week?" I asked.

"Yes," said Adamson. "That's what the current data projects, assuming the spread of the virus continues to accelerate at this rate. The best case scenario is that due to mitigation efforts now in place, the rate of transmission will slow, ventilator demand will drop, and we will have more time to source ventilators. But things also could get worse."

Based on the current trajectory, her numbers also showed that we would need 130,000 ventilators in two weeks. I shuddered at the possibility. Until that moment, I thought the worst of the supply crisis was behind us. All the PPE in the world wouldn't matter much if we ran out of ventilators for critically ill patients.

I couldn't bring myself to look at Azar. I was livid that the secretary had not done more to prevent the shortage. Maybe it was unfair of me to feel this way, but it was his department's job to anticipate and prepare for this kind of problem. There was no chance we could procure or manufacture anywhere close to 130,000 ventilators in two weeks. We were staring at the possibility of two football stadiums full of preventable deaths. In Italy, people were dying on gurneys in hospital hallways because they couldn't get ventilators. We could not let that happen in America, a country that prides itself on having the most advanced and innovative health-care system in the world.

"This is way worse than the swab shortage," I said to the vice president as the meeting at FEMA broke up. "People are going to die if we don't figure something out."

Sensing my worry, Pence invited me to ride back with him to the White House. The sidewalks and streets of our nation's capital were eerily empty and matched the bleakness I felt.

“Jared, all we can do is our best,” Pence said as the lights and sirens blared outside the vice presidential limousine. “We’ll find a way through it.”

Once again, I appreciated the vice president’s optimism. I didn’t yet know whether it was possible to prevent a ventilator catastrophe, but I was absolutely determined to try.

\* \* \*

As much as I respected Adamson, I had just met her, and I wanted a second opinion about her projections. I knew enough from my career in business that predictive models are a sort of science fiction. Their projections are only as good as their assumptions, which can vary wildly. In a novel pandemic defined by variability and uncertainty, it would be nearly impossible for anyone to make assumptions that would lead to accurate predictions.

I called Kevin Hassett, an accomplished economist and the former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers. I had recruited him back to the White House the week before to strengthen our data operation.

In the Roosevelt Room, Hassett, CEA economist Tyler Goodspeed, Birx, and others combed through Adamson’s data and assumptions. They grilled her on everything, and she offered quick, concrete, and confident answers. By the end of the session, Hassett and Birx believed that Adamson’s methodology was credible and that her projections could be accurate. I steeled myself for our most critical fight yet, hoping that the “15 Days to Slow the Spread” guidance would reduce hospitalizations and buy us enough time to distribute the ventilators we had and to find more.

FEMA was receiving increasingly panicked calls from governors requesting ventilators. In addition to Cuomo’s demand, John Bel Edwards of Louisiana sought 5,000, Phil Murphy from New Jersey asked for 2,300, and Gretchen Whitmer of Michigan and Ned Lamont of Connecticut wanted thousands as well. Put together, these requests far exceeded the number still in the national stockpile.

Everyone was terrified. White House chief of staff Mark Meadows got a call from a hospital CEO in his former congressional district who requested 150 ventilators. At that time, there were no reported COVID-19 cases within a thirteen-county radius of the hospital. Meadows asked why the ventilators were needed. “We’re just scared,” the CEO admitted. It was one of many examples of panic-induced hoarding, which exacerbated the supply shortages.



That night, while I worked with Adamson and Hassett to analyze the data we had collected from the states, Boehler, Smith, and Avi joined Colonel Pat Work, a hypercompetent Army officer whom I had met three years earlier in Iraq. They called every major ventilator manufacturer in the United States, asking each company how many ventilators they had on the shelves now and how many they could produce in the weeks and months ahead. Working with Bobby McCane at FEMA, they sent letters of intent to purchase all of the American-made inventory.

I also called Cuomo and told him that we needed to know how many ventilators New York had, how many were being utilized, and how many they projected they would need over the next seven days. We would send ventilators based on data, not on guesses or intimidation.

“We aren’t going to send them to you just because you bash us in the press,” I said. “You need to get the information to us.”

Cuomo complained that he couldn’t get data on New York City from Mayor Bill de Blasio. They were barely on speaking terms. Their deep seated rivalry had reached toxic levels through the pandemic, and I worried that it could cost lives. Trying to find a way to work around the feud, I phoned Jessie Tisch, a close friend from college who served as the city’s chief information officer.

I had called Jessie a week earlier, after seeing an alarmed New York City nurse tell CNN that her hospital was out of masks. I asked Jessie to find out what the hospital needed. Before long, she organized a conference call with the CEOs of every hospital in New York, so that I could better understand their PPE shortages, and what they needed from the federal government. One by one, we went through their needs and mapped out a plan to get them the requisite supplies.

Now, I explained the ventilator situation to Jessie and asked if she could help get the data from the hospitals. She got on it immediately, helping me navigate the dysfunctional relationship between Cuomo and de Blasio. Her efforts proved invaluable and helped ensure that the federal government’s supplies got to New Yorkers in need.

The next several days were like trying to steer a ship in a violent storm. FEMA initially resisted my data-driven approach. The agency was accustomed to taking governors’ requests at face value and approving them upon demand, and they were not used to the intense public pressure. At one

point, top FEMA officials wanted to send every ventilator in the stockpile to New York.

Knowing that once we sent them out, we would never get them back, I asked FEMA administrator Pete Gaynor how long it took to ship a ventilator. He said twenty-four to thirty-six hours. We agreed to position a thousand ventilators in New Jersey, where we could deliver them to the New York metropolitan area in just four hours if needed. Fearing there would be shortages across the country, we required governors to report the real number of ventilators needed based on the facts on the ground, and we were not going to be swayed by political or media pressures.

In the first week of April, Jessie called me with an update: based on her data, New York City was six days from running out of ventilators. The previous week, we had shipped 4,400 ventilators from the stockpile to New York. I was told that Cuomo had funneled 2,000 of them to a state run warehouse, where they were not being used, rather than sending all of them to New York City, which was the epicenter of the outbreak in the United States. Jessie's estimate did not account for the 2,000 sitting in Cuomo's warehouse. It included only the 2,400 the city had received—and nearly all of these were already in use. I had to confront Cuomo.

“We did not send the ventilators from the federal stockpile to sit unused in New York's stockpile,” I said. “Please send the two thousand ventilators to New York City before people die.”

While I was trying to break the impasse, Boehler rushed in with an urgent problem: the vice president had authorized sending an additional tranche of ventilators to New York City. I raced down the hall to Pence's office and explained that Cuomo was sitting on two thousand unused ventilators. Based on our projections, we still had seventy-two hours before the situation in New York City turned dire, and I wanted to use every available second on the clock to ensure that we didn't distribute ventilators to a place that didn't absolutely need them. I told him that we had put additional ventilators in a federal facility in New Jersey, so that we could deliver them to New York City within four hours if Cuomo remained obstinate. Thankfully, the governor relented the next day and sent ventilators to New York City.

That same week George Helmy, the chief of staff to New Jersey governor Phil Murphy, called with a request for five hundred ventilators. A talented and affable former management consultant, Helmy had a precise

answer to all my questions about New Jersey's usage rates. He sent me a spreadsheet calculating that New Jersey's ventilator supply would run out in three days. We sent five hundred right away. We agreed to speak every day at 7:00 a.m., and I promised that as long as we had the supplies and he had the data, we would stay twenty-four to forty-eight hours ahead of New Jersey's needs. Several months later, Helmy was among the few brave Democrats to defend our efforts against partisan attacks: "From the president on through the highest levels of the administration, we always felt we were a priority to the administration," he said in *Newsweek*.

At the same time, in Louisiana, local officials warned that hospitalizations were rising, and New Orleans was running out of ventilators and PPE. Governor John Bel Edwards implored us to send four hundred ventilators, but he hadn't submitted the data. Boehler called the CEOs of the two largest hospital systems in Louisiana. They said that they were prepared for the wave and had ventilators in reserve. They added that they needed gowns, which we sent the next day. We were later told that Edwards, a competent and gracious governor for the most part, had reamed out the CEOs for undermining his request. He was doing his job to fight for the people of Louisiana, but our job was to see through the smoke signals and make sure we matched our limited ventilator supply to real demand. Our approach of working directly with hospitals to get the data was not the typical government protocol, but had we stuck to the normal processes we almost certainly would have failed to get hospitals the supplies they needed immediately.

Not surprisingly, whenever we denied a request, or shipped fewer than the desired number, the governors aired their grievances in the media, generating headlines such as this one in the *Washington Post*: "Governors Plead for Medical Equipment from Federal Stockpile Plagued by Shortages and Confusion."

On April 2, as we briefed the president before his daily press conference, he brought up the issue: "Why are you not sending out the ventilators to the states?" he asked. "I'm getting killed on this."

"They don't need them yet," I said with uncharacteristic force, allowing my frustration to show after weeks of hardly any sleep and balancing life and death situations. "Governors want them preventively. They are worried about what *could* happen. Once we send them out, we're not getting them

back. We have a small chance to meet the real demands, but only if we are as precise as possible.”

Sensing that I was confident in my approach and had the situation under control, Trump responded with a jab. “You’re a hoarder. You’re hoarding the ventilators.”

“I promise you that no one is going to die because I am holding back on sending them out,” I said. “We may not have enough to get through the next two weeks, but when there is a real need, we will send them out within twenty-four hours. I am willing to take the blame if I am wrong.”

“Okay, then you’re speaking in the briefing today, and you’re going to explain to the press why we aren’t sending them all out,” the president said.

Less than thirty minutes later, on the evening of April 2, I stood behind the podium in the White House press briefing room, looking thin and pale from hardly eating or sleeping for three weeks.

“The notion of the federal stockpile was it’s supposed to be our stockpile. It’s not supposed to be states’ stockpiles that they then use,” I said in response to a question about our supply management strategy. It was not my most eloquent moment, but I thought this was a pretty obvious point: we wanted states to use the supplies we sent, not to stash them away in warehouses.

The next morning, my brother Josh called to see if I was okay. When I asked him why, he said that I was getting destroyed in the press. Soon I saw the headlines: “Jared Kushner’s Coronavirus Briefing Debut Sparks Outcry, Confusion,” wrote the *Washington Post*. “Heaven help us, we’re at the mercy of the Slim Suit crowd,” wrote *New York Times* columnist Maureen Dowd.

The intensity and volume of the media’s vitriolic outrage caught me off guard. But I didn’t have time to dwell on anything but the crisis at hand. Requests continued to pour in. At our lowest point, we had just twelve hundred ventilators in the stockpile. The only good news was that our “15 Days to Slow the Spread” guidelines were making a difference. The growth in hospital usage rates was slowing, and our efforts to purchase every available ventilator we could find were beginning to pay off.

## On the Brink of Economic Collapse

On March 27, President Trump signed the single largest government spending package in history: a \$2.3 trillion economic stimulus package. The CARES Act came together in less than two weeks. We were shooting bullets into a cloud of smoke and hoping that enough of them would hit their targets to save an economy veering toward collapse.

The CARES Act only passed because Congress worked with the White House in a way that I always hoped it would. Republicans and Democrats both agreed on what needed to be accomplished. They ultimately drafted a plan for getting \$1,200 cash payments directly to middle- and low-income Americans. Equally important was the Paycheck Protection Program (PPP), which would provide hundreds of billions of dollars in federal loans to small- and medium-sized businesses.

The mechanics of the legislation were complicated. For the PPP loans to work, America's banks needed to participate in the program voluntarily, and applicants needed to request funds through a hastily created online SBA portal. Ivanka and SBA administrator Jovita Carranza called the CEOs of every major bank as well as many local banks and urged them to participate. The last time the federal government had rolled out a new web-based program at this scale was the Obama administration's catastrophic rollout of healthcare.gov, and our team wanted to avoid a similar fate. Ivanka paid special care to ensure that funding was accessible to minority communities. Within the first fourteen days of the program, PPP processed fourteen years' worth of loans.

Because of these timely efforts, the country staved off a new economic depression. PPP alone saved as many as 17.3 million jobs through loans to small businesses. Despite this success, the closure of restaurants and catering companies disrupted America's food supply chain. Many farmers had no place to sell their fresh food, while at the same time thousands of newly unemployed people were lining up at food banks.

Not wanting food to go to waste while Americans went hungry, Ivanka reached out to Secretary of Agriculture Sonny Perdue to see if they could work together to help solve the quandary. Within days, they launched the Farmers to Families Food Box Program, which purchased food from farmers

and distributed it to Americans in need. The program helped faith-based and community groups deliver more than 173 million boxes of fresh meat, dairy, and produce to families over the next twelve months. Ivanka worked around the clock to stand up the program and traveled across the country to help distribute boxes to families. Her passion for helping others and her core belief in the goodness of people were on full display.

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On April 9, the first full day of Passover, I was looking forward to a special Seder dinner with Ivanka, Avi, and the kids—my first family meal in weeks. On the way home, I got a phone call from John Hess, the CEO of the Hess Corporation. He was an old friend from when I lived in New York, as well as the commissioner of my former fantasy football league, a hobby I had to drop when I came to Washington.

“The industry is out of oil storage tankers,” Hess said. “We have nowhere to store the oil coming out of the ground. This could break the American oil and gas industry. The president has to get involved.”

I’d received similar reports earlier in the week from other leaders in the sector, including Vicki Hollub from Occidental Petroleum and Harold Hamm from Continental Resources. If oil prices remained at \$20 a barrel, energy companies would be forced to lay off millions of American workers, and our country’s energy independence would be in jeopardy.

“You need to call the president directly,” I told Hess. “He likes cheap oil. And I can’t do anything on this unless he directs me to.”

Half an hour later, my phone rang again.

“Jared, I never thought I’d be asking you to make a deal to raise oil prices,” said Trump. “This is getting really bad. Call the Saudis and the Russians and work with them to make a deal.”

I dialed Secretary of Energy Dan Brouillette to get the lay of the land: he had been immersed in negotiations between Saudi Arabia and Russia for months. He explained that the two countries had been close to an agreement one month earlier. When Russian president Vladimir Putin walked away from that deal, the Saudis cut their oil prices in response, leading to the current crisis. Brouillette was working closely with the negotiators on the two sides to broker a compromise. They were close to an agreement, but several significant issues remained unresolved.

I called MBS. The Saudi crown prince described his frustration with Russia. He thought they were playing games with the international oil supply

and trying to force Saudi Arabia to cut production. Then I dialed Kirill Dmitriev, the powerful Russian financier and Putin confidant who had been helpful with the Middle East peace plan. We agreed that this was an opportune moment for Russia and the United States to work together on a matter of global importance.

When I arrived home, I sat down with Ivanka, Avi, and the kids for Seder dinner. As we practiced the sacred rituals and partook in the Passover meal, it almost felt as if life was normal again. Never mind the weeks of sleepless nights, missed family moments, and returning home long after the kids had gone to bed. I was savoring every second. As we sang my favorite Passover song, “Vehi Sheamda,” a prayer about God’s promise to deliver each generation of the Jewish people from their oppressors, the familiar sound of my phone broke the serenity: it was MBS, and I had to take it.

Ivanka nodded knowingly, of course, but I couldn’t help but notice the kids’ disappointed faces as I walked out of the room.

That night I was on the phone back and forth between MBS and Kirill, and our calls continued throughout the next day. Thirty-six hours later, we had nearly finalized an agreement to reduce production by around ten million barrels per day, which would be the largest cut in history.

“I think we got to the right number,” I told Trump, who agreed to speak with Saudi Arabia’s King Salman bin Abdulaziz and Putin to close the deal.

On Sunday, April 12, the three leaders spoke.

As Trump congratulated them for reaching a deal, King Salman interrupted: “Well, we don’t have a deal yet. We need Mexico to reduce its production by four hundred thousand barrels per day.”<sup>56</sup>

Mexico was part of an extended oil compact called OPEC+ that included the thirteen OPEC nations and ten non-OPEC countries, including Russia. Salman explained that if Mexico refused to cut production, any agreement would fail because the other OPEC+ countries would resent Mexico’s free riding.

Trump passed me a note: “call mexico asap.”

When I spoke to Alfonso Romo, chief of staff to President López Obrador of Mexico, he said they were trying to lower production but hadn’t reached a decision.

Secretary Brouillette explained what was really going on. “It’s the Hacienda Hedge,” he said.

Mexico had nationalized its oil industry in the early 1900s and relied on oil production for a significant portion of its government revenue. To protect against dips in the oil market, it made an annual billion dollar hedge on Wall Street. If prices fell below Mexico's hedged position, the country reaped billions of dollars, offsetting the losses in oil production revenue caused by the reduced price of oil. The more the price dropped, the more Mexico made from its "Hacienda Hedge."

"The Mexicans are currently hedged at fifty-five dollars per barrel," said Brouillette. "They're indifferent to the low prices. Why would they agree to reduce a single barrel of production?"

A few hours later, Romo came back and said that as a concession to Trump, Mexico would cut production by a hundred thousand barrels per day. That was not nearly enough. When I updated Trump, however, the president was surprisingly upbeat.

"That's great," he said. "Tell the Saudis that we'll make up the three-hundred-thousand-barrel difference."

"But we don't control our oil markets," I said, not sure what he was thinking. The United States could not order its oil companies to halt their drilling.

"Just tell them we're doing it," said Trump. "We've got to get this deal done—I have an idea."

Instead of focusing on the obstacles, Trump identified an opportunity. He recognized that US oil production was already coming offline. American producers couldn't make a profit unless the price per barrel was more than \$40, so as prices fell to \$38 and even lower, they naturally reduced production. This reduction far exceeded 300,000 barrels per day. The president realized that we could credit the amount to Mexico and strike a deal. I floated his idea past MBS, who agreed to consider it. The negotiations were nonstop, and everyone was exhausted, but they included moments of brinkmanship and jousting. During a conversation with Putin, Trump pivoted to an entirely different topic.

"Aren't you concerned about China's buildup on your southern border?" he asked. "That's where a lot of your country's wealth is—aren't you concerned at some point they may get a bit more aggressive and look to expand?"

Without skipping a beat, Putin shot back that he wasn't the one building a wall on his southern border.



The three leaders eventually reached an agreement, with OPEC approving a reduction of 9.7 million barrels per day. The deal saved millions of American jobs in the oil and gas sectors.

The Pulitzer Prize-winning energy writer Daniel Yergin praised the agreement as Trump's "biggest and most complex" deal ever. The *Wall Street Journal's* editorial board echoed the sentiment, giving "credit to Mr. Trump for using US global influence to mitigate the mayhem"—high praise from a source frequently critical of Trump's international economic policy.

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On April 15, Trump called me to the Oval Office and said that he wanted to end the COVID-19 lockdown and reopen the economy the following day. While he believed that the federal guidance to slow the spread was justified to flatten the curve and build up lifesaving supplies, it was supposed to be temporary, and he believed that the doctors wanted it to go on indefinitely. As he fielded calls from business leaders, economists, and members of Congress, it was clear that the unemployment rate would soon jump to 30 percent. He told me that he wanted to make an announcement immediately. I implored him to give me a few more days, explaining that the governors had asked for clear reopening guidelines and that Dr. Birx was in the process of formulating a plan that Trump's medical and economic teams could support. I cautioned him that if he moved forward before a plan was finalized, his own advisers would distance themselves from the decision and Americans would lose confidence in the federal response. "If we can have consensus on a plan, it will be much better," I said. Trump ultimately agreed to give me twenty-four hours to achieve a consensus on reopening.

In a meeting with the president the next day, April 16, Fauci strongly advised against a full reopening. Continued lockdowns would save lives, he argued, and we should keep them as long as possible.

"I'm not going to preside over the funeral of the greatest country in the world," Trump declared.

"I understand," said Fauci meekly. "I just do medical advice. I don't think about things like the economy and the secondary impacts. I'm just an infectious diseases doctor. Your job as president is to take everything else into consideration."

Fauci was a shrewd politician and smooth communicator. Nobody rises to the top of a bureaucracy like the National Institutes of Health and survives six presidential administrations over three and a half decades without

knowing how to self-promote, outmaneuver, and curry favor with the powerful.

Early in the pandemic, Fauci was sitting in my office when his phone rang. We both glanced down and saw the caller's name: Jim Acosta, the president's chief antagonist on the generally hostile news network CNN. Neither of us acknowledged the awkward moment, but it stuck in my mind. Members of our task force resented that Fauci would participate in these meetings, and then criticize the federal government's response as if he was not involved with it.

That very week he told the Associated Press that "we're not there yet" on testing, and that "we have to have something in place that is efficient and that we can rely on." The comments demoralized staffers who were working twenty-hour days while Fauci was chatting with his friends in the media. His statement also struck me as odd. It came at the end of a seven-day period in which we'd conducted a million tests. We were rapidly scaling, and we finally had a reliable system in place. Rather than highlighting this progress to build confidence, he focused on the negative. As a full member of the task force, Fauci attended all the meetings and knew what we were doing. Yet he continually distanced himself from the White House when discussing the effort publicly.

"Is he a sportscaster or is he a member of the team?" asked one task force member. "He knows the challenges we face and everything we are doing to solve them. If he has recommendations, he should give them to us!"

One day, after Fauci gave another doom-and-gloom interview, Trump tried to convince him to change his approach: "Anthony, you've got to be more positive. We need to give people hope."

Fauci pushed back: "My advice in situations like this is that we should make people feel as bad as possible. We want to explain the worst possible scenario. If it comes true, we were right. If it doesn't, then we did a better job than people expected."

"I'm not like that," Trump said. "I take the opposite approach. I am like a coach who believes in the team even if they are down to give them a reason to keep fighting. We can't let people give up. People are losing their jobs. They are drinking and doing drugs; they are depressed, suicides are going up. That is not America. We will get through this, but we have to stay positive; we have to give people a reason to keep their businesses open so that our country can bounce back."

“Fine, I’ll be a little more positive,” Fauci said, but he never made good on this commitment.

Fauci wasn’t the only one beating us up on testing. Cuomo also attacked. On one of our calls, I confronted him about his public criticism: “What more do you want us to do?”

“This is not a scientific answer,” said the governor. “What’s enough testing? No one knows. Once I say there’s enough testing, the media narrative against you guys will stop. Why don’t I come to the White House, and we’ll come to an agreement?”

Trump approved the meeting, and so Cuomo came to the West Wing. He said that New York was administering twenty thousand tests a day. He thought fifty thousand would be enough.

“Done,” I said.

Cuomo was surprised. Unaware of the progress we had made on ramping up supplies, he had proposed a number he didn’t think we could meet. Afterward, he spoke to the press in front of the White House and called his visit “very functional and effective.” As we met New York’s testing demand, he stopped his attacks on testing. When he did, the media’s narrative petered out. Learning from this approach, the team had similar discussions with nearly every governor. Some pundits pushed for hundreds of millions of tests per day. Others wanted us to track the movements of Americans and conduct aggressive contact tracing. But we were not going to let America become a surveillance state.

During the pandemic, it would have been much easier if every challenge had one clear, scientific answer, but that was not the case. As I used to tell my team, three factors went into solving big problems: imagination, money, and gravity. We had the first two. We just could not change the laws of gravity. We could only manufacture products so fast. We did, however, pair the power and resources of the federal government with the nimbleness and creativity of the private sector to confront the biggest challenge of our lives.

## Operation Warp Speed

On the morning of April 15, Health and Human Services secretary Alex Azar and his deputy chief of staff, Paul Mango, came to my office with a proposal. Mango handed me a PowerPoint deck, and Azar pitched a plan to develop and deploy a coronavirus vaccine within six months.

I looked up from the presentation quizzically. The fastest vaccine to ever come to market was the mumps shot, and that had taken four years. It didn't have to take that long, said Azar. If the federal government could work with vaccine developers to streamline the regulatory approvals and fund the early production of the vaccines, we could dramatically truncate the timeline.

Before joining the administration, Azar had served as president of Eli Lilly, one of America's foremost pharmaceutical companies, renowned for commercializing both the polio vaccine and insulin. This was his wheelhouse. Growing visibly excited, the secretary explained that the FDA approval process was typically a huge choke point in the production of vaccines. On top of that, vaccines could be expensive to manufacture and store, so pharmaceutical companies usually waited for FDA approval before producing the doses at scale. If the federal government offered to underwrite the production costs, however, the companies could begin manufacturing vaccines as they entered clinical trials, the FDA's three-stage process for validating the safety and efficacy of a vaccine. Conducting these processes concurrently would shave months off the vaccine rollout timeline without compromising safety. Once the FDA approved a COVID-19 vaccine, we could begin shipping it to Americans the next day.

The cost of failure was high: if a vaccine didn't work or the FDA rejected it for safety reasons, the federal government would be stuck with warehouses full of useless doses and a big bill.

It was clear that Azar was coming to me for two reasons. First, he needed a bulldozer to keep the bureaucracy of the task force and anyone else out of his way. Second, and more importantly, he knew that if the project with its massive price tag went sideways, people would look for someone to blame. I was willing to accept this risk, because I knew a successful vaccine

could potentially save millions of lives, while helping the country get back to normal.

Behind the ambitious vaccine plan was Peter Marks, an MD and PhD who led leukemia research at Yale University before joining the FDA to run its Center for Biologics Evaluation and Research. He rejected his field's fatalism about long timelines for the development of vaccines.

At a meeting with pharmaceutical executives at the White House on March 2, Stéphane Bancel, the CEO of Moderna, revealed that his company had already developed a vaccine and that they were waiting for regulatory approval to move forward with clinical trials.

“So, you’re talking over the next few months, you think you could have a vaccine,” said Trump.

Fauci cut in: “You won’t have a vaccine. You’ll have a vaccine to go into testing.”

Later in the event, Trump again suggested that a vaccine could be ready within months instead of years. With the press cameras rolling, an exasperated Fauci declared that a vaccine would be available to the public “at the earliest, a year to a year and a half, no matter how fast you go.”

Yet Marks identified ways to accelerate the production of a new vaccine. He knew that both Pfizer and Moderna had spent years testing a new mRNA vaccine technology that could work against COVID-19. Further, the ubiquity of the virus would help. For most vaccines, the trials dragged on for years as pharmaceutical companies searched for volunteers to enroll. That wouldn't be a problem with COVID-19. Marks also anticipated that the FDA would review the vaccines under a special emergency process. He calculated that with a good effort, we could deliver a vaccine before the end of the year. He called his initiative Project Warp Speed.

As Azar and Mango described the Warp Speed concept, my mind flashed to a call I had received a month earlier from Ken Griffin, one of America's most successful business visionaries. “You have to start mass producing vaccines while you are still doing phase three safety trials,” he said. “You may lose money on a few, but if one hits, it will go down as the best investment ever made. If you invest a few billion now, you will spare the economy trillions in damage.”

I loved the idea. It was critically important to deliver a safe and effective vaccine as fast as possible. Through the drive-through testing program and Project Airbridge, I had seen the effectiveness of a well-run

partnership between the government and the private sector. I had also seen the price of turf wars and government incompetence. We needed to nail the execution. There was no margin for bureaucratic missteps, power struggles, or needless delays.

“Let’s keep this out of the task force,” I said. “Let’s run it out of HHS, with logistics support from DOD. Set up a meeting at the Pentagon, and I’ll represent the White House.”

Later that day, I described Operation Warp Speed to the president.

It would cost \$2 billion to mass-produce each vaccine candidate, and we were looking to take a portfolio approach involving four to six promising candidates, costing upward of \$14 billion.

“That’s a lot of money to risk, and vaccines are only partially effective,” said Trump. “What are we doing about therapeutics? I think people would prefer to know that they can be cured if they are hospitalized.”

Trump’s question drew from his personal experience. COVID-19 had killed several of his close friends, including Stanley Chera, a fellow real estate developer in New York. He felt like the federal government’s response should include treatments that could save the lives of the infected, but he gave the go-ahead to move forward with Operation Warp Speed. Our discussion had convinced him that the potential benefits to public health, safety, and the economy greatly outweighed the financial risks.

“To do this right, we need to cut through all of the bureaucracy,” I said. “This approach will make some enemies. I need your permission to take liberties to do whatever is necessary to get it done.”

“Do it,” said Trump. “Anything that gets in your way, come back to me. But do what you need to do so that nothing slows you down.”

Azar, Boehler, and I met at the Pentagon with defense secretary Mark Esper, deputy secretary David Norquist, and chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Mark Milley to ask for the military’s partnership in the project. Esper suggested that four-star Army general Gustavo Perna would be the right man to lead the logistics of Operation Warp Speed. Perna had served for more than forty years in the Army and was weeks away from retiring. He patriotically accepted one final mission.

We needed to recruit a coleader with vaccine production experience to serve alongside Perna and manage the vaccine development. We interviewed four high-caliber candidates, but in the end, one stood out: Dr. Moncef Slaoui. The Moroccan-born scientist was smart, humble, and exacting. As

head of vaccines for GlaxoSmithKline, he had helped develop fourteen vaccines in ten years. Smooth and confident, he came to his interview in a leather jacket with a T-shirt underneath. “I delegate,” he said. “I take credit for all the failures and give credit for all of the successes.” That resonated with me. It would help him survive a government bureaucracy plagued by resentment and leaks. Slaoui had another important trait: he was the only candidate who believed we could bring a vaccine to market in less than a year. He was our unanimous choice.

On May 15, with America’s foremost scientists already hard at work to develop a vaccine, Trump walked into the Rose Garden with Perna and Slaoui.

“I want to update you on the next stage of the momentous medical initiative,” said the president. “It’s called Operation Warp Speed.”

## Turmoil

The murder of George Floyd under the knee of a Minneapolis police officer was an injustice that shocked, saddened, and outraged every decent American. The day after the president saw the video footage, he remarked to reporters: “I feel very, very badly. That’s a very shocking sight.”

In Minneapolis, the streets filled with protesters. During the day, the crowds stayed mostly peaceful. As night fell, however, looters violently smashed glass storefronts, robbed local businesses, and burned down buildings, including a police precinct. Living through my father’s prosecution and incarceration had exposed me to the helplessness that many families feel when they are on the other side of the criminal justice system. Furthermore, through our criminal justice reform efforts, I had met families who had suffered unjustly at the hands of a few bad actors-in-law enforcement. I understood the hurt that many people were feeling. Americans have a right to peacefully protest, but there is no excuse for violence.

Within a matter of days dozens of people were shot and hundreds more injured across the nation. As the scenes of chaos and disorder blanketed the television screen, Trump grew more troubled. Peaceful protests were understandable, but this murderous mayhem was not. The president believed in federalism and respecting the jurisdictions of local authorities, but he also felt that the riots had become a national concern. He called Attorney General Bill Barr and asked for advice on what he could do to quell the violence. Barr said that Trump could activate the National Guard and send in the military, but that doing so without the express consent of the governor would set a dangerous precedent. Trump spoke to Minnesota governor Tim Walz and offered to send in the National Guard, but the Democratic governor declined the assistance, allowing the situation to escalate.

After midnight on Thursday, May 28, Trump released his frustration with a post on Twitter and Facebook: “These THUGS are dishonoring the memory of George Floyd, and I won’t let that happen. Just spoke to Governor Tim Walz and told him that the Military is with him all the way. Any difficulty and we will assume control but, when the looting starts, the shooting starts. Thank you!”



By the time I woke up early that morning, Twitter had hidden the president's message behind a warning label claiming that it "violated the Twitter rules about glorifying violence." This was the first time a social media platform had censored the president of the United States. Twitter's censorship of Trump actually called more attention to the words the platform sought to suppress. Democrats and the media seized upon the censored tweet as a chance to redirect the rage of millions of Americans toward the president, who until that point was not a major focus of the national discussion.

Since 2016, Democrats tried to label Trump a racist, in what I learned was a common tactic used against Republicans. Before Trump ran for office, he was a pop culture icon embraced by the entertainment business and leaders in the Black community. But in August of 2017, in the wake of the horrific attack in Charlottesville, the Democrats and the media took Trump's words—"very fine people on both sides"—out of context. Trump was referring to peaceful protesters, some of whom supported, and others of whom opposed, tearing down the monument to Robert E. Lee. Time and time again, Trump had forcefully denounced the heinous violence of neo-Nazis and white supremacists, but the media seized upon every opening to call Trump a racist. I knew from my personal relationship with the president that the charge was nonsense. Trump's commitment to the rights and advancement of African Americans was fully apparent from the policies and priorities of his administration. In addition to passing the largest criminal justice reform in recent history—which mostly benefited Black males who had been unfairly sentenced through the justice system—Trump increased funding for Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) and made the funding permanent so that these schools would no longer have to lobby Congress every year. Prior to the pandemic, Black unemployment reached a record low, Black youth unemployment reached an all-time low, and wages for Black workers were rising at an historic rate. By early 2020 Trump was consistently polling at over 20 percent with the Black community, a potentially game changing twelve-point gain from the 2016 election. Democratic leaders were desperate to reclaim these Black voters, and they were willing to resort to reckless and unfounded accusations of racism.

By June 1, the riots had spread beyond Minneapolis. In New York, protesters threw bricks at police officers. In Atlanta, hundreds of people vandalized buildings and businesses. In Indianapolis, two people were shot

and killed. In Washington, DC, protesters gathered in front of the White House and chanted curses at the president, burned American flags, broke through barricades, threw bricks at Secret Service officers, set off fireworks, and started a fire in St. John's, an historic church across Lafayette Square from the White House that every president since James Madison has visited. More than sixty Secret Service officers sustained multiple injuries defending the White House. What had started with a call for justice in response to the death of George Floyd devolved into an excuse for violence, theft, and anarchy.

It was time for the president to address the nation and assure Americans that their commander in chief was committed to restoring safety and peace in their communities. "My fellow Americans, my first and highest duty as president is to defend our great country and the American people," Trump said in the Rose Garden on the evening of June 1. "All Americans were rightly sickened and revolted by the brutal death of George Floyd. My administration is fully committed that for George and his family, justice will be served. He will not have died in vain, but we cannot allow the righteous cries and peaceful protesters to be drowned out by an angry mob. The biggest victims of the rioting are peace loving citizens in our poorest communities. And as their president, I will fight to keep them safe. I will fight to protect you. I am your president of law and order, and an ally of all peaceful protesters."

Trump strongly urged governors to deploy the National Guard. He said that if they refused to do so and the violence continued, he would use the military to restore order.

"I take these actions today with firm resolve and with a true and passionate love for our country. By far, our greatest days lie ahead," he said. "Now I'm going to pay my respects to a very, very special place."

Trump was referring to St. John's Church, the historic place of worship that had been set on fire the night before. Minutes later, when Trump walked through the empty Lafayette Square, which the US Park Police had cleared, he was surprised to find the church boarded up. He had planned to go inside and say a prayer, so he improvised by holding up his Bible in front of the church. The press alleged that the president had emptied the square expressly for his visit. But that was not the case—the Park Police had cleared it as part of a preexisting plan to create a safer perimeter around the White House. A year later, under the Biden administration, the Interior Department's

inspector general released an official report that stated the following: “The evidence we obtained did not support a finding that the [Park Police] cleared the park to allow the President to survey the damage and walk to St. John’s Church. Instead, the evidence we reviewed showed that the [Park Police] cleared the park to allow the contractor to safely install the antiscale fencing in response to destruction of property and injury to officers occurring on May 30 and 31.”

In a show of support for the protesters, Democrats in Congress were calling to defund the police. The White House needed to respond with a constructive alternative. For several weeks, I had been working behind the scenes with criminal justice reform advocate Jessica Jackson and other police reform advocates to listen to their concerns, and to see if we could find common ground with law enforcement to prevent grave injustices in the future.

On June 4, I convened a meeting in the Roosevelt Room with Attorney General Bill Barr, Ja’Ron Smith, Jessica Jackson, and the leaders of all the major police associations. Around the conference table filled with law enforcement leaders, Jackson floated two concepts that were important to police reform advocates: a new national mandate to require police officers to use force only as a last resort, and the elimination of qualified immunity, a legal protection for police officers that keeps them from being held personally liable for actions they take in the line of duty, unless they are clearly in violation of a court precedent or law. The police groups understood the urgency for reform, but they immediately dismissed the idea of eliminating qualified immunity because it would put officers at risk of being sued simply for doing their jobs.

“What problem are we solving for?” asked Liz Lombardo, a White House Fellow from the New York Police Department’s legal bureau whom Chris Liddell suggested join the group. “There’s a question we always ask at the NYPD: ‘Will this new rule keep an officer from getting out of the car?’ There is no law that compels a police officer to get out of the car when they see a crime occurring. They do it out of a selfless love for their communities. It requires incredible courage. If we create confusion about the standards, while eliminating their legal protections, officers are not going to get out of the car, and our communities will be less safe.”

Lombardo and Ja’Ron Smith explained that the killings of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, Ahmaud Arbery, Philando Castile, and others all had

something in common. The officers who killed them were from police departments with outdated and unaccredited use-of-force policies.<sup>57</sup> These agencies were failing to prepare their officers to make split-second decisions related to deadly force. Staff secretary Derek Lyons and deputy counsel Pat Philbin argued that rather than mandating a federal standard, as some reform advocates were suggesting, we could create incentives for the departments to seek accreditation voluntarily, and we could ensure that the accreditation standards expressly forbid use of the choke hold—the policing tactic that killed George Floyd. Everyone seemed amenable to the idea, including the representatives of the police groups. I became convinced that a deal was possible and that we could build consensus on meaningful reforms.

Ja’Ron Smith and I discussed our ideas with Senator Tim Scott, a Republican from South Carolina who had recently offered his own reform bills. We drafted an executive order for the president’s review. By the second week of June, after working closely with law enforcement and police reform advocates, we had a document ready for the president’s signature, backed by both law enforcement and the victims of police brutality. Scott agreed to draft legislation that would expand upon these reforms and codify them into law.

On June 16, the president walked into the State Dining Room of the White House, where police officers sat next to families who had lost a loved one due to police misconduct. I had worked with Jackson, Desiree Perez of Roc Nation, and a lawyer named Lee Merritt to invite the families. In a closed-press meeting, the president asked each family to tell their story. African American moms and dads spoke of how their sons and daughters had suffered at the hands of police. The officers in the room expressed their sorrow for what a few bad cops had done to hurt their loved ones. A sheriff put his arm around a mother who had choked up while telling the story about how her son was wrongfully killed by a police officer. I wished that the nation could have witnessed the sincere dialogue between the families and the officers, and the profound compassion the officers had for the families. It was a powerful moment of healing and unity that I will never forget. During the meeting, which lasted well over an hour, the president listened intently and treated each family with compassion and understanding. Barr took careful notes and promised to follow up with each family on their case.

After the private roundtable, Trump honored the families and officers in the Rose Garden and pledged to “fight for justice for all of our people.” He

announced that he was signing an executive order encouraging police departments to adopt the “highest professional standards.” The order would provide funding to police departments that received accreditation for their training policies, eliminated the choke hold, shared information about police misbehavior, and addressed mental illness and addiction.

“It strikes a great balance between the vital need for public and officer safety, and the equally vital need for lasting, meaningful, and enforceable police reform,” said Fraternal Order of Police president Pat Yoes.

Even Laurie Robinson, who cochaired Obama’s task force on policing, commended our reforms. “One of the things we’d hoped for is presidential leadership, and that’s why his stepping out on these issues may be really helpful,” she said.

Though Trump took bold action to make America’s justice system fairer for all citizens, his rhetoric didn’t resonate with some Americans. When asked about Trump’s tough language, Senator Tim Scott gave the best explanation: “The president’s love language has never been words of encouragement. I like to think of his love language as acts of service. And that’s one of the reasons why I focus on the policy positions that we take that produce the type of change that will be necessary for a healthier, stronger middle class in the African American community.”

While this was one of the most challenging periods of my service, I tried to stay focused on finding a constructive resolution that brought the country together. By December of 2021, hundreds of law enforcement agencies had adopted the reforms promoted by the executive order. In contrast, only eighteen police departments had adopted the reforms suggested by the task force on policing that Obama formed in response to the Ferguson riots in 2014. Trump’s action was the most significant step taken by the federal government in recent memory to improve policing in America. Even in a starkly divided country, there are always opportunities to build bridges.

Three months of constant negative news focused on the COVID-19 pandemic and civil unrest caused Trump’s poll numbers to sink sharply. At the same time, the president’s reelection campaign struggled to adjust its fundraising efforts to the pandemic, which would require hosting virtual events. The RNC and the campaign did not hold a single presidential fundraiser from March through most of June, and while they still had more

than \$150 million in the bank, they failed to meet our finance goals for the period.

By July, Trump wanted to make a change in his campaign's leadership.

Deputy campaign manager Bill Stepien had proven to be a smart and capable team player, both on the 2016 campaign and during his tenure running the White House political affairs team. In Stepien, the president would gain a savvy, low-profile campaign manager with a decade of experience running high-profile campaigns. Trump asked me to speak with campaign manager Brad Parscale, who agreed to stay on and run the digital and marketing operations. The new structure allowed the campaign to build momentum, and it raised nearly \$250 million in the third quarter alone. Down by a big margin and with a lot of macro trends working against us, we needed a strong comeback, and with Stepien at the helm, the campaign began working with renewed energy and unity.

## Suicide Squeeze

On June 24, 2020, I spoke to the UAE's de facto ruler, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed (MBZ). It felt like five years had passed since the two of us had talked, but it had only been five months. So much had happened.

MBZ warned me that if Israel annexed areas of the West Bank, it would reverse the progress we had made to bring Israel closer to its Arab neighbors. This was not a threat but rather a caution, as MBZ was hopeful about our progress. He reiterated that he would still maintain the UAE's partnership with the United States either way and added that he believed that if peace was going to happen, it would happen through our team.

It was a remarkable and humbling endorsement, but the best was yet to come: MBZ said that the UAE was ready to normalize relations with Israel—and that he wanted to begin during our administration.

My immediate concern was that we were about to disappoint him. A few weeks earlier, Ambassador David Friedman had emailed me Israel's proposed map for settling the territorial disputes in Jerusalem and the West Bank. It was the product of four months of painstaking work by a mapping committee we had established in February to draw the street by street and neighborhood-by-neighborhood maps envisioned by the president's peace plan. Getting Israel to agree to a map was a crucial step in the peace process. When I first met one-on-one with President Abbas in June of 2017, the Palestinian leader had assured me that if I could get a map out of Israel, "we will be flexible and everything else will be easy." But the map revealed an issue: we were struggling to convince Bibi, a master negotiator, to agree to a compromise that would give tangible life improvements to the Palestinians.

Friedman began calling me repeatedly, asking for the president's sign-off on the maps. Having gone through the diligence of drawing them, the Israelis were pushing hard to declare sovereignty right away. Each time I spoke with the ambassador, I pressed him for an update on Israel's concessions. Our conversations intensified. He became impatient, and I grew exasperated. "I know that this is your top issue right now," I said, "but I have a million issues to work on with the president, and this is not in his top hundred. After Bibi's speech in January, this hasn't been his favorite topic."

I told Friedman that I wasn't going to bring the annexation issue to the president unless we had a fair proposal that advanced our peace plan.

Several days later, on June 11, Yousef Al Otaiba called Avi. The pragmatic Emirati ambassador who had attended the rollout of our peace plan said that he was planning to publish an op-ed the next day based on a conversation with the renowned Jewish philanthropist Haim Saban. The op-ed, which Yousef had written in Hebrew, appeared in *Yedioth Ahronoth*, a prominent Israeli newspaper. "Israeli plans for annexation and talk of normalization are a contradiction," wrote Yousef. "A unilateral and deliberate act, annexation is the illegal seizure of Palestinian land. It defies the Arab—and indeed the international—consensus on the Palestinian right to self-determination."

It was a bold play. Yousef was sending a public warning to Israel: if Bibi moved forward with annexation, it would kill the possibility of normalization with the UAE and other Arab nations.

It also complicated our mapping negotiations with the Israelis. I had hoped that reaching a resolution on the annexation issue would move the peace process past an impossible sticking point and bring us closer to a deal. The compromise I envisioned would create a framework for resolving the land dispute between Israel and the Palestinians, and it would freeze expansion of settlements beyond the predetermined borders. But MBZ's call and Yousef's op-ed were forcing me to rethink whether reaching a normalization breakthrough between Israel and the UAE should be a higher and more immediate priority than our relentless pursuit of an Israeli-Palestinian peace deal. Unless the Emiratis were bluffing, annexation would reverse the progress we'd steadily made toward normalization.

I didn't think they were bluffing, but it was difficult to imagine that normalization would actually come to fruition. Only two Arab nations had taken the step to normalize relations with Israel: Jordan in 1994 and Egypt in 1978 as part of the Camp David Accords. Whenever I spoke with colleagues and confidants about the possibility of additional Arab nations normalizing with Israel, they thought the concept was impossible without first resolving the Israel-Palestinian conflict. They presupposed it would never happen, and that the Arabs would never follow through.

As I prepared for our meeting with the president, Friedman stopped by my office to compare notes. The two options—annexation or normalization—weighed heavily in my mind as we talked. My team had invested more



than three years into our peace plan, and we were on the precipice of entering a critical new phase. But was it worth setting aside a long-shot chance at normalization?

As we sat down in the Oval Office, Friedman began with an update on the mapping effort and asked the president whether he was ready to support Israeli annexation of areas of the West Bank. Frustrated, Trump cut him off. He'd already done much for Israel, he said, and there were priorities to pursue with other countries.

He went around the room and asked each of us for our opinions on annexation. I told him that I thought we could do it in a way that minimized backlash from the Arab world, but we had to ensure that the Israelis made concessions to materially improve the lives of the Palestinian people.

By the meeting's end, Trump was ambivalent. "Let's be neutral," he said. "Mike, do what you think is best."

This was his way of telling Pompeo and the rest of us that we could move forward, but that if anything went wrong, he would hold us accountable.

As we left the Oval Office, Friedman, an experienced litigator who typically exuded confidence, was sweating bullets.

"Jared, that was close," he said. "I don't know how you do this every day on so many topics. That was really hard! You deserve an award for all you've done."

"I don't need an award, I just want to make progress," I told him.

"That was a fifty-one to forty-nine vote in the Senate," he said.

"No, that was fifty-fifty with Pompeo casting the deciding vote," Avi shot back.

Pompeo was more accustomed to these policy debates in front of Trump. He was happy with the outcome and ready to charge ahead, and once Friedman's shell shock wore off, the ambassador didn't need any convincing to move forward either. Despite my inner turmoil about the implications for normalization, the decision had been made. We were moving forward with annexation, and the president's team was prepared to execute.

On June 25 Avi and Friedman flew to Israel to meet with Bibi. I had sent Avi with one objective: finalize a mapping agreement that would advance our long-term goal of peace between Israel and the Palestinians. Our proposal was eminently fair. The Israelis would annex only those areas where Israeli settlements currently existed. In return, they would grant the

Palestinians civil control over some neighborhoods where the Palestinians lived in the West Bank. While this was a blunt action, we believed it would advance an inevitable outcome. We couldn't imagine a peaceful scenario in which either the Israelis or the Palestinians who currently dwelt in these areas would be uprooted and placed somewhere else. Our proposal would acknowledge this reality. It would allow Bibi to claim a win and declare Israeli sovereignty over disputed territory, but I hoped it would also show the Arabs that we had a plan for breaking through the stalemate of the past and ultimately reaching a resolution that included an independent Palestinian state. I also hoped that the Emiratis would appreciate the progress we were making, have a change of heart, and keep their normalization offer in play.

At 9:30 p.m. on Saturday night, June 27, Friedman and Avi met with Bibi. The prime minister quickly rejected their proposal. He was unwilling to make the concessions we suggested.

“You're hanging on by a thread with Trump,” warned Friedman.

Bibi knew that Friedman was a pro-Israel hawk, so his words rattled the prime minister. This was one example of Trump's effective management style. His hesitancy to move forward made clear to Friedman that he should negotiate from a position of strength and should not agree to a deal that failed to advance America's overall objectives in the region. Our message resonated: Bibi wasn't getting annexation for free. Israel needed to give something in return.

Trump was the most popular US politician in Israel, and Friedman and Avi made clear that if Bibi didn't compromise, there was a good chance Trump might publicly oppose annexation. Additionally, with annexation, Bibi risked near unanimous condemnation at the United Nations. And if he went forward unilaterally, there was no guarantee that our administration would block the international sanctions against Israel that might follow.

After three days of meetings, our team failed to reach a deal that included sufficient Israeli concessions. I couldn't in good faith recommend that the president endorse the current package. It felt like we had reached a dead end.

My mind drifted back to my conversation with MBZ the week before. Since the call, my team had been advancing the annexation proposal and hadn't raised MBZ's potential normalization offer with the Israelis.

“Maybe now is the right time to bring up the normalization pathway,” I said to Avi. “Why don't you see if Bibi would pursue it in exchange for

dropping annexation?”

The following morning, on June 30, Avi told the prime minister about my call with MBZ and asked if he would call off his annexation plans if we could get full normalization with the UAE.

Bibi was still skeptical that the offer was real, but said he would be interested if we could deliver.

Yousef called Avi just after he landed back in Washington the next day, July 1. As they discussed the impending Israeli announcement, Yousef floated the idea of the UAE entering into a nonbelligerence agreement with Israel in exchange for dropping annexation. Avi told Yousef he appreciated the offer, but said that he didn't think that would be enough. After further discussion, they both agreed to take to their teams the following proposal for consideration: the UAE would fully normalize relations with Israel if Bibi dropped his push for annexation. Until this phone call, the Emiratis had only said that if Bibi moved forward with annexation, he would ruin any chance of normalization. But they had not specifically offered to go forward with normalization in exchange for Israel suspending annexation. While MBZ had hinted at this during our June call, this was the first direct offer with achievable terms. At midnight that same day, Bibi's self-imposed annexation deadline passed without incident. He had refrained from making the explosive announcement. Normalization was still in play.

At 5:00 p.m. on July 2, Yousef came to my office and described the UAE's offer, which he had now vetted with the Emirati leadership. The UAE would fully normalize if Israel would suspend its annexation plans.

This was getting serious. On July 5, Yousef provided a normalization offer in writing. We shared parts of it with Bibi. Intrigued, the prime minister said he was willing to move forward and pursue the offer. He was beginning to appreciate the significance of the opportunity in front of him. He also must have known that annexation was too perilous without US support.

We were on the brink of a breakthrough. Less than twenty-four hours later, however, Avi rushed into my office with a message from Israeli ambassador Ron Dermer: Bibi would not make a deal with only the UAE. “He will only drop annexation if we can get three countries to normalize,” said Avi.

I couldn't believe it.

“Please remind him if we can get this deal, it will change the whole global dynamic for Israel and likely lead to other countries normalizing,” I

said. “I don’t blame him for asking, but it will be impossible to keep this a secret if we try to include other countries. And one untimely leak could spark protests across the region and kill the process. Also, remind him that he doesn’t have annexation without us.”

The next day, we heard back from Dermer. Bibi had agreed to postpone annexation for the time being, but he would not say for how long.

That was a good start, but we still needed Pompeo’s sign-off on several critical items. On a visit to the State Department, I showed him the UAE’s normalization proposal. Pompeo had been continuously supportive of the effort, but partially to manage my expectations, he outlined some of the hurdles we still faced to close a deal between Israel and the UAE.

“If this happens, it would be game-changing,” Pompeo said. “In my experience, the Emiratis are serious people and don’t waste time. This is a high-impact but low-probability objective . . . but crazier things have happened.”

Over the next several days, my team and I worked around the clock to build out the details of a deal that would be agreeable to the president, the Israelis, and the Emiratis. At no point during these discussions did the Israelis and Emiratis speak directly to each other. Instead, Avi and I served as the interlocutors.

At one point, I suggested to Yousef that, to expedite the process, we should bring the two sides together for direct talks. The Emirati ambassador just shook his head. “I much prefer to work through you and Avi,” he said.

A few weeks earlier, Dermer had called Yousef to complain that his op-ed in the Israeli newspaper had unhelpfully contradicted Bibi’s very public prediction that annexation would not harm Israel’s relationships with the Arabs. Despite this consternation, Yousef’s courageous op-ed was the best possible thing for the Israelis. It was a stroke of genius that pushed us one step closer to changing history in the Middle East. It was now up to us to get a deal to the finish line.

## The Call That Changed the World

Throughout July, our talks with Israel and the UAE continued to progress, but we knew that negotiations could break down at any point—and several times they nearly did.

Our White House team met with the Emiratis daily to iron out the exact details of the normalization agreement. Avi and Major General Miguel Correa shepherded the negotiations on behalf of the US delegation, supported by National Security Council officials Rob Greenway, Scott Leith, and Mark Vandroff. Our NSC team, which had the full backing of Robert O’Brien, could speak in technical detail about various aspects of the deal and navigate within the federal bureaucracy to deliver results.

By the end of July, we had reached a tentative agreement with Israel and the UAE. Recognizing that numerous problems could still surface, we made plans to announce the deal on August 13. In preparation, we needed to draft a joint statement from the UAE, Israel, and the United States providing the high-level details of the agreement. To avoid telephones, which could be monitored, we relied on personal visits. Avi began cycling between the UAE embassy, the White House, and the Israeli embassy to work out the open issues with Yousef and Dermer, and consulted me on any sticking points. General Correa did double duty with his Emirati contacts to assure them that all open issues would get resolved.

Ten days of around-the-clock shuttle diplomacy produced more than a hundred versions of the document. On multiple occasions, negotiations almost came to a halt. Understanding the magnitude of the agreement, both sides treated every word as a life-or-death issue.

By August 7 the normalization talks were on the verge of breaking down. Avi presented me with the latest draft that he thought was the best possible compromise. Yet problems remained. One of the outstanding issues was that Bibi would say only that he had agreed to “postpone” the annexation rather than “suspend” it, and the Emiratis found this, as well as several other issues, unacceptable.

“In the diplomacy business, words matter,” I said. “Tell both sides that we are not in the diplomacy business. We are in the results business.”

I reviewed the draft, made edits, and handed it back to Avi.

“This should solve everyone’s issues,” I said. “Tell them to put their pencils down and that this is now the final version. The shop is closed.”

The next day, August 8, Yousef called to say that MBZ had agreed to the joint statement and was ready to move forward with a full peace agreement. That same day, the United Kingdom’s ambassador to the United States, Karen Pierce, called to warn that if the United States recognized Israel’s annexation, the British government would recognize Palestine as a sovereign state. I had found Pierce to be a thoughtful and talented diplomat, and we were often up-front with her about our impending foreign policy actions. But in this instance, to keep her off our tracks, I made an argument for annexation and explained why it would make sense to proceed as we had planned. The call confirmed that not even our closest allies knew that a peace agreement was about to be announced.

On August 12, one day before the scheduled announcement, the deal nearly died twice. First, the UAE flagged a technical issue, which they said was a deal-breaker. As we scrambled to solve it, Dermer came to my office with his own unwelcome surprise: he said the deal was off because the timing wouldn’t work.

A domestic political opponent had introduced legislation effectively barring the prime minister from forming a government, and there was a chance that Israel would have elections the following day.

Sensing that both sides were growing nervous about everything that could go wrong, I tried to be patient and exude confidence. “That’s not an option,” I said. “I know Bibi will put what’s best for Israel before his personal political situation. We’ve come too far, we’re so close. This deal is happening. We’re announcing it tomorrow.”

As we concluded our discussion, Dermer disclosed a frustration: Throughout these entire negotiations, the Israelis hadn’t spoken directly to anyone from the UAE.

“I did ask them if they wanted to coordinate with you directly,” I explained, “but they insisted on going through Avi and me. I know your call with Yousef about the op-ed didn’t go well. When this is done, we’ll get everyone together, and I have no doubt they’ll come to see what a special advocate and partner you will be.”

Sensing there was no way to change the plan, Dermer promised that he would speak with the prime minister and urge him to move forward with the

normalization announcement the following day. He expressed his enthusiasm for what was about to come.

Early that evening, I briefed the president on the final agreement under the assumption that we'd keep the UAE and the Israelis from walking away in the final hours.

“This is going to be a big surprise,” he said. “How do you think people will respond to it?”

“This deal is massive,” I said. “It will send shock waves throughout the world. You allowed me to do this the unconventional way, and we are about to achieve what diplomats have only dreamt of for decades.”

By 7:00 p.m., just sixteen hours before the scheduled announcement, we resolved the outstanding issue with the Emiratis, and Bibi was ready to go forward as well. That night, Ivanka and I walked our dog around the neighborhood, and talked about all of the improbable twists and turns that led to this moment. I went to bed praying that there would be no further problems and hoping that nothing would leak. As I drifted off to sleep, I thought: Tomorrow, the world is going to change.

Early the next morning, August 13, I called my dad from the car—something I did each morning during my time in government. One of my Secret Service agents later said that he was so touched by these morning calls that he adopted the same habit with his own father. “Be on the lookout for positive breaking news at around 11:00 a.m.,” I told my dad. There was a limit to what I could say about my White House endeavors.

In my office at 8:00 a.m., my team grilled me on questions for my upcoming press interviews. Then we walked several reporters through the details of the impending announcement, under an embargo, so they could prepare to publish accurate stories as soon as we released the joint statement announcing the deal.

As the president prepared for a phone call with Bibi and MBZ to announce the deal, General Miguel Correa popped into my office. “We should call it the ‘Abraham Accords,’” he said.

Until then, we had been so busy ironing out details that we hadn't thought to name the agreement, but “Abraham Accords” immediately struck me as perfect. It would remind everyone of the original Abrahamic roots of brotherhood that united the Arab and Israeli peoples.

At 10:15 a.m. I entered the Oval Office with our whole team, including Avi, David Friedman, Brian Hook, General Correa, Rob Greenway, Scott

Leith, and Mark Vandroff. I had called Treasury Secretary Mnuchin the night before and invited him to come to the White House. I didn't tell him why, but I assured him he wouldn't want to miss the meeting. Since the 2016 campaign, Mnuchin had been a rock-solid friend and ally. He had supported me in my early days when I was discouraged, and we had been together for many of the most meaningful moments, from election night to our trip to the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea. He had attended the opening of the embassy in Jerusalem and helped execute the economic conference in Bahrain. I knew he would want to be present.

Sensing that something big was about to happen, more and more people started shuffling into the Oval Office.

Finally, the call began. Trump was on the line with MBZ and Bibi.

"This is very, very historic," said the president. "This is something that is incredible."

MBZ thanked the president for his leadership and emphasized the importance of the agreement for the advancement of peace in the region. He called it a transformative event that would create fresh energy for positive change, economic growth, and a new understanding between the Arab and Israeli people.

Bibi graciously thanked MBZ for his courage and Trump for his leadership. He said it was a "turning point for peace" and the biggest advance in more than a quarter century.

When the call ended, everyone in the Oval Office was silent as we paused to absorb the gravity of what we had just heard and witnessed. Mnuchin stood up and clapped, and one by one, everyone else rose to their feet and applauded. The president watched in amazement and enjoyed the applause. Then he too stood up and joined us all in clapping. We had just struck a peace agreement between Israel and the United Arab Emirates—a deal that no one expected, or even thought possible.

Moments later, Dan Scavino had a tweet teed up.

"Dan, if you're okay with it," I asked, "can Avi press send?"

Dan proudly held out the iPhone toward Avi, who paused for a second and then pressed the blue "tweet" button: "President Donald J. Trump, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel, and Sheikh Mohammed Bin Zayed—Crown Prince of Abu Dhabi and Deputy Supreme Commander of the United Arab Emirates—spoke today and agreed to the full normalization of relations between Israel and the UAE."



We were live.

The full statement detailed the key elements of the groundbreaking agreement.<sup>58</sup>

The news caught the world by surprise. In a city where there are no secrets, not a single reporter had inquired about the agreement before its announcement—a fact that we considered to be a worthy accomplishment, though of course our real triumph was the deal itself.

White House press secretary Kayleigh McEnany opened the French door to the west colonnade, and the White House press pool burst into the Oval Office. Within seconds the bewildered reporters formed a scrum, wrestling for prime positions in front of the president.

“Just a few moments ago, I hosted a very special call with two friends, Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu of Israel and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed of the United Arab Emirates, where they agreed to finalize a historical peace agreement. Everybody said this would be impossible. . . . After forty-nine years, Israel and the United Arab Emirates will fully normalize their diplomatic relations. . . . It will be known as the Abraham Accord.”

With his characteristic good humor, Trump added, “I wanted it to be called the Donald J. Trump Accord, but I didn’t think the press would understand that.”

The entire room erupted in laughter. After the media exited the Oval Office, the mood in the room was triumphant, and we continued to shake hands, hug, and soak in the remarkable moment.

“Jared’s a genius,” said Trump. “People complain about nepotism—I’m the one who got the steal here.”

I smiled at the joke and shot back: “Maybe in the future, more presidents will haze their sons-in-law by tasking them with impossible problems.”

To keep the deal a secret, I hadn’t previewed it for any other Arab countries, but I had a feeling that others would take a similar step, so long as there was not significant fallout in the region. What I didn’t know was how quickly that chance would present itself. That very afternoon, Avi received a phone call from Sheikh Salman bin Khalifa, the finance minister of Bahrain, with whom I had developed a great partnership and friendship while planning the Peace to Prosperity workshop.

He congratulated us and remarked that the first one was big, but the second one would cement the deal. He relayed that under the right conditions, Bahrain could go second.

Later, as I called to thank people who had been helpful throughout our peace efforts, I dialed Rick Gerson, an investor and fellow New Jersey native who had become a good friend over the decade I lived in New York City. “There is a good chance this agreement wouldn’t have happened without your initial connection,” I said. “It helped us establish a foundation of trust. Thank you.” Back in 2016, during the transition, Gerson had introduced me to several of his longtime close friends in Emirati leadership. Gerson’s introduction led to my first meeting with MBZ and his national security adviser, Tahnoun bin Zayed (TBZ), and commenced a constructive dialogue about how to end the endless wars, confront extremism, and pursue a future of greater prosperity and peace. Perhaps in a foreshadowing of what was to come, I was immediately struck by their respect for Israel and their acknowledgment of overlapping interests between the two nations.

Around the same time that we announced the Israel-UAE peace agreement, I received a call from Ric Grenell, special envoy for Serbia and Kosovo peace negotiations. Grenell, who had previously served as ambassador to Germany and acting director of national intelligence, was in the middle of negotiating an unprecedented economic agreement between Serbia and Kosovo—two former adversaries that do not share diplomatic ties. Grenell saw an opportunity through these negotiations to build momentum for the Abraham Accords. He believed that Kosovo, a Muslim-majority country, might be willing to normalize relations with Israel as part of its economic agreement with Serbia.

“If you can get that done, it would be amazing,” I told him. But it seemed like a long shot.

Several days later, Grenell followed up with incredible news: Kosovo had agreed to normalize relations with Israel. Further still, both Serbia and Kosovo had decided to place their embassies in Jerusalem. This was a completely unexpected development, a confluence of Grenell’s creative diplomacy and the progress we’d made. The Abraham Accords were already starting to reshape the Middle East and the broader Muslim world. The sands were beginning to shift.

Hours after we announced the Israel-UAE peace agreement, Yousef and Avi came to my house for dinner. We were excited, exhausted, and proud.

The bonds we had built elevated our friendship and trust to a rare level. We were now partners in changing the world. We exchanged stories on the positive feedback we were hearing from world leaders and talked about the work ahead to get the agreement signed and implemented as soon as possible.

The public response to the diplomatic achievement was overwhelmingly positive. An op-ed by Middle East expert and *New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman epitomized the uncharacteristically exuberant coverage. “A Geopolitical Earthquake Just Hit the Mideast,” his headline read. “For once, I am going to agree with President Trump in his use of his favorite adjective: ‘huge,’” Friedman wrote. “The U.A.E. and Israel and the U.S. on Thursday showed—at least for one brief shining moment—that the past does not always have to bury the future, that the haters and dividers don’t always have to win.”

The next morning, August 14, the president called: “I’ve never gotten better press coverage in my life,” he said. “This is the most positive coverage I’ve gotten on anything that I’ve done since I’ve been president.”

The release of our peace plan, along with our unconventional diplomacy, ultimately proved to be an essential step to reaching the Abraham Accords. It offered the Palestinians a pathway to self-determination and a more prosperous future. It showed the Arab public that the decades-old conflict had become more about enriching Abbas and the Palestinian leadership than finding a lasting resolution for the people. It exposed the Palestinian leadership’s illogical and outdated positions, even as it proved that Israel was ready to take an unprecedented step forward and agree to a detailed two-state solution. These steps ultimately allowed people to accept that there were in fact two separate conflicts—the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and the Arab-Israeli conflict—and that the cost of linking them was too high. This created the conditions for the beginning of the end of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

When I first came to Washington, almost everyone accepted former secretary of state John Kerry’s assessment of peace with Israel: “There will be no advanced and separate peace with the Arab world without the Palestinian process and Palestinian peace.” I had questioned this assumption and instead embraced a new approach, based on my belief that countries would engage in new partnerships that offered more promise for their citizens than the status quo.

Over the course of three and a half years, we advanced American interests by uniting our partners in the region against our common threats. Countries in the Middle East were now sharing more of the defense burden, and American troops were coming home. Trump was ending the endless foreign wars, and now he was forging peace in the Middle East. Economic ties were beginning to form that would prevent future conflict. These unprecedented changes would not only improve the lives of millions in the region but also protect countless Americans, especially our brave men and women in uniform.

## First Flight

On the tarmac at Israel's Ben Gurion International Airport, I stood before an Israeli El Al jet. Painted on the side of the blue-and-white plane was the word *peace* in English, Hebrew, and Arabic. Over the previous three years we had kept a low profile on my travels in the Middle East, but this trip on August 31 was different. News networks carried live coverage as I stepped forward to say a few words: "We are about to board a historic flight: the first commercial flight in history between Israel to a Gulf Arab country. While this is a historic flight, we hope that this will start an even more historic journey for the Middle East and beyond. I prayed yesterday at the Western Wall that Muslims and Arabs from throughout the world will be watching this flight, recognizing that we are all children of God and that the future does not have to be predetermined by the past."

Up to now, the peace agreement between Israel and the UAE had been confined to the words of President Trump, Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu, and Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed. This flight would show what the peace would mean in practice.

A week earlier, Avi had suggested that instead of taking a US military plane on the flight from Israel to Abu Dhabi, we could try to arrange a commercial flight and bring along a delegation of Israeli officials. I immediately embraced the concept, and we called Yousef to discuss it. As long as the Israelis remained constructive, he didn't think it would be a problem. And just like that, we set the plan in motion.

We still needed to solve an important logistical issue. The most direct route was a three-hour flight that passed over Saudi Arabia. Since the kingdom has no diplomatic relations with Israel, it did not typically allow commercial planes flying to or from Israel to travel through its airspace. We would need a special waiver. Flying around Saudi Arabia would add four hours to the trip, and I couldn't see why a journey of three hours should stretch to seven.

I asked Avi to call the deputy defense minister of Saudi Arabia, MBS's brother Khalid bin Salman, with whom we had developed a close working relationship during his stint as ambassador to the United States. He promised to help. It took several more calls, but the night before our flight, the Saudi

aviation authority approved the waiver. That authorization was its own major diplomatic achievement. The relationships we had built over the previous three years allowed us to break old conventions, move past bureaucracy, and chart a more constructive path forward.

Just before takeoff, the Israeli pilot, Tal Becker, who had been flying for forty-five years, made an overhead announcement. I pulled out my phone and recorded most of his words: “For the very first time an Israeli-registered aircraft will [fly over] Saudi Arabia, and after a nonstop flight from Israel, land in the United Arab Emirates. The duration of the flight, with the shortened route over Saudi Arabia, will be approximately three hours and twenty minutes instead of what would have been more than seven hours up to now. At the end of this historic nonstop flight, the wheels of the aircraft with the flag of the State of Israel on its tail will touch down on the runway of Abu Dhabi, the capital of the United Emirates. This will be another significant event in our history, just as El Al was when peace was signed between Jerusalem, Cairo, and Amman. We are all excited and look forward to more historic flights that will take us to other capital cities in the region, advancing us all to a more prosperous future. Wishing us all salaam, peace, and shalom. Have a safe flight. Thank you.”

We all clapped at his impromptu speech. I sent the video to Ivanka, who was so moved by it that she posted it on Twitter. Millions of people heard the message from the Israeli pilot, who so beautifully captured the sentiment of his fellow citizens.

As the plane sailed through Saudi airspace, the Americans and Israelis passed around their plane tickets and exchanged signatures to commemorate the experience. For many, this flight was the pinnacle of a long career in public service. We all felt the significance of the moment. We were making history. I thought of my grandparents, and wondered what they would think of their grandson leading the delegation on behalf of the president of the United States to make peace between Israel and a leading Arab nation.

The image of the Israeli plane in the United Arab Emirates captured the imagination of millions of people and ignited hope throughout the region. The older generations had accepted the illogical status quo as a given and had grown skeptical of ever seeing a breakthrough in their lifetime. Now many started to wonder: If peace was possible with the UAE, why not with the other Gulf Arab states? Arab observers began to see the enormous benefits of normalization: they could travel to Israel for business, leisure, or

religious pilgrimages, opening up new possibilities for commerce and collaboration. Just like that, the unthinkable was now within their grasp.

The trip taught me an important and humbling lesson: despite all of our meticulous work to reach the normalization deal, the flight drew more attention than the deal itself. While I always paid careful attention to the policy details, I often shortchanged the power of effectively communicating our efforts. As the saying goes, a picture is worth a thousand words, and the striking image of the flight made the peace agreement real to people.

When I traveled as a government official, I kept my itinerary tightly focused on the business at hand and avoided tourist activities like visiting historic sites. With this trip, however, I made an exception and agreed to join a cultural event with the Israeli and Emirati delegations. From the airport, we caravanned to the Louvre Abu Dhabi and visited the Gallery of Universal Religions, where a Qur'an, a Bible, and a Torah have long been displayed side by side. The exhibit served as a visual representation of what the Abraham Accords were all about.

That evening, Tahnoun bin Zayed Al Nahyan pulled me aside. The UAE's national security adviser was one of the first foreign officials I had met, and he had become a trusted friend. He was a deep thinker, and someone whose strategic counsel I often sought when considering our next steps for advancing peace. So I was particularly honored that evening when he presented me with two special gifts: a copy of the official flight authorization that had allowed the first Israeli plane to land in Abu Dhabi, and a copy of a new Emirati law to reverse a boycott of Israel that the UAE had enacted in 1972. He explained that they had to get special sign off from their parliament to give me a copy of the federal decree since I was a foreigner. I was deeply moved by this presentation, and I cherish these two gifts for what they represent: the ties of friendship and brotherhood that we forged between Israel and the UAE.

Then came an inaugural dinner between the Israeli and Emirati delegations. In keeping with the Emiratis' famous hospitality, the lavish buffet had an entire kosher section, which met the highest standards both of quality and rabbinic supervision. During the introductions and small talk, it struck me that the senior officials present from the two countries had never spoken to one another. I felt like I was facilitating a blind date. At one point, an Emirati official mentioned he was eager to align banking systems so that investments could flow between the countries. Instead of focusing on

formalities and celebration, I suggested that we get to work on this right away. Several Israeli financial and Emirati finance officials who were part of the delegations left the dinner immediately to start navigating the hurdles. By 4:00 a.m. the next day, they'd hammered out the details to connect their banking systems.

We were especially eager to ramp up tourism so that Israelis and Emiratis could visit each other's countries and begin to forge friendships, which would build public support for the peace agreement. As Arab visitors made pilgrimages to the al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem and posted photos of visiting the holy site in peace, it would strike at the heart of the inaccurate prejudice that the al-Aqsa Mosque was under siege. Soon after our visit, Israel and the UAE agreed to allow their citizens to travel between the two countries without a visa—a major diplomatic accomplishment.

We also brought Israeli officials from the aerospace, health, and telecommunications departments so they could meet their Emirati counterparts and begin collaborating. The Israeli and Emirati medical teams integrated immediately so they could coordinate more closely on scientific advancements to combat COVID-19. I was surprised to learn that it was impossible to place a call between Israeli and Emirati cell phones. After identifying this issue, we set in place a process to rectify it. I had underestimated how little of a connection there was between the two countries. The trip was more than a symbolic flight. It linked the two countries on a practical level. For the first time, Israeli and Emirati officials dined together, exchanged business cards, and discussed opportunities to work together.

As the Israelis and Emiratis built trust before our eyes, those who opposed progress grew increasingly isolated. Abbas turned to the terrorist group Hamas, convening a meeting to strategize against our efforts, and the Iranian regime issued bombastic statements against the UAE. Iran's supreme leader, Ayatollah Khamenei, even targeted me in a tweet: "The nation of Palestine is under various, severe pressures. Then, the UAE acts in agreement with the Israelis & filthy Zionist agents of the U.S.—such as the Jewish member of Trump's family—with utmost cruelty against the interests of the World of Islam. #UAESTabsMuslims."

In the midst of this predictable opposition from the bad actors in the region, we needed to keep building momentum for peace. From the UAE, I



traveled to Bahrain in hopes of bringing a second country into the Abraham Accords.

\* \* \*

In Bahrain, before I made my case for normalizing relations with Israel, I presented King Hamad bin Isa Al Khalifa with an unlikely gift: a Torah scroll.

Just over a year earlier, during the Peace to Prosperity workshop, several Israelis had taken the opportunity to visit the synagogue in Bahrain's capital of Manama. Founded in 1935, the synagogue hadn't held public services in years. During the summit, however, enough Jews visited to have a minyan—a quorum of at least ten men, the number needed to hold a congregational prayer service. It was a profoundly moving experience for those who attended, but they noticed that the synagogue lacked a Torah scroll, which had to be written by hand. Upon hearing this, I personally commissioned one to be made for the synagogue and dedicated it in the king's honor: "For his vision, courage and leadership bringing peace, respect and religious tolerance to the Middle East."

The king was touched by the story. He remarked that we were all sons of Abraham, and he had always believed that Jews, Christians, and Muslims must understand and respect each other.

With that, he gave me and Crown Prince Salman bin Hamad Al-Khalifa his blessing to finalize the peace agreement. We spent the next several hours together working through Bahrain's priorities and concerns and came to a framework that we believed would be acceptable for the normalization agreement.

From Bahrain, I flew to Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, to meet with MBS. The Saudis asked that we take extra COVID-19 tests before getting off the plane, so my assistant Charlton Boyd administered a round of tests for our group. The White House Medical Unit had trained him for this exact scenario, so he was prepared to give us the tests. The Saudis adhered to the strictest pandemic protocols we had encountered in the region, which when combined with their royal protocols made for an uncharacteristically formal visit. MBS and I wore masks and sat in chairs placed roughly fifteen feet apart. Our previous meetings had been long and informal, but this meeting was rigid and brief. It was, however, extraordinarily productive.

As we discussed the peace deal with the UAE, I sensed from his tone that MBS was impressed by our progress.

“What about Saudi Arabia?” I asked.

MBS noted that Saudi Arabia shared common interests with Israel, but wanted to continue to let the region process the normalization agreement with the UAE and see if progress could first be made with the Palestinians. He also expressed that he wanted to resolve the rift with Qatar.

Next I decided to take a chance, even though I knew it might push his limits.

“Thank you for permitting our Israeli plane to fly over Saudi airspace to Abu Dhabi. Since we were flying at forty thousand feet, no one seemed to notice,” I quipped, before making a serious request: “Can we make that permanent for commercial routes to and from Israel?”

MBS said that he would try to get it done.

I was encouraged by his response. Opening the airspace would demonstrate Saudi Arabia’s tacit support for normalization. It would have great practical value, making flights between Israel and the UAE shorter and more affordable for travelers. It would also make it easier for Israeli planes to fly to destinations in Asia. We had been laying the groundwork for this since May of 2017, when the Saudis permitted Air Force One to fly from Riyadh to Tel Aviv on the president’s first foreign trip.

I thought the Saudis would take their time before making a decision. To my delight, however, the very next day Saudi foreign minister Faisal bin Farhan Al Saud announced that all Israeli flights going to the United Arab Emirates would be allowed to traverse Saudi airspace. The announcement marked another diplomatic triumph. It caught everyone by surprise, including me.

I was planning to visit Qatar and its emir, Tamim bin Hamad Al Thani, the next day. So before my meeting with MBS ended, I asked him whether he had made any progress with Qatar, the country on Saudi Arabia’s eastern flank that had been the focus of a Saudi-led blockade for more than three years.

MBS said that they had prepared a proposal that they were going to send to the Qataris through Kuwait, which was serving as their intermediary.<sup>59</sup>

“I’m flying to Qatar tomorrow morning to see Tamim,” I said. “I can bring the proposal with me and save you the postage stamp.”

MBS said I’d have it before I boarded the plane.

As we concluded, I asked one more question: “If he wants to talk, would you be open to doing a call with him?” Without hesitation, MBS indicated that he would be. He liked Tamim personally, and he wanted to resolve the issues and move forward.

The next day, before we boarded our plane, Faisal greeted us on the tarmac with a box of Saudi dates as a gift and handed me an envelope with Saudi’s proposal for Qatar.

Upon arriving in Qatar, Avi, Brian Hook, General Correa, and I headed to the palace for a meeting with Tamim and several of his trusted advisers. Our relationship had started on difficult terms because of Tillerson’s inaccurate suggestion that I was responsible for the Gulf rift. It improved steadily through the years as we met and engaged in strategic dialogues. When I had shared the Peace to Prosperity economic plan with him, Tamim had predicted that we were underselling the plan: If we achieved peace in the region, the explosion in economic activity would be even bigger than we imagined.

As we sat in his royal office on September 2, I updated Tamim on the positive developments between Israel and the UAE, and I asked him if he would consider joining the Abraham Accords.

Tamim expressed openness to doing so at the right time, citing the many areas where Qatar was cooperating constructively with Israel, including helping them to mediate their issues with Hamas. But he wanted to solve the blockade with Saudi Arabia first.

This was the perfect opening.

“I have a proposal from MBS,” I said. “I went through it with my team, and while it’s not perfect, I think it’s a good start.”

If they resolved the dispute, the paper wouldn’t matter, Tamim said. What mattered was Saudi Arabia’s intent. Qatar had invested a great deal of time in trying to reach a compromise, but never seemed to make progress. He asked if I thought the Saudis were truly ready to resolve the conflict.

“Not everyone,” I said. “But MBS is ready. You have to trust me when I say that I believe he genuinely wants to resolve it.”

I handed Tamim the document, and he started reading through it.

After we discussed some of the outstanding issues, I asked if he would be open to having a quick call with MBS to hear directly from the Saudi crown prince on the sincerity of this offer. Tamim was hesitant, reminding me that the last call between them was pleasant, but then became

problematic when both countries published conflicting summaries of the call, which only heightened tensions. He added that even if they did have a good call, they would need to fix the broken process and come up with a new mechanism to reach a breakthrough.

I proposed setting up a channel of communication between his skillful foreign minister, Sheikh Mohammed bin Abdulrahman, and Saudi deputy defense minister Khalid bin Salman. I could work with the foreign minister of Kuwait, Dr. Ahmed, to mediate the discussions.

Tamim asked if the Saudis would agree to my proposal.

Putting aside all of the formality of being in the palace of an emir, I took a page out of my old commercial deal-making playbook: “Let me ask him. Do you have a conference room I can use to call MBS?”

His aide showed me to the conference room next door. Soon I was on the phone with MBS, briefing him on my discussion with Tamim. MBS assured me that if Tamim was sincere in his desire to resolve the dispute, he would meet him more than halfway.

“Would you be open to setting up a channel between Prince Khalid and Sheikh Mohammed, which I would personally mediate, to try to resolve the outstanding issues in the documents?” I asked.

MBS agreed immediately.

“Do you mind holding on for one minute?” I handed the phone to Avi, with whom MBS always enjoyed conversing, and walked down the short hallway to Tamim’s office.

“MBS has agreed to the channel as a way to resolve the open issues,” I said. “I have him on the phone. I think it would help build confidence for you to hear from each other. Would you be willing to talk to him?”

Tamim maintained his poker face while he weighed the consequences. Then he consented.

I went back to the conference room. “Hold one second. I’m going to put you on with Tamim. He’s ready to talk.”

I walked into Tamim’s office and put the phone on speaker. Tamim greeted MBS in Arabic, and the two leaders spoke for about ten minutes as everyone in the room listened. Not fluent in Arabic, I stood by nervously, trying to read the facial expressions of Tamim and his advisers, since I had no idea what they were saying. When Tamim hung up, he paused for a moment to look at the phone and then handed it over to me. The room was silent.

I broke the silence and asked, “Was that a good call or bad call?” Everyone erupted in nervous laughter.

Tamim thanked me and said that it was a great call and that he was open to resuming talks if they could make progress. He expressed sadness that the feud had led to so much bitterness between the citizens of their countries.

We discussed next steps, and Tamim gave me his full support for us to try to resolve the conflict. It felt like we were on the cusp of another breakthrough.

Resolving the rift was critical for advancing American interests in the region. The blockade had forced flights in and out of Qatar to traverse Iranian airspace, which not only enriched Iran, but also endangered travelers, including Americans, and hampered economic partnerships in the region. Perhaps most importantly of all, ending the rift would create an opening for more countries to join the Abraham Accords. As long as Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and the rest of the Gulf Cooperation Council countries were divided, they would be less likely to create formal ties with Israel. But if these countries were united, they would be free to bridge relations with Israel.

On the drive back to the hotel, Brian Hook asked me a question: “Did you plan to do that?”

“No,” I said. “But I read his reactions and decided to try. The worst thing that could have happened is that he would have said no.”

“I’ve been around Washington for twenty years,” Hook said. “I’ve worked with the best diplomats. No diplomat would have ever done that. You just broke every rule of diplomacy, and it worked.”

## The Abraham Accords

The first flight between Israel and the UAE was the beginning of a new and mutual appreciation between the Israelis and the Emiratis. Shortly after, Bibi confirmed his attendance at a White House event we had planned for September 15, and MBZ committed to send his brother, foreign minister Abdullah bin Zayed, as his representative.

With these key details locked in, we focused on finalizing the normalization agreement with Bahrain. I discreetly previewed Bahrain's interest to the Israelis and Emiratis, and both countries were eager to include the affluent Gulf country in the September signing. Adding a second Arab nation would serve as a force multiplier in shifting the regional paradigm.

Avi, General Correa, and the rest of our team worked tirelessly over the next several weeks to finalize the details of the agreement, which included sharing foreign policy resources, expanding trade, helping with oil and gas development, and deepening our already strong military relationship.

Through his thirty-year career in the US Army, Correa had earned a reputation for being a trustworthy and fair operator in the Middle East. He had been stationed in Abu Dhabi in 2017 to serve as a defense attaché to the US embassy, but his strong relationships with the Emiratis quickly created resentment among career State Department officials, and he was forced to leave the post. As we negotiated the deals with the UAE and Bahrain, Correa's experience, perspective, and trust in the region proved invaluable in advancing America's interests.

On September 10, the Bahraini government approved our proposal. The next day, on September 11, Trump commenced his second phone call to make peace—this time with Bibi and King Hamad. It was not lost on the team that we were marking this historic breakthrough for peace on the anniversary of the September 11 terrorist attacks.

I directed my team to draft the Abraham Accords Declaration, an overarching document that included all three parties and the United States.<sup>60</sup> I envisioned a framework that wouldn't interfere with the specific and sensitive material in the individual country agreements. Its broader principles would allow for additional signatories to join later, as we continued to change the paradigm across the Middle East.

While the Abraham Accords Declaration was the shortest of the three documents, it was by far the most delicate to write. We worked to avoid areas of discord and to make it acceptable to any supporter of peace between Jews, Muslims, and Christians. After I outlined what I wanted it to say, Avi, Brian Hook, and Scott Leith drafted and negotiated every word, uniting the three parties around a meaningful and lasting document. They ironed out the final details just hours before the signing, and then sent the text to the translators, who used our original English version to write final documents in Arabic and Hebrew.

The day before the ceremony, I received a call from Richard Moore, the longtime British diplomat, who had recently been appointed head of the MI6 intelligence bureau. He had worked with my team as a valuable partner since 2017, when he had joined our meetings with Boris Johnson, at that time the foreign secretary. He congratulated me on the Abraham Accords and expressed astonishment that we had kept both deals a secret until we announced them.

“It’s the Kushner doctrine, nothing leaks,” he said.

That night I called the president to discuss the plan for the signing. Between campaign events, the ongoing COVID-19 response, and other responsibilities, his focus was divided in multiple ways. I wanted to make sure he was ready, but Trump dispelled any concern.

“Do you have a great speech for me?” he asked. “I want it to be great.” I took copious notes as he walked me through several key points he wanted to address.

Trump brimmed with energy during his one-on-one meetings with the visiting leaders the morning of Tuesday, September 15. Abdullah bin Zayed, the Emirati foreign minister, impressed Trump with his eloquent, heartfelt remarks about the significance of the day. In a meeting with the Bahraini foreign minister, Abdullatif bin Rashid al-Zayani, Trump joked that the best wristwatch he ever owned was a gift he had received decades earlier from the emir of Bahrain.

“This watch was beautiful, and it worked for twenty-five years,” he said. “Some old watches just stop ticking after a while—like Joe Biden.”

When Trump met with Bibi, he whipped out his signature gift—an oversize bronze “key to the White House” in a wooden box carved with the presidential seal. Trump had designed the key himself to give to special guests.

“This is the first key I’m giving to anyone,” he said. “Even when I’m not president anymore, you can walk up to the front gate of the White House and present it, and they will let you in.”

Avi and I tried to keep from laughing. We had heard the line before, and Trump had delivered it a little too earnestly. Yet Bibi beamed. He and Trump were proud of what they had achieved.

Just before 1:00 p.m., the four leaders gathered in the Oval Office and then walked over to the Blue Room. Waiting for them on the South Lawn were over seven hundred guests, including foreign dignitaries, cabinet members, lawmakers, business leaders, and foreign policy experts. Secretary Pompeo, Avi, Robert O’Brien, David Friedman, and the rest of my team took seats in the front row. Most importantly for me, Ivanka was there, along with my parents and two sisters, Dara and Nikki, who came to help me celebrate the milestone.

“We’re here this afternoon to change the course of history,” Trump declared from the South Portico. “After decades of division and conflict, we mark the dawn of a new Middle East. Thanks to the great courage of the leaders of these three countries, we take a major stride toward a future in which people of all faiths and backgrounds live together in peace and prosperity. In a few moments, these visionary leaders will sign the first two peace deals between Israel and [an] Arab state in more than a quarter century. In Israel’s entire history, there have previously been only two such agreements. Now we have achieved two in a single month, and there are more to follow.”

Bibi spoke next. Unlike those at his previous White House event, his remarks showed true statesmanship: “For thousands of years, the Jewish people have prayed for peace. For decades, the Jewish state has prayed for peace. And this is why, today, we’re filled with such profound gratitude.”

When Bibi concluded, he handed the microphone to Emirati foreign minister Abdullah bin Zayed, who spoke in Arabic. “In our faith, we say ‘O God, you are peace, and from you comes peace,’” he said. “The search for peace is an innate principle, yet principles are effectively realized when they are transformed into action. Today, we are ready—we are already witnessing a change in the heart of the Middle East, a change that will send hope around the world.”

Bahraini foreign minister al-Zayani anchored the remarks with a forward-looking expression: “What was only dreamed of a few years ago is



now achievable, and we can see before us a golden opportunity for peace, security, and prosperity for our region.”

“Beautiful,” Trump said, as he motioned for the leaders to follow him down the stairs to a platform on the South Lawn, where we had arranged a signing table.

The four leaders began to execute the documents that we had prepared for them. We provided each leader with copies of their signing documents in Arabic, Hebrew, and English.<sup>61</sup> In the flurry of activity to prepare for the event, no one had clearly marked the signature lines so that the leaders would know where to sign on the documents that were not in their native language. The leaders looked for their aides, to no avail. In the lead up to the event, everyone was angling to be in the historic photos, so I designed the event to keep all staffers away from the leaders and out of camera shot. The leaders deserved to be the focal point of the event. They were the ones who had created the conditions—and taken the risks—to make peace. Soon the leaders began helping each other figure out where to sign, and photographers captured their interactions with a series of memorable images that highlighted their distinct personalities. As Trump brought the ceremony to a conclusion, we all stood and cheered.

At the celebratory lunch that followed, Ivanka and I sat with the president and the other leaders. I was exhausted but profoundly happy. The magnitude of the moment and what it represented for the world finally started to sink in. After a long and hard journey, we had accomplished the unthinkable: we had made peace in the Middle East.

In the State Dining Room, I tried to soak up the moment. I watched Bibi share a meal and interact gregariously with the foreign ministers of Bahrain and the UAE. These former adversaries were beginning to form what I prayed would be a deep and lasting friendship. I hoped and believed that this day marked the beginning of an enduring change that would improve millions of lives.

Later that day, as the president prepared to depart the White House for an event in Philadelphia, he spoke with the press corps. It was one of his classic “chopper talks,” with the engine of Marine One thundering in the background. He wanted to talk about what we had accomplished—and he surprised me with a comment that forced me to start thinking ahead.

“We have many other countries going to be joining us, and they’re going to be joining us soon,” he said. “We’ll have, I think, seven or eight or

nine.”

This was classic Trump: even in his finest moments of achievement, he was raising the bar and pushing for more.

## From Walter Reed to Election Night

Ivanka's voice woke me up around 2:00 a.m. on Friday, October 2.

"Dad and Melania have COVID," she said.

"I was just with him a few hours ago, that can't be," I said, shaking off my sleepiness as I reached for my phone. When the screen lit up, the first notification I saw was the president's tweet from 12:54 a.m.: "Tonight, @FLOTUS and I tested positive for COVID-19. We will begin our quarantine and recovery process immediately. We will get through this TOGETHER!"

We were both shocked and worried by the news. On a personal level, I was concerned for my father-in-law, who contracted a virus that had proven to be fatal for many people over seventy. Ivanka and I love and admire him, and we were deeply worried about his wellbeing. We said a quick prayer asking for God to keep him safe and healthy for many years to come. On a professional level, I wondered what his diagnosis would mean for his presidency and for our country.

Around 10:30 a.m., I met with White House chief of staff Mark Meadows. His bleary eyes revealed his exhaustion. He had stayed with the president all night.

"I'm really nervous," he said, adding that Dr. Sean Conley recommended that the president go to Walter Reed National Military Medical Center as a precautionary measure.

Meadows and I suited up in full PPE—surgical gowns, masks, gloves, and goggles—and went to the residence. We looked like actors in a movie about a biohazard crisis. When we arrived in the president's bedroom, Trump was sitting up and reviewing documents. After asking how he was feeling, I revealed the purpose of our visit: "We strongly recommend that you go to Walter Reed."

"I'm already feeling better," Trump said. "Just give me some time to rest up, and then we can make a determination later. I don't like how it looks to our adversaries to have the leader of America in the hospital."

"I'm advising you as both a family member and a senior member of your staff," I said. "Even if you don't want to go for you, this is about the office of the presidency. You have an obligation to go to the place where

they can give you the very best care and monitor you perfectly. Even if the care is one percent better, it's worth it."

Trump didn't think it was necessary, but he agreed to go. Before exiting his room, I made one more request: "I know this is the last thing you want to do, but people are really nervous. They want to know that you're okay. Would you be willing to shoot a quick video right before we depart, letting people know that you are okay and thanking them for the well wishes? It will go a long way."

Trump agreed, and he recorded it in one take before walking out to the helicopter on the South Lawn. "I want to thank everybody for the tremendous support. I'm going to Walter Reed Hospital," he said, wearing his usual suit and tie. "I think I'm doing very well, but we're going to make sure that things work out. The First Lady is doing very well. So thank you very much. I appreciate it. I will never forget it. Thank you."

The next morning, a Saturday, I went directly to Walter Reed. Upon arriving, a military doctor gave me protective gear and escorted me to the presidential suite, which included a full medical unit, a conference room, a dining room, kitchen, several sitting rooms, and additional space for staff. When I walked in, the president was already up, dressed in khakis and a button-down dress shirt, and working at a table. Mark Meadows and Dan Scavino were also in the room in full protective gear. Trump was feeling strong and wanted to discuss his campaign.

Trump couldn't have come down with COVID-19 at a worse time. Just three days earlier, on September 29, he had traveled to Cleveland, Ohio, for the first presidential debate of the 2020 general election cycle. The debate occurred the day after Yom Kippur, the holiest day on the Jewish calendar, so between that and Rosh Hashanah the week before, I had missed the debate prep sessions. Yet I had been in the room when the president spoke with American historian and conservative commentator Victor Davis Hanson.

"It's going to be a lot tougher to debate against a guy like Joe than you think," said Hanson. "He's potentially senile so he will say he's always been for a position—and you will cut him off, point out that it's not true, and he will say 'That's not how I remember it.' And that will be a true statement because his memory is gone. You're going to have to work extra hard to not come across as committing elder abuse."

Hanson's warning was prophetic. Trump viewed the debate as a rare chance to draw a stark contrast with his Democratic rival. He was also frustrated that the media had refused to ask Biden any tough questions or scrutinize his controversial policy positions. He came out swinging hard and put Biden on the ropes when Biden refused to say whether he supported defunding the police, and again when Trump asked why Biden's son Hunter received tens of millions of dollars from Chinese and Russian sources. Both times, however, debate moderator Chris Wallace cut off the conversation before Trump could land a knockout blow. It was like watching a biased referee unfairly separate boxers in the middle of a round.

As the president recovered at Walter Reed, we all recognized that the campaign would have to wait until Trump was both physically strong and medically cleared to return to the trail. In the meantime, he spoke directly to Americans through social media to update them on his recovery. In his first video from the hospital, Trump said, "I came here, wasn't feeling so well. I feel much better now." He also explained why he took the risk of continuing to attend events during the pandemic: "This is America. This is the United States. This is the greatest country in the world. This is the most powerful country in the world. I can't be locked up in a room upstairs totally safe. . . . As a leader, you have to confront problems." I admired my father-in-law's spirit and determination. I knew he was feeling better when he requested one of his favorite meals: a McDonald's Big Mac, Filet-o-Fish, fries, and a vanilla shake.

Meanwhile, America's best scientists were on the cusp of delivering a vaccine. Both Pfizer and Moderna were nearing the completion of their third and final phase of clinical trials. Albert Bourla, the CEO of Pfizer, went on both the *Today Show* and *Face the Nation* to announce that the vaccine would be ready by the end of October. The president's investment in Operation Warp Speed was paying off, and we were on course to have a vaccine even sooner than our ambitious timelines projected. This was excellent news for America and the world, but it was so unexpected that while it should have been welcomed as good news, it prompted top Democrats to accuse us of rushing the process. Many claimed that they would be reluctant to take a vaccine approved by the FDA under the Trump administration. Among them was Biden: "I trust vaccines. I trust scientists, but I don't trust Donald Trump, and at this moment, the American people can't, either."

Sadly, the Democratic pressure campaign worked. Just as Pfizer prepared to announce the completion of its phase three trial, the FDA changed the guidelines for approval. On October 6, the FDA regulators modified the safety standards they had released in June, forcing companies to wait an additional eighteen days before seeking FDA approval of their vaccines upon completion of clinical trials. This last-minute revision meant that Pfizer could not submit its application for approval until after the election. When Adam Boehler and Brad Smith asked FDA commissioner Stephen Hahn about the decision, he seemed to suggest that the FDA made the change to avoid the perception that the vaccine had been approved for political reasons.

The FDA's decision delayed the vaccine approval by at least two weeks, just as a new wave of cases was slamming the country. During this period, the United States averaged thousands of coronavirus deaths per day, and many Americans lost an opportunity to receive a vaccine that was more than 90 percent effective.

By October 10, Trump's symptoms were nearly gone. The doctors confirmed that he was no longer contagious and cleared him to resume public events. That same week, the Commission on Presidential Debates announced that the next debate on the schedule would be virtual "in order to protect the health and safety of all involved." This decision made no sense, and Trump felt it was politically motivated: fewer Americans would watch a virtual debate, which played into Biden's strategy of running a low-profile campaign that avoided talking about what he stood for. The president refused to participate, and his campaign released a statement proposing that the next two debates be moved back a week so that both could still be held in person, as planned. Biden seized the opening to pull out of the second debate altogether, and the media applauded him for doing so. On the same day that second debate was originally scheduled to occur, both candidates safely participated in town halls, proving that there was no actual risk. Former Republican nominee for president and longtime Kansas senator Bob Dole called me, sharp as ever at ninety-seven years old. He thought the decision revealed an anti-Trump bias among the Republican members of the debate commission. I asked if he would put out a statement, which he later tweeted: "The Commission on Presidential Debates is supposedly bipartisan w/an equal number of Rs and Ds. I know all of the Republicans and most are

friends of mine. I am concerned that none of them support @realDonaldTrump. A biased Debate Commission is unfair.”

The final debate took place in Nashville on October 22. Trump can masterfully adjust when the moment calls for it. He knew what he needed to do, and he nailed it: he answered questions with substance, responded with good humor, and allowed Biden to ramble before forcefully pushing back on false claims in exactly the right places.

In the final three weeks of the campaign, Trump hit his stride, holding rally after rally in battleground states. Just as he had done in 2016, he stayed on message, drew big crowds, and gave everything he had. He spoke at three, four, and even five events a day. Campaign manager Bill Stepien, RNC chairwoman Ronna McDaniel, and RNC political director Chris Carr were directing our get-out-the vote operation, which was one of the best in the history of presidential campaigns, and it was clear that Trump’s voters were energized. Our internal polling showed Trump gaining momentum by the day—and even surpassing Biden. The public polling, however, forecasted a Biden victory. The RealClearPolitics unweighted national average showed Biden up 7.8 points, and FiveThirtyEight predicted that Biden had an 89 percent chance of winning.

We knew from 2016 that public polling heavily favored the Democratic candidate, causing misperceptions about the true state of the race. Yet in 2020, we contended with additional challenges. Many Democratic states had altered their voting rules during the pandemic. This introduced two new variables that made predictions even more difficult: the amount of early mail-in voting and the level of voter turnout on Election Day. We knew that an unprecedented number of people were casting ballots early, and that many of these voters were Democrats. What we didn’t know was whether it was too late to turn the tide.

\* \* \*

On the morning of Election Day—November 3, 2020—I knew the results would be tight. The energy, enthusiasm, and momentum we had felt in the closing sequence of rallies—seventeen in eight states over the final four days—convinced me that Trump had a shot to pull off another improbable, come-from-behind victory. That night I tried to temper my enthusiasm as I walked into the White House’s Map Room, which the campaign had converted into a makeshift war room. Flatscreen televisions lined the walls. Computer monitors pumped out data from precincts in swing

states. Bill Stepien, Mark Meadows, Justin Clark, Jason Miller, Gary Coby, and the campaign's data whiz Matt Oczkowski analyzed the latest results. Ivanka, Don Jr., Eric, Lara, Tiffany, and Kimberly Guilfoyle joined us to watch as the results came in. Upstairs on the first floor of the Executive Residence, hundreds of the president's closest friends, advisers, and campaign donors followed the coverage and sampled from a generous spread of food.

At 11:04 p.m., Fox News anchor Bret Baier flashed on-screen with a breaking news alert: "The Fox News decision desk can now project that President Donald Trump will win the state of Florida, twenty-nine electoral votes, and he will win it convincingly." Our best-case scenario had unfolded in the Sunshine State, with strong support from seniors and Hispanics, and we immediately interpreted it as a favorable sign for the rest of the country. Things were also looking good in Ohio, another state we had to win. Since 1964, every presidential candidate who had won Ohio had won the election.

Then, at 11:21 p.m., Fox News interrupted a panel discussion with an update: with just 73 percent of the votes counted in Arizona, the network called the state for Joe Biden. Republicans had carried the state in every presidential election since 1996. Trump had won it by 3.5 percent in 2016. We knew it would be harder to win in 2020, but we believed Arizona would remain red.

"That is a big get for the Biden campaign," Baier said. "Biden picking up Arizona changes the math."

The shocking projection brought our momentum to a screeching halt. It instantly changed the mood among our campaign's leaders, who were scrambling to understand the network's methodology. Many felt that the early call would embolden people who were looking to play dirty with the vote counting in the outstanding swing states.

Up to that moment, Trump was performing even better than our models had forecast in several key states that immediately reported the results. Voter turnout was far higher than predicted, showing that our expansive ground operation had worked. We had mobilized our base, which was always an important factor in elections. But losing Arizona would drastically narrow our path to victory.

I dialed Rupert Murdoch and asked why Fox News had made the Arizona call before hundreds of thousands of votes were tallied. Rupert said he would look into the issue, and minutes later he called back. "Sorry, Jared,



there is nothing I can do,” he said. “The Fox News data authority says the numbers are ironclad—he says it won’t be close.”

Our campaign had a different view: based on the remaining votes to be counted, we believed that Arizona’s outstanding votes would favor Trump and that it would be razor close. After Arizona, however, negative news came in from other swing states. Unlike in 2016, when it was clear how many outstanding votes each precinct needed to count and report within hours of the polls closing, 2020 was full of electoral anomalies. At 1:40 a.m., with 93 percent of the vote counted, Trump was hanging on by a thread in Georgia with 50.7 percent, down from his lead of

12.7 percentage points earlier in the night. Trump addressed his guests in the East Room of the White House at

2:20 a.m.: “This is a fraud on the American public,” he said. “This is an embarrassment to our country. We were getting ready to win this election. Frankly, we did win this election. So our goal now is to ensure the integrity for the good of this nation.”

My phone rang a few minutes later. It was Karl Rove, the man who in 2000 had helped George W. Bush win the closest presidential election in US history.

“The president’s rhetoric is all wrong,” he said. “He’s going to win. Statistically, there’s no way the Democrats can catch up with you now.”

“Call the president and tell him that,” I said.

The next morning, I went over to the campaign’s Arlington headquarters. Stepien and communications adviser Jason Miller walked me through the data. They believed Arizona was a true toss-up, given the number of outstanding ballots from likely Republican voters. Georgia would be close, but it looked like we were in a position to hold the state. Trump was still up by roughly 600,000 votes in Pennsylvania, but we kept getting different official numbers for how many votes were left to be counted. If those three states went our way, Trump would surpass the 270 electoral votes he needed to win reelection. Yet no one could predict precisely how the outstanding votes would break.

The results remained inconclusive for days, but discouraging numbers began to trickle in. The day after the election, the Associated Press called both Michigan and Wisconsin for Biden. In Arizona, Trump was inching forward as officials continued to tally votes, but he still trailed. By Friday, Georgia was still too close to call. With more than eight thousand votes

remaining to be received, Biden led by about four thousand votes. On Saturday morning, the AP declared Biden the victor in Pennsylvania, giving him more than enough electoral votes to win the presidency if the results held in the other states.

Ultimately, after more than nearly 158.4 million votes were tallied, the election came down to fewer than 42,918 votes in three states—20,682 in Wisconsin, 10,457 in Arizona, and 11,779 in Georgia.<sup>62</sup>

Trump earned more than seventy-four million votes—more votes than any other incumbent president in American history. He did so in the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, arguably the greatest global crisis since World War II. Despite this challenge, Trump made incredible inroads with African American and Hispanic voters. He outperformed the predictions of nearly every major pollster. As Democratic political consultant David Shor wrote in his autopsy of the 2020 election, “When the polls turned out to be wrong—and Trump turned out to be much stronger than predicted—a lot of people concluded that turnout models must have been off. . . . Trump didn’t exceed expectations by inspiring higher-than-anticipated Republican turnout. He exceeded them mostly through persuasion. A lot of voters changed their minds between 2016 and 2020.”

In the days that followed the election, I participated in several discussions about how to investigate the many incoming allegations of election fraud. I was still trying to develop a comprehension of the issues when Rudy Giuliani asked the president to put him in charge of the effort. The president wasn’t ready to make a decision at first, but Giuliani persisted. Citing his experience at the Justice Department, he claimed, “I know how to run these kinds of investigations. I will prove the fraud if you put me in charge.”

Two days after the election, Mark Meadows tested positive for COVID. I had been in close contact with Meadows for an extended period of time and started to feel under the weather. When I began to lose my sense of taste, Ivanka and I quarantined in New Jersey. By the time I returned to the White House from my quarantine, the president had appointed Giuliani and his team of lawyers to lead the effort. I discussed the situation with Eric Herschmann, a talented trial lawyer who had left behind his partnership at a major law firm in 2020 to join the White House staff. I told him to keep an eye on the developments while I focused on my Middle East peace efforts and Operation Warp Speed. Like millions of Americans, I was disappointed

by the outcome of the election. Yet I was proud of all that we had achieved over the past four years. Now, with precious time left on the clock, I was determined to make the best use of every remaining minute.

## Landing Planes on an Aircraft Carrier

If my time in Washington had taught me anything, it was that challenging circumstances can lead to unforeseen opportunities. I never would have guessed that the president's contentious relationship with big tech companies would pave the way to another peace agreement, but that's precisely what happened.

During the lame-duck session that followed the November 3 election, Congress prepared to pass an annual bill to authorize funding for the military. The National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA) was a sprawling \$700 billion package. Passing it was usually an uncontroversial and bipartisan affair. This had been the case for the first three years of Trump's term, as Congress responded favorably to Trump's requests to rebuild the military and establish a new US Space Force, among other priorities. As the 2020 version of the bill moved closer to his desk, however, Trump decided to use it as leverage to fight for a change that he believed would safeguard our democracy.

Ever since Twitter and Facebook had taken the unprecedented step to censor conservatives, including the president, over the summer, Trump had threatened to take action against technology companies for violating the free speech of Americans. He believed that social media platforms played a central role in facilitating public discourse, and that they abused their power when they censored people who had done nothing more than espouse conservative or nonconformist political ideas. Yet a law passed back when people still used dial-up modems and floppy disks shielded these massive corporations from lawsuits. Trump questioned the law, section 230 of the Communications Decency Act, believing that social media censorship posed a "serious threat to our national security and election integrity." He insisted on including a provision to terminate section 230 in the NDAA.

When I asked Mark Meadows whether Congress would modify the law, he said it was unlikely: "Inhofe isn't budging." Jim Inhofe, the Republican chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, had enormous power to determine what provisions would become a part of the NDAA.

"Just do me a little favor," I said to Meadows. "Make sure the president knows that Inhofe is holding this up, and he's the reason we don't have a

peace deal with Morocco.”

Six months earlier, the president had discussed the Western Sahara issue with Inhofe, who had implored him not to change US policy. For the Moroccans, their generations-old claim on the Western Sahara was a matter of territorial sovereignty and national security. If Morocco obtained US recognition of the territory, it would be much more plausible for the Arab country to reach beyond its borders and normalize relations with Israel. Inhofe was an instrumental ally in the Senate and worked with our administration on many national security priorities. Yet he had long held the position that the United States should support the Polisario Front’s desire for a referendum on self-determination in the Western Sahara. Although Trump appreciated what a breakthrough could mean for Israeli-Arab relations, he had previously told Inhofe that he would not move forward with the recognition. Now that the senator was blocking the section 230 provision, however, Trump was less concerned about the senator’s opposition. This created an unexpected opening for us to revisit the issue with the president.

I asked Avi to call the foreign minister of Morocco, Nasser Bourita, to see if his country would still honor the terms of the peace deal we had discussed six months prior. A skilled diplomat, Bourita possessed a deep reservoir of knowledge on the issues, which he paired with his vast intellect and a creative mind. He always gave us honest feedback. Avi told Bourita that it was a long shot, but we wanted to know if the Moroccans were ready and willing to move quickly. After checking with the king, Bourita confirmed that they were on board.

We had little margin for error. One misstep or poorly timed comment would sink an eleventh-hour deal. If word leaked that we were on the brink of an agreement, the enemies of normalization might rally and defeat our initiative. To mitigate the risk—and avoid getting ahead of the president—we didn’t tell any Israeli officials about the potential deal. Unlike the agreement with the UAE, Israel wouldn’t need to make any concessions. All Bibi would have to do is accept the offer, which was clearly in Israel’s national interest. One million Jews are of Moroccan descent, and normalization would make it easier for Israeli families to reconnect with relatives and visit ancestral sites.

In early December, the NDAA negotiations dragged on, but without resolution on the section 230 issue. As the president’s chief negotiator on the bill, Meadows urged Inhofe to include Trump’s request. Each morning, Avi

tiptoed into Meadows's office to see if there was an update. It got to the point where anytime Meadows crossed paths with Avi, he would chuckle and say: "I don't have an update yet, but I'll let you know as soon as I do!"

When the House and Senate negotiators released their final version of the NDAA on December 3, it did not include the section 230 provision, which deeply disappointed the president. Shortly thereafter, Meadows brought Trump a presidential proclamation we had drafted to recognize Morocco's sovereignty over the Western Sahara. After confirming that the details were in line with our previous discussions, Trump signed the document, and we set up a call for him to speak with King Mohammed on December 10, the following day.

That night, at the annual White House Hanukkah reception, Avi pulled Israeli ambassador Ron Dermer aside and gave him a heads-up.

"We have another surprise," he started. "Tomorrow, the president will recognize Morocco's sovereignty over the Western Sahara, and the kingdom will announce its readiness to normalize with Israel."

Amazed, Dermer commented that getting a deal like this done in the lame duck period might have been even more impressive than the previous agreements.

The next morning, after Trump spoke with King Mohammed, he announced Morocco's decision to fully normalize with Israel in a series of tweets:

"Today, I signed a proclamation recognizing Moroccan sovereignty over the Western Sahara. Morocco's serious, credible, and realistic autonomy proposal is the ONLY basis for a just and lasting solution for enduring peace and prosperity!"

"Another HISTORIC breakthrough today! Our two GREAT friends Israel and the Kingdom of Morocco have agreed to full diplomatic relations—a massive breakthrough for peace in the Middle East!"

"Morocco recognized the United States in 1777. It is thus fitting we recognize their sovereignty over the Western Sahara."

The news reverberated throughout the Middle East. "This step, a sovereign move, contributes to strengthening our common quest for stability, prosperity, and just and lasting peace in the region," tweeted MBZ of the UAE. President Abdel Fattah el-Sisi of Egypt praised the announcement as an "important step towards more stability and regional cooperation."

I almost couldn't believe that we had secured another peace agreement. Getting this deal done was like trying to land a plane on an aircraft carrier in the middle of a storm: we had to navigate through many uncontrollable variables, fly at just the right speed, and hope that we'd hit the tarmac at exactly the right moment. Almost miraculously, we managed to make the runway.

But several other planes were still in the air, and we needed to land them in rapid succession before our time expired. In November, after we had decided to sell the F-25 stealth fighter jet to the UAE, a problem surfaced: Republican senator Rand Paul and Democratic senators Bob Menendez and Chris Murphy introduced legislation to block the arms sale. Paul had a history of objecting to US foreign military sales, but Menendez and Murphy had a different reason. They claimed that we had committed a process foul by not informally clearing the deal with the foreign relations committee before announcing it.

While the president would veto any congressional resolution blocking the sale—and the Senate would not have the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto—the public display of opposition would embarrass the Emiratis and prompt concerns about their relationship with Democratic leaders just before Biden assumed the presidency. It was an unwanted development, and one that could even jeopardize the Abraham Accords in their infancy. Avi and I worked with Pompeo, UAE ambassador Yousef Al Otaiba, and Israeli ambassador Ron Dermer to call nearly every senator, explain the importance of the military sale, and answer their questions. Dermer told reporters that Israel was “very comfortable” with the sale and called the UAE an “ally in confronting Iran.” Ultimately, most senators decided that the sale would tilt the regional balance of power against Iran without compromising Israel's security. They also understood that in the absence of our deal, the UAE would likely buy weapons from China or Russia. It was clearly in our interests to keep the Emiratis in America's orbit.

After intense engagement, the Senate rejected the legislation. With the exception of Paul, every Republican present voted with us. After the vote, Yousef called to express his thanks and noted that Ambassador Dermer was very talented, and that working with him was a much different experience when he was an ally.

Around the same time, another outstanding issue emerged. Back in August, a government minister in Sudan had said in a tweet that his country

should normalize relations with Israel. Unfortunately, the minister had deleted his tweet and was fired.<sup>63</sup>

We saw the incident as encouraging—or at least worthy of pursuit. Secretary Pompeo made a special trip to Sudan, a predominately Arab country in North Africa. Meeting with leaders from Sudan’s governing factions, he confirmed the possibility that Sudan would be open to joining the Abraham Accords. First, however, the Sudanese wanted to resolve several issues. Their most urgent request was to be removed from America’s State Sponsors of Terrorism list. Being on that list barred Sudan from receiving aid from the United States and put it in a category with bad actors such as Iran, North Korea, and Syria. Sudan had earned its place on the list for supporting Hamas and for providing a safe haven for Osama bin Laden and his fellow al-Qaeda terrorists, who had operated from within Sudan to coordinate the deadly bombings of US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 and the USS *Cole* in 2000. In 2019, however, the country overthrew its brutal dictator Omar al-Bashir, who had ruled for more than three decades and had committed atrocities against the Sudanese people. A transitional government was inching toward democracy. In exchange for removal from the list, Sudan agreed to pay a \$335 million court judgment for the victims of the 1998 and 2000 bombings. It also agreed to normalize with Israel.

We were under no illusions about the tumultuous state of affairs in Sudan, but we saw the country’s interest as a way for the United States to give it a chance to chart a new path. Too often in diplomacy, we allow sins from the past to prevent opportunities for change. Getting Sudan to join the Abraham Accords also carried symbolic value. In 1967, following Israel’s victory in the Six-Day War, the Arab League convened in Sudan’s capital city and passed its infamous Khartoum Resolution. This hateful document had proclaimed “The Three Nos”: no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, and no negotiations with Israel. Now Sudan was finally willing to redeem its past.

After an intense diplomatic effort, the United States, Israel, and Sudan released a joint statement in October: “The leaders agreed to the normalization of relations between Sudan and Israel and to end the state of belligerence between their nations.” The statement noted that the two countries would begin economic relations and would meet in the coming weeks to negotiate potential areas of cooperation.



In December, however, another issue arose. Sudan wanted the United States to grant their country sovereign immunity, indemnifying its new leadership from legal liability for actions committed under the former dictator Omar al-Bashir. For this, we needed legislative approval. Congress granted sovereign immunity in the year-end spending bill, which Trump signed on December 27. This sealed Sudan's participation in the Abraham Accords and continued the positive shift in the Middle East.<sup>64</sup>

Diplomacy is a fragile business. Everything done can suddenly be undone. The three issues we tackled after the election—the Western Sahara recognition, the F-35 sale to the UAE, and sovereign immunity for Sudan—may have seemed like relatively minor sticking points. Yet peace is not a piece of parchment. It's a process that requires constant attention and ongoing trust, which is most fragile in the beginning. This was the moment to prove that the United States was a reliable partner, and the Abraham Accords were an ironclad commitment.

## Pardons, Pfizer, and Peace

As my official duties started to wind down, Ivanka and I prepared for a personal transition. After four years of being on the clock every day, I was excited to make some adjustments to my life. At the top of my list was being more present for my three kids. I also wanted to go back to fully observing the Sabbath on Friday evenings at sundown—a weekly practice Ivanka and I had cherished before entering government service.

On Friday, December 18, I was hoping to make it home in time to light the Shabbat candles with my children—but the day was packed with activity. At ten o'clock that morning, I joined a weekly conference call with the Operation Warp Speed board. The FDA had authorized the use of Pfizer's COVID-19 vaccine the week before, and now it was approving the Moderna vaccine. Our program had delivered two safe and effective vaccines in ten months—a full year faster than many experts had predicted. The unprecedented vaccine effort was poised to save hundreds of thousands of lives, beginning immediately. Thanks to our meticulous planning and big investments in manufacturing, the government shipped millions of vaccine doses to all fifty states and every US territory within twenty-four hours of the FDA approval.

On the conference call that morning, the primary point of discussion was Pfizer. In July the government had purchased a hundred million doses of the Pfizer vaccine, pending the FDA's emergency approval, for \$1.95 billion. Though the company had accepted the money, it rejected our offer to use the Defense Production Act's authorities to help accelerate production. Apparently Pfizer did not want to disclose how many doses it was selling to other countries, which was required under the DPA. Since then, however, the pharmaceutical giant had struggled to acquire the raw materials it needed and had fallen behind on its production schedule. It had promised its first twenty million doses by November and another twenty million doses in December. But the company blew through November without delivering a single dose, and it was on track to deliver only half of the promised doses by year's end. As a result, tensions had grown between Pfizer and the administration.

After the Pfizer vaccine received FDA authorization in December, Secretary of Health and Human Services Alex Azar launched negotiations with Pfizer CEO Albert Bourla to purchase an additional hundred million doses in 2021. The negotiations, however, were reaching a stalemate. I offered to call Bourla to resolve the open issues and to make sure that the agreement included a faster production schedule. I believed that, with the support of the federal government, Pfizer could produce the doses more quickly than the company projected—and when they did I wanted to ensure that the United States got the extra doses before other countries. For many Americans, this could mean the difference between life and death.

I was supposed to join the president at around 2:30 p.m. for a meeting about pardons. The meeting kept getting pushed back until it finally landed at 4:30 p.m.—twenty minutes before sundown. As had happened on so many Fridays, I set aside my religious observance to fulfill my government duties. I couldn't justify going home early to pray when I had a chance to advocate for people who would otherwise remain unjustly locked in prison.

The pardon is one of the most awesome powers afforded to the president, and when he exercised it, Trump took people who would have spent the rest of their lives in prison and gave them a second chance at life. The more Trump was persecuted through partisan investigations, the more he condemned the injustice of overzealous prosecutors and wanted to help others who had been treated unfairly. I loved watching the way he would immerse himself in the details of each case as if he had no other responsibilities in the world: he studied the facts, called lawyers and advocates to hear from them directly, and weighed all the variables.

As I walked into the Oval Office, White House counsel Pat Cipollone and his lead lawyer on pardons, Deirdre Eliot, were already seated. In the Trump White House, they served as the main line of communication to the Department of Justice. They collected the information on potential worthy pardons and presented it to the president so that he could make decisions informed by all the facts.

Soon after the discussion began, Molly Michael, the executive assistant of the president, walked into the Oval Office and passed me a note: Albert Bourla was on the line. I rarely stepped out of Oval Office meetings, but I made an exception and took the call from my cell phone as I paced around the Cabinet Room. After we exchanged niceties, Bourla explained that

before we could even talk about speeding up delivery of vaccines, he had an issue with the termination clause in the contract.

“The clause is standard for government contracts,” I said. “Normally I would give you my word that I would personally safeguard our agreement, but since I will no longer be a government employee when this matters, let me see what I can do.”

After hanging up the phone, I ping-ponged between the Oval and the Cabinet Room, making calls about vaccines and trying to push for pardons. I was bouncing between two life-or-death issues.

By the time I departed the West Wing, it was past 8:30 p.m. When I got home, our youngest son, Theo, was already asleep, but Arabella and Joseph were still up, reading books with Ivanka. She had lit candles and fed the kids earlier, and the four of us sang the two customary Shabbat songs and said the blessing over the wine and challah. Ivanka and I tucked the kids into bed and then sat down for our Shabbat meal.

“I don’t think we are going to get that wind-down period we had hoped for,” I said. “It’s been a wild five years, but in thirty days, we’ll have a lot less responsibility and we will get our lives back. I’m ready. We just have to keep going hard for thirty more days.”

As soon as I said the words, I thought about my marathon training in high school and how my father would always push me to find the strength I didn’t know I had to pick up the pace in the final stretch of the race. I knew I wouldn’t let myself do anything less than press forward until the end.

That Saturday, Ivanka and I went for a run through Rock Creek Park. It was a cold December day, but we enjoyed the chance to jog through Washington for one of the final times before our service ended. When I got back to the house, I spoke to Bourla, who like me was out for a walk to clear his head. We agreed on a compromise to resolve the outstanding legal issues, and he pledged to review his manufacturing plan and see how to expedite our next hundred million doses.

The following Monday, December 21, I departed for Israel with Avi. Ambassador David Friedman, Adam Boehler, and General Miguel Correa joined us. It was our last trip to the Jewish state before the end of our term. Following the playbook we used for the UAE and the subsequent flight to Bahrain, we scheduled the first-ever commercial flight from Israel to Morocco. Though Morocco had announced that it would normalize relations with Israel on December 10, the two countries still needed to sign an

agreement. I learned from my experiences with the UAE and Bahrain that if we didn't take the initiative, the signing might not happen for months, if at all. With less than thirty days remaining in Trump's term, we couldn't afford to drag out the process, so Avi and I worked to organize and introduce both parties, resolve the final issues, and schedule the first flight before the month's end.

Upon our arrival in Israel, we were escorted to the Grove of Nations for an event that had popped onto my schedule at the last minute as a surprise addition. Located in the Jerusalem Forest, the grove is home to dozens of olive trees planted by heads of state as a symbol of the promise of peace in the Middle East. Traditionally, Israel invites visiting leaders to plant a single olive tree. But Bibi had decided to inaugurate the Kushner Garden of Peace with eighteen olive trees to commemorate the unique and unprecedented transformation we had brought to the region. When we arrived in the piney forest in the Judean Hills, we entered a white tent that the Israelis had erected for the event, and Bibi took the makeshift stage:

“It is fitting that we choose to honor Jared Kushner in this way because, Jared, you played a critical role in the inception and the implementation of the Abraham Accords. . . . In planting the Kushner Garden of Peace as a permanent presence in this Grove of Nations, we will ensure that future generations will know what your contribution has been. And I personally want to express my deep affection and my appreciation for the fact that the young teenager who I met many years ago, in fact in your house, in your room, has grown to be a man of stature who has helped change the history of our region and the history of Israel.”

As Bibi and I shoveled dirt over the roots of the first sapling, I whispered a joke to the prime minister: “Only the Israelis can get someone to do free landscaping work while giving them an honor.” Bibi chuckled. I was not used to being the center of attention, but I was moved by Bibi's magnanimity and grateful for the public recognition of a garden that would stand as a living testimony to the budding peace in the region.

From there, we drove to the American embassy in Jerusalem, where Ambassador Friedman had received special permission to dedicate the courtyard in my honor. “Unlike a lot of my other initiatives, this one is fully aboveboard and sanctioned,” said Friedman in good humor. “I got all the sign-offs, including from State Department lawyers and Secretary Pompeo.” Hanging in the courtyard was a bronze plaque that read: “Kushner

Courtyard: Dedicated in honor of Jared Kushner and inspired by his relentless pursuit of peace.” He told me that this was one of only a few times in State Department history that a US government official had received such an honor.

After a brief celebration, we returned to our usual business of negotiations. One of the final points of disagreement between Israel and Morocco involved an embassy. Israel wanted Morocco to open one, and Morocco wanted to start the new relationship with liaison offices. Foreign minister Nasser Bourita of Morocco had become so frustrated over the spat that he threatened to call off the deal entirely. I promised him that we’d get the Israelis to the right place.

That evening, I sat with Bibi in his study. I began by thanking him again for the beautiful ceremony earlier that day in the Grove of Nations. Although he had honored me, I wanted him to know how grateful I was for his partnership on the Abraham Accords. Bibi had spent years laying the groundwork with the Arab world to create the conditions for peace. When the Obama administration proposed the Iran deal, he traveled to Washington to forcefully oppose the bill in Congress. Bibi knew this diplomatic foray was doomed from the start: Obama was going to sign the deal no matter what. But his public lobbying, which culminated in a nationally televised address to Congress, drew the anger of the Obama administration and damaged Israel’s relationship with the United States, its most important ally. His advocacy was a watershed moment, however, in Israel’s relationship with the Arab states in the Gulf. It revealed common ground on their top priority, and it showed that Israel could be more valuable as a friend than a foe. Like Trump, Bibi was fearless. This could sometimes be polarizing, but it also made him a powerful catalyst for change.

We didn’t have long to reflect. We still needed to finalize the terms of the impending peace deal with Morocco. Bibi raised his disappointment with the liaison offices and said that we should push harder for a better deal.

This echoed sentiments we had heard from Ambassador Friedman, who had been lobbying against the deal, conveying his strong reservations to Avi.

“Please trust my judgment on this one,” I urged. “The king is a very deliberate and instinctive person. We have worked through the embassy issue, and this is all we are going to get at this point. The smart move is to show them trust and take less now. I promise that if you give them trust, ultimately they will give you much more than you bargained for.”

By the end of our meeting, less than twelve hours before the historic first flight to Morocco, Bibi signed off on the final terms of the declaration.

At the airport the next morning, we were greeted by the Israeli delegation, led by Meir Ben-Shabbat, the Israeli national security adviser, whose parents were born in Morocco. Upon landing in Rabat, we were immediately escorted to the Mausoleum of Mohammed V, where we signed a guest book and laid a wreath on the graves of the late Moroccan sovereigns Mohammed V and Hassan II, who defended the Jewish people against persecution.

That evening we went to the palace, where we were escorted into the king's office, a large wood-paneled room that smelled of incense and was adorned with stunning damask fabrics. Two neat rows of chairs faced one another—one side for the Moroccan officials and the other for me, Avi, Bohler, and Meir Ben-Shabbat. King Mohammed VI sat at the head of the room, splitting the rows, in front of a massive mural depicting his family tree, which dated back to the Prophet Muhammad. Known for his impeccable taste, the king was dressed in a well-tailored black suit. Seated directly next to the king was his son, Moulay Hassan, the high-school age crown prince who had impressed me at our dinner back in 2019. The king greeted me as warmly as he could while adhering to strict COVID-19 protocols.

As the cameras captured the moment for the world to see, we signed the joint declaration between Israel, Morocco, and the United States.<sup>65</sup> The document restored full diplomatic relations between Israel and Morocco. It granted authorization for direct flights between the countries, opened liaison offices in Rabat and Tel Aviv, and promoted economic collaboration on trade, investment, technology, visas, tourism, water, food security, and more.

I paused a few seconds before applying my signature as the representative of the United States. I had signed lots of documents in my business life. The action was the same—pressing the pen to paper to complete a deal—but the difference in significance couldn't have been more dramatic. This deal would lead to connections and activities that would make the world more peaceful and prosperous. In business deals, parties change ownership; in peace deals, people change minds.

Afterward, I handed the king a present: the US State Department's official new map of Morocco, which included the Western Sahara within the

country's territory. The king was jubilant for the recognition as well as his country's newly established ties with Israel.

That evening, as people celebrated in the streets to mark the momentous agreement, the Moroccans prepared a kosher meal for us in the sprawling guest palace.

During dinner, I felt the all-too-familiar buzz of my phone. It was Albert Bourla of Pfizer. After much deliberation, he had decided to go forward with the contract, and he was willing to accept the federal government's assistance in acquiring supplies to expedite production. This was a win-win partnership for both parties, but we had one condition: American-made vaccines would go to Americans first.

"We will get you the supplies you need," I said. "I just want to be very clear, we need your first hundred million doses in the second quarter. We will not let those doses leave the country."

"Why are you playing God?" Bourla shot back. "Why do you get to determine whether an American gets a dose of the vaccine versus someone from Japan or Israel?"

"Because I represent America," I said. "That's the country I work for. My job is to get as many doses for the American people as possible, and you are an American company. If you ramp up your production to the levels we anticipate, it will be in part because of the help of the US government. What we ask in return is that you prioritize saving American lives."

The next day, Pfizer announced that it would supply the United States with an additional hundred million doses by July, securing a total of two hundred million Pfizer vaccines for Americans by the first half of 2021. It was another critical step to ensuring that every American who wanted a vaccine could get one. This time, Pfizer delivered on its promise.

I landed back in Washington in the afternoon on December 23. As I made my way to the White House, I got an unexpected call from the president.

"Jared, I just signed a full pardon for your dad," he said. "A few days ago, I called your father and asked if he wanted a pardon, and he said no. I know his case well, and I believe he got screwed. Because of his unfortunate experience, we enacted major criminal justice reforms that have helped tens of thousands of people. I hope he won't be mad at me, but I'm very proud to be able to do this. Your dad is a great guy."



I was so overwhelmed I didn't know what to say. I asked if he had called my dad to tell him, but he said he was still working on a pile of cases and would try him later. He told me to feel free to call him in the meantime.

As soon as we hung up, I called Ivanka. Together, we conferenced in my dad and mom and shared the news. I could hear my dad's voice crack. "When Donald asked me about this, I really told him that I didn't need one," he said. "I am at peace with what happened and have rebuilt my life in a way where I have all of the right priorities and am comfortable with who I am. I didn't want to cause Donald any controversy. But truthfully, hearing this news makes me realize how much I really did want one but was too proud to ask. This brings me closure to a very hard period of my life."

I was overwhelmed with joy and relief for our family, and even more so because I knew that thousands of families had experienced the same joy and relief due to the reforms we enacted nationwide.

Fifteen years earlier, when I was visiting my father each week in prison, I never dreamed I would be having this conversation. I certainly never imagined that the president of the United States would grant my own father a pardon. In that moment, I felt that only God's hand could have written this real-life script, and that His plans are always bigger than ours.

## Reconciliation

I was getting ready to leave the White House for Joint Base Andrews and a flight to Saudi Arabia on the morning of January 3, 2021, when I received a call from the foreign minister of Qatar, Sheikh Mohammed. He was calling on behalf of his boss—the ruler of Qatar, Emir Tamim bin Hamad.

The deal was off, he said. He thanked me for working so hard to resolve the dispute, but told me that the decision was final and nothing more could be done at this point.

I was supposed to join Tamim and MBS at a signing agreement to end the three-year blockade of Qatar by Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Egypt, and the UAE. Ever since I facilitated the call between Tamim and MBS back in September, my team and I had helped the two sides work through their differences. In December I had traveled back to the region to complete the agreement. After two seven-hour negotiating sessions, I thought we had resolved all of the open issues, and MBS and Tamim were planning to meet at the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) summit on January 5. They invited me to come to Saudi Arabia for the event to witness the agreement, which was both an honor and an opportunity to help ensure the negotiations crossed the finish line.

Over the previous three months, Sheikh Mohammed had masterfully negotiated each delicate issue he encountered, so I could sense his palpable disappointment through the phone. Until his call, I thought we were on track to sign the deal, but he explained that the Saudis had not yet agreed to lift their airspace restrictions in advance of the summit. Since our first discussion, Tamim had made clear that he was willing to travel to Saudi Arabia to sign the agreement, but only if the country opened the airspace beforehand: if his citizens couldn't fly, then he didn't want to fly.

During the negotiations, I had communicated Tamim's position to the Saudis, who assured me that they would remove the restrictions in time. Now, just two days before the summit, the flight restrictions had yet to be lifted.

When I heard the news, I bypassed the Saudi negotiating team and called MBS directly. "We have a big problem," I said.

To my surprise, MBS's reaction revealed that this was the first he'd heard of Tamim's request. He said that Qatar's ask was a "re-trade," using a commercial term for renegotiating the price after the parties had come to an initial agreement. He interpreted the request as a sign that the Qataris weren't sincere in wanting to resolve the dispute.

I pushed back emphatically: "In four years, I have never lied to you. I promise you that Tamim has made this a condition from my very first meeting on the topic. Your team knew about this request. If you want to be upset about this, be upset at your team, be upset at me, but don't think Tamim is playing games here."

MBS assured me that he understood the stakes and would talk to his team and see whether they could resolve the issue.

All the while, our military plane was waiting on the tarmac at Joint Base Andrews. Once pilots go on the clock, federal regulations say they have fourteen hours before they are required to break. Because a direct flight to Saudi Arabia is more than twelve hours, we kept asking the pilots to push back our start time so that we wouldn't have to stop halfway through the trip to spend the night, and then arrive late to the summit.

As I paced around my house, I considered canceling the trip and letting the Saudis and Qataris figure it out for themselves, but I knew that the president wanted the rift resolved. An agreement would advance American interests by strengthening America's position in the region, unifying two of our important partners, and eliminating a constant point of contention that obstructed potential peace agreements. If we failed to strike this agreement, Iran would have an opening to further exploit the rift.

I moved my flight time to the latest possible window—8:00 a.m. the next morning. Before going to bed, I told Sheikh Mohammed that MBS was prepared to open Saudi airspace, and he said that he would take the message back to Tamim. This put the deal back in play, but as I waited for word from Qatar, I wondered if it was too late. I woke up at 1:00 a.m. to check for an update, but all was quiet. I felt like the deal was slipping away.

Early the next morning, we headed to Joint Base Andrews, but we still had not heard from the Qataris. The clock was ticking. If we didn't take off before 9:00 a.m., we wouldn't make the summit in time.

I called Sheikh Mohammed and asked him to relay a message to Tamim: "I'm boarding the plane now and heading to the summit. I would strongly suggest that the emir come and take advantage of a rare opportunity

to resolve this issue. Tell him that while I know there is little trust right now, I will be there personally to ensure that he is treated with the utmost respect. If you don't come now, I believe the ice will get thicker, not thinner. Both sides are rightfully skeptical of each other, and the Saudis will interpret the last-minute cancellation as a sign of bad intent. It's unlikely that you will find another US government official who will bridge the two countries, and you could remain in the blockade for the next twenty years." Sheikh Mohammed agreed and promised me that he would do what he could.

We lifted off for Saudi Arabia without knowing what the Qataris would do. After three hours in the air, I received a message from MBS: Tamim had called to say he appreciated the Saudis' flexibility, and he had decided to come. The deal was back on. Excited and relieved, I told my team that we were closing in on another critical peace agreement—this one between Arab neighbors who had been locked in a years-long conflict.

As our plane descended into Al-Ula, an ancient city in northwestern Saudi Arabia, all I could see was an endless landscape of sand and rock formations. After a short drive on the ground, we arrived at a newly built compound—a collection of modular units covered by tent roofs, giving visitors the experience of camping in the desert. As I spoke with the Arab royalty assembled there, I received a call from Sheikh Mohammed.

"We're turning our plane around," he said.

I nearly shouted: "What do you mean you're not coming?"

There had been a last-minute dispute about the execution of the agreement.

I was standing with Dr. Ahmed Nasser Al-Mohammed Al-Sabah, the foreign minister of Kuwait, who had been my partner in negotiating this deal. With Sheikh Mohammed on the line, we walked over to MBS, pulled him away from a discussion, and described the problem. MBS took my phone and walked away.

Several minutes later, the crown prince returned. "Problem solved," he said. MBS had given his word that he would deliver, and the Qataris decided to proceed on his honor.

Minutes later, as the cameras rolled, Tamim walked down the stairs of his plane and was greeted by MBS. Disregarding pandemic protocols, the two leaders hugged. The embrace between the former rivals was broadcast on television screens throughout the world. Much like the first flight between Israel and the UAE, it was a powerful image that reflected the

burgeoning change in the Middle East. It signaled to people across the region that they could move on from past tensions and seek a better future.

The end of the blockade on Qatar dominated global headlines by the next morning. “Saudis, Qatar to Settle Feud, Aiding U.S. Efforts on Iran,” read the *Wall Street Journal* headline. “Saudi Arabia and Allies to Restore Full Ties with Qatar, Says Foreign Minister,” proclaimed Reuters. “Qatar Crisis: Saudi Arabia and Allies Restore Diplomatic Ties with Emirate,” reported the BBC.

On the morning of January 6, 2021, we departed the Middle East for the final time during our government service. I had grown accustomed to using the long return flights to debrief with my team, reflect on our meetings with foreign leaders, and plan our next moves. With this final deal closed, there were no next moves. We were done.

“In the history of American diplomacy, no one has achieved more peace deals than this team,” said Brian Hook in an impromptu speech. “Looking back to when we first entered office, we were dealt a terrible hand. It’s clear just how ripe the region was for new thinking and approaches. That could only come from someone like you who was outside the think tank industry, which has been using the same talking points from the 1970s. You didn’t have the baggage of what passes for ‘expertise.’”

I thanked Hook for his kind words and for the crucial role he had played. He was an essential member of the team who believed wholeheartedly in Trump’s policies and had been instrumental in achieving some of the president’s greatest successes. We all continued to share stories about our favorite moments, cultural snafus, and the unforgettable people we had met. As we laughed and swapped stories, I felt like a lead weight was being lifted off my back. On so many of our trips, we had spent the flight home digesting the knowledge we had gained and planning our next steps in pursuit of what felt like an ever-elusive breakthrough. This trip was different. We were leaving office having brokered six peace deals: the agreements between Israel and the UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, Sudan, and Kosovo, plus a reconciliation between Saudi Arabia and Qatar.

In my four years in government, that plane ride was a high point. I reflected on the many challenges we had faced. So many of them had felt like existential threats at the time, but now seemed like footnotes. A tinge of nostalgia swelled up in my chest. But more than anything, I was content. Our quest for peace was coming to an end. I had played the game until the final

whistle and always tried to do what was right rather than what was easy. Now I was ready to pass on the immense responsibility, return to a quieter life, spend more time with my family, and have some adventures of my own. Maybe I'll even be able to take my kids sightseeing before we leave town, I thought.

My momentary reflection was interrupted by a phone call from Eric Herschmann.

"Where are you?" he asked.

"I'm in the air, heading back from Saudi Arabia," I responded. "What's going on?"

"Rioters have broken into the Capitol," he said. "I'll give you an update when you land."

We touched down in the midafternoon on the all-too-familiar grounds of Joint Base Andrews. As I climbed into my SUV, the Secret Service warned me that there were large crowds on the National Mall and around the Capitol and recommended that we head straight home to Kalorama. On the drive, I called Ivanka to check in. As I spoke to her, I detected a strain in her voice that only a husband can truly understand. She encouraged me to head home to see the children and told me that she would see me a bit later.

When I arrived home, exhausted from our thirteen-hour flight, I went to our room and turned on the shower. But before I could get in, I received a call from Kevin McCarthy, the Republican leader in the House of Representatives, asking me if I could help the situation. He sounded nervous, so I took the call seriously and told him that I would see what I could do. I shut off the shower, put on a clean suit, and went to the White House. By the time I arrived, the president had already released a video statement addressing the riot.

That night, after I learned more about what happened at the Capitol earlier that day, Ivanka and I started working with the team on a proposed speech for the president to deliver the next day. In the afternoon of January 7, Trump delivered remarks expressing our sentiment, and that of millions of his supporters: "The demonstrators who infiltrated the Capitol have defiled the seat of American democracy. To those who engaged in the acts of violence and destruction, you do not represent our country." He committed to a "smooth, orderly, and seamless transition of power." As he concluded, he said, "This moment calls for healing and reconciliation. . . . We must revitalize the sacred bonds of love and loyalty that bind us together as one

national family.” Ivanka and I stood nearby as he read the statement, which we had drafted with a few others.

The violent storming of the Capitol was wrong and unlawful. It did not represent the hundreds of thousands of peaceful protesters, or the tens of millions of Trump voters, who were good, decent, and law-abiding citizens. What is clear to me is that no one at the White House expected violence that day. I’m confident that if my colleagues or the president had anticipated violence, they would have prevented it from happening. After more than six hundred peaceful Trump rallies, these rioters gave Trump’s critics the fodder they had wanted for more than five years. It allowed them to say that Trump’s supporters were crazed and violent thugs. The claim was as false as the narrative that the violent Antifa rioters who desecrated American cities that summer were representative of the millions of peaceful demonstrators who had marched for equality under the law. In the aftermath of January 6, the morale in the White House sank to an all-time low. Some staff members resigned. Others came to my office prepared to offer their resignation. I encouraged them to stay.

“You took an oath to the country,” I said. “This is a moment when we have to do what’s right, not what’s popular. If the country is better off with you here, then stay. If it doesn’t matter, then do what you want.”

During our remaining days in office, Ivanka and I continued to work on presidential pardons, but I reserved most of my attention for completing the presidential transition.

Back in December, I had begun periodic meetings with the Biden transition team to brief them on all the information and operational knowledge needed. I was especially focused on Operation Warp Speed and the COVID-19 response. I worked closely with Secretary Azar and his staff at the Department of Health and Human Services to prepare a wing of offices for the Biden team to use during the transition. On the day Biden’s representatives were scheduled to arrive, Azar’s team was surprised that no one showed up—apparently for fear of catching COVID. This demoralized the HHS staff, who for months had risked their personal health to work around the clock during the pandemic.

I invited Jeff Zients, who was slated to lead Biden’s COVID task force, to come to the West Wing with his team. We had been communicating regularly. Brad Smith, Adam Boehler, Dr. Deborah Birx, Paul Mango, and I walked him through our administration’s ongoing efforts to confront the

pandemic. Over the previous ten months, we distributed tens of millions of masks and other PPE and had rebuilt the Strategic National Stockpile. In January 2020, the stockpile was down to 13 million N95 masks, 5 million gowns, and 16 million gloves.<sup>66</sup> The United States had completed 250 million COVID tests, and we had created the capacity to complete 1.3 billion tests in the first half of 2021. By January 2021, it had 237 million N95 masks, 52 million gowns, and 159 million gloves. And through Operation Warp Speed, we had delivered close to 40 million vaccine doses to communities across America, with an additional 100 million doses expected to be delivered by the end of March. By June of 2021, every American who wanted a vaccine would be able to get one. We were surging resources into therapeutics, and on January 12 we announced a \$2.63 billion purchase for 1.25 million doses of Regeneron's monoclonal antibody treatment, which was proven to reduce mortality. At the end of the meeting, I thanked Zients for his willingness to serve in government, adding that we were all available to him 24/7, both then and after Biden assumed office. I knew he had a tough job ahead, and I wished him the best.

I also met with Jake Sullivan, Biden's incoming national security adviser, to brief him on our peace deals and review the countries that we believed were close to normalizing with Israel. He stressed that the Biden administration's top priorities would be the three Cs: COVID-19, climate change, and China. I urged him to take a fresh look at the Middle East, as a lot had changed in the four years since he had been in government. I detailed my ongoing discussions and predicted with confidence that with six months of focused execution, the United States could build on the momentum and achieve between four and six additional peace deals. I didn't care who got the credit. This was about keeping Americans safe and improving the lives of millions.

As we entered our final week, pardon requests were stacking up and awaiting the president's final decision. Some of the best clemency recommendations came from Ivanka, who had volunteered to help identify deserving individuals and work with the White House Counsel's Office to vet them. When we met with the president, he liked the candidates that Ivanka presented. She was advocating for people who didn't typically have a champion in Washington. They weren't celebrities or well connected individuals. They were men and women who had come from difficult circumstances, made mistakes they regretted, and had reformed their lives



while in prison. Local nonprofit organizations like #cut50 and advocates like Alice Johnson brought their cases to the White House.

“Bring me more like these,” he said. “I want the Ivanka cases.”

One evening, with just a few days left in office, the president called me. “What do you think I should do with Bannon?” he asked. “He’s been lobbying hard for a pardon.” Bannon had gotten himself into legal trouble and was being charged with fraud.

“I haven’t reviewed his case, but I don’t oppose him getting a pardon based on our past,” I said. “You know me. I’m a softy. I err on the side of mercy.”

“Seriously?” replied Trump. “You would really be for that? After everything he did to you?”

“I don’t forget, but I do forgive,” I said. “If you think it’s a good idea, I’m okay with it. Steve was incredibly destructive to your first year in office, but he was there for you on the first campaign when few were.”

Bannon single-handedly caused more problems for me than anyone else in my time in Washington. He probably leaked and lied about me more than everyone else combined. He played dirty and dragged me into the mud of the Russia investigation. But now that he was in trouble, I felt like helping him was the right thing to do.

I hadn’t forgotten the lesson I learned from my father’s situation. Nothing is achieved from harboring resentment. It’s better to forgive and let God be the judge of the rest.

## Hourglass

There was an unfamiliar stillness in the West Wing as the clock slid toward midnight on our last full day in office. The lights were off, the desks were cleared, and the hallways were eerily empty. Staff had said their goodbyes and gone home, save for a handful of us who remained: Ivanka and me, Mark Meadows, Dan Scavino, White House counsel Pat Cipollone, a few members of our staff, and the president.

Cipollone and his legal team had worked around the clock to finalize the legal documents for the few remaining pardons the president had approved. Shortly before midnight, Trump granted clemency to an additional 143 individuals. Ivanka began calling the families whose loved ones had just received a pardon. It was late, but she knew that families would not want to sleep through one more night waiting to find out if their loved one was coming home.

As Ivanka made calls, I headed back to my office and wrote a note to Mike Donilon, who would move into my office as Biden's senior adviser. I wished him luck and told him that amazing things could happen from that small, unassuming office, and that I was rooting for him to accomplish a lot for our country. Though we worked for presidents from different parties, ultimately, we were all on the same team. Along with the note, I left a few items in the top drawer that would come in handy for any job conducted from that office: Extra Strength Tylenol, Purell, and a bottle of Macallan scotch.

Then I walked the few feet down the hall to the Oval Office. I was a bit surprised to see the president still sitting at his desk. He was finishing his letter to incoming president Joe Biden. He handed it to me. I read it and was genuinely moved. It was a beautiful letter, gracious and from the heart—a presidential tribute to the country he loved.

As I was closing this chapter of my life, I wanted to remember this day. That morning, my first order of business had been a visit to the Navy Mess, where I thanked the dedicated service members posted there. They had kept me standing for the past four years. Each day they'd made me the same lunch: a special chopped salad topped with sliced avocado and grilled kosher chicken. In keeping with my New Jersey roots, where we frequented diners

and had eggs three times a day, the Navy Mess staff also made an exception to their strict “no breakfast after 9:00 a.m.” rule, and they would fry an omelet with American cheese for dinner whenever I asked.

Later that day, Ivanka had arrived with the kids. Arabella, Joseph, and Theo raced into the Oval Office to greet their grandpa. He gave them a big hug and, as usual, opened his desk drawer and pulled out boxes of presidential M&Ms. The kids handed personalized cards to our Secret Service detail. Arabella’s card summed up our gratitude best: “Thank you for keeping me safe . . . you have been so kind to me. For example: you go fishing with Joseph, you go on golf cart rides with Theo, and you listen to my terrible jokes. Thank you!!! You guys and gals are my best friends.” Next to a picture of an American flag she had drawn with markers, she added, “Yes, there are 50 stars.”

As I watched our kids gallivant through the West Wing, handing homemade cookies to the Secret Service agents and the custodial staff, I couldn’t believe how much they’d grown during the past four years. Theo hadn’t even had his first birthday when we came to Washington. He had crawled for the first time on the weekend after inauguration, in the White House State Dining Room, no less. Now, at four, he was strutting around in his loosened tie, unaware that anyone had won or lost an election. Arabella had grown about a foot and was nine going on nineteen, with the charm and sass of her mom. Joseph, who was just three when we moved and had the hardest time adjusting to our more demanding work schedules, had discovered a love for fishing. I promised him that when we got to Florida, where Ivanka and I had decided to settle, I would replace his Secret Service agents as his fishing partner.

I had planned to pack everything up in an orderly fashion, but by the final day I had barely started, so I asked Charlton and Cassidy to help me pile my stuff into a few boxes. “We came in a storm, and we left in a storm,” I said half jokingly to Avi, Cassidy, and Charlton as we parted ways that evening.

As I prepared to head home, I dropped by Meadows’s office for a final time. I found him with cell phones in both ears, sitting in his familiar spot on the couch with documents spread across the coffee table in front of him. The fireplace was burning, and he smiled and nodded at me as he wound down his calls. I thanked him for stepping into the role and for all of the incredible

things he had accomplished and problems he'd helped avoid, which history would likely never know or appreciate.

Before making the final walk down the creaky, narrow stairs of the West Wing, I paused and silently said goodbye to my cave of an office, where I had spent most of my waking hours over the past four years. The walls were blank, stripped of the photos, presidential proclamations, and recognitions I had collected. The narrow room looked small, dark, and lifeless—almost exactly as it did when I entered it in 2017. Few would ever know all the heated conversations, agonizing decisions, and sweet moments of victory that occurred within these walls. I picked up the last two items I had left until the very end: the mezuzah on my doorway and an hourglass that Chris Liddell had given me. As I prepared to leave the White House for the final time, I thought about what Liddell had said: “Every day here is sand through an hourglass, and we have to make it count.”

I knew I had lived by those words. I never forgot that my office wasn't really my office. I was just the current inhabitant. From the day we arrived, I never stopped working. My responsibility was to give every ounce of energy I had to help the president advance his vision for the American people. Even when I was at home, I thought about the job. I could never predict when I would receive an urgent phone call with an unexpected request. I could never shake the sense that if I convened one more meeting, maybe I would find a solution to an impossible problem or help improve one more person's life. My duty to serve the president of the United States came first, even before family. Ivanka and I were a unique case: we were senior White House staffers who were also family members, adding another level of stress and scrutiny. There was never a moment of true calm in the White House, never a moment of pure enjoyment. There was always action, always a crisis, always high velocity.

Now, as our time in office drew to a close, I was at peace. I had given my all and was proud of what we had achieved. While many throw up their hands and say “Washington is broken,” I came to view it differently. I learned that the system is complex, but that it can work if people think with creativity and put in the effort that the job demands. What we accomplished on four seemingly unsolvable problems—trade, criminal justice reform, Operation Warp Speed, and Middle East peace—was proof of this concept.

After decades of outdated trade deals that sent American jobs overseas, we replaced NAFTA with the US-Mexico-Canada Agreement, the largest

trade agreement in history. We had also taken the first significant steps to confront China's unfair trade practices and protect American farmers and workers. Against opposition from both Democrats and Republicans, we found common ground, gained the president's support, and enacted the most significant criminal justice reform in a generation. In the midst of a devastating pandemic, we delivered a COVID-19 vaccine in record time. And through unconventional diplomacy and relentless resolve, we overcame a history of stalemate in the Middle East and forged the Abraham Accords.

No one could take those accomplishments away. They were real. Most importantly, these bold policies changed lives for the better. I thought of the countless former inmates who were now reunited with their families and were determined to make the most of their second chance in life. I thought of the manufacturing workers and farmers who greeted us with gratitude when we visited their communities and thanked the president for bringing back their jobs and restoring their pride. I thought of the grandparents and other vulnerable citizens who would now be able to safely reunite with their families. And I thought of the millions of people in the Middle East who would now be able to travel between Israel and the UAE, Bahrain, Morocco, and eventually Sudan. The deals not only linked people to their geographical neighbors but also opened new economic opportunities and established cultural ties that transcend religion and race. We had shown that the conflicts that held back generations of the past no longer had to constrain the generations of the future. Working in government was a grind. It put enormous pressure on me and my family. But I didn't regret a single minute of my 1,461 days on the government clock. The White House is the most daunting, thrilling, exhausting, and meaningful place to work in the world. The responsibility is difficult to comprehend, and so too is the potential for impact.

I turned off the lights to my office and walked down the narrow stairs that led to the ground-floor corridor. As I passed the West Wing lobby, I said a final goodbye to the uniformed Secret Service agent at the desk before exiting the double doors to West Executive Avenue. I climbed into my SUV and didn't look back.

Our rented Kalorama home was bare, save for a few piles of boxes. Over the previous weeks, we had sold, donated, or shipped most of our belongings. Ivanka was still making her way through her list of calls to the families whose loved ones had just received pardons. I joined her, and we

finished together. By the time we made the last call, it was 3:00 a.m. Exhausted but grateful and proud of what we had helped achieve, we turned off the lights and gave each other a kiss good night.

These four years had brought Ivanka and me closer together. Her deep involvement in the pardons perfectly exemplified her tenure in Washington. She was happiest behind the scenes, using her influence to help others in ways that most people would never know. While many speculated about her motivations, she never had any political aspirations. She tolerated the politics to drive the impact. She wanted to use her unique position to give back to a country she loves. In Washington, that made her an anomaly.

Ivanka didn't have to work in government, but she chose to close her successful businesses to serve. She advanced reforms to uplift families across the country, especially those who were most forgotten. She spearheaded the effort to double the child tax credit, allowing hardworking American families to keep more of their tax dollars to provide for their children. She created a workforce training initiative that helped countless Americans hone their craft, progress in their careers, and work in jobs they love. She helped pass historic legislation to stop the heinous crime of human trafficking. And when Americans were at their most vulnerable during the pandemic, she launched the Farmers to Families Food Box Program, which fed tens of millions of people. Throughout our time in Washington, she managed to find a way to give our kids the love and attention they needed. She was a loyal and loving daughter to her father, and a constant source of strength. There's no way I could have survived the four years in Washington without Ivanka, my best friend and partner. Her constant encouragement, companionship, support, and insight sustained me throughout our journey.

Early in the morning on January 20, we packed up the final boxes, piled into an SUV with our kids, and left our house for the last time.

When we arrived at Joint Base Andrews, Ivanka and I found Eric and Lara Trump, Don Jr. and Kimberly Guilfoyle, and Tiffany Trump and her fiancé Michael Boulos. We reminisced for a few moments about our experiences as a family the past four years. Don Jr. and I had been absurdly accused of treason. Eric must have broken a Guinness World Record for congressional subpoenas. Lara and Kimberly campaigned across the country. Tiffany made it through law school in an era of outrage, and did so with elegance. We had all taken this unexpected journey together. Not only had we survived, we had grown closer.

As we stood on the tarmac on the cold, crisp morning, we heard the familiar noise of Marine One's rotor blades. The forest-green helicopter descended, and the president and Melania stepped off to the sound of applause, with several hundred staff members cheering them on. In a few hours Trump would no longer be commander in chief. He would be an American civilian who had served as the forty-fifth president of the United States.

Trump built one of the strongest economies our country had ever seen and advanced policies that benefited all Americans. Before the pandemic, unemployment had reached a fifty-year low, wages had hit a record high, and middle-class income had increased an average of \$6,000. Trump's economic policies created seven million new jobs and made America the number one producer of oil and natural gas. Through his foreign policy of peace through strength, Trump prevented new wars, and America regained its military might. Our enemies feared us, our partners respected us, and our allies could once again count on us. American troops were coming home, and peace was burgeoning in the Middle East.

When COVID-19 struck, the president mobilized all of America to respond. The United States acquired, delivered, and ramped up the production of masks, PPE, ventilators, testing supplies, and other lifesaving materials. The economy rebounded faster than experts had predicted, with the GDP growing at a rate of 33 percent in the third quarter of 2020. And because Trump took a calculated risk and invested billions of dollars in Operation Warp Speed, America delivered lifesaving therapeutics and a safe and effective vaccine in less than a year, far faster than anyone thought possible. Operation Warp Speed succeeded only because Trump believed in the ingenuity of America's private-sector and the ability of America's military to save hundreds of thousands of lives.

Donald Trump arguably accomplished more than any other president in my lifetime. I was proud to serve in his White House, and I was grateful that he gave me the chance to help him deliver on his promises to the American people.

"It is my greatest honor and privilege to have been your president," he said in his final public remarks as president. "I will always fight for you. I will be watching, I will be listening. And I will tell you that the future of this country has never been better. So just, a goodbye, we love you, we will be back in some form."

As Trump departed on Air Force One, a familiar tune began to play.

“I traveled each and every highway

And more, much more than this

I did it, I did it my way . . .”

Frank Sinatra’s “My Way” was one of Trump’s favorites. It captured the moment the way only a great American song can.

Exactly four years earlier, Ivanka and I had arrived on this same tarmac with president-elect Trump. We left our lives in New York and moved our three young kids to Washington for the journey of a lifetime. We got to know Americans from all walks of life who were making tremendous sacrifices to provide for their families and give their children the very best. We traveled the globe and met the most powerful leaders in the world. We navigated through a controversial time, compounded by West Wing infighting, vicious investigations, media attacks, partisan divides, geopolitical conflicts, and an unexpected cancer scare.

We weathered ups and downs together and learned a great deal about politics, human nature, and ourselves.

I learned that to make it in Washington I needed to have a spine of steel. I learned to stay away from petty fights and power struggles, to make fewer enemies and more friends, and to talk less and do more. As hard as it was to hear people spread lies about me and my family, I tried to ignore the noise and focus on improving the lives of others. The personal cost was a small price to pay for the opportunity to change the world. Instead of relying on conventional wisdom, I viewed issues from a fresh perspective, put myself in the shoes of others, and found common ground. Despite countless setbacks and criticism that threatened to derail our efforts, I reached breakthroughs that benefited our country and the world. Through it all, I stayed true to my core conviction: life is too short to remain stuck in the past. It’s up to us to make the most of the lives we’re given, help others, and create the future we want for our children and grandchildren.

I squeezed Ivanka’s hand as Air Force One disappeared into the clear blue sky. As quickly as the journey had begun, it jolted to an end. Our time was up. Our duty was done.

As the roar of the 747 engine faded into the distance, I thought of the words that had guided me since I was a young man wrestling with my father’s prison sentence and wondering what God could possibly have in store:



*Don't look back, look forward.*

# Acknowledgments

I couldn't have completed this project without the encouragement and support of many people I am blessed to have in my life.

From the first day I started writing down a few stories—having no idea whether I would ever share them beyond the confines of our living room—Ivanka has joined me on this journey. She patiently listened to me recount anecdotes she already knew and added details from her own memory. She read and reread drafts, providing keen edits and suggestions that only a wife can make. Ivanka—you are my constant source of strength and the best friend and life partner I could ask for. I love you and thank you. And to our three incredible kids—Arabella, Joseph, and Theodore—thank you for keeping me grounded and reminding me what's worth fighting for. Growing up with your parents working in the White House was your unique contribution to the country, and I hope that one day you will read this book and better understand why your father was not as present as he would have liked to be. Ivanka, Arabella, Joseph, and Theodore: You are my life.

President Donald J. Trump gave me the chance to make the two best decisions of my life: asking for Ivanka's hand in marriage and accepting an opportunity to serve in the White House. Donald—thank you for having the courage to shake up Washington and fight for the forgotten men and women of this country. Your presidency achieved historic results, and I am forever grateful for all that I have learned from your leadership.

My parents, Charles and Seryl Kushner, have shaped me into the person I am. They prepared me for my time in government in ways we could have never known at the time. They taught me to value hard work, honor my word, ignore critics, cherish our family, hold on to my faith, and always remember that life is a gift and it's up to each of us to make the most of it. I am grateful for their steadfast love and their constant encouragement throughout this journey. Mom and Dad—your love for each other and sacrifice for our family inspire me every day.

To my siblings and their spouses, Dara and David, Nikki and Tuvi, and Josh and Karlie—we have been through many highs and lows together, and each challenge has brought us closer. Thanks to each of you for your support and wisdom throughout this process. I am blessed beyond measure to call you family.

Eric and Lara and Don Jr. and Kimberly were instrumental in Trump's campaigns, they hung tough under intense pressure during his presidency, and I'm grateful for their friendship. Barron and Tiffany continued their studies with devotion and strength in the face of criticism, and their love and support lifted us all. And Tiffany and Michael—we are so excited for you as you begin this new chapter together. To each of you—I deeply respect how you are always there for each other. To Melania—I am grateful that you welcomed me into the Trump family with open arms from the very beginning.

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devotion, drive, and relentless pursuit of perfection have helped us create this primary account of history.

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Cassidy Luna played a pivotal role over the last five years in helping me manage my responsibilities. When people asked how we accomplished so much with so few people, I would say that she was my army of one. She sat through hours of interviews for this project and added her own recollections. She offered skillful suggestions, helped verify important details, oversaw the photo selection process, and has kept our team organized every step of the way.

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The experience and achievements described in these pages would never have happened without the tireless efforts of dozens of people quietly working behind the scenes. Many friends and acquaintances stepped up to help our country when needed and these acts of selfless altruism were appreciated and made a big impact. There are far too many to name, but I am forever grateful to the many devoted men and women in the White House, the Secret Service, and across the federal government who served—and in some cases, continue to serve—our country with the highest standards of professionalism.

# Notes

*The citations below document sources such as books, government reports, and statistics. In general, the citations do not include news articles, quotations from public speeches, and other information readily available through public transcripts and press reports on the internet. As stated in the preface, many of the quotes in the book are drawn from published records, such as transcripts, but others come from private conversations. In these cases, I've relied on my memory and extensive interviews with colleagues and counterparts. In some cases, dialogue has been recreated. Quotes from foreign leaders are based on my memory and therefore are not direct quotes.*

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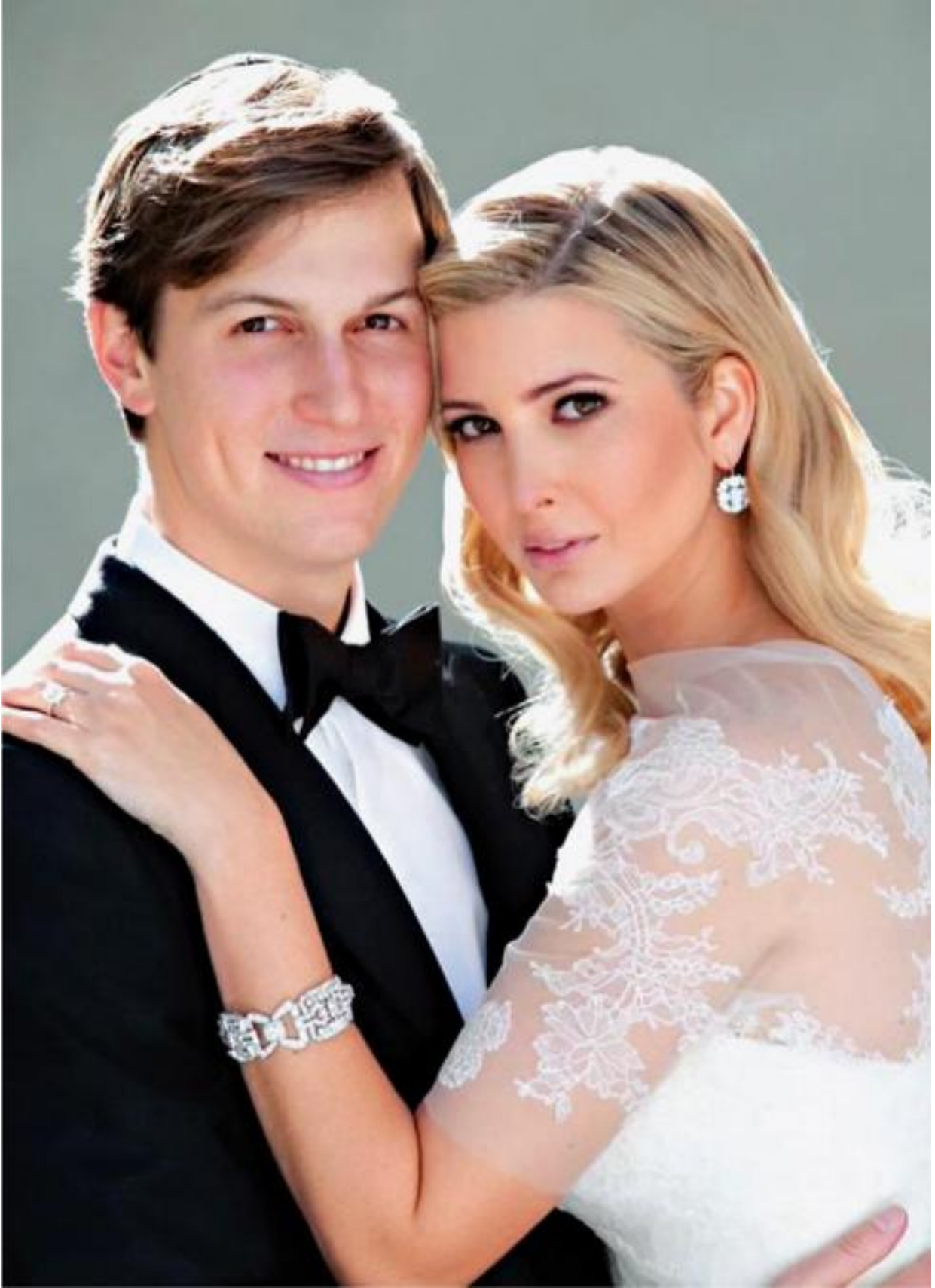
# Photo Section



My parents raised me and my three siblings, Dara, Nicole, and Josh, in Livingston, New Jersey, a middle-class suburb forty-five minutes west of Manhattan. Here we are on a family camping trip in 1998. *(Courtesy of the Kushner family)*



I spent much of my childhood visiting jobsites with my father, Charles Kushner. He taught me the value of hard work. During my senior year of high school, we woke up at 4:30 each morning to train together for the New York City Marathon. *(Courtesy of the Kushner family)*



Ivanka and I met in 2007 after her father encouraged her to see if I was interested in buying a Trump property. Our business lunch quickly led to a first date. We were married in Bedminster, New Jersey, in October 2009. *(Brian Marcus/Fred Marcus Photography)*





With Ivanka in 2014. We share many unlikely interests, including our love for New Jersey diners. *(Courtesy of the Kushner family)*



Backstage with Steve Bannon (*left*) and deputy campaign manager David Bossie (*center*), watching Trump's second debate against Hillary Clinton on October 9, 2016.

Bannon and I were allies on the campaign, but our relationship quickly deteriorated in the White House. (*Courtesy of Douglas Coulter*)



Watching the election returns from Trump Tower on Election Day, November 8, 2016. Trump's victory shocked the world. (*Courtesy of Dan Scavino*)



Inauguration Day was a frenzy of activity, but Ivanka and I paused in the Lincoln Bedroom to light Shabbat candelabras and pray before we departed for the inaugural balls.

We were told that it was the first time Shabbat candles had been lit in the White House residence. *(Courtesy of the Kushner family)*

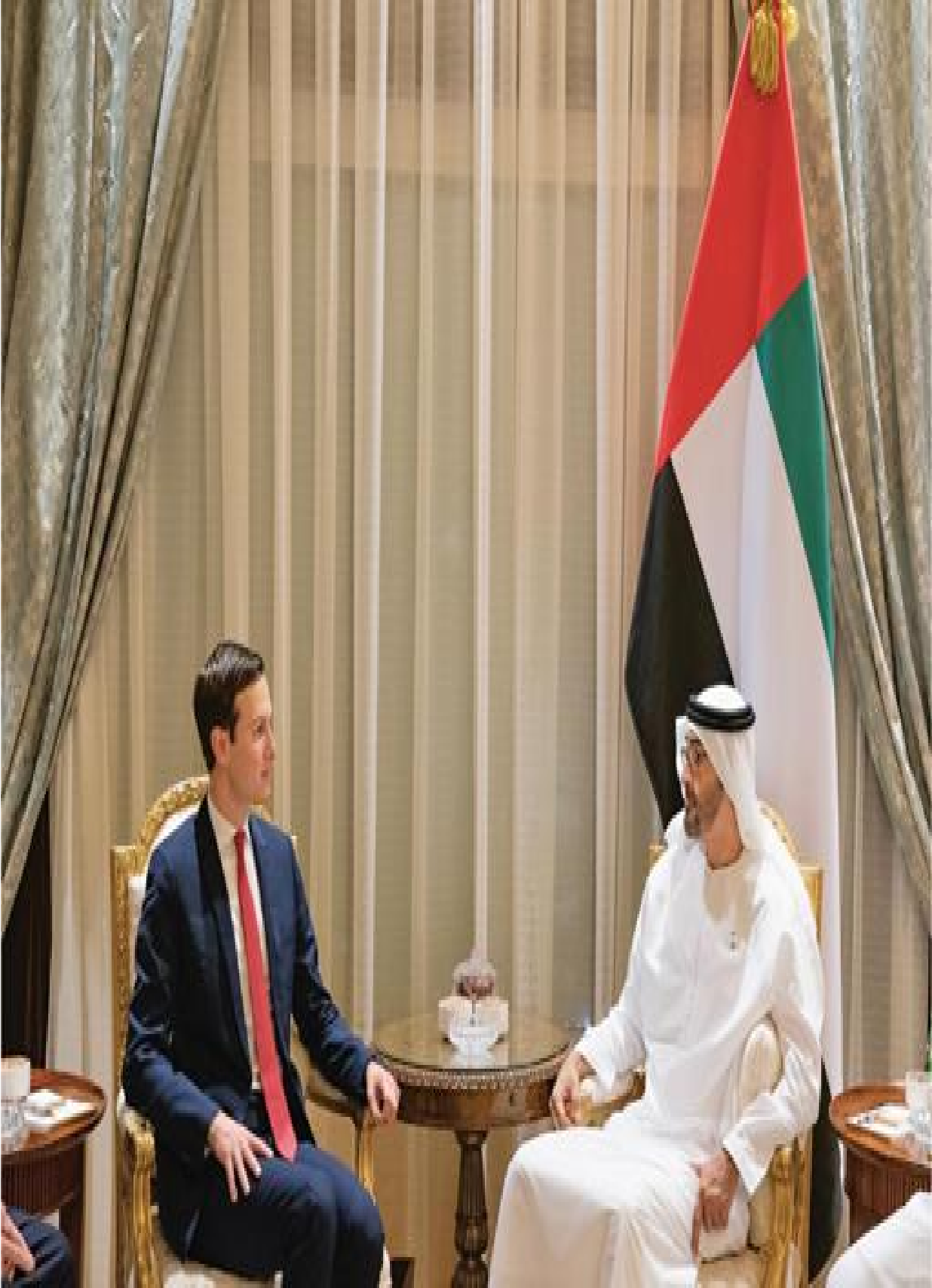


When President Xi Jinping and Madame Peng of China visited Mar-a-Lago in April 6, 2017, Arabella recited Tang poetry in perfect Mandarin. President Xi was deeply impressed by our five-year-old. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*





With Trump at Yad Vashem, Israel's national memorial to Holocaust victims—a particularly meaningful moment for me, the grandson of Holocaust survivors. During his visit to Jerusalem in May 2017, Trump became the first sitting US president to visit the Western Wall. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



I traveled to the Middle East in the summer of 2017 after learning that Secretary of State Rex Tillerson was secretly trying to remove me from the file. Here I'm meeting with Mohammed bin Zayed, the de facto leader of the United Arab Emirates. His message was surprising. *(Courtesy of the UAE government)*



The Russia investigation, later debunked as a baseless partisan attack, derailed the first fifteen months of the presidency. I briefed the White House press corps after testifying before the Senate intelligence committee on July 24, 2017. Though I put on a strong face, the investigation placed enormous stress on me and my family. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



Through my highs and lows at the White House, Ivanka was my rock. She managed to always make time for our kids while advancing critical reforms to lift up forgotten men and women across our country. *(Courtesy of the Kushner family)*





Greeting President Xi of China on November 9, 2017, during President Trump's state visit to Beijing. The two leaders had a warm personal dynamic, but Trump was a tough negotiator, and he made historic gains to rebalance the US relationship with China. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



In November 2018, Mexican president Enrique Peña Nieto awarded me the Aztec Eagle—Mexico’s highest honor for foreigners. Contrary to media reports, the US relationship with Mexico reached unprecedented heights during Trump’s presidency. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



Checking in with Prime Minister Justin Trudeau of Canada and President Enrique Peña Nieto of Mexico shortly before the USMCA signing at the G20 in Argentina on November 30, 2018. Last-minute disagreements nearly killed the deal that day. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



My family's experience during my father's imprisonment in 2005 inspired me to fight for prison and criminal justice reform in Washington. I advocated forcefully for the First Step Act, which reformed unfair prison policies that disproportionately hurt Black Americans. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*





Matthew Charles (*center*), the first prisoner released under the First Step Act, visited my office in January 2019 with his girlfriend, Naomi Tharpe. Brooke Rollins (*right*) and Ja’Ron Smith (*far right*) were instrumental in getting the legislation through a deeply divided Congress. (*Courtesy of the Kushner family*)



With the president aboard Marine One after flying over the New York skyline. As we looked out the window, Trump proudly pointed out buildings his father had constructed across Brooklyn. *(Courtesy of White House Photo Office)*



With Mohammed bin Salman, Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia, in February 2019. After Trump visited Saudi Arabia two years earlier, the Saudis strengthened their partnership with the US and brought many positive changes into the region, including unprecedented measures to counter extremism and reform society. *(Courtesy of the Saudi Arabian government)*



I always admired President Trump's intense focus during the most significant moments of his presidency, but he never took himself too seriously. Here I am with him on February 5, 2019, hours before his State of the Union address. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*





Shaking hands with Kim Jong Un of North Korea on June 30, 2019, during our visit to the DMZ. Trump first began negotiating with the dictator after the North Koreans reached out to me through a previous business contact. Our unconventional diplomacy calmed a very tense global challenge. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



Our three children—Arabella (*left*), Joseph (*center*), and Theodore (*right*)—adore their grandpa. Despite the demands of his job, Trump always made time to give them a big hug—and plenty of presidential M&M's. This picture is from Halloween, 2019. (*Courtesy of the White House Photo Office*)



On March 11, 2020, Vice President Mike Pence asked for my help with the COVID response. I called my friend Nat Turner (*left*) and Adam Boehler (*far right*), successful healthcare entrepreneurs who helped me procure lifesaving supplies and equipment from around the world. Avi Berkowitz (*center*) was a critical source of counsel throughout our government service. (*Courtesy of the White House Photo Office*)



Walking with the president and vice president to the State Dining Room in June 2020, for a roundtable with law enforcement and criminal justice advocates. In the wake of the George Floyd riots, I engaged with these groups to fund and train police throughout America. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*





On this August 13, 2020, phone call, Crown Prince Mohammed bin Zayed of the UAE and Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu of Israel agreed to normalize relations between their countries, the first such peace agreement since 1994. We called it the Abraham Accords. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



Facilitating the first official meeting between Israel and the UAE on August 31, 2020. Israel was represented at the historic meeting by national security adviser Meir Ben-Shabbat, and the UAE was represented by national security adviser Sheikh Tahnoun bin Zayed. *(Courtesy of the UAE government)*



Signing the Abraham Accords at the White House on September 15, 2020. I negotiated the pact between Israel and two Arab nations: the UAE and Bahrain. For the first time in twenty-six years—and only the third time in history—Arabs and Israelis had made peace. Morocco and Sudan would soon follow. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



In my preferred place behind the scenes at a Trump campaign rally on October 29, 2020. After recovering from COVID, the president made a superhuman push to close his reelection campaign, hosting seventeen rallies in eight states over the final four days. *(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*



Flying on Marine One over the Thanksgiving holiday in 2020. Despite our demanding schedules, we made many fond memories together. *(Courtesy of the White House*

*Photo Office)*





On December 21, 2020, Prime Minister Bibi Netanyahu established the new Kushner Garden of Peace in Jerusalem's Grove of Nations. Bibi was a tough negotiator, and we disagreed sharply at times, but peace would not have happened without him. *(Courtesy of the Israeli government)*



Qatar and Saudi Arabia ended their diplomatic rift on January 5, 2021, further advancing regional peace. It was the sixth peace agreement I brokered. I am pictured here in the office of Sheikh Mohammed of Qatar *(right)* and with Brian Hook *(center)*, at the end of seven hours of intense negotiations. Sheikh Mohammed played a central role in helping us reach the deal. *(Courtesy of the Kushner family)*



As our time at the White House drew to a close, our children were looking forward to seeing more of their mom and dad. We were all excited about the road ahead.

*(Courtesy of the White House Photo Office)*

## About the Author

**JARED KUSHNER** is the founder of Affinity Partners, a global investment firm. Previously, he served as senior adviser to President Donald J. Trump, and before that, as CEO of Kushner Companies. He also cofounded two technology companies, Cadre and WiredScore. In 2015, he was named to *Fortune's* 40 under 40, and in 2017 was named one of *Time's* 100 Most Influential People. In 2018, Jared received the Aztec Eagle Award, Mexico's highest honor, for his work on the USMCA trade agreement. He was given a presidential citation for helping to architect Operation Warp Speed, which produced COVID-19 vaccines in record time. In recognition of his success negotiating the Abraham Accords, Israel planted the Kushner Garden of Peace in the Grove of Nations outside Jerusalem. He also was awarded the National Security Medal, the Department of Defense Medal for Distinguished Public Service, and the Grand Cordon of the Order of Ouissam Alaouite from King Mohammed VI of Morocco. He lives in Florida with his wife, Ivanka, and their three children.

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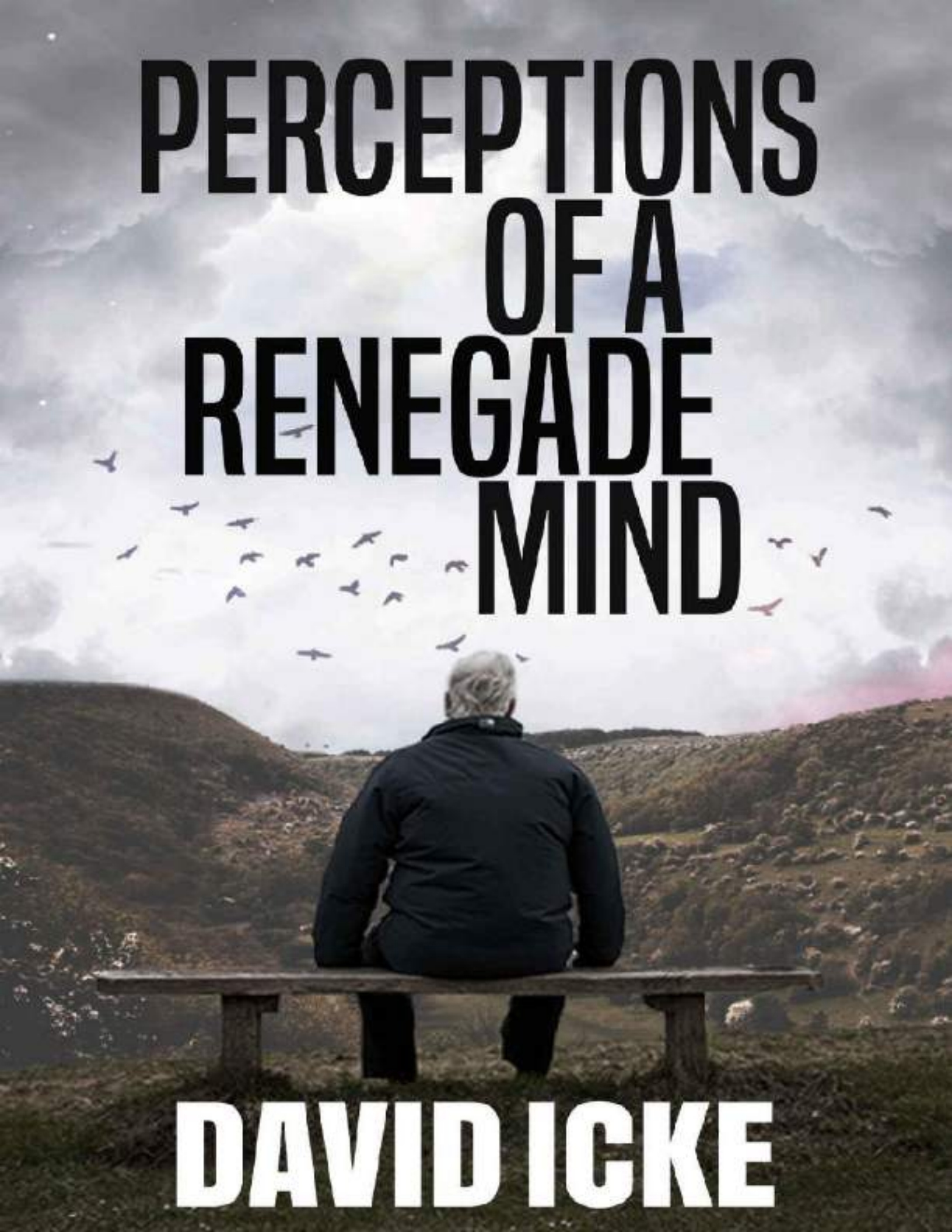
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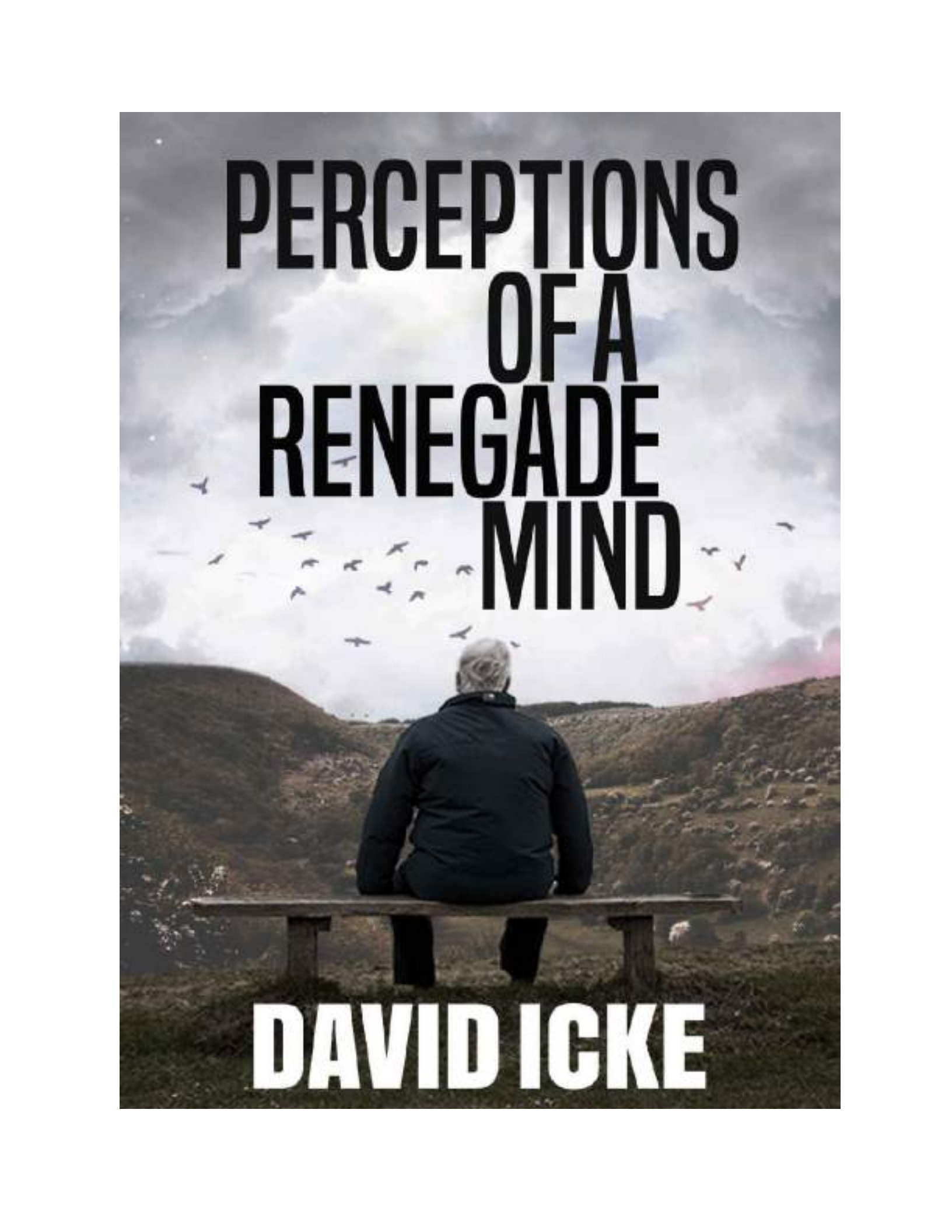
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A person with grey hair, wearing a dark jacket, is seen from behind, sitting on a wooden bench. They are looking out over a vast, open landscape of rolling hills under a cloudy sky. Numerous birds are flying in the sky, scattered across the upper half of the image. The overall mood is contemplative and serene.

# PERCEPTIONS OF A RENEGADE MIND


**DAVID ICKE**



**PERCEPTIONS  
OF A  
RENEGADE  
MIND**

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**PERCEPTIONS  
OF A  
RENEGADE  
MIND**

A flock of small, dark birds is scattered around the bottom half of the title text, appearing to fly in various directions.

**DAVID ICKE**

**Dedication:**

***To Freeeeedom!***

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**Renegade:**

Adjective

'Having rejected tradition: Unconventional.'

**Merriam-Webster Dictionary**

## **Acquiescence to tyranny is the death of the spirit**

You may be 38 years old, as I happen to be. And one day, some great opportunity stands before you and calls you to stand up for some great principle, some great issue, some great cause. And you refuse to do it because you are afraid ... You refuse to do it because you want to live longer ... You're afraid that you will lose your job, or you are afraid that you will be criticised or that you will lose your popularity, or you're afraid that somebody will stab you, or shoot at you or bomb your house; so you refuse to take the stand.

Well, you may go on and live until you are 90, but you're just as dead at 38 as you would be at 90. And the cessation of breathing in your life is but the belated announcement of an earlier death of the spirit.

**Martin Luther King**

**How the few control the many and always have – the many do  
whatever they're told**

'Forward, the Light Brigade!'  
Was there a man dismayed?  
Not though the soldier knew  
Someone had blundered.  
Theirs not to make reply,  
Theirs not to reason why,  
Theirs but to do and die.  
Into the valley of Death  
Rode the six hundred.

Cannon to right of them,  
Cannon to left of them,  
Cannon in front of them  
Volleyed and thundered;  
Stormed at with shot and shell,  
Boldly they rode and well,  
Into the jaws of Death,  
Into the mouth of hell  
Rode the six hundred

**Alfred Lord Tennyson (1809-1892)**

The mist is lifting slowly  
I can see the way ahead  
And I've left behind the empty streets  
That once inspired my life  
And the strength of the emotion  
Is like thunder in the air  
'Cos the promise that we made each other  
Haunts me to the end

The secret of your beauty  
And the mystery of your soul  
I've been searching for in everyone I meet  
And the times I've been mistaken  
It's impossible to say  
And the grass is growing  
Underneath our feet

The words that I remember  
From my childhood still are true  
That there's none so blind  
As those who will not see  
And to those who lack the courage  
And say it's dangerous to try  
Well they just don't know  
That love eternal will not be denied

I know you're out there somewhere  
Somewhere, somewhere  
I know you're out there somewhere



Somewhere you can hear my voice  
I know I'll find you somehow  
Somehow, somehow  
I know I'll find you somehow  
And somehow I'll return again to you

**The Moody Blues**

**Are you a gutless wonder - or a Renegade Mind?**

Monuments put from pen to paper,  
Turns me into a gutless wonder,  
And if you tolerate this,  
Then your children will be next.  
Gravity keeps my head down,  
Or is it maybe shame ...

**Manic Street Preachers**

Rise like lions after slumber  
In unvanquishable number.  
Shake your chains to earth like dew  
Which in sleep have fallen on you.  
Ye are many – they are few.

**Percy Shelley**

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## CHAPTER ONE

### **I'm thinking' – Oh, but *are* you?**

*Think for yourself and let others enjoy the privilege of doing so too*  
Voltaire

**F**rench-born philosopher, mathematician and scientist René Descartes became famous for his statement in Latin in the 17th century which translates into English as: 'I think, therefore I am.'

On the face of it that is true. Thought reflects perception and perception leads to both behaviour and self-identity. In that sense 'we' are what we think. But who or what is doing the thinking and is thinking the only route to perception? Clearly, as we shall see, 'we' are not always the source of 'our' perception, indeed with regard to humanity as a whole this is rarely the case; and thinking is far from the only means of perception. Thought is the village idiot compared with other expressions of consciousness that we all have the potential to access and tap into. This has to be true when we *are* those other expressions of consciousness which are infinite in nature. We have forgotten this, or, more to the point, been manipulated to forget.

These are not just the esoteric musings of the navel. The whole foundation of human control and oppression is control of perception. Once perception is hijacked then so is behaviour which is dictated by perception. Collective perception becomes collective behaviour and collective behaviour is what we call human society. Perception is all and those behind human control know that which is

why perception is the target 24/7 of the psychopathic manipulators that I call the Global Cult. They know that if they dictate perception they will dictate behaviour and collectively dictate the nature of human society. They are further aware that perception is formed from information received and if they control the circulation of information they will to a vast extent direct human behaviour. Censorship of information and opinion has become globally Nazi-like in recent years and never more blatantly than since the illusory 'virus pandemic' was triggered out of China in 2019 and across the world in 2020. Why have billions submitted to house arrest and accepted fascistic societies in a way they would have never believed possible? Those controlling the information spewing from government, mainstream media and Silicon Valley (all controlled by the same Global Cult networks) told them they were in danger from a 'deadly virus' and only by submitting to house arrest and conceding their most basic of freedoms could they and their families be protected. This monumental and provable lie became the *perception* of the billions and therefore the *behaviour* of the billions. In those few words you have the whole structure and modus operandi of human control. Fear is a perception – False Emotion Appearing Real – and fear is the currency of control. In short ... get them by the balls (or give them the impression that you have) and their hearts and minds will follow. Nothing grips the dangly bits and freezes the rear-end more comprehensively than fear.

## **World number 1**

There are two 'worlds' in what appears to be one 'world' and the prime difference between them is knowledge. First we have the mass of human society in which the population is maintained in coldly-calculated ignorance through control of information and the 'education' (indoctrination) system. That's all you really need to control to enslave billions in a perceptual delusion in which what are perceived to be *their* thoughts and opinions are ever-repeated mantras that the system has been downloading all their lives through 'education', media, science, medicine, politics and academia

in which the personnel and advocates are themselves overwhelmingly the perceptual products of the same repetition. Teachers and academics in general are processed by the same programming machine as everyone else, but unlike the great majority they never leave the 'education' program. It gripped them as students and continues to grip them as programmers of subsequent generations of students. The programmed become the programmers – the programmed programmers. The same can largely be said for scientists, doctors and politicians and not least because as the American writer Upton Sinclair said: 'It is difficult to get a man to understand something when his salary depends upon his not understanding it.' If your career and income depend on thinking the way the system demands then you will – bar a few free-minded exceptions – concede your mind to the Perceptual Mainframe that I call the Postage Stamp Consensus. This is a tiny band of perceived knowledge and possibility 'taught' (downloaded) in the schools and universities, pounded out by the mainstream media and on which all government policy is founded. Try thinking, and especially speaking and acting, outside of the 'box' of consensus and see what that does for your career in the Mainstream Everything which bullies, harasses, intimidates and ridicules the population into compliance. Here we have the simple structure which enslaves most of humanity in a perceptual prison cell for an entire lifetime and I'll go deeper into this process shortly. Most of what humanity is taught as fact is nothing more than programmed belief. American science fiction author Frank Herbert was right when he said: 'Belief can be manipulated. Only knowledge is dangerous.' In the 'Covid' age belief is promoted and knowledge is censored. It was always so, but never to the extreme of today.

## **World number 2**

A 'number 2' is slang for 'doing a poo' and how appropriate that is when this other 'world' is doing just that on humanity every minute of every day. World number 2 is a global network of secret societies and semi-secret groups dictating the direction of society via

governments, corporations and authorities of every kind. I have spent more than 30 years uncovering and exposing this network that I call the Global Cult and knowing its agenda is what has made my books so accurate in predicting current and past events. Secret societies are secret for a reason. They want to keep their hoarded knowledge to themselves and their chosen initiates and to hide it from the population which they seek through ignorance to control and subdue. The whole foundation of the division between World 1 and World 2 is *knowledge*. What number 1 knows number 2 must not. Knowledge they have worked so hard to keep secret includes (a) the agenda to enslave humanity in a centrally-controlled global dictatorship, and (b) the nature of reality and life itself. The latter (b) must be suppressed to allow the former (a) to prevail as I shall be explaining. The way the Cult manipulates and interacts with the population can be likened to a spider's web. The 'spider' sits at the centre in the shadows and imposes its will through the web with each strand represented in World number 2 by a secret society, satanic or semi-secret group, and in World number 1 – the world of the seen – by governments, agencies of government, law enforcement, corporations, the banking system, media conglomerates and Silicon Valley (Fig 1 overleaf). The spider and the web connect and coordinate all these organisations to pursue the same global outcome while the population sees them as individual entities working randomly and independently. At the level of the web governments *are* the banking system *are* the corporations *are* the media *are* Silicon Valley *are* the World Health Organization working from their inner cores as one unit. Apparently unconnected countries, corporations, institutions, organisations and people are on the *same team* pursuing the same global outcome. Strands in the web immediately around the spider are the most secretive and exclusive secret societies and their membership is emphatically restricted to the Cult inner-circle emerging through the generations from particular bloodlines for reasons I will come to. At the core of the core you would get them in a single room. That's how many people are dictating the direction of human society and its transformation

through the 'Covid' hoax and other means. As the web expands out from the spider we meet the secret societies that many people will be aware of – the Freemasons, Knights Templar, Knights of Malta, Opus Dei, the inner sanctum of the Jesuit Order, and such like. Note how many are connected to the Church of Rome and there is a reason for that. The Roman Church was established as a revamp, a rebranding, of the relocated 'Church' of Babylon and the Cult imposing global tyranny today can be tracked back to Babylon and Sumer in what is now Iraq.



**Figure 1:** The global web through which the few control the many. (Image Neil Hague.)

Inner levels of the web operate in the unseen away from the public eye and then we have what I call the cusp organisations located at the point where the hidden meets the seen. They include a series of satellite organisations answering to a secret society founded in London in the late 19th century called the Round Table and among them are the Royal Institute of International Affairs (UK, founded in 1920); Council on Foreign Relations (US, 1921); Bilderberg Group (worldwide, 1954); Trilateral Commission (US/worldwide, 1972); and the Club of Rome (worldwide, 1968) which was created to exploit environmental concerns to justify the centralisation of global power to 'save the planet'. The Club of Rome instigated with others the human-caused climate change hoax which has led to all the 'green



new deals' demanding that very centralisation of control. Cusp organisations, which include endless 'think tanks' all over the world, are designed to coordinate a single global policy between political and business leaders, intelligence personnel, media organisations and anyone who can influence the direction of policy in their own sphere of operation. Major players and regular attenders will know what is happening – or some of it – while others come and go and are kept overwhelmingly in the dark about the big picture. I refer to these cusp groupings as semi-secret in that they can be publicly identified, but what goes on at the inner-core is kept very much 'in house' even from most of their members and participants through a fiercely-imposed system of compartmentalisation. Only let them know what they need to know to serve your interests and no more. The structure of secret societies serves as a perfect example of this principle. Most Freemasons never get higher than the bottom three levels of 'degree' (degree of knowledge) when there are 33 official degrees of the Scottish Rite. Initiates only qualify for the next higher 'compartment' or degree if those at that level choose to allow them. Knowledge can be carefully assigned only to those considered 'safe'. I went to my local Freemason's lodge a few years ago when they were having an 'open day' to show how cuddly they were and when I chatted to some of them I was astonished at how little the rank and file knew even about the most ubiquitous symbols they use. The mushroom technique – keep them in the dark and feed them bullshit – applies to most people in the web as well as the population as a whole. Sub-divisions of the web mirror in theme and structure transnational corporations which have a headquarters somewhere in the world dictating to all their subsidiaries in different countries. Subsidiaries operate in their methodology and branding to the same centrally-dictated plan and policy in pursuit of particular ends. The Cult web functions in the same way. Each country has its own web as a subsidiary of the global one. They consist of networks of secret societies, semi-secret groups and bloodline families and their job is to impose the will of the spider and the global web in their particular country. Subsidiary networks control and manipulate the national political system, finance, corporations, media, medicine, etc. to

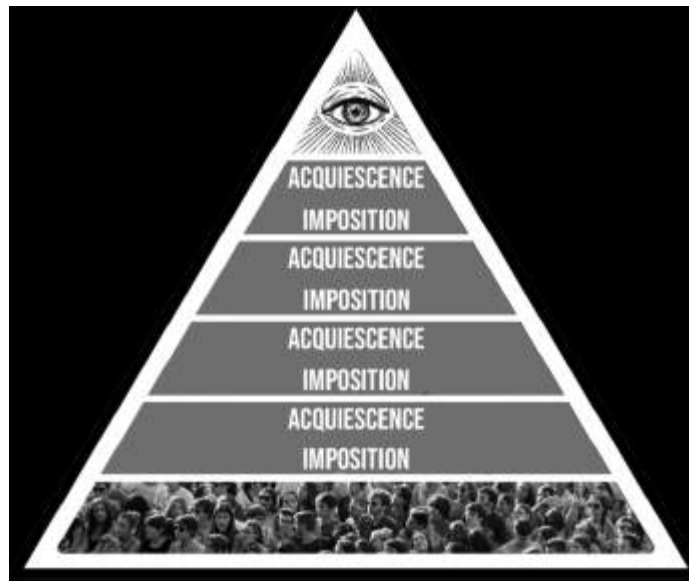
ensure that they follow the globally-dictated Cult agenda. These networks were the means through which the 'Covid' hoax could be played out with almost every country responding in the same way.

## **The 'Yessir' pyramid**

Compartmentalisation is the key to understanding how a tiny few can dictate the lives of billions when combined with a top-down sequence of imposition and acquiescence. The inner core of the Cult sits at the peak of the pyramidal hierarchy of human society (Fig 2 overleaf). It imposes its will – its agenda for the world – on the level immediately below which acquiesces to that imposition. This level then imposes the Cult will on the level below them which acquiesces and imposes on the next level. Very quickly we meet levels in the hierarchy that have no idea there even is a Cult, but the sequence of imposition and acquiescence continues down the pyramid in just the same way. 'I don't know why we are doing this but the order came from "on-high" and so we better just do it.' Alfred Lord Tennyson said of the cannon fodder levels in his poem *The Charge of the Light Brigade*: 'Theirs not to reason why; theirs but to do and die.' The next line says that 'into the valley of death rode the six hundred' and they died because they obeyed without question what their perceived 'superiors' told them to do. In the same way the population capitulated to 'Covid'. The whole hierarchical pyramid functions like this to allow the very few to direct the enormous many.

Eventually imposition-acquiescence-imposition-acquiescence comes down to the mass of the population at the foot of the pyramid. If they acquiesce to those levels of the hierarchy imposing on them (governments/law enforcement/doctors/media) a circuit is completed between the population and the handful of super-psychopaths in the Cult inner core at the top of the pyramid. Without a circuit-breaking refusal to obey, the sequence of imposition and acquiescence allows a staggeringly few people to impose their will upon the entirety of humankind. We are looking at the very sequence that has subjugated billions since the start of 2020. Our freedom has not been taken from us. Humanity has given it

away. Fascists do not impose fascism because there are not enough of them. Fascism is imposed by the population acquiescing to fascism. Put another way allowing their perceptions to be programmed to the extent that leads to the population giving their freedom away by giving their perceptions – their mind – away. If this circuit is not broken by humanity ceasing to cooperate with their own enslavement then nothing can change. For that to happen people have to critically think and see through the lies and window dressing and then summon the backbone to act upon what they see. The Cult spends its days working to stop either happening and its methodology is systematic and highly detailed, but it can be overcome and that is what this book is all about.



**Figure 2:** The simple sequence of imposition and compliance that allows a handful of people at the peak of the pyramid to dictate the lives of billions.

## **The Life Program**

Okay, back to world number 1 or the world of the ‘masses’. Observe the process of what we call ‘life’ and it is a perceptual download from cradle to grave. The Cult has created a global structure in which perception can be programmed and the program continually topped-up with what appears to be constant confirmation that the program is indeed true reality. The important word here is ‘appears’.

This is the structure, the fly-trap, the Postage Stamp Consensus or Perceptual Mainframe, which represents that incredibly narrow band of perceived possibility delivered by the 'education' system, mainstream media, science and medicine. From the earliest age the download begins with parents who have themselves succumbed to the very programming their children are about to go through. Most parents don't do this out of malevolence and mostly it is quite the opposite. They do what they believe is best for their children and that is what the program has told them is best. Within three or four years comes the major transition from parental programming to full-blown state (Cult) programming in school, college and university where perceptually-programmed teachers and academics pass on their programming to the next generations. Teachers who resist are soon marginalised and their careers ended while children who resist are called a problem child for whom Ritalin may need to be prescribed. A few years after entering the 'world' children are under the control of authority figures representing the state telling them when they have to be there, when they can leave and when they can speak, eat, even go to the toilet. This is calculated preparation for a lifetime of obeying authority in all its forms. Reflex-action fear of authority is instilled by authority from the start. Children soon learn the carrot and stick consequences of obeying or defying authority which is underpinned daily for the rest of their life. Fortunately I daydreamed through this crap and never obeyed authority simply because it told me to. This approach to my alleged 'betters' continues to this day. There can be consequences of pursuing open-minded freedom in a world of closed-minded conformity. I spent a lot of time in school corridors after being ejected from the classroom for not taking some of it seriously and now I spend a lot of time being ejected from Facebook, YouTube and Twitter. But I can tell you that being true to yourself and not compromising your self-respect is far more exhilarating than bowing to authority for authority's sake. You don't have to be a sheep to the shepherd (authority) and the sheep dog (fear of not obeying authority).

The perceptual download continues throughout the formative years in school, college and university while script-reading 'teachers', 'academics' 'scientists', 'doctors' and 'journalists' insist that ongoing generations must be as programmed as they are. Accept the program or you will not pass your 'exams' which confirm your 'degree' of programming. It is tragic to think that many parents pressure their offspring to work hard at school to download the program and qualify for the next stage at college and university. The late, great, American comedian George Carlin said: 'Here's a bumper sticker I'd like to see: We are proud parents of a child who has resisted his teachers' attempts to break his spirit and bend him to the will of his corporate masters.' Well, the best of luck finding many of those, George. Then comes the moment to leave the formal programming years in academia and enter the 'adult' world of work. There you meet others in your chosen or prescribed arena who went through the same Postage Stamp Consensus program before you did. There is therefore overwhelming agreement between almost everyone on the basic foundations of Postage Stamp reality and the rejection, even contempt, of the few who have a mind of their own and are prepared to use it. This has two major effects. Firstly, the consensus confirms to the programmed that their download is really how things are. I mean, everyone knows that, right? Secondly, the arrogance and ignorance of Postage Stamp adherents ensure that anyone questioning the program will have unpleasant consequences for seeking their own truth and not picking their perceptions from the shelf marked: 'Things you must believe without question and if you don't you're a dangerous lunatic conspiracy theorist and a harebrained nutter'.

Every government, agency and corporation is founded on the same Postage Stamp prison cell and you can see why so many people believe the same thing while calling it their own 'opinion'. Fusion of governments and corporations in pursuit of the same agenda was the definition of fascism described by Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. The pressure to conform to perceptual norms downloaded for a lifetime is incessant and infiltrates society right

down to family groups that become censors and condemners of their own 'black sheep' for not, ironically, being sheep. We have seen an explosion of that in the 'Covid' era. Cult-owned global media unleashes its propaganda all day every day in support of the Postage Stamp and targets with abuse and ridicule anyone in the public eye who won't bend their mind to the will of the tyranny. Any response to this is denied (certainly in my case). They don't want to give a platform to expose official lies. Cult-owned-and-created Internet giants like Facebook, Google, YouTube and Twitter delete you for having an unapproved opinion. Facebook boasts that its AI censors delete 97-percent of 'hate speech' before anyone even reports it. Much of that 'hate speech' will simply be an opinion that Facebook and its masters don't want people to see. Such perceptual oppression is widely known as fascism. Even Facebook executive Benny Thomas, a 'CEO Global Planning Lead', said in comments secretly recorded by investigative journalism operation Project Veritas that Facebook is 'too powerful' and should be broken up:

I mean, no king in history has been the ruler of two billion people, but Mark Zuckerberg is ... And he's 36. That's too much for a 36-year-old ... You should not have power over two billion people. I just think that's wrong.

Thomas said Facebook-owned platforms like Instagram, Oculus, and WhatsApp needed to be separate companies. 'It's too much power when they're all one together'. That's the way the Cult likes it, however. We have an executive of a Cult organisation in Benny Thomas that doesn't know there is a Cult such is the compartmentalisation. Thomas said that Facebook and Google 'are no longer companies, they're countries'. Actually they are more powerful than countries on the basis that if you control information you control perception and control human society.

## **I love my oppressor**

Another expression of this psychological trickery is for those who realise they are being pressured into compliance to eventually

convince themselves to believe the official narratives to protect their self-respect from accepting the truth that they have succumbed to meek and subservient compliance. Such people become some of the most vehement defenders of the system. You can see them everywhere screaming abuse at those who prefer to think for themselves and by doing so reminding the compliers of their own capitulation to conformity. 'You are talking dangerous nonsense you Covidiot!!' Are you trying to convince me or yourself? It is a potent form of Stockholm syndrome which is defined as: 'A psychological condition that occurs when a victim of abuse identifies and attaches, or bonds, positively with their abuser.' An example is hostages bonding and even 'falling in love' with their kidnappers. The syndrome has been observed in domestic violence, abused children, concentration camp inmates, prisoners of war and many and various Satanic cults. These are some traits of Stockholm syndrome listed at [goodtherapy.org](http://goodtherapy.org):

- Positive regard towards perpetrators of abuse or captor [see 'Covid'].
- Failure to cooperate with police and other government authorities when it comes to holding perpetrators of abuse or kidnapping accountable [or in the case of 'Covid' cooperating with the police to enforce and defend their captors' demands].
- Little or no effort to escape [see 'Covid'].
- Belief in the goodness of the perpetrators or kidnappers [see 'Covid'].
- Appeasement of captors. This is a manipulative strategy for maintaining one's safety. As victims get rewarded – perhaps with less abuse or even with life itself – their appeasing behaviours are reinforced [see 'Covid'].
- Learned helplessness. This can be akin to 'if you can't beat 'em, join 'em'. As the victims fail to escape the abuse or captivity, they may start giving up and soon realize it's just easier for everyone if they acquiesce all their power to their captors [see 'Covid'].

- Feelings of pity toward the abusers, believing they are actually victims themselves. Because of this, victims may go on a crusade or mission to 'save' [protect] their abuser [see the venom unleashed on those challenging the official 'Covid' narrative].
- Unwillingness to learn to detach from their perpetrators and heal. In essence, victims may tend to be less loyal to themselves than to their abuser [ *definitely* see 'Covid'].

Ponder on those traits and compare them with the behaviour of great swathes of the global population who have defended governments and authorities which have spent every minute destroying their lives and livelihoods and those of their children and grandchildren since early 2020 with fascistic lockdowns, house arrest and employment deletion to 'protect' them from a 'deadly virus' that their abusers' perceptually created to bring about this very outcome. We are looking at mass Stockholm syndrome. All those that agree to concede their freedom will believe those perceptions are originating in their own independent 'mind' when in fact by conceding their reality to Stockholm syndrome they have by definition conceded any independence of mind. Listen to the 'opinions' of the acquiescing masses in this 'Covid' era and what gushes forth is the repetition of the official version of everything delivered unprocessed, unfiltered and unquestioned. The whole programming dynamic works this way. I must be free because I'm told that I am and so I think that I am.

You can see what I mean with the chapter theme of 'I'm thinking – Oh, but *are* you?' The great majority are not thinking, let alone for themselves. They are repeating what authority has told them to believe which allows them to be controlled. Weaving through this mentality is the fear that the 'conspiracy theorists' are right and this again explains the often hysterical abuse that ensues when you dare to contest the official narrative of anything. Denial is the mechanism of hiding from yourself what you don't want to be true. Telling people what they want to hear is easy, but it's an infinitely greater challenge to tell them what they would rather not be happening.



One is akin to pushing against an open door while the other is met with vehement resistance no matter what the scale of evidence. I don't want it to be true so I'll convince myself that it's not. Examples are everywhere from the denial that a partner is cheating despite all the signs to the reflex-action rejection of any idea that world events in which country after country act in exactly the same way are centrally coordinated. To accept the latter is to accept that a force of unspeakable evil is working to destroy your life and the lives of your children with nothing too horrific to achieve that end. Who the heck wants that to be true? But if we don't face reality the end is duly achieved and the consequences are far worse and ongoing than breaking through the walls of denial today with the courage to make a stand against tyranny.

### **Connect the dots – but how?**

A crucial aspect of perceptual programming is to portray a world in which everything is random and almost nothing is connected to anything else. Randomness cannot be coordinated by its very nature and once you perceive events as random the idea they could be connected is waved away as the rantings of the tinfoil-hat brigade. You can't plan and coordinate random you idiot! No, you can't, but you can hide the coldly-calculated and long-planned behind the *illusion* of randomness. A foundation manifestation of the Renegade Mind is to scan reality for patterns that connect the apparently random and turn pixels and dots into pictures. This is the way I work and have done so for more than 30 years. You look for similarities in people, modus operandi and desired outcomes and slowly, then ever quicker, the picture forms. For instance: There would seem to be no connection between the 'Covid pandemic' hoax and the human-caused global-warming hoax and yet they are masks (appropriately) on the same face seeking the same outcome. Those pushing the global warming myth through the Club of Rome and other Cult agencies are driving the lies about 'Covid' – Bill Gates is an obvious one, but they are endless. Why would the same people be involved in both when they are clearly not connected? Oh, but they

are. Common themes with personnel are matched by common goals. The 'solutions' to both 'problems' are centralisation of global power to impose the will of the few on the many to 'save' humanity from 'Covid' and save the planet from an 'existential threat' (we need 'zero Covid' and 'zero carbon emissions'). These, in turn, connect with the 'dot' of globalisation which was coined to describe the centralisation of global power in every area of life through incessant political and corporate expansion, trading blocks and superstates like the European Union. If you are the few and you want to control the many you have to centralise power and decision-making. The more you centralise power the more power the few at the centre will have over the many; and the more that power is centralised the more power those at the centre have to centralise even quicker. The momentum of centralisation gets faster and faster which is exactly the process we have witnessed. In this way the hoaxed 'pandemic' and the fakery of human-caused global warming serve the interests of globalisation and the seizure of global power in the hands of the Cult inner-circle which is behind 'Covid', 'climate change' and globalisation. At this point random 'dots' become a clear and obvious picture or pattern.

Klaus Schwab, the classic Bond villain who founded the Cult's Gates-funded World Economic Forum, published a book in 2020, *The Great Reset*, in which he used the 'problem' of 'Covid' to justify a total transformation of human society to 'save' humanity from 'climate change'. Schwab said: 'The pandemic represents a rare but narrow window of opportunity to reflect, reimagine, and reset our world.' What he didn't mention is that the Cult he serves is behind both hoaxes as I show in my book *The Answer*. He and the Cult don't have to reimagine the world. They know precisely what they want and that's why they destroyed human society with 'Covid' to 'build back better' in their grand design. Their job is not to imagine, but to get humanity to imagine and agree with their plans while believing it's all random. It must be pure coincidence that 'The Great Reset' has long been the Cult's code name for the global imposition of fascism and replaced previous code-names of the 'New World

Order' used by Cult frontmen like Father George Bush and the 'New Order of the Ages' which emerged from Freemasonry and much older secret societies. New Order of the Ages appears on the reverse of the Great Seal of the United States as 'Novus ordo seclorum' underneath the Cult symbol used since way back of the pyramid and all seeing-eye (Fig 3). The pyramid is the hierarchy of human control headed by the illuminated eye that symbolises the force behind the Cult which I will expose in later chapters. The term 'Annuet Coeptis' translates as 'He favours our undertaking'. We are told the 'He' is the Christian god, but 'He' is not as I will be explaining.



**Figure 3:** The all-seeing eye of the Cult 'god' on the Freemason-designed Great Seal of the United States and also on the dollar bill.

## **Having you on**

Two major Cult techniques of perceptual manipulation that relate to all this are what I have called since the 1990s Problem-Reaction-Solution (PRS) and the Totalitarian Tiptoe (TT). They can be uncovered by the inquiring mind with a simple question: Who benefits? The answer usually identifies the perpetrators of a given action or happening through the concept of 'he who most benefits from a crime is the one most likely to have committed it'. The Latin 'Cue bono?' – Who benefits? – is widely attributed to the Roman orator and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero. No wonder it goes back so far when the concept has been relevant to human behaviour since

history was recorded. Problem-Reaction-Solution is the technique used to manipulate us every day by covertly creating a problem (or the illusion of one) and offering the solution to the problem (or the illusion of one). In the first phase you create the problem and blame someone or something else for why it has happened. This may relate to a financial collapse, terrorist attack, war, global warming or pandemic, anything in fact that will allow you to impose the 'solution' to change society in the way you desire at that time. The 'problem' doesn't have to be real. PRS is manipulation of perception and all you need is the population to believe the problem is real. Human-caused global warming and the 'Covid pandemic' only have to be *perceived* to be real for the population to accept the 'solutions' of authority. I refer to this technique as NO-Problem-Reaction-Solution. Billions did not meekly accept house arrest from early 2020 because there was a real deadly 'Covid pandemic' but because they perceived – believed – that to be the case. The antidote to Problem-Reaction-Solution is to ask who benefits from the proposed solution. Invariably it will be anyone who wants to justify more control through deletion of freedom and centralisation of power and decision-making.

The two world wars were Problem-Reaction-Solutions that transformed and realigned global society. Both were manipulated into being by the Cult as I have detailed in books since the mid-1990s. They dramatically centralised global power, especially World War Two, which led to the United Nations and other global bodies thanks to the overt and covert manipulations of the Rockefeller family and other Cult bloodlines like the Rothschilds. The UN is a stalking horse for full-blown world government that I will come to shortly. The land on which the UN building stands in New York was donated by the Rockefellers and the same Cult family was behind Big Pharma scalpel and drug 'medicine' and the creation of the World Health Organization as part of the UN. They have been stalwarts of the eugenics movement and funded Hitler's race-purity expert' Ernst Rudin. The human-caused global warming hoax has been orchestrated by the Club of Rome through the UN which is

manufacturing both the 'problem' through its Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change and imposing the 'solution' through its Agenda 21 and Agenda 2030 which demand the total centralisation of global power to 'save the world' from a climate hoax the United Nations is itself perpetrating. What a small world the Cult can be seen to be particularly among the inner circles. The bedfellow of Problem-Reaction-Solution is the Totalitarian Tiptoe which became the Totalitarian Sprint in 2020. The technique is fashioned to hide the carefully-coordinated behind the cover of apparently random events. You start the sequence at 'A' and you know you are heading for 'Z'. You don't want people to know that and each step on the journey is presented as a random happening while all the steps strung together lead in the same direction. The speed may have quickened dramatically in recent times, but you can still see the incremental approach of the Tiptoe in the case of 'Covid' as each new imposition takes us deeper into fascism. Tell people they have to do this or that to get back to 'normal', then this and this and this. With each new demand adding to the ones that went before the population's freedom is deleted until it disappears. The spider wraps its web around the flies more comprehensively with each new diktat. I'll highlight this in more detail when I get to the 'Covid' hoax and how it has been pulled off. Another prime example of the Totalitarian Tiptoe is how the Cult-created European Union went from a 'free-trade zone' to a centralised bureaucratic dictatorship through the Tiptoe of incremental centralisation of power until nations became mere administrative units for Cult-owned dark suits in Brussels.

The antidote to ignorance is knowledge which the Cult seeks vehemently to deny us, but despite the systematic censorship to that end the Renegade Mind can overcome this by vociferously seeking out the facts no matter the impediments put in the way. There is also a method of thinking and perceiving – *knowing* – that doesn't even need names, dates, place-type facts to identify the patterns that reveal the story. I'll get to that in the final chapter. All you need to know about the manipulation of human society and to what end is still out there – *at the time of writing* – in the form of books, videos

and websites for those that really want to breach the walls of programmed perception. To access this knowledge requires the abandonment of the mainstream media as a source of information in the awareness that this is owned and controlled by the Cult and therefore promotes mass perceptions that suit the Cult. Mainstream media lies all day, every day. That is its function and very reason for being. Where it does tell the truth, here and there, is only because the truth and the Cult agenda very occasionally coincide. If you look for fact and insight to the BBC, CNN and virtually all the rest of them you are asking to be conned and perceptually programmed.

### **Know the outcome and you'll see the journey**

Events seem random when you have no idea where the world is being taken. Once you do the random becomes the carefully planned. Know the outcome and you'll see the journey is a phrase I have been using for a long time to give context to daily happenings that appear unconnected. Does a problem, or illusion of a problem, trigger a proposed 'solution' that further drives society in the direction of the outcome? Invariably the answer will be yes and the random – *abracadabra* – becomes the clearly coordinated. So what is this outcome that unlocks the door to a massively expanded understanding of daily events? I will summarise its major aspects – the fine detail is in my other books – and those new to this information will see that the world they thought they were living in is a very different place. The foundation of the Cult agenda is the incessant centralisation of power and all such centralisation is ultimately in pursuit of Cult control on a global level. I have described for a long time the planned world structure of top-down dictatorship as the Hunger Games Society. The term obviously comes from the movie series which portrayed a world in which a few living in military-protected hi-tech luxury were the overlords of a population condemned to abject poverty in isolated 'sectors' that were not allowed to interact. 'Covid' lockdowns and travel bans anyone? The 'Hunger Games' pyramid of structural control has the inner circle of the Cult at the top with pretty much the entire

population at the bottom under their control through dependency for survival on the Cult. The whole structure is planned to be protected and enforced by a military-police state (Fig 4).

Here you have the reason for the global lockdowns of the fake pandemic to coldly destroy independent incomes and livelihoods and make everyone dependent on the 'state' (the Cult that controls the 'states'). I have warned in my books for many years about the plan to introduce a 'guaranteed income' – a barely survivable pittance – designed to impose dependency when employment was destroyed by AI technology and now even more comprehensively at great speed by the 'Covid' scam. Once the pandemic was played and lockdown consequences began to delete independent income the authorities began to talk right on cue about the need for a guaranteed income and a 'Great Reset'. Guaranteed income will be presented as benevolent governments seeking to help a desperate people – desperate as a direct result of actions of the same governments. The truth is that such payments are a trap. You will only get them if you do exactly what the authorities demand including mass vaccination (genetic manipulation). We have seen this theme already in Australia where those dependent on government benefits have them reduced if parents don't agree to have their children vaccinated according to an insane health-destroying government-dictated schedule. Calculated economic collapse applies to governments as well as people. The Cult wants rid of countries through the creation of a world state with countries broken up into regions ruled by a world government and super states like the European Union. Countries must be bankrupted, too, to this end and it's being achieved by the trillions in 'rescue packages' and furlough payments, trillions in lost taxation, and money-no-object spending on 'Covid' including constant all-medium advertising (programming) which has made the media dependent on government for much of its income. The day of reckoning is coming – as planned – for government spending and given that it has been made possible by printing money and not by production/taxation there is inflation on the way that has the

potential to wipe out monetary value. In that case there will be no need for the Cult to steal your money. It just won't be worth anything (see the German Weimar Republic before the Nazis took over). Many have been okay with lockdowns while getting a percentage of their income from so-called furlough payments without having to work. Those payments are dependent, however, on people having at least a theoretical job with a business considered non-essential and ordered to close. As these business go under because they are closed by lockdown after lockdown the furlough stops and it will for everyone eventually. Then what? The 'then what?' is precisely the idea.



**Figure 4:** The Hunger Games Society structure I have long warned was planned and now the 'Covid' hoax has made it possible. This is the real reason for lockdowns.

## Hired hands

Between the Hunger Games Cult elite and the dependent population is planned to be a vicious military-police state (a fusion of the two into one force). This has been in the making for a long time with police looking ever more like the military and carrying weapons to match. The pandemic scam has seen this process accelerate so fast as



lockdown house arrest is brutally enforced by carefully recruited fascist minds and gormless system-servers. The police and military are planned to merge into a centrally-directed world army in a global structure headed by a world government which wouldn't be elected even by the election fixes now in place. The world army is not planned even to be human and instead wars would be fought, primarily against the population, using robot technology controlled by artificial intelligence. I have been warning about this for decades and now militaries around the world are being transformed by this very AI technology. The global regime that I describe is a particular form of fascism known as a technocracy in which decisions are not made by clueless and co-opted politicians but by unelected technocrats – scientists, engineers, technologists and bureaucrats. Cult-owned-and-controlled Silicon Valley giants are examples of technocracy and they already have far more power to direct world events than governments. They are with their censorship *selecting* governments. I know that some are calling the 'Great Reset' a Marxist communist takeover, but fascism and Marxism are different labels for the same tyranny. Tell those who lived in fascist Germany and Stalinist Russia that there was a difference in the way their freedom was deleted and their lives controlled. I could call it a fascist technocracy or a Marxist technocracy and they would be equally accurate. The Hunger Games society with its world government structure would oversee a world army, world central bank and single world cashless currency imposing its will on a microchipped population (Fig 5). Scan its different elements and see how the illusory pandemic is forcing society in this very direction at great speed. Leaders of 23 countries and the World Health Organization (WHO) backed the idea in March, 2021, of a global treaty for 'international cooperation' in 'health emergencies' and nations should 'come together as a global community for peaceful cooperation that extends beyond this crisis'. Cut the Orwellian bullshit and this means another step towards global government. The plan includes a cashless digital money system that I first warned about in 1993. Right at the start of 'Covid' the deeply corrupt Tedros

Adhanom Ghebreyesus, the crooked and merely gofer 'head' of the World Health Organization, said it was possible to catch the 'virus' by touching cash and it was better to use cashless means. The claim was ridiculous nonsense and like the whole 'Covid' mind-trick it was nothing to do with 'health' and everything to do with pushing every aspect of the Cult agenda. As a result of the Tedros lie the use of cash has plummeted. The Cult script involves a single world digital currency that would eventually be technologically embedded in the body. China is a massive global centre for the Cult and if you watch what is happening there you will know what is planned for everywhere. The Chinese government is developing a digital currency which would allow fines to be deducted immediately via AI for anyone caught on camera breaking its fantastic list of laws and the money is going to be programmable with an expiry date to ensure that no one can accrue wealth except the Cult and its operatives.



**Figure 5:** The structure of global control the Cult has been working towards for so long and this has been enormously advanced by the 'Covid' illusion.

## **Serfdom is so smart**

The Cult plan is far wider, extreme, and more comprehensive than even most conspiracy researchers appreciate and I will come to the true depths of deceit and control in the chapters 'Who controls the

Cult?’ and ‘Escaping Wetiko’. Even the world that we know is crazy enough. We are being deluged with ever more sophisticated and controlling technology under the heading of ‘smart’. We have smart televisions, smart meters, smart cards, smart cars, smart driving, smart roads, smart pills, smart patches, smart watches, smart skin, smart borders, smart pavements, smart streets, smart cities, smart communities, smart environments, smart growth, smart planet ... smart *everything* around us. Smart technologies and methods of operation are designed to interlock to create a global Smart Grid connecting the entirety of human society including human minds to create a centrally-dictated ‘hive’ mind. ‘Smart cities’ is code for densely-occupied megacities of total surveillance and control through AI. Ever more destructive frequency communication systems like 5G have been rolled out without any official testing for health and psychological effects (colossal). 5G/6G/7G systems are needed to run the Smart Grid and each one becomes more destructive of body and mind. Deleting independent income is crucial to forcing people into these AI-policed prisons by ending private property ownership (except for the Cult elite). The Cult’s Great Reset now openly foresees a global society in which no one will own any possessions and everything will be rented while the Cult would own literally everything under the guise of government and corporations. The aim has been to use the lockdowns to destroy sources of income on a mass scale and when the people are destitute and in unrepayable amounts of debt (problem) Cult assets come forward with the pledge to write-off debt in return for handing over all property and possessions (solution). Everything – literally everything including people – would be connected to the Internet via AI. I was warning years ago about the coming Internet of Things (IoT) in which all devices and technology from your car to your fridge would be plugged into the Internet and controlled by AI. Now we are already there with much more to come. The next stage is the Internet of Everything (IoE) which is planned to include the connection of AI to the human brain and body to replace the human mind with a centrally-controlled AI mind. Instead of perceptions

being manipulated through control of information and censorship those perceptions would come direct from the Cult through AI. What do you think? You think whatever AI decides that you think. In human terms there would be no individual 'think' any longer. Too incredible? The ravings of a lunatic? Not at all. Cult-owned crazies in Silicon Valley have been telling us the plan for years without explaining the real motivation and calculated implications. These include Google executive and 'futurist' Ray Kurzweil who highlights the year 2030 for when this would be underway. He said:

Our thinking ... will be a hybrid of biological and non-biological thinking ... humans will be able to extend their limitations and 'think in the cloud' ... We're going to put gateways to the cloud in our brains ... We're going to gradually merge and enhance ourselves ... In my view, that's the nature of being human – we transcend our limitations.

As the technology becomes vastly superior to what we are then the small proportion that is still human gets smaller and smaller and smaller until it's just utterly negligible.

The sales-pitch of Kurzweil and Cult-owned Silicon Valley is that this would make us 'super-human' when the real aim is to make us post-human and no longer 'human' in the sense that we have come to know. The entire global population would be connected to AI and become the centrally-controlled 'hive-mind' of externally-delivered perceptions. The Smart Grid being installed to impose the Cult's will on the world is being constructed to allow particular locations – even one location – to control the whole global system. From these prime control centres, which absolutely include China and Israel, anything connected to the Internet would be switched on or off and manipulated at will. Energy systems could be cut, communication via the Internet taken down, computer-controlled driverless autonomous vehicles driven off the road, medical devices switched off, the potential is limitless given how much AI and Internet connections now run human society. We have seen nothing yet if we allow this to continue. Autonomous vehicle makers are working with law enforcement to produce cars designed to automatically pull over if they detect a police or emergency vehicle flashing from up to 100 feet away. At a police stop the car would be unlocked and the

window rolled down automatically. Vehicles would only take you where the computer (the state) allowed. The end of petrol vehicles and speed limiters on all new cars in the UK and EU from 2022 are steps leading to electric computerised transport over which ultimately you have no control. The picture is far bigger even than the Cult global network or web and that will become clear when I get to the nature of the 'spider'. There is a connection between all these happenings and the instigation of DNA-manipulating 'vaccines' (which aren't 'vaccines') justified by the 'Covid' hoax. That connection is the unfolding plan to transform the human body from a biological to a synthetic biological state and this is why synthetic biology is such a fast-emerging discipline of mainstream science. 'Covid vaccines' are infusing self-replicating synthetic genetic material into the cells to cumulatively take us on the Totalitarian Tiptoe from Human 1.0 to the synthetic biological Human 2.0 which will be physically and perceptually attached to the Smart Grid to one hundred percent control every thought, perception and deed. Humanity needs to wake up and *fast*.

This is the barest explanation of where the 'outcome' is planned to go but it's enough to see the journey happening all around us. Those new to this information will already see 'Covid' in a whole new context. I will add much more detail as we go along, but for the minutiae evidence see my mega-works, *The Answer*, *The Trigger* and *Everything You Need to Know But Have Never Been Told*.

Now – how does a Renegade Mind see the 'world'?

## CHAPTER TWO

# Renegade Perception

*It is one thing to be clever and another to be wise*

George R.R. Martin

A simple definition of the difference between a programmed mind and a Renegade Mind would be that one sees only dots while the other connects them to see the picture. Reading reality with accuracy requires the observer to (a) know the planned outcome and (b) realise that everything, but *everything*, is connected.

The entirety of infinite reality is connected – that’s its very nature – and with human society an expression of infinite reality the same must apply. Simple cause and effect is a connection. The effect is triggered by the cause and the effect then becomes the cause of another effect. Nothing happens in isolation because it *can’t*. Life in whatever reality is simple choice and consequence. We make choices and these lead to consequences. If we don’t like the consequences we can make different choices and get different consequences which lead to other choices and consequences. The choice and the consequence are not only connected they are indivisible. You can’t have one without the other as an old song goes. A few cannot control the world unless those being controlled allow that to happen – cause and effect, choice and consequence. Control – who has it and who doesn’t – is a two-way process, a symbiotic relationship, involving the controller and controlled. ‘They took my freedom away!!’ Well, yes, but you also gave it to them. Humanity is

subjected to mass control because humanity has acquiesced to that control. This is all cause and effect and literally a case of give and take. In the same way world events of every kind are connected and the Cult works incessantly to sell the illusion of the random and coincidental to maintain the essential (to them) perception of dots that hide the picture. Renegade Minds know this and constantly scan the world for patterns of connection. This is absolutely pivotal in understanding the happenings in the world and without that perspective clarity is impossible. First you know the planned outcome and then you identify the steps on the journey – the day-by-day apparently random which, when connected in relation to the outcome, no longer appear as individual events, but as the proverbial *chain* of events leading in the same direction. I'll give you some examples:

### **Political puppet show**

We are told to believe that politics is 'adversarial' in that different parties with different beliefs engage in an endless tussle for power. There may have been some truth in that up to a point – and only a point – but today divisions between 'different' parties are rhetorical not ideological. Even the rhetorical is fusing into one-speak as the parties eject any remaining free thinkers while others succumb to the ever-gathering intimidation of anyone with the 'wrong' opinion. The Cult is not a new phenomenon and can be traced back thousands of years as my books have documented. Its intergenerational initiatives have been manipulating events with increasing effect the more that global power has been centralised. In ancient times the Cult secured control through the system of monarchy in which 'special' bloodlines (of which more later) demanded the right to rule as kings and queens simply by birthright and by vanquishing others who claimed the same birthright. There came a time, however, when people had matured enough to see the unfairness of such tyranny and demanded a say in who governed them. Note the word – *governed* them. Not served them – *governed* them, hence government defined as 'the political direction and control exercised over the

actions of the members, citizens, or inhabitants of communities, societies, and states; direction of the affairs of a state, community, etc.' Governments exercise control over rather than serve just like the monarchies before them. Bizarrely there are still countries like the United Kingdom which are ruled by a monarch *and* a government that officially answers to the monarch. The UK head of state and that of Commonwealth countries such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand is 'selected' by who in a *single family* had unprotected sex with whom and in what order. Pinch me it can't be true. Ouch! Shit, it is. The demise of monarchies in most countries offered a potential vacuum in which some form of free and fair society could arise and the Cult had that base covered. Monarchies had served its interests but they couldn't continue in the face of such widespread opposition and, anyway, replacing a 'royal' dictatorship that people could see with a dictatorship 'of the people' hiding behind the concept of 'democracy' presented far greater manipulative possibilities and ways of hiding coordinated tyranny behind the illusion of 'freedom'.

Democracy is quite wrongly defined as government selected by the population. This is not the case at all. It is government selected by *some* of the population (and then only in theory). This 'some' doesn't even have to be the majority as we have seen so often in first-past-the-post elections in which the so-called majority party wins fewer votes than the 'losing' parties combined. Democracy can give total power to a party in government from a minority of the votes cast. It's a sleight of hand to sell tyranny as freedom. Seventy-four million Trump-supporting Americans didn't vote for the 'Democratic' Party of Joe Biden in the distinctly dodgy election in 2020 and yet far from acknowledging the wishes and feelings of that great percentage of American society the Cult-owned Biden government set out from day one to destroy them and their right to a voice and opinion. Empty shell Biden and his Cult handlers said they were doing this to 'protect democracy'. Such is the level of lunacy and sickness to which politics has descended. Connect the dots and relate them to the desired outcome – a world government run by self-appointed technocrats and no longer even elected



politicians. While operating through its political agents in government the Cult is at the same time encouraging public disdain for politicians by putting idiots and incompetents in theoretical power on the road to deleting them. The idea is to instil a public reaction that says of the technocrats: 'Well, they couldn't do any worse than the pathetic politicians.' It's all about controlling perception and Renegade Minds can see through that while programmed minds cannot when they are ignorant of both the planned outcome and the manipulation techniques employed to secure that end. This knowledge can be learned, however, and fast if people choose to get informed.

Politics may at first sight appear very difficult to control from a central point. I mean look at the 'different' parties and how would you be able to oversee them all and their constituent parts? In truth, it's very straightforward because of their structure. We are back to the pyramid of imposition and acquiescence. Organisations are structured in the same way as the system as a whole. Political parties are not open forums of free expression. They are hierarchies. I was a national spokesman for the British Green Party which claimed to be a different kind of politics in which influence and power was devolved; but I can tell you from direct experience – and it's far worse now – that Green parties are run as hierarchies like all the others however much they may try to hide that fact or kid themselves that it's not true. A very few at the top of all political parties are directing policy and personnel. They decide if you are elevated in the party or serve as a government minister and to do that you have to be a yes man or woman. Look at all the maverick political thinkers who never ascended the greasy pole. If you want to progress within the party or reach 'high-office' you need to fall into line and conform. Exceptions to this are rare indeed. Should you want to run for parliament or Congress you have to persuade the local or state level of the party to select you and for that you need to play the game as dictated by the hierarchy. If you secure election and wish to progress within the greater structure you need to go on conforming to what is acceptable to those running the hierarchy

from the peak of the pyramid. Political parties are perceptual gulags and the very fact that there are party 'Whips' appointed to 'whip' politicians into voting the way the hierarchy demands exposes the ridiculous idea that politicians are elected to serve the people they are supposed to represent. Cult operatives and manipulation has long seized control of major parties that have any chance of forming a government and at least most of those that haven't. A new party forms and the Cult goes to work to infiltrate and direct. This has reached such a level today that you see video compilations of 'leaders' of all parties whether Democrats, Republicans, Conservative, Labour and Green parroting the same Cult mantra of 'Build Back Better' and the 'Great Reset' which are straight off the Cult song-sheet to describe the transformation of global society in response to the Cult-instigated hoaxes of the 'Covid pandemic' and human-caused 'climate change'. To see Caroline Lucas, the Green Party MP that I knew when I was in the party in the 1980s, speaking in support of plans proposed by Cult operative Klaus Schwab representing the billionaire global elite is a real head-shaker.

### **Many parties – one master**

The party system is another mind-trick and was instigated to change the nature of the dictatorship by swapping 'royalty' for dark suits that people believed – though now ever less so – represented their interests. Understanding this trick is to realise that a single force (the Cult) controls all parties either directly in terms of the major ones or through manipulation of perception and ideology with others. You don't need to manipulate Green parties to demand your transformation of society in the name of 'climate change' when they are obsessed with the lie that this is essential to 'save the planet'. You just give them a platform and away they go serving your interests while believing they are being environmentally virtuous. America's political structure is a perfect blueprint for how the two or multi-party system is really a one-party state. The Republican Party is controlled from one step back in the shadows by a group made up of billionaires and their gofers known as neoconservatives or Neocons.

I have exposed them in fine detail in my books and they were the driving force behind the policies of the imbecilic presidency of Boy George Bush which included 9/11 (see *The Trigger* for a comprehensive demolition of the official story), the subsequent 'war on terror' (war of terror) and the invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. The latter was a No-Problem-Reaction-Solution based on claims by Cult operatives, including Bush and British Prime Minister Tony Blair, about Saddam Hussein's 'weapons of mass destruction' which did not exist as war criminals Bush and Blair well knew.



**Figure 6:** Different front people, different parties – same control system.

The Democratic Party has its own 'Neocon' group controlling from the background which I call the 'Democons' and here's the penny-drop – the Neocons and Democons answer to the same masters one step further back into the shadows (Fig 6). At that level of the Cult the Republican and Democrat parties are controlled by the same people and no matter which is in power the Cult is in power. This is how it works in almost every country and certainly in Britain with Conservative, Labour, Liberal Democrat and Green parties now all on the same page whatever the rhetoric may be in their feeble attempts to appear different. Neocons operated at the time of Bush through a think tank called The Project for the New American Century which in September, 2000, published a document entitled *Rebuilding America's Defenses: Strategies, Forces, and Resources*

*For a New Century* demanding that America fight ‘multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars’ as a ‘core mission’ to force regime-change in countries including Iraq, Libya and Syria. Neocons arranged for Bush (‘Republican’) and Blair (‘Labour Party’) to front-up the invasion of Iraq and when they departed the Democons orchestrated the targeting of Libya and Syria through Barack Obama (‘Democrat’) and British Prime Minister David Cameron (‘Conservative Party’). We have ‘different’ parties and ‘different’ people, but the same unfolding script. The more the Cult has seized the reigns of parties and personnel the more their policies have transparently pursued the same agenda to the point where the fascist ‘Covid’ impositions of the Conservative junta of Jackboot Johnson in Britain were opposed by the Labour Party because they were not fascist enough. The Labour Party is likened to the US Democrats while the Conservative Party is akin to a British version of the Republicans and on both sides of the Atlantic they all speak the same language and support the direction demanded by the Cult although some more enthusiastically than others. It’s a similar story in country after country because it’s all centrally controlled. Oh, but what about Trump? I’ll come to him shortly. Political ‘choice’ in the ‘party’ system goes like this: You vote for Party A and they get into government. You don’t like what they do so next time you vote for Party B and they get into government. You don’t like what they do when it’s pretty much the same as Party A and why wouldn’t that be with both controlled by the same force? Given that only two, sometimes three, parties have any chance of forming a government to get rid of Party B that you don’t like you have to vote again for Party A which ... you don’t like. This, ladies and gentlemen, is what they call ‘democracy’ which we are told – wrongly – is a term interchangeable with ‘freedom’.

## **The cult of cults**

At this point I need to introduce a major expression of the Global Cult known as Sabbatian-Frankism. Sabbatian is also spelt as Sabbatean. I will summarise here. I have published major exposés

and detailed background in other works. Sabbatian-Frankism combines the names of two frauds posing as 'Jewish' men, Sabbatai Zevi (1626-1676), a rabbi, black magician and occultist who proclaimed he was the Jewish messiah; and Jacob Frank (1726-1791), the Polish 'Jew', black magician and occultist who said he was the reincarnation of 'messiah' Zevi and biblical patriarch Jacob. They worked across two centuries to establish the Sabbatian-Frankist cult that plays a major, indeed central, role in the manipulation of human society by the Global Cult which has its origins much further back in history than Sabbatai Zevi. I should emphasise two points here in response to the shrill voices that will scream 'anti-Semitism': (1) Sabbatian-Frankists are NOT Jewish and only pose as such to hide their cult behind a Jewish façade; and (2) my information about this cult has come from Jewish sources who have long realised that their society and community has been infiltrated and taken over by interloper Sabbatian-Frankists. Infiltration has been the foundation technique of Sabbatian-Frankism from its official origin in the 17th century. Zevi's Sabbatian sect attracted a massive following described as the biggest messianic movement in Jewish history, spreading as far as Africa and Asia, and he promised a return for the Jews to the 'Promised Land' of Israel. Sabbatianism was not Judaism but an inversion of everything that mainstream Judaism stood for. So much so that this sinister cult would have a feast day when Judaism had a fast day and whatever was forbidden in Judaism the Sabbatians were encouraged and even commanded to do. This included incest and what would be today called Satanism. Members were forbidden to marry outside the sect and there was a system of keeping their children ignorant of what they were part of until they were old enough to be trusted not to unknowingly reveal anything to outsiders. The same system is employed to this day by the Global Cult in general which Sabbatian-Frankism has enormously influenced and now largely controls.

Zevi and his Sabbatians suffered a setback with the intervention by the Sultan of the Islamic Ottoman Empire in the Middle East and what is now the Republic of Turkey where Zevi was located. The

Sultan gave him the choice of proving his 'divinity', converting to Islam or facing torture and death. Funnily enough Zevi chose to convert or at least appear to. Some of his supporters were disillusioned and drifted away, but many did not with 300 families also converting – only in theory – to Islam. They continued behind this Islamic smokescreen to follow the goals, rules and rituals of Sabbatianism and became known as 'crypto-Jews' or the 'Dönme' which means 'to turn'. This is rather ironic because they didn't 'turn' and instead hid behind a fake Islamic persona. The process of appearing to be one thing while being very much another would become the calling card of Sabbatianism especially after Zevi's death and the arrival of the Satanist Jacob Frank in the 18th century when the cult became Sabbatian-Frankism and plumbed still new depths of depravity and infiltration which included – still includes – human sacrifice and sex with children. Wherever Sabbatians go paedophilia and Satanism follow and is it really a surprise that Hollywood is so infested with child abuse and Satanism when it was established by Sabbatian-Frankists and is still controlled by them? Hollywood has been one of the prime vehicles for global perceptual programming and manipulation. How many believe the version of 'history' portrayed in movies when it is a travesty and inversion (again) of the truth? Rabbi Marvin Antelman describes Frankism in his book, *To Eliminate the Opiate*, as 'a movement of complete evil' while Jewish professor Gershom Scholem said of Frank in *The Messianic Idea in Judaism*: 'In all his actions [he was] a truly corrupt and degenerate individual ... one of the most frightening phenomena in the whole of Jewish history.' Frank was excommunicated by traditional rabbis, as was Zevi, but Frank was undeterred and enjoyed vital support from the House of Rothschild, the infamous banking dynasty whose inner-core are Sabbatian-Frankists and not Jews. Infiltration of the Roman Church and Vatican was instigated by Frank with many Dönme 'turning' again to convert to Roman Catholicism with a view to hijacking the reins of power. This was the ever-repeating modus operandi and continues to be so. Pose as an advocate of the religion, culture or country that you want to control and then

manipulate your people into the positions of authority and influence largely as advisers, administrators and Svengalis for those that appear to be in power. They did this with Judaism, Christianity (Christian Zionism is part of this), Islam and other religions and nations until Sabbatian-Frankism spanned the world as it does today.

### **Sabbatian Saudis and the terror network**

One expression of the Sabbatian-Frankist Dönme within Islam is the ruling family of Saudi Arabia, the House of Saud, through which came the vile distortion of Islam known as Wahhabism. This is the violent creed followed by terrorist groups like Al-Qaeda and ISIS or Islamic State. Wahhabism is the hand-chopping, head-chopping 'religion' of Saudi Arabia which is used to keep the people in a constant state of fear so the interloper House of Saud can continue to rule. Al-Qaeda and Islamic State were lavishly funded by the House of Saud while being created and directed by the Sabbatian-Frankist network in the United States that operates through the Pentagon, CIA and the government in general of whichever 'party'. The front man for the establishment of Wahhabism in the middle of the 18th century was a Sabbatian-Frankist 'crypto-Jew' posing as Islamic called Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. His daughter would marry the son of Muhammad bin Saud who established the first Saudi state before his death in 1765 with support from the British Empire. Bin Saud's successors would establish modern Saudi Arabia in league with the British and Americans in 1932 which allowed them to seize control of Islam's major shrines in Mecca and Medina. They have dictated the direction of Sunni Islam ever since while Iran is the major centre of the Shiite version and here we have the source of at least the public conflict between them. The Sabbatian network has used its Wahhabi extremists to carry out Problem-Reaction-Solution terrorist attacks in the name of 'Al-Qaeda' and 'Islamic State' to justify a devastating 'war on terror', ever-increasing surveillance of the population and to terrify people into compliance. Another insight of the Renegade Mind is the streetwise understanding that

just because a country, location or people are attacked doesn't mean that those apparently representing that country, location or people are not behind the attackers. Often they are *orchestrating* the attacks because of the societal changes that can be then justified in the name of 'saving the population from terrorists'.

I show in great detail in *The Trigger* how Sabbatian-Frankists were the real perpetrators of 9/11 and not '19 Arab hijackers' who were blamed for what happened. Observe what was justified in the name of 9/11 alone in terms of Middle East invasions, mass surveillance and control that fulfilled the demands of the Project for the New American Century document published by the Sabbatian Neocons. What appear to be enemies are on the deep inside players on the same Sabbatian team. Israel and Arab 'royal' dictatorships are all ruled by Sabbatians and the recent peace agreements between Israel and Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and others are only making formal what has always been the case behind the scenes. Palestinians who have been subjected to grotesque tyranny since Israel was bombed and terrorised into existence in 1948 have never stood a chance. Sabbatian-Frankists have controlled Israel (so the constant theme of violence and war which Sabbatians love) and they have controlled the Arab countries that Palestinians have looked to for real support that never comes. 'Royal families' of the Arab world in Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, UAE, etc., are all Sabbatians with allegiance to the aims of the cult and not what is best for their Arabic populations. They have stolen the oil and financial resources from their people by false claims to be 'royal dynasties' with a genetic right to rule and by employing vicious militaries to impose their will.

### **Satanic 'illumination'**

The Satanist Jacob Frank formed an alliance in 1773 with two other Sabbatians, Mayer Amschel Rothschild (1744-1812), founder of the Rothschild banking dynasty, and Jesuit-educated fraudulent Jew, Adam Weishaupt, and this led to the formation of the Bavarian Illuminati, firstly under another name, in 1776. The Illuminati would



be the manipulating force behind the French Revolution (1789-1799) and was also involved in the American Revolution (1775-1783) before and after the Illuminati's official creation. Weishaupt would later become (in public) a Protestant Christian in archetypal Sabbatian style. I read that his name can be decoded as Adam-Weishaupt or 'the first man to lead those who know'. He wasn't a leader in the sense that he was a subordinate, but he did lead those below him in a crusade of transforming human society that still continues today. The theme was confirmed as early as 1785 when a horseman courier called Lanz was reported to be struck by lightning and extensive Illuminati documents were found in his saddlebags. They made the link to Weishaupt and detailed the plan for world takeover. Current events with 'Covid' fascism have been in the making for a very long time. Jacob Frank was jailed for 13 years by the Catholic Inquisition after his arrest in 1760 and on his release he headed for Frankfurt, Germany, home city and headquarters of the House of Rothschild where the alliance was struck with Mayer Amschel Rothschild and Weishaupt. Rothschild arranged for Frank to be given the title of Baron and he became a wealthy nobleman with a big following of Jews in Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and other European countries. Most of them would have believed he was on their side.

The name 'Illuminati' came from the Zohar which is a body of works in the Jewish mystical 'bible' called the Kabbalah. 'Zohar' is the foundation of Sabbatian-Frankist belief and in Hebrew 'Zohar' means 'splendour', 'radiance', 'illuminated', and so we have 'Illuminati'. They claim to be the 'Illuminated Ones' from their knowledge systematically hidden from the human population and passed on through generations of carefully-chosen initiates in the global secret society network or Cult. Hidden knowledge includes an awareness of the Cult agenda for the world and the nature of our collective reality that I will explore later. Cult 'illumination' is symbolised by the torch held by the Statue of Liberty which was gifted to New York by French Freemasons in Paris who knew exactly what it represents. 'Liberty' symbolises the goddess worshipped in

Babylon as Queen Semiramis or Ishtar. The significance of this will become clear. Notice again the ubiquitous theme of inversion with the Statue of 'Liberty' really symbolising mass control (Fig 7). A mirror-image statute stands on an island in the River Seine in Paris from where New York Liberty originated (Fig 8). A large replica of the Liberty flame stands on top of the Pont de l'Alma tunnel in Paris where Princess Diana died in a Cult ritual described in *The Biggest Secret*. Lucifer 'the light bringer' is related to all this (and much more as we'll see) and 'Lucifer' is a central figure in Sabbatian-Frankism and its associated Satanism. Sabbatians reject the Jewish Torah, or Pentateuch, the 'five books of Moses' in the Old Testament known as Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy which are claimed by Judaism and Christianity to have been dictated by 'God' to Moses on Mount Sinai. Sabbatians say these do not apply to them and they seek to replace them with the Zohar to absorb Judaism and its followers into their inversion which is an expression of a much greater global inversion. They want to delete all religions and force humanity to worship a one-world religion – Sabbatian Satanism that also includes worship of the Earth goddess. Satanic themes are being more and more introduced into mainstream society and while Christianity is currently the foremost target for destruction the others are planned to follow.



**Figure 7:** The Cult goddess of Babylon disguised as the Statue of Liberty holding the flame of Lucifer the 'light bringer'.



**Figure 8:** Liberty's mirror image in Paris where the New York version originated.

## **Marx brothers**

Rabbi Marvin Antelman connects the Illuminati to the Jacobins in *To Eliminate the Opiate* and Jacobins were the force behind the French Revolution. He links both to the Bund der Gerechten, or League of the Just, which was the network that inflicted communism/Marxism on the world. Antelman wrote:

The original inner circle of the Bund der Gerechten consisted of born Catholics, Protestants and Jews [Sabbatian-Frankist infiltrators], and those representatives of respective subdivisions formulated schemes for the ultimate destruction of their faiths. The heretical Catholics laid plans which they felt would take a century or more for the ultimate destruction of the church; the apostate Jews for the ultimate destruction of the Jewish religion.

Sabbatian-created communism connects into this anti-religion agenda in that communism does not allow for the free practice of religion. The Sabbatian 'Bund' became the International Communist Party and Communist League and in 1848 'Marxism' was born with the Communist Manifesto of Sabbatian assets Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels. It is absolutely no coincidence that Marxism, just a different name for fascist and other centrally-controlled tyrannies, is being imposed worldwide as a result of the 'Covid' hoax and nor that Marxist/fascist China was the place where the hoax originated. The reason for this will become very clear in the chapter 'Covid: The calculated catastrophe'. The so-called 'Woke' mentality has hijacked

traditional beliefs of the political left and replaced them with far-right make-believe 'social justice' better known as Marxism. Woke will, however, be swallowed by its own perceived 'revolution' which is really the work of billionaires and billionaire corporations feigning being 'Woke'. Marxism is being touted by Wokers as a replacement for 'capitalism' when we don't have 'capitalism'. We have cartelism in which the market is stitched up by the very Cult billionaires and corporations bankrolling Woke. Billionaires love Marxism which keeps the people in servitude while they control from the top. Terminally naïve Wokers think they are 'changing the world' when it's the Cult that is doing the changing and when they have played their vital part and become surplus to requirements they, too, will be targeted. The Illuminati-Jacobins were behind the period known as 'The Terror' in the French Revolution in 1793 and 1794 when Jacobin Maximillian de Robespierre and his Orwellian 'Committee of Public Safety' killed 17,000 'enemies of the Revolution' who had once been 'friends of the Revolution'. Karl Marx (1818-1883), whose Sabbatian creed of Marxism has cost the lives of at least 100 million people, is a hero once again to Wokers who have been systematically kept ignorant of real history by their 'education' programming. As a result they now promote a Sabbatian 'Marxist' abomination destined at some point to consume them. Rabbi Antelman, who spent decades researching the Sabbatian plot, said of the League of the Just and Karl Marx:

Contrary to popular opinion Karl Marx did not originate the Communist Manifesto. He was paid for his services by the League of the Just, which was known in its country of origin, Germany, as the Bund der Geächteten.

Antelman said the text attributed to Marx was the work of other people and Marx 'was only repeating what others already said'. Marx was 'a hired hack – lackey of the wealthy Illuminists'. Marx famously said that religion was the 'opium of the people' (part of the Sabbatian plan to demonise religion) and Antelman called his books, *To Eliminate the Opiate*. Marx was born Jewish, but his family converted to Christianity (Sabbatian modus operandi) and he

attacked Jews, not least in his book, *A World Without Jews*. In doing so he supported the Sabbatian plan to destroy traditional Jewishness and Judaism which we are clearly seeing today with the vindictive targeting of orthodox Jews by the Sabbatian government of Israel over 'Covid' laws. I don't follow any religion and it has done much damage to the world over centuries and acted as a perceptual straightjacket. Renegade Minds, however, are always asking *why* something is being done. It doesn't matter if they agree or disagree with what is happening – *why* is it happening is the question. The 'why?' can be answered with regard to religion in that religions create interacting communities of believers when the Cult wants to dismantle all discourse, unity and interaction (see 'Covid' lockdowns) and the ultimate goal is to delete all religions for a one-world religion of Cult Satanism worshipping their 'god' of which more later. We see the same 'why?' with gun control in America. I don't have guns and don't want them, but why is the Cult seeking to disarm the population at the same time that law enforcement agencies are armed to their molars and why has every tyrant in history sought to disarm people before launching the final takeover? They include Hitler, Stalin, Pol Pot and Mao who followed confiscation with violent seizing of power. You know it's a Cult agenda by the people who immediately race to the microphones to exploit dead people in multiple shootings. Ultra-Zionist Cult lackey Senator Chuck Schumer was straight on the case after ten people were killed in Boulder, Colorado in March, 2121. Simple rule ... if Schumer wants it the Cult wants it and the same with his ultra-Zionist mate the wild-eyed Senator Adam Schiff. At the same time they were calling for the disarmament of Americans, many of whom live a long way from a police response, Schumer, Schiff and the rest of these pampered clowns were sitting on Capitol Hill behind a razor-wired security fence protected by thousands of armed troops in addition to their own armed bodyguards. Mom and pop in an isolated home? They're just potential mass shooters.

## **Zion Mainframe**

Sabbatian-Frankists and most importantly the Rothschilds were behind the creation of 'Zionism', a political movement that demanded a Jewish homeland in Israel as promised by Sabbatai Zevi. The very symbol of Israel comes from the German meaning of the name Rothschild. Dynasty founder Mayer Amschel Rothschild changed the family name from Bauer to Rothschild, or 'Red-Shield' in German, in deference to the six-pointed 'Star of David' hexagram displayed on the family's home in Frankfurt. The symbol later appeared on the flag of Israel after the Rothschilds were centrally involved in its creation. Hexagrams are not a uniquely Jewish symbol and are widely used in occult ('hidden') networks often as a symbol for Saturn (see my other books for why). Neither are Zionism and Jewishness interchangeable. Zionism is a political movement and philosophy and not a 'race' or a people. Many Jews oppose Zionism and many non-Jews, including US President Joe Biden, call themselves Zionists as does Israel-centric Donald Trump. America's support for the Israel government is pretty much a gimme with ultra-Zionist billionaires and corporations providing fantastic and dominant funding for both political parties. Former Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney has told how she was approached immediately she ran for office to 'sign the pledge' to Israel and confirm that she would always vote in that country's best interests. All American politicians are approached in this way. Anyone who refuses will get no support or funding from the enormous and all-powerful Zionist lobby that includes organisations like mega-lobby group AIPAC, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Trump's biggest funder was ultra-Zionist casino and media billionaire Sheldon Adelson while major funders of the Democratic Party include ultra-Zionist George Soros and ultra-Zionist financial and media mogul, Haim Saban. Some may reel back at the suggestion that Soros is an Israel-firster (Sabbatian-controlled Israel-firster), but Renegade Minds watch the actions not the words and everywhere Soros donates his billions the Sabbatian agenda benefits. In the spirit of Sabbatian inversion Soros pledged \$1 billion for a new university network to promote 'liberal values and tackle intolerance'. He made the announcement during his annual speech

at the Cult-owned World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, in January, 2020, after his 'harsh criticism' of 'authoritarian rulers' around the world. You can only laugh at such brazen mendacity. How *he* doesn't laugh is the mystery. Translated from the Orwellian 'liberal values and tackle intolerance' means teaching non-white people to hate white people and for white people to loathe themselves for being born white. The reason for that will become clear.

### **The 'Anti-Semitism' fraud**

Zionists support the Jewish homeland in the land of Palestine which has been the Sabbatian-Rothschild goal for so long, but not for the benefit of Jews. Sabbatians and their global Anti-Semitism Industry have skewed public and political opinion to equate opposing the violent extremes of Zionism to be a blanket attack and condemnation of all Jewish people. Sabbatians and their global Anti-Semitism Industry have skewed public and political opinion to equate opposing the violent extremes of Zionism to be a blanket attack and condemnation of all Jewish people. This is nothing more than a Sabbatian protection racket to stop legitimate investigation and exposure of their agendas and activities. The official definition of 'anti-Semitism' has more recently been expanded to include criticism of Zionism – a *political movement* – and this was done to further stop exposure of Sabbatian infiltrators who created Zionism as we know it today in the 19th century. Renegade Minds will talk about these subjects when they know the shit that will come their way. People must decide if they want to know the truth or just cower in the corner in fear of what others will say. Sabbatians have been trying to label me as 'anti-Semitic' since the 1990s as I have uncovered more and more about their background and agendas. Useless, gutless, fraudulent 'journalists' then just repeat the smears without question and on the day I was writing this section a pair of unquestioning repeaters called Ben Quinn and Archie Bland (how appropriate) outright called me an 'anti-Semite' in the establishment propaganda sheet, the London *Guardian*, with no supporting evidence. The

Sabbatian Anti-Semitism Industry said so and who are they to question that? They wouldn't dare. Ironically 'Semitic' refers to a group of languages in the Middle East that are almost entirely Arabic. 'Anti-Semitism' becomes 'anti-Arab' which if the consequences of this misunderstanding were not so grave would be hilarious. Don't bother telling Quinn and Bland. I don't want to confuse them, bless 'em. One reason I am dubbed 'anti-Semitic' is that I wrote in the 1990s that Jewish operatives (Sabbatians) were heavily involved in the Russian Revolution when Sabbatians overthrew the Romanov dynasty. This apparently made me 'anti-Semitic'. Oh, really? Here is a section from *The Trigger*:

British journalist Robert Wilton confirmed these themes in his 1920 book *The Last Days of the Romanovs* when he studied official documents from the Russian government to identify the members of the Bolshevik ruling elite between 1917 and 1919. The Central Committee included 41 Jews among 62 members; the Council of the People's Commissars had 17 Jews out of 22 members; and 458 of the 556 most important Bolshevik positions between 1918 and 1919 were occupied by Jewish people. Only 17 were Russian. Then there were the 23 Jews among the 36 members of the vicious Cheka Soviet secret police established in 1917 who would soon appear all across the country.

Professor Robert Service of Oxford University, an expert on 20th century Russian history, found evidence that ['Jewish'] Leon Trotsky had sought to make sure that Jews were enrolled in the Red Army and were disproportionately represented in the Soviet civil bureaucracy that included the Cheka which performed mass arrests, imprisonment and executions of 'enemies of the people'. A US State Department Decimal File (861.00/5339) dated November 13th, 1918, names [Rothschild banking agent in America] Jacob Schiff and a list of ultra-Zionists as funders of the Russian Revolution leading to claims of a 'Jewish plot', but the key point missed by all is they were not 'Jews' – they were Sabbatian-Frankists.

Britain's Winston Churchill made the same error by mistake or otherwise. He wrote in a 1920 edition of the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* that those behind the Russian revolution were part of a 'worldwide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilisation and for the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality' (see 'Woke' today because that has been created by the same network). Churchill said there was no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian



Revolution 'by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews' ['atheistical Jews' = Sabbatians]. Churchill said it is certainly a very great one and probably outweighs all others: 'With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews.' He went on to describe, knowingly or not, the Sabbatian modus operandi of placing puppet leaders nominally in power while they control from the background:

Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Tchitcherin, a pure Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate, Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians like Bukharin or Lunacharski cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Citadel (Petrograd), or of Krassin or Radek – all Jews. In the Soviet institutions the predominance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the prominent, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combatting Counter-Revolution has been taken by Jews, and in some notable cases by Jewesses.

What I said about seriously disproportionate involvement in the Russian Revolution by Jewish 'revolutionaries' (Sabbatians) is provable fact, but truth is no defence against the Sabbatian Anti-Semitism Industry, its repeater parrots like Quinn and Bland, and the now breathtaking network of so-called 'Woke' 'anti-hate' groups with interlocking leaderships and funding which have the role of discrediting and silencing anyone who gets too close to exposing the Sabbatians. We have seen 'truth is no defence' confirmed in legal judgements with the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission in Canada decreeing this: 'Truthful statements can be presented in a manner that would meet the definition of hate speech, and not all truthful statements must be free from restriction.' Most 'anti-hate' activists, who are themselves consumed by hatred, are too stupid and ignorant of the world to know how they are being used. They are far too far up their own virtue-signalling arses and it's far too dark for them to see anything.

## **The 'revolution' game**

The background and methods of the 'Russian' Revolution are straight from the Sabbatian playbook seen in the French Revolution

and endless others around the world that appear to start as a revolution of the people against tyrannical rule and end up with a regime change to more tyrannical rule overtly or covertly. Wars, terror attacks and regime overthrows follow the Sabbatian cult through history with its agents creating them as Problem-Reaction-Solutions to remove opposition on the road to world domination. Sabbatian dots connect the Rothschilds with the Illuminati, Jacobins of the French Revolution, the 'Bund' or League of the Just, the International Communist Party, Communist League and the Communist Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels that would lead to the Rothschild-funded Russian Revolution. The sequence comes under the heading of 'creative destruction' when you advance to your global goal by continually destroying the status quo to install a new status quo which you then also destroy. The two world wars come to mind. With each new status quo you move closer to your planned outcome. Wars and mass murder are to Sabbatians a collective blood sacrifice ritual. They are obsessed with death for many reasons and one is that death is an inversion of life. Satanists and Sabbatians are obsessed with death and often target churches and churchyards for their rituals. Inversion-obsessed Sabbatians explain the use of inverted symbolism including the *inverted* pentagram and *inverted* cross. The inversion of the cross has been related to targeting Christianity, but the cross was a religious symbol long before Christianity and its inversion is a statement about the Sabbatian mentality and goals more than any single religion.

Sabbatians operating in Germany were behind the rise of the occult-obsessed Nazis and the subsequent Jewish exodus from Germany and Europe to Palestine and the United States after World War Two. The Rothschild dynasty was at the forefront of this both as political manipulators and by funding the operation. Why would Sabbatians help to orchestrate the horrors inflicted on Jews by the Nazis and by Stalin after they organised the Russian Revolution? Sabbatians hate Jews and their religion, that's why. They pose as Jews and secure positions of control within Jewish society and play the 'anti-Semitism' card to protect themselves from exposure

through a global network of organisations answering to the Sabbatian-created-and-controlled globe-spanning intelligence network that involves a stunning web of military-intelligence operatives and operations for a tiny country of just nine million. Among them are Jewish assets who are not Sabbatians but have been convinced by them that what they are doing is for the good of Israel and the Jewish community to protect them from what they have been programmed since childhood to believe is a Jew-hating hostile world. The Jewish community is just a highly convenient cover to hide the true nature of Sabbatians. Anyone getting close to exposing their game is accused by Sabbatian place-people and gofers of 'anti-Semitism' and claiming that all Jews are part of a plot to take over the world. I am not saying that. I am saying that Sabbatians – the *real* Jew-haters – have infiltrated the Jewish community to use them both as a cover and an 'anti-Semitic' defence against exposure. Thus we have the Anti-Semitism Industry targeted researchers in this way and most Jewish people think this is justified and genuine. They don't know that their 'Jewish' leaders and institutions of state, intelligence and military are not controlled by Jews at all, but cultists and stooges of Sabbatian-Frankism. I once added my name to a pro-Jewish freedom petition online and the next time I looked my name was gone and text had been added to the petition blurb to attack me as an 'anti-Semite' such is the scale of perceptual programming.

## **Moving on America**

I tell the story in *The Trigger* and a chapter called 'Atlantic Crossing' how particularly after Israel was established the Sabbatians moved in on the United States and eventually grasped control of government administration, the political system via both Democrats and Republicans, the intelligence community like the CIA and National Security Agency (NSA), the Pentagon and mass media. Through this seriously compartmentalised network Sabbatians and their operatives in Mossad, Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) and US agencies pulled off 9/11 and blamed it on 19 'Al-Qaeda hijackers' dominated by men from, or connected to, Sabbatian-ruled Saudi

Arabia. The '19' were not even on the planes let alone flew those big passenger jets into buildings while being largely incompetent at piloting one-engine light aircraft. 'Hijacker' Hani Hanjour who is said to have flown American Airlines Flight 77 into the Pentagon with a turn and manoeuvre most professional pilots said they would have struggled to do was banned from renting a small plane by instructors at the Freeway Airport in Bowie, Maryland, just *six weeks* earlier on the grounds that he was an incompetent pilot. The Jewish population of the world is just 0.2 percent with even that almost entirely concentrated in Israel (75 percent Jewish) and the United States (around two percent). This two percent and globally 0.2 percent refers to *Jewish* people and not Sabbatian interlopers who are a fraction of that fraction. What a sobering thought when you think of the fantastic influence on world affairs of tiny Israel and that the Project for the New America Century (PNAC) which laid out the blueprint in September, 2000, for America's war on terror and regime change wars in Iraq, Libya and Syria was founded and dominated by Sabbatians known as 'Neocons'. The document conceded that this plan would not be supported politically or publicly without a major attack on American soil and a Problem-Reaction-Solution excuse to send troops to war across the Middle East. Sabbatian Neocons said:

... [The] process of transformation ... [war and regime change] ... is likely to be a long one, absent some catastrophic and catalysing event – like a new Pearl Harbor.

Four months later many of those who produced that document came to power with their inane puppet George Bush from the long-time Sabbatian Bush family. They included Sabbatian Dick Cheney who was officially vice-president, but really de-facto president for the entirety of the 'Bush' government. Nine months after the 'Bush' inauguration came what Bush called at the time 'the Pearl Harbor of the 21st century' and with typical Sabbatian timing and symbolism 2001 was the 60th anniversary of the attack in 1941 by the Japanese Air Force on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, which allowed President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to take the United States into a Sabbatian-

instigated Second World War that he said in his election campaign that he never would. The evidence is overwhelming that Roosevelt and his military and intelligence networks knew the attack was coming and did nothing to stop it, but they did make sure that America's most essential naval ships were not in Hawaii at the time. Three thousand Americans died in the Pearl Harbor attacks as they did on September 11th. By the 9/11 year of 2001 Sabbatians had widely infiltrated the US government, military and intelligence operations and used their compartmentalised assets to pull off the 'Al-Qaeda' attacks. If you read *The Trigger* it will blow your mind to see the utterly staggering concentration of 'Jewish' operatives (Sabbatian infiltrators) in essential positions of political, security, legal, law enforcement, financial and business power before, during, and after the attacks to make them happen, carry them out, and then cover their tracks – and I do mean *staggering* when you think of that 0.2 percent of the world population and two percent of Americans which are Jewish while Sabbatian infiltrators are a fraction of that. A central foundation of the 9/11 conspiracy was the hijacking of government, military, Air Force and intelligence computer systems in real time through 'back-door' access made possible by Israeli (Sabbatian) 'cyber security' software. Sabbatian-controlled Israel is on the way to rivalling Silicon Valley for domination of cyberspace and is becoming the dominant force in cyber-security which gives them access to entire computer systems and their passcodes across the world. Then add to this that Zionists head (officially) Silicon Valley giants like Google (Larry Page and Sergey Brin), Google-owned YouTube (Susan Wojcicki), Facebook (Mark Zuckerberg and Sheryl Sandberg), and Apple (Chairman Arthur D. Levinson), and that ultra-Zionist hedge fund billionaire Paul Singer has a \$1 billion stake in Twitter which is only nominally headed by 'CEO' pothead Jack Dorsey. As cable news host Tucker Carlson said of Dorsey: 'There used to be debate in the medical community whether dropping a ton of acid had permanent effects and I think that debate has now ended.' Carlson made the comment after Dorsey told a hearing on Capitol Hill (if you cut through his bullshit) that he

believed in free speech so long as he got to decide what you can hear and see. These 'big names' of Silicon Valley are only front men and women for the Global Cult, not least the Sabbatians, who are the true controllers of these corporations. Does anyone still wonder why these same people and companies have been ferociously censoring and banning people (like me) for exposing any aspect of the Cult agenda and especially the truth about the 'Covid' hoax which Sabbatians have orchestrated?

The Jeffrey Epstein paedophile ring was a Sabbatian operation. He was officially 'Jewish' but he was a Sabbatian and women abused by the ring have told me about the high number of 'Jewish' people involved. The Epstein horror has Sabbatian written all over it and matches perfectly their modus operandi and obsession with sex and ritual. Epstein was running a Sabbatian blackmail ring in which famous people with political and other influence were provided with young girls for sex while everything was being filmed and recorded on hidden cameras and microphones at his New York house, Caribbean island and other properties. Epstein survivors have described this surveillance system to me and some have gone public. Once the famous politician or other figure knew he or she was on video they tended to do whatever they were told. Here we go again ...when you've got them by the balls their hearts and minds will follow. Sabbatians use this blackmail technique on a wide scale across the world to entrap politicians and others they need to act as demanded. Epstein's private plane, the infamous 'Lolita Express', had many well-known passengers including Bill Clinton while Bill Gates has flown on an Epstein plane and met with him four years after Epstein had been jailed for paedophilia. They subsequently met many times at Epstein's home in New York according to a witness who was there. Epstein's infamous side-kick was Ghislaine Maxwell, daughter of Mossad agent and ultra-Zionist mega-crooked British businessman, Bob Maxwell, who at one time owned the *Daily Mirror* newspaper. Maxwell was murdered at sea on his boat in 1991 by Sabbatian-controlled Mossad when he became a liability with his

business empire collapsing as a former Mossad operative has confirmed (see *The Trigger*).

### **Money, money, money, funny money ...**

Before I come to the Sabbatian connection with the last three US presidents I will lay out the crucial importance to Sabbatians of controlling banking and finance. Sabbatian Mayer Amschel Rothschild set out to dominate this arena in his family's quest for total global control. What is freedom? It is, in effect, choice. The more choices you have the freer you are and the fewer your choices the more you are enslaved. In the global structure created over centuries by Sabbatians the biggest decider and restrictor of choice is ... money. Across the world if you ask people what they would like to do with their lives and why they are not doing that they will reply 'I don't have the money'. This is the idea. A global elite of multi-billionaires are described as 'greedy' and that is true on one level; but control of money – who has it and who doesn't – is not primarily about greed. It's about control. Sabbatians have seized ever more control of finance and sucked the wealth of the world out of the hands of the population. We talk now, after all, about the 'One-percent' and even then the wealthiest are a lot fewer even than that. This has been made possible by a money scam so outrageous and so vast it could rightly be called the scam of scams founded on creating 'money' out of nothing and 'loaning' that with interest to the population. Money out of nothing is called 'credit'. Sabbatians have asserted control over governments and banking ever more completely through the centuries and secured financial laws that allow banks to lend hugely more than they have on deposit in a confidence trick known as fractional reserve lending. Imagine if you could lend money that doesn't exist and charge the recipient interest for doing so. You would end up in jail. Bankers by contrast end up in mansions, private jets, Malibu and Monaco.

Banks are only required to keep a fraction of their deposits and wealth in their vaults and they are allowed to lend 'money' they don't have called 'credit'. Go into a bank for a loan and if you succeed

the banker will not move any real wealth into your account. They will type into your account the amount of the agreed 'loan' – say £100,000. This is not wealth that really exists; it is non-existent, fresh-air, created-out-of-nothing 'credit' which has never, does not, and will never exist except in theory. Credit is backed by nothing except wind and only has buying power because people think that it has buying power and accept it in return for property, goods and services. I have described this situation as like those cartoon characters you see chasing each other and when they run over the edge of a cliff they keep running forward on fresh air until one of them looks down, realises what's happened, and they all crash into the ravine. The whole foundation of the Sabbatian financial system is to stop people looking down except for periodic moments when they want to crash the system (as in 2008 and 2020 ongoing) and reap the rewards from all the property, businesses and wealth their borrowers had signed over as 'collateral' in return for a 'loan' of fresh air. Most people think that money is somehow created by governments when it comes into existence from the start as a debt through banks 'lending' illusory money called credit. Yes, the very currency of exchange is a *debt* from day one issued as an interest-bearing loan. Why don't governments create money interest-free and lend it to their people interest-free? Governments are controlled by Sabbatians and the financial system is controlled by Sabbatians for whom interest-free money would be a nightmare come true. Sabbatians underpin their financial domination through their global network of central banks, including the privately-owned US Federal Reserve and Britain's Bank of England, and this is orchestrated by a privately-owned central bank coordination body called the Bank for International Settlements in Basle, Switzerland, created by the usual suspects including the Rockefellers and Rothschilds. Central bank chiefs don't answer to governments or the people. They answer to the Bank for International Settlements or, in other words, the Global Cult which is dominated today by Sabbatians.

## **Built-in disaster**



There are so many constituent scams within the overall banking scam. When you take out a loan of thin-air credit only the amount of that loan is theoretically brought into circulation to add to the amount in circulation; but you are paying back the principle plus interest. The additional interest is not created and this means that with every 'loan' there is a shortfall in the money in circulation between what is borrowed and what has to be paid back. There is never even close to enough money in circulation to repay all outstanding public and private debt including interest. Coldly weaved in the very fabric of the system is the certainty that some will lose their homes, businesses and possessions to the banking 'lender'. This is less obvious in times of 'boom' when the amount of money in circulation (and the debt) is expanding through more people wanting and getting loans. When a downturn comes and the money supply contracts it becomes painfully obvious that there is not enough money to service all debt and interest. This is less obvious in times of 'boom' when the amount of money in circulation (and the debt) is expanding through more people wanting and getting loans. When a downturn comes and the money supply contracts and it becomes painfully obvious – as in 2008 and currently – that there is not enough money to service all debt and interest. Sabbatian banksters have been leading the human population through a calculated series of booms (more debt incurred) and busts (when the debt can't be repaid and the banks get the debtor's tangible wealth in exchange for non-existent 'credit'). With each 'bust' Sabbatian bankers have absorbed more of the world's tangible wealth and we end up with the One-percent. Governments are in bankruptcy levels of debt to the same system and are therefore owned by a system they do not control. The Federal Reserve, 'America's central bank', is privately-owned and American presidents only nominally appoint its chairman or woman to maintain the illusion that it's an arm of government. It's not. The 'Fed' is a cartel of private banks which handed billions to its associates and friends after the crash of 2008 and has been Sabbatian-controlled since it was manipulated into being in 1913 through the covert trickery of Rothschild banking agents Jacob Schiff and Paul

Warburg, and the Sabbatian Rockefeller family. Somehow from a Jewish population of two-percent and globally 0.2 percent (Sabbatian interlopers remember are far smaller) ultra-Zionists headed the Federal Reserve for 31 years between 1987 and 2018 in the form of Alan Greenspan, Bernard Bernanke and Janet Yellen (now Biden's Treasury Secretary) with Yellen's deputy chairman a Israeli-American dual citizen and ultra-Zionist Stanley Fischer, a former governor of the Bank of Israel. Ultra-Zionist Fed chiefs spanned the presidencies of Ronald Reagan ('Republican'), Father George Bush ('Republican'), Bill Clinton ('Democrat'), Boy George Bush ('Republican') and Barack Obama ('Democrat'). We should really add the pre-Greenspan chairman, Paul Adolph Volcker, 'appointed' by Jimmy Carter ('Democrat') who ran the Fed between 1979 and 1987 during the Carter and Reagan administrations before Greenspan took over. Volcker was a long-time associate and business partner of the Rothschilds. No matter what the 'party' officially in power the United States economy was directed by the same force. Here are members of the Obama, Trump and Biden administrations and see if you can make out a common theme.

### **Barack Obama ('Democrat')**

Ultra-Zionists Robert Rubin, Larry Summers, and Timothy Geithner ran the US Treasury in the Clinton administration and two of them reappeared with Obama. Ultra-Zionist Fed chairman Alan Greenspan had manipulated the crash of 2008 through deregulation and jumped ship just before the disaster to make way for ultra-Zionist Bernard Bernanke to hand out trillions to Sabbatian 'too big to fail' banks and businesses, including the ubiquitous ultra-Zionist Goldman Sachs which has an ongoing revolving door operation between itself and major financial positions in government worldwide. Obama inherited the fallout of the crash when he took office in January, 2009, and fortunately he had the support of his ultra-Zionist White House Chief of Staff Rahm Emmanuel, son of a terrorist who helped to bomb Israel into being in 1948, and his ultra-Zionist senior adviser David Axelrod, chief strategist in Obama's two

successful presidential campaigns. Emmanuel, later mayor of Chicago and former senior fundraiser and strategist for Bill Clinton, is an example of the Sabbatian policy after Israel was established of migrating insider families to America so their children would be born American citizens. 'Obama' chose this financial team throughout his administration to respond to the Sabbatian-instigated crisis:

Timothy Geithner (ultra-Zionist) Treasury Secretary; Jacob J. Lew, Treasury Secretary; Larry Summers (ultra-Zionist), director of the White House National Economic Council; Paul Adolph Volcker (Rothschild business partner), chairman of the Economic Recovery Advisory Board; Peter Orszag (ultra-Zionist), director of the Office of Management and Budget overseeing all government spending; Penny Pritzker (ultra-Zionist), Commerce Secretary; Jared Bernstein (ultra-Zionist), chief economist and economic policy adviser to Vice President Joe Biden; Mary Schapiro (ultra-Zionist), chair of the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC); Gary Gensler (ultra-Zionist), chairman of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission (CFTC); Sheila Bair (ultra-Zionist), chair of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC); Karen Mills (ultra-Zionist), head of the Small Business Administration (SBA); Kenneth Feinberg (ultra-Zionist), Special Master for Executive [bail-out] Compensation. Feinberg would be appointed to oversee compensation (with strings) to 9/11 victims and families in a campaign to stop them having their day in court to question the official story. At the same time ultra-Zionist Bernard Bernanke was chairman of the Federal Reserve and these are only some of the ultra-Zionists with allegiance to Sabbatian-controlled Israel in the Obama government. Obama's biggest corporate donor was ultra-Zionist Goldman Sachs which had employed many in his administration.

### **Donald Trump ('Republican')**

Trump claimed to be an outsider (he wasn't) who had come to 'drain the swamp'. He embarked on this goal by immediately appointing ultra-Zionist Steve Mnuchin, a Goldman Sachs employee for 17

years, as his Treasury Secretary. Others included Gary Cohn (ultra-Zionist), chief operating officer of Goldman Sachs, his first Director of the National Economic Council and chief economic adviser, who was later replaced by Larry Kudlow (ultra-Zionist). Trump's senior adviser throughout his four years in the White House was his sinister son-in-law Jared Kushner, a life-long friend of Israel Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Kushner is the son of a convicted crook who was pardoned by Trump in his last days in office. Other ultra-Zionists in the Trump administration included: Stephen Miller, Senior Policy Adviser; Avrahm Berkowitz, Deputy Adviser to Trump and his Senior Adviser Jared Kushner; Ivanka Trump, Adviser to the President, who converted to Judaism when she married Jared Kushner; David Friedman, Trump lawyer and Ambassador to Israel; Jason Greenblatt, Trump Organization executive vice president and chief legal officer, who was made Special Representative for International Negotiations and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict; Rod Rosenstein, Deputy Attorney General; Elliot Abrams, Special Representative for Venezuela, then Iran; John Eisenberg, National Security Council Legal Adviser and Deputy Council to the President for National Security Affairs; Anne Neuberger, Deputy National Manager, National Security Agency; Ezra Cohen-Watnick, Acting Under Secretary of Defense for Intelligence; Elan Carr, Special Envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism; Len Khodorkovsky, Deputy Special Envoy to monitor and combat anti-Semitism; Reed Cordish, Assistant to the President, Intragovernmental and Technology Initiatives. Trump Vice President Mike Pence and Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, both Christian Zionists, were also vehement supporters of Israel and its goals and ambitions.

Donald 'free-speech believer' Trump pardoned a number of financial and violent criminals while ignoring calls to pardon Julian Assange and Edward Snowden whose crimes are revealing highly relevant information about government manipulation and corruption and the widespread illegal surveillance of the American people by US 'security' agencies. It's so good to know that Trump is on the side of freedom and justice and not mega-criminals with

allegiance to Sabbatian-controlled Israel. These included a pardon for Israeli spy Jonathan Pollard who was jailed for life in 1987 under the Espionage Act. Aviem Sella, the Mossad agent who recruited Pollard, was also pardoned by Trump while Assange sat in jail and Snowden remained in exile in Russia. Sella had 'fled' (was helped to escape) to Israel in 1987 and was never extradited despite being charged under the Espionage Act. A Trump White House statement said that Sella's clemency had been 'supported by Benjamin Netanyahu, Ron Dermer, Israel's US Ambassador, David Friedman, US Ambassador to Israel and Miriam Adelson, wife of leading Trump donor Sheldon Adelson who died shortly before. Other friends of Jared Kushner were pardoned along with Sholom Weiss who was believed to be serving the longest-ever white-collar prison sentence of more than 800 years in 2000. The sentence was commuted of Ponzi-schemer Eliyahu Weinstein who defrauded Jews and others out of \$200 million. I did mention that Assange and Snowden were ignored, right? Trump gave Sabbatians almost everything they asked for in military and political support, moving the US Embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem with its critical symbolic and literal implications for Palestinian statehood, and the 'deal of the Century' designed by Jared Kushner and David Friedman which gave the Sabbatian Israeli government the green light to substantially expand its already widespread program of building illegal Jewish-only settlements in the occupied land of the West Bank. This made a two-state 'solution' impossible by seizing all the land of a potential Palestinian homeland and that had been the plan since 1948 and then 1967 when the Arab-controlled Gaza Strip, West Bank, Sinai Peninsula and Syrian Golan Heights were occupied by Israel. All the talks about talks and road maps and delays have been buying time until the West Bank was physically occupied by Israeli real estate. Trump would have to be a monumentally ill-informed idiot not to see that this was the plan he was helping to complete. The Trump administration was in so many ways the Kushner administration which means the Netanyahu administration which means the Sabbatian administration. I understand why many opposing Cult fascism in all its forms gravitated to Trump, but he

was a crucial part of the Sabbatian plan and I will deal with this in the next chapter.

## **Joe Biden ('Democrat')**

A barely cognitive Joe Biden took over the presidency in January, 2021, along with his fellow empty shell, Vice-President Kamala Harris, as the latest Sabbatian gofers to enter the White House. Names on the door may have changed and the 'party' – the force behind them remained the same as Zionists were appointed to a stream of pivotal areas relating to Sabbatian plans and policy. They included: Janet Yellen, Treasury Secretary, former head of the Federal Reserve, and still another ultra-Zionist running the US Treasury after Mnuchin (Trump), Lew and Geithner (Obama), and Summers and Rubin (Clinton); Anthony Blinken, Secretary of State; Wendy Sherman, Deputy Secretary of State (so that's 'Biden's' Sabbatian foreign policy sorted); Jeff Zients, White House coronavirus coordinator; Rochelle Walensky, head of the Centers for Disease Control; Rachel Levine, transgender deputy health secretary (that's 'Covid' hoax policy under control); Merrick Garland, Attorney General; Alejandro Mayorkas, Secretary of Homeland Security; Cass Sunstein, Homeland Security with responsibility for new immigration laws; Avril Haines, Director of National Intelligence; Anne Neuberger, National Security Agency cybersecurity director (note, cybersecurity); David Cohen, CIA Deputy Director; Ronald Klain, Biden's Chief of Staff (see Rahm Emanuel); Eric Lander, a 'leading geneticist', Office of Science and Technology Policy director (see Smart Grid, synthetic biology agenda); Jessica Rosenworcel, acting head of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) which controls Smart Grid technology policy and electromagnetic communication systems including 5G. How can it be that so many pivotal positions are held by two-percent of the American population and 0.2 percent of the world population administration after administration no matter who is the president and what is the party? It's a coincidence? Of course it's not and this is why Sabbatians have built their colossal global web of interlocking 'anti-

hate' hate groups to condemn anyone who asks these glaring questions as an 'anti-Semite'. The way that Jewish people horrifically abused in Sabbatian-backed Nazi Germany are exploited to this end is stomach-turning and disgusting beyond words.

## **Political fusion**

Sabbatian manipulation has reversed the roles of Republicans and Democrats and the same has happened in Britain with the Conservative and Labour Parties. Republicans and Conservatives were always labelled the 'right' and Democrats and Labour the 'left', but look at the policy positions now and the Democrat-Labour 'left' has moved further to the 'right' than Republicans and Conservatives under the banner of 'Woke', the Cult-created far-right tyranny. Where once the Democrat-Labour 'left' defended free speech and human rights they now seek to delete them and as I said earlier despite the 'Covid' fascism of the Jackboot Johnson Conservative government in the UK the Labour Party of leader Keir Starmer demanded even more extreme measures. The Labour Party has been very publicly absorbed by Sabbatians after a political and media onslaught against the previous leader, the weak and inept Jeremy Corbyn, over made-up allegations of 'anti-Semitism' both by him and his party. The plan was clear with this 'anti-Semite' propaganda and what was required in response was a swift and decisive 'fuck off' from Corbyn and a statement to expose the Anti-Semitism Industry (Sabbatian) attempt to silence Labour criticism of the Israeli government (Sabbatians) and purge the party of all dissent against the extremes of ultra-Zionism (Sabbatians). Instead Corbyn and his party fell to their knees and appeased the abusers which, by definition, is impossible. Appeasing one demand leads only to a new demand to be appeased until takeover is complete. Like I say – 'fuck off' would have been a much more effective policy and I have used it myself with great effect over the years when Sabbatians are on my case which is most of the time. I consider that fact a great compliment, by the way. The outcome of the Labour Party capitulation is that we now have a Sabbatian-controlled

Conservative Party 'opposed' by a Sabbatian-controlled Labour Party in a one-party Sabbatian state that hurtles towards the extremes of tyranny (the Sabbatian cult agenda). In America the situation is the same. Labour's Keir Starmer spends his days on his knees with his tongue out pointing to Tel Aviv, or I guess now Jerusalem, while Boris Johnson has an 'anti-Semitism czar' in the form of former Labour MP John Mann who keeps Starmer company on his prayer mat.

Sabbatian influence can be seen in Jewish members of the Labour Party who have been ejected for criticism of Israel including those from families that suffered in Nazi Germany. Sabbatians despise real Jewish people and target them even more harshly because it is so much more difficult to dub them 'anti-Semitic' although in their desperation they do try.



## CHAPTER THREE

### **The Pushbacker sting**

*Until you realize how easy it is for your mind to be manipulated, you remain the puppet of someone else's game*

Evita Ochel

I will use the presidencies of Trump and Biden to show how the manipulation of the one-party state plays out behind the illusion of political choice across the world. No two presidencies could – on the face of it – be more different and apparently at odds in terms of direction and policy.

A Renegade Mind sees beyond the obvious and focuses on outcomes and consequences and not image, words and waffle. The Cult embarked on a campaign to divide America between those who blindly support its agenda (the mentality known as 'Woke') and those who are pushing back on where the Cult and its Sabbatians want to go. This presents infinite possibilities for dividing and ruling the population by setting them at war with each other and allows a perceptual ring fence of demonisation to encircle the Pushbackers in a modern version of the Little Big Horn in 1876 when American cavalry led by Lieutenant Colonel George Custer were drawn into a trap, surrounded and killed by Native American tribes defending their land of thousands of years from being seized by the government. In this modern version the roles are reversed and it's those defending themselves from the Sabbatian government who are surrounded and the government that's seeking to destroy them. This trap was set years ago and to explain how we must return to 2016

and the emergence of Donald Trump as a candidate to be President of the United States. He set out to overcome the best part of 20 other candidates in the Republican Party before and during the primaries and was not considered by many in those early stages to have a prayer of living in the White House. The Republican Party was said to have great reservations about Trump and yet somehow he won the nomination. When you know how American politics works – politics in general – there is no way that Trump could have become the party's candidate unless the Sabbatian-controlled 'Neocons' that run the Republican Party wanted that to happen. We saw the proof in emails and documents made public by WikiLeaks that the Democratic Party hierarchy, or Democons, systematically undermined the campaign of Bernie Sanders to make sure that Sabbatian gofer Hillary Clinton won the nomination to be their presidential candidate. If the Democons could do that then the Neocons in the Republican Party could have derailed Trump in the same way. But they didn't and at that stage I began to conclude that Trump could well be the one chosen to be president. If that was the case the 'why' was pretty clear to see – the goal of dividing America between Cult agenda-supporting Wokers and Pushbackers who gravitated to Trump because he was telling them what they wanted to hear. His constituency of support had been increasingly ignored and voiceless for decades and profoundly through the eight years of Sabbatian puppet Barack Obama. Now here was someone speaking their language of pulling back from the incessant globalisation of political and economic power, the exporting of American jobs to China and elsewhere by 'American' (Sabbatian) corporations, the deletion of free speech, and the mass immigration policies that had further devastated job opportunities for the urban working class of all races and the once American heartlands of the Midwest.

### **Beware the forked tongue**

Those people collectively sighed with relief that at last a political leader was apparently on their side, but another trait of the Renegade Mind is that you look even harder at people telling you

what you want to hear than those who are telling you otherwise. Obviously as I said earlier people wish what they want to hear to be true and genuine and they are much more likely to believe that than someone saying what they don't want to hear and don't want to be true. Sales people are taught to be skilled in eliciting by calculated questioning what their customers want to hear and repeating that back to them as their own opinion to get their targets to like and trust them. Assets of the Cult are also sales people in the sense of selling perception. To read Cult manipulation you have to play the long and expanded game and not fall for the Vaudeville show of party politics. Both American parties are vehicles for the Cult and they exploit them in different ways depending on what the agenda requires at that moment. Trump and the Republicans were used to be the focus of dividing America and isolating Pushbackers to open the way for a Biden presidency to become the most extreme in American history by advancing the full-blown Woke (Cult) agenda with the aim of destroying and silencing Pushbackers now labelled Nazi Trump supporters and white supremacists.

Sabbatians wanted Trump in office for the reasons described by ultra-Zionist Saul Alinsky (1909-1972) who was promoting the Woke philosophy through 'community organising' long before anyone had heard of it. In those days it still went by its traditional name of Marxism. The reason for the manipulated Trump phenomenon was laid out in Alinsky's 1971 book, *Rules for Radicals*, which was his blueprint for overthrowing democratic and other regimes and replacing them with Sabbatian Marxism. Not surprisingly his to-do list was evident in the Sabbatian French and Russian 'Revolutions' and that in China which will become very relevant in the next chapter about the 'Covid' hoax. Among Alinsky's followers have been the deeply corrupt Barack Obama, House Speaker Nancy Pelosi and Hillary Clinton who described him as a 'hero'. All three are Sabbatian stooges with Pelosi personifying the arrogant corrupt idiocy that so widely fronts up for the Cult inner core. Predictably as a Sabbatian advocate of the 'light-bringer' Alinsky features Lucifer on the dedication page of his book as the original radical who gained

his own kingdom ('Earth' as we shall see). One of Alinsky's golden radical rules was to pick an individual and focus all attention, hatred and blame on them and not to target faceless bureaucracies and corporations. *Rules for Radicals* is really a Sabbatian handbook with its contents repeatedly employed all over the world for centuries and why wouldn't Sabbatians bring to power their designer-villain to be used as the individual on which all attention, hatred and blame was bestowed? This is what they did and the only question for me is how much Trump knew that and how much he was manipulated. A bit of both, I suspect. This was Alinsky's Trump technique from a man who died in 1972. The technique has spanned history:

Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, polarize it. Don't try to attack abstract corporations or bureaucracies. Identify a responsible individual. Ignore attempts to shift or spread the blame.

From the moment Trump came to illusory power everything was about him. It wasn't about Republican policy or opinion, but all about Trump. Everything he did was presented in negative, derogatory and abusive terms by the Sabbatian-dominated media led by Cult operations such as CNN, MSNBC, *The New York Times* and the Jeff Bezos-owned *Washington Post* – 'Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it, polarize it.' Trump was turned into a demon to be vilified by those who hated him and a demi-god loved by those who worshipped him. This, in turn, had his supporters, too, presented as equally demonic in preparation for the punchline later down the line when Biden was about to take office. It was here's a Trump, there's a Trump, everywhere a Trump, Trump. Virtually every news story or happening was filtered through the lens of 'The Donald'. You loved him or hated him and which one you chose was said to define you as Satan's spawn or a paragon of virtue. Even supporting some Trump policies or statements and not others was enough for an assault on your character. No shades of grey were or are allowed. Everything is black and white (literally and figuratively). A Californian I knew had her head utterly scrambled by her hatred for Trump while telling people they should love each other. She was so totally consumed by

Trump Derangement Syndrome as it became to be known that this glaring contradiction would never have occurred to her. By definition anyone who criticised Trump or praised his opponents was a hero and this lady described Joe Biden as 'a kind, honest gentleman' when he's a provable liar, mega-crook and vicious piece of work to boot. Sabbatians had indeed divided America using Trump as the fall-guy and all along the clock was ticking on the consequences for his supporters.

### **In hock to his masters**

Trump gave Sabbatians via Israel almost everything they wanted in his four years. Ask and you shall receive was the dynamic between himself and Benjamin Netanyahu orchestrated by Trump's ultra-Zionist son-in-law Jared Kushner, his ultra-Zionist Ambassador to Israel, David Friedman, and ultra-Zionist 'Israel adviser', Jason Greenblatt. The last two were central to the running and protecting from collapse of his business empire, the Trump Organisation, and colossal business failures made him forever beholding to Sabbatian networks that bailed him out. By the start of the 1990s Trump owed \$4 billion to banks that he couldn't pay and almost \$1 billion of that was down to him personally and not his companies. This mega-disaster was the result of building two new casinos in Atlantic City and buying the enormous Taj Mahal operation which led to crippling debt payments. He had borrowed fantastic sums from 72 banks with major Sabbatian connections and although the scale of debt should have had him living in a tent alongside the highway they never foreclosed. A plan was devised to lift Trump from the mire by BT Securities Corporation and Rothschild Inc. and the case was handled by Wilber Ross who had worked for the Rothschilds for 27 years. Ross would be named US Commerce Secretary after Trump's election. Another crucial figure in saving Trump was ultra-Zionist 'investor' Carl Icahn who bought the Taj Mahal casino. Icahn was made special economic adviser on financial regulation in the Trump administration. He didn't stay long but still managed to find time to make a tidy sum of a reported \$31.3 million when he sold his

holdings affected by the price of steel three days before Trump imposed a 235 percent tariff on steel imports. What amazing bits of luck these people have. Trump and Sabbatian operatives have long had a close association and his mentor and legal adviser from the early 1970s until 1986 was the dark and genetically corrupt ultra-Zionist Roy Cohn who was chief counsel to Senator Joseph McCarthy's 'communist' witch-hunt in the 1950s. *Esquire* magazine published an article about Cohn with the headline 'Don't mess with Roy Cohn'. He was described as the most feared lawyer in New York and 'a ruthless master of dirty tricks ... [with] ... more than one Mafia Don on speed dial'. Cohn's influence, contacts, support and protection made Trump a front man for Sabbatians in New York with their connections to one of Cohn's many criminal employers, the 'Russian' Sabbatian Mafia. Israel-centric media mogul Rupert Murdoch was introduced to Trump by Cohn and they started a long friendship. Cohn died in 1986 weeks after being disbarred for unethical conduct by the Appellate Division of the New York State Supreme Court. The wheels of justice do indeed run slow given the length of Cohn's crooked career.

## **QAnon-sense**

We are asked to believe that Donald Trump with his fundamental connections to Sabbatian networks and operatives has been leading the fight to stop the Sabbatian agenda for the fascistic control of America and the world. Sure he has. A man entrapped during his years in the White House by Sabbatian operatives and whose biggest financial donor was casino billionaire Sheldon Adelson who was Sabbatian to his DNA?? Oh, do come on. Trump has been used to divide America and isolate Pushbackers on the Cult agenda under the heading of 'Trump supporters', 'insurrectionists' and 'white supremacists'. The US Intelligence/Mossad Psyop or psychological operation known as QAnon emerged during the Trump years as a central pillar in the Sabbatian campaign to lead Pushbackers into the trap set by those that wished to destroy them. I knew from the start that QAnon was a scam because I had seen the same scenario many

times before over 30 years under different names and I had written about one in particular in the books. 'Not again' was my reaction when QAnon came to the fore. The same script is pulled out every few years and a new name added to the letterhead. The story always takes the same form: 'Insiders' or 'the good guys' in the government-intelligence-military 'Deep State' apparatus were going to instigate mass arrests of the 'bad guys' which would include the Rockefellers, Rothschilds, Barack Obama, Hillary Clinton, George Soros, etc., etc. Dates are given for when the 'good guys' are going to move in, but the dates pass without incident and new dates are given which pass without incident. The central message to Pushbackers in each case is that they don't have to do anything because there is 'a plan' and it is all going to be sorted by the 'good guys' on the inside. 'Trust the plan' was a QAnon mantra when the only plan was to misdirect Pushbackers into putting their trust in a Psyop they believed to be real. Beware, beware, those who tell you what you want to hear and always check it out. Right up to Biden's inauguration QAnon was still claiming that 'the Storm' was coming and Trump would stay on as president when Biden and his cronies were arrested and jailed. It was never going to happen and of course it didn't, but what did happen as a result provided that punchline to the Sabbatian Trump/QAnon Psyop.

On January 6th, 2021, a very big crowd of Trump supporters gathered in the National Mall in Washington DC down from the Capitol Building to protest at what they believed to be widespread corruption and vote fraud that stopped Trump being re-elected for a second term as president in November, 2020. I say as someone that does not support Trump or Biden that the evidence is clear that major vote-fixing went on to favour Biden, a man with cognitive problems so advanced he can often hardly string a sentence together without reading the words written for him on the Teleprompter. Glaring ballot discrepancies included serious questions about electronic voting machines that make vote rigging a comparative cinch and hundreds of thousands of paper votes that suddenly appeared during already advanced vote counts and virtually all of

them for Biden. Early Trump leads in crucial swing states suddenly began to close and disappear. The pandemic hoax was used as the excuse to issue almost limitless numbers of mail-in ballots with no checks to establish that the recipients were still alive or lived at that address. They were sent to streams of people who had not even asked for them. Private organisations were employed to gather these ballots and who knows what they did with them before they turned up at the counts. The American election system has been manipulated over decades to become a sick joke with more holes than a Swiss cheese for the express purpose of dictating the results. Then there was the criminal manipulation of information by Sabbatian tech giants like Facebook, Twitter and Google-owned YouTube which deleted pro-Trump, anti-Biden accounts and posts while everything in support of Biden was left alone. Sabbatians wanted Biden to win because after the dividing of America it was time for full-on Woke and every aspect of the Cult agenda to be unleashed.

### **Hunter gatherer**

Extreme Silicon Valley bias included blocking information by the *New York Post* exposing a Biden scandal that should have ended his bid for president in the final weeks of the campaign. Hunter Biden, his monumentally corrupt son, is reported to have sent a laptop to be repaired at a local store and failed to return for it. Time passed until the laptop became the property of the store for non-payment of the bill. When the owner saw what was on the hard drive he gave a copy to the FBI who did nothing even though it confirmed widespread corruption in which the Joe Biden family were using his political position, especially when he was vice president to Obama, to make multiple millions in countries around the world and most notably Ukraine and China. Hunter Biden's one-time business partner Tony Bobulinski went public when the story broke in the *New York Post* to confirm the corruption he saw and that Joe Biden not only knew what was going on he also profited from the spoils. Millions were handed over by a Chinese company with close



connections – like all major businesses in China – to the Chinese communist party of President Xi Jinping. Joe Biden even boasted at a meeting of the Cult's World Economic Forum that as vice president he had ordered the government of Ukraine to fire a prosecutor. What he didn't mention was that the same man just happened to be investigating an energy company which was part of Hunter Biden's corrupt portfolio. The company was paying him big bucks for no other reason than the influence his father had. Overnight Biden's presidential campaign should have been over given that he had lied publicly about not knowing what his son was doing. Instead almost the entire Sabbatian-owned mainstream media and Sabbatian-owned Silicon Valley suppressed circulation of the story. This alone went a mighty way to rigging the election of 2020. Cult assets like Mark Zuckerberg at Facebook also spent hundreds of millions to be used in support of Biden and vote 'administration'.

The Cult had used Trump as the focus to divide America and was now desperate to bring in moronic, pliable, corrupt Biden to complete the double-whammy. No way were they going to let little things like the will of the people thwart their plan. Silicon Valley widely censored claims that the election was rigged because it *was* rigged. For the same reason anyone claiming it was rigged was denounced as a 'white supremacist' including the pathetically few Republican politicians willing to say so. Right across the media where the claim was mentioned it was described as a 'false claim' even though these excuses for 'journalists' would have done no research into the subject whatsoever. Trump won seven million more votes than any sitting president had ever achieved while somehow a cognitively-challenged soon to be 78-year-old who was hidden away from the public for most of the campaign managed to win more votes than any presidential candidate in history. It makes no sense. You only had to see election rallies for both candidates to witness the enthusiasm for Trump and the apathy for Biden. Tens of thousands would attend Trump events while Biden was speaking in empty car parks with often only television crews attending and framing their shots to hide the fact that no one was there. It was pathetic to see

footage come to light of Biden standing at a podium making speeches only to TV crews and party fixers while reading the words written for him on massive Teleprompter screens. So, yes, those protestors on January 6th had a point about election rigging, but some were about to walk into a trap laid for them in Washington by the Cult Deep State and its QAnon Psyop. This was the Capitol Hill riot ludicrously dubbed an 'insurrection'.

## **The spider and the fly**

Renegade Minds know there are not two 'sides' in politics, only one side, the Cult, working through all 'sides'. It's a stage show, a puppet show, to direct the perceptions of the population into focusing on diversions like parties and candidates while missing the puppeteers with their hands holding all the strings. The Capitol Hill 'insurrection' brings us back to the Little Big Horn. Having created two distinct opposing groupings – Woke and Pushbackers – the trap was about to be sprung. Pushbackers were to be encircled and isolated by associating them all in the public mind with Trump and then labelling Trump as some sort of Confederate leader. I knew immediately that the Capitol riot was a set-up because of two things. One was how easy the rioters got into the building with virtually no credible resistance and secondly I could see – as with the 'Covid' hoax in the West at the start of 2020 – how the Cult could exploit the situation to move its agenda forward with great speed. My experience of Cult techniques and activities over more than 30 years has showed me that while they do exploit situations they haven't themselves created this never happens with events of fundamental agenda significance. Every time major events giving cultists the excuse to rapidly advance their plan you find they are manipulated into being for the specific reason of providing that excuse – Problem-Reaction-Solution. Only a tiny minority of the huge crowd of Washington protestors sought to gain entry to the Capitol by smashing windows and breaching doors. That didn't matter. The whole crowd and all Pushbackers, even if they did not support Trump, were going to be lumped together as dangerous

insurrectionists and conspiracy theorists. The latter term came into widespread use through a CIA memo in the 1960s aimed at discrediting those questioning the nonsensical official story of the Kennedy assassination and it subsequently became widely employed by the media. It's still being used by inept 'journalists' with no idea of its origin to discredit anyone questioning anything that authority claims to be true. When you are perpetrating a conspiracy you need to discredit the very word itself even though the dictionary definition of conspiracy is merely 'the activity of secretly planning with other people to do something bad or illegal' and 'a general agreement to keep silent about a subject for the purpose of keeping it secret'. On that basis there are conspiracies almost wherever you look. For obvious reasons the Cult and its lapdog media have to claim there are no conspiracies even though the word appears in state laws as with conspiracy to defraud, to murder, and to corrupt public morals.

Agent provocateurs are widely used by the Cult Deep State to manipulate genuine people into acting in ways that suit the desired outcome. By genuine in this case I mean protestors genuinely supporting Trump and claims that the election was stolen. In among them, however, were agents of the state wearing the garb of Trump supporters and QAnon to pump-prime the Capital riot which some genuine Trump supporters naively fell for. I described the situation as 'Come into my parlour said the spider to the fly'. Leaflets appeared through the Woke paramilitary arm Antifa, the anti-fascist fascists, calling on supporters to turn up in Washington looking like Trump supporters even though they hated him. Some of those arrested for breaching the Capitol Building were sourced to Antifa and its stable mate Black Lives Matter. Both organisations are funded by Cult billionaires and corporations. One man charged for the riot was according to his lawyer a former FBI agent who had held top secret security clearance for 40 years. Attorney Thomas Plofchan said of his client, 66-year-old Thomas Edward Caldwell:

He has held a Top Secret Security Clearance since 1979 and has undergone multiple Special Background Investigations in support of his clearances. After retiring from the Navy, he

worked as a section chief for the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 2009-2010 as a GS-12 [mid-level employee].

He also formed and operated a consulting firm performing work, often classified, for U.S government customers including the US. Drug Enforcement Agency, Department of Housing and Urban Development, the US Coast Guard, and the US Army Personnel Command.

A judge later released Caldwell pending trial in the absence of evidence about a conspiracy or that he tried to force his way into the building. *The New York Post* reported a 'law enforcement source' as saying that 'at least two known Antifa members were spotted' on camera among Trump supporters during the riot while one of the rioters arrested was John Earle Sullivan, a seriously extreme Black Lives Matter Trump-hater from Utah who was previously arrested and charged in July, 2020, over a BLM-Antifa riot in which drivers were threatened and one was shot. Sullivan is the founder of Utah-based Insurgence USA which is an affiliate of the Cult-created-and-funded Black Lives Matter movement. Footage appeared and was then deleted by Twitter of Trump supporters calling out Antifa infiltrators and a group was filmed changing into pro-Trump clothing before the riot. Security at the building was *pathetic* – as planned. Colonel Leroy Fletcher Prouty, a man with long experience in covert operations working with the US security apparatus, once described the tell-tale sign to identify who is involved in an assassination. He said:

No one has to direct an assassination – it happens. The active role is played secretly by permitting it to happen. This is the greatest single clue. Who has the power to call off or reduce the usual security precautions?

This principle applies to many other situations and certainly to the Capitol riot of January 6th, 2021.

## **The sting**

With such a big and potentially angry crowd known to be gathering near the Capitol the security apparatus would have had a major police detail to defend the building with National Guard troops on

standby given the strength of feeling among people arriving from all over America encouraged by the QAnon Psyop and statements by Donald Trump. Instead Capitol Police 'security' was flimsy, weak, and easily breached. The same number of officers was deployed as on a regular day and that is a blatant red flag. They were not staffed or equipped for a possible riot that had been an obvious possibility in the circumstances. No protective and effective fencing worth the name was put in place and there were no contingency plans. The whole thing was basically a case of standing aside and waving people in. Once inside police mostly backed off apart from one Capitol police officer who ridiculously shot dead unarmed Air Force veteran protestor Ashli Babbitt without a warning as she climbed through a broken window. The 'investigation' refused to name or charge the officer after what must surely be considered a murder in the circumstances. They just lifted a carpet and swept. The story was endlessly repeated about five people dying in the 'armed insurrection' when there was no report of rioters using weapons. Apart from Babbitt the other four died from a heart attack, strokes and apparently a drug overdose. Capitol police officer Brian Sicknick was reported to have died after being bludgeoned with a fire extinguisher when he was alive after the riot was over and died later of what the Washington Medical Examiner's Office said was a stroke. Sicknick had no external injuries. The lies were delivered like rapid fire. There was a narrative to build with incessant repetition of the lie until the lie became the accepted 'everybody knows that' truth. The 'Big Lie' technique of Nazi Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels is constantly used by the Cult which was behind the Nazis and is today behind the 'Covid' and 'climate change' hoaxes. Goebbels said:

If you tell a lie big enough and keep repeating it, people will eventually come to believe it. The lie can be maintained only for such time as the State can shield the people from the political, economic and/or military consequences of the lie. It thus becomes vitally important for the State to use all of its powers to repress dissent, for the truth is the mortal enemy of the lie, and thus by extension, the truth is the greatest enemy of the State.

Most protestors had a free run of the Capitol Building. This allowed pictures to be taken of rioters in iconic parts of the building including the Senate chamber which could be used as propaganda images against all Pushbackers. One Congresswoman described the scene as 'the worst kind of non-security anybody could ever imagine'. Well, the first part was true, but someone obviously did imagine it and made sure it happened. Some photographs most widely circulated featured people wearing QAnon symbols and now the Psyop would be used to dub all QAnon followers with the ubiquitous fit-all label of 'white supremacist' and 'insurrectionists'. When a Muslim extremist called Noah Green drove his car at two police officers at the Capitol Building killing one in April, 2021, there was no such political and media hysteria. They were just disappointed he wasn't white.

## **The witch-hunt**

Government prosecutor Michael Sherwin, an aggressive, dark-eyed, professional Rottweiler led the 'investigation' and to call it over the top would be to understate reality a thousand fold. Hundreds were tracked down and arrested for the crime of having the wrong political views and people were jailed who had done nothing more than walk in the building, committed no violence or damage to property, took a few pictures and left. They were labelled a 'threat to the Republic' while Biden sat in the White House signing executive orders written for him that were dismantling 'the Republic'. Even when judges ruled that a mother and son should not be in jail the government kept them there. Some of those arrested have been badly beaten by prison guards in Washington and lawyers for one man said he suffered a fractured skull and was made blind in one eye. Meanwhile a woman is shot dead for no reason by a Capitol Police officer and we are not allowed to know who he is never mind what has happened to him although that will be *nothing*. The Cult's QAnon/Trump sting to identify and isolate Pushbackers and then target them on the road to crushing and deleting them was a resounding success. You would have thought the Russians had

invaded the building at gunpoint and lined up senators for a firing squad to see the political and media reaction. Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez is a child in a woman's body, a terrible-tvos, me, me, me, Woker narcissist of such proportions that words have no meaning. She said she thought she was going to die when 'insurrectionists' banged on her office door. It turned out she wasn't even in the Capitol Building when the riot was happening and the 'banging' was a Capitol Police officer. She referred to herself as a 'survivor' which is an insult to all those true survivors of violent and sexual abuse while she lives her pampered and privileged life talking drivel for a living. Her Woke colleague and fellow mega-narcissist Rashida Tlaib broke down describing the devastating effect on her, too, of *not being* in the building when the rioters were there. Ocasio-Cortez and Tlaib are members of a fully-Woke group of Congresswomen known as 'The Squad' along with Ilhan Omar and Ayanna Pressley. The Squad from what I can see can be identified by its vehement anti-white racism, anti-white men agenda, and, as always in these cases, the absence of brain cells on active duty.

The usual suspects were on the riot case immediately in the form of Democrat ultra-Zionist senators and operatives Chuck Schumer and Adam Schiff demanding that Trump be impeached for 'his part in the insurrection'. The same pair of prats had led the failed impeachment of Trump over the invented 'Russia collusion' nonsense which claimed Russia had helped Trump win the 2016 election. I didn't realise that Tel Aviv had been relocated just outside Moscow. I must find an up-to-date map. The Russia hoax was a Sabbatian operation to keep Trump occupied and impotent and to stop any rapport with Russia which the Cult wants to retain as a perceptual enemy to be pulled out at will. Puppet Biden began attacking Russia when he came to office as the Cult seeks more upheaval, division and war across the world. A two-year stage show 'Russia collusion inquiry' headed by the not-very-bright former 9/11 FBI chief Robert Mueller, with support from 19 lawyers, 40 FBI agents plus intelligence analysts, forensic accountants and other

staff, devoured tens of millions of dollars and found no evidence of Russia collusion which a ten-year-old could have told them on day one. Now the same moronic Schumer and Schiff wanted a second impeachment of Trump over the Capitol 'insurrection' (riot) which the arrested development of Schumer called another 'Pearl Harbor' while others compared it with 9/11 in which 3,000 died and, in the case of CNN, with the Rwandan genocide in the 1990s in which an estimated 500,000 to 600,000 were murdered, between 250,000 and 500,000 women were raped, and populations of whole towns were hacked to death with machetes. To make those comparisons purely for Cult political reasons is beyond insulting to those that suffered and lost their lives and confirms yet again the callous inhumanity that we are dealing with. Schumer is a monumental idiot and so is Schiff, but they serve the Cult agenda and do whatever they're told so they get looked after. Talking of idiots – another inane man who spanned the Russia and Capitol impeachment attempts was Senator Eric Swalwell who had the nerve to accuse Trump of collusion with the Russians while sleeping with a Chinese spy called Christine Fang or 'Fang Fang' which is straight out of a Bond film no doubt starring Klaus Schwab as the bloke living on a secret island and controlling laser weapons positioned in space and pointing at world capitals. Fang Fang plays the part of Bond's infiltrator girlfriend which I'm sure she would enjoy rather more than sharing a bed with the brainless Swalwell, lying back and thinking of China. The FBI eventually warned Swalwell about Fang Fang which gave her time to escape back to the Chinese dictatorship. How very thoughtful of them. The second Trump impeachment also failed and hardly surprising when an impeachment is supposed to remove a sitting president and by the time it happened Trump was no longer president. These people are running your country America, well, officially anyway. Terrifying isn't it?

### **Outcomes tell the story - always**

The outcome of all this – and it's the *outcome* on which Renegade Minds focus, not the words – was that a vicious, hysterical and



obviously pre-planned assault was launched on Pushbackers to censor, silence and discredit them and even targeted their right to earn a living. They have since been condemned as 'domestic terrorists' that need to be treated like Al-Qaeda and Islamic State. 'Domestic terrorists' is a label the Cult has been trying to make stick since the period of the Oklahoma bombing in 1995 which was blamed on 'far-right domestic terrorists'. If you read *The Trigger* you will see that the bombing was clearly a Problem-Reaction-Solution carried out by the Deep State during a Bill Clinton administration so corrupt that no dictionary definition of the term would even nearly suffice. Nearly 30, 000 troops were deployed from all over America to the empty streets of Washington for Biden's inauguration. Ten thousand of them stayed on with the pretext of protecting the capital from insurrectionists when it was more psychological programming to normalise the use of the military in domestic law enforcement in support of the Cult plan for a police-military state. Biden's fascist administration began a purge of 'wrong-thinkers' in the military which means anyone that is not on board with Woke. The Capitol Building was surrounded by a fence with razor wire and the Land of the Free was further symbolically and literally dismantled. The circle was completed with the installation of Biden and the exploitation of the QAnon Psyop.

America had never been so divided since the civil war of the 19th century, Pushbackers were isolated and dubbed terrorists and now, as was always going to happen, the Cult immediately set about deleting what little was left of freedom and transforming American society through a swish of the hand of the most controlled 'president' in American history leading (officially at least) the most extreme regime since the country was declared an independent state on July 4th, 1776. Biden issued undebated, dictatorial executive orders almost by the hour in his opening days in office across the whole spectrum of the Cult wish-list including diluting controls on the border with Mexico allowing thousands of migrants to illegally enter the United States to transform the demographics of America and import an election-changing number of perceived Democrat

voters. Then there were Biden deportation amnesties for the already illegally resident (estimated to be as high as 20 or even 30 million). A bill before Congress awarded American citizenship to anyone who could prove they had worked in agriculture for just 180 days in the previous two years as 'Big Ag' secured its slave labour long-term. There were the plans to add new states to the union such as Puerto Rico and making Washington DC a state. They are all parts of a plan to ensure that the Cult-owned Woke Democrats would be permanently in power.

### **Border – what border?**

I have exposed in detail in other books how mass immigration into the United States and Europe is the work of Cult networks fuelled by the tens of billions spent to this and other ends by George Soros and his global Open Society (open borders) Foundations. The impact can be seen in America alone where the population has increased by *100 million* in little more than 30 years mostly through immigration. I wrote in *The Answer* that the plan was to have so many people crossing the southern border that the numbers become unstoppable and we are now there under Cult-owned Biden. El Salvador in Central America puts the scale of what is happening into context. A third of the population now lives in the United States, much of it illegally, and many more are on the way. The methodology is to crush Central and South American countries economically and spread violence through machete-wielding psychopathic gangs like MS-13 based in El Salvador and now operating in many American cities. Biden-imposed lax security at the southern border means that it is all but open. He said before his 'election' that he wanted to see a surge towards the border if he became president and that was the green light for people to do just that after election day to create the human disaster that followed for both America and the migrants. When that surge came the imbecilic Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez said it wasn't a 'surge' because they are 'children, not insurgents' and the term 'surge' (used by Biden) was a claim of 'white supremacists'.

This disingenuous lady may one day enter the realm of the most basic intelligence, but it won't be any time soon.

Sabbatians and the Cult are in the process of destroying America by importing violent people and gangs in among the genuine to terrorise American cities and by overwhelming services that cannot cope with the sheer volume of new arrivals. Something similar is happening in Europe as Western society in general is targeted for demographic and cultural transformation and upheaval. The plan demands violence and crime to create an environment of intimidation, fear and division and Soros has been funding the election of district attorneys across America who then stop prosecuting many crimes, reduce sentences for violent crimes and free as many violent criminals as they can. Sabbatians are creating the chaos from which order – their order – can respond in a classic Problem-Reaction-Solution. A Freemasonic motto says 'Ordo Ab Chao' (Order out of Chaos) and this is why the Cult is constantly creating chaos to impose a new 'order'. Here you have the reason the Cult is constantly creating chaos. The 'Covid' hoax can be seen with those entering the United States by plane being forced to take a 'Covid' test while migrants flooding through southern border processing facilities do not. Nothing is put in the way of mass migration and if that means ignoring the government's own 'Covid' rules then so be it. They know it's all bullshit anyway. Any pushback on this is denounced as 'racist' by Wokers and Sabbatian fronts like the ultra-Zionist Anti-Defamation League headed by the appalling Jonathan Greenblatt which at the same time argues that Israel should not give citizenship and voting rights to more Palestinian Arabs or the 'Jewish population' (in truth the Sabbatian network) will lose control of the country.

### **Society-changing numbers**

Biden's masters have declared that countries like El Salvador are so dangerous that their people must be allowed into the United States for humanitarian reasons when there are fewer murders in large parts of many Central American countries than in US cities like

Baltimore. That is not to say Central America cannot be a dangerous place and Cult-controlled American governments have been making it so since way back, along with the dismantling of economies, in a long-term plan to drive people north into the United States. Parts of Central America are very dangerous, but in other areas the story is being greatly exaggerated to justify relaxing immigration criteria. Migrants are being offered free healthcare and education in the United States as another incentive to head for the border and there is no requirement to be financially independent before you can enter to prevent the resources of America being drained. You can't blame migrants for seeking what they believe will be a better life, but they are being played by the Cult for dark and nefarious ends. The numbers since Biden took office are huge. In February, 2021, more than 100,000 people were known to have tried to enter the US illegally through the southern border (it was 34,000 in the same month in 2020) and in March it was 170,000 – a 418 percent increase on March, 2020. These numbers are only known people, not the ones who get in unseen. The true figure for migrants illegally crossing the border in a single month was estimated by one congressman at 250,000 and that number will only rise under Biden's current policy. Gangs of murdering drug-running thugs that control the Mexican side of the border demand money – thousands of dollars – to let migrants cross the Rio Grande into America. At the same time gun battles are breaking out on the border several times a week between rival Mexican drug gangs (which now operate globally) who are equipped with sophisticated military-grade weapons, grenades and armoured vehicles. While the Capitol Building was being 'protected' from a non-existent 'threat' by thousands of troops, and others were still deployed at the time in the Cult Neocon war in Afghanistan, the southern border of America was left to its fate. This is not incompetence, it is cold calculation.

By March, 2021, there were 17,000 unaccompanied children held at border facilities and many of them are ensnared by people traffickers for paedophile rings and raped on their journey north to America. This is not conjecture – this is fact. Many of those designated

children are in reality teenage boys or older. Meanwhile Wokers posture their self-purity for encouraging poor and tragic people to come to America and face this nightmare both on the journey and at the border with the disgusting figure of House Speaker Nancy Pelosi giving disingenuous speeches about caring for migrants. The woman's evil. Wokers condemned Trump for having children in cages at the border (so did Obama, *Shhhh*), but now they are sleeping on the floor without access to a shower with one border facility 729 percent over capacity. The Biden insanity even proposed flying migrants from the southern border to the northern border with Canada for 'processing'. The whole shambles is being overseen by ultra-Zionist Secretary of Homeland Security, the moronic liar Alejandro Mayorkas, who banned news cameras at border facilities to stop Americans seeing what was happening. Mayorkas said there was not a ban on news crews; it was just that they were not allowed to film. Alongside him at Homeland Security is another ultra-Zionist Cass Sunstein appointed by Biden to oversee new immigration laws. Sunstein despises conspiracy researchers to the point where he suggests they should be banned or *taxed* for having such views. The man is not bonkers or anything. He's perfectly well-adjusted, but adjusted to what is the question. Criticise what is happening and you are a 'white supremacist' when earlier non-white immigrants also oppose the numbers which effect their lives and opportunities. Black people in poor areas are particularly damaged by uncontrolled immigration and the increased competition for work opportunities with those who will work for less. They are also losing voting power as Hispanics become more dominant in former black areas. It's a downward spiral for them while the billionaires behind the policy drone on about how much they care about black people and 'racism'. None of this is about compassion for migrants or black people – that's just wind and air. Migrants are instead being mercilessly exploited to transform America while the countries they leave are losing their future and the same is true in Europe. Mass immigration may now be the work of Woke Democrats, but it can be traced back to the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act (it

wasn't) signed into law by Republican hero President Ronald Reagan which gave amnesty to millions living in the United States illegally and other incentives for people to head for the southern border. Here we have the one-party state at work again.

## **Save me syndrome**

Almost every aspect of what I have been exposing as the Cult agenda was on display in even the first days of 'Biden' with silencing of Pushbackers at the forefront of everything. A Renegade Mind will view the Trump years and QAnon in a very different light to their supporters and advocates as the dots are connected. The QAnon/Trump Psyop has given the Cult all it was looking for. We may not know how much, or little, that Trump realised he was being used, but that's a side issue. This pincer movement produced the desired outcome of dividing America and having Pushbackers isolated. To turn this around we have to look at new routes to empowerment which do not include handing our power to other people and groups through what I will call the 'Save Me Syndrome' – 'I want someone else to do it so that I don't have to'. We have seen this at work throughout human history and the QAnon/Trump Psyop is only the latest incarnation alongside all the others. Religion is an obvious expression of this when people look to a 'god' or priest to save them or tell them how to be saved and then there are 'save me' politicians like Trump. Politics is a diversion and not a 'saviour'. It is a means to block positive change, not make it possible.

Save Me Syndrome always comes with the same repeating theme of handing your power to whom or what you believe will save you while your real 'saviour' stares back from the mirror every morning. Renegade Minds are constantly vigilant in this regard and always asking the question 'What can I do?' rather than 'What can someone else do for me?' Gandhi was right when he said: 'You must be the change you want to see in the world.' We are indeed the people we have been waiting for. We are presented with a constant raft of reasons to concede that power to others and forget where the real power is. Humanity has the numbers and the Cult does not. It has to

use diversion and division to target the unstoppable power that comes from unity. Religions, governments, politicians, corporations, media, QAnon, are all different manifestations of this power-diversion and dilution. Refusing to give your power to governments and instead handing it to Trump and QAnon is not to take a new direction, but merely to recycle the old one with new names on the posters. I will explore this phenomenon as we proceed and how to break the cycles and recycles that got us here through the mists of repeating perception and so repeating history.

For now we shall turn to the most potent example in the entire human story of the consequences that follow when you give your power away. I am talking, of course, of the 'Covid' hoax.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **'Covid': Calculated catastrophe**

*Facts are threatening to those invested in fraud*  
DaShanne Stokes

**W**e can easily unravel the real reason for the 'Covid pandemic' hoax by employing the Renegade Mind methodology that I have outlined this far. We'll start by comparing the long-planned Cult outcome with the 'Covid pandemic' outcome. Know the outcome and you'll see the journey.

I have highlighted the plan for the Hunger Games Society which has been in my books for so many years with the very few controlling the very many through ongoing dependency. To create this dependency it is essential to destroy independent livelihoods, businesses and employment to make the population reliant on the state (the Cult) for even the basics of life through a guaranteed pittance income. While independence of income remained these Cult ambitions would be thwarted. With this knowledge it was easy to see where the 'pandemic' hoax was going once talk of 'lockdowns' began and the closing of all but perceived 'essential' businesses to 'save' us from an alleged 'deadly virus'. Cult corporations like Amazon and Walmart were naturally considered 'essential' while mom and pop shops and stores had their doors closed by fascist decree. As a result with every new lockdown and new regulation more small and medium, even large businesses not owned by the Cult, went to the wall while Cult giants and their frontmen and women grew financially fatter by the second. Mom and pop were



denied an income and the right to earn a living and the wealth of people like Jeff Bezos (Amazon), Mark Zuckerberg (Facebook) and Sergei Brin and Larry Page (Google/Alphabet) have reached record levels. The Cult was increasing its own power through further dramatic concentrations of wealth while the competition was being destroyed and brought into a state of dependency. Lockdowns have been instigated to secure that very end and were never anything to do with health. My brother Paul spent 45 years building up a bus repair business, but lockdowns meant buses were running at a fraction of normal levels for months on end. Similar stories can be told in their hundreds of millions worldwide. Efforts of a lifetime coldly destroyed by Cult multi-billionaires and their lackeys in government and law enforcement who continued to earn their living from the taxation of the people while denying the right of the same people to earn theirs. How different it would have been if those making and enforcing these decisions had to face the same financial hardships of those they affected, but they never do.

## **Gates of Hell**

Behind it all in the full knowledge of what he is doing and why is the psychopathic figure of Cult operative Bill Gates. His puppet Tedros at the World Health Organization declared 'Covid' a pandemic in March, 2020. The WHO had changed the definition of a 'pandemic' in 2009 just a month before declaring the 'swine flu pandemic' which would not have been so under the previous definition. The same applies to 'Covid'. The definition had included... 'an infection by an infectious agent, occurring simultaneously in different countries, with a significant mortality rate relative to the proportion of the population infected'. The new definition removed the need for 'significant mortality'. The 'pandemic' has been fraudulent even down to the definition, but Gates demanded economy-destroying lockdowns, school closures, social distancing, mandatory masks, a 'vaccination' for every man, woman and child on the planet and severe consequences and restrictions for those that refused. Who gave him this power? The

Cult did which he serves like a little boy in short trousers doing what his daddy tells him. He and his psychopathic missus even smiled when they said that much worse was to come (what they knew was planned to come). Gates responded in the matter-of-fact way of all psychopaths to a question about the effect on the world economy of what he was doing:

Well, it won't go to zero but it will shrink. Global GDP is probably going to take the biggest hit ever [Gates was smiling as he said this] ... in my lifetime this will be the greatest economic hit. But you don't have a choice. People act as if you have a choice. People don't feel like going to the stadium when they might get infected ... People are deeply affected by seeing these stats, by knowing they could be part of the transmission chain, old people, their parents and grandparents, could be affected by this, and so you don't get to say ignore what is going on here.

There will be the ability to open up, particularly in rich countries, if things are done well over the next few months, but for the world at large normalcy only returns when we have largely vaccinated the entire population.

The man has no compassion or empathy. How could he when he's a psychopath like all Cult players? My own view is that even beyond that he is very seriously mentally ill. Look in his eyes and you can see this along with his crazy flailing arms. You don't do what he has done to the world population since the start of 2020 unless you are mentally ill and at the most extreme end of psychopathic. You especially don't do it when to you know, as we shall see, that cases and deaths from 'Covid' are fakery and a product of monumental figure massaging. 'These stats' that Gates referred to are based on a 'test' that's not testing for the 'virus' as he has known all along. He made his fortune with big Cult support as an infamously ruthless software salesman and now buys global control of 'health' (death) policy without the population he affects having any say. It's a breathtaking outrage. Gates talked about people being deeply affected by fear of 'Covid' when that was because of *him* and his global network lying to them minute-by-minute supported by a lying media that he seriously influences and funds to the tune of hundreds of millions. He's handed big sums to media operations including the BBC, NBC, Al Jazeera, Univision, *PBS NewsHour*,

*ProPublica, National Journal, The Guardian, The Financial Times, The Atlantic, Texas Tribune, USA Today publisher Gannett, Washington Monthly, Le Monde, Center for Investigative Reporting, Pulitzer Center on Crisis Reporting, National Press Foundation, International Center for Journalists, Solutions Journalism Network, the Poynter Institute for Media Studies, and many more. Gates is everywhere in the 'Covid' hoax and the man must go to prison – or a mental facility – for the rest of his life and his money distributed to those he has taken such enormous psychopathic pleasure in crushing.*

## **The Muscle**

The Hunger Games global structure demands a police-military state – a fusion of the two into one force – which viciously imposes the will of the Cult on the population and protects the Cult from public rebellion. In that regard, too, the 'Covid' hoax just keeps on giving. Often unlawful, ridiculous and contradictory 'Covid' rules and regulations have been policed across the world by moronic automatons and psychopaths made faceless by face-nappy masks and acting like the Nazi SS and fascist blackshirts and brownshirts of Hitler and Mussolini. The smallest departure from the rules decreed by the psychos in government and their clueless gofers were jumped upon by the face-nappy fascists. Brutality against public protestors soon became commonplace even on girls, women and old people as the brave men with the batons – the Face-Nappies as I call them – broke up peaceful protests and handed out fines like confetti to people who couldn't earn a living let alone pay hundreds of pounds for what was once an accepted human right. Robot Face-Nappies of Nottingham police in the English East Midlands fined one group £11,000 for attending a child's birthday party. For decades I charted the transformation of law enforcement as genuine, decent officers were replaced with psychopaths and the brain dead who would happily and brutally do whatever their masters told them. Now they were let loose on the public and I would emphasise the point that none of this just happened. The step-by-step change in the dynamic between police and public was orchestrated from the shadows by

those who knew where this was all going and the same with the perceptual reframing of those in all levels of authority and official administration through 'training courses' by organisations such as Common Purpose which was created in the late 1980s and given a massive boost in Blair era Britain until it became a global phenomenon. Supposed public 'servants' began to view the population as the enemy and the same was true of the police. This was the start of the explosion of behaviour manipulation organisations and networks preparing for the all-war on the human psyche unleashed with the dawn of 2020. I will go into more detail about this later in the book because it is a core part of what is happening.

Police desecrated beauty spots to deter people gathering and arrested women for walking in the countryside alone 'too far' from their homes. We had arrogant, clueless sergeants in the Isle of Wight police where I live posting on Facebook what they insisted the population must do or else. A schoolmaster sergeant called Radford looked young enough for me to ask if his mother knew he was out, but he was posting what he *expected* people to do while a Sergeant Wilkinson boasted about fining lads for meeting in a McDonald's car park where they went to get a lockdown takeaway. Wilkinson added that he had even cancelled their order. What a pair of prats these people are and yet they have increasingly become the norm among Jackboot Johnson's Yellowshirts once known as the British police. This was the theme all over the world with police savagery common during lockdown protests in the United States, the Netherlands, and the fascist state of Victoria in Australia under its tyrannical and again moronic premier Daniel Andrews. Amazing how tyrannical and moronic tend to work as a team and the same combination could be seen across America as arrogant, narcissistic Woke governors and mayors such as Gavin Newsom (California), Andrew Cuomo (New York), Gretchen Whitmer (Michigan), Lori Lightfoot (Chicago) and Eric Garcetti (Los Angeles) did their Nazi and Stalin impressions with the full support of the compliant brutality of their enforcers in uniform as they arrested small business owners defying

fascist shutdown orders and took them to jail in ankle shackles and handcuffs. This happened to bistro owner Marlena Pavlos-Hackney in Gretchen Whitmer's fascist state of Michigan when police arrived to enforce an order by a state-owned judge for 'putting the community at risk' at a time when other states like Texas were dropping restrictions and migrants were pouring across the southern border without any 'Covid' questions at all. I'm sure there are many officers appalled by what they are ordered to do, but not nearly enough of them. If they were truly appalled they would not do it. As the months passed every opportunity was taken to have the military involved to make their presence on the streets ever more familiar and 'normal' for the longer-term goal of police-military fusion.

Another crucial element to the Hunger Games enforcement network has been encouraging the public to report neighbours and others for 'breaking the lockdown rules'. The group faced with £11,000 in fines at the child's birthday party would have been dobbed-in by a neighbour with a brain the size of a pea. The technique was most famously employed by the Stasi secret police in communist East Germany who had public informants placed throughout the population. A police chief in the UK says his force doesn't need to carry out 'Covid' patrols when they are flooded with so many calls from the public reporting other people for visiting the beach. Dorset police chief James Vaughan said people were so enthusiastic about snitching on their fellow humans they were now operating as an auxiliary arm of the police: 'We are still getting around 400 reports a week from the public, so we will respond to reports ... We won't need to be doing hotspot patrols because people are very quick to pick the phone up and tell us.' Vaughan didn't say that this is a pillar of all tyrannies of whatever complexion and the means to hugely extend the reach of enforcement while spreading distrust among the people and making them wary of doing anything that might get them reported. Those narcissistic Isle of Wight sergeants Radford and Wilkinson never fail to add a link to their Facebook posts where the public can inform on their fellow slaves.

Neither would be self-aware enough to realise they were imitating the Stasi which they might well never have heard of. Government psychologists that I will expose later laid out a policy to turn communities against each other in the same way.

### **A coincidence? Yep, and I can knit fog**

I knew from the start of the alleged pandemic that this was a Cult operation. It presented limitless potential to rapidly advance the Cult agenda and exploit manipulated fear to demand that every man, woman and child on the planet was 'vaccinated' in a process never used on humans before which infuses self-replicating *synthetic* material into human cells. Remember the plan to transform the human body from a biological to a synthetic biological state. I'll deal with the 'vaccine' (that's not actually a vaccine) when I focus on the genetic agenda. Enough to say here that mass global 'vaccination' justified by this 'new virus' set alarms ringing after 30 years of tracking these people and their methods. The 'Covid' hoax officially beginning in China was also a big red flag for reasons I will be explaining. The agenda potential was so enormous that I could dismiss any idea that the 'virus' appeared naturally. Major happenings with major agenda implications never occur without Cult involvement in making them happen. My questions were twofold in early 2020 as the media began its campaign to induce global fear and hysteria: Was this alleged infectious agent released on purpose by the Cult or did it even exist at all? I then did what I always do in these situations. I sat, observed and waited to see where the evidence and information would take me. By March and early April synchronicity was strongly – and ever more so since then – pointing me in the direction of *there is no 'virus'*. I went public on that with derision even from swathes of the alternative media that voiced a scenario that the Chinese government released the 'virus' in league with Deep State elements in the United States from a top-level bio-lab in Wuhan where the 'virus' is said to have first appeared. I looked at that possibility, but I didn't buy it for several reasons. Deaths from the 'virus' did not in any way match what they

would have been with a 'deadly bioweapon' and it is much more effective if you sell the *illusion* of an infectious agent rather than having a real one unless you can control through injection who has it and who doesn't. Otherwise you lose control of events. A made-up 'virus' gives you a blank sheet of paper on which you can make it do whatever you like and have any symptoms or mutant 'variants' you choose to add while a real infectious agent would limit you to what it actually does. A phantom disease allows you to have endless ludicrous 'studies' on the 'Covid' dollar to widen the perceived impact by inventing ever more 'at risk' groups including one study which said those who walk slowly may be almost four times more likely to die from the 'virus'. People are in psychiatric wards for less.

A real 'deadly bioweapon' can take out people in the hierarchy that are not part of the Cult, but essential to its operation. Obviously they don't want that. Releasing a real disease means you immediately lose control of it. Releasing an illusory one means you don't. Again it's vital that people are extra careful when dealing with what they want to hear. A bioweapon unleashed from a Chinese laboratory in collusion with the American Deep State may fit a conspiracy narrative, but is it true? Would it not be far more effective to use the excuse of a 'virus' to justify the real bioweapon – the 'vaccine'? That way your disease agent does not have to be transmitted and arrives directly through a syringe. I saw a French virologist Luc Montagnier quoted in the alternative media as saying he had discovered that the alleged 'new' severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus, or SARS-CoV-2, was made artificially and included elements of the human immunodeficiency 'virus' (HIV) and a parasite that causes malaria. SARS-CoV-2 is alleged to trigger an alleged illness called Covid-19. I remembered Montagnier's name from my research years before into claims that an HIV 'retrovirus' causes AIDs – claims that were demolished by Berkeley virologist Peter Duesberg who showed that no one had ever proved that HIV causes acquired immunodeficiency syndrome or AIDS. Claims that become accepted as fact, publicly and medically, with no proof whatsoever are an ever-recurring story that profoundly applies to

'Covid'. Nevertheless, despite the lack of proof, Montagnier's team at the Pasteur Institute in Paris had a long dispute with American researcher Robert Gallo over which of them discovered and isolated the HIV 'virus' and with *no evidence* found it to cause AIDS. You will see later that there is also no evidence that any 'virus' causes any disease or that there is even such a thing as a 'virus' in the way it is said to exist. The claim to have 'isolated' the HIV 'virus' will be presented in its real context as we come to the shocking story – and it is a story – of SARS-CoV-2 and so will Montagnier's assertion that he identified the full SARS-CoV-2 genome.

### **Hoax in the making**

We can pick up the 'Covid' story in 2010 and the publication by the Rockefeller Foundation of a document called 'Scenarios for the Future of Technology and International Development'. The inner circle of the Rockefeller family has been serving the Cult since John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937) made his fortune with Standard Oil. It is less well known that the same Rockefeller – the Bill Gates of his day – was responsible for establishing what is now referred to as 'Big Pharma', the global network of pharmaceutical companies that make outrageous profits dispensing scalpel and drug 'medicine' and are obsessed with pumping vaccines in ever-increasing number into as many human arms and backsides as possible. John D. Rockefeller was the driving force behind the creation of the 'education' system in the United States and elsewhere specifically designed to program the perceptions of generations thereafter. The Rockefeller family donated exceptionally valuable land in New York for the United Nations building and were central in establishing the World Health Organization in 1948 as an agency of the UN which was created from the start as a Trojan horse and stalking horse for world government. Now enter Bill Gates. His family and the Rockefellers have long been extremely close and I have seen genealogy which claims that if you go back far enough the two families fuse into the same bloodline. Gates has said that the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation was inspired by the Rockefeller Foundation and why not



when both are serving the same Cult? Major tax-exempt foundations are overwhelmingly criminal enterprises in which Cult assets fund the Cult agenda in the guise of 'philanthropy' while avoiding tax in the process. Cult operatives can become mega-rich in their role of front men and women for the psychopaths at the inner core and they, too, have to be psychopaths to knowingly serve such evil. Part of the deal is that a big percentage of the wealth gleaned from representing the Cult has to be spent advancing the ambitions of the Cult and hence you have the Rockefeller Foundation, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (and *so* many more) and people like George Soros with his global Open Society Foundations spending their billions in pursuit of global Cult control. Gates is a global public face of the Cult with his interventions in world affairs including Big Tech influence; a central role in the 'Covid' and 'vaccine' scam; promotion of the climate change shakedown; manipulation of education; geoengineering of the skies; and his food-control agenda as the biggest owner of farmland in America, his GMO promotion and through other means. As one writer said: 'Gates monopolizes or wields disproportionate influence over the tech industry, global health and vaccines, agriculture and food policy (including biopiracy and fake food), weather modification and other climate technologies, surveillance, education and media.' The almost limitless wealth secured through Microsoft and other not-allowed-to-fail ventures (including vaccines) has been ploughed into a long, long list of Cult projects designed to enslave the entire human race. Gates and the Rockefellers have been working as one unit with the Rockefeller-established World Health Organization leading global 'Covid' policy controlled by Gates through his mouth-piece Tedros. Gates became the WHO's biggest funder when Trump announced that the American government would cease its donations, but Biden immediately said he would restore the money when he took office in January, 2021. The Gates Foundation (the Cult) owns through limitless funding the world health system and the major players across the globe in the 'Covid' hoax.

Okay, with that background we return to that Rockefeller Foundation document of 2010 headed 'Scenarios for the Future of Technology and International Development' and its 'imaginary' epidemic of a virulent and deadly influenza strain which infected 20 percent of the global population and killed eight million in seven months. The Rockefeller scenario was that the epidemic destroyed economies, closed shops, offices and other businesses and led to governments imposing fierce rules and restrictions that included mandatory wearing of face masks and body-temperature checks to enter communal spaces like railway stations and supermarkets. The document predicted that even after the height of the Rockefeller-envisaged epidemic the authoritarian rule would continue to deal with further pandemics, transnational terrorism, environmental crises and rising poverty. Now you may think that the Rockefellers are our modern-day seers or alternatively, and rather more likely, that they well knew what was planned a few years further on. Fascism had to be imposed, you see, to 'protect citizens from risk and exposure'. The Rockefeller scenario document said:

During the pandemic, national leaders around the world flexed their authority and imposed airtight rules and restrictions, from the mandatory wearing of face masks to body-temperature checks at the entries to communal spaces like train stations and supermarkets. Even after the pandemic faded, this more authoritarian control and oversight of citizens and their activities stuck and even intensified. In order to protect themselves from the spread of increasingly global problems – from pandemics and transnational terrorism to environmental crises and rising poverty – leaders around the world took a firmer grip on power.

At first, the notion of a more controlled world gained wide acceptance and approval. Citizens willingly gave up some of their sovereignty – and their privacy – to more paternalistic states in exchange for greater safety and stability. Citizens were more tolerant, and even eager, for top-down direction and oversight, and national leaders had more latitude to impose order in the ways they saw fit.

In developed countries, this heightened oversight took many forms: biometric IDs for all citizens, for example, and tighter regulation of key industries whose stability was deemed vital to national interests. In many developed countries, enforced cooperation with a suite of new regulations and agreements slowly but steadily restored both order and, importantly, economic growth.

There we have the prophetic Rockefellers in 2010 and three years later came their paper for the Global Health Summit in Beijing, China, when government representatives, the private sector, international organisations and groups met to discuss the next 100 years of 'global health'. The Rockefeller Foundation-funded paper was called 'Dreaming the Future of Health for the Next 100 Years and more prophecy ensued as it described a dystopian future: 'The abundance of data, digitally tracking and linking people may mean the 'death of privacy' and may replace physical interaction with transient, virtual connection, generating isolation and raising questions of how values are shaped in virtual networks.' Next in the 'Covid' hoax preparation sequence came a 'table top' simulation in 2018 for another 'imaginary' pandemic of a disease called Clade X which was said to kill 900 million people. The exercise was organised by the Gates-funded Johns Hopkins University's Center for Health Security in the United States and this is the very same university that has been compiling the disgustingly and systematically erroneous global figures for 'Covid' cases and deaths. Similar Johns Hopkins health crisis scenarios have included the Dark Winter exercise in 2001 and Atlantic Storm in 2005.

## **Nostradamus 201**

For sheer predictive genius look no further prophecy-watchers than the Bill Gates-funded Event 201 held only six weeks before the 'coronavirus pandemic' is supposed to have broken out in China and Event 201 was based on a scenario of a global 'coronavirus pandemic'. Melinda Gates, the great man's missus, told the BBC that he had 'prepared for years' for a coronavirus pandemic which told us what we already knew. Nostradamugates had predicted in a TED talk in 2015 that a pandemic was coming that would kill a lot of people and demolish the world economy. My god, the man is a machine – possibly even literally. Now here he was only weeks before the real thing funding just such a simulated scenario and involving his friends and associates at Johns Hopkins, the World Economic Forum Cult-front of Klaus Schwab, the United Nations,

Johnson & Johnson, major banks, and officials from China and the Centers for Disease Control in the United States. What synchronicity – Johns Hopkins would go on to compile the fraudulent ‘Covid’ figures, the World Economic Forum and Schwab would push the ‘Great Reset’ in response to ‘Covid’, the Centers for Disease Control would be at the forefront of ‘Covid’ policy in the United States, Johnson & Johnson would produce a ‘Covid vaccine’, and everything would officially start just weeks later in China. Spooky, eh? They were even accurate in creating a simulation of a ‘virus’ pandemic because the ‘real thing’ would also be a simulation. Event 201 was not an exercise preparing for something that might happen; it was a rehearsal for what those in control knew was *going* to happen and very shortly. Hours of this simulation were posted on the Internet and the various themes and responses mirrored what would soon be imposed to transform human society. News stories were inserted and what they said would be commonplace a few weeks later with still more prophecy perfection. Much discussion focused on the need to deal with misinformation and the ‘anti-vax movement’ which is exactly what happened when the ‘virus’ arrived – was said to have arrived – in the West.

Cult-owned social media banned criticism and exposure of the official ‘virus’ narrative and when I said there *was* no ‘virus’ in early April, 2020, I was banned by one platform after another including YouTube, Facebook and later Twitter. The mainstream broadcast media in Britain was in effect banned from interviewing me by the Tony-Blair-created government broadcasting censor Ofcom headed by career government bureaucrat Melanie Dawes who was appointed just as the ‘virus’ hoax was about to play out in January, 2020. At the same time the Ickonic media platform was using Vimeo, another ultra-Zionist-owned operation, while our own player was being created and they deleted in an instant hundreds of videos, documentaries, series and shows to confirm their unbelievable vindictiveness. We had copies, of course, and they had to be restored one by one when our player was ready. These people have no class. Sabbatian Facebook promised free advertisements for the Gates-

controlled World Health Organization narrative while deleting ‘false claims and conspiracy theories’ to stop ‘misinformation’ about the alleged coronavirus. All these responses could be seen just a short while earlier in the scenarios of Event 201. Extreme censorship was absolutely crucial for the Cult because the official story was so ridiculous and unsupportable by the evidence that it could never survive open debate and the free-flow of information and opinion. If you can’t win a debate then don’t have one is the Cult’s approach throughout history. Facebook’s little boy front man – front boy – Mark Zuckerberg equated ‘credible and accurate information’ with official sources and exposing their lies with ‘misinformation’.

### **Silencing those that can see**

The censorship dynamic of Event 201 is now the norm with an army of narrative-supporting ‘fact-checker’ organisations whose entire reason for being is to tell the public that official narratives are true and those exposing them are lying. One of the most appalling of these ‘fact-checkers’ is called NewsGuard founded by ultra-Zionist Americans Gordon Crovitz and Steven Brill. Crovitz is a former publisher of *The Wall Street Journal*, former Executive Vice President of Dow Jones, a member of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), and on the board of the American Association of Rhodes Scholars. The CFR and Rhodes Scholarships, named after Rothschild agent Cecil Rhodes who plundered the gold and diamonds of South Africa for his masters and the Cult, have featured widely in my books. NewsGuard don’t seem to like me for some reason – I really can’t think why – and they have done all they can to have me censored and discredited which is, to quote an old British politician, like being savaged by a dead sheep. They are, however, like all in the censorship network, very well connected and funded by organisations themselves funded by, or connected to, Bill Gates. As you would expect with anything associated with Gates NewsGuard has an offshoot called HealthGuard which ‘fights online health care hoaxes’. How very kind. Somehow the NewsGuard European Managing Director Anna-Sophie Harling, a remarkably young-

looking woman with no broadcasting experience and little hands-on work in journalism, has somehow secured a position on the 'Content Board' of UK government broadcast censor Ofcom. An executive of an organisation seeking to discredit dissidents of the official narratives is making decisions for the government broadcast 'regulator' about content?? Another appalling 'fact-checker' is Full Fact funded by George Soros and global censors Google and Facebook.

It's amazing how many activists in the 'fact-checking', 'anti-hate', arena turn up in government-related positions – people like UK Labour Party activist Imran Ahmed who heads the Center for Countering Digital Hate founded by people like Morgan McSweeney, now chief of staff to the Labour Party's hapless and useless 'leader' Keir Starmer. Digital Hate – which is what it really is – uses the American spelling of Center to betray its connection to a transatlantic network of similar organisations which in 2020 shapeshifted from attacking people for 'hate' to attacking them for questioning the 'Covid' hoax and the dangers of the 'Covid vaccine'. It's just a coincidence, you understand. This is one of Imran Ahmed's hysterical statements: 'I would go beyond calling anti-vaxxers conspiracy theorists to say they are an extremist group that pose a national security risk.' No one could ever accuse this prat of understatement and he's including in that those parents who are now against vaccines after their children were damaged for life or killed by them. He's such a nice man. Ahmed does the rounds of the Woke media getting soft-ball questions from spineless 'journalists' who never ask what right he has to campaign to destroy the freedom of speech of others while he demands it for himself. There also seems to be an overrepresentation in Ofcom of people connected to the narrative-worshipping BBC. This incredible global network of narrative-support was super-vital when the 'Covid' hoax was played in the light of the mega-whopper lies that have to be defended from the spotlight cast by the most basic intelligence.

## **Setting the scene**

The Cult plays the long game and proceeds step-by-step ensuring that everything is in place before major cards are played and they don't come any bigger than the 'Covid' hoax. The psychopaths can't handle events where the outcome isn't certain and as little as possible – preferably nothing – is left to chance. Politicians, government and medical officials who would follow direction were brought to illusory power in advance by the Cult web whether on the national stage or others like state governors and mayors of America. For decades the dynamic between officialdom, law enforcement and the public was changed from one of service to one of control and dictatorship. Behaviour manipulation networks established within government were waiting to impose the coming 'Covid' rules and regulations specifically designed to subdue and rewire the psyche of the people in the guise of protecting health. These included in the UK the Behavioural Insights Team part-owned by the British government Cabinet Office; the Scientific Pandemic Insights Group on Behaviours (SPI-B); and a whole web of intelligence and military groups seeking to direct the conversation on social media and control the narrative. Among them are the cyberwarfare (on the people) 77th Brigade of the British military which is also coordinated through the Cabinet Office as civilian and military leadership continues to combine in what they call the Fusion Doctrine. The 77th Brigade is a British equivalent of the infamous Israeli (Sabbatian) military cyberwarfare and Internet manipulation operation Unit 8200 which I expose at length in *The Trigger*. Also carefully in place were the medical and science advisers to government – many on the payroll past or present of Bill Gates – and a whole alternative structure of unelected government stood by to take control when elected parliaments were effectively closed down once the 'Covid' card was slammed on the table. The structure I have described here and so much more was installed in every major country through the Cult networks. The top-down control hierarchy looks like this: The Cult – Cult-owned Gates – the World Health Organization and Tedros – Gates-funded or controlled chief medical officers and science 'advisers' (dictators) in each country –

political 'leaders' – law enforcement – The People. Through this simple global communication and enforcement structure the policy of the Cult could be imposed on virtually the entire human population so long as they acquiesced to the fascism. With everything in place it was time for the button to be pressed in late 2019/early 2020.

These were the prime goals the Cult had to secure for its will to prevail:

1) Locking down economies, closing all but designated 'essential' businesses (Cult-owned corporations were 'essential'), and putting the population under house arrest was an imperative to destroy independent income and employment and ensure dependency on the Cult-controlled state in the Hunger Games Society. Lockdowns had to be established as the global blueprint from the start to respond to the 'virus' and followed by pretty much the entire world.

2) The global population had to be terrified into believing in a deadly 'virus' that didn't actually exist so they would unquestioningly obey authority in the belief that authority must know how best to protect them and their families. Software salesman Gates would suddenly morph into the world's health expert and be promoted as such by the Cult-owned media.

3) A method of testing that wasn't testing for the 'virus', but was only claimed to be, had to be in place to provide the illusion of 'cases' and subsequent 'deaths' that had a very different cause to the 'Covid-19' that would be scribbled on the death certificate.

4) Because there was no 'virus' and the great majority testing positive with a test not testing for the 'virus' would have no symptoms of anything the lie had to be sold that people without symptoms (without the 'virus') could still pass it on to others. This was crucial to justify for the first time quarantining – house arresting – healthy people. Without this the economy-destroying lockdown of *everybody* could not have been credibly sold.

5) The 'saviour' had to be seen as a vaccine which beyond evil drug companies were working like angels of mercy to develop as quickly as possible, with all corners cut, to save the day. The public must absolutely not know that the 'vaccine' had nothing to do with a 'virus' or that the contents were ready and waiting with a very different motive long before the 'Covid' card was even lifted from the pack.

I said in March, 2020, that the 'vaccine' would have been created way ahead of the 'Covid' hoax which justified its use and the following December an article in the New York *Intelligencer* magazine said the Moderna 'vaccine' had been 'designed' by



January, 2020. This was 'before China had even acknowledged that the disease could be transmitted from human to human, more than a week before the first confirmed coronavirus case in the United States'. The article said that by the time the first American death was announced a month later 'the vaccine had already been manufactured and shipped to the National Institutes of Health for the beginning of its Phase I clinical trial'. The 'vaccine' was actually 'designed' long before that although even with this timescale you would expect the article to ask how on earth it could have been done that quickly. Instead it asked why the 'vaccine' had not been rolled out then and not months later. Journalism in the mainstream is truly dead. I am going to detail in the next chapter why the 'virus' has never existed and how a hoax on that scale was possible, but first the foundation on which the Big Lie of 'Covid' was built.

### **The test that doesn't test**

Fraudulent 'testing' is the bottom line of the whole 'Covid' hoax and was the means by which a 'virus' that did not exist *appeared* to exist. They could only achieve this magic trick by using a test not testing for the 'virus'. To use a test that *was* testing for the 'virus' would mean that every test would come back negative given there was no 'virus'. They chose to exploit something called the RT-PCR test invented by American biochemist Kary Mullis in the 1980s who said publicly that his PCR test ... *cannot detect infectious disease*. Yes, the 'test' used worldwide to detect infectious 'Covid' to produce all the illusory 'cases' and 'deaths' compiled by Johns Hopkins and others *cannot detect infectious disease*. This fact came from the mouth of the man who invented PCR and was awarded the Nobel Prize in Chemistry in 1993 for doing so. Sadly, and incredibly conveniently for the Cult, Mullis died in August, 2019, at the age of 74 just before his test would be fraudulently used to unleash fascism on the world. He was said to have died from pneumonia which was an irony in itself. A few months later he would have had 'Covid-19' on his death certificate. I say the timing of his death was convenient because had he lived Mullis, a brilliant, honest and decent man, would have been

vociferously speaking out against the use of his test to detect 'Covid' when it was never designed, or able, to do that. I know that to be true given that Mullis made the same point when his test was used to 'detect' – not detect – HIV. He had been seriously critical of the Gallo/Montagnier claim to have isolated the HIV 'virus' and shown it to cause AIDS for which Mullis said there was no evidence. AIDS is actually not a disease but a series of diseases from which people die all the time. When they die from those *same diseases* after a positive 'test' for HIV then AIDS goes on their death certificate. I think I've heard that before somewhere. Countries instigated a policy with 'Covid' that anyone who tested positive with a test not testing for the 'virus' and died of any other cause within 28 days and even longer 'Covid-19' had to go on the death certificate. Cases have come from the test that can't test for infectious disease and the deaths are those who have died of *anything* after testing positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'. I'll have much more later about the death certificate scandal.

Mullis was deeply dismissive of the now US 'Covid' star Anthony Fauci who he said was a liar who didn't know anything about anything – 'and I would say that to his face – nothing.' He said of Fauci: 'The man thinks he can take a blood sample, put it in an electron microscope and if it's got a virus in there you'll know it – he doesn't understand electron microscopy and he doesn't understand medicine and shouldn't be in a position like he's in.' That position, terrifyingly, has made him the decider of 'Covid' fascism policy on behalf of the Cult in his role as director since 1984 of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) while his record of being wrong is laughable; but being wrong, so long as it's the *right kind* of wrong, is why the Cult loves him. He'll say anything the Cult tells him to say. Fauci was made Chief Medical Adviser to the President immediately Biden took office. Biden was installed in the White House by Cult manipulation and one of his first decisions was to elevate Fauci to a position of even more control. This is a coincidence? Yes, and I identify as a flamenco dancer called Lola. How does such an incompetent criminal like Fauci remain in that

pivotal position in American health since *the 1980s*? When you serve the Cult it looks after you until you are surplus to requirements. Kary Mullis said prophetically of Fauci and his like: 'Those guys have an agenda and it's not an agenda we would like them to have ... they make their own rules, they change them when they want to, and Tony Fauci does not mind going on television in front of the people who pay his salary and lie directly into the camera.' Fauci has done that almost daily since the 'Covid' hoax began. Lying is in Fauci's DNA. To make the situation crystal clear about the PCR test this is a direct quote from its inventor Kary Mullis:

It [the PCR test] doesn't tell you that you're sick and doesn't tell you that the thing you ended up with was really going to hurt you ...'

Ask yourself why governments and medical systems the world over have been using this very test to decide who is 'infected' with the SARS-CoV-2 'virus' and the alleged disease it allegedly causes, 'Covid-19'. The answer to that question will tell you what has been going on. By the way, here's a little show-stopper – the 'new' SARS-CoV-2 'virus' was 'identified' as such right from the start using ... *the PCR test not testing for the 'virus'*. If you are new to this and find that shocking then stick around. I have hardly started yet. Even worse, other 'tests', like the 'Lateral Flow Device' (LFD), are considered so useless that they have to be *confirmed* by the PCR test! Leaked emails written by Ben Dyson, adviser to UK 'Health' Secretary Matt Hancock, said they were 'dangerously unreliable'. Dyson, executive director of strategy at the Department of Health, wrote: 'As of today, someone who gets a positive LFD result in (say) London has at best a 25 per cent chance of it being a true positive, but if it is a self-reported test potentially as low as 10 per cent (on an optimistic assumption about specificity) or as low as 2 per cent (on a more pessimistic assumption).' These are the 'tests' that schoolchildren and the public are being urged to have twice a week or more and have to isolate if they get a positive. Each fake positive goes in the statistics as a 'case' no matter how ludicrously inaccurate and the

'cases' drive lockdown, masks and the pressure to 'vaccinate'. The government said in response to the email leak that the 'tests' were accurate which confirmed yet again what shocking bloody liars they are. The real false positive rate is *100 percent* as we'll see. In another 'you couldn't make it up' the UK government agreed to pay £2.8 billion to California's Innova Medical Group to supply the irrelevant lateral flow tests. The company's primary test-making centre is in China. Innova Medical Group, established in March, 2020, is owned by Pasaca Capital Inc, chaired by Chinese-American millionaire Charles Huang who was born in Wuhan.

### **How it works – and how it doesn't**

The RT-PCR test, known by its full title of Polymerase chain reaction, is used across the world to make millions, even billions, of copies of a DNA/RNA genetic information sample. The process is called 'amplification' and means that a tiny sample of genetic material is amplified to bring out the detailed content. I stress that it is not testing for an infectious disease. It is simply amplifying a sample of genetic material. In the words of Kary Mullis: 'PCR is ... just a process that's used to make a whole lot of something out of something.' To emphasise the point companies that make the PCR tests circulated around the world to 'test' for 'Covid' warn on the box that it can't be used to detect 'Covid' or infectious disease and is for research purposes only. It's okay, rest for a minute and you'll be fine. This is the test that produces the 'cases' and 'deaths' that have been used to destroy human society. All those global and national medical and scientific 'experts' demanding this destruction to 'save us' *KNOW* that the test is not testing for the 'virus' and the cases and deaths they claim to be real are an almost unimaginable fraud. Every one of them and so many others including politicians and psychopaths like Gates and Tedros must be brought before Nuremburg-type trials and jailed for the rest of their lives. The more the genetic sample is amplified by PCR the more elements of that material become sensitive to the test and by that I don't mean sensitive for a 'virus' but for elements of the genetic material which

is *naturally* in the body or relates to remnants of old conditions of various kinds lying dormant and causing no disease. Once the amplification of the PCR reaches a certain level *everyone* will test positive. So much of the material has been made sensitive to the test that everyone will have some part of it in their body. Even lying criminals like Fauci have said that once PCR amplifications pass 35 cycles everything will be a false positive that cannot be trusted for the reasons I have described. I say, like many proper doctors and scientists, that 100 percent of the 'positives' are false, but let's just go with Fauci for a moment.

He says that any amplification over 35 cycles will produce false positives and yet the US Centers for Disease Control (CDC) and Food and Drug Administration (FDA) have recommended up to 40 *cycles* and the National Health Service (NHS) in Britain admitted in an internal document for staff that it was using 45 *cycles* of amplification. A long list of other countries has been doing the same and at least one 'testing' laboratory has been using 50 *cycles*. Have you ever heard a doctor, medical 'expert' or the media ask what level of amplification has been used to claim a 'positive'. The 'test' comes back 'positive' and so you have the 'virus', end of story. Now we can see how the government in Tanzania could send off samples from a goat and a pawpaw fruit under human names and both came back positive for 'Covid-19'. Tanzania president John Magufuli mocked the 'Covid' hysteria, the PCR test and masks and refused to import the DNA-manipulating 'vaccine'. The Cult hated him and an article sponsored by the Bill Gates Foundation appeared in the London *Guardian* in February, 2021, headed 'It's time for Africa to rein in Tanzania's anti-vaxxer president'. Well, 'reined in' he shortly was. Magufuli appeared in good health, but then, in March, 2021, he was dead at 61 from 'heart failure'. He was replaced by Samia Hassan Suhulu who is connected to Klaus Schwab's World Economic Forum and she immediately reversed Magufuli's 'Covid' policy. A sample of cola tested positive for 'Covid' with the PCR test in Germany while American actress and singer-songwriter Erykah Badu tested positive in one nostril and negative in the other. Footballer Ronaldo called

the PCR test 'bullshit' after testing positive three times and being forced to quarantine and miss matches when there was nothing wrong with him. The mantra from Tedros at the World Health Organization and national governments (same thing) has been test, test, test. They know that the more tests they can generate the more fake 'cases' they have which go on to become 'deaths' in ways I am coming to. The UK government has its Operation Moonshot planned to test multiple millions every day in workplaces and schools with free tests for everyone to use twice a week at home in line with the Cult plan from the start to make testing part of life. A government advertisement for an 'Interim Head of Asymptomatic Testing Communication' said the job included responsibility for delivering a 'communications strategy' (propaganda) 'to support the expansion of asymptomatic testing that *'normalises testing as part of everyday life'*'. More tests means more fake 'cases', 'deaths' and fascism. I have heard of, and from, many people who booked a test, couldn't turn up, and yet got a positive result through the post for a test they'd never even had. The whole thing is crazy, but for the Cult there's method in the madness. Controlling and manipulating the level of amplification of the test means the authorities can control whenever they want the number of apparent 'cases' and 'deaths'. If they want to justify more fascist lockdown and destruction of livelihoods they keep the amplification high. If they want to give the illusion that lockdowns and the 'vaccine' are working then they lower the amplification and 'cases' and 'deaths' will appear to fall. In January, 2021, the Cult-owned World Health Organization suddenly warned laboratories about over-amplification of the test and to lower the threshold. Suddenly headlines began appearing such as: 'Why ARE "Covid" cases plummeting?' This was just when the vaccine rollout was underway and I had predicted months before they would make cases appear to fall through amplification tampering when the 'vaccine' came. These people are so predictable.

## **Cow vaccines?**

The question must be asked of what is on the test swabs being poked far up the nose of the population to the base of the brain? A nasal swab punctured one woman's brain and caused it to leak fluid. Most of these procedures are being done by people with little training or medical knowledge. Dr Lorraine Day, former orthopaedic trauma surgeon and Chief of Orthopaedic Surgery at San Francisco General Hospital, says the tests are really a 'vaccine'. Cows have long been vaccinated this way. She points out that masks have to cover the nose and the mouth where it is claimed the 'virus' exists in saliva. Why then don't they take saliva from the mouth as they do with a DNA test instead of pushing a long swab up the nose towards the brain? The ethmoid bone separates the nasal cavity from the brain and within that bone is the cribriform plate. Dr Day says that when the swab is pushed up against this plate and twisted the procedure is 'depositing things back there'. She claims that among these 'things' are nanoparticles that can enter the brain. Researchers have noted that a team at the Gates-funded Johns Hopkins have designed tiny, star-shaped micro-devices that can latch onto intestinal mucosa and release drugs into the body. Mucosa is the thin skin that covers the inside surface of parts of the body such as *the nose* and mouth and produces mucus to protect them. The Johns Hopkins micro-devices are called 'theragrippers' and were 'inspired' by a parasitic worm that digs its sharp teeth into a host's intestines. Nasal swabs are also coated in the sterilisation agent ethylene oxide. The US National Cancer Institute posts this explanation on its website:

At room temperature, ethylene oxide is a flammable colorless gas with a sweet odor. It is used primarily to produce other chemicals, including antifreeze. In smaller amounts, ethylene oxide is used as a pesticide and a sterilizing agent. The ability of ethylene oxide to damage DNA makes it an effective sterilizing agent but also accounts for its cancer-causing activity.

The Institute mentions lymphoma and leukaemia as cancers most frequently reported to be associated with occupational exposure to ethylene oxide along with stomach and breast cancers. How does anyone think this is going to work out with the constant testing

regime being inflicted on adults and children at home and at school that will accumulate in the body anything that's on the swab?

## **Doctors know best**

It is vital for people to realise that 'hero' doctors 'know' only what the Big Pharma-dominated medical authorities tell them to 'know' and if they refuse to 'know' what they are told to 'know' they are out the door. They are mostly not physicians or healers, but repeaters of the official narrative – or else. I have seen alleged professional doctors on British television make shocking statements that we are supposed to take seriously. One called 'Dr' Amir Khan, who is actually telling patients how to respond to illness, said that men could take the birth pill to 'help slow down the effects of Covid-19'. In March, 2021, another ridiculous 'Covid study' by an American doctor proposed injecting men with the female sex hormone progesterone as a 'Covid' treatment. British doctor Nighat Arif told the BBC that face coverings were now going to be part of ongoing normal. Yes, the vaccine protects you, she said (evidence?) ... but the way to deal with viruses in the community was always going to come down to hand washing, face covering and keeping a physical distance. That's not what we were told before the 'vaccine' was circulating. Arif said she couldn't imagine ever again going on the underground or in a lift without a mask. I was just thanking my good luck that she was not my doctor when she said – in March, 2021 – that if 'we are *behaving* and we are doing all the right things' she thought we could 'have our nearest and dearest around us at home ... around *Christmas* and *New Year!* Her patronising delivery was the usual school teacher talking to six-year-olds as she repeated every government talking point and probably believed them all. If we have learned anything from the 'Covid' experience surely it must be that humanity's perception of doctors needs a fundamental rethink. NHS 'doctor' Sara Kayat told her television audience that the 'Covid vaccine' would '100 percent prevent hospitalisation and death'. Not even Big Pharma claimed that. We have to stop taking 'experts' at their word without question when so many of them are



clueless and only repeating the party line on which their careers depend. That is not to say there are not brilliant doctors – there are and I have spoken to many of them since all this began – but you won't see them in the mainstream media or quoted by the psychopaths and yes-people in government.

### **Remember the name – Christian Drosten**

German virologist Christian Drosten, Director of Charité Institute of Virology in Berlin, became a national star after the pandemic hoax began. He was feted on television and advised the German government on 'Covid' policy. Most importantly to the wider world Drosten led a group that produced the 'Covid' testing protocol for the PCR test. What a remarkable feat given the PCR cannot test for infectious disease and even more so when you think that Drosten said that his method of testing for SARS-CoV-2 was developed 'without having virus material available'. *He developed a test for a 'virus' that he didn't have and had never seen.* Let that sink in as you survey the global devastation that came from what he did. The whole catastrophe of Drosten's 'test' was based on the alleged genetic sequence published by Chinese scientists on the Internet. We will see in the next chapter that this alleged 'genetic sequence' has never been produced by China or anyone and cannot be when there *is no* SARS-CoV-2. Drosten, however, doesn't seem to let little details like that get in the way. He was the lead author with Victor Corman from the same Charité Hospital of the paper 'Detection of 2019 novel coronavirus (2019-nCoV) by real-time PCR' published in a magazine called *Eurosurveillance*. This became known as the Corman-Drosten paper. In November, 2020, with human society devastated by the effects of the Corman-Drosten test baloney, the protocol was publicly challenged by 22 international scientists and independent researchers from Europe, the United States, and Japan. Among them were senior molecular geneticists, biochemists, immunologists, and microbiologists. They produced a document headed 'External peer review of the RTPCR test to detect SARS-Cov-2 Reveals 10 Major Flaws At The Molecular and Methodological Level: Consequences

For False-Positive Results'. The flaws in the Corman-Drosten test included the following:

- The test is non-specific because of erroneous design
- Results are enormously variable
- The test is unable to discriminate between the whole 'virus' and viral fragments
- It doesn't have positive or negative controls
- The test lacks a standard operating procedure
- It is unsupported by proper peer view

The scientists said the PCR 'Covid' testing protocol was not founded on science and they demanded the Corman-Drosten paper be retracted by *Eurosurveillance*. They said all present and previous Covid deaths, cases, and 'infection rates' should be subject to a massive retroactive inquiry. Lockdowns and travel restrictions should be reviewed and relaxed and those diagnosed through PCR to have 'Covid-19' should not be forced to isolate. Dr Kevin Corbett, a health researcher and nurse educator with a long academic career producing a stream of peer-reviewed publications at many UK universities, made the same point about the PCR test debacle. He said of the scientists' conclusions: 'Every scientific rationale for the development of that test has been totally destroyed by this paper. It's like Hiroshima/Nagasaki to the Covid test.' He said that China hadn't given them an isolated 'virus' when Drosten developed the test. Instead they had developed the test from *a sequence in a gene bank*.' Put another way ... *they made it up!* The scientists were supported in this contention by a Portuguese appeals court which ruled in November, 2020, that PCR tests are unreliable and it is unlawful to quarantine people based solely on a PCR test. The point about China not providing an isolated virus must be true when the 'virus' has never been isolated to this day and the consequences of that will become clear. Drosten and company produced this useless 'protocol' right on cue in January, 2020, just as the 'virus' was said to

be moving westward and it somehow managed to successfully pass a peer-review in 24 hours. In other words there was no peer-review for a test that would be used to decide who had 'Covid' and who didn't across the world. The Cult-created, Gates-controlled World Health Organization immediately recommended all its nearly 200 member countries to use the Drosten PCR protocol to detect 'cases' and 'deaths'. The sting was underway and it continues to this day.

So who is this Christian Drosten that produced the means through which death, destruction and economic catastrophe would be justified? His education background, including his doctoral thesis, would appear to be somewhat shrouded in mystery and his track record is dire as with another essential player in the 'Covid' hoax, the Gates-funded Professor Neil Ferguson at the Gates-funded Imperial College in London of whom more shortly. Drosten predicted in 2003 that the alleged original SARS 'virus' (SARS-1) was an epidemic that could have serious effects on economies and an effective vaccine would take at least two years to produce. Drosten's answer to every alleged 'outbreak' is a vaccine which you won't be shocked to know. What followed were just 774 official deaths worldwide and none in Germany where there were only nine cases. That is even if you believe there ever was a SARS 'virus' when the evidence is zilch and I will expand on this in the next chapter. Drosten claims to be co-discoverer of 'SARS-1' and developed a test for it in 2003. He was screaming warnings about 'swine flu' in 2009 and how it was a widespread infection far more severe than any dangers from a vaccine could be and people should get vaccinated. It would be helpful for Drosten's vocal chords if he simply recorded the words 'the virus is deadly and you need to get vaccinated' and copies could be handed out whenever the latest made-up threat comes along. Drosten's swine flu epidemic never happened, but Big Pharma didn't mind with governments spending hundreds of millions on vaccines that hardly anyone bothered to use and many who did wished they hadn't. A study in 2010 revealed that the risk of dying from swine flu, or H1N1, was no higher than that of the annual seasonal flu which is what at least most of 'it' really was as in

the case of 'Covid-19'. A media investigation into Drosten asked how with such a record of inaccuracy he could be *the* government adviser on these issues. The answer to that question is the same with Drosten, Ferguson and Fauci – they keep on giving the authorities the 'conclusions' and 'advice' they want to hear. Drosten certainly produced the goods for them in January, 2020, with his PCR protocol garbage and provided the foundation of what German internal medicine specialist Dr Claus Köhnlein, co-author of *Virus Mania*, called the 'test pandemic'. The 22 scientists in the *Eurosurveillance* challenge called out conflicts of interest within the Drosten 'protocol' group and with good reason. Olfert Landt, a regular co-author of Drosten 'studies', owns the biotech company TIB Molbiol Syntheselabor GmbH in Berlin which manufactures and sells the tests that Drosten and his mates come up with. They have done this with SARS, Enterotoxigenic E. coli (ETEC), MERS, Zika 'virus', yellow fever, and now 'Covid'. Landt told the *Berliner Zeitung* newspaper:

The testing, design and development came from the Charité [Drosten and Corman]. We simply implemented it immediately in the form of a kit. And if we don't have the virus, which originally only existed in Wuhan, we can make a synthetic gene to simulate the genome of the virus. That's what we did very quickly.

This is more confirmation that the Drosten test was designed without access to the 'virus' and only a synthetic simulation which is what SARS-CoV-2 really is – a computer-generated synthetic fiction. It's quite an enterprise they have going here. A Drosten team decides what the test for something should be and Landt's biotech company flogs it to governments and medical systems across the world. His company must have made an absolute fortune since the 'Covid' hoax began. Dr Reiner Fuellmich, a prominent German consumer protection trial lawyer in Germany and California, is on Drosten's case and that of Tedros at the World Health Organization for crimes against humanity with a class-action lawsuit being prepared in the United States and other legal action in Germany.

## Why China?

Scamming the world with a 'virus' that doesn't exist would seem impossible on the face of it, but not if you have control of the relatively few people that make policy decisions and the great majority of the global media. Remember it's not about changing 'real' reality it's about controlling *perception* of reality. You don't have to make something happen you only have to make people *believe* that it's happening. Renegade Minds understand this and are therefore much harder to swindle. 'Covid-19' is not a 'real' 'virus'. It's a mind virus, like a computer virus, which has infected the minds, not the bodies, of billions. It all started, publically at least, in China and that alone is of central significance. The Cult was behind the revolution led by its asset Mao Zedong, or Chairman Mao, which established the People's Republic of China on October 1st, 1949. It should have been called The Cult's Republic of China, but the name had to reflect the recurring illusion that vicious dictatorships are run by and for the people (see all the 'Democratic Republics' controlled by tyrants). In the same way we have the 'Biden' Democratic Republic of America officially ruled by a puppet tyrant (at least temporarily) on behalf of Cult tyrants. The creation of Mao's merciless communist/fascist dictatorship was part of a frenzy of activity by the Cult at the conclusion of World War Two which, like the First World War, it had instigated through its assets in Germany, Britain, France, the United States and elsewhere. Israel was formed in 1948; the Soviet Union expanded its 'Iron Curtain' control, influence and military power with the Warsaw Pact communist alliance in 1955; the United Nations was formed in 1945 as a Cult precursor to world government; and a long list of world bodies would be established including the World Health Organization (1948), World Trade Organization (1948 under another name until 1995), International Monetary Fund (1945) and World Bank (1944). Human society was redrawn and hugely centralised in the global Problem-Reaction-Solution that was World War Two. All these changes were significant. Israel would become the headquarters of the Sabbatians

and the revolution in China would prepare the ground and control system for the events of 2019/2020.

Renegade Minds know there are no borders except for public consumption. The Cult is a seamless, borderless global entity and to understand the game we need to put aside labels like borders, nations, countries, communism, fascism and democracy. These delude the population into believing that countries are ruled within their borders by a government of whatever shade when these are mere agencies of a global power. America's illusion of democracy and China's communism/fascism are subsidiaries – vehicles – for the same agenda. We may hear about conflict and competition between America and China and on the lower levels that will be true; but at the Cult level they are branches of the same company in the way of the McDonald's example I gave earlier. I have tracked in the books over the years support by US governments of both parties for Chinese Communist Party infiltration of American society through allowing the sale of land, even military facilities, and the acquisition of American business and university influence. All this is underpinned by the infamous stealing of intellectual property and technological know-how. Cult-owned Silicon Valley corporations waive their fraudulent 'morality' to do business with human-rights-free China; Cult-controlled Disney has become China's PR department; and China in effect owns 'American' sports such as basketball which depends for much of its income on Chinese audiences. As a result any sports player, coach or official speaking out against China's horrific human rights record is immediately condemned or fired by the China-worshipping National Basketball Association. One of the first acts of China-controlled Biden was to issue an executive order telling federal agencies to stop making references to the 'virus' by the 'geographic location of its origin'. Long-time Congressman Jerry Nadler warned that criticising China, America's biggest rival, leads to hate crimes against Asian people in the United States. So shut up you bigot. China is fast closing in on Israel as a country that must not be criticised which is apt, really, given that Sabbatians control them both. The two countries have

developed close economic, military, technological and strategic ties which include involvement in China's 'Silk Road' transport and economic initiative to connect China with Europe. Israel was the first country in the Middle East to recognise the establishment of Mao's tyranny in 1950 months after it was established.

### **Project Wuhan – the 'Covid' Psyop**

I emphasise again that the Cult plays the long game and what is happening to the world today is the result of centuries of calculated manipulation following a script to take control step-by-step of every aspect of human society. I will discuss later the common force behind all this that has spanned those centuries and thousands of years if the truth be told. Instigating the Mao revolution in China in 1949 with a 2020 'pandemic' in mind is not only how they work – the 71 years between them is really quite short by the Cult's standards of manipulation preparation. The reason for the Cult's Chinese revolution was to create a fiercely-controlled environment within which an extreme structure for human control could be incubated to eventually be unleashed across the world. We have seen this happen since the 'pandemic' emerged from China with the Chinese control-structure founded on AI technology and tyrannical enforcement sweep across the West. Until the moment when the Cult went for broke in the West and put its fascism on public display Western governments had to pay some lip-service to freedom and democracy to not alert too many people to the tyranny-in-the-making. Freedoms were more subtly eroded and power centralised with covert government structures put in place waiting for the arrival of 2020 when that smokescreen of 'freedom' could be dispensed with. The West was not able to move towards tyranny before 2020 anything like as fast as China which was created as a tyranny and had no limits on how fast it could construct the Cult's blueprint for global control. When the time came to impose that structure on the world it was the same Cult-owned Chinese communist/fascist government that provided the excuse – the 'Covid pandemic'. It was absolutely crucial to the Cult plan for the Chinese response to the 'pandemic' –

draconian lockdowns of the entire population – to become the blueprint that Western countries would follow to destroy the livelihoods and freedom of their people. This is why the Cult-owned, Gates-owned, WHO Director-General Tedros said early on:

The Chinese government is to be congratulated for the extraordinary measures it has taken to contain the outbreak. China is actually setting a new standard for outbreak response and it is not an exaggeration.

*Forbes* magazine said of China: ‘... those measures protected untold millions from getting the disease’. The Rockefeller Foundation ‘epidemic scenario’ document in 2010 said ‘prophetically’:

However, a few countries did fare better – China in particular. The Chinese government’s quick imposition and enforcement of mandatory quarantine for all citizens, as well as its instant and near-hermetic sealing off of all borders, saved millions of lives, stopping the spread of the virus far earlier than in other countries and enabling a swifter post-pandemic recovery.

Once again – *spooky*.

The first official story was the ‘bat theory’ or rather the bat diversion. The source of the ‘virus outbreak’ we were told was a ‘wet market’ in Wuhan where bats and other animals are bought and eaten in horrifically unhygienic conditions. Then another story emerged through the alternative media that the ‘virus’ had been released on purpose or by accident from a BSL-4 (biosafety level 4) laboratory in Wuhan not far from the wet market. The lab was reported to create and work with lethal concoctions and bioweapons. Biosafety level 4 is the highest in the World Health Organization system of safety and containment. Renegade Minds are aware of what I call designer manipulation. The ideal for the Cult is for people to buy its prime narrative which in the opening salvos of the ‘pandemic’ was the wet market story. It knows, however, that there is now a considerable worldwide alternative media of researchers sceptical of anything governments say and they are often given a version of events in a form they can perceive as credible while misdirecting them from the real truth. In this case let them



think that the conspiracy involved is a 'bioweapon virus' released from the Wuhan lab to keep them from the real conspiracy – *there is no 'virus'*. The WHO's current position on the source of the outbreak at the time of writing appears to be: 'We haven't got a clue, mate.' This is a good position to maintain mystery and bewilderment. The inner circle will know where the 'virus' came from – *nowhere*. The bottom line was to ensure the public believed there *was* a 'virus' and it didn't much matter if they thought it was natural or had been released from a lab. The belief that there was a 'deadly virus' was all that was needed to trigger global panic and fear. The population was terrified into handing their power to authority and doing what they were told. They had to or they were 'all gonna die'.

In March, 2020, information began to come my way from real doctors and scientists and my own additional research which had my intuition screaming: 'Yes, that's it! *There is no virus.*' The 'bioweapon' was not the 'virus'; it was the '*vaccine*' already being talked about that would be the bioweapon. My conclusion was further enhanced by happenings in Wuhan. The 'virus' was said to be sweeping the city and news footage circulated of people collapsing in the street (which they've never done in the West with the same 'virus'). The Chinese government was building 'new hospitals' in a matter of ten days to 'cope with demand' such was the virulent nature of the 'virus'. Yet in what seemed like no time the 'new hospitals' closed – even if they even opened – and China declared itself 'virus-free'. It was back to business as usual. This was more propaganda to promote the Chinese draconian lockdowns in the West as the way to 'beat the virus'. Trouble was that we subsequently had lockdown after lockdown, but never business as usual. As the people of the West and most of the rest of the world were caught in an ever-worsening spiral of lockdown, social distancing, masks, isolated old people, families forced apart, and livelihood destruction, it was party-time in Wuhan. Pictures emerged of thousands of people enjoying pool parties and concerts. It made no sense until you realised there never was a 'virus' and the

whole thing was a Cult set-up to transform human society out of one of its major global strongholds – China.

How is it possible to deceive virtually the entire world population into believing there is a deadly virus when there is not even a 'virus' let alone a deadly one? It's nothing like as difficult as you would think and that's clearly true because it happened.

**Postscript:** See end of book Postscript for more on the 'Wuhan lab virus release' story which the authorities and media were pushing heavily in the summer of 2021 to divert attention from the truth that the 'Covid virus' is pure invention.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### ***There is no 'virus'***

*You can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time*

Abraham Lincoln

The greatest form of mind control is repetition. The more you repeat the same mantra of alleged 'facts' the more will accept them to be true. It becomes an 'everyone knows that, mate'. If you can also censor any other version or alternative to your alleged 'facts' you are pretty much home and cooking.

By the start of 2020 the Cult owned the global mainstream media almost in its entirety to spew out its 'Covid' propaganda and ignore or discredit any other information and view. Cult-owned social media platforms in Cult-owned Silicon Valley were poised and ready to unleash a campaign of ferocious censorship to obliterate all but the official narrative. To complete the circle many demands for censorship by Silicon Valley were led by the mainstream media as 'journalists' became full-out enforcers for the Cult both as propagandists and censors. Part of this has been the influx of young people straight out of university who have become 'journalists' in significant positions. They have no experience and a headful of programmed perceptions from their years at school and university at a time when today's young are the most perceptually-targeted generations in known human history given the insidious impact of technology. They enter the media perceptually prepared and ready to repeat the narratives of the system that programmed them to

repeat its narratives. The BBC has a truly pathetic 'specialist disinformation reporter' called Marianna Spring who fits this bill perfectly. She is clueless about the world, how it works and what is really going on. Her role is to discredit anyone doing the job that a proper journalist would do and system-serving hacks like Spring wouldn't dare to do or even see the need to do. They are too busy licking the arse of authority which can never be wrong and, in the case of the BBC propaganda programme, *Panorama*, contacting payments systems such as PayPal to have a donations page taken down for a film company making documentaries questioning vaccines. Even the BBC soap opera *EastEnders* included a disgracefully biased scene in which an inarticulate white working class woman was made to look foolish for questioning the 'vaccine' while a well-spoken black man and Asian woman promoted the government narrative. It ticked every BBC box and the fact that the black and minority community was resisting the 'vaccine' had nothing to do with the way the scene was written. The BBC has become a disgusting tyrannical propaganda and censorship operation that should be defunded and disbanded and a free media take its place with a brief to stop censorship instead of demanding it. A BBC 'interview' with Gates goes something like: 'Mr Gates, sir, if I can call you sir, would you like to tell our audience why you are such a great man, a wonderful humanitarian philanthropist, and why you should absolutely be allowed as a software salesman to decide health policy for approaching eight billion people? Thank you, sir, please sir.' Propaganda programming has been incessant and merciless and when all you hear is the same story from the media, repeated by those around you who have only heard the same story, is it any wonder that people on a grand scale believe absolute mendacious garbage to be true? You are about to see, too, why this level of information control is necessary when the official 'Covid' narrative is so nonsensical and unsupportable by the evidence.

## **Structure of Deceit**

The pyramid structure through which the 'Covid' hoax has been manifested is very simple and has to be to work. As few people as possible have to be involved with full knowledge of what they are doing – and why – or the real story would get out. At the top of the pyramid are the inner core of the Cult which controls Bill Gates who, in turn, controls the World Health Organization through his pivotal funding and his puppet Director-General mouthpiece, Tedros. Before he was appointed Tedros was chair of the Gates-founded Global Fund to 'fight against AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria', a board member of the Gates-funded 'vaccine alliance' GAVI, and on the board of another Gates-funded organisation. Gates owns him and picked him for a specific reason – Tedros is a crook and worse. 'Dr' Tedros (he's not a medical doctor, the first WHO chief not to be) was a member of the tyrannical Marxist government of Ethiopia for decades with all its human rights abuses. He has faced allegations of corruption and misappropriation of funds and was exposed three times for covering up cholera epidemics while Ethiopia's health minister. Tedros appointed the mass-murdering genocidal Zimbabwe dictator Robert Mugabe as a WHO goodwill ambassador for public health which, as with Tedros, is like appointing a psychopath to run a peace and love campaign. The move was so ridiculous that he had to drop Mugabe in the face of widespread condemnation. American economist David Steinman, a Nobel peace prize nominee, lodged a complaint with the International Criminal Court in The Hague over alleged genocide by Tedros when he was Ethiopia's foreign minister. Steinman says Tedros was a 'crucial decision maker' who directed the actions of Ethiopia's security forces from 2013 to 2015 and one of three officials in charge when those security services embarked on the 'killing' and 'torturing' of Ethiopians. You can see where Tedros is coming from and it's sobering to think that he has been the vehicle for Gates and the Cult to direct the global response to 'Covid'. Think about that. A psychopathic Cult dictates to psychopath Gates who dictates to psychopath Tedros who dictates how countries of the world must respond to a 'Covid virus' never scientifically shown to exist. At the same time psychopathic Cult-owned Silicon Valley information

giants like Google, YouTube, Facebook and Twitter announced very early on that they would give the Cult/Gates/Tedros/WHO version of the narrative free advertising and censor those who challenged their intelligence-insulting, mendacious story.

The next layer in the global 'medical' structure below the Cult, Gates and Tedros are the chief medical officers and science 'advisers' in each of the WHO member countries which means virtually all of them. Medical officers and arbiters of science (they're not) then take the WHO policy and recommended responses and impose them on their country's population while the political 'leaders' say they are deciding policy (they're clearly not) by 'following the science' on the advice of the 'experts' – the same medical officers and science 'advisers' (dictators). In this way with the rarest of exceptions the entire world followed the same policy of lockdown, people distancing, masks and 'vaccines' dictated by the psychopathic Cult, psychopathic Gates and psychopathic Tedros who we are supposed to believe give a damn about the health of the world population they are seeking to enslave. That, amazingly, is all there is to it in terms of crucial decision-making. Medical staff in each country then follow like sheep the dictates of the shepherds at the top of the national medical hierarchies – chief medical officers and science 'advisers' who themselves follow like sheep the shepherds of the World Health Organization and the Cult. Shepherds at the national level often have major funding and other connections to Gates and his Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation which carefully hands out money like confetti at a wedding to control the entire global medical system from the WHO down.

### **Follow the money**

Christopher Whitty, Chief Medical Adviser to the UK Government at the centre of 'virus' policy, a senior adviser to the government's Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE), and Executive Board member of the World Health Organization, was gifted a grant of \$40 million by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation for malaria research in Africa. The BBC described the unelected Whitty as 'the

official who will probably have the greatest impact on our everyday lives of any individual policymaker in modern times' and so it turned out. What Gates and Tedros have said Whitty has done like his equivalents around the world. Patrick Vallance, co-chair of SAGE and the government's Chief Scientific Adviser, is a former executive of Big Pharma giant GlaxoSmithKline with its fundamental financial and business connections to Bill Gates. In September, 2020, it was revealed that Vallance owned a deferred bonus of shares in GlaxoSmithKline worth £600,000 while the company was 'developing' a 'Covid vaccine'. Move along now – nothing to see here – what could possibly be wrong with that? Imperial College in London, a major player in 'Covid' policy in Britain and elsewhere with its 'Covid-19' Response Team, is funded by Gates and has big connections to China while the now infamous Professor Neil Ferguson, the useless 'computer modeller' at Imperial College is also funded by Gates. Ferguson delivered the dramatically inaccurate excuse for the first lockdowns (much more in the next chapter). The Institute for Health Metrics and Evaluation (IHME) in the United States, another source of outrageously false 'Covid' computer models to justify lockdowns, is bankrolled by Gates who is a vehement promotor of lockdowns. America's version of Whitty and Vallance, the again now infamous Anthony Fauci, has connections to 'Covid vaccine' maker Moderna as does Bill Gates through funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Fauci is director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), a major recipient of Gates money, and they are very close. Deborah Birx who was appointed White House Coronavirus Response Coordinator in February, 2020, is yet another with ties to Gates. Everywhere you look at the different elements around the world behind the coordination and decision making of the 'Covid' hoax there is Bill Gates and his money. They include the World Health Organization; Centers for Disease Control (CDC) in the United States; National Institutes of Health (NIH) of Anthony Fauci; Imperial College and Neil Ferguson; the London School of Hygiene where Chris Whitty worked; Regulatory agencies like the UK Medicines & Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA)

which gave emergency approval for 'Covid vaccines'; Wellcome Trust; GAVI, the Vaccine Alliance; the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI); Johns Hopkins University which has compiled the false 'Covid' figures; and the World Economic Forum. A [Nationalfile.com](http://Nationalfile.com) article said:

Gates has a lot of pull in the medical world, he has a multi-million dollar relationship with Dr. Fauci, and Fauci originally took the Gates line supporting vaccines and casting doubt on [the drug hydroxychloroquine]. Coronavirus response team member Dr. Deborah Birx, appointed by former president Obama to serve as United States Global AIDS Coordinator, also sits on the board of a group that has received billions from Gates' foundation, and Birx reportedly used a disputed Bill Gates-funded model for the White House's Coronavirus effort. Gates is a big proponent for a population lockdown scenario for the Coronavirus outbreak.

Another funder of Moderna is the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the technology-development arm of the Pentagon and one of the most sinister organisations on earth. DARPA had a major role with the CIA covert technology-funding operation In-Q-Tel in the development of Google and social media which is now at the centre of global censorship. Fauci and Gates are extremely close and openly admit to talking regularly about 'Covid' policy, but then why wouldn't Gates have a seat at every national 'Covid' table after his Foundation committed \$1.75 billion to the 'fight against Covid-19'. When passed through our Orwellian Translation Unit this means that he has bought and paid for the Cult-driven 'Covid' response worldwide. Research the major 'Covid' response personnel in your own country and you will find the same Gates funding and other connections again and again. Medical and science chiefs following World Health Organization 'policy' sit atop a medical hierarchy in their country of administrators, doctors and nursing staff. These 'subordinates' are told they must work and behave in accordance with the policy delivered from the 'top' of the national 'health' pyramid which is largely the policy delivered by the WHO which is the policy delivered by Gates and the Cult. The whole 'Covid' narrative has been imposed on medical staff by a climate of fear although great numbers don't even need that to comply. They do so through breathtaking levels of ignorance and



include doctors who go through life simply repeating what Big Pharma and their hierarchical masters tell them to say and believe. No wonder Big Pharma 'medicine' is one of the biggest killers on Planet Earth.

The same top-down system of intimidation operates with regard to the Cult Big Pharma cartel which also dictates policy through national and global medical systems in this way. The Cult and Big Pharma agendas are the same because the former controls and owns the latter. 'Health' administrators, doctors, and nursing staff are told to support and parrot the dictated policy or they will face consequences which can include being fired. How sad it's been to see medical staff meekly repeating and imposing Cult policy without question and most of those who can see through the deceit are only willing to speak anonymously off the record. They know what will happen if their identity is known. This has left the courageous few to expose the lies about the 'virus', face masks, overwhelmed hospitals that aren't, and the dangers of the 'vaccine' that isn't a vaccine. When these medical professionals and scientists, some renowned in their field, have taken to the Internet to expose the truth their articles, comments and videos have been deleted by Cult-owned Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. What a real head-shaker to see YouTube videos with leading world scientists and highly qualified medical specialists with an added link underneath to the notorious Cult propaganda website *Wikipedia* to find the 'facts' about the same subject.

### **HIV – the 'Covid' trial-run**

I'll give you an example of the consequences for health and truth that come from censorship and unquestioning belief in official narratives. The story was told by PCR inventor Kary Mullis in his book *Dancing Naked in the Mind Field*. He said that in 1984 he accepted as just another scientific fact that Luc Montagnier of France's Pasteur Institute and Robert Gallo of America's National Institutes of Health had independently discovered that a 'retrovirus' dubbed HIV (human immunodeficiency virus) caused AIDS. They

were, after all, Mullis writes, specialists in retroviruses. This is how the medical and science pyramids work. Something is announced or *assumed* and then becomes an everybody-knows-that purely through repetition of the assumption as if it is fact. Complete crap becomes accepted truth with no supporting evidence and only repetition of the crap. This is how a 'virus' that doesn't exist became the 'virus' that changed the world. The HIV-AIDS fairy story became a multi-billion pound industry and the media poured out propaganda terrifying the world about the deadly HIV 'virus' that caused the lethal AIDS. By then Mullis was working at a lab in Santa Monica, California, to detect retroviruses with his PCR test in blood donations received by the Red Cross. In doing so he asked a virologist where he could find a reference for HIV being the cause of AIDS. 'You don't need a reference,' the virologist said ... '*Everybody knows it.*' Mullis said he wanted to quote a reference in the report he was doing and he said he felt a little funny about not knowing the source of such an important discovery when everyone else seemed to. The virologist suggested he cite a report by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) on morbidity and mortality. Mullis read the report, but it only said that an organism had been identified and did not say how. The report did not identify the original scientific work. Physicians, however, *assumed* (key recurring theme) that if the CDC was convinced that HIV caused AIDS then proof must exist. Mullis continues:

I did computer searches. Neither Montagnier, Gallo, nor anyone else had published papers describing experiments which led to the conclusion that HIV probably caused AIDS. I read the papers in *Science* for which they had become well known as AIDS doctors, but all they had said there was that they had found evidence of a past infection by something which was probably HIV in some AIDS patients.

They found antibodies. Antibodies to viruses had always been considered evidence of past disease, not present disease. Antibodies signaled that the virus had been defeated. The patient had saved himself. There was no indication in these papers that this virus caused a disease. They didn't show that everybody with the antibodies had the disease. In fact they found some healthy people with antibodies.

Mullis asked why their work had been published if Montagnier and Gallo hadn't really found this evidence, and why had they been fighting so hard to get credit for the discovery? He says he was hesitant to write 'HIV is the probable cause of AIDS' until he found published evidence to support that. 'Tens of thousands of scientists and researchers were spending billions of dollars a year doing research based on this idea,' Mullis writes. 'The reason had to be there somewhere; otherwise these people would not have allowed their research to settle into one narrow channel of investigation.' He said he lectured about PCR at numerous meetings where people were always talking about HIV and he asked them how they knew that HIV was the cause of AIDS:

Everyone said something. Everyone had the answer at home, in the office, in some drawer. They all knew, and they would send me the papers as soon as they got back. But I never got any papers. Nobody ever sent me the news about how AIDS was caused by HIV.

Eventually Mullis was able to ask Montagnier himself about the reference proof when he lectured in San Diego at the grand opening of the University of California AIDS Research Center. Mullis says this was the last time he would ask his question without showing anger. Montagnier said he should reference the CDC report. 'I read it', Mullis said, and it didn't answer the question. 'If Montagnier didn't know the answer who the hell did?' Then one night Mullis was driving when an interview came on National Public Radio with Peter Duesberg, a prominent virologist at Berkeley and a California Scientist of the Year. Mullis says he finally understood why he could not find references that connected HIV to AIDS – *there weren't any!* No one had ever proved that HIV causes AIDS even though it had spawned a multi-billion pound global industry and the media was repeating this as fact every day in their articles and broadcasts terrifying the shit out of people about AIDS and giving the impression that a positive test for HIV (see 'Covid') was a death sentence. Duesberg was a threat to the AIDS gravy train and the agenda that underpinned it. He was therefore abused and castigated after he told the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences

there was no good evidence implicating the new 'virus'. Editors rejected his manuscripts and his research funds were deleted. Mullis points out that the CDC has defined AIDS as one of more than 30 diseases *if accompanied* by a positive result on a test that detects antibodies to HIV; but those same diseases are not defined as AIDS cases when antibodies are not detected:

If an HIV-positive woman develops uterine cancer, for example, she is considered to have AIDS. If she is not HIV positive, she simply has uterine cancer. An HIV-positive man with tuberculosis has AIDS; if he tests negative he simply has tuberculosis. If he lives in Kenya or Colombia, where the test for HIV antibodies is too expensive, he is simply presumed to have the antibodies and therefore AIDS, and therefore he can be treated in the World Health Organization's clinic. It's the only medical help available in some places. And it's free, because the countries that support WHO are worried about AIDS.

Mullis accuses the CDC of continually adding new diseases (see ever more 'Covid symptoms') to the grand AIDS definition and of virtually doctoring the books to make it appear as if the disease continued to spread. He cites how in 1993 the CDC enormously broadened its AIDS definition and county health authorities were delighted because they received \$2,500 per year from the Federal government for every reported AIDS case. Ladies and gentlemen, I have just described, via Kary Mullis, the 'Covid pandemic' of 2020 and beyond. Every element is the same and it's been pulled off in the same way by the same networks.

### **The 'Covid virus' exists? Okay – prove it. Er ... still waiting**

What Kary Mullis described with regard to 'HIV' has been repeated with 'Covid'. A claim is made that a new, or 'novel', infection has been found and the entire medical system of the world repeats that as fact exactly as they did with HIV and AIDS. No one in the mainstream asks rather relevant questions such as 'How do you know?' and 'Where is your proof?' The SARS-Cov-2 'virus' and the 'Covid-19 disease' became an overnight 'everybody-knows-that'. The origin could be debated and mulled over, but what you could not suggest was that 'SARS-Cov-2' didn't exist. That would be

ridiculous. 'Everybody knows' the 'virus' exists. Well, I didn't for one along with American proper doctors like Andrew Kaufman and Tom Cowan and long-time American proper journalist Jon Rappaport. We dared to pursue the obvious and simple question: 'Where's the evidence?' The overwhelming majority in medicine, journalism and the general public did not think to ask that. After all, *everyone knew* there was a new 'virus'. Everyone was saying so and I heard it on the BBC. Some would eventually argue that the 'deadly virus' was nothing like as deadly as claimed, but few would venture into the realms of its very existence. Had they done so they would have found that the evidence for that claim had gone AWOL as with HIV causes AIDS. In fact, not even that. For something to go AWOL it has to exist in the first place and scientific proof for a 'SARS-Cov-2' can be filed under nothing, nowhere and zilch.

Dr Andrew Kaufman is a board-certified forensic psychiatrist in New York State, a Doctor of Medicine and former Assistant Professor and Medical Director of Psychiatry at SUNY Upstate Medical University, and Medical Instructor of Hematology and Oncology at the Medical School of South Carolina. He also studied biology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) and trained in Psychiatry at Duke University. Kaufman is retired from allopathic medicine, but remains a consultant and educator on natural healing, I saw a video of his very early on in the 'Covid' hoax in which he questioned claims about the 'virus' in the absence of any supporting evidence and with plenty pointing the other way. I did everything I could to circulate his work which I felt was asking the pivotal questions that needed an answer. I can recommend an excellent pull-together interview he did with the website The Last Vagabond entitled *Dr Andrew Kaufman: Virus Isolation, Terrain Theory and Covid-19* and his website is [andrewkaufmanmd.com](http://andrewkaufmanmd.com). Kaufman is not only a forensic psychiatrist; he is forensic in all that he does. He always reads original scientific papers, experiments and studies instead of second-third-fourth-hand reports about the 'virus' in the media which are repeating the repeated repetition of the narrative. When he did so with the original Chinese 'virus' papers Kaufman

realised that there was no evidence of a 'SARS-Cov-2'. They had never – from the start – shown it to exist and every repeat of this claim worldwide was based on the accepted existence of proof that was nowhere to be found – see Kary Mullis and HIV. Here we go again.

## **Let's postulate**

Kaufman discovered that the Chinese authorities immediately concluded that the cause of an illness that broke out among about 200 initial patients in Wuhan was a 'new virus' when there were no grounds to make that conclusion. The alleged 'virus' was not isolated from other genetic material in their samples and then shown through a system known as Koch's postulates to be the causative agent of the illness. The world was told that the SARS-Cov-2 'virus' caused a disease they called 'Covid-19' which had 'flu-like' symptoms and could lead to respiratory problems and pneumonia. If it wasn't so tragic it would almost be funny. *'Flu-like' symptoms? Pneumonia? Respiratory disease?* What in CHINA and particularly in Wuhan, one of the most polluted cities in the world with a resulting epidemic of respiratory disease?? Three hundred thousand people get pneumonia in China every year and there are nearly a billion cases worldwide of 'flu-like symptoms'. These have a whole range of causes – including pollution in Wuhan – but no other possibility was credibly considered in late 2019 when the world was told there was a new and deadly 'virus'. The global prevalence of pneumonia and 'flu-like systems' gave the Cult networks unlimited potential to re-diagnose these other causes as the mythical 'Covid-19' and that is what they did from the very start. Kaufman revealed how Chinese medical and science authorities (all subordinates to the Cult-owned communist government) took genetic material from the lungs of only a few of the first patients. The material contained their own cells, bacteria, fungi and other microorganisms living in their bodies. The only way you could prove the existence of the 'virus' and its responsibility for the alleged 'Covid-19' was to isolate the virus from all the other material – a process also known as 'purification' – and

then follow the postulates sequence developed in the late 19th century by German physician and bacteriologist Robert Koch which became the 'gold standard' for connecting an alleged causation agent to a disease:

1. The microorganism (bacteria, fungus, virus, etc.) must be present in every case of the disease and all patients must have the same symptoms. It must also *not be present in healthy individuals*.
2. The microorganism must be isolated from the host with the disease. If the microorganism is a bacteria or fungus it must be grown in a pure culture. If it is a virus, it must be purified (i.e. containing no other material except the virus particles) from a clinical sample.
3. The specific disease, with all of its characteristics, must be reproduced when the infectious agent (the purified virus or a pure culture of bacteria or fungi) is inoculated into a healthy, susceptible host.
4. The microorganism must be recoverable from the experimentally infected host as in step 2.

*Not one* of these criteria has been met in the case of 'SARS-Cov-2' and 'Covid-19'. Not ONE. EVER. Robert Koch refers to bacteria and not viruses. What are called 'viral particles' are so minute (hence masks are useless by any definition) that they could only be seen after the invention of the electron microscope in the 1930s and can still only be observed through that means. American bacteriologist and virologist Thomas Milton Rivers, the so-called 'Father of Modern Virology' who was very significantly director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in the 1930s, developed a less stringent version of Koch's postulates to identify 'virus' causation known as 'Rivers criteria'. 'Covid' did not pass that process either. Some even doubt whether any 'virus' can be isolated from other particles containing genetic material in the Koch method. Freedom of Information requests in many countries asking for scientific proof that the 'Covid virus' has been purified and isolated and shown to exist have all come back with a 'we don't have that' and when this happened with a request to the UK Department of Health they added this comment:

However, outside of the scope of the [Freedom of Information Act] and on a discretionary basis, the following information has been advised to us, which may be of interest. Most infectious diseases are caused by viruses, bacteria or fungi. Some bacteria or fungi have the capacity to grow on their own in isolation, for example in colonies on a petri dish. Viruses are different in that they are what we call 'obligate pathogens' – that is, they cannot survive or reproduce without infecting a host ...

... For some diseases, it is possible to establish causation between a microorganism and a disease by isolating the pathogen from a patient, growing it in pure culture and reintroducing it to a healthy organism. These are known as 'Koch's postulates' and were developed in 1882. However, as our understanding of disease and different disease-causing agents has advanced, these are no longer the method for determining causation [Andrew Kaufman asks why in that case are there two published articles falsely claiming to satisfy Koch's postulates].

It has long been known that viral diseases cannot be identified in this way as viruses cannot be grown in 'pure culture'. When a patient is tested for a viral illness, this is normally done by looking for the presence of antigens, or viral genetic code in a host with molecular biology techniques [Kaufman asks how you could know the origin of these chemicals without having a pure culture for comparison].

For the record 'antigens' are defined so:

Invading microorganisms have antigens on their surface that the human body can recognise as being foreign – meaning not belonging to it. When the body recognises a foreign antigen, lymphocytes (white blood cells) produce antibodies, which are complementary in shape to the antigen.

Notwithstanding that this is open to question in relation to 'SARS-Cov-2' the presence of 'antibodies' can have many causes and they are found in people that are perfectly well. Kary Mullis said: 'Antibodies ... had always been considered evidence of past disease, not present disease.'

### **'Covid' really is a *computer* 'virus'**

Where the UK Department of Health statement says 'viruses' are now 'diagnosed' through a 'viral genetic code in a host with molecular biology techniques', they mean ... *the PCR test* which its inventor said cannot test for infectious disease. They have no credible method of connecting a 'virus' to a disease and we will see that there is no scientific proof that any 'virus' causes any disease or there is any such thing as a 'virus' in the way that it is described. Tenacious Canadian researcher Christine Massey and her team made



some 40 Freedom of Information requests to national public health agencies in different countries asking for proof that SARS-CoV-2 has been isolated and not one of them could supply that information. Massey said of her request in Canada: 'Freedom of Information reveals Public Health Agency of Canada has no record of 'SARS-COV-2' isolation performed by anyone, anywhere, ever.' If you accept the comment from the UK Department of Health it's because they can't isolate a 'virus'. Even so many 'science' papers claimed to have isolated the 'Covid virus' until they were questioned and had to admit they hadn't. A reply from the Robert Koch Institute in Germany was typical: 'I am not aware of a paper which purified isolated SARS-CoV-2.' So what the hell was Christian Drosten and his gang using to design the 'Covid' testing protocol that has produced all the illusory Covid' cases and 'Covid' deaths when the head of the Chinese version of the CDC admitted there was a problem right from the start in that the 'virus' had never been isolated/purified? Breathe deeply: What they are calling 'Covid' is actually created by a *computer program* i.e. *they made it up* – er, that's it. They took lung fluid, with many sources of genetic material, from one single person alleged to be infected with Covid-19 by a PCR test which they *claimed*, without clear evidence, contained a 'virus'. They used several computer programs to create a model of a theoretical virus genome sequence from more than fifty-six million small sequences of RNA, each of an unknown source, assembling them like a puzzle with no known solution. The computer filled in the gaps with sequences from bits in the gene bank to make it look like a bat SARS-like coronavirus! A wave of the magic wand and poof, an *in silico* (computer-generated) genome, a scientific fantasy, was created. UK health researcher Dr Kevin Corbett made the same point with this analogy:

... It's like giving you a few bones and saying that's your fish. It could be any fish. Not even a skeleton. Here's a few fragments of bones. That's your fish ... It's all from gene bank and the bits of the virus sequence that weren't there they made up.

They synthetically created them to fill in the blanks. That's what genetics is; it's a code. So it's ABBCCDDDD and you're missing some what you think is EEE so you put it in. It's all

synthetic. You just manufacture the bits that are missing. This is the end result of the geneticization of virology. This is basically a computer virus.

Further confirmation came in an email exchange between British citizen journalist Frances Leader and the government's Medicines & Healthcare Products Regulatory Agency (the Gates-funded MHRA) which gave emergency permission for untested 'Covid vaccines' to be used. The agency admitted that the 'vaccine' is not based on an isolated 'virus', but comes from a *computer-generated model*. Frances Leader was naturally banned from Cult-owned fascist Twitter for making this exchange public. The process of creating computer-generated alleged 'viruses' is called 'in silico' or 'in silicon' – computer chips – and the term 'in silico' is believed to originate with biological experiments using only a computer in 1989. 'Vaccines' involved with 'Covid' are also produced 'in silico' or by computer not a natural process. If the original 'virus' is nothing more than a made-up computer model how can there be 'new variants' of something that never existed in the first place? They are not new 'variants'; they are new *computer models* only minutely different to the original program and designed to further terrify the population into having the 'vaccine' and submitting to fascism. You want a 'new variant'? Click, click, enter – there you go. Tell the medical profession that you have discovered a 'South African variant', 'UK variants' or a 'Brazilian variant' and in the usual HIV-causes-AIDS manner they will unquestioningly repeat it with no evidence whatsoever to support these claims. They will go on television and warn about the dangers of 'new variants' while doing nothing more than repeating what they have been told to be true and knowing that any deviation from that would be career suicide. Big-time insiders will know it's a hoax, but much of the medical community is clueless about the way they are being played and themselves play the public without even being aware they are doing so. What an interesting 'coincidence' that AstraZeneca and Oxford University were conducting 'Covid vaccine trials' in the three countries – the UK, South Africa and Brazil – where the first three 'variants' were claimed to have 'broken out'.

## **Here's your 'virus' – it's a unicorn**

Dr Andrew Kaufman presented a brilliant analysis describing how the 'virus' was imagined into fake existence when he dissected an article published by *Nature* and written by 19 authors detailing *alleged* 'sequencing of a complete viral genome' of the 'new SARS-CoV-2 virus'. This computer-modelled *in silico* genome was used as a template for all subsequent genome sequencing experiments that resulted in the so-called variants which he said now number more than 6,000. The fake genome was constructed from more than 56 million individual short strands of RNA. Those little pieces were assembled into longer pieces by finding areas of overlapping sequences. The computer programs created over two million possible combinations from which the authors simply chose the longest one. They then compared this to a 'bat virus' and the computer 'alignment' rearranged the sequence and filled in the gaps! They called this computer-generated abomination the 'complete genome'. Dr Tom Cowan, a fellow medical author and collaborator with Kaufman, said such computer-generation constitutes scientific fraud and he makes this superb analogy:

Here is an equivalency: A group of researchers claim to have found a unicorn because they found a piece of a hoof, a hair from a tail, and a snippet of a horn. They then add that information into a computer and program it to re-create the unicorn, and they then claim this computer re-creation is the real unicorn. Of course, they had never actually seen a unicorn so could not possibly have examined its genetic makeup to compare their samples with the actual unicorn's hair, hooves and horn.

The researchers claim they decided which is the real genome of SARS-CoV-2 by 'consensus', sort of like a vote. Again, different computer programs will come up with different versions of the imaginary 'unicorn', so they come together as a group and decide which is the real imaginary unicorn.

This is how the 'virus' that has transformed the world was brought into fraudulent 'existence'. Extraordinary, yes, but as the Nazis said the bigger the lie the more will believe it. Cowan, however, wasn't finished and he went on to identify what he called the real blockbuster in the paper. He quotes this section from a paper written

by virologists and published by the CDC and then explains what it means:

Therefore, we examined the capacity of SARS-CoV-2 to infect and replicate in several common primate and human cell lines, including human adenocarcinoma cells (A549), human liver cells (HUH 7.0), and human embryonic kidney cells (HEK-293T). In addition to Vero E6 and Vero CCL81 cells. ... Each cell line was inoculated at high multiplicity of infection and examined 24h post-infection.

No CPE was observed in any of the cell lines except in Vero cells, which grew to greater than 10 to the 7th power at 24 h post-infection. In contrast, HUH 7.0 and 293T showed only modest viral replication, and A549 cells were incompatible with SARS CoV-2 infection.

Cowan explains that when virologists attempt to prove infection they have three possible 'hosts' or models on which they can test. The first was humans. Exposure to humans was generally not done for ethical reasons and has never been done with SARS-CoV-2 or any coronavirus. The second possible host was animals. Cowan said that forgetting for a moment that they never actually use purified virus when exposing animals they do use solutions that they *claim* contain the virus. Exposure to animals has been done with SARS-CoV-2 in an experiment involving mice and this is what they found: *None of the wild (normal) mice got sick.* In a group of genetically-modified mice, a statistically insignificant number lost weight and had slightly bristled fur, but they experienced nothing like the illness called 'Covid-19'. Cowan said the third method – the one they mostly rely on – is to inoculate solutions they *say* contain the virus onto a variety of tissue cultures. This process had never been shown to kill tissue *unless* the sample material was starved of nutrients and poisoned as *part of the process*. Yes, incredibly, in tissue experiments designed to show the 'virus' is responsible for killing the tissue they starve the tissue of nutrients and add toxic drugs including antibiotics and they do not have control studies to see if it's the starvation and poisoning that is degrading the tissue rather than the 'virus' they allege to be in there somewhere. You want me to pinch you? Yep, I understand. Tom Cowan said this about the whole nonsensical farce as he explains what that quote from the CDC paper really means:

The shocking thing about the above quote is that using their own methods, the virologists found that solutions containing SARS-CoV-2 – even in high amounts – were NOT, I repeat NOT, infective to any of the three human tissue cultures they tested. In plain English, this means they proved, on their terms, that this ‘new coronavirus’ is not infectious to human beings. It is ONLY infective to monkey kidney cells, and only then when you add two potent drugs (gentamicin and amphotericin), known to be toxic to kidneys, to the mix.

My friends, read this again and again. These virologists, published by the CDC, performed a clear proof, on their terms, showing that the SARS-CoV-2 virus is harmless to human beings. That is the only possible conclusion, but, unfortunately, this result is not even mentioned in their conclusion. They simply say they can provide virus stocks cultured only on monkey Vero cells, thanks for coming.

Cowan concluded: ‘If people really understood how this “science” was done, I would hope they would storm the gates and demand honesty, transparency and truth.’ Dr Michael Yeadon, former Vice President and Chief Scientific Adviser at drug giant Pfizer has been a vocal critic of the ‘Covid vaccine’ and its potential for multiple harm. He said in an interview in April, 2021, that ‘not one [vaccine] has the virus. He was asked why vaccines normally using a ‘dead’ version of a disease to activate the immune system were not used for ‘Covid’ and instead we had the synthetic methods of the ‘mRNA Covid vaccine’. Yeadon said that to do the former ‘you’d have to have some of [the virus] wouldn’t you?’ He added: ‘No-one’s got any – seriously.’ Yeadon said that surely they couldn’t have fooled the whole world for a year without having a virus, ‘but oddly enough ask around – no one’s got it’. He didn’t know why with all the ‘great labs’ around the world that the virus had not been isolated – ‘Maybe they’ve been too busy running bad PCR tests and vaccines that people don’t need.’ What is today called ‘science’ is not ‘science’ at all. Science is no longer what is, but whatever people can be manipulated to *believe* that it is. Real science has been hijacked by the Cult to dispense and produce the ‘expert scientists’ and contentions that suit the agenda of the Cult. How big-time this has happened with the ‘Covid’ hoax which is entirely based on fake science delivered by fake ‘scientists’ and fake ‘doctors’. The human-caused climate change hoax is also entirely based on fake science delivered by fake ‘scientists’ and fake ‘climate experts’. In both cases real

scientists, climate experts and doctors have their views suppressed and deleted by the Cult-owned science establishment, media and Silicon Valley. This is the 'science' that politicians claim to be 'following' and a common denominator of 'Covid' and climate are Cult psychopaths Bill Gates and his mate Klaus Schwab at the Gates-funded World Economic Forum. But, don't worry, it's all just a coincidence and absolutely nothing to worry about. Zzzzzzzzz.

## **What is a 'virus' REALLY?**

Dr Tom Cowan is one of many contesting the very existence of viruses let alone that they cause disease. This is understandable when there is no scientific evidence for a disease-causing 'virus'. German virologist Dr Stefan Lanka won a landmark case in 2017 in the German Supreme Court over his contention that there is no such thing as a measles virus. He had offered a big prize for anyone who could prove there is and Lanka won his case when someone sought to claim the money. There is currently a prize of more than 225,000 euros on offer from an Isolate Truth Fund for anyone who can prove the isolation of SARS-CoV-2 and its genetic substance. Lanka wrote in an article headed 'The Misconception Called Virus' that scientists think a 'virus' is causing tissue to become diseased and degraded when in fact it is the *processes they are using* which do that – not a 'virus'. Lanka has done an important job in making this point clear as Cowan did in his analysis of the CDC paper. Lanka says that all claims about viruses as disease-causing pathogens are wrong and based on 'easily recognisable, understandable and verifiable misinterpretations.' Scientists believed they were working with 'viruses' in their laboratories when they were really working with 'typical particles of specific dying tissues or cells ...' Lanka said that the tissue decaying process claimed to be caused by a 'virus' still happens when no alleged 'virus' is involved. It's the *process* that does the damage and not a 'virus'. The genetic sample is deprived of nutrients, removed from its energy supply through removal from the body and then doused in toxic antibiotics to remove any bacteria. He confirms again that establishment scientists do not (pinch me)

conduct control experiments to see if this is the case and if they did they would see the claims that 'viruses' are doing the damage is nonsense. He adds that during the measles 'virus' court case he commissioned an independent laboratory to perform just such a control experiment and the result was that the tissues and cells died in the exact same way as with alleged 'infected' material. This is supported by a gathering number of scientists, doctors and researchers who reject what is called 'germ theory' or the belief in the body being infected by contagious sources emitted by other people. Researchers Dawn Lester and David Parker take the same stance in their highly-detailed and sourced book *What Really Makes You Ill – Why everything you thought you knew about disease is wrong* which was recommended to me by a number of medical professionals genuinely seeking the truth. Lester and Parker say there is no provable scientific evidence to show that a 'virus' can be transmitted between people or people and animals or animals and people:

The definition also claims that viruses are the cause of many diseases, as if this has been definitively proven. But this is not the case; there is no original scientific evidence that definitively demonstrates that any virus is the cause of any disease. The burden of proof for any theory lies with those who proposed it; but none of the existing documents provides 'proof' that supports the claim that 'viruses' are pathogens.

Dr Tom Cowan employs one of his clever analogies to describe the process by which a 'virus' is named as the culprit for a disease when what is called a 'virus' is only material released by cells detoxing themselves from infiltration by chemical or radiation poisoning. The tidal wave of technologically-generated radiation in the 'smart' modern world plus all the toxic food and drink are causing this to happen more than ever. Deluded 'scientists' misread this as a gathering impact of what they wrongly label 'viruses'.

### **Paper can infect houses**

Cowan said in an article for [davidicke.com](http://davidicke.com) – with his tongue only mildly in his cheek – that he believed he had made a tremendous

discovery that may revolutionise science. He had discovered that small bits of paper are alive, 'well alive-ish', can 'infect' houses, and then reproduce themselves inside the house. The result was that this explosion of growth in the paper inside the house causes the house to explode, blowing it to smithereens. His evidence for this new theory is that in the past months he had carefully examined many of the houses in his neighbourhood and found almost no scraps of paper on the lawns and surrounds of the house. There was an occasional stray label, but nothing more. Then he would return to these same houses a week or so later and with a few, not all of them, particularly the old and decrepit ones, he found to his shock and surprise they were littered with stray bits of paper. He knew then that the paper had infected these houses, made copies of itself, and blew up the house. A young boy on a bicycle at one of the sites told him he had seen a demolition crew using dynamite to explode the house the previous week, but Cowan dismissed this as the idle thoughts of silly boys because 'I was on to something big'. He was on to how 'scientists' mistake genetic material in the detoxifying process for something they call a 'virus'. Cowan said of his house and paper story:

If this sounds crazy to you, it's because it should. This scenario is obviously nuts. But consider this admittedly embellished, for effect, current viral theory that all scientists, medical doctors and virologists currently believe.

He takes the example of the 'novel SARS-Cov2' virus to prove the point. First they take someone with an undefined illness called 'Covid-19' and don't even attempt to find any virus in their sputum. Never mind the scientists still describe how this 'virus', which they have not located attaches to a cell receptor, injects its genetic material, in 'Covid's' case, RNA, into the cell. The RNA once inserted exploits the cell to reproduce itself and makes 'thousands, nay millions, of copies of itself ... Then it emerges victorious to claim its next victim':



If you were to look in the scientific literature for proof, actual scientific proof, that uniform SARS-CoV2 viruses have been properly isolated from the sputum of a sick person, that actual spike proteins could be seen protruding from the virus (which has not been found), you would find that such evidence doesn't exist.

If you go looking in the published scientific literature for actual pictures, proof, that these spike proteins or any viral proteins are ever attached to any receptor embedded in any cell membrane, you would also find that no such evidence exists. If you were to look for a video or documented evidence of the intact virus injecting its genetic material into the body of the cell, reproducing itself and then emerging victorious by budding off the cell membrane, you would find that no such evidence exists.

The closest thing you would find is electron micrograph pictures of cellular particles, possibly attached to cell debris, both of which to be seen were stained by heavy metals, a process that completely distorts their architecture within the living organism. This is like finding bits of paper stuck to the blown-up bricks, thereby proving the paper emerged by taking pieces of the bricks on its way out.

## **The Enders baloney**

Cowan describes the 'Covid' story as being just as make-believe as his paper story and he charts back this fantasy to a Nobel Prize winner called John Enders (1897-1985), an American biomedical scientist who has been dubbed 'The Father of Modern Vaccines'. Enders is claimed to have 'discovered' the process of the viral culture which 'proved' that a 'virus' caused measles. Cowan explains how Enders did this 'by using the EXACT same procedure that has been followed by every virologist to find and characterize every new virus since 1954'. Enders took throat swabs from children with measles and immersed them in 2ml of milk. Penicillin (100u/ml) and the antibiotic streptomycin (50,g/ml) were added and the whole mix was centrifuged – rotated at high speed to separate large cellular debris from small particles and molecules as with milk and cream, for example. Cowan says that if the aim is to find little particles of genetic material ('viruses') in the snot from children with measles it would seem that the last thing you would do is mix the snot with other material – milk –that also has genetic material. 'How are you ever going to know whether whatever you found came from the snot or the milk?' He points out that streptomycin is a 'nephrotoxic' or poisonous-to-the-kidney drug. You will see the relevance of that

shortly. Cowan says that it gets worse, much worse, when Enders describes the culture medium upon which the virus 'grows': 'The culture medium consisted of bovine amniotic fluid (90%), beef embryo extract (5%), horse serum (5%), antibiotics and phenol red as an indicator of cell metabolism.' Cowan asks incredulously: 'Did he just say that the culture medium also contained fluids and tissues that are themselves rich sources of genetic material?' The genetic cocktail, or 'medium', is inoculated onto tissue and cells from rhesus monkey *kidney* tissue. This is where the importance of streptomycin comes in and currently-used antimicrobials and other drugs that are *poisonous to kidneys* and used in ALL modern viral cultures (e.g. gentamicin, streptomycin, and amphotericin). Cowan asks: 'How are you ever going to know from this witch's brew where any genetic material comes from as we now have five different sources of rich genetic material in our mix?' Remember, he says, that all genetic material, whether from monkey kidney tissues, bovine serum, milk, etc., is made from the exact same components. The same central question returns: 'How are you possibly going to know that it was the virus that killed the kidney tissue and not the toxic antibiotic and starvation rations on which you are growing the tissue?' John Enders answered the question himself – *you can't*:

A second agent was obtained from an uninoculated culture of monkey kidney cells. The cytopathic changes [death of the cells] it induced in the unstained preparations could not be distinguished with confidence from the viruses isolated from measles.

The death of the cells ('cytopathic changes') happened in exactly the same manner, whether they inoculated the kidney tissue with the measles snot or not, Cowan says. 'This is evidence that the destruction of the tissue, the very proof of viral causation of illness, was not caused by anything in the snot because they saw the same destructive effect when the snot was not even used ... the cytopathic, i.e., cell-killing, changes come from the process of the culture itself, not from any virus in any snot, period.' Enders quotes in his 1957 paper a virologist called Ruckle as reporting similar findings 'and in addition has isolated an agent from monkey kidney tissue that is so

far indistinguishable from human measles virus'. In other words, Cowan says, these particles called 'measles viruses' are simply and clearly breakdown products of the starved and poisoned tissue. For measles 'virus' see all 'viruses' including the so-called 'Covid virus'. Enders, the 'Father of Modern Vaccines', also said:

There is a potential risk in employing cultures of primate cells for the production of vaccines composed of attenuated virus, since the presence of other agents possibly latent in primate tissues cannot be definitely excluded by any known method.

Cowan further quotes from a paper published in the journal *Viruses* in May, 2020, while the 'Covid pandemic' was well underway in the media if not in reality. 'EVs' here refers to particles of genetic debris from our own tissues, such as exosomes of which more in a moment: 'The remarkable resemblance between EVs and viruses has caused quite a few problems in the studies focused on the analysis of EVs released during viral infections.' Later the paper adds that to date a reliable method that can actually guarantee a complete separation (of EVs from viruses) DOES NOT EXIST. This was published at a time when a fairy tale 'virus' was claimed in total certainty to be causing a fairy tale 'viral disease' called 'Covid-19' – a fairy tale that was already well on the way to transforming human society in the image that the Cult has worked to achieve for so long. Cowan concludes his article:

To summarize, there is no scientific evidence that pathogenic viruses exist. What we think of as 'viruses' are simply the normal breakdown products of dead and dying tissues and cells. When we are well, we make fewer of these particles; when we are starved, poisoned, suffocated by wearing masks, or afraid, we make more.

There is no engineered virus circulating and making people sick. People in laboratories all over the world are making genetically modified products to make people sick. These are called vaccines. There is no virome, no 'ecosystem' of viruses, viruses are not 8%, 50% or 100 % of our genetic material. These are all simply erroneous ideas based on the misconception called a virus.

## **What is 'Covid'? Load of bollocks**

The background described here by Cowan and Lanka was emphasised in the first video presentation that I saw by Dr Andrew Kaufman when he asked whether the 'Covid virus' was in truth a natural defence mechanism of the body called 'exosomes'. These are released by cells when in states of toxicity – see the same themes returning over and over. They are released ever more profusely as chemical and radiation toxicity increases and think of the potential effect therefore of 5G alone as its destructive frequencies infest the human energetic information field with a gathering pace (5G went online in Wuhan in 2019 as the 'virus' emerged). I'll have more about this later. Exosomes transmit a warning to the rest of the body that 'Houston, we have a problem'. Kaufman presented images of exosomes and compared them with 'Covid' under an electron microscope and the similarity was remarkable. They both attach to the same cell receptors (*claimed* in the case of 'Covid'), contain the same genetic material in the form of RNA or ribonucleic acid, and both are found in 'viral cell cultures' with damaged or dying cells. James Hildreth MD, President and Chief Executive Officer of the Meharry Medical College at Johns Hopkins, said: 'The virus is fully an exosome in every sense of the word.' Kaufman's conclusion was that there is no 'virus': 'This entire pandemic is a completely manufactured crisis ... there is no evidence of anyone dying from [this] illness.' Dr Tom Cowan and Sally Fallon Morell, authors of *The Contagion Myth*, published a statement with Dr Kaufman in February, 2021, explaining why the 'virus' does not exist and you can read it that in full in the Appendix.

'Virus' theory can be traced to the 'cell theory' in 1858 of German physician Rudolf Virchow (1821-1920) who contended that disease originates from a single cell infiltrated by a 'virus'. Dr Stefan Lanka said that findings and insights with respect to the structure, function and central importance of tissues in the creation of life, which were already known in 1858, comprehensively refute the cell theory. Virchow ignored them. We have seen the part later played by John Enders in the 1950s and Lanka notes that infection theories were only established as a global dogma through the policies and

eugenics of the Third Reich in Nazi Germany (creation of the same Sabbatian cult behind the 'Covid' hoax). Lanka said: 'Before 1933, scientists dared to contradict this theory; after 1933, these critical scientists were silenced'. Dr Tom Cowan's view is that ill-health is caused by too much of something, too little of something, or toxification from chemicals and radiation – not contagion. We must also highlight as a major source of the 'virus' theology a man still called the 'Father of Modern Virology' – Thomas Milton Rivers (1888-1962). There is no way given the Cult's long game policy that it was a coincidence for the 'Father of Modern Virology' to be director of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research from 1937 to 1956 when he is credited with making the Rockefeller Institute a leader in 'viral research'. Cult Rockefellerers were the force behind the creation of Big Pharma 'medicine', established the World Health Organisation in 1948, and have long and close associations with the Gates family that now runs the WHO during the pandemic hoax through mega-rich Cult gofer and psychopath Bill Gates.

Only a Renegade Mind can see through all this bullshit by asking the questions that need to be answered, not taking 'no' or prevarication for an answer, and certainly not hiding from the truth in fear of speaking it. Renegade Minds have always changed the world for the better and they will change this one no matter how bleak it may currently appear to be.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **Sequence of deceit**

*If you tell the truth, you don't have to remember anything*  
Mark Twain

**A**gainst the background that I have laid out this far the sequence that took us from an invented 'virus' in Cult-owned China in late 2019 to the fascist transformation of human society can be seen and understood in a whole new context.

We were told that a deadly disease had broken out in Wuhan and the world media began its campaign (coordinated by behavioural psychologists as we shall see) to terrify the population into unquestioning compliance. We were shown images of Chinese people collapsing in the street which never happened in the West with what was supposed to be the same condition. In the earliest days when alleged cases and deaths were few the fear register was hysterical in many areas of the media and this would expand into the common media narrative across the world. The real story was rather different, but we were never told that. The Chinese government, one of the Cult's biggest centres of global operation, said they had discovered a new illness with flu-like and pneumonia-type symptoms in a city with such toxic air that it is overwhelmed with flu-like symptoms, pneumonia and respiratory disease. Chinese scientists said it was a new – 'novel' – coronavirus which they called Sars-Cov-2 and that it caused a disease they labelled 'Covid-19'. There was no evidence for this and the 'virus' has never to this day been isolated, purified and its genetic code established from that. It

was from the beginning a computer-generated fiction. Stories of Chinese whistleblowers saying the number of deaths was being suppressed or that the 'new disease' was related to the Wuhan bio-lab misdirected mainstream and alternative media into cul-de-sacs to obscure the real truth – there was no 'virus'.

Chinese scientists took genetic material from the lung fluid of just a few people and said they had found a 'new' disease when this material had a wide range of content. There was no evidence for a 'virus' for the very reasons explained in the last two chapters. The 'virus' has never been shown to (a) exist and (b) cause any disease. People were diagnosed on symptoms that are so widespread in Wuhan and polluted China and with a PCR test that can't detect infectious disease. On this farce the whole global scam was sold to the rest of the world which would also diagnose respiratory disease as 'Covid-19' from symptoms alone or with a PCR test not testing for a 'virus'. Flu miraculously disappeared *worldwide* in 2020 and into 2021 as it was redesignated 'Covid-19'. It was really the same old flu with its 'flu-like' symptoms attributed to 'flu-like' 'Covid-19'. At the same time with very few exceptions the Chinese response of draconian lockdown and fascism was the chosen weapon to respond across the West as recommended by the Cult-owned Tedros at the Cult-owned World Health Organization run by the Cult-owned Gates. All was going according to plan. Chinese scientists – everything in China is controlled by the Cult-owned government – compared their contaminated RNA lung-fluid material with other RNA sequences and said it appeared to be just under 80 percent identical to the SARS-CoV-1 'virus' claimed to be the cause of the SARS (severe acute respiratory syndrome) 'outbreak' in 2003. They decreed that because of this the 'new virus' had to be related and they called it SARS-CoV-2. There are some serious problems with this assumption and *assumption* was all it was. Most 'factual' science turns out to be assumptions repeated into everyone-knows-that. A match of under 80-percent is meaningless. Dr Kaufman makes the point that there's a 96 percent genetic correlation between humans and chimpanzees, but 'no one would say our genetic material is part

of the chimpanzee family'. Yet the Chinese authorities were claiming that a much lower percentage, less than 80 percent, proved the existence of a new 'coronavirus'. For goodness sake human DNA is 60 percent similar to a *banana*.

## **You are feeling sleepy**

The entire 'Covid' hoax is a global Psyop, a psychological operation to program the human mind into believing and fearing a complete fantasy. A crucial aspect of this was what *appeared* to happen in Italy. It was all very well streaming out daily images of an alleged catastrophe in Wuhan, but to the Western mind it was still on the other side of the world in a very different culture and setting. A reaction of 'this could happen to me and my family' was still nothing like as intense enough for the mind-doctors. The Cult needed a Western example to push people over that edge and it chose Italy, one of its major global locations going back to the Roman Empire. An Italian 'Covid' crisis was manufactured in a particular area called Lombardy which just happens to be notorious for its toxic air and therefore respiratory disease. Wuhan, China, *déjà vu*. An hysterical media told horror stories of Italians dying from 'Covid' in their droves and how Lombardy hospitals were being overrun by a tidal wave of desperately ill people needing treatment after being struck down by the 'deadly virus'. Here was the psychological turning point the Cult had planned. Wow, if this is happening in Italy, the Western mind concluded, this indeed could happen to me and my family. Another point is that Italian authorities responded by following the Chinese blueprint so vehemently recommended by the Cult-owned World Health Organization. They imposed fascistic lockdowns on the whole country viciously policed with the help of surveillance drones sweeping through the streets seeking out anyone who escaped from mass house arrest. Livelihoods were destroyed and psychology unravelled in the way we have witnessed since in all lockdown countries. Crucial to the plan was that Italy responded in this way to set the precedent of suspending freedom and imposing fascism in a 'Western liberal democracy'. I emphasised in an



animated video explanation on [davidicke.com](http://davidicke.com) posted in the summer of 2020 how important it was to the Cult to expand the Chinese lockdown model across the West. Without this, and the bare-faced lie that non-symptomatic people could still transmit a 'disease' they didn't have, there was no way locking down the whole population, sick and not sick, could be pulled off. At just the right time and with no evidence Cult operatives and gofers claimed that people without symptoms could pass on the 'disease'. In the name of protecting the 'vulnerable' like elderly people, who lockdowns would kill by the tens of thousands, we had for the first time healthy people told to isolate as well as the sick. The great majority of people who tested positive had no symptoms because there was nothing wrong with them. It was just a trick made possible by a test not testing for the 'virus'.

Months after my animated video the Gates-funded Professor Neil Ferguson at the Gates-funded Imperial College confirmed that I was right. He didn't say it in those terms, naturally, but he did say it. Ferguson will enter the story shortly for his outrageously crazy 'computer models' that led to Britain, the United States and many other countries following the Chinese and now Italian methods of response. Put another way, following the Cult script. Ferguson said that SAGE, the UK government's scientific advisory group which has controlled 'Covid' policy from the start, wanted to follow the Chinese lockdown model (while they all continued to work and be paid), but they wondered if they could possibly, in Ferguson's words, 'get away with it in Europe'. 'Get away with it'? Who the hell do these moronic, arrogant people think they are? This appalling man Ferguson said that once Italy went into national lockdown they realised they, too, could mimic China:

It's a communist one-party state, we said. We couldn't get away with it in Europe, we thought ... and then Italy did it. And we realised we could. Behind this garbage from Ferguson is a simple fact: Doing the same as China in every country was the plan from the start and Ferguson's 'models' would play a central role in achieving that. It's just a coincidence, of course, and absolutely nothing to worry your little head about.

## **Oops, sorry, our mistake**

Once the Italian segment of the Psyop had done the job it was designed to do a very different story emerged. Italian authorities revealed that 99 percent of those who had 'died from Covid-19' in Italy had one, two, three, or more 'co-morbidities' or illnesses and health problems that could have ended their life. The US Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) published a figure of 94 percent for Americans dying of 'Covid' while having other serious medical conditions – on average two to three (some five or six) other potential causes of death. In terms of death from an unproven 'virus' I say it is 100 percent. The other one percent in Italy and six percent in the US would presumably have died from 'Covid's' flu-like symptoms with a range of other possible causes in conjunction with a test not testing for the 'virus'. Fox News reported that even more startling figures had emerged in one US county in which 410 of 422 deaths attributed to 'Covid-19' had other potentially deadly health conditions. The Italian National Health Institute said later that the average age of people dying with a 'Covid-19' diagnosis in Italy was about 81. Ninety percent were over 70 with ten percent over 90. In terms of other reasons to die some 80 percent had two or more chronic diseases with half having three or more including cardiovascular problems, diabetes, respiratory problems and cancer. Why is the phantom 'Covid-19' said to kill overwhelmingly old people and hardly affect the young? Old people continually die of many causes and especially respiratory disease which you can re-diagnose 'Covid-19' while young people die in tiny numbers by comparison and rarely of respiratory disease. Old people 'die of Covid' because they die of other things that can be redesignated 'Covid' and it really is that simple.

## **Flu has flown**

The blueprint was in place. Get your illusory 'cases' from a test not testing for the 'virus' and redesignate other causes of death as 'Covid-19'. You have an instant 'pandemic' from something that is nothing more than a computer-generated fiction. With near-on a

billion people having 'flu-like' symptoms every year the potential was limitless and we can see why flu quickly and apparently miraculously disappeared *worldwide* by being diagnosed 'Covid-19'. The painfully bloody obvious was explained away by the childlike media in headlines like this in the UK '*Independent*': 'Not a single case of flu detected by Public Health England this year as Covid restrictions suppress virus'. I kid you not. The masking, social distancing and house arrest that did not make the 'Covid virus' disappear somehow did so with the 'flu virus'. Even worse the article, by a bloke called Samuel Lovett, suggested that maybe the masking, sanitising and other 'Covid' measures should continue to keep the flu away. With a ridiculousness that disturbs your breathing (it's 'Covid-19') the said Lovett wrote: 'With widespread social distancing and mask-wearing measures in place throughout the UK, the usual routes of transmission for influenza have been blocked.' He had absolutely no evidence to support that statement, but look at the consequences of him acknowledging the obvious. With flu not disappearing at all and only being relabelled 'Covid-19' he would have to contemplate that 'Covid' was a hoax on a scale that is hard to imagine. You need guts and commitment to truth to even go there and that's clearly something Samuel Lovett does not have in abundance. He would never have got it through the editors anyway.

Tens of thousands die in the United States alone every winter from flu including many with pneumonia complications. CDC figures record *45 million* Americans diagnosed with flu in 2017-2018 of which 61,000 died and some reports claim 80,000. Where was the same hysteria then that we have seen with 'Covid-19'? Some 250,000 Americans are admitted to hospital with pneumonia every year with about 50,000 cases proving fatal. About 65 million suffer respiratory disease every year and three million deaths makes this the third biggest cause of death worldwide. You only have to redesignate a portion of all these people 'Covid-19' and you have an instant global pandemic or the *appearance* of one. Why would doctors do this? They are told to do this and all but a few dare not refuse those who must be obeyed. Doctors in general are not researching their own

knowledge and instead take it direct and unquestioned from the authorities that own them and their careers. The authorities say they must now diagnose these symptoms 'Covid-19' and not flu, or whatever, and they do it. Dark suits say put 'Covid-19' on death certificates no matter what the cause of death and the doctors do it. Renegade Minds don't fall for the illusion that doctors and medical staff are all highly-intelligent, highly-principled, seekers of medical truth. *Some are*, but not the majority. They are repeaters, gofers, and yes sir, no sir, purveyors of what the system demands they purvey. The 'Covid' con is not merely confined to diseases of the lungs. Instructions to doctors to put 'Covid-19' on death certificates for anyone dying of *anything* within 28 days (or much more) of a positive test not testing for the 'virus' opened the floodgates. The term dying *with* 'Covid' and not *of* 'Covid' was coined to cover the truth. Whether it was a *with* or an *of* they were all added to the death numbers attributed to the 'deadly virus' compiled by national governments and globally by the Gates-funded Johns Hopkins operation in the United States that was so involved in those 'pandemic' simulations. Fraudulent deaths were added to the ever-growing list of fraudulent 'cases' from false positives from a false test. No wonder Professor Walter Ricciardi, scientific advisor to the Italian minister of health, said after the Lombardy hysteria had done its job that 'Covid' death rates were due to Italy having the second oldest population in the world and to *how hospitals record deaths*:

The way in which we code deaths in our country is very generous in the sense that all the people who die in hospitals with the coronavirus are deemed to be dying of the coronavirus. On re-evaluation by the National Institute of Health, only 12 per cent of death certificates have shown a direct causality from coronavirus, while 88 per cent of patients who have died have at least one pre-morbidity – many had two or three.

This is extraordinary enough when you consider the propaganda campaign to use Italy to terrify the world, but how can they even say twelve percent were genuine when the 'virus' has not been shown to exist, its 'code' is a computer program, and diagnosis comes from a test not testing for it? As in China, and soon the world, 'Covid-19' in

Italy was a redesignation of diagnosis. Lies and corruption were to become the real 'pandemic' fuelled by a pathetically-compliant medical system taking its orders from the tiny few at the top of their national hierarchy who answered to the World Health Organization which answers to Gates and the Cult. Doctors were told – ordered – to diagnose a particular set of symptoms 'Covid-19' and put that on the death certificate for any cause of death if the patient had tested positive with a test not testing for the virus or had 'Covid' symptoms like the flu. The United States even introduced big financial incentives to manipulate the figures with hospitals receiving £4,600 from the Medicare system for diagnosing someone with regular pneumonia, \$13,000 if they made the diagnosis from the same symptoms 'Covid-19' pneumonia, and \$39,000 if they put a 'Covid' diagnosed patient on a ventilator that would almost certainly kill them. A few – painfully and pathetically few – medical whistleblowers revealed (before Cult-owned YouTube deleted their videos) that they had been instructed to 'let the patient crash' and put them straight on a ventilator instead of going through a series of far less intrusive and dangerous methods as they would have done before the pandemic hoax began and the financial incentives kicked in. We are talking cold-blooded murder given that ventilators are so damaging to respiratory systems they are usually the last step before heaven awaits. Renegade Minds never fall for the belief that people in white coats are all angels of mercy and cannot be full-on psychopaths. I have explained in detail in *The Answer* how what I am describing here played out across the world coordinated by the World Health Organization through the medical hierarchies in almost every country.

### **Medical scientist calls it**

Information about the non-existence of the 'virus' began to emerge for me in late March, 2020, and mushroomed after that. I was sent an email by Sir Julian Rose, a writer, researcher, and organic farming promotor, from a medical scientist friend of his in the United States. Even at that early stage in March the scientist was able to explain

how the 'Covid' hoax was being manipulated. He said there were no reliable tests for a specific 'Covid-19 virus' and nor were there any reliable agencies or media outlets for reporting numbers of actual 'Covid-19' cases. We have seen in the long period since then that he was absolutely right. 'Every action and reaction to Covid-19 is based on totally flawed data and we simply cannot make accurate assessments,' he said. Most people diagnosed with 'Covid-19' were showing nothing more than cold and flu-like symptoms 'because most coronavirus strains *are* nothing more than cold/flu-like symptoms'. We had farcical situations like an 84-year-old German man testing positive for 'Covid-19' and his nursing home ordered to quarantine only for him to be found to have a common cold. The scientist described back then why PCR tests and what he called the 'Mickey Mouse test kits' were useless for what they were claimed to be identifying. 'The idea these kits can isolate a specific virus like Covid-19 is nonsense,' he said. Significantly, he pointed out that 'if you want to create a totally false panic about a totally false pandemic – pick a coronavirus'. This is exactly what the Cult-owned Gates, World Economic Forum and Johns Hopkins University did with their Event 201 'simulation' followed by their real-life simulation called the 'pandemic'. The scientist said that all you had to do was select the sickest of people with respiratory-type diseases in a single location – 'say Wuhan' – and administer PCR tests to them. You can then claim that anyone showing 'viral sequences' similar to a coronavirus 'which will inevitably be quite a few' is suffering from a 'new' disease:

Since you already selected the sickest flu cases a fairly high proportion of your sample will go on to die. You can then say this 'new' virus has a CFR [case fatality rate] higher than the flu and use this to infuse more concern and do more tests which will of course produce more 'cases', which expands the testing, which produces yet more 'cases' and so on and so on. Before long you have your 'pandemic', and all you have done is use a simple test kit trick to convert the worst flu and pneumonia cases into something new that doesn't ACTUALLY EXIST [my emphasis].

He said that you then 'just run the same scam in other countries' and make sure to keep the fear message running high 'so that people

will feel panicky and less able to think critically'. The only problem to overcome was the fact *there is no* actual new deadly pathogen and only regular sick people. This meant that deaths from the 'new deadly pathogen' were going to be way too low for a real new deadly virus pandemic, but he said this could be overcome in the following ways – all of which would go on to happen:

1. You can claim this is just the beginning and more deaths are imminent [you underpin this with fantasy 'computer projections']. Use this as an excuse to quarantine everyone and then claim the quarantine prevented the expected millions of dead.
2. You can [say that people] 'minimizing' the dangers are irresponsible and bully them into not talking about numbers.
3. You can talk crap about made up numbers hoping to blind people with pseudoscience.
4. You can start testing well people (who, of course, will also likely have shreds of coronavirus [RNA] in them) and thus inflate your 'case figures' with 'asymptomatic carriers' (you will of course have to spin that to sound deadly even though any virologist knows the more symptom-less cases you have the less deadly is your pathogen).

The scientist said that if you take these simple steps 'you can have your own entirely manufactured pandemic up and running in weeks'. His analysis made so early in the hoax was brilliantly prophetic of what would actually unfold. Pulling all the information together in these recent chapters we have this is simple 1, 2, 3, of how you can delude virtually the entire human population into believing in a 'virus' that doesn't exist:

- A 'Covid case' is someone who tests positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'.
- A 'Covid death' is someone who dies of *any cause* within 28 days (or much longer) of testing positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'.
- Asymptomatic means there is nothing wrong with you, but they claim you can pass on what you don't have to justify locking

down (quarantining) healthy people in totality.

The foundations of the hoax are that simple. A study involving ten million people in Wuhan, published in November, 2020, demolished the whole lie about those without symptoms passing on the 'virus'. They found '300 asymptomatic cases' and traced their contacts to find that not one of them was detected with the 'virus'.

'Asymptomatic' patients and their contacts were isolated for no less than two weeks and nothing changed. I know it's all crap, but if you are going to claim that those without symptoms can transmit 'the virus' then you must produce evidence for that and they never have. Even World Health Organization official Dr Maria Van Kerkhove, head of the emerging diseases and zoonosis unit, said as early as June, 2020, that she doubted the validity of asymptomatic transmission. She said that 'from the data we have, it still seems to be rare that an asymptomatic person actually transmits onward to a secondary individual' and by 'rare' she meant that she couldn't cite any case of asymptomatic transmission.

### **The Ferguson factor**

The problem for the Cult as it headed into March, 2020, when the script had lockdown due to start, was that despite all the manipulation of the case and death figures they still did not have enough people alleged to have died from 'Covid' to justify mass house arrest. This was overcome in the way the scientist described: 'You can claim this is just the beginning and more deaths are imminent ... Use this as an excuse to quarantine everyone and then claim the quarantine prevented the expected millions of dead.' Enter one Professor Neil Ferguson, the Gates-funded 'epidemiologist' at the Gates-funded Imperial College in London. Ferguson is Britain's Christian Drosten in that he has a dire record of predicting health outcomes, but is still called upon to advise government on the next health outcome when another 'crisis' comes along. This may seem to be a strange and ridiculous thing to do. Why would you keep turning for policy guidance to people who have a history of being



monumentally wrong? Ah, but it makes sense from the Cult point of view. These 'experts' keep on producing predictions that suit the Cult agenda for societal transformation and so it was with Neil Ferguson as he revealed his horrific (and clearly insane) computer model predictions that allowed lockdowns to be imposed in Britain, the United States and many other countries. Ferguson does not have even an A-level in biology and would appear to have no formal training in computer modelling, medicine or epidemiology, according to Derek Winton, an MSc in Computational Intelligence. He wrote an article somewhat aghast at what Ferguson did which included taking no account of respiratory disease 'seasonality' which means it is far worse in the winter months. Who would have thought that respiratory disease could be worse in the winter? Well, certainly not Ferguson.

The massively China-connected Imperial College and its bizarre professor provided the excuse for the long-incubated Chinese model of human control to travel westward at lightning speed. Imperial College confirms on its website that it collaborates with the Chinese Research Institute; publishes more than 600 research papers every year with Chinese research institutions; has 225 Chinese staff; 2,600 Chinese students – the biggest international group; 7,000 former students living in China which is the largest group outside the UK; and was selected for a tour by China's President Xi Jinping during his state visit to the UK in 2015. The college takes major donations from China and describes itself as the UK's number one university collaborator with Chinese research institutions. The China communist/fascist government did not appear phased by the woeful predictions of Ferguson and Imperial when during the lockdown that Ferguson induced the college signed a five-year collaboration deal with China tech giant Huawei that will have Huawei's indoor 5G network equipment installed at the college's West London tech campus along with an 'AI cloud platform'. The deal includes Chinese sponsorship of Imperial's Venture Catalyst entrepreneurship competition. Imperial is an example of the enormous influence the Chinese government has within British and North American

universities and research centres – and further afield. Up to 200 academics from more than a dozen UK universities are being investigated on suspicion of ‘unintentionally’ helping the Chinese government build weapons of mass destruction by ‘transferring world-leading research in advanced military technology such as aircraft, missile designs and cyberweapons’. Similar scandals have broken in the United States, but it’s all a coincidence. Imperial College serves the agenda in many other ways including the promotion of every aspect of the United Nations Agenda 21/2030 (the Great Reset) and produced computer models to show that human-caused ‘climate change’ is happening when in the real world it isn’t. Imperial College is driving the climate agenda as it drives the ‘Covid’ agenda (both Cult hoaxes) while Patrick Vallance, the UK government’s Chief Scientific Adviser on ‘Covid’, was named Chief Scientific Adviser to the UN ‘climate change’ conference known as COP26 hosted by the government in Glasgow, Scotland. ‘Covid’ and ‘climate’ are fundamentally connected.

## **Professor Woeful**

From Imperial’s bosom came Neil Ferguson still advising government despite his previous disasters and it was announced early on that he and other key people like UK Chief Medical Adviser Chris Whitty had caught the ‘virus’ as the propaganda story was being sold. Somehow they managed to survive and we had Prime Minister Boris Johnson admitted to hospital with what was said to be a severe version of the ‘virus’ in this same period. His whole policy and demeanour changed when he returned to Downing Street. It’s a small world with these government advisors – especially in their communal connections to Gates – and Ferguson had partnered with Whitty to write a paper called ‘Infectious disease: Tough choices to reduce Ebola transmission’ which involved another scare-story that didn’t happen. Ferguson’s ‘models’ predicted that up to 150,000 could die from ‘mad cow disease’, or BSE, and its version in sheep if it was transmitted to humans. BSE was not transmitted and instead triggered by an organophosphate pesticide used to treat a pest on

cows. Fewer than 200 deaths followed from the human form. Models by Ferguson and his fellow incompetents led to the unnecessary culling of millions of pigs, cattle and sheep in the foot and mouth outbreak in 2001 which destroyed the lives and livelihoods of farmers and their families who had often spent decades building their herds and flocks. Vast numbers of these animals did not have foot and mouth and had no contact with the infection. Another 'expert' behind the cull was Professor Roy Anderson, a computer modeller at Imperial College specialising in the epidemiology of *human*, not animal, disease. Anderson has served on the Bill and Melinda Gates Grand Challenges in Global Health advisory board and chairs another Gates-funded organisation. Gates is everywhere.

In a precursor to the 'Covid' script Ferguson backed closing schools 'for prolonged periods' over the swine flu 'pandemic' in 2009 and said it would affect a third of the world population if it continued to spread at the speed he claimed to be happening. His mates at Imperial College said much the same and a news report said: 'One of the authors, the epidemiologist and disease modeller Neil Ferguson, who sits on the World Health Organisation's emergency committee for the outbreak, said the virus had "full pandemic potential".' Professor Liam Donaldson, the Chris Whitty of his day as Chief Medical Officer, said the worst case could see 30 percent of the British people infected by swine flu with 65,000 dying. Ferguson and Donaldson were indeed proved correct when at the end of the year the number of deaths attributed to swine flu was 392. The term 'expert' is rather liberally applied unfortunately, not least to complete idiots. Swine flu 'projections' were great for GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) as millions rolled in for its Pandemrix influenza vaccine which led to brain damage with children most affected. The British government (taxpayers) paid out more than £60 million in compensation after GSK was given immunity from prosecution. Yet another 'Covid' déjà vu. Swine flu was supposed to have broken out in Mexico, but Dr Wolfgang Wodarg, a German doctor, former member of parliament and critic of the 'Covid' hoax, observed 'the spread of swine flu' in Mexico City at the time. He

said: 'What we experienced in Mexico City was a very mild flu which did not kill more than usual – which killed even fewer people than usual.' Hying the fear against all the facts is not unique to 'Covid' and has happened many times before. Ferguson is reported to have over-estimated the projected death toll of bird flu (H5N1) by some three million-fold, but bird flu vaccine makers again made a killing from the scare. This is some of the background to the Neil Ferguson who produced the perfectly-timed computer models in early 2020 predicting that half a million people would die in Britain without draconian lockdown and 2.2 million in the United States. Politicians panicked, people panicked, and lockdowns of alleged short duration were instigated to 'flatten the curve' of cases gleaned from a test not testing for the 'virus'. I said at the time that the public could forget the 'short duration' bit. This was an agenda to destroy the livelihoods of the population and force them into mass control through dependency and there was going to be nothing 'short' about it. American researcher Daniel Horowitz described the consequences of the 'models' spewed out by Gates-funded Ferguson and Imperial College:

What led our government and the governments of many other countries into panic was a single Imperial College of UK study, funded by global warming activists, that predicted 2.2 million deaths if we didn't lock down the country. In addition, the reported 8-9% death rate in Italy scared us into thinking there was some other mutation of this virus that they got, which might have come here.

Together with the fact that we were finally testing and had the ability to actually report new cases, we thought we were headed for a death spiral. But again ... we can't flatten a curve if we don't know when the curve started.

How about it *never* started?

## **Giving them what they want**

An investigation by German news outlet *Welt Am Sonntag* (*World on Sunday*) revealed how in March, 2020, the German government gathered together 'leading scientists from several research institutes and universities' and 'together, they were to produce a [modelling]

paper that would serve as legitimization for further tough political measures'. The Cult agenda was justified by computer modelling not based on evidence or reality; it was specifically constructed to justify the Cult demand for lockdowns all over the world to destroy the independent livelihoods of the global population. All these modellers and everyone responsible for the 'Covid' hoax have a date with a trial like those in Nuremberg after World War Two when Nazis faced the consequences of their war crimes. These corrupt-beyond-belief 'modellers' wrote the paper according to government instructions and it said that that if lockdown measures were lifted then up to one million Germans would die from 'Covid-19' adding that some would die 'agonizingly at home, gasping for breath' unable to be treated by hospitals that couldn't cope. All lies. No matter – it gave the Cult all that it wanted. What did long-time government 'modeller' Neil Ferguson say? If the UK and the United States didn't lockdown half a million would die in Britain and 2.2 million Americans. Anyone see a theme here? 'Modellers' are such a crucial part of the lockdown strategy that we should look into their background and follow the money. Researcher Rosemary Frei produced an excellent article headlined 'The Modelling-paper Mafiosi'. She highlights a guy called John Edmunds, a British epidemiologist, and professor in the Faculty of Epidemiology and Population Health at the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine. He studied at Imperial College. Edmunds is a member of government 'Covid' advisory bodies which have been dictating policy, the New and Emerging Respiratory Virus Threats Advisory Group (NERVTAG) and the Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE).

Ferguson, another member of NERVTAG and SAGE, led the way with the original 'virus' and Edmunds has followed in the 'variant' stage and especially the so-called UK or Kent variant known as the 'Variant of Concern' (VOC) B.1.1.7. He said in a co-written report for the Centre for Mathematical modelling of Infectious Diseases at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, with input from the Centre's 'Covid-19' Working Group, that there was 'a realistic

possibility that VOC B.1.1.7 is associated with an increased risk of death compared to non-VOC viruses'. Fear, fear, fear, get the vaccine, fear, fear, fear, get the vaccine. Rosemary Frei reveals that almost all the paper's authors and members of the modelling centre's 'Covid-19' Working Group receive funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and/or the associated Gates-funded Wellcome Trust. The paper was published by e-journal *Medrx* *xiv* which only publishes papers not peer-reviewed and the journal was established by an organisation headed by Facebook's Mark Zuckerberg and his missus. What a small world it is. Frei discovered that Edmunds is on the Scientific Advisory Board of the Coalition for Epidemic Preparedness Innovations (CEPI) which was established by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Klaus Schwab's Davos World Economic Forum and Big Pharma giant Wellcome. CEPI was 'launched in Davos [in 2017] to develop vaccines to stop future epidemics', according to its website. 'Our mission is to accelerate the development of vaccines against emerging infectious diseases and enable equitable access to these vaccines for people during outbreaks.' What kind people they are. Rosemary Frei reveals that Public Health England (PHE) director Susan Hopkins is an author of her organisation's non-peer-reviewed reports on 'new variants'. Hopkins is a professor of infectious diseases at London's Imperial College which is gifted tens of millions of dollars a year by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Gates-funded modelling disaster Neil Ferguson also co-authors Public Health England reports and he spoke in December, 2020, about the potential danger of the B.1.1.7. 'UK variant' promoted by Gates-funded modeller John Edmunds. When I come to the 'Covid vaccines' the 'new variants' will be shown for what they are – bollocks.

## **Connections, connections**

All these people and modellers are lockdown-obsessed or, put another way, they demand what the Cult demands. Edmunds said in January, 2021, that to ease lockdowns too soon would be a disaster and they had to 'vaccinate much, much, much more widely than the

elderly'. Rosemary Frei highlights that Edmunds is married to Jeanne Pimenta who is described in a LinkedIn profile as director of epidemiology at GlaxoSmithKline (GSK) and she held shares in the company. Patrick Vallance, co-chair of SAGE and the government's Chief Scientific Adviser, is a former executive of GSK and has a deferred bonus of shares in the company worth £600,000. GSK has serious business connections with Bill Gates and is collaborating with mRNA-'vaccine' company CureVac to make 'vaccines' for the new variants that Edmunds is talking about. GSK is planning a 'Covid vaccine' with drug giant Sanofi. Puppets Prime Minister Boris Johnson announced in the spring of 2021 that up to 60 million vaccine doses were to be made at the GSK facility at Barnard Castle in the English North East. Barnard Castle, with a population of just 6,000, was famously visited in breach of lockdown rules in April, 2020, by Johnson aide Dominic Cummings who said that he drove there 'to test his eyesight' before driving back to London. Cummings would be better advised to test his integrity – not that it would take long. The GSK facility had nothing to do with his visit then although I'm sure Patrick Vallance would have been happy to arrange an introduction and some tea and biscuits. Ruthless psychopath Gates has made yet another fortune from vaccines in collaboration with Big Pharma companies and gushes at the phenomenal profits to be made from vaccines – more than a 20-to-1 return as he told one interviewer. Gates also tweeted in December, 2019, with the foreknowledge of what was coming: 'What's next for our foundation? I'm particularly excited about what the next year could mean for one of the best buys in global health: vaccines.'

Modeller John Edmunds is a big promoter of vaccines as all these people appear to be. He's the dean of the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine's Faculty of Epidemiology and Population Health which is primarily funded by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation and the Gates-established and funded GAVI vaccine alliance which is the Gates vehicle to vaccinate the world. The organisation Doctors Without Borders has described GAVI as being 'aimed more at supporting drug-industry desires to promote new

products than at finding the most efficient and sustainable means for fighting the diseases of poverty'. But then that's why the psychopath Gates created it. John Edmunds said in a video that the London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine is involved in every aspect of vaccine development including large-scale clinical trials. He contends that mathematical modelling can show that vaccines protect individuals and society. That's on the basis of shit in and shit out, I take it. Edmunds serves on the UK Vaccine Network as does Ferguson and the government's foremost 'Covid' adviser, the grim-faced, dark-eyed Chris Whitty. The Vaccine Network says it works 'to support the government to identify and shortlist targeted investment opportunities for the most promising vaccines and vaccine technologies that will help combat infectious diseases with epidemic potential, and to address structural issues related to the UK's broader vaccine infrastructure'. Ferguson is acting Director of the Imperial College Vaccine Impact Modelling Consortium which has funding from the Bill and Melina Gates Foundation and the Gates-created GAVI 'vaccine alliance'. Anyone wonder why these characters see vaccines as the answer to every problem? Ferguson is wildly enthusiastic in his support for GAVI's campaign to vaccinate children en masse in poor countries. You would expect someone like Gates who has constantly talked about the need to reduce the population to want to fund vaccines to keep more people alive. I'm sure that's why he does it. The John Edmunds London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine (LSHTM) has a Vaccines Manufacturing Innovation Centre which develops, tests and commercialises vaccines. Rosemary Frei writes:

The vaccines centre also performs affiliated activities like combating 'vaccine hesitancy'. The latter includes the Vaccine Confidence Project. The project's stated purpose is, among other things, 'to provide analysis and guidance for early response and engagement with the public to ensure sustained confidence in vaccines and immunisation'. The Vaccine Confidence Project's director is LSHTM professor Heidi Larson. For more than a decade she's been researching how to combat vaccine hesitancy.

How the bloody hell can blokes like John Edmunds and Neil Ferguson with those connections and financial ties model 'virus' case



and death projections for the government and especially in a way that gives their paymasters like Gates exactly what they want? It's insane, but this is what you find throughout the world.

### **'Covid' is not dangerous, oops, wait, yes it is**

Only days before Ferguson's nightmare scenario made Jackboot Johnson take Britain into a China-style lockdown to save us from a deadly 'virus' the UK government website gov.uk was reporting something very different to Ferguson on a page of official government guidance for 'high consequence infectious diseases (HCID)'. It said this about 'Covid-19':

*As of 19 March 2020, COVID-19 is no longer considered to be a high consequence infectious diseases (HCID) in the UK [my emphasis].* The 4 nations public health HCID group made an interim recommendation in January 2020 to classify COVID-19 as an HCID. This was based on consideration of the UK HCID criteria about the virus and the disease with information available during the early stages of the outbreak.

Now that more is known about COVID-19, the public health bodies in the UK have reviewed the most up to date information about COVID-19 against the UK HCID criteria. They have determined that several features have now changed; in particular, more information is available about mortality rates (low overall), and there is now greater clinical awareness and a specific and sensitive laboratory test, the availability of which continues to increase. The Advisory Committee on Dangerous Pathogens (ACDP) is also of the opinion that COVID-19 should no longer be classified as an HCID.

Soon after the government had been exposed for downgrading the risk they upgraded it again and everyone was back to singing from the same Cult hymn book. Ferguson and his fellow Gates clones indicated that lockdowns and restrictions would have to continue until a Gates-funded vaccine was developed. Gates said the same because Ferguson and his like were repeating the Gates script which is the Cult script. 'Flatten the curve' became an ongoing nightmare of continuing lockdowns with periods in between of severe restrictions in pursuit of destroying independent incomes and had nothing to do with protecting health about which the Cult gives not a shit. Why wouldn't Ferguson be pushing a vaccine 'solution' when he's owned by vaccine-obsessive Gates who makes a fortune from them and

when Ferguson heads the Vaccine Impact Modelling Consortium at Imperial College funded by the Gates Foundation and GAVI, the 'vaccine alliance', created by Gates as his personal vaccine promotion operation? To compound the human catastrophe that Ferguson's 'models' did so much to create he was later exposed for breaking his own lockdown rules by having sexual liaisons with his married girlfriend Antonia Staats at his home while she was living at another location with her husband and children. Staats was a 'climate' activist and senior campaigner at the Soros-funded Avaaz which I wouldn't trust to tell me that grass is green. Ferguson had to resign as a government advisor over this hypocrisy in May, 2020, but after a period of quiet he was back being quoted by the ridiculous media on the need for more lockdowns and a vaccine rollout. Other government-advising 'scientists' from Imperial College held the fort in his absence and said lockdown could be indefinite until a vaccine was found. The Cult script was being sung by the payrolled choir. I said there was no intention of going back to 'normal' when the 'vaccine' came because the 'vaccine' is part of a very different agenda that I will discuss in Human 2.0. Why would the Cult want to let the world go back to normal when destroying that normal forever was the whole point of what was happening? House arrest, closing businesses and schools through lockdown, (un)social distancing and masks all followed the Ferguson fantasy models. Again as I predicted (these people are so predictable) when the 'vaccine' arrived we were told that house arrest, lockdown, (un)social distancing and masks would still have to continue. I will deal with the masks in the next chapter because they are of fundamental importance.

## **Where's the 'pandemic'?**

Any mildly in-depth assessment of the figures revealed what was really going on. Cult-funded and controlled organisations still have genuine people working within them such is the number involved. So it is with Genevieve Briand, assistant program director of the Applied Economics master's degree program at Johns Hopkins

University. She analysed the impact that 'Covid-19' had on deaths from *all* causes in the United States using official data from the CDC for the period from early February to early September, 2020. She found that allegedly 'Covid' *related*-deaths exceeded those from heart disease which she found strange with heart disease always the biggest cause of fatalities. Her research became even more significant when she noted the sudden decline in 2020 of *all* non-'Covid' deaths: 'This trend is completely contrary to the pattern observed in all previous years ... the total decrease in deaths by other causes almost exactly equals the increase in deaths by Covid-19.' This was such a game, set and match in terms of what was happening that Johns Hopkins University deleted the article on the grounds that it 'was being used to support false and dangerous inaccuracies about the impact of the pandemic'. No – because it exposed the scam from official CDC figures and this was confirmed when those figures were published in January, 2021. Here we can see the effect of people dying from heart attacks, cancer, road accidents and gunshot wounds – *anything* – having 'Covid-19' on the death certificate along with those diagnosed from 'symptoms' who had even not tested positive with a test not testing for the 'virus'. I am not kidding with the gunshot wounds, by the way. Brenda Bock, coroner in Grand County, Colorado, revealed that two gunshot victims tested positive for the 'virus' within the previous 30 days and were therefore classified as 'Covid deaths'. Bock said: 'These two people had tested positive for Covid, but that's not what killed them. A gunshot wound is what killed them.' She said she had not even finished her investigation when the state listed the gunshot victims as deaths due to the 'virus'. The death and case figures for 'Covid-19' are an absolute joke and yet they are repeated like parrots by the media, politicians and alleged medical 'experts'. The official Cult narrative is the only show in town.

Genevieve Briand found that deaths from all causes were not exceptional in 2020 compared with previous years and a Spanish magazine published figures that said the same about Spain which was a 'Covid' propaganda hotspot at one point. *Discovery Salud*, a

health and medicine magazine, quoted government figures which showed how 17,000 *fewer* people died in Spain in 2020 than in 2019 and more than 26,000 fewer than in 2018. The age-standardised mortality rate for England and Wales when age distribution is taken into account was significantly lower in 2020 than the 1970s, 80s and 90s, and was only the ninth highest since 2000. Where is the 'pandemic'?

Post mortems and autopsies virtually disappeared for 'Covid' deaths amid claims that 'virus-infected' bodily fluids posed a risk to those carrying out the autopsy. This was rejected by renowned German pathologist and forensic doctor Klaus Püschel who said that he and his staff had by then done 150 autopsies on 'Covid' patients with no problems at all. He said they were needed to know why some 'Covid' patients suffered blood clots and not severe respiratory infections. The 'virus' is, after all, called SARS or 'severe acute respiratory syndrome'. I highlighted in the spring of 2020 this phenomenon and quoted New York intensive care doctor Cameron Kyle-Sidell who posted a soon deleted YouTube video to say that they had been told to prepare to treat an infectious disease called 'Covid-19', but that was not what they were dealing with. Instead he likened the lung condition of the most severely ill patients to what you would expect with cabin depressurisation in a plane at 30,000 feet or someone dropped on the top of Everest without oxygen or acclimatisation. I have never said this is not happening to a small minority of alleged 'Covid' patients – I am saying this is not caused by a phantom 'contagious virus'. Indeed Kyle-Sidell said that 'Covid-19' was not the disease they were told was coming their way. 'We are operating under a medical paradigm that is untrue,' he said, and he believed they were treating the wrong disease: 'These people are being slowly starved of oxygen.' Patients would take off their oxygen masks in a state of fear and stress and while they were blue in the face on the brink of death. They did not look like patients dying of pneumonia. You can see why they don't want autopsies when their virus doesn't exist and there is another condition in some people that they don't wish to be uncovered. I should add here that

the 5G system of millimetre waves was being rapidly introduced around the world in 2020 and even more so now as they fire 5G at the Earth from satellites. At 60 gigahertz within the 5G range that frequency interacts with the oxygen molecule and stops people breathing in sufficient oxygen to be absorbed into the bloodstream. They are installing 5G in schools and hospitals. The world is not mad or anything. 5G can cause major changes to the lungs and blood as I detail in *The Answer* and these consequences are labelled 'Covid-19', the alleged symptoms of which can be caused by 5G and other electromagnetic frequencies as cells respond to radiation poisoning.

### **The 'Covid death' scam**

Dr Scott Jensen, a Minnesota state senator and medical doctor, exposed 'Covid' Medicare payment incentives to hospitals and death certificate manipulation. He said he was sent a seven-page document by the US Department of Health 'coaching' him on how to fill out death certificates which had never happened before. The document said that he didn't need to have a laboratory test for 'Covid-19' to put that on the death certificate and that shocked him when death certificates are supposed to be about facts. Jensen described how doctors had been 'encouraged, if not pressured' to make a diagnosis of 'Covid-19' if they thought it was probable or '*presumed*'. No positive test was necessary – not that this would have mattered anyway. He said doctors were told to diagnose 'Covid' by symptoms when these were the same as colds, allergies, other respiratory problems, and certainly with influenza which 'disappeared' in the 'Covid' era. A common sniffle was enough to get the dreaded verdict. Ontario authorities decreed that a single care home resident with *one* symptom from a long list must lead to the isolation of the entire home. Other courageous doctors like Jensen made the same point about death figure manipulation and how deaths by other causes were falling while 'Covid-19 deaths' were rising at the same rate due to re-diagnosis. Their videos rarely survive long on YouTube with its Cult-supporting algorithms courtesy of CEO Susan Wojcicki and her bosses at Google. Figure-tampering was so glaring

and ubiquitous that even officials were letting it slip or outright saying it. UK chief scientific adviser Patrick Vallance said on one occasion that 'Covid' on the death certificate doesn't mean 'Covid' was the cause of death (so why the hell is it there?) and we had the rare sight of a BBC reporter telling the truth when she said: 'Someone could be successfully treated for Covid, in say April, discharged, and then in June, get run over by a bus and die ... That person would still be counted as a Covid death in England.' Yet the BBC and the rest of the world media went on repeating the case and death figures as if they were real. Illinois Public Health Director Dr Ngozi Ezike revealed the deceit while her bosses must have been clenching their buttocks:

If you were in a hospice and given a few weeks to live and you were then found to have Covid that would be counted as a Covid death. [There might be] a clear alternate cause, but it is still listed as a Covid death. So everyone listed as a Covid death doesn't mean that was the cause of the death, but that they had Covid at the time of death.

Yes, a 'Covid virus' never shown to exist and tested for with a test not testing for the 'virus'. In the first period of the pandemic hoax through the spring of 2020 the process began of designating almost everything a 'Covid' death and this has continued ever since. I sat in a restaurant one night listening to a loud conversation on the next table where a family was discussing in bewilderment how a relative who had no symptoms of 'Covid', and had died of a long-term problem, could have been diagnosed a death by the 'virus'. I could understand their bewilderment. If they read this book they will know why this medical fraud has been perpetrated the world over.

### **Some media truth shock**

The media ignored the evidence of death certificate fraud until eventually one columnist did speak out when she saw it first-hand. Bel Mooney is a long-time national newspaper journalist in Britain currently working for the *Daily Mail*. Her article on February 19th, 2021, carried this headline: 'My dad Ted passed three Covid tests

and died of a chronic illness yet he's officially one of Britain's 120,000 victims of the virus and is far from alone ... so how many more are there?' She told how her 99-year-old father was in a care home with a long-standing chronic obstructive pulmonary disease and vascular dementia. Maybe, but he was still aware enough to tell her from the start that there was no 'virus' and he refused the 'vaccine' for that reason. His death was not unexpected given his chronic health problems and Mooney said she was shocked to find that 'Covid-19' was declared the cause of death on his death certificate. She said this was a 'bizarre and unacceptable untruth' for a man with long-time health problems who had tested negative twice at the home for the 'virus'. I was also shocked by this story although not by what she said. I had been highlighting the death certificate manipulation for ten months. It was the confirmation that a professional full-time journalist only realised this was going on when it affected her directly and neither did she know that whether her dad tested positive or negative was irrelevant with the test not testing for the 'virus'. Where had she been? She said she did not believe in 'conspiracy theories' without knowing I'm sure that this and 'conspiracy theorists' were terms put into widespread circulation by the CIA in the 1960s to discredit those who did not accept the ridiculous official story of the Kennedy assassination. A blanket statement of 'I don't believe in conspiracy theories' is always bizarre. The dictionary definition of the term alone means the world is drowning in conspiracies. What she said was even more daft when her dad had just been affected by the 'Covid' conspiracy. Why else does she think that 'Covid-19' was going on the death certificates of people who died of something else?

To be fair once she saw from personal experience what was happening she didn't mince words. Mooney was called by the care home on the morning of February 9th to be told her father had died in his sleep. When she asked for the official cause of death what came back was 'Covid-19'. Mooney challenged this and was told there had been deaths from Covid on the dementia floor (confirmed by a test not testing for the 'virus') so they considered it 'reasonable

to assume'. 'But doctor,' Mooney rightly protested, 'an assumption isn't a diagnosis.' She said she didn't blame the perfectly decent and sympathetic doctor – 'he was just doing his job'. Sorry, but that's *bullshit*. He wasn't doing his job at all. He was putting a false cause of death on the death certificate and that is a criminal offence for which he should be brought to account and the same with the millions of doctors worldwide who have done the same. They were not doing their job they were following orders and that must not wash at new Nuremberg trials any more than it did at the first ones. Mooney's doctor was 'assuming' (presuming) as he was told to, but 'just following orders' makes no difference to his actions. A doctor's job is to serve the patient and the truth, not follow orders, but that's what they have done all over the world and played a central part in making the 'Covid' hoax possible with all its catastrophic consequences for humanity. Shame on them and they must answer for their actions. Mooney said her disquiet worsened when she registered her father's death by telephone and was told by the registrar there had been very many other cases like hers where 'the deceased' had not tested positive for 'Covid' yet it was recorded as the cause of death. The test may not matter, but those involved at their level *think* it matters and it shows a callous disregard for accurate diagnosis. The pressure to do this is coming from the top of the national 'health' pyramids which in turn obey the World Health Organization which obeys Gates and the Cult. Mooney said the registrar agreed that this must distort the national figures adding that 'the strangest thing is that every winter we record countless deaths from flu, and this winter there have been none. Not one!' She asked if the registrar thought deaths from flu were being misdiagnosed and lumped together with 'Covid' deaths. The answer was a 'puzzled yes'. Mooney said that the funeral director said the same about 'Covid' deaths which had nothing to do with 'Covid'. They had lost count of the number of families upset by this and other funeral companies in different countries have had the same experience. Mooney wrote:



The nightly shroud-waving and shocking close-ups of pain imposed on us by the TV news bewildered and terrified the population into eager compliance with lockdowns. We were invited to 'save the NHS' and to grieve for strangers – the real-life loved ones behind those shocking death counts. Why would the public imagine what I now fear, namely that the way Covid-19 death statistics are compiled might make the numbers seem greater than they are?

Oh, just a little bit – like 100 percent.

## **Do the maths**

Mooney asked why a country would wish to skew its mortality figures by wrongly certifying deaths? What had been going on? Well, if you don't believe in conspiracies you will never find the answer which is that *it's a conspiracy*. She did, however, describe what she had discovered as a 'national scandal'. In reality it's a global scandal and happening everywhere. Pillars of this conspiracy were all put into place before the button was pressed with the Drosten PCR protocol and high amplifications to produce the cases and death certificate changes to secure illusory 'Covid' deaths. Mooney notes that normally two doctors were needed to certify a death, with one having to know the patient, and how the rules were changed in the spring of 2020 to allow one doctor to do this. In the same period 'Covid deaths' were decreed to be all cases where Covid-19 was put on the death certificate even without a positive test or any symptoms. Mooney asked: 'How many of the 30,851 (as of January 15) care home resident deaths with Covid-19 on the certificate (32.4 per cent of all deaths so far) were based on an assumption, like that of my father? And what has that done to our national psyche?' All of them is the answer to the first question and it has devastated and dismantled the national psyche, actually the global psyche, on a colossal scale. In the UK case and death data is compiled by organisations like Public Health England (PHE) and the Office for National Statistics (ONS). Mooney highlights the insane policy of counting a death from any cause as 'Covid-19' if this happens within 28 days of a positive test (with a test not testing for the 'virus') and she points out that ONS statistics reflect deaths 'involving Covid' 'or due to Covid' which meant in practice any

death where 'Covid-19' was mentioned on the death certificate. She described the consequences of this fraud:

Most people will accept the narrative they are fed, so panicky governments here and in Europe witnessed the harsh measures enacted in totalitarian China and jumped into lockdown. Headlines about Covid deaths tolled like the knell that would bring doomsday to us all. Fear stalked our empty streets. Politicians parroted the frankly ridiculous aim of 'zero Covid' and shut down the economy, while most British people agreed that lockdown was essential and (astonishingly to me, as a patriotic Brit) even wanted more restrictions.

For what? Lies on death certificates? Never mind the grim toll of lives ruined, suicides, schools closed, rising inequality, depression, cancelled hospital treatments, cancer patients in a torture of waiting, poverty, economic devastation, loneliness, families kept apart, and so on. How many lives have been lost as a direct result of lockdown?

She said that we could join in a national chorus of shock and horror at reaching the 120,000 death toll which was surely certain to have been totally skewed all along, but what about the human cost of lockdown justified by these 'death figures'? *The British Medical Journal* had reported a 1,493 percent increase in cases of children taken to Great Ormond Street Hospital with abusive head injuries alone and then there was the effect on families:

Perhaps the most shocking thing about all this is that families have been kept apart – and obeyed the most irrational, changing rules at the whim of government – because they believed in the statistics. They succumbed to fear, which his generation rejected in that war fought for freedom. Dad (God rest his soul) would be angry. And so am I.

Another theme to watch is that in the winter months when there are more deaths from all causes they focus on 'Covid' deaths and in the summer when the British Lung Foundation says respiratory disease plummets by 80 percent they rage on about 'cases'. Either way fascism on population is always the answer.

## **Nazi eugenics in the 21st century**

Elderly people in care homes have been isolated from their families month after lonely month with no contact with relatives and grandchildren who were banned from seeing them. We were told

that lockdown fascism was to 'protect the vulnerable' like elderly people. At the same time Do Not Resuscitate (DNR) orders were placed on their medical files so that if they needed resuscitation it wasn't done and 'Covid-19' went on their death certificates. Old people were not being 'protected' they were being culled – murdered in truth. DNR orders were being decreed for disabled and young people with learning difficulties or psychological problems. The UK Care Quality Commission, a non-departmental body of the Department of Health and Social Care, found that 34 percent of those working in health and social care were pressured into placing 'do not attempt cardiopulmonary resuscitation' orders on 'Covid' patients who suffered from disabilities and learning difficulties without involving the patient or their families in the decision. UK judges ruled that an elderly woman with dementia should have the DNA-manipulating 'Covid vaccine' against her son's wishes and that a man with severe learning difficulties should have the job despite his family's objections. Never mind that many had already died. The judiciary always supports doctors and government in fascist dictatorships. They wouldn't dare do otherwise. A horrific video was posted showing fascist officers from Los Angeles police forcibly giving the 'Covid' shot to women with special needs who were screaming that they didn't want it. The same fascists are seen giving the jab to a sleeping elderly woman in a care home. This is straight out of the Nazi playbook. Hitler's Nazis committed mass murder of the mentally ill and physically disabled throughout Germany and occupied territories in the programme that became known as Aktion T4, or just T4. Sabbatian-controlled Hitler and his grotesque crazies set out to kill those they considered useless and unnecessary. The Reich Committee for the Scientific Registering of Hereditary and Congenital Illnesses registered the births of babies identified by physicians to have 'defects'. By 1941 alone more than 5,000 children were murdered by the state and it is estimated that in total the number of innocent people killed in Aktion T4 was between 275,000 and 300,000. Parents were told their children had been sent away for 'special treatment' never to return. It is rather pathetic to see claims about plans for new extermination camps being dismissed today

when the same force behind current events did precisely that 80 years ago. Margaret Sanger was a Cult operative who used 'birth control' to sanitise her programme of eugenics. Organisations she founded became what is now Planned Parenthood. Sanger proposed that 'the whole dysgenic population would have its choice of segregation or sterilization'. These included epileptics, 'feeble-minded', and prostitutes. Sanger opposed charity because it perpetuated 'human waste'. She reveals the Cult mentality and if anyone thinks that extermination camps are a 'conspiracy theory' their naivety is touching if breathtakingly stupid.

If you don't believe that doctors can act with callous disregard for their patients it is worth considering that doctors and medical staff agreed to put government-decreed DNR orders on medical files and do nothing when resuscitation is called for. I don't know what you call such people in your house. In mine they are Nazis from the Josef Mengele School of Medicine. Phenomenal numbers of old people have died worldwide from the effects of lockdown, depression, lack of treatment, the 'vaccine' (more later) and losing the will to live. A common response at the start of the manufactured pandemic was to remove old people from hospital beds and transfer them to nursing homes. The decision would result in a mass cull of elderly people in those homes through lack of treatment – *not* 'Covid'. Care home whistleblowers have told how once the 'Covid' era began doctors would not come to their homes to treat patients and they were begging for drugs like antibiotics that often never came. The most infamous example was ordered by New York governor Andrew Cuomo, brother of a moronic CNN host, who amazingly was given an Emmy Award for his handling of the 'Covid crisis' by the ridiculous Wokers that hand them out. Just how ridiculous could be seen in February, 2021, when a Department of Justice and FBI investigation began into how thousands of old people in New York died in nursing homes after being discharged from hospital to make way for 'Covid' patients on Cuomo's say-so – and how he and his staff covered up these facts. This couldn't have happened to a nicer psychopath. Even then there was a 'Covid' spin. Reports said that

thousands of old people who tested positive for 'Covid' in hospital were transferred to nursing homes to both die of 'Covid' and transmit it to others. No – they were in hospital because they were ill and the fact that they tested positive with a test not testing for the 'virus' is irrelevant. They were ill often with respiratory diseases ubiquitous in old people near the end of their lives. Their transfer out of hospital meant that their treatment stopped and many would go on to die.

### **They're old. Who gives a damn?**

I have exposed in the books for decades the Cult plan to cull the world's old people and even to introduce at some point what they call a 'demise pill' which at a certain age everyone would take and be out of here by law. In March, 2021, Spain legalised euthanasia and assisted suicide following the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg and Canada on the Tiptoe to the demise pill. Treatment of old people by many 'care' homes has been a disgrace in the 'Covid' era. There are many, many, caring staff – I know some. There have, however, been legions of stories about callous treatment of old people and their families. Police were called when families came to take their loved ones home in the light of isolation that was killing them. They became prisoners of the state. Care home residents in insane, fascist Ontario, Canada, were not allowed to leave their *room* once the 'Covid' hoax began. UK staff have even wheeled elderly people away from windows where family members were talking with them. Oriana Criscuolo from Stockport in the English North West dropped off some things for her 80-year-old father who has Parkinson's disease and dementia and she wanted to wave to him through a ground-floor window. She was told that was 'illegal'. When she went anyway they closed the curtains in the middle of the day. Oriana said:

It's just unbelievable. I cannot understand how care home staff – people who are being paid to care – have become so uncaring. Their behaviour is inhumane and cruel. It's beyond belief.

She was right and this was not a one-off. What a way to end your life in such loveless circumstances. UK registered nurse Nicky Millen, a proper old school nurse for 40 years, said that when she started her career care was based on dignity, choice, compassion and empathy. Now she said 'the things that are important to me have gone out of the window.' She was appalled that people were dying without their loved ones and saying goodbye on iPads. Nicky described how a distressed 89-year-old lady stroked her face and asked her 'how many paracetamol would it take to finish me off'. Life was no longer worth living while not seeing her family. Nicky said she was humiliated in front of the ward staff and patients for letting the lady stroke her face and giving her a cuddle. Such is the dehumanisation that the 'Covid' hoax has brought to the surface. Nicky worked in care homes where patients told her they were being held prisoner. 'I want to live until I die', one said to her. 'I had a lady in tears because she hadn't seen her great-grandson.' Nicky was compassionate old school meeting psychopathic New Normal. She also said she had worked on a 'Covid' ward with no 'Covid' patients. Jewish writer Shai Held wrote an article in March, 2020, which was headlined 'The Staggering, Heartless Cruelty Toward the Elderly'. What he described was happening from the earliest days of lockdown. He said 'the elderly' were considered a group and not unique individuals (the way of the Woke). Shai Held said:

Notice how the all-too-familiar rhetoric of dehumanization works: 'The elderly' are bunched together as a faceless mass, all of them considered culprits and thus effectively deserving of the suffering the pandemic will inflict upon them. Lost entirely is the fact that the elderly are individual human beings, each with a distinctive face and voice, each with hopes and dreams, memories and regrets, friendships and marriages, loves lost and loves sustained.

'The elderly' have become another dehumanised group for which anything goes and for many that has resulted in cold disregard for their rights and their life. The distinctive face that Held talks about is designed to be deleted by masks until everyone is part of a faceless mass.

## **'War-zone' hospitals myth**

Again and again medical professionals have told me what was really going on and how hospitals 'overrun like war zones' according to the media were virtually empty. The mantra from medical whistleblowers was please don't use my name or my career is over. Citizen journalists around the world sneaked into hospitals to film evidence exposing the 'war-zone' lie. They really *were* largely empty with closed wards and operating theatres. I met a hospital worker in my town on the Isle of Wight during the first lockdown in 2020 who said the only island hospital had never been so quiet. Lockdown was justified by the psychopaths to stop hospitals being overrun. At the same time that the island hospital was near-empty the military arrived here to provide *extra beds*. It was all propaganda to ramp up the fear to ensure compliance with fascism as were never-used temporary hospitals with thousands of beds known as Nightingales and never-used make-shift mortuaries opened by the criminal UK government. A man who helped to install those extra island beds attributed to the army said they were never used and the hospital was empty. Doctors and nurses 'stood around talking or on their phones, wandering down to us to see what we were doing'. There were no masks or social distancing. He accused the useless local island paper, the *County Press*, of 'pumping the fear as if our hospital was overrun and we only have one so it should have been'. He described ambulances parked up with crews outside in deck chairs. When his brother called an ambulance he was told there was a two-hour backlog which he called 'bullshit'. An old lady on the island fell 'and was in a bad way', but a caller who rang for an ambulance was told the situation wasn't urgent enough. Ambulance stations were working under capacity while people would hear ambulances with sirens blaring driving through the streets. When those living near the stations realised what was going on they would follow them as they left, circulated around an urban area with the sirens going, and then came back without stopping. All this was to increase levels of fear and the same goes for the 'ventilator shortage crisis' that cost tens of millions for hastily produced ventilators never to be used.

Ambulance crews that agreed to be exploited in this way for fear propaganda might find themselves a mirror. I wish them well with that. Empty hospitals were the obvious consequence of treatment and diagnoses of non-'Covid' conditions cancelled and those involved handed a death sentence. People have been dying at home from undiagnosed and untreated cancer, heart disease and other life-threatening conditions to allow empty hospitals to deal with a 'pandemic' that wasn't happening.

## **Death of the innocent**

'War-zones' have been laying off nursing staff, even doctors where they can. There was no work for them. Lockdown was justified by saving lives and protecting the vulnerable they were actually killing with DNR orders and preventing empty hospitals being 'overrun'. In Britain the mantra of stay at home to 'save the NHS' was everywhere and across the world the same story was being sold when it was all lies. Two California doctors, Dan Erickson and Artin Massihi at Accelerated Urgent Care in Bakersfield, held a news conference in April, 2020, to say that intensive care units in California were 'empty, essentially', with hospitals shutting floors, not treating patients and laying off doctors. The California health system was working at minimum capacity 'getting rid of doctors because we just don't have the volume'. They said that people with conditions such as heart disease and cancer were not coming to hospital out of fear of 'Covid-19'. Their video was deleted by Susan Wojcicki's Cult-owned YouTube after reaching five million views. Florida governor Ron Desantis, who rejected the severe lockdowns of other states and is being targeted for doing so, said that in March, 2020, every US governor was given models claiming they would run out of hospital beds in days. That was never going to happen and the 'modellers' knew it. Deceit can be found at every level of the system. Urgent children's operations were cancelled including fracture repairs and biopsies to spot cancer. Eric Nicholls, a consultant paediatrician, said 'this is obviously concerning and we need to return to normal operating and to increase capacity as soon as possible'. Psychopaths



in power were rather less concerned *because* they are psychopaths. Deletion of urgent care and diagnosis has been happening all over the world and how many kids and others have died as a result of the actions of these cold and heartless lunatics dictating 'health' policy? The number must be stratospheric. Richard Sullivan, professor of cancer and global health at King's College London, said people feared 'Covid' more than cancer such was the campaign of fear. 'Years of lost life will be quite dramatic', Sullivan said, with 'a huge amount of avoidable mortality'. Sarah Woolnough, executive director for policy at Cancer Research UK, said there had been a 75 percent drop in urgent referrals to hospitals by family doctors of people with suspected cancer. Sullivan said that 'a lot of services have had to scale back – we've seen a dramatic decrease in the amount of elective cancer surgery'. Lockdown deaths worldwide has been absolutely fantastic with the *New York Post* reporting how data confirmed that 'lockdowns end more lives than they save':

There was a sharp decline in visits to emergency rooms and an increase in fatal heart attacks because patients didn't receive prompt treatment. Many fewer people were screened for cancer. Social isolation contributed to excess deaths from dementia and Alzheimer's.

Researchers predicted that the social and economic upheaval would lead to tens of thousands of "deaths of despair" from drug overdoses, alcoholism and suicide. As unemployment surged and mental-health and substance-abuse treatment programs were interrupted, the reported levels of anxiety, depression and suicidal thoughts increased dramatically, as did alcohol sales and fatal drug overdoses.

This has been happening while nurses and other staff had so much time on their hands in the 'war-zones' that Tic-Tok dancing videos began appearing across the Internet with medical staff dancing around in empty wards and corridors as people died at home from causes that would normally have been treated in hospital.

## **Mentions in dispatches**

One brave and truth-committed whistleblower was Louise Hampton, a call handler with the UK NHS who made a viral Internet video saying she had done 'fuck all' during the 'pandemic'

which was 'a load of bollocks'. She said that 'Covid-19' was rebranded flu and of course she lost her job. This is what happens in the medical and endless other professions now when you tell the truth. Louise filmed inside 'war-zone' accident and emergency departments to show they were empty and I mean *empty* as in no one there. The mainstream media could have done the same and blown the gaff on the whole conspiracy. They haven't to their eternal shame. Not that most 'journalists' seem capable of manifesting shame as with the psychopaths they slavishly repeat without question. The relative few who were admitted with serious health problems were left to die alone with no loved ones allowed to see them because of 'Covid' rules and they included kids dying without the comfort of mum and dad at their bedside while the evil behind this couldn't give a damn. It was all good fun to them. A Scottish NHS staff nurse publicly quit in the spring of 2021 saying: 'I can no longer be part of the lies and the corruption by the government.' She said hospitals 'aren't full, the beds aren't full, beds have been shut, wards have been shut'. Hospitals were never busy throughout 'Covid'. The staff nurse said that Nicola Sturgeon, tragically the leader of the Scottish government, was on television saying save the hospitals and the NHS – 'but the beds are empty' and 'we've not seen flu, we always see flu every year'. She wrote to government and spoke with her union Unison (the unions are Cult-compromised and *useless*, but nothing changed. Many of her colleagues were scared of losing their jobs if they spoke out as they wanted to. She said nursing staff were being affected by wearing masks all day and 'my head is splitting every shift from wearing a mask'. The NHS is part of the fascist tyranny and must be dismantled so we can start again with human beings in charge. (Ironically, hospitals were reported to be busier again when official 'Covid' cases *fell* in spring/summer of 2021 and many other conditions required treatment at the same time as *the fake vaccine rollout*.)

I will cover the 'Covid vaccine' scam in detail later, but it is another indicator of the sickening disregard for human life that I am highlighting here. The DNA-manipulating concoctions do not fulfil

the definition of a 'vaccine', have never been used on humans before and were given only emergency approval because trials were not completed and they continued using the unknowing public. The result was what a NHS senior nurse with responsibility for 'vaccine' procedure said was 'genocide'. She said the 'vaccines' were not 'vaccines'. They had not been shown to be safe and claims about their effectiveness by drug companies were 'poetic licence'. She described what was happening as a 'horrid act of human annihilation'. The nurse said that management had instigated a policy of not providing a Patient Information Leaflet (PIL) before people were 'vaccinated' even though health care professionals are supposed to do this according to protocol. Patients should also be told that they are taking part in an ongoing clinical trial. Her challenges to what is happening had seen her excluded from meetings and ridiculed in others. She said she was told to 'watch my step ... or I would find myself surplus to requirements'. The nurse, who spoke anonymously in fear of her career, said she asked her NHS manager why he/she was content with taking part in genocide against those having the 'vaccines'. The reply was that everyone had to play their part and to 'put up, shut up, and get it done'. Government was 'leaning heavily' on NHS management which was clearly leaning heavily on staff. This is how the global 'medical' hierarchy operates and it starts with the Cult and its World Health Organization.

She told the story of a doctor who had the Pfizer jab and when questioned had no idea what was in it. The doctor had never read the literature. We have to stop treating doctors as intellectual giants when so many are moral and medical pygmies. The doctor did not even know that the 'vaccines' were not fully approved or that their trials were ongoing. They were, however, asking their patients if they minded taking part in follow-ups for research purposes – yes, the *ongoing clinical trial*. The nurse said the doctor's ignorance was not rare and she had spoken to a hospital consultant who had the jab without any idea of the background or that the 'trials' had not been completed. Nurses and pharmacists had shown the same ignorance.

'My NHS colleagues have forsaken their duty of care, broken their code of conduct – Hippocratic Oath – and have been brainwashed just the same as the majority of the UK public through propaganda ...' She said she had not been able to recruit a single NHS colleague, doctor, nurse or pharmacist to stand with her and speak out. Her union had refused to help. She said that if the genocide came to light she would not hesitate to give evidence at a Nuremberg-type trial against those in power who could have affected the outcomes but didn't.

### **And all for what?**

To put the nonsense into perspective let's say the 'virus' does exist and let's go completely crazy and accept that the official manipulated figures for cases and deaths are accurate. *Even then* a study by Stanford University epidemiologist Dr John Ioannidis published on the World Health Organization website produced an average infection to fatality rate of ... *0.23 percent!* Ioannidis said: 'If one could sample equally from all locations globally, the median infection fatality rate might even be substantially lower than the 0.23% observed in my analysis.' For healthy people under 70 it was ... *0.05 percent!* This compares with the 3.4 percent claimed by the Cult-owned World Health Organization when the hoax was first played and maximum fear needed to be generated. An updated Stanford study in April, 2021, put the 'infection' to 'fatality' rate at just 0.15 percent. Another team of scientists led by Megan O'Driscoll and Henrik Salje studied data from 45 countries and published their findings on the Nature website. For children and young people the figure is so small it virtually does not register although authorities will be hyping dangers to the young when they introduce DNA-manipulating 'vaccines' for children. The O'Driscoll study produced an average infection-fatality figure of 0.003 for children from birth to four; 0.001 for 5 to 14; 0.003 for 15 to 19; and it was still only 0.456 up to 64. To claim that children must be 'vaccinated' to protect them from 'Covid' is an obvious lie and so there must be another reason and there is. What's more the average age of a 'Covid' death is akin

to the average age that people die in general. The average age of death in England is about 80 for men and 83 for women. The average age of death from alleged 'Covid' is between 82 and 83. California doctors, Dan Erickson and Artin Massihi, said at their April media conference that projection models of millions of deaths had been 'woefully inaccurate'. They produced detailed figures showing that Californians had a 0.03 chance of dying from 'Covid' based on the number of people who tested positive (with a test not testing for the 'virus'). Erickson said there was a 0.1 percent chance of dying from 'Covid' in the *state* of New York, not just the city, and a 0.05 percent chance in Spain, a centre of 'Covid-19' hysteria at one stage. The Stanford studies supported the doctors' data with fatality rate estimates of 0.23 and 0.15 percent. How close are these figures to my estimate of *zero*? Death-rate figures claimed by the World Health Organization at the start of the hoax were some 15 times higher. The California doctors said there was no justification for lockdowns and the economic devastation they caused. Everything they had ever learned about quarantine was that you quarantine the *sick* and not the healthy. They had never seen this before and it made no medical sense.

Why in the in the light of all this would governments and medical systems the world over say that billions must go under house arrest; lose their livelihood; in many cases lose their mind, their health and their life; force people to wear masks dangerous to health and psychology; make human interaction and even family interaction a criminal offence; ban travel; close restaurants, bars, watching live sport, concerts, theatre, and any activity involving human togetherness and discourse; and closing schools to isolate children from their friends and cause many to commit suicide in acts of hopelessness and despair? The California doctors said lockdown consequences included increased child abuse, partner abuse, alcoholism, depression, and other impacts they were seeing every day. Who would do that to the entire human race if not mentally-ill psychopaths of almost unimaginable extremes like Bill Gates? We must face the reality of what we are dealing with and come out of

denial. Fascism and tyranny are made possible only by the target population submitting and acquiescing to fascism and tyranny. The whole of human history shows that to be true. Most people naively and unquestioning believed what they were told about a 'deadly virus' and meekly and weakly submitted to house arrest. Those who didn't believe it – at least in total – still submitted in fear of the consequences of not doing so. For the rest who wouldn't submit draconian fines have been imposed, brutal policing by psychopaths *for* psychopaths, and condemnation from the meek and weak who condemn the Pushbackers on behalf of the very force that has them, too, in its gunights. 'Pathetic' does not even begin to suffice. Britain's brainless 'Health' Secretary Matt Hancock warned anyone lying to border officials about returning from a list of 'hotspot' countries could face a jail sentence of up to ten years which is more than for racially-aggravated assault, incest and attempting to have sex with a child under 13. Hancock is a lunatic, but he has the state apparatus behind him in a Cult-led chain reaction and the same with UK 'Vaccine Minister' Nadhim Zahawi, a prominent member of the mega-Cult secret society, Le Cercle, which featured in my earlier books. The Cult enforces its will on governments and medical systems; government and medical systems enforce their will on business and police; business enforces its will on staff who enforce it on customers; police enforce the will of the Cult on the population and play their essential part in creating a world of fascist control that their own children and grandchildren will have to live in their entire lives. It is a hierarchical pyramid of imposition and acquiescence and, yes indeed, of clinical insanity.

Does anyone bright enough to read this book have to ask what the answer is? I think not, but I will reveal it anyway in the fewest of syllables: Tell the psychos and their moronic lackeys to fuck off and let's get on with our lives. We are many – They are few.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### **War on your mind**

*One believes things because one has been conditioned to believe them*

*Aldous Huxley, Brave New World*

I have described the 'Covid' hoax as a 'Psyop' and that is true in every sense and on every level in accordance with the definition of that term which is psychological warfare. Break down the 'Covid pandemic' to the foundation themes and it is psychological warfare on the human individual and collective mind.

The same can be said for the entire human belief system involving every subject you can imagine. Huxley was right in his contention that people believe what they are conditioned to believe and this comes from the repetition throughout their lives of the same falsehoods. They spew from government, corporations, media and endless streams of 'experts' telling you what the Cult wants you to believe and often believing it themselves (although *far* from always). 'Experts' are rewarded with 'prestigious' jobs and titles and as agents of perceptual programming with regular access to the media. The Cult has to control the narrative – control *information* – or they lose control of the vital, crucial, without-which-they-cannot-prevail public perception of reality. The foundation of that control today is the Internet made possible by the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA), the incredibly sinister technological arm of the Pentagon. The Internet is the result of military technology.

DARPA openly brags about establishing the Internet which has been a long-term project to lasso the minds of the global population. I have said for decades the plan is to control information to such an extreme that eventually no one would see or hear anything that the Cult does not approve. We are closing in on that end with ferocious censorship since the 'Covid' hoax began and in my case it started back in the 1990s in terms of books and speaking venues. I had to create my own publishing company in 1995 precisely because no one else would publish my books even then. I think they're all still running.

## **Cult Internet**

To secure total control of information they needed the Internet in which pre-programmed algorithms can seek out 'unclean' content for deletion and even stop it being posted in the first place. The Cult had to dismantle print and non-Internet broadcast media to ensure the transfer of information to the appropriate-named 'Web' – a critical expression of the *Cult* web. We've seen the ever-quickening demise of traditional media and control of what is left by a tiny number of corporations operating worldwide. Independent journalism in the mainstream is already dead and never was that more obvious than since the turn of 2020. The Cult wants all information communicated via the Internet to globally censor and allow the plug to be pulled any time. Lockdowns and forced isolation has meant that communication between people has been through electronic means and no longer through face-to-face discourse and discussion. Cult psychopaths have targeted the bars, restaurants, sport, venues and meeting places in general for this reason. None of this is by chance and it's to stop people gathering in any kind of privacy or number while being able to track and monitor all Internet communications and block them as necessary. Even private messages between individuals have been censored by these fascists that control Cult fronts like Facebook, Twitter, Google and YouTube which are all officially run by Sabbatian place-people and from the background by higher-level Sabbatian place people.



Facebook, Google, Amazon and their like were seed-funded and supported into existence with money-no-object infusions of funds either directly or indirectly from DARPA and CIA technology arm In-Q-Tel. The Cult plays the long game and prepares very carefully for big plays like 'Covid'. Amazon is another front in the psychological war and pretty much controls the global market in book sales and increasingly publishing. Amazon's limitless funds have deleted fantastic numbers of independent publishers to seize global domination on the way to deciding which books can be sold and circulated and which cannot. Moves in that direction are already happening. Amazon's leading light Jeff Bezos is the grandson of Lawrence Preston Gise who worked with DARPA predecessor ARPA. Amazon has big connections to the CIA and the Pentagon. The plan I have long described went like this:

1. Employ military technology to establish the Internet.
2. Sell the Internet as a place where people can freely communicate without censorship and allow that to happen until the Net becomes the central and irreversible pillar of human society. If the Internet had been highly censored from the start many would have rejected it.
3. Fund and manipulate major corporations into being to control the circulation of information on your Internet using cover stories about geeks in garages to explain how they came about. Give them unlimited funds to expand rapidly with no need to make a profit for years while non-Cult companies who need to balance the books cannot compete. You know that in these circumstances your Googles, YouTubes, Facebooks and Amazons are going to secure near monopolies by either crushing or buying up the opposition.
4. Allow freedom of expression on both the Internet and communication platforms to draw people in until the Internet is the central and irreversible pillar of human society and your communication corporations have reached a stage of near monopoly domination.
5. Then unleash your always-planned frenzy of censorship on the basis of 'where else are you going to go?' and continue to expand that until nothing remains that the Cult does not want its human targets to see.

The process was timed to hit the 'Covid' hoax to ensure the best chance possible of controlling the narrative which they knew they had to do at all costs. They were, after all, about to unleash a 'deadly virus' that didn't really exist. If you do that in an environment of free-flowing information and opinion you would be dead in the

water before you could say Gates is a psychopath. The network was in place through which the Cult-created-and-owned World Health Organization could dictate the 'Covid' narrative and response policy slavishly supported by Cult-owned Internet communication giants and mainstream media while those telling a different story were censored. Google, YouTube, Facebook and Twitter openly announced that they would do this. What else would we expect from Cult-owned operations like Facebook which former executives have confirmed set out to make the platform more addictive than cigarettes and coldly manipulates emotions of its users to sow division between people and groups and scramble the minds of the young? If Zuckerberg lives out the rest of his life without going to jail for crimes against humanity, and most emphatically against the young, it will be a travesty of justice. Still, no matter, cause and effect will catch up with him eventually and the same with Sergey Brin and Larry Page at Google with its CEO Sundar Pichai who fix the Google search results to promote Cult narratives and hide the opposition. Put the same key words into Google and other search engines like DuckDuckGo and you will see how different results can be. Wikipedia is another intensely biased 'encyclopaedia' which skews its content to the Cult agenda. YouTube links to Wikipedia's version of 'Covid' and 'climate change' on video pages in which experts in their field offer a different opinion (even that is increasingly rare with Wojcicki censorship). Into this 'Covid' silence-them network must be added government media censors, sorry 'regulators', such as Ofcom in the UK which imposed tyrannical restrictions on British broadcasters that had the effect of banning me from ever appearing. Just to debate with me about my evidence and views on 'Covid' would mean breaking the fascistic impositions of Ofcom and its CEO career government bureaucrat Melanie Dawes. Gutless British broadcasters tremble at the very thought of fascist Ofcom.

## **Psychos behind 'Covid'**

The reason for the 'Covid' catastrophe in all its facets and forms can be seen by whom and what is driving the policies worldwide in such a coordinated way. Decisions are not being made to protect health, but to target psychology. The dominant group guiding and 'advising' government policy are not medical professionals. They are psychologists and behavioural scientists. Every major country has its own version of this phenomenon and I'll use the British example to show how it works. In many ways the British version has been affecting the wider world in the form of the huge behaviour manipulation network in the UK which operates in other countries. The network involves private companies, government, intelligence and military. The Cabinet Office is at the centre of the government 'Covid' Psyop and part-owns, with 'innovation charity' Nesta, the Behavioural Insights Team (BIT) which claims to be independent of government but patently isn't. The BIT was established in 2010 and its job is to manipulate the psyche of the population to acquiesce to government demands and so much more. It is also known as the 'Nudge Unit', a name inspired by the 2009 book by two ultra-Zionists, Cass Sunstein and Richard Thaler, called *Nudge: Improving Decisions About Health, Wealth, and Happiness*. The book, as with the Behavioural Insights Team, seeks to 'nudge' behaviour (manipulate it) to make the public follow patterns of action and perception that suit those in authority (the Cult). Sunstein is so skilled at this that he advises the World Health Organization and the UK Behavioural Insights Team and was Administrator of the White House Office of Information and Regulatory Affairs in the Obama administration. Biden appointed him to the Department of Homeland Security – another ultra-Zionist in the fold to oversee new immigration laws which is another policy the Cult wants to control. Sunstein is desperate to silence anyone exposing conspiracies and co-authored a 2008 report on the subject in which suggestions were offered to ban 'conspiracy theorizing' or impose 'some kind of tax, financial or otherwise, on those who disseminate such theories'. I guess a psychiatrist's chair is out of the question?

Sunstein's mate Richard Thaler, an 'academic affiliate' of the UK Behavioural Insights Team, is a proponent of 'behavioural economics' which is defined as the study of 'the effects of psychological, cognitive, emotional, cultural and social factors on the decisions of individuals and institutions'. Study the effects so they can be manipulated to be what you want them to be. Other leading names in the development of behavioural economics are ultra-Zionists Daniel Kahneman and Robert J. Shiller and they, with Thaler, won the Nobel Memorial Prize in Economic Sciences for their work in this field. The Behavioural Insights Team is operating at the heart of the UK government and has expanded globally through partnerships with several universities including Harvard, Oxford, Cambridge, University College London (UCL) and Pennsylvania. They claim to have 'trained' (reframed) 20,000 civil servants and run more than 750 projects involving 400 randomised controlled trials in dozens of countries' as another version of mind reframers Common Purpose. BIT works from its office in New York with cities and their agencies, as well as other partners, across the United States and Canada – this is a company part-owned by the British government Cabinet Office. An executive order by President Cult-servant Obama established a US Social and Behavioral Sciences Team in 2015. They all have the same reason for being and that's to brainwash the population directly and by brainwashing those in positions of authority.

### **'Covid' mind game**

Another prime aspect of the UK mind-control network is the 'independent' [joke] Scientific Pandemic Insights Group on Behaviours (SPI-B) which 'provides behavioural science advice aimed at anticipating and helping people adhere to interventions that are recommended by medical or epidemiological experts'. That means manipulating public perception and behaviour to do whatever government tells them to do. It's disgusting and if they really want the public to be 'safe' this lot should all be under lock and key. According to the government website SPI-B consists of

'behavioural scientists, health and social psychologists, anthropologists and historians' and advises the Whitty-Vallance-led Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE) which in turn advises the government on 'the science' (it doesn't) and 'Covid' policy. When politicians say they are being guided by 'the science' this is the rabble in each country they are talking about and that 'science' is dominated by behaviour manipulators to enforce government fascism through public compliance. The Behaviour Insight Team is headed by psychologist David Solomon Halpern, a visiting professor at King's College London, and connects with a national and global web of other civilian and military organisations as the Cult moves towards its goal of fusing them into one fascistic whole in every country through its 'Fusion Doctrine'. The behaviour manipulation network involves, but is not confined to, the Foreign Office; National Security Council; government communications headquarters (GCHQ); MI5; MI6; the Cabinet Office-based Media Monitoring Unit; and the Rapid Response Unit which 'monitors digital trends to spot emerging issues; including misinformation and disinformation; and identifies the best way to respond'.

There is also the 77th Brigade of the UK military which operates like the notorious Israeli military's Unit 8200 in manipulating information and discussion on the Internet by posing as members of the public to promote the narrative and discredit those who challenge it. Here we have the military seeking to manipulate *domestic* public opinion while the Nazis in government are fine with that. Conservative Member of Parliament Tobias Ellwood, an advocate of lockdown and control through 'vaccine passports', is a Lieutenant Colonel reservist in the 77th Brigade which connects with the military operation jHub, the 'innovation centre' for the Ministry of Defence and Strategic Command. jHub has also been involved with the civilian National Health Service (NHS) in 'symptom tracing' the population. The NHS is a key part of this mind control network and produced a document in December, 2020, explaining to staff how to use psychological manipulation with different groups and ages to get them to have the DNA-manipulating 'Covid vaccine'

that's designed to cumulatively rewrite human genetics. The document, called 'Optimising Vaccination Roll Out – Do's and Don'ts for all messaging, documents and "communications" in the widest sense', was published by NHS England and the NHS Improvement *Behaviour Change Unit* in partnership with Public Health England and Warwick Business School. I hear the mantra about 'save the NHS' and 'protect the NHS' when we need to scrap the NHS and start again. The current version is far too corrupt, far too anti-human and totally compromised by Cult operatives and their assets. UK government broadcast media censor Ofcom will connect into this web – as will the BBC with its tremendous Ofcom influence – to control what the public see and hear and dictate mass perception. Nuremberg trials must include personnel from all these organisations.

### **The fear factor**

The 'Covid' hoax has led to the creation of the UK Cabinet Office-connected Joint Biosecurity Centre (JBC) which is officially described as providing 'expert advice on pandemics' using its independent [all Cult operations are 'independent'] analytical function to provide real-time analysis about infection outbreaks to identify and respond to outbreaks of Covid-19'. Another role is to advise the government on a response to spikes in infections – 'for example by closing schools or workplaces in local areas where infection levels have risen'. Put another way, promoting the Cult agenda. The Joint Biosecurity Centre is modelled on the Joint Terrorism Analysis Centre which analyses intelligence to set 'terrorism threat levels' and here again you see the fusion of civilian and military operations and intelligence that has led to military intelligence producing documents about 'vaccine hesitancy' and how it can be combated. Domestic civilian matters and opinions should not be the business of the military. The Joint Biosecurity Centre is headed by Tom Hurd, director general of the Office for Security and Counter-Terrorism from the establishment-to-its-fingertips Hurd family. His father is former Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd. How coincidental that Tom

Hurd went to the elite Eton College and Oxford University with Boris Johnson. Imperial College with its ridiculous computer modeller Neil Ferguson will connect with this gigantic web that will itself interconnect with similar set-ups in other major and not so major countries. Compared with this Cult network the politicians, be they Boris Johnson, Donald Trump or Joe Biden, are bit-part players 'following the science'. The network of psychologists was on the 'Covid' case from the start with the aim of generating maximum fear of the 'virus' to ensure compliance by the population. A government behavioural science group known as SPI-B produced a paper in March, 2020, for discussion by the main government science advisory group known as SAGE. It was headed 'Options for increasing adherence to social distancing measures' and it said the following in a section headed 'Persuasion':

- A substantial number of people still do not feel sufficiently personally threatened; it could be that they are reassured by the low death rate in their demographic group, although levels of concern may be rising. Having a good understanding of the risk has been found to be positively associated with adoption of COVID-19 social distancing measures in Hong Kong.
- The perceived level of personal threat needs to be increased among those who are complacent, using hard-hitting evaluation of options for increasing social distancing emotional messaging. To be effective this must also empower people by making clear the actions they can take to reduce the threat.
- Responsibility to others: There seems to be insufficient understanding of, or feelings of responsibility about, people's role in transmitting the infection to others ... Messaging about actions need to be framed positively in terms of protecting oneself and the community, and increase confidence that they will be effective.
- Some people will be more persuaded by appeals to play by the rules, some by duty to the community, and some to personal risk.

All these different approaches are needed. The messaging also needs to take account of the realities of different people's lives. Messaging needs to take account of the different motivational levers and circumstances of different people.

All this could be achieved the SPI-B psychologists said by *using the media to increase the sense of personal threat* which translates as terrify the shit out of the population, including children, so they all do what we want. That's not happened has it? Those excuses for 'journalists' who wouldn't know journalism if it bit them on the arse (the great majority) have played their crucial part in serving this Cult-government Psyop to enslave their own kids and grandkids. How they live with themselves I have no idea. The psychological war has been underpinned by constant government 'Covid' propaganda in almost every television and radio ad break, plus the Internet and print media, which has pounded out the fear with taxpayers footing the bill for their own programming. The result has been people terrified of a 'virus' that doesn't exist or one with a tiny fatality rate even if you believe it does. People walk down the street and around the shops wearing face-nappies damaging their health and psychology while others report those who refuse to be that naïve to the police who turn up in their own face-nappies. I had a cameraman come to my flat and he was so frightened of 'Covid' he came in wearing a mask and refused to shake my hand in case he caught something. He had – naïveitis – and the thought that he worked in the mainstream media was both depressing and made his behaviour perfectly explainable. The fear which has gripped the minds of so many and frozen them into compliance has been carefully cultivated by these psychologists who are really psychopaths. If lives get destroyed and a lot of young people commit suicide it shows our plan is working. SPI-B then turned to compulsion on the public to comply. 'With adequate preparation, rapid change can be achieved', it said. Some countries had introduced mandatory self-isolation on a wide scale without evidence of major public unrest and a large majority of the UK's population appeared to be supportive of more coercive measures with 64 percent of adults saying they would



support putting London under a lockdown (watch the 'polls' which are designed to make people believe that public opinion is in favour or against whatever the subject in hand).

For 'aggressive protective measures' to be effective, the SPI-B paper said, special attention should be devoted to those population groups that are more at risk. Translated from the Orwellian this means making the rest of population feel guilty for not protecting the 'vulnerable' such as old people which the Cult and its agencies were about to kill on an industrial scale with lockdown, lack of treatment and the Gates 'vaccine'. Psychopath psychologists sold their guilt-trip so comprehensively that Los Angeles County Supervisor Hilda Solis reported that children were apologising (from a distance) to their parents and grandparents for bringing 'Covid' into their homes and getting them sick. '... These apologies are just some of the last words that loved ones will ever hear as they die alone,' she said. Gut-wrenchingly Solis then used this childhood tragedy to tell children to stay at home and 'keep your loved ones alive'. Imagine heaping such potentially life-long guilt on a kid when it has absolutely nothing to do with them. These people are deeply disturbed and the psychologists behind this even more so.

### **Uncivil war – divide and rule**

Professional mind-controllers at SPI-B wanted the media to increase a sense of responsibility to others (do as you're told) and promote 'positive messaging' for those actions while in contrast to invoke 'social disapproval' by the unquestioning, obedient, community of anyone with a mind of their own. Again the compliant Goebbels-like media obliged. This is an old, old, trick employed by tyrannies the world over throughout human history. You get the target population to keep the target population in line – *your* line. SPI-B said this could 'play an important role in preventing anti-social behaviour or discouraging failure to enact pro-social behaviour'. For 'anti-social' in the Orwellian parlance of SPI-B see any behaviour that government doesn't approve. SPI-B recommendations said that 'social disapproval' should be accompanied by clear messaging and

promotion of strong collective identity – hence the government and celebrity mantra of ‘we’re all in this together’. Sure we are. The mind doctors have such contempt for their targets that they think some clueless comedian, actor or singer telling them to do what the government wants will be enough to win them over. We have had UK comedian Lenny Henry, actor Michael Caine and singer Elton John wheeled out to serve the propagandists by urging people to have the DNA-manipulating ‘Covid’ non-‘vaccine’. The role of Henry and fellow black celebrities in seeking to coax a ‘vaccine’ reluctant black community into doing the government’s will was especially stomach-turning. An emotion-manipulating script and carefully edited video featuring these black ‘celebs’ was such an insult to the intelligence of black people and where’s the self-respect of those involved selling their souls to a fascist government agenda? Henry said he heard black people’s ‘legitimate worries and concerns’, but people must ‘trust the facts’ when they were doing exactly that by not having the ‘vaccine’. They had to include the obligatory reference to Black Lives Matter with the line ... ‘Don’t let coronavirus cost even more black lives – because we matter’. My god, it was pathetic. ‘I know the vaccine is safe and what it does.’ How? ‘I’m a comedian and it says so in my script.’

SPI-B said social disapproval needed to be carefully managed to avoid victimisation, scapegoating and misdirected criticism, but they knew that their ‘recommendations’ would lead to exactly that and the media were specifically used to stir-up the divide-and-conquer hostility. Those who conform like good little baa, baas, are praised while those who have seen through the tidal wave of lies are ‘Covidiot’s’. The awake have been abused by the fast asleep for not conforming to fascism and impositions that the awake know are designed to endanger their health, dehumanise them, and tear asunder the very fabric of human society. We have had the curtain-twitchers and morons reporting neighbours and others to the face-napped police for breaking ‘Covid rules’ with fascist police delighting in posting links and phone numbers where this could be done. The Cult cannot impose its will without a compliant police

and military or a compliant population willing to play their part in enslaving themselves and their kids. The words of a pastor in Nazi Germany are so appropriate today:

First they came for the socialists and I did not speak out because I was not a socialist.

Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak out because I was not a trade unionist.

Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak out because I was not a Jew.

Then they came for me and there was no one left to speak for me.

Those who don't learn from history are destined to repeat it and so many are.

### **'Covid' rules: Rewiring the mind**

With the background laid out to this gigantic national and global web of psychological manipulation we can put 'Covid' rules into a clear and sinister perspective. Forget the claims about protecting health. 'Covid' rules are about dismantling the human mind, breaking the human spirit, destroying self-respect, and then putting Humpty Dumpty together again as a servile, submissive slave. Social isolation through lockdown and distancing have devastating effects on the human psyche as the psychological psychopaths well know and that's the real reason for them. Humans need contact with each other, discourse, closeness and touch, or they eventually, and literally, go crazy. Masks, which I will address at some length, fundamentally add to the effects of isolation and the Cult agenda to dehumanise and de-individualise the population. To do this while knowing – in fact *seeking* – this outcome is the very epitome of evil and psychologists involved in this *are* the epitome of evil. They must like all the rest of the Cult demons and their assets stand trial for crimes against humanity on a scale that defies the imagination. Psychopaths in uniform use isolation to break enemy troops and agents and make them subservient and submissive to tell what they know. The technique is rightly considered a form of torture and

torture is most certainly what has been imposed on the human population.

Clinically-insane American psychologist Harry Harlow became famous for his isolation experiments in the 1950s in which he separated baby monkeys from their mothers and imprisoned them for months on end in a metal container or 'pit of despair'. They soon began to show mental distress and depression as any idiot could have predicted. Harlow put other monkeys in steel chambers for three, six or twelve months while denying them any contact with animals or humans. He said that the effects of total social isolation for six months were 'so devastating and debilitating that we had assumed initially that twelve months of isolation would not produce any additional decrement'; but twelve months of isolation 'almost obliterated the animals socially'. This is what the Cult and its psychopaths are doing to you and your children. Even monkeys in partial isolation in which they were not allowed to form relationships with other monkeys became 'aggressive and hostile, not only to others, but also towards their own bodies'. We have seen this in the young as a consequence of lockdown. UK government psychopaths launched a public relations campaign telling people not to hug each other even after they received the 'Covid-19 vaccine' which we were told with more lies would allow a return to 'normal life'. A government source told *The Telegraph*: 'It will be along the lines that it is great that you have been vaccinated, but if you are going to visit your family and hug your grandchildren there is a chance you are going to infect people you love.' The source was apparently speaking from a secure psychiatric facility. Janet Lord, director of Birmingham University's Institute of Inflammation and Ageing, said that parents and grandparents should avoid hugging their children. Well, how can I put it, Ms Lord? Fuck off. Yep, that'll do.

### **Destroying the kids – where are the parents?**

Observe what has happened to people enslaved and isolated by lockdown as suicide and self-harm has soared worldwide,

particularly among the young denied the freedom to associate with their friends. A study of 49,000 people in English-speaking countries concluded that almost half of young adults are at clinical risk of mental health disorders. A national survey in America of 1,000 currently enrolled high school and college students found that 5 percent reported attempting suicide during the pandemic. Data from the US CDC's National Syndromic Surveillance Program from January 1st to October 17th, 2020, revealed a 31 percent increase in mental health issues among adolescents aged 12 to 17 compared with 2019. The CDC reported that America in general suffered the biggest drop in life expectancy since World War Two as it fell by a year in the first half of 2020 as a result of 'deaths of despair' – overdoses and suicides. Deaths of despair have leapt by more than 20 percent during lockdown and include the highest number of fatal overdoses ever recorded in a single year – 81,000. Internet addiction is another consequence of being isolated at home which lowers interest in physical activities as kids fall into inertia and what's the point? Children and young people are losing hope and giving up on life, sometimes literally. A 14-year-old boy killed himself in Maryland because he had 'given up' when his school district didn't reopen; an 11-year-old boy shot himself during a zoom class; a teenager in Maine succumbed to the isolation of the 'pandemic' when he ended his life after experiencing a disrupted senior year at school. Children as young as nine have taken their life and all these stories can be repeated around the world. Careers are being destroyed before they start and that includes those in sport in which promising youngsters have not been able to take part. The plan of the psycho-psychologists is working all right. Researchers at Cambridge University found that lockdowns cause significant harm to children's mental health. Their study was published in the *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, and followed 168 children aged between 7 and 11. The researchers concluded:

During the UK lockdown, children's depression symptoms have increased substantially, relative to before lockdown. The scale of this effect has direct relevance for the continuation of different elements of lockdown policy, such as complete or partial school closures ...

... Specifically, we observed a statistically significant increase in ratings of depression, with a medium-to-large effect size. Our findings emphasise the need to incorporate the potential impact of lockdown on child mental health in planning the ongoing response to the global pandemic and the recovery from it.

Not a chance when the Cult's psycho-psychologists were getting exactly what they wanted. The UK's Royal College of Paediatrics and Child Health has urged parents to look for signs of eating disorders in children and young people after a three to four fold increase. Specialists say the 'pandemic' is a major reason behind the rise. You don't say. The College said isolation from friends during school closures, exam cancellations, loss of extra-curricular activities like sport, and an increased use of social media were all contributory factors along with fears about the virus (psycho-psychologists again), family finances, and students being forced to quarantine. Doctors said young people were becoming severely ill by the time they were seen with 'Covid' regulations reducing face-to-face consultations. Nor is it only the young that have been devastated by the psychopaths. Like all bullies and cowards the Cult is targeting the young, elderly, weak and infirm. A typical story was told by a British lady called Lynn Parker who was not allowed to visit her husband in 2020 for the last ten and half months of his life 'when he needed me most' between March 20th and when he died on December 19th. This vacates the criminal and enters the territory of evil. The emotional impact on the immune system alone is immense as are the number of people of all ages worldwide who have died as a result of Cult-demanded, Gates-demanded, lockdowns.

## **Isolation is torture**

The experience of imposing solitary confinement on millions of prisoners around the world has shown how a large percentage become 'actively psychotic and/or acutely suicidal'. Social isolation has been found to trigger 'a specific psychiatric syndrome, characterized by hallucinations; panic attacks; overt paranoia; diminished impulse control; hypersensitivity to external stimuli; and difficulties with thinking, concentration and memory'. Juan Mendez,

a United Nations rapporteur (investigator), said that isolation is a form of torture. Research has shown that even after isolation prisoners find it far more difficult to make social connections and I remember chatting to a shop assistant after one lockdown who told me that when her young son met another child again he had no idea how to act or what to do. Hannah Flanagan, Director of Emergency Services at Journey Mental Health Center in Dane County, Wisconsin, said: 'The specificity about Covid social distancing and isolation that we've come across as contributing factors to the suicides are really new to us this year.' But they are not new to those that devised them. They are getting the effect they want as the population is psychologically dismantled to be rebuilt in a totally different way. Children and the young are particularly targeted. They will be the adults when the full-on fascist AI-controlled technocracy is planned to be imposed and they are being prepared to meekly submit. At the same time older people who still have a memory of what life was like before – and how fascist the new normal really is – are being deleted. You are going to see efforts to turn the young against the old to support this geriatric genocide. Hannah Flanagan said the big increase in suicide in her county proved that social isolation is not only harmful, but deadly. Studies have shown that isolation from others is one of the main risk factors in suicide and even more so with women. Warnings that lockdown could create a 'perfect storm' for suicide were ignored. After all this was one of the *reasons* for lockdown. Suicide, however, is only the most extreme of isolation consequences. There are many others. Dr Dhruv Khullar, assistant professor of healthcare policy at Weill Cornell Medical College, said in a *New York Times* article in 2016 long before the fake 'pandemic':

A wave of new research suggests social separation is bad for us. Individuals with less social connection have disrupted sleep patterns, altered immune systems, more inflammation and higher levels of stress hormones. One recent study found that isolation increases the risk of heart disease by 29 percent and stroke by 32 percent. Another analysis that pooled data from 70 studies and 3.4 million people found that socially isolated individuals had a 30 percent higher risk of dying in the next seven years, and that this effect was largest in middle age.

Loneliness can accelerate cognitive decline in older adults, and isolated individuals are twice as likely to die prematurely as those with more robust social interactions. These effects start early: Socially isolated children have significantly poorer health 20 years later, even after controlling for other factors. All told, loneliness is as important a risk factor for early death as obesity and smoking.

There you have proof from that one article alone four years before 2020 that those who have enforced lockdown, social distancing and isolation knew what the effect would be and that is even more so with professional psychologists that have been driving the policy across the globe. We can go back even further to the years 2000 and 2003 and the start of a major study on the effects of isolation on health by Dr Janine Gronewold and Professor Dirk M. Hermann at the University Hospital in Essen, Germany, who analysed data on 4,316 people with an average age of 59 who were recruited for the long-term research project. They found that socially isolated people are more than 40 percent more likely to have a heart attack, stroke, or other major cardiovascular event and nearly 50 percent more likely to die from any cause. Given the financial Armageddon unleashed by lockdown we should note that the study found a relationship between increased cardiovascular risk and lack of financial support. After excluding other factors social isolation was still connected to a 44 percent increased risk of cardiovascular problems and a 47 percent increased risk of death by any cause. Lack of financial support was associated with a 30 percent increase in the risk of cardiovascular health events. Dr Gronewold said it had been known for some time that feeling lonely or lacking contact with close friends and family can have an impact on physical health and the study had shown that having strong social relationships is of high importance for heart health. Gronewold said they didn't understand yet why people who are socially isolated have such poor health outcomes, but this was obviously a worrying finding, particularly during these times of prolonged social distancing. Well, it can be explained on many levels. You only have to identify the point in the body where people feel loneliness and missing people they are parted from – it's in the centre of the chest where they feel the ache of loneliness and the ache of missing people. 'My heart aches for



you' ... 'My heart aches for some company.' I will explain this more in the chapter Escaping Wetiko, but when you realise that the body is the mind – they are expressions of each other – the reason why state of the mind dictates state of the body becomes clear.

American psychologist Ranjit Powar was highlighting the effects of lockdown isolation as early as April, 2020. She said humans have evolved to be social creatures and are wired to live in interactive groups. Being isolated from family, friends and colleagues could be unbalancing and traumatic for most people and could result in short or even long-term psychological and physical health problems. An increase in levels of anxiety, aggression, depression, forgetfulness and hallucinations were possible psychological effects of isolation. 'Mental conditions may be precipitated for those with underlying pre-existing susceptibilities and show up in many others without any pre-condition.' Powar said personal relationships helped us cope with stress and if we lost this outlet for letting off steam the result can be a big emotional void which, for an average person, was difficult to deal with. 'Just a few days of isolation can cause increased levels of anxiety and depression' – so what the hell has been the effect on the global population of *18 months* of this at the time of writing? Powar said: 'Add to it the looming threat of a dreadful disease being repeatedly hammered in through the media and you have a recipe for many shades of mental and physical distress.' For those with a house and a garden it is easy to forget that billions have had to endure lockdown isolation in tiny overcrowded flats and apartments with nowhere to go outside. The psychological and physical consequences of this are unimaginable and with lunatic and abusive partners and parents the consequences have led to tremendous increases in domestic and child abuse and alcoholism as people seek to shut out the horror. Ranjit Powar said:

Staying in a confined space with family is not all a rosy picture for everyone. It can be extremely oppressive and claustrophobic for large low-income families huddled together in small single-room houses. Children here are not lucky enough to have many board/electronic games or books to keep them occupied.

Add to it the deep insecurity of running out of funds for food and basic necessities. On the other hand, there are people with dysfunctional family dynamics, such as domineering, abusive or alcoholic partners, siblings or parents which makes staying home a period of trial. Incidence of suicide and physical abuse against women has shown a worldwide increase. Heightened anxiety and depression also affect a person's immune system, making them more susceptible to illness.

To think that Powar's article was published on April 11th, 2020.

## **Six-foot fantasy**

Social (unsocial) distancing demanded that people stay six feet or two metres apart. UK government advisor Robert Dingwall from the New and Emerging Respiratory Virus Threats Advisory Group said in a radio interview that the two-metre rule was 'conjured up out of nowhere' and was not based on science. No, it was not based on *medical* science, but it didn't come out of nowhere. The distance related to *psychological* science. Six feet/two metres was adopted in many countries and we were told by people like the criminal Anthony Fauci and his ilk that it was founded on science. Many schools could not reopen because they did not have the space for six-foot distancing. Then in March, 2021, after a year of six-foot 'science', a study published in the *Journal of Infectious Diseases* involving more than 500,000 students and almost 100,000 staff over 16 weeks revealed no significant difference in 'Covid' cases between six feet and three feet and Fauci changed his tune. Now three feet was okay. There is no difference between six feet and three *inches* when there is no 'virus' and they got away with six feet for psychological reasons for as long as they could. I hear journalists and others talk about 'unintended consequences' of lockdown. They are not *unintended* at all; they have been coldly-calculated for a specific outcome of human control and that's why super-psychopaths like Gates have called for them so vehemently. Super-psychopath psychologists have demanded them and psychopathic or clueless, spineless, politicians have gone along with them by 'following the science'. But it's not science at all. 'Science' is not what is; it's only what people can be manipulated to believe it is. The whole 'Covid' catastrophe is

founded on mind control. Three word or three statement mantras issued by the UK government are a well-known mind control technique and so we've had 'Stay home/protect the NHS/save lives', 'Stay alert/control the virus/save lives' and 'hands/face/space'. One of the most vocal proponents of extreme 'Covid' rules in the UK has been Professor Susan Michie, a member of the British Communist Party, who is not a medical professional. Michie is the director of the Centre for Behaviour Change at University College London. She is a *behavioural psychologist* and another filthy rich 'Marxist' who praised China's draconian lockdown. She was known by fellow students at Oxford University as 'Stalin's nanny' for her extreme Marxism. Michie is an influential member of the UK government's Scientific Advisory Group for Emergencies (SAGE) and behavioural manipulation groups which have dominated 'Covid' policy. She is a consultant adviser to the World Health Organization on 'Covid-19' and behaviour. Why the hell are lockdowns anything to do with her when they are claimed to be about health? Why does a behavioural psychologist from a group charged with changing the behaviour of the public want lockdown, human isolation and mandatory masks? Does that question really need an answer? Michie *absolutely* has to explain herself before a Nuremberg court when humanity takes back its world again and even more so when you see the consequences of masks that she demands are compulsory. This is a Michie classic:

The benefits of getting primary school children to wear masks is that regardless of what little degree of transmission is occurring in those age groups it could help normalise the practice. Young children wearing masks may be more likely to get their families to accept masks.

Those words alone should carry a prison sentence when you ponder on the callous disregard for children involved and what a statement it makes about the mind and motivations of Susan Michie. What a lovely lady and what she said there encapsulates the mentality of the psychopaths behind the 'Covid' horror. Let us compare what Michie said with a countrywide study in Germany published at [researchsquare.com](https://www.researchsquare.com) involving 25,000 school children and 17,854 health complaints submitted by parents. Researchers

found that masks are harming children physically, psychologically, and behaviourally with 24 health issues associated with mask wearing. They include: shortness of breath (29.7%); dizziness (26.4%); increased headaches (53%); difficulty concentrating (50%); drowsiness or fatigue (37%); and malaise (42%). Nearly a third of children experienced more sleep issues than before and a quarter developed new fears. Researchers found health issues and other impairments in 68 percent of masked children covering their faces for an average of 4.5 hours a day. Hundreds of those taking part experienced accelerated respiration, tightness in the chest, weakness, and short-term impairment of consciousness. A reminder of what Michie said again:

The benefits of getting primary school children to wear masks is that regardless of what little degree of transmission is occurring in those age groups it could help normalise the practice. Young children wearing masks may be more likely to get their families to accept masks.

Psychopaths in government and psychology now have children and young people – plus all the adults – wearing masks for hours on end while clueless teachers impose the will of the psychopaths on the young they should be protecting. What the hell are parents doing?

## **Cult lab rats**

We have some schools already imposing on students microchipped buzzers that activate when they get 'too close' to their pals in the way they do with lab rats. How apt. To the Cult and its brain-dead servants our children *are* lab rats being conditioned to be unquestioning, dehumanised slaves for the rest of their lives. Children and young people are being weaned and frightened away from the most natural human instincts including closeness and touch. I have tracked in the books over the years how schools were banning pupils from greeting each other with a hug and the whole Cult-induced Me Too movement has terrified men and boys from a relaxed and natural interaction with female friends and work colleagues to the point where many men try never to be in a room

alone with a woman that's not their partner. Airhead celebrities have as always played their virtue-signalling part in making this happen with their gross exaggeration. For every monster like Harvey Weinstein there are at least tens of thousands of men that don't treat women like that; but everyone must be branded the same and policy changed for them as well as the monster. I am going to be using the word 'dehumanise' many times in this chapter because that is what the Cult is seeking to do and it goes very deep as we shall see. Don't let them kid you that social distancing is planned to end one day. That's not the idea. We are seeing more governments and companies funding and producing wearable gadgets to keep people apart and they would not be doing that if this was meant to be short-term. A tech start-up company backed by GCHQ, the British Intelligence and military surveillance headquarters, has created a social distancing wrist sensor that alerts people when they get too close to others. The CIA has also supported tech companies developing similar devices. The wearable sensor was developed by Tended, one of a number of start-up companies supported by GCHQ (see the CIA and DARPA). The device can be worn on the wrist or as a tag on the waistband and will vibrate whenever someone wearing the device breaches social distancing and gets anywhere near natural human contact. The company had a lucky break in that it was developing a distancing sensor when the 'Covid' hoax arrived which immediately provided a potentially enormous market. How fortunate. The government in big-time Cult-controlled Ontario in Canada is investing \$2.5 million in wearable contact tracing technology that 'will alert users if they may have been exposed to the Covid-19 in the workplace and will beep or vibrate if they are within six feet of another person'. Facedrive Inc., the technology company behind this, was founded in 2016 with funding from the Ontario Together Fund and obviously they, too, had a prophet on the board of directors. The human surveillance and control technology is called TraceSCAN and would be worn by the human cyborgs in places such as airports, workplaces, construction sites, care homes and ... *schools*.

I emphasise schools with children and young people the prime targets. You know what is planned for society as a whole if you keep your eyes on the schools. They have always been places where the state program the next generation of slaves to be its compliant worker-ants – or Woker-ants these days; but in the mist of the ‘Covid’ madness they have been transformed into mind laboratories on a scale never seen before. Teachers and head teachers are just as programmed as the kids – often more so. Children are kept apart from human interaction by walk lanes, classroom distancing, staggered meal times, masks, and the rolling-out of buzzer systems. Schools are now physically laid out as a laboratory maze for lab-rats. Lunatics at a school in Anchorage, Alaska, who should be prosecuted for child abuse, took away desks and forced children to kneel (know your place) on a mat for five hours a day while wearing a mask and using their chairs as a desk. How this was supposed to impact on a ‘virus’ only these clinically insane people can tell you and even then it would be clap-trap. The school banned recess (interaction), art classes (creativity), and physical exercise (getting body and mind moving out of inertia). Everyone behind this outrage should be in jail or better still a mental institution. The behavioural manipulators are all for this dystopian approach to schools. Professor Susan Michie, the mind-doctor and British Communist Party member, said it was wrong to say that schools were safe. They had to be made so by ‘distancing’, masks and ventilation (sitting all day in the cold). I must ask this lady round for dinner on a night I know I am going to be out and not back for weeks. She probably wouldn’t be able to make it, anyway, with all the visits to her own psychologist she must have block-booked.

## **Masking identity**

I know how shocking it must be for you that a behaviour manipulator like Michie wants everyone to wear masks which have long been a feature of mind-control programs like the infamous MKUltra in the United States, but, there we are. We live and learn. I spent many years from 1996 to right across the millennium

researching mind control in detail on both sides of the Atlantic and elsewhere. I met a large number of mind-control survivors and many had been held captive in body and mind by MKUltra. MK stands for mind-control, but employs the German spelling in deference to the Nazis spirited out of Germany at the end of World War Two by Operation Paperclip in which the US authorities, with help from the Vatican, transported Nazi mind-controllers and engineers to America to continue their work. Many of them were behind the creation of NASA and they included Nazi scientist and SS officer Wernher von Braun who swapped designing V-2 rockets to bombard London with designing the Saturn V rockets that powered the NASA moon programme's Apollo craft. I think I may have mentioned that the Cult has no borders. Among Paperclip escapees was Josef Mengele, the Angel of Death in the Nazi concentration camps where he conducted mind and genetic experiments on children often using twins to provide a control twin to measure the impact of his 'work' on the other. If you want to observe the Cult mentality in all its extremes of evil then look into the life of Mengele. I have met many people who suffered mercilessly under Mengele in the United States where he operated under the name Dr Greene and became a stalwart of MKUltra programming and torture. Among his locations was the underground facility in the Mojave Desert in California called the China Lake Naval Weapons Station which is almost entirely below the surface. My books *The Biggest Secret*, *Children of the Matrix* and *The Perception Deception* have the detailed background to MKUltra.

The best-known MKUltra survivor is American Cathy O'Brien. I first met her and her late partner Mark Phillips at a conference in Colorado in 1996. Mark helped her escape and deprogram from decades of captivity in an offshoot of MKUltra known as Project Monarch in which 'sex slaves' were provided for the rich and famous including Father George Bush, Dick Cheney and the Clintons. Read Cathy and Mark's book *Trance-Formation of America* and if you are new to this you will be shocked to the core. I read it in 1996 shortly before, with the usual synchronicity of my life, I found

myself given a book table at the conference right next to hers. MKUltra never ended despite being very publicly exposed (only a small part of it) in the 1970s and continues in other guises. I am still in touch with Cathy. She contacted me during 2020 after masks became compulsory in many countries to tell me how they were used as part of MKUltra programming. I had been observing 'Covid regulations' and the relationship between authority and public for months. I saw techniques that I knew were employed on individuals in MKUltra being used on the global population. I had read many books and manuals on mind control including one called *Silent Weapons for Quiet Wars* which came to light in the 1980s and was a guide on how to perceptually program on a mass scale. 'Silent Weapons' refers to mind-control. I remembered a line from the manual as governments, medical authorities and law enforcement agencies have so obviously talked to – or rather at – the adult population since the 'Covid' hoax began as if they are children. The document said:

If a person is spoken to by a T.V. advertiser as if he were a twelve-year-old, then, due to suggestibility, he will, with a certain probability, respond or react to that suggestion with the uncritical response of a twelve-year-old and will reach in to his economic reservoir and deliver its energy to buy that product on impulse when he passes it in the store.

That's why authority has spoken to adults like children since all this began.

### **Why did Michael Jackson wear masks?**

Every aspect of the 'Covid' narrative has mind-control as its central theme. Cathy O'Brien wrote an article for [davidicke.com](http://davidicke.com) about the connection between masks and mind control. Her daughter Kelly who I first met in the 1990s was born while Cathy was still held captive in MKUltra. Kelly was forced to wear a mask as part of her programming from the age of *two* to dehumanise her, target her sense of individuality and reduce the amount of oxygen her brain and body received. *Bingo*. This is the real reason for compulsory



masks, why they have been enforced en masse, and why they seek to increase the number they demand you wear. First one, then two, with one disgraceful alleged 'doctor' recommending four which is nothing less than a death sentence. Where and how often they must be worn is being expanded for the purpose of mass mind control and damaging respiratory health which they can call 'Covid-19'. Canada's government headed by the man-child Justin Trudeau, says it's fine for children of two and older to wear masks. An insane 'study' in Italy involving just 47 children concluded there was no problem for babies as young as *four months* wearing them. Even after people were 'vaccinated' they were still told to wear masks by the criminal that is Anthony Fauci. Cathy wrote that mandating masks is allowing the authorities literally to control the air we breathe which is what was done in MKUltra. You might recall how the singer Michael Jackson wore masks and there is a reason for that. He was subjected to MKUltra mind control through Project Monarch and his psyche was scrambled by these simpletons. Cathy wrote:

In MKUltra Project Monarch mind control, Michael Jackson had to wear a mask to silence his voice so he could not reach out for help. Remember how he developed that whisper voice when he wasn't singing? Masks control the mind from the outside in, like the redefining of words is doing. By controlling what we can and cannot say for fear of being labeled racist or beaten, for example, it ultimately controls thought that drives our words and ultimately actions (or lack thereof).

Likewise, a mask muffles our speech so that we are not heard, which controls voice ... words ... mind. This is Mind Control. Masks are an obvious mind control device, and I am disturbed so many people are complying on a global scale. Masks depersonalize while making a person feel as though they have no voice. It is a barrier to others. People who would never choose to comply but are forced to wear a mask in order to keep their job, and ultimately their family fed, are compromised. They often feel shame and are subdued. People have stopped talking with each other while media controls the narrative.

The 'no voice' theme has often become literal with train passengers told not to speak to each other in case they pass on the 'virus', singing banned for the same reason and bonkers California officials telling people riding roller coasters that they cannot shout and scream. Cathy said she heard every day from healed MKUltra survivors who cannot wear a mask without flashing back on ways

their breathing was controlled – ‘from ball gags and penises to water boarding’. She said that through the years when she saw images of people in China wearing masks ‘due to pollution’ that it was really to control their oxygen levels. ‘I knew it was as much of a population control mechanism of depersonalisation as are burkas’, she said. Masks are another Chinese communist/fascist method of control that has been swept across the West as the West becomes China at lightning speed since we entered 2020.

## **Mask-19**

There are other reasons for mandatory masks and these include destroying respiratory health to call it ‘Covid-19’ and stunting brain development of children and the young. Dr Margarite Griesz-Brisson MD, PhD, is a Consultant Neurologist and Neurophysiologist and the Founder and Medical Director of the London Neurology and Pain Clinic. Her CV goes down the street and round the corner. She is clearly someone who cares about people and won’t parrot the propaganda. Griesz-Brisson has a PhD in pharmacology, with special interest in neurotoxicology, environmental medicine, neuroregeneration and neuroplasticity (the way the brain can change in the light of information received). She went public in October, 2020, with a passionate warning about the effects of mask-wearing laws:

The reinhalation of our exhaled air will without a doubt create oxygen deficiency and a flooding of carbon dioxide. We know that the human brain is very sensitive to oxygen deprivation. There are nerve cells for example in the hippocampus that can’t be longer than 3 minutes without oxygen – they cannot survive. The acute warning symptoms are headaches, drowsiness, dizziness, issues in concentration, slowing down of reaction time – reactions of the cognitive system.

Oh, I know, let’s tell bus, truck and taxi drivers to wear them and people working machinery. How about pilots, doctors and police? Griesz-Brisson makes the important point that while the symptoms she mentions may fade as the body readjusts this does not alter the fact that people continue to operate in oxygen deficit with long list of

potential consequences. She said it was well known that neurodegenerative diseases take years or decades to develop. 'If today you forget your phone number, the breakdown in your brain would have already started 20 or 30 years ago.' She said degenerative processes in your brain are getting amplified as your oxygen deprivation continues through wearing a mask. Nerve cells in the brain are unable to divide themselves normally in these circumstances and lost nerve cells will no longer be regenerated. 'What is gone is gone.' Now consider that people like shop workers and *schoolchildren* are wearing masks for hours every day. What in the name of sanity is going to be happening to them? 'I do not wear a mask, I need my brain to think', Griesz-Brisson said, 'I want to have a clear head when I deal with my patients and not be in a carbon dioxide-induced anaesthesia'. If you are told to wear a mask anywhere ask the organisation, police, store, whatever, for their risk assessment on the dangers and negative effects on mind and body of enforcing mask-wearing. They won't have one because it has never been done not even by government. All of them must be subject to class-action lawsuits as the consequences come to light. They don't do mask risk assessments for an obvious reason. They know what the conclusions would be and independent scientific studies that *have* been done tell a horror story of consequences.

### **'Masks are criminal'**

Dr Griesz-Brisson said that for children and adolescents, masks are an absolute no-no. They had an extremely active and adaptive immune system and their brain was incredibly active with so much to learn. 'The child's brain, or the youth's brain, is thirsting for oxygen.' The more metabolically active an organ was, the more oxygen it required; and in children and adolescents every organ was metabolically active. Griesz-Brisson said that to deprive a child's or adolescent's brain of oxygen, or to restrict it in any way, was not only dangerous to their health, it was absolutely criminal. 'Oxygen deficiency inhibits the development of the brain, and the damage that has taken place as a result CANNOT be reversed.' Mind

manipulators of MKUltra put masks on two-year-olds they wanted to neurologically rewire and you can see why. Griesz-Brisson said a child needs the brain to learn and the brain needs oxygen to function. 'We don't need a clinical study for that. This is simple, indisputable physiology.' Consciously and purposely induced oxygen deficiency was an absolutely deliberate health hazard, and an absolute medical contraindication which means that 'this drug, this therapy, this method or measure should not be used, and is not allowed to be used'. To coerce an entire population to use an absolute medical contraindication by force, she said, there had to be definite and serious reasons and the reasons must be presented to competent interdisciplinary and independent bodies to be verified and authorised. She had this warning of the consequences that were coming if mask wearing continued:

When, in ten years, dementia is going to increase exponentially, and the younger generations couldn't reach their god-given potential, it won't help to say 'we didn't need the masks'. I know how damaging oxygen deprivation is for the brain, cardiologists know how damaging it is for the heart, pulmonologists know how damaging it is for the lungs. Oxygen deprivation damages every single organ. Where are our health departments, our health insurance, our medical associations? It would have been their duty to be vehemently against the lockdown and to stop it and stop it from the very beginning.

Why do the medical boards issue punishments to doctors who give people exemptions? Does the person or the doctor seriously have to prove that oxygen deprivation harms people? What kind of medicine are our doctors and medical associations representing? Who is responsible for this crime? The ones who want to enforce it? The ones who let it happen and play along, or the ones who don't prevent it?

All of the organisations and people she mentions there either answer directly to the Cult or do whatever hierarchical levels above them tell them to do. The outcome of both is the same. 'It's not about masks, it's not about viruses, it's certainly not about your health', Griesz-Brisson said. 'It is about much, much more. I am not participating. I am not afraid.' They were taking our air to breathe and there was no unfounded medical exemption from face masks. Oxygen deprivation was dangerous for every single brain. It had to be the free decision of every human being whether they want to

wear a mask that was absolutely ineffective to protect themselves from a virus. She ended by rightly identifying where the responsibility lies for all this:

The imperative of the hour is personal responsibility. We are responsible for what we think, not the media. We are responsible for what we do, not our superiors. We are responsible for our health, not the World Health Organization. And we are responsible for what happens in our country, not the government.

Halle-bloody-lujah.

### **But surgeons wear masks, right?**

Independent studies of mask-wearing have produced a long list of reports detailing mental, emotional and physical dangers. What a definition of insanity to see police officers imposing mask-wearing on the public which will cumulatively damage their health while the police themselves wear masks that will cumulatively damage *their* health. It's utter madness and both public and police do this because 'the government says so' – yes a government of brain-donor idiots like UK Health Secretary Matt Hancock reading the 'follow the science' scripts of psychopathic, lunatic psychologists. The response you get from Stockholm syndrome sufferers defending the very authorities that are destroying them and their families is that 'surgeons wear masks'. This is considered the game, set and match that they must work and don't cause oxygen deficit. Well, actually, scientific studies have shown that they *do* and oxygen levels are monitored in operating theatres to compensate. Surgeons wear masks to stop spittle and such like dropping into open wounds – not to stop 'viral particles' which are so miniscule they can only be seen through an electron microscope. Holes in the masks are significantly bigger than 'viral particles' and if you sneeze or cough they will breach the mask. I watched an incredibly disingenuous 'experiment' that claimed to prove that masks work in catching 'virus' material from the mouth and nose. They did this with a slow motion camera and the mask did block big stuff which stayed inside the mask and

against the face to be breathed in or cause infections on the face as we have seen with many children. 'Viral particles', however, would never have been picked up by the camera as they came through the mask when they are far too small to be seen. The 'experiment' was therefore disingenuous *and* useless.

Studies have concluded that wearing masks in operating theatres (and thus elsewhere) make no difference to preventing infection while the opposite is true with toxic shite building up in the mask and this had led to an explosion in tooth decay and gum disease dubbed by dentists 'mask mouth'. You might have seen the Internet video of a furious American doctor urging people to take off their masks after a four-year-old patient had been rushed to hospital the night before and nearly died with a lung infection that doctors sourced to mask wearing. A study in the journal *Cancer Discovery* found that inhalation of harmful microbes can contribute to advanced stage lung cancer in adults and long-term use of masks can help breed dangerous pathogens. Microbiologists have said frequent mask wearing creates a moist environment in which microbes can grow and proliferate before entering the lungs. The Canadian Agency for Drugs and Technologies in Health, or CADTH, a Canadian national organisation that provides research and analysis to healthcare decision-makers, said this as long ago as 2013 in a report entitled 'Use of Surgical Masks in the Operating Room: A Review of the Clinical Effectiveness and Guidelines'. It said:

- No evidence was found to support the use of surgical face masks to reduce the frequency of surgical site infections
- No evidence was found on the effectiveness of wearing surgical face masks to protect staff from infectious material in the operating room.
- Guidelines recommend the use of surgical face masks by staff in the operating room to protect both operating room staff and patients (despite the lack of evidence).

We were told that the world could go back to 'normal' with the arrival of the 'vaccines'. When they came, fraudulent as they are, the story changed as I knew that it would. We are in the midst of transforming 'normal', not going back to it. Mary Ramsay, head of immunisation at Public Health England, echoed the words of US criminal Anthony Fauci who said masks and other regulations must stay no matter if people are vaccinated. The Fauci idiot continued to wear two masks – different colours so both could be clearly seen – after he *claimed* to have been vaccinated. Senator Rand Paul told Fauci in one exchange that his double-masks were 'theatre' and he was right. It's all theatre. Mary Ramsay back-tracked on the vaccine-return-to-normal theme when she said the public may need to wear masks and social-distance for years despite the jabs. 'People have got used to those lower-level restrictions now, and [they] can live with them', she said telling us what the idea has been all along. 'The vaccine does not give you a pass, even if you have had it, you must continue to follow all the guidelines' said a Public Health England statement which reneged on what we had been told before and made having the 'vaccine' irrelevant to 'normality' even by the official story. Spain's fascist government trumped everyone by passing a law mandating the wearing of masks on the beach and even when swimming in the sea. The move would have devastated what's left of the Spanish tourist industry, posed potential breathing dangers to swimmers and had Northern European sunbathers walking around with their forehead brown and the rest of their face white as a sheet. The ruling was so crazy that it had to be retracted after pressure from public and tourist industry, but it confirmed where the Cult wants to go with masks and how clinically insane authority has become. The determination to make masks permanent and hide the serious dangers to body and mind can be seen in the censorship of scientist Professor Denis Rancourt by Bill Gates-funded academic publishing website ResearchGate over his papers exposing the dangers and uselessness of masks. Rancourt said:

ResearchGate today has permanently locked my account, which I have had since 2015. Their reasons graphically show the nature of their attack against democracy, and their corruption of

science ... By their obscene non-logic, a scientific review of science articles reporting on harms caused by face masks has a 'potential to cause harm'. No criticism of the psychological device (face masks) is tolerated, if the said criticism shows potential to influence public policy.

This is what happens in a fascist world.

### **Where are the 'greens' (again)?**

Other dangers of wearing masks especially regularly relate to the inhalation of minute plastic fibres into the lungs and the deluge of discarded masks in the environment and oceans. Estimates predicted that more than 1.5 billion disposable masks will end up in the world's oceans every year polluting the water with tons of plastic and endangering marine wildlife. Studies project that humans are using 129 billion face masks each month worldwide – about three million a minute. Most are disposable and made from plastic, non-biodegradable microfibers that break down into smaller plastic particles that become widespread in ecosystems. They are littering cities, clogging sewage channels and turning up in bodies of water. I have written in other books about the immense amounts of microplastics from endless sources now being absorbed into the body. Rolf Halden, director of the Arizona State University (ASU) Biodesign Center for Environmental Health Engineering, was the senior researcher in a 2020 study that analysed 47 human tissue samples and found microplastics in all of them. 'We have detected these chemicals of plastics in every single organ that we have investigated', he said. I wrote in *The Answer* about the world being deluged with microplastics. A study by the Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) found that people are consuming on average every week some 2,000 tiny pieces of plastic mostly through water and also through marine life and the air. Every year humans are ingesting enough microplastics to fill a heaped dinner plate and in a life-time of 79 years it is enough to fill two large waste bins. Marco Lambertini, WWF International director general said: 'Not only are plastics polluting our oceans and waterways and killing marine life – it's in all of us and we can't escape consuming plastics,' American



geologists found tiny plastic fibres, beads and shards in rainwater samples collected from the remote slopes of the Rocky Mountain National Park near Denver, Colorado. Their report was headed: 'It is raining plastic.' Rachel Adams, senior lecturer in Biomedical Science at Cardiff Metropolitan University, said that among health consequences are internal inflammation and immune responses to a 'foreign body'. She further pointed out that microplastics become carriers of toxins including mercury, pesticides and dioxins (a known cause of cancer and reproductive and developmental problems). These toxins accumulate in the fatty tissues once they enter the body through microplastics. Now this is being compounded massively by people putting plastic on their face and throwing it away.

Workers exposed to polypropylene plastic fibres known as 'flock' have developed 'flock worker's lung' from inhaling small pieces of the flock fibres which can damage lung tissue, reduce breathing capacity and exacerbate other respiratory problems. *Now ...* commonly used surgical masks have three layers of melt-blown textiles made of ... polypropylene. We have billions of people putting these microplastics against their mouth, nose and face for hours at a time day after day in the form of masks. How does anyone think that will work out? I mean – what could possibly go wrong? We posted a number of scientific studies on this at [davidicke.com](http://davidicke.com), but when I went back to them as I was writing this book the links to the science research website where they were hosted were dead. Anything that challenges the official narrative in any way is either censored or vilified. The official narrative is so unsupportable by the evidence that only deleting the truth can protect it. A study by Chinese scientists still survived – with the usual twist which it why it was still active, I guess. Yes, they found that virtually all the masks they tested increased the daily intake of microplastic fibres, but people should still wear them because the danger from the 'virus' was worse said the crazy 'team' from the Institute of Hydrobiology in Wuhan. Scientists first discovered microplastics in lung tissue of some patients who died of lung cancer

in the 1990s. Subsequent studies have confirmed the potential health damage with the plastic degrading slowly and remaining in the lungs to accumulate in volume. Wuhan researchers used a machine simulating human breathing to establish that masks shed up to nearly 4,000 microplastic fibres in a month with reused masks producing more. Scientists said some masks are laced with toxic chemicals and a variety of compounds seriously restricted for both health and environmental reasons. They include cobalt (used in blue dye) and formaldehyde known to cause watery eyes, burning sensations in the eyes, nose, and throat, plus coughing, wheezing and nausea. No – that must be ‘Covid-19’.

### **Mask ‘worms’**

There is another and potentially even more sinister content of masks. Mostly new masks of different makes filmed under a microscope around the world have been found to contain strange black fibres or ‘worms’ that appear to move or ‘crawl’ by themselves and react to heat and water. The nearest I have seen to them are the self-replicating fibres that are pulled out through the skin of those suffering from Morgellons disease which has been connected to the phenomena of ‘chemtrails’ which I will bring into the story later on. Morgellons fibres continue to grow outside the body and have a form of artificial intelligence. Black ‘worm’ fibres in masks have that kind of feel to them and there is a nanotechnology technique called ‘worm micelles’ which carry and release drugs or anything else you want to deliver to the body. For sure the suppression of humanity by mind altering drugs is the Cult agenda big time and the more excuses they can find to gain access to the body the more opportunities there are to make that happen whether through ‘vaccines’ or masks pushed against the mouth and nose for hours on end.

So let us summarise the pros and cons of masks:

*Against masks:* Breathing in your own carbon dioxide; depriving the body and brain of sufficient oxygen; build-up of toxins in the mask that can be breathed into the lungs and cause rashes on the face and 'mask-mouth'; breathing microplastic fibres and toxic chemicals into the lungs; dehumanisation and deleting individualisation by literally making people faceless; destroying human emotional interaction through facial expression and deleting parental connection with their babies which look for guidance to their facial expression.

*For masks:* They don't protect you from a 'virus' that doesn't exist and even if it did 'viral' particles are so minute they are smaller than the holes in the mask.

Governments, police, supermarkets, businesses, transport companies, and all the rest who seek to impose masks have done no risk assessment on their consequences for health and psychology and are now open to group lawsuits when the impact becomes clear with a cumulative epidemic of respiratory and other disease. Authorities will try to exploit these effects and hide the real cause by dubbing them 'Covid-19'. Can you imagine setting out to force the population to wear health-destroying masks without doing any assessment of the risks? It is criminal and it is evil, but then how many people targeted in this way, who see their children told to wear them all day at school, have asked for a risk assessment? Billions can't be imposed upon by the few unless the billions allow it. Oh, yes, with just a tinge of irony, 85 percent of all masks made worldwide come from *China*.

### **Wash your hands in toxic shite**

'Covid' rules include the use of toxic sanitisers and again the health consequences of constantly applying toxins to be absorbed through the skin is obvious to any level of Renegade Mind. America's Food and Drug Administration (FDA) said that sanitisers are drugs and issued a warning about 75 dangerous brands which contain

methanol used in antifreeze and can cause death, kidney damage and blindness. The FDA circulated the following warning even for those brands that it claims to be safe:

Store hand sanitizer out of the reach of pets and children, and children should use it only with adult supervision. Do not drink hand sanitizer. This is particularly important for young children, especially toddlers, who may be attracted by the pleasant smell or brightly colored bottles of hand sanitizer.

Drinking even a small amount of hand sanitizer can cause alcohol poisoning in children. (However, there is no need to be concerned if your children eat with or lick their hands after using hand sanitizer.) During this coronavirus pandemic, poison control centers have had an increase in calls about accidental ingestion of hand sanitizer, so it is important that adults monitor young children's use.

Do not allow pets to swallow hand sanitizer. If you think your pet has eaten something potentially dangerous, call your veterinarian or a pet poison control center right away. Hand sanitizer is flammable and should be stored away from heat and flames. When using hand sanitizer, rub your hands until they feel completely dry before performing activities that may involve heat, sparks, static electricity, or open flames.

There you go, perfectly safe, then, and that's without even a mention of the toxins absorbed through the skin. Come on kids – sanitise your hands everywhere you go. It will save you from the 'virus'. Put all these elements together of the 'Covid' normal and see how much health and psychology is being cumulatively damaged, even devastated, to 'protect your health'. Makes sense, right? They are only imposing these things because they care, right? *Right?*

## **Submitting to insanity**

Psychological reframing of the population goes very deep and is done in many less obvious ways. I hear people say how contradictory and crazy 'Covid' rules are and how they are ever changing. This is explained away by dismissing those involved as idiots. It is a big mistake. The Cult is delighted if its cold calculation is perceived as incompetence and idiocy when it is anything but. Oh, yes, there are idiots within the system – lots of them – but they are *administering* the Cult agenda, mostly unknowingly. They are not deciding and dictating it. The bulwark against tyranny is self-

respect, always has been, always will be. It is self-respect that has broken every tyranny in history. By its very nature self-respect will not bow to oppression and its perpetrators. There is so little self-respect that it's always the few that overturn dictators. Many may eventually follow, but the few with the iron spines (self-respect) kick it off and generate the momentum. The Cult targets self-respect in the knowledge that once this has gone only submission remains. Crazy, contradictory, ever-changing 'Covid' rules are systematically applied by psychologists to delete self-respect. They *want* you to see that the rules make no sense. It is one thing to decide to do something when *you* have made the choice based on evidence and logic. You still retain your self-respect. It is quite another when you can see what you are being told to do is insane, ridiculous and makes no sense, and *yet you still do it*. Your self-respect is extinguished and this has been happening as ever more obviously stupid and nonsensical things have been demanded and the great majority have complied even when they can see they are stupid and nonsensical.

People walk around in face-nappies knowing they are damaging their health and make no difference to a 'virus'. They do it in fear of not doing it. I know it's daft, but I'll do it anyway. When that happens something dies inside of you and submissive reframing has begun. Next there's a need to hide from yourself that you have conceded your self-respect and you convince yourself that you have not really submitted to fear and intimidation. You begin to believe that you are complying with craziness because it's the right thing to do. When first you concede your self-respect of  $2+2 = 4$  to  $2+2 = 5$  you *know* you are compromising your self-respect. Gradually to avoid facing that fact you begin to *believe* that  $2+2=5$ . You have been reframed and I have been watching this process happening in the human psyche on an industrial scale. The Cult is working to break your spirit and one of its major tools in that war is humiliation. I read how former American soldier Bradley Manning (later Chelsea Manning after a sex-change) was treated after being jailed for supplying WikiLeaks with documents exposing the enormity of

government and elite mendacity. Manning was isolated in solitary confinement for eight months, put under 24-hour surveillance, forced to hand over clothing before going to bed, and stand naked for every roll call. This is systematic humiliation. The introduction of anal swab 'Covid' tests in China has been done for the same reason to delete self-respect and induce compliant submission. Anal swabs are mandatory for incoming passengers in parts of China and American diplomats have said they were forced to undergo the indignity which would have been calculated humiliation by the Cult-owned Chinese government that has America in its sights.

### **Government-people: An abusive relationship**

Spirit-breaking psychological techniques include giving people hope and apparent respite from tyranny only to take it away again. This happened in the UK during Christmas, 2020, when the psychopsychologists and their political lackeys announced an easing of restrictions over the holiday only to reimpose them almost immediately on the basis of yet another lie. There is a big psychological difference between getting used to oppression and being given hope of relief only to have that dashed. Psychologists know this and we have seen the technique used repeatedly. Then there is traumatising people before you introduce more extreme regulations that require compliance. A perfect case was the announcement by the dark and sinister Whitty and Vallance in the UK that 'new data' predicted that 4,000 could die every day over the winter of 2020/2021 if we did not lockdown again. I think they call it lying and after traumatising people with that claim out came Jackboot Johnson the next day with new curbs on human freedom. Psychologists know that a frightened and traumatised mind becomes suggestable to submission and behaviour reframing. Underpinning all this has been to make people fearful and suspicious of each other and see themselves as a potential danger to others. In league with deleted self-respect you have the perfect psychological recipe for self-loathing. The relationship between authority and public is now demonstrably the same as that of

subservience to an abusive partner. These are signs of an abusive relationship explained by psychologist Leslie Becker-Phelps:

**Psychological and emotional abuse:** Undermining a partner's self-worth with verbal attacks, name-calling, and belittling. Humiliating the partner in public, unjustly accusing them of having an affair, or interrogating them about their every behavior. Keeping partner confused or off balance by saying they were just kidding or blaming the partner for 'making' them act this way ... Feigning in public that they care while turning against them in private. This leads to victims frequently feeling confused, incompetent, unworthy, hopeless, and chronically self-doubting. [Apply these techniques to how governments have treated the population since New Year, 2020, and the parallels are obvious.]

**Physical abuse:** The abuser might physically harm their partner in a range of ways, such as grabbing, hitting, punching, or shoving them. They might throw objects at them or harm them with a weapon. [Observe the physical harm imposed by masks, lockdown, and so on.]

**Threats and intimidation:** One way abusers keep their partners in line is by instilling fear. They might be verbally threatening, or give threatening looks or gestures. Abusers often make it known that they are tracking their partner's every move. They might destroy their partner's possessions, threaten to harm them, or threaten to harm their family members. Not surprisingly, victims of this abuse often feel anxiety, fear, and panic. [No words necessary.]

**Isolation:** Abusers often limit their partner's activities, forbidding them to talk or interact with friends or family. They might limit access to a car or even turn off their phone. All of this might be done by physically holding them against their will, but is often accomplished through psychological abuse and intimidation. The more isolated a person feels, the fewer resources they have to help gain perspective on their situation and to escape from it. [No words necessary.]

**Economic abuse:** Abusers often make their partners beholden to them for money by controlling access to funds of any kind. They might prevent their partner from getting a job or withhold access to money they earn from a job. This creates financial dependency that makes leaving the relationship very difficult. [See destruction of livelihoods and the proposed meagre 'guaranteed income' so long as you do whatever you are told.]

**Using children:** An abuser might disparage their partner's parenting skills, tell their children lies about their partner, threaten to take custody of their children, or threaten to harm their children. These tactics instil fear and often elicit compliance. [See reframed social service mafia and how children are being mercilessly abused by the state over 'Covid' while their parents look on too frightened to do anything.]

A further recurring trait in an abusive relationship is the abused blaming themselves for their abuse and making excuses for the abuser. We have the public blaming each other for lockdown abuse by government and many making excuses for the government while attacking those who challenge the government. How often we have heard authorities say that rules are being imposed or reimposed only because people have refused to 'behave' and follow the rules. We don't want to do it – it's *you*.

Renegade Minds are an antidote to all of these things. They will never concede their self-respect no matter what the circumstances. Even when apparent humiliation is heaped upon them they laugh in its face and reflect back the humiliation on the abuser where it belongs. Renegade Minds will never wear masks they know are only imposed to humiliate, suppress and damage both physically and psychologically. Consequences will take care of themselves and they will never break their spirit or cause them to concede to tyranny. UK newspaper columnist Peter Hitchens was one of the few in the mainstream media to speak out against lockdowns and forced vaccinations. He then announced he had taken the jab. He wanted to see family members abroad and he believed vaccine passports were inevitable even though they had not yet been introduced. Hitchens



has a questioning and critical mind, but not a Renegade one. If he had no amount of pressure would have made him concede. Hitchens excused his action by saying that the battle has been lost. Renegade Minds never accept defeat when freedom is at stake and even if they are the last one standing the self-respect of not submitting to tyranny is more important than any outcome or any consequence.

That's why Renegade Minds are the only minds that ever changed anything worth changing.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### **'Reframing' insanity**

*Insanity is relative. It depends on who has who locked in what cage*  
Ray Bradbury

**R**eframing' a mind means simply to change its perception and behaviour. This can be done subconsciously to such an extent that subjects have no idea they have been 'reframed' while to any observer changes in behaviour and attitudes are obvious.

Human society is being reframed on a ginormous scale since the start of 2020 and here we have the reason why psychologists rather than doctors have been calling the shots. Ask most people who have succumbed to 'Covid' reframing if they have changed and most will say 'no'; but they *have* and fundamentally. The Cult's long-game has been preparing for these times since way back and crucial to that has been to prepare both population and officialdom mentally and emotionally. To use the mind-control parlance they had to reframe the population with a mentality that would submit to fascism and reframe those in government and law enforcement to impose fascism or at least go along with it. The result has been the fact-deleted mindlessness of 'Wokeness' and officialdom that has either enthusiastically or unquestioningly imposed global tyranny demanded by reframed politicians on behalf of psychopathic and deeply evil cultists. 'Cognitive reframing' identifies and challenges the way someone sees the world in the form of situations, experiences and emotions and then restructures those perceptions to view the same set of circumstances in a different way. This can have

benefits if the attitudes are personally destructive while on the other side it has the potential for individual and collective mind control which the subject has no idea has even happened.

Cognitive therapy was developed in the 1960s by Aaron T. Beck who was born in Rhode Island in 1921 as the son of Jewish immigrants from the Ukraine. He became interested in the techniques as a treatment for depression. Beck's daughter Judith S. Beck is prominent in the same field and they founded the Beck Institute for Cognitive Behavior Therapy in Philadelphia in 1994. Cognitive reframing, however, began to be used worldwide by those with a very dark agenda. The Cult reframes politicians to change their attitudes and actions until they are completely at odds with what they once appeared to stand for. The same has been happening to government administrators at all levels, law enforcement, military and the human population. Cultists love mind control for two main reasons: It allows them to control what people think, do and say to secure agenda advancement and, by definition, it calms their legendary insecurity and fear of the unexpected. I have studied mind control since the time I travelled America in 1996. I may have been talking to next to no one in terms of an audience in those years, but my goodness did I gather a phenomenal amount of information and knowledge about so many things including the techniques of mind control. I have described this in detail in other books going back to *The Biggest Secret* in 1998. I met a very large number of people recovering from MKUltra and its offshoots and successors and I began to see how these same techniques were being used on the population in general. This was never more obvious than since the 'Covid' hoax began.

## **Reframing the enforcers**

I have observed over the last two decades and more the very clear transformation in the dynamic between the police, officialdom and the public. I tracked this in the books as the relationship mutated from one of serving the public to seeing them as almost the enemy and certainly a lower caste. There has always been a class divide

based on income and always been some psychopathic, corrupt, and big-I-am police officers. This was different. Wholesale change was unfolding in the collective dynamic; it was less about money and far more about position and perceived power. An us-and-them was emerging. Noses were lifted skyward by government administration and law enforcement and their attitude to the public they were *supposed* to be serving changed to one of increasing contempt, superiority and control. The transformation was so clear and widespread that it had to be planned. Collective attitudes and dynamics do not change naturally and organically that quickly on that scale. I then came across an organisation in Britain called Common Purpose created in the late 1980s by Julia Middleton who would work in the office of Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott during the long and disastrous premiership of war criminal Tony Blair. When Blair speaks the Cult is speaking and the man should have been in jail a long time ago. Common Purpose proclaims itself to be one of the biggest 'leadership development' organisations in the world while functioning as a *charity* with all the financial benefits which come from that. It hosts 'leadership development' courses and programmes all over the world and claims to have 'brought together' what it calls 'leaders' from more than 100 countries on six continents. The modus operandi of Common Purpose can be compared with the work of the UK government's reframing network that includes the Behavioural Insights Team 'nudge unit' and 'Covid' reframing specialists at SPI-B. WikiLeaks described Common Purpose long ago as 'a hidden virus in our government and schools' which is unknown to the general public: 'It recruits and trains "leaders" to be loyal to the directives of Common Purpose and the EU, instead of to their own departments, which they then undermine or subvert, the NHS [National Health Service] being an example.' This is a vital point to understand the 'Covid' hoax. The NHS, and its equivalent around the world, has been utterly reframed in terms of administrators and much of the medical personnel with the transformation underpinned by recruitment policies. The outcome has been the criminal and psychopathic behaviour of the

NHS over 'Covid' and we have seen the same in every other major country. WikiLeaks said Common Purpose trainees are 'learning to rule without regard to democracy' and to usher in a police state (current events explained). Common Purpose operated like a 'glue' and had members in the NHS, BBC, police, legal profession, church, many of Britain's 7,000 quangos, local councils, the Civil Service, government ministries and Parliament, and controlled many RDA's (Regional Development Agencies). Here we have one answer for how and why British institutions and their like in other countries have changed so negatively in relation to the public. This further explains how and why the beyond-disgraceful reframed BBC has become a propaganda arm of 'Covid' fascism. They are all part of a network pursuing the same goal.

By 2019 Common Purpose was quoting a figure of 85,000 'leaders' that had attended its programmes. These 'students' of all ages are known as Common Purpose 'graduates' and they consist of government, state and local government officials and administrators, police chiefs and officers, and a whole range of others operating within the national, local and global establishment. Cressida Dick, Commissioner of the London Metropolitan Police, is the Common Purpose graduate who was the 'Gold Commander' that oversaw what can only be described as the murder of Brazilian electrician Jean Charles de Menezes in 2005. He was held down by psychopathic police and shot seven times in the head by a psychopathic lunatic after being mistaken for a terrorist when he was just a bloke going about his day. Dick authorised officers to pursue and keep surveillance on de Menezes and ordered that he be stopped from entering the underground train system. Police psychopaths took her at her word clearly. She was 'disciplined' for this outrage by being *promoted* – eventually to the top of the 'Met' police where she has been a disaster. Many Chief Constables controlling the police in different parts of the UK are and have been Common Purpose graduates. I have heard the 'graduate' network described as a sort of Mafia or secret society operating within the fabric of government at all levels pursuing a collective policy

ingrained at Common Purpose training events. Founder Julia Middleton herself has said:

Locally and internationally, Common Purpose graduates will be 'lighting small fires' to create change in their organisations and communities ... The Common Purpose effect is best illustrated by the many stories of small changes brought about by leaders, who themselves have changed.

A Common Purpose mission statement declared:

Common Purpose aims to improve the way society works by expanding the vision, decision-making ability and influence of all kinds of leaders. The organisation runs a variety of educational programmes for leaders of all ages, backgrounds and sectors, in order to provide them with the inspirational, information and opportunities they need to change the world.

Yes, but into what? Since 2020 the answer has become clear.

## **NLP and the Delphi technique**

Common Purpose would seem to be a perfect name or would common programming be better? One of the foundation methods of reaching 'consensus' (group think) is by setting the agenda theme and then encouraging, cajoling or pressuring everyone to agree a 'consensus' in line with the core theme promoted by Common Purpose. The methodology involves the 'Delphi technique', or an adaptation of it, in which opinions are expressed that are summarised by a 'facilitator or change agent' at each stage. Participants are 'encouraged' to modify their views in the light of what others have said. Stage by stage the former individual opinions are merged into group consensus which just happens to be what Common Purpose wants them to believe. A key part of this is to marginalise anyone refusing to concede to group think and turn the group against them to apply pressure to conform. We are seeing this very technique used on the general population to make 'Covid' group-thinkers hostile to those who have seen through the bullshit. People can be reframed by using perception manipulation methods such as Neuro-Linguistic Programming (NLP) in which you change perception with the use of

carefully constructed language. An NLP website described the technique this way:

... A method of influencing brain behaviour (the 'neuro' part of the phrase) through the use of language (the 'linguistic' part) and other types of communication to enable a person to 'recode' the way the brain responds to stimuli (that's the 'programming') and manifest new and better behaviours. Neuro-Linguistic Programming often incorporates hypnosis and self-hypnosis to help achieve the change (or 'programming') that is wanted.

British alternative media operation UKColumn has done very detailed research into Common Purpose over a long period. I quoted co-founder and former naval officer Brian Gerrish in my book *Remember Who You Are*, published in 2011, as saying the following years before current times:

It is interesting that many of the mothers who have had children taken by the State speak of the Social Services people being icily cool, emotionless and, as two ladies said in slightly different words, '... like little robots'. We know that NLP is cumulative, so people can be given small imperceptible doses of NLP in a course here, another in a few months, next year etc. In this way, major changes are accrued in their personality, but the day by day change is almost unnoticeable.

In these and other ways 'graduates' have had their perceptions uniformly reframed and they return to their roles in the institutions of government, law enforcement, legal profession, military, 'education', the UK National Health Service and the whole swathe of the establishment structure to pursue a common agenda preparing for the 'post-industrial', 'post-democratic' society. I say 'preparing' but we are now there. 'Post-industrial' is code for the Great Reset and 'post-democratic' is 'Covid' fascism. UKColumn has spoken to partners of those who have attended Common Purpose 'training'. They have described how personalities and attitudes of 'graduates' changed very noticeably for the worse by the time they had completed the course. They had been 'reframed' and told they are the 'leaders' – the special ones – who know better than the population. There has also been the very demonstrable recruitment of psychopaths and narcissists into government administration at all

levels and law enforcement. If you want psychopathy hire psychopaths and you get a simple cause and effect. If you want administrators, police officers and 'leaders' to perceive the public as lesser beings who don't matter then employ narcissists. These personalities are identified using 'psychometrics' that identifies knowledge, abilities, attitudes and personality traits, mostly through carefully-designed questionnaires and tests. As this policy has passed through the decades we have had power-crazy, power-trippers appointed into law enforcement, security and government administration in preparation for current times and the dynamic between public and law enforcement/officialdom has been transformed. UKColumn's Brian Gerrish said of the narcissistic personality:

Their love of themselves and power automatically means that they will crush others who get in their way. I received a major piece of the puzzle when a friend pointed out that when they made public officials re-apply for their own jobs several years ago they were also required to do psychometric tests. This was undoubtedly the start of the screening process to get 'their' sort of people in post.

How obvious that has been since 2020 although it was clear what was happening long before if people paid attention to the changing public-establishment dynamic.

## **Change agents**

At the centre of events in 'Covid' Britain is the National Health Service (NHS) which has behaved disgracefully in slavishly following the Cult agenda. The NHS management structure is awash with Common Purpose graduates or 'change agents' working to a common cause. Helen Bevan, a Chief of Service Transformation at the NHS Institute for Innovation and Improvement, co-authored a document called 'Towards a million change agents, a review of the social movements literature: implications for large scale change in the NHS'. The document compared a project management approach to that of change and social movements where 'people change



themselves and each other – peer to peer’. Two definitions given for a ‘social movement’ were:

*A group of people who consciously attempt to build a radically new social order; involves people of a broad range of social backgrounds; and deploys politically confrontational and socially disruptive tactics – Cyrus Zirakzadeh 1997*

*Collective challenges, based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents, and authorities – Sidney Tarrow 1994*

Helen Bevan wrote another NHS document in which she defined ‘framing’ as ‘the process by which leaders construct, articulate and put across their message in a powerful and compelling way in order to win people to their cause and call them to action’. I think I could come up with another definition that would be rather more accurate. The National Health Service and institutions of Britain and the wider world have been taken over by reframed ‘change agents’ and that includes everything from the United Nations to national governments, local councils and social services which have been kidnapping children from loving parents on an extraordinary and gathering scale on the road to the end of parenthood altogether. Children from loving homes are stolen and kidnapped by the state and put into the ‘care’ (inversion) of the local authority through council homes, foster parents and forced adoption. At the same time children are allowed to be abused without response while many are under council ‘care’. UKColumn highlighted the Common Purpose connection between South Yorkshire Police and Rotherham council officers in the case of the scandal in that area of the sexual exploitation of children to which the authorities turned not one blind eye, but both:

We were alarmed to discover that the Chief Executive, the Strategic Director of Children and Young People's Services, the Manager for the Local Strategic Partnership, the Community Cohesion Manager, the Cabinet Member for Cohesion, the Chief Constable and his predecessor had all attended Leadership training courses provided by the pseudo-charity Common Purpose.

Once 'change agents' have secured positions of hire and fire within any organisation things start to move very quickly. Personnel are then hired and fired on the basis of whether they will work towards the agenda the change agent represents. If they do they are rapidly promoted even though they may be incompetent. Those more qualified and skilled who are pre-Common Purpose 'old school' see their careers stall and even disappear. This has been happening for decades in every institution of state, police, 'health' and social services and all of them have been transformed as a result in their attitudes to their jobs and the public. Medical professions, including nursing, which were once vocations for the caring now employ many cold, callous and couldn't give a shit personality types. The UKColumn investigation concluded:

By blurring the boundaries between people, professions, public and private sectors, responsibility and accountability, Common Purpose encourages 'graduates' to believe that as new selected leaders, they can work together, outside of the established political and social structures, to achieve a paradigm shift or CHANGE – so called 'Leading Beyond Authority'. In doing so, the allegiance of the individual becomes 'reframed' on CP colleagues and their NETWORK.

## **Reframing the Face-Nappies**

Nowhere has this process been more obvious than in the police where recruitment of psychopaths and development of unquestioning mind-controlled group-thinkers have transformed law enforcement into a politically-correct 'Woke' joke and a travesty of what should be public service. Today they wear their face-nappies like good little gofers and enforce 'Covid' rules which are fascism under another name. Alongside the specifically-recruited psychopaths we have software minds incapable of free thought. Brian Gerrish again:

An example is the policeman who would not get on a bike for a press photo because he had not done the cycling proficiency course. Normal people say this is political correctness gone mad. Nothing could be further from the truth. The policeman has been reframed, and in his reality it is perfect common sense not to get on the bike 'because he hasn't done the cycling course'.

Another example of this is where the police would not rescue a boy from a pond until they had taken advice from above on the 'risk assessment'. A normal person would have arrived, perhaps thought of the risk for a moment, and dived in. To the police now 'reframed', they followed 'normal' procedure.

There are shocking cases of reframed ambulance crews doing the same. Sheer unthinking stupidity of London Face-Nappies headed by Common Purpose graduate Cressida Dick can be seen in their behaviour at a vigil in March, 2021, for a murdered woman, Sarah Everard. A police officer had been charged with the crime. Anyone with a brain would have left the vigil alone in the circumstances. Instead they 'manhandled' women to stop them breaking 'Covid rules' to betray classic reframing. Minds in the thrall of perception control have no capacity for seeing a situation on its merits and acting accordingly. 'Rules is rules' is their only mind-set. My father used to say that rules and regulations are for the guidance of the intelligent and the blind obedience of the idiot. Most of the intelligent, decent, coppers have gone leaving only the other kind and a few old school for whom the job must be a daily nightmare. The combination of psychopaths and rule-book software minds has been clearly on public display in the 'Covid' era with automaton robots in uniform imposing fascistic 'Covid' regulations on the population without any personal initiative or judging situations on their merits. There are thousands of examples around the world, but I'll make my point with the infamous Derbyshire police in the English East Midlands – the ones who think pouring dye into beauty spots and using drones to track people walking in the countryside away from anyone is called 'policing'. To them there are rules decreed by the government which they have to enforce and in their bewildered state a group gathering in a closed space and someone walking alone in the countryside are the same thing. It is beyond idiocy and enters the realm of clinical insanity.

Police officers in Derbyshire said they were 'horrified' – *horrified* – to find 15 to 20 'irresponsible' kids playing a football match at a closed leisure centre 'in breach of coronavirus restrictions'. When they saw the police the kids ran away leaving their belongings behind and the reframed men and women of Derbyshire police were seeking to establish their identities with a view to fining their parents. The most natural thing for youngsters to do – kicking a ball about – is turned into a criminal activity and enforced by the moronic software programs of Derbyshire police. You find the same mentality in every country. These barely conscious 'horrified' officers said they had to take action because 'we need to ensure these rules are being followed' and 'it is of the utmost importance that you ensure your children are following the rules and regulations for Covid-19'. Had any of them done ten seconds of research to see if this parroting of their masters' script could be supported by any evidence? Nope. Reframed people don't think – others think for them and that's the whole idea of reframing. I have seen police officers one after the other repeating without question word for word what officialdom tells them just as I have seen great swathes of the public doing the same. Ask either for 'their' opinion and out spews what they have been told to think by the official narrative. Police and public may seem to be in different groups, but their mentality is the same. Most people do whatever they are told in fear not doing so or because they believe what officialdom tells them; almost the entirety of the police do what they are told for the same reason. Ultimately it's the tiny inner core of the global Cult that's telling both what to do.

So Derbyshire police were 'horrified'. Oh, really? Why did they think those kids were playing football? It was to relieve the psychological consequences of lockdown and being denied human contact with their friends and interaction, touch and discourse vital to human psychological health. Being denied this month after month has dismantled the psyche of many children and young people as depression and suicide have exploded. Were Derbyshire police *horrified by that*? Are you kidding? Reframed people don't have those

mental and emotional processes that can see how the impact on the psychological health of youngsters is far more dangerous than any 'virus' even if you take the mendacious official figures to be true. The reframed are told (programmed) how to act and so they do. The Derbyshire Chief Constable in the first period of lockdown when the black dye and drones nonsense was going on was Peter Goodman. He was the man who severed the connection between his force and the Derbyshire Constabulary *Male Voice* Choir when he decided that it was not inclusive enough to allow women to join. The fact it was a male voice choir making a particular sound produced by male voices seemed to elude a guy who terrifyingly ran policing in Derbyshire. He retired weeks after his force was condemned as disgraceful by former Supreme Court Justice Jonathan Sumption for their behaviour over extreme lockdown impositions. Goodman was replaced by his deputy Rachel Swann who was in charge when her officers were 'horrified'. The police statement over the boys committing the hanging-offence of playing football included the line about the youngsters being 'irresponsible in the times we are all living through' missing the point that the real relevance of the 'times we are all living through' is the imposition of fascism enforced by psychopaths and reframed minds of police officers playing such a vital part in establishing the fascist tyranny that their own children and grandchildren will have to live in their entire lives. As a definition of insanity that is hard to beat although it might be run close by imposing masks on people that can have a serious effect on their health while wearing a face nappy all day themselves. Once again public and police do it for the same reason – the authorities tell them to and who are they to have the self-respect to say no?

## **Workers in uniform**

How reframed do you have to be to arrest a *six-year-old* and take him to court for *picking a flower* while waiting for a bus? Brain dead police and officialdom did just that in North Carolina where criminal proceedings happen regularly for children under nine. Attorney Julie Boyer gave the six-year-old crayons and a colouring book

during the 'flower' hearing while the 'adults' decided his fate. County Chief District Court Judge Jay Corpening asked: 'Should a child that believes in Santa Claus, the Easter Bunny and the tooth fairy be making life-altering decisions?' Well, of course not, but common sense has no meaning when you have a common purpose and a reframed mind. Treating children in this way, and police operating in American schools, is all part of the psychological preparation for children to accept a police state as normal all their adult lives. The same goes for all the cameras and biometric tracking technology in schools. Police training is focused on reframing them as snowflake Wokers and this is happening in the military. Pentagon top brass said that 'training sessions on extremism' were needed for troops who asked why they were so focused on the Capitol Building riot when Black Lives Matter riots were ignored. What's the difference between them some apparently and rightly asked. Actually, there is a difference. Five people died in the Capitol riot, only one through violence, and that was a police officer shooting an unarmed protestor. BLM riots killed at least 25 people and cost billions. Asking the question prompted the psychopaths and reframed minds that run the Pentagon to say that more 'education' (programming) was needed. Troop training is all based on psychological programming to make them fodder for the Cult – 'Military men are just dumb, stupid animals to be used as pawns in foreign policy' as Cult-to-his-DNA former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger famously said. Governments see the police in similar terms and it's time for those among them who can see this to defend the people and stop being enforcers of the Cult agenda upon the people.

The US military, like the country itself, is being targeted for destruction through a long list of Woke impositions. Cult-owned gaga 'President' Biden signed an executive order when he took office to allow taxpayer money to pay for transgender surgery for active military personnel and veterans. Are you a man soldier? No, I'm a LGBTQIA+ with a hint of Skoliosexual and Spectrasexual. Oh, good man. Bad choice of words you bigot. The Pentagon announced in March, 2021, the appointment of the first 'diversity and inclusion

officer' for US Special Forces. Richard Torres-Estrada arrived with the publication of a 'D&I Strategic Plan which will guide the enterprise-wide effort to institutionalize and sustain D&I'. If you think a Special Forces 'Strategic Plan' should have something to do with defending America you haven't been paying attention. Defending Woke is now the military's new role. Torres-Estrada has posted images comparing Donald Trump with Adolf Hitler and we can expect no bias from him as a representative of the supposedly non-political Pentagon. Cable news host Tucker Carlson said: 'The Pentagon is now the Yale faculty lounge but with cruise missiles.' Meanwhile Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin, a board member of weapons-maker Raytheon with stock and compensation interests in October, 2020, worth \$1.4 million, said he was purging the military of the 'enemy within' – anyone who isn't Woke and supports Donald Trump. Austin refers to his targets as 'racist extremists' while in true Woke fashion being himself a racist extremist. Pentagon documents pledge to 'eradicate, eliminate and conquer all forms of racism, sexism and homophobia'. The definitions of these are decided by 'diversity and inclusion committees' peopled by those who see racism, sexism and homophobia in every situation and opinion. Woke (the Cult) is dismantling the US military and purging testosterone as China expands its military and gives its troops 'masculinity training'. How do we think that is going to end when this is all Cult coordinated? The US military, like the British military, is controlled by Woke and spineless top brass who just go along with it out of personal career interests.

### **'Woke' means fast asleep**

Mind control and perception manipulation techniques used on individuals to create group-think have been unleashed on the global population in general. As a result many have no capacity to see the obvious fascist agenda being installed all around them or what 'Covid' is really all about. Their brains are firewalled like a computer system not to process certain concepts, thoughts and realisations that are bad for the Cult. The young are most targeted as the adults they

will be when the whole fascist global state is planned to be fully implemented. They need to be prepared for total compliance to eliminate all pushback from entire generations. The Cult has been pouring billions into taking complete control of 'education' from schools to universities via its operatives and corporations and not least Bill Gates as always. The plan has been to transform 'education' institutions into programming centres for the mentality of 'Woke'. James McConnell, professor of psychology at the University of Michigan, wrote in *Psychology Today* in 1970:

The day has come when we can combine sensory deprivation with drugs, hypnosis, and astute manipulation of reward and punishment, to gain almost absolute control over an individual's behaviour. It should then be possible to achieve a very rapid and highly effective type of brainwashing that would allow us to make dramatic changes in a person's behaviour and personality ...

... We should reshape society so that we all would be trained from birth to want to do what society wants us to do. We have the techniques to do it... no-one owns his own personality you acquired, and there's no reason to believe you should have the right to refuse to acquire a new personality if your old one is anti-social.

This was the potential for mass brainwashing in 1970 and the mentality there displayed captures the arrogant psychopathy that drives it forward. I emphasise that not all young people have succumbed to Woke programming and those that haven't are incredibly impressive people given that today's young are the most perceptually-targeted generations in history with all the technology now involved. Vast swathes of the young generations, however, have fallen into the spell – and that's what it is – of Woke. The Woke mentality and perceptual program is founded on *inversion* and you will appreciate later why that is so significant. Everything with Woke is inverted and the opposite of what it is claimed to be. Woke was a term used in African-American culture from the 1900s and referred to an awareness of social and racial justice. This is not the meaning of the modern version or 'New Woke' as I call it in *The Answer*. Oh, no, Woke today means something very different no matter how much Wokers may seek to hide that and insist Old Woke and New



Woke are the same. See if you find any 'awareness of social justice' here in the modern variety:

- Woke demands 'inclusivity' while excluding anyone with a different opinion and calls for mass censorship to silence other views.
- Woke claims to stand against oppression when imposing oppression is the foundation of all that it does. It is the driver of political correctness which is nothing more than a Cult invention to manipulate the population to silence itself.
- Woke believes itself to be 'liberal' while pursuing a global society that can only be described as fascist (see 'anti-fascist' fascist Antifa).
- Woke calls for 'social justice' while spreading injustice wherever it goes against the common 'enemy' which can be easily identified as a differing view.
- Woke is supposed to be a metaphor for 'awake' when it is solid-gold asleep and deep in a Cult-induced coma that meets the criteria for 'off with the fairies'.

I state these points as obvious facts if people only care to look. I don't do this with a sense of condemnation. We need to appreciate that the onslaught of perceptual programming on the young has been incessant and merciless. I can understand why so many have been reframed, or, given their youth, framed from the start to see the world as the Cult demands. The Cult has had access to their minds day after day in its 'education' system for their entire formative years. Perception is formed from information received and the Cult-created system is a life-long download of information delivered to elicit a particular perception, thus behaviour. The more this has expanded into still new extremes in recent decades and ever-increasing censorship has deleted other opinions and information why wouldn't that lead to a perceptual reframing on a mass scale? I

have described already cradle-to-grave programming and in more recent times the targeting of young minds from birth to adulthood has entered the stratosphere. This has taken the form of skewing what is 'taught' to fit the Cult agenda and the omnipresent techniques of group-think to isolate non-believers and pressure them into line. There has always been a tendency to follow the herd, but we really are in a new world now in relation to that. We have parents who can see the 'Covid' hoax told by their children not to stop them wearing masks at school, being 'Covid' tested or having the 'vaccine' in fear of the peer-pressure consequences of being different. What is 'peer-pressure' if not pressure to conform to group-think? Renegade Minds never group-think and always retain a set of perceptions that are unique to them. Group-think is always underpinned by consequences for not group-thinking. Abuse now aimed at those refusing DNA-manipulating 'Covid vaccines' are a potent example of this. The biggest pressure to conform comes from the very group which is itself being manipulated. 'I am programmed to be part of a hive mind and so you must be.'

Woke control structures in 'education' now apply to every mainstream organisation. Those at the top of the 'education' hierarchy (the Cult) decide the policy. This is imposed on governments through the Cult network; governments impose it on schools, colleges and universities; their leadership impose the policy on teachers and academics and they impose it on children and students. At any level where there is resistance, perhaps from a teacher or university lecturer, they are targeted by the authorities and often fired. Students themselves regularly demand the dismissal of academics (increasingly few) at odds with the narrative that the students have been programmed to believe in. It is quite a thought that students who are being targeted by the Cult become so consumed by programmed group-think that they launch protests and demand the removal of those who are trying to push back against those targeting the students. Such is the scale of perceptual inversion. We see this with 'Covid' programming as the Cult imposes the rules via psycho-psychologists and governments on

shops, transport companies and businesses which impose them on their staff who impose them on their customers who pressure Pushbackers to conform to the will of the Cult which is in the process of destroying them and their families. Scan all aspects of society and you will see the same sequence every time.

### **Fact free Woke and hijacking the 'left'**

There is no more potent example of this than 'Woke', a mentality only made possible by the deletion of factual evidence by an 'education' system seeking to produce an ever more uniform society. Why would you bother with facts when you don't know any? Deletion of credible history both in volume and type is highly relevant. Orwell said: 'Who controls the past controls the future: who controls the present controls the past.' They who control the perception of the past control the perception of the future and they who control the present control the perception of the past through the writing and deleting of history. Why would you oppose the imposition of Marxism in the name of Wokeism when you don't know that Marxism cost at least 100 million lives in the 20th century alone? Watch videos and read reports in which Woker generations are asked basic historical questions – it's mind-blowing. A survey of 2,000 people found that six percent of millennials (born approximately early 1980s to early 2000s) believed the Second World War (1939-1945) broke out with the assassination of President Kennedy (in 1963) and one in ten thought Margaret Thatcher was British Prime Minister at the time. She was in office between 1979 and 1990. We are in a post-fact society. Provable facts are no defence against the fascism of political correctness or Silicon Valley censorship. Facts don't matter anymore as we have witnessed with the 'Covid' hoax. Sacrificing uniqueness to the Woke group-think religion is all you are required to do and that means thinking for yourself is the biggest Woke no, no. All religions are an expression of group-think and censorship and Woke is just another religion with an orthodoxy defended by group-think and censorship. Burned at

the stake becomes burned on Twitter which leads back eventually to burned at the stake as Woke humanity regresses to ages past.

The biggest Woke inversion of all is its creators and funders. I grew up in a traditional left of centre political household on a council estate in Leicester in the 1950s and 60s – you know, the left that challenged the power of wealth-hoarding elites and threats to freedom of speech and opinion. In those days students went on marches defending freedom of speech while today's Wokers march for its deletion. What on earth could have happened? Those very elites (collectively the Cult) that we opposed in my youth and early life have funded into existence the antithesis of that former left and hijacked the 'brand' while inverting everything it ever stood for. We have a mentality that calls itself 'liberal' and 'progressive' while acting like fascists. Cult billionaires and their corporations have funded themselves into control of 'education' to ensure that Woke programming is unceasing throughout the formative years of children and young people and that non-Wokers are isolated (that word again) whether they be students, teachers or college professors. The Cult has funded into existence the now colossal global network of Woke organisations that have spawned and promoted all the 'causes' on the Cult wish-list for global transformation and turned Wokers into demanders of them. Does anyone really think it's a coincidence that the Cult agenda for humanity is a carbon (sorry) copy of the societal transformations desired by Woke?? These are only some of them:

**Political correctness:** The means by which the Cult deletes all public debates that it knows it cannot win if we had the free-flow of information and evidence.

**Human-caused 'climate change':** The means by which the Cult seeks to transform society into a globally-controlled dictatorship imposing its will over the fine detail of everyone's lives 'to save the planet' which doesn't actually need saving.

**Transgender obsession:** Preparing collective perception to accept the 'new human' which would not have genders because it would be created technologically and not through procreation. I'll have much more on this in Human 2.0.

**Race obsession:** The means by which the Cult seeks to divide and rule the population by triggering racial division through the perception that society is more racist than ever when the opposite is the case. Is it perfect in that regard? No. But to compare today with the racism of apartheid and segregation brought to an end by the civil rights movement in the 1960s is to insult the memory of that movement and inspirations like Martin Luther King. Why is the 'anti-racism' industry (which it is) so dominated by privileged white people?

**White supremacy:** This is a label used by privileged white people to demonise poor and deprived white people pushing back on tyranny to marginalise and destroy them. White people are being especially targeted as the dominant race by number within Western society which the Cult seeks to transform in its image. If you want to change a society you must weaken and undermine its biggest group and once you have done that by using the other groups you next turn on them to do the same ... 'Then they came for the Jews and I was not a Jew so I did nothing.'

**Mass migration:** The mass movement of people from the Middle East, Africa and Asia into Europe, from the south into the United States and from Asia into Australia are another way the Cult seeks to dilute the racial, cultural and political influence of white people on Western society. White people ask why their governments appear to be working against them while being politically and culturally biased towards incoming cultures. Well, here's your answer. In the same way sexually 'straight' people, men and women, ask why the

authorities are biased against them in favour of other sexualities. The answer is the same – that's the way the Cult wants it to be for very sinister motives.

These are all central parts of the Cult agenda and central parts of the Woke agenda and Woke was created and continues to be funded to an immense degree by Cult billionaires and corporations. If anyone begins to say 'coincidence' the syllables should stick in their throat.

### **Billionaire 'social justice warriors'**

Joe Biden is a 100 percent-owned asset of the Cult and the Wokers' man in the White House whenever he can remember his name and for however long he lasts with his rapidly diminishing cognitive function. Even walking up the steps of an aircraft without falling on his arse would appear to be a challenge. He's not an empty-shell puppet or anything. From the minute Biden took office (or the Cult did) he began his executive orders promoting the Woke wish-list. You will see the Woke agenda imposed ever more severely because it's really the *Cult* agenda. Woke organisations and activist networks spawned by the Cult are funded to the extreme so long as they promote what the Cult wants to happen. Woke is funded to promote 'social justice' by billionaires who become billionaires by destroying social justice. The social justice mantra is only a cover for dismantling social justice and funded by billionaires that couldn't give a damn about social justice. Everything makes sense when you see that. One of Woke's premier funders is Cult billionaire financier George Soros who said: 'I am basically there to make money, I cannot and do not look at the social consequences of what I do.' This is the same Soros who has given more than \$32 billion to his Open Society Foundations global Woke network and funded Black Lives Matter, mass immigration into Europe and the United States, transgender activism, climate change activism, political correctness and groups targeting 'white supremacy' in the form of privileged white thugs that dominate Antifa. What a scam it all is and when

you are dealing with the unquestioning fact-free zone of Woke scamming them is child's play. All you need to pull it off in all these organisations are a few in-the-know agents of the Cult and an army of naïve, reframed, uninformed, narcissistic, know-nothings convinced of their own self-righteousness, self-purity and virtue.

Soros and fellow billionaires and billionaire corporations have poured hundreds of millions into Black Lives Matter and connected groups and promoted them to a global audience. None of this is motivated by caring about black people. These are the billionaires that have controlled and exploited a system that leaves millions of black people in abject poverty and deprivation which they do absolutely nothing to address. The same Cult networks funding BLM were behind the *slave trade*! Black Lives Matter hijacked a phrase that few would challenge and they have turned this laudable concept into a political weapon to divide society. You know that BLM is a fraud when it claims that *All Lives Matter*, the most inclusive statement of all, is 'racist'. BLM and its Cult masters don't want to end racism. To them it's a means to an end to control all of humanity never mind the colour, creed, culture or background. What has destroying the nuclear family got to do with ending racism? Nothing – but that is one of the goals of BLM and also happens to be a goal of the Cult as I have been exposing in my books for decades. Stealing children from loving parents and giving schools ever more power to override parents is part of that same agenda. BLM is a Marxist organisation and why would that not be the case when the Cult created Marxism *and* BLM? Patrisse Cullors, a BLM co-founder, said in a 2015 video that she and her fellow organisers, including co-founder Alicia Garza, are 'trained Marxists'. The lady known after marriage as Patrisse Khan-Cullors bought a \$1.4 million home in 2021 in one of the whitest areas of California with a black population of just 1.6 per cent and has so far bought *four* high-end homes for a total of \$3.2 million. How very Marxist. There must be a bit of spare in the BLM coffers, however, when Cult corporations and billionaires have handed over the best part of \$100 million. Many black people can see that Black Lives Matter is not

working for them, but against them, and this is still more confirmation. Black journalist Jason Whitlock, who had his account suspended by Twitter for simply linking to the story about the 'Marxist's' home buying spree, said that BLM leaders are 'making millions of dollars off the backs of these dead black men who they wouldn't spit on if they were on fire and alive'.

## **Black Lies Matter**

Cult assets and agencies came together to promote BLM in the wake of the death of career criminal George Floyd who had been jailed a number of times including for forcing his way into the home of a black woman with others in a raid in which a gun was pointed at her stomach. Floyd was filmed being held in a Minneapolis street in 2020 with the knee of a police officer on his neck and he subsequently died. It was an appalling thing for the officer to do, but the same technique has been used by police on peaceful protestors of lockdown without any outcry from the Woke brigade. As unquestioning supporters of the Cult agenda Wokers have supported lockdown and all the 'Covid' claptrap while attacking anyone standing up to the tyranny imposed in its name. Court documents would later include details of an autopsy on Floyd by County Medical Examiner Dr Andrew Baker who concluded that Floyd had taken a fatal level of the drug fentanyl. None of this mattered to fact-free, question-free, Woke. Floyd's death was followed by worldwide protests against police brutality amid calls to defund the police. Throwing babies out with the bathwater is a Woke speciality. In the wake of the murder of British woman Sarah Everard a Green Party member of the House of Lords, Baroness Jones of Moulscroomb (Nincompoopia would have been better), called for a 6pm curfew for all men. This would be in breach of the Geneva Conventions on war crimes which ban collective punishment, but that would never have crossed the black and white Woke mind of Baroness Nincompoopia who would have been far too convinced of her own self-righteousness to compute such details. Many American cities did defund the police in the face of Floyd riots



and after \$15 million was deleted from the police budget in Washington DC under useless Woke mayor Muriel Bowser car-jacking alone rose by 300 percent and within six months the US capital recorded its highest murder rate in 15 years. The same happened in Chicago and other cities in line with the Cult/Soros plan to bring fear to streets and neighbourhoods by reducing the police, releasing violent criminals and not prosecuting crime. This is the mob-rule agenda that I have warned in the books was coming for so long. Shootings in the area of Minneapolis where Floyd was arrested increased by 2,500 percent compared with the year before. Defunding the police over George Floyd has led to a big increase in dead people with many of them black. Police protection for politicians making these decisions stayed the same or increased as you would expect from professional hypocrites. The Cult doesn't actually want to abolish the police. It wants to abolish local control over the police and hand it to federal government as the psychopaths advance the Hunger Games Society. Many George Floyd protests turned into violent riots with black stores and businesses destroyed by fire and looting across America fuelled by Black Lives Matter. Woke doesn't do irony. If you want civil rights you must loot the liquor store and the supermarket and make off with a smart TV. It's the only way.

### **It's not a race war – it's a class war**

Black people are patronised by privileged blacks and whites alike and told they are victims of white supremacy. I find it extraordinary to watch privileged blacks supporting the very system and bloodline networks behind the slave trade and parroting the same Cult-serving manipulative crap of their privileged white, often billionaire, associates. It is indeed not a race war but a class war and colour is just a diversion. Black Senator Cory Booker and black Congresswoman Maxine Waters, more residents of Nincompoopia, personify this. Once you tell people they are victims of someone else you devalue both their own responsibility for their plight and the power they have to impact on their reality and experience. Instead

we have: 'You are only in your situation because of whitey – turn on them and everything will change.' It won't change. Nothing changes in our lives unless *we* change it. Crucial to that is never seeing yourself as a victim and always as the creator of your reality. Life is a simple sequence of choice and consequence. Make different choices and you create different consequences. *You* have to make those choices – not Black Lives Matter, the Woke Mafia and anyone else that seeks to dictate your life. Who are they these Wokers, an emotional and psychological road traffic accident, to tell you what to do? Personal empowerment is the last thing the Cult and its Black Lives Matter want black people or anyone else to have. They claim to be defending the underdog while *creating* and perpetuating the underdog. The Cult's worst nightmare is human unity and if they are going to keep blacks, whites and every other race under economic servitude and control then the focus must be diverted from what they have in common to what they can be manipulated to believe divides them. Blacks have to be told that their poverty and plight is the fault of the white bloke living on the street in the same poverty and with the same plight they are experiencing. The difference is that your plight black people is due to him, a white supremacist with 'white privilege' living on the street. Don't unite as one human family against your mutual oppressors and suppressors – fight the oppressor with the white face who is as financially deprived as you are. The Cult knows that as its 'Covid' agenda moves into still new levels of extremism people are going to respond and it has been spreading the seeds of disunity everywhere to stop a united response to the evil that targets *all of us*.

Racist attacks on 'whiteness' are getting ever more outrageous and especially through the American Democratic Party which has an appalling history for anti-black racism. Barack Obama, Joe Biden, Hillary Clinton and Nancy Pelosi all eulogised about Senator Robert Byrd at his funeral in 2010 after a nearly 60-year career in Congress. Byrd was a brutal Ku Klux Klan racist and a violent abuser of Cathy O'Brien in MKUltra. He said he would never fight in the military 'with a negro by my side' and 'rather I should die a thousand times,

and see Old Glory trampled in the dirt never to rise again, than to see this beloved land of ours become degraded by race mongrels, a throwback to the blackest specimen from the wilds'. Biden called Byrd a 'very close friend and mentor'. These 'Woke' hypocrites are not anti-racist they are anti-poor and anti-people not of their perceived class. Here is an illustration of the scale of anti-white racism to which we have now descended. Seriously Woke and moronic *New York Times* contributor Damon Young described whiteness as a 'virus' that 'like other viruses will not die until there are no bodies left for it to infect'. He went on: '... the only way to stop it is to locate it, isolate it, extract it, and kill it.' Young can say that as a black man with no consequences when a white man saying the same in reverse would be facing a jail sentence. *That's* racism. We had super-Woke numbskull senators Tammy Duckworth and Mazie Hirono saying they would object to future Biden Cabinet appointments if he did not nominate more Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders. Never mind the ability of the candidate what do they look like? Duckworth said: 'I will vote for racial minorities and I will vote for LGBTQ, but anyone else I'm not voting for.' Appointing people on the grounds of race is illegal, but that was not a problem for this ludicrous pair. They were on-message and that's a free pass in any situation.

## **Critical race racism**

White children are told at school they are intrinsically racist as they are taught the divisive 'critical race theory'. This claims that the law and legal institutions are inherently racist and that race is a socially constructed concept used by white people to further their economic and political interests at the expense of people of colour. White is a 'virus' as we've seen. Racial inequality results from 'social, economic, and legal differences that white people create between races to maintain white interests which leads to poverty and criminality in minority communities'. I must tell that to the white guy sleeping on the street. The principal of East Side Community School in New York sent white parents a manifesto that called on

them to become 'white traitors' and advocate for full 'white abolition'. These people are teaching your kids when they urgently need a psychiatrist. The 'school' included a chart with 'eight white identities' that ranged from 'white supremacist' to 'white abolition' and defined the behaviour white people must follow to end 'the regime of whiteness'. Woke blacks and their privileged white associates are acting exactly like the slave owners of old and Ku Klux Klan racists like Robert Byrd. They are too full of their own self-purity to see that, but it's true. Racism is not a body type; it's a state of mind that can manifest through any colour, creed or culture.

Another racial fraud is '*equity*'. Not equality of treatment and opportunity – equity. It's a term spun as equality when it means something very different. Equality in its true sense is a raising up while '*equity*' is a race to the bottom. Everyone in the same level of poverty is '*equity*'. Keep everyone down – that's equity. The Cult doesn't want anyone in the human family to be empowered and BLM leaders, like all these 'anti-racist' organisations, continue their privileged, pampered existence by perpetuating the perception of gathering racism. When is the last time you heard an 'anti-racist' or 'anti-Semitism' organisation say that acts of racism and discrimination have *fallen*? It's not in the interests of their fundraising and power to influence and the same goes for the professional soccer anti-racism operation, Kick It Out. Two things confirmed that the Black Lives Matter riots in the summer of 2020 were Cult creations. One was that while anti-lockdown protests were condemned in this same period for 'transmitting 'Covid' the authorities supported mass gatherings of Black Lives Matter supporters. I even saw self-deluding people claiming to be doctors say the two types of protest were not the same. No – the non-existent 'Covid' was in favour of lockdowns and attacked those that protested against them while 'Covid' supported Black Lives Matter and kept well away from its protests. The whole thing was a joke and as lockdown protestors were arrested, often brutally, by reframed Face-Nappies we had the grotesque sight of police officers taking the knee to Black Lives Matter, a Cult-funded Marxist

organisation that supports violent riots and wants to destroy the nuclear family and white people.

### **He's not white? Shucks!**

Woke obsession with race was on display again when ten people were shot dead in Boulder, Colorado, in March, 2021. Cult-owned Woke TV channels like CNN said the shooter appeared to be a white man and Wokers were on Twitter condemning 'violent white men' with the usual mantras. Then the shooter's name was released as Ahmad Al Aliwi Alissa, an anti-Trump Arab-American, and the sigh of disappointment could be heard five miles away. Never mind that ten people were dead and what that meant for their families. Race baiting was all that mattered to these sick Cult-serving people like Barack Obama who exploited the deaths to further divide America on racial grounds which is his job for the Cult. This is the man that 'racist' white Americans made the first black president of the United States and then gave him a second term. Not-very-bright Obama has become filthy rich on the back of that and today appears to have a big influence on the Biden administration. Even so he's still a downtrodden black man and a victim of white supremacy. This disingenuous fraud reveals the contempt he has for black people when he puts on a Deep South Alabama accent whenever he talks to them, no, *at* them.

Another BLM red flag was how the now fully-Woke (fully-Cult) and fully-virtue-signalled professional soccer authorities had their teams taking the knee before every match in support of Marxist Black Lives Matter. Soccer authorities and clubs displayed 'Black Lives Matter' on the players' shirts and flashed the name on electronic billboards around the pitch. Any fans that condemned what is a Freemasonic taking-the-knee ritual were widely condemned as you would expect from the Woke virtue-signallers of professional sport and the now fully-Woke media. We have reverse racism in which you are banned from criticising any race or culture except for white people for whom anything goes – say what you like, no problem. What has this got to do with racial harmony and

equality? We've had black supremacists from Black Lives Matter telling white people to fall to their knees in the street and apologise for their white supremacy. Black supremacists acting like white supremacist slave owners of the past couldn't breach their self-obsessed, race-obsessed sense of self-purity. Joe Biden appointed a race-obsessed black supremacist Kristen Clarke to head the Justice Department Civil Rights Division. Clarke claimed that blacks are endowed with 'greater mental, physical and spiritual abilities' than whites. If anyone reversed that statement they would be vilified. Clarke is on-message so no problem. She's never seen a black-white situation in which the black figure is anything but a virtuous victim and she heads the Civil Rights Division which should treat everyone the same or it isn't civil rights. Another perception of the Renegade Mind: If something or someone is part of the Cult agenda they will be supported by Woke governments and media no matter what. If they're not, they will be condemned and censored. It really is that simple and so racist Clarke prospers despite (make that because of) her racism.

## **The end of culture**

Biden's administration is full of such racial, cultural and economic bias as the Cult requires the human family to be divided into warring factions. We are now seeing racially-segregated graduations and everything, but everything, is defined through the lens of perceived 'racism. We have 'racist' mathematics, 'racist' food and even 'racist' *plants*. World famous Kew Gardens in London said it was changing labels on plants and flowers to tell its pre-'Covid' more than two million visitors a year how racist they are. Kew director Richard Deverell said this was part of an effort to 'move quickly to decolonise collections' after they were approached by one Ajay Chhabra 'an actor with an insight into how sugar cane was linked to slavery'. They are *plants* you idiots. 'Decolonisation' in the Woke manual really means colonisation of society with its mentality and by extension colonisation by the Cult. We are witnessing a new Chinese-style 'Cultural Revolution' so essential to the success of all

Marxist takeovers. Our cultural past and traditions have to be swept away to allow a new culture to be built-back-better. Woke targeting of long-standing Western cultural pillars including historical monuments and cancelling of historical figures is what happened in the Mao revolution in China which 'purged remnants of capitalist and traditional elements from Chinese society' and installed Maoism as the dominant ideology'. For China see the Western world today and for 'dominant ideology' see Woke. Better still see Marxism or Maoism. The 'Covid' hoax has specifically sought to destroy the arts and all elements of Western culture from people meeting in a pub or restaurant to closing theatres, music venues, sports stadiums, places of worship and even banning *singing*. Destruction of Western society is also why criticism of any religion is banned except for Christianity which again is the dominant religion as white is the numerically-dominant race. Christianity may be fading rapidly, but its history and traditions are weaved through the fabric of Western society. Delete the pillars and other structures will follow until the whole thing collapses. I am not a Christian defending that religion when I say that. I have no religion. It's just a fact. To this end Christianity has itself been turned Woke to usher its own downfall and its ranks are awash with 'change agents' – knowing and unknowing – at every level including Pope Francis (*definitely* knowing) and the clueless Archbishop of Canterbury Justin Welby (possibly not, but who can be sure?). Woke seeks to coordinate attacks on Western culture, traditions, and ways of life through 'intersectionality' defined as 'the complex, cumulative way in which the effects of multiple forms of discrimination (such as racism, sexism, and classism) combine, overlap, or intersect especially in the experiences of marginalised individuals or groups'. Wade through the Orwellian Woke-speak and this means coordinating disparate groups in a common cause to overthrow freedom and liberal values.

The entire structure of public institutions has been infested with Woke – government at all levels, political parties, police, military, schools, universities, advertising, media and trade unions. This abomination has been achieved through the Cult web by appointing

Wokers to positions of power and battering non-Wokers into line through intimidation, isolation and threats to their job. Many have been fired in the wake of the empathy-deleted, vicious hostility of 'social justice' Wokers and the desire of gutless, spineless employers to virtue-signal their Wokeness. Corporations are filled with Wokers today, most notably those in Silicon Valley. Ironically at the top they are not Woke at all. They are only exploiting the mentality their Cult masters have created and funded to censor and enslave while the Wokers cheer them on until it's their turn. Thus the Woke 'liberal left' is an inversion of the traditional liberal left. Campaigning for justice on the grounds of power and wealth distribution has been replaced by campaigning for identity politics. The genuine traditional left would never have taken money from today's billionaire abusers of fairness and justice and nor would the billionaires have wanted to fund that genuine left. It would not have been in their interests to do so. The division of opinion in those days was between the haves and have nots. This all changed with Cult manipulated and funded identity politics. The division of opinion today is between Wokers and non-Wokers and not income brackets. Cult corporations and their billionaires may have taken wealth disparity to cataclysmic levels of injustice, but as long as they speak the language of Woke, hand out the dosh to the Woke network and censor the enemy they are 'one of us'. Billionaires who don't give a damn about injustice are laughing at them till their bellies hurt. Wokers are not even close to self-aware enough to see that. The transformed 'left' dynamic means that Wokers who drone on about 'social justice' are funded by billionaires that have destroyed social justice the world over. It's *why* they are billionaires.

## **The climate con**

Nothing encapsulates what I have said more comprehensively than the hoax of human-caused global warming. I have detailed in my books over the years how Cult operatives and organisations were the pump-primers from the start of the climate con. A purpose-built vehicle for this is the Club of Rome established by the Cult in 1968



with the Rockefellers and Rothschilds centrally involved all along. Their gofer frontman Maurice Strong, a Canadian oil millionaire, hosted the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992 where the global 'green movement' really expanded in earnest under the guiding hand of the Cult. The Earth Summit established Agenda 21 through the Cult-created-and-owned United Nations to use the illusion of human-caused climate change to justify the transformation of global society to save the world from climate disaster. It is a No-Problem-Reaction-Solution sold through governments, media, schools and universities as whole generations have been terrified into believing that the world was going to end in their lifetimes unless what old people had inflicted upon them was stopped by a complete restructuring of how everything is done. Chill, kids, it's all a hoax. Such restructuring is precisely what the Cult agenda demands (purely by coincidence of course). Today this has been given the codename of the Great Reset which is only an updated term for Agenda 21 and its associated Agenda 2030. The latter, too, is administered through the UN and was voted into being by the General Assembly in 2015. Both 21 and 2030 seek centralised control of all resources and food right down to the raindrops falling on your own land. These are some of the demands of Agenda 21 established in 1992. See if you recognise this society emerging today:

- End national sovereignty
- State planning and management of all land resources, ecosystems, deserts, forests, mountains, oceans and fresh water; agriculture; rural development; biotechnology; and ensuring 'equity'
- The state to 'define the role' of business and financial resources
- Abolition of private property
- 'Restructuring' the family unit (see BLM)
- Children raised by the state
- People told what their job will be
- Major restrictions on movement
- Creation of 'human settlement zones'

- Mass resettlement as people are forced to vacate land where they live
- Dumbing down education
- Mass global depopulation in pursuit of all the above

The United Nations was created as a Trojan horse for world government. With the climate con of critical importance to promoting that outcome you would expect the UN to be involved. Oh, it's involved all right. The UN is promoting Agenda 21 and Agenda 2030 justified by 'climate change' while also driving the climate hoax through its Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), one of the world's most corrupt organisations. The IPCC has been lying ferociously and constantly since the day it opened its doors with the global media hanging unquestioningly on its every mendacious word. The Green movement is entirely Woke and has long lost its original environmental focus since it was co-opted by the Cult. An obsession with 'global warming' has deleted its values and scrambled its head. I experienced a small example of what I mean on a beautiful country walk that I have enjoyed several times a week for many years. The path merged into the fields and forests and you felt at one with the natural world. Then a 'Green' organisation, the Hampshire and Isle of Wight Wildlife Trust, took over part of the land and proceeded to cut down a large number of trees, including mature ones, to install a horrible big, bright steel 'this-is-ours-stay-out' fence that destroyed the whole atmosphere of this beautiful place. No one with a feel for nature would do that. Day after day I walked to the sound of chainsaws and a magnificent mature weeping willow tree that I so admired was cut down at the base of the trunk. When I challenged a Woke young girl in a green shirt (of course) about this vandalism she replied: 'It's a weeping willow – it will grow back.' This is what people are paying for when they donate to the Hampshire and Isle of Wight Wildlife Trust and many other 'green' organisations today. It is not the environmental movement that I knew and instead has become a support-system – as with Extinction Rebellion – for a very dark agenda.

## **Private jets for climate justice**

The Cult-owned, Gates-funded, World Economic Forum and its founder Klaus Schwab were behind the emergence of Greta Thunberg to harness the young behind the climate agenda and she was invited to speak to the world at ... the UN. Schwab published a book, *Covid-19: The Great Reset* in 2020 in which he used the 'Covid' hoax and the climate hoax to lay out a new society straight out of Agenda 21 and Agenda 2030. Bill Gates followed in early 2021 when he took time out from destroying the world to produce a book in his name about the way to save it. Gates flies across the world in private jets and admitted that 'I probably have one of the highest greenhouse gas footprints of anyone on the planet ... my personal flying alone is gigantic.' He has also bid for the planet's biggest private jet operator. Other climate change saviours who fly in private jets include John Kerry, the US Special Presidential Envoy for Climate, and actor Leonardo DiCaprio, a 'UN Messenger of Peace with special focus on climate change'. These people are so full of bullshit they could corner the market in manure. We mustn't be sceptical, though, because the Gates book, *How to Avoid a Climate Disaster: The Solutions We Have and the Breakthroughs We Need*, is a genuine attempt to protect the world and not an obvious pile of excrement attributed to a mega-psychopath aimed at selling his masters' plans for humanity. The Gates book and the other shite-pile by Klaus Schwab could have been written by the same person and may well have been. Both use 'climate change' and 'Covid' as the excuses for their new society and by coincidence the Cult's World Economic Forum and Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation promote the climate hoax and hosted Event 201 which pre-empted with a 'simulation' the very 'coronavirus' hoax that would be simulated for real on humanity within weeks. The British 'royal' family is promoting the 'Reset' as you would expect through Prince 'climate change caused the war in Syria' Charles and his hapless son Prince William who said that we must 'reset our relationship with nature and our trajectory as a species' to avoid a climate disaster. Amazing how many promoters of the 'Covid' and 'climate change' control

systems are connected to Gates and the World Economic Forum. A 'study' in early 2021 claimed that carbon dioxide emissions must fall by the equivalent of a global lockdown roughly every two years for the next decade to save the planet. The 'study' appeared in the same period that the Schwab mob claimed in a video that lockdowns destroying the lives of billions are good because they make the earth 'quieter' with less 'ambient noise'. They took down the video amid a public backlash for such arrogant, empathy-deleted stupidity You see, however, where they are going with this. Corinne Le Quéré, a professor at the Tyndall Centre for Climate Change Research, University of East Anglia, was lead author of the climate lockdown study, and she writes for ... the World Economic Forum. Gates calls in 'his' book for changing 'every aspect of the economy' (long-time Cult agenda) and for humans to eat synthetic 'meat' (predicted in my books) while cows and other farm animals are eliminated. Australian TV host and commentator Alan Jones described what carbon emission targets would mean for farm animals in Australia alone if emissions were reduced as demanded by 35 percent by 2030 and zero by 2050:

Well, let's take agriculture, the total emissions from agriculture are about 75 million tonnes of carbon dioxide, equivalent. Now reduce that by 35 percent and you have to come down to 50 million tonnes, I've done the maths. So if you take for example 1.5 million cows, you're going to have to reduce the herd by 525,000 [by] 2030, nine years, that's 58,000 cows a year. The beef herd's 30 million, reduce that by 35 percent, that's 10.5 million, which means 1.2 million cattle have to go every year between now and 2030. This is insanity!

There are 75 million sheep. Reduce that by 35 percent, that's 26 million sheep, that's almost 3 million a year. So under the Paris Agreement over 30 million beasts. dairy cows, cattle, pigs and sheep would go. More than 8,000 every minute of every hour for the next decade, do these people know what they're talking about?

Clearly they don't at the level of campaigners, politicians and administrators. The Cult *does* know; that's the outcome it wants. We are faced with not just a war on humanity. Animals and the natural world are being targeted and I have been saying since the 'Covid' hoax began that the plan eventually was to claim that the 'deadly virus' is able to jump from animals, including farm animals and

domestic pets, to humans. Just before this book went into production came this story: 'Russia registers world's first Covid-19 vaccine for cats & dogs as makers of Sputnik V warn pets & farm animals could spread virus'. The report said 'top scientists warned that the deadly pathogen could soon begin spreading through homes and farms' and 'the next stage is the infection of farm and domestic animals'. Know the outcome and you'll see the journey. Think what that would mean for animals and keep your eye on a term called zoonosis or zoonotic diseases which transmit between animals and humans. The Cult wants to break the connection between animals and people as it does between people and people. Farm animals fit with the Cult agenda to transform food from natural to synthetic.

### **The gas of life is killing us**

There can be few greater examples of Cult inversion than the condemnation of carbon dioxide as a dangerous pollutant when it is the gas of life. Without it the natural world would be dead and so we would all be dead. We breathe in oxygen and breathe out carbon dioxide while plants produce oxygen and absorb carbon dioxide. It is a perfect symbiotic relationship that the Cult wants to dismantle for reasons I will come to in the final two chapters. Gates, Schwab, other Cult operatives and mindless repeaters, want the world to be 'carbon neutral' by at least 2050 and the earlier the better. 'Zero carbon' is the cry echoed by lunatics calling for 'Zero Covid' when we already have it. These carbon emission targets will deindustrialise the world in accordance with Cult plans – the post-industrial, post-democratic society – and with so-called renewables like solar and wind not coming even close to meeting human energy needs blackouts and cold are inevitable. Texans got the picture in the winter of 2021 when a snow storm stopped wind turbines and solar panels from working and the lights went down along with water which relies on electricity for its supply system. Gates wants everything to be powered by electricity to ensure that his masters have the kill switch to stop all human activity, movement, cooking, water and warmth any time they like. The climate lie is so

stupendously inverted that it claims we must urgently reduce carbon dioxide when we *don't have enough*.

Co2 in the atmosphere is a little above 400 parts per million when the optimum for plant growth is 2,000 ppm and when it falls anywhere near 150 ppm the natural world starts to die and so do we. It fell to as low as 280 ppm in an 1880 measurement in Hawaii and rose to 413 ppm in 2019 with industrialisation which is why the planet has become *greener* in the industrial period. How insane then that psychopathic madman Gates is not satisfied only with blocking the rise of Co2. He's funding technology to suck it out of the atmosphere. The reason why will become clear. The industrial era is not destroying the world through Co2 and has instead turned around a potentially disastrous ongoing fall in Co2. Greenpeace co-founder and scientist Patrick Moore walked away from Greenpeace in 1986 and has exposed the green movement for fear-mongering and lies. He said that 500 million years ago there was *17 times* more Co2 in the atmosphere than we have today and levels have been falling for hundreds of millions of years. In the last 150 million years Co2 levels in Earth's atmosphere had reduced by *90 percent*. Moore said that by the time humanity began to unlock carbon dioxide from fossil fuels we were at '38 seconds to midnight' and in that sense: 'Humans are [the Earth's] salvation.' Moore made the point that only half the Co2 emitted by fossil fuels stays in the atmosphere and we should remember that all pollution pouring from chimneys that we are told is carbon dioxide is in fact nothing of the kind. It's pollution. Carbon dioxide is an invisible gas.

William Happer, Professor of Physics at Princeton University and long-time government adviser on climate, has emphasised the Co2 deficiency for maximum growth and food production. Greenhouse growers don't add carbon dioxide for a bit of fun. He said that most of the warming in the last 100 years, after the earth emerged from the super-cold period of the 'Little Ice Age' into a natural warming cycle, was over by 1940. Happer said that a peak year for warming in 1988 can be explained by a 'monster El Nino' which is a natural and cyclical warming of the Pacific that has nothing to do with 'climate

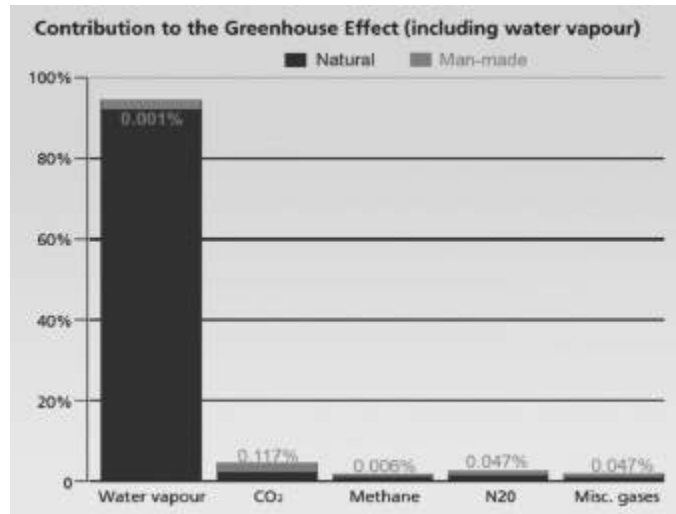
change'. He said the effect of Co2 could be compared to painting a wall with red paint in that once two or three coats have been applied it didn't matter how much more you slapped on because the wall will not get much redder. Almost all the effect of the rise in Co2 has already happened, he said, and the volume in the atmosphere would now have to *double* to increase temperature by a single degree. Climate hoaxers know this and they have invented the most ridiculously complicated series of 'feedback' loops to try to overcome this rather devastating fact. You hear puppet Greta going on cluelessly about feedback loops and this is why.

### **The Sun affects temperature? No you *climate denier***

Some other nonsense to contemplate: Climate graphs show that rises in temperature do not follow rises in Co2 – *it's the other way round* with a lag between the two of some 800 years. If we go back 800 years from present time we hit the Medieval Warm Period when temperatures were higher than now without any industrialisation and this was followed by the Little Ice Age when temperatures plummeted. The world was still emerging from these centuries of serious cold when many climate records began which makes the ever-repeated line of the 'hottest year since records began' meaningless when you are not comparing like with like. The coldest period of the Little Ice Age corresponded with the lowest period of sunspot activity when the Sun was at its least active. Proper scientists will not be at all surprised by this when it confirms the obvious fact that earth temperature is affected by the scale of Sun activity and the energetic power that it subsequently emits; but when is the last time you heard a climate hoaxer talking about the Sun as a source of earth temperature?? Everything has to be focussed on Co2 which makes up just 0.117 percent of so-called greenhouse gases and only a fraction of even that is generated by human activity. The rest is natural. More than *90 percent* of those greenhouse gases are water vapour and clouds ([Fig 9](#)). Ban moisture I say. Have you noticed that the climate hoaxers no longer use the polar bear as their promotion image? That's because far from becoming extinct polar

bear communities are stable or thriving. Joe Bastardi, American meteorologist, weather forecaster and outspoken critic of the climate lie, documents in his book *The Climate Chronicles* how weather patterns and events claimed to be evidence of climate change have been happening since long before industrialisation: 'What happened before naturally is happening again, as is to be expected given the cyclical nature of the climate due to the design of the planet.' If you read the detailed background to the climate hoax in my other books you will shake your head and wonder how anyone could believe the crap which has spawned a multi-trillion dollar industry based on absolute garbage (see HIV causes AIDs and Sars-Cov-2 causes 'Covid-19'). Climate and 'Covid' have much in common given they have the same source. They both have the contradictory *everything* factor in which everything is explained by reference to them. It's hot – 'it's climate change'. It's cold – 'it's climate change'. I got a sniffle – 'it's Covid'. I haven't got a sniffle – 'it's Covid'. Not having a sniffle has to be a symptom of 'Covid'. Everything is and not having a sniffle is especially dangerous if you are a slow walker. For sheer audacity I offer you a Cambridge University 'study' that actually linked 'Covid' to 'climate change'. It had to happen eventually. They concluded that climate change played a role in 'Covid-19' spreading from animals to humans because ... wait for it ... I kid you not ... *the two groups were forced closer together as populations grow*. Er, that's it. The whole foundation on which this depended was that 'Bats are the likely zoonotic origin of SARS-CoV-1 and SARS-CoV-2'. Well, they are not. They are nothing to do with it. Apart from bats not being the origin and therefore 'climate change' effects on bats being irrelevant I am in awe of their academic insight. Where would we be without them? Not where we are that's for sure.





**Figure 9:** The idea that the gas of life is disastrously changing the climate is an insult to brain cell activity.

One other point about the weather is that climate modification is now well advanced and not every major weather event is natural – or earthquake come to that. I cover this subject at some length in other books. China is openly planning a rapid expansion of its weather modification programme which includes changing the climate in an area more than one and a half times the size of India. China used weather manipulation to ensure clear skies during the 2008 Olympics in Beijing. I have quoted from US military documents detailing how to employ weather manipulation as a weapon of war and they did that in the 1960s and 70s during the conflict in Vietnam with Operation Popeye manipulating monsoon rains for military purposes. Why would there be international treaties on weather modification if it wasn't possible? Of course it is. Weather is energetic information and it can be changed.

### **How was the climate hoax pulled off? See 'Covid'**

If you can get billions to believe in a 'virus' that doesn't exist you can get them to believe in human-caused climate change that doesn't exist. Both are being used by the Cult to transform global society in the way it has long planned. Both hoaxes have been achieved in pretty much the same way. First you declare a lie is a fact. There's a

'virus' you call SARS-Cov-2 or humans are warming the planet with their behaviour. Next this becomes, via Cult networks, the foundation of government, academic and science policy and belief. Those who parrot the mantra are given big grants to produce research that confirms the narrative is true and ever more 'symptoms' are added to make the 'virus'/'climate change' sound even more scary. Scientists and researchers who challenge the narrative have their grants withdrawn and their careers destroyed. The media promote the lie as the unquestionable truth and censor those with an alternative view or evidence. A great percentage of the population believe what they are told as the lie becomes an everybody-knows-that and the believing-masses turn on those with a mind of their own. The technique has been used endlessly throughout human history. Wokers are the biggest promoters of the climate lie *and* 'Covid' fascism because their minds are owned by the Cult; their sense of self-righteous self-purity knows no bounds; and they exist in a bubble of reality in which facts are irrelevant and only get in the way of looking without seeing.

Running through all of this like veins in a blue cheese is control of information, which means control of perception, which means control of behaviour, which collectively means control of human society. The Cult owns the global media and Silicon Valley fascists for the simple reason that it *has* to. Without control of information it can't control perception and through that human society. Examine every facet of the Cult agenda and you will see that anything supporting its introduction is never censored while anything pushing back is always censored. I say again: Psychopaths that know why they are doing this must go before Nuremberg trials and those that follow their orders must trot along behind them into the same dock. 'I was just following orders' didn't work the first time and it must not work now. Nuremberg trials must be held all over the world before public juries for politicians, government officials, police, compliant doctors, scientists and virologists, and all Cult operatives such as Gates, Tedros, Fauci, Vallance, Whitty, Ferguson, Zuckerberg, Wojcicki, Brin, Page, Dorsey, the whole damn lot of

them – including, no *especially*, the psychopath psychologists. Without them and the brainless, gutless excuses for journalists that have repeated their lies, none of this could be happening. Nobody can be allowed to escape justice for the psychological and economic Armageddon they are all responsible for visiting upon the human race.

As for the compliant, unquestioning, swathes of humanity, and the self-obsessed, all-knowing ignorance of the Wokers ... don't start me. God help their kids. God help their grandkids. God *help them*.

## CHAPTER NINE

### **We must have it? So what is it?**

*Well I won't back down. No, I won't back down. You can stand me up at the Gates of Hell. But I won't back down*

**Tom Petty**

I will now focus on the genetically-manipulating 'Covid vaccines' which do not meet this official definition of a vaccine by the US Centers for Disease Control (CDC): 'A product that stimulates a person's immune system to produce immunity to a specific disease, protecting the person from that disease.' On that basis 'Covid vaccines' are not a vaccine in that the makers don't even claim they stop infection or transmission.

They are instead part of a multi-levelled conspiracy to change the nature of the human body and what it means to be 'human' and to depopulate an enormous swathe of humanity. What I shall call Human 1.0 is on the cusp of becoming Human 2.0 and for very sinister reasons. Before I get to the 'Covid vaccine' in detail here's some background to vaccines in general. Government regulators do not test vaccines – the makers do – and the makers control which data is revealed and which isn't. Children in America are given 50 vaccine doses by age six and 69 by age 19 and the effect of the whole combined schedule has never been tested. Autoimmune diseases when the immune system attacks its own body have soared in the mass vaccine era and so has disease in general in children and the young. Why wouldn't this be the case when vaccines target the *immune system*? The US government gave Big Pharma drug

companies immunity from prosecution for vaccine death and injury in the 1986 National Childhood Vaccine Injury Act (NCVIA) and since then the government (taxpayer) has been funding compensation for the consequences of Big Pharma vaccines. The criminal and satanic drug giants can't lose and the vaccine schedule has increased dramatically since 1986 for this reason. There is no incentive to make vaccines safe and a big incentive to make money by introducing ever more. Even against a ridiculously high bar to prove vaccine liability, and with the government controlling the hearing in which it is being challenged for compensation, the vaccine court has so far paid out more than \$4 billion. These are the vaccines we are told are safe and psychopaths like Zuckerberg censor posts saying otherwise. The immunity law was even justified by a ruling that vaccines by their nature were 'unavoidably unsafe'.

Check out the ingredients of vaccines and you will be shocked if you are new to this. *They put that in children's bodies?? What??* Try aluminium, a brain toxin connected to dementia, aborted foetal tissue and formaldehyde which is used to embalm corpses. World-renowned aluminium expert Christopher Exley had his research into the health effect of aluminium in vaccines shut down by Keele University in the UK when it began taking funding from the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. Research when diseases 'eradicated' by vaccines began to decline and you will find the fall began long *before* the vaccine was introduced. Sometimes the fall even plateaued after the vaccine. Diseases like scarlet fever for which there was no vaccine declined in the same way because of environmental and other factors. A perfect case in point is the polio vaccine. Polio began when lead arsenate was first sprayed as an insecticide and residues remained in food products. Spraying started in 1892 and the first US polio epidemic came in Vermont in 1894. The simple answer was to stop spraying, but Rockefeller-created Big Pharma had a better idea. Polio was decreed to be caused by the *poliovirus* which 'spreads from person to person and can infect a person's spinal cord'. Lead arsenate was replaced by the lethal DDT which had the same effect of causing paralysis by damaging the brain and central nervous

system. Polio plummeted when DDT was reduced and then banned, but the vaccine is still given the credit for something it didn't do. Today by far the biggest cause of polio is the vaccines promoted by Bill Gates. Vaccine justice campaigner Robert Kennedy Jr, son of assassinated (by the Cult) US Attorney General Robert Kennedy, wrote:

In 2017, the World Health Organization (WHO) reluctantly admitted that the global explosion in polio is predominantly vaccine strain. The most frightening epidemics in Congo, Afghanistan, and the Philippines, are all linked to vaccines. In fact, by 2018, 70% of global polio cases were vaccine strain.

Vaccines make fortunes for Cult-owned Gates and Big Pharma while undermining the health and immune systems of the population. We had a glimpse of the mentality behind the Big Pharma cartel with a report on WION (World is One News), an international English language TV station based in India, which exposed the extraordinary behaviour of US drug company Pfizer over its 'Covid vaccine'. The WION report told how Pfizer had made fantastic demands of Argentina, Brazil and other countries in return for its 'vaccine'. These included immunity from prosecution, even for Pfizer negligence, government insurance to protect Pfizer from law suits and handing over as collateral sovereign assets of the country to include Argentina's bank reserves, military bases and embassy buildings. Pfizer demanded the same of Brazil in the form of waiving sovereignty of its assets abroad; exempting Pfizer from Brazilian laws; and giving Pfizer immunity from all civil liability. This is a 'vaccine' developed with government funding. Big Pharma is evil incarnate as a creation of the Cult and all must be handed tickets to Nuremberg.

### **Phantom 'vaccine' for a phantom 'disease'**

I'll expose the 'Covid vaccine' fraud and then go on to the wider background of why the Cult has set out to 'vaccinate' every man, woman and child on the planet for an alleged 'new disease' with a survival rate of 99.77 percent (or more) even by the grotesquely-

manipulated figures of the World Health Organization and Johns Hopkins University. The 'infection' to 'death' ratio is 0.23 to 0.15 percent according to Stanford epidemiologist Dr John Ioannidis and while estimates vary the danger remains tiny. I say that if the truth be told the fake infection to fake death ratio is zero. Never mind all the evidence I have presented here and in *The Answer* that there is no 'virus' let us just focus for a moment on that death-rate figure of say 0.23 percent. The figure includes all those worldwide who have tested positive with a test not testing for the 'virus' and then died within 28 days or even longer of any other cause – *any other cause*. Now subtract all those illusory 'Covid' deaths on the global data sheets from the 0.23 percent. What do you think you would be left with? *Zero*. A vaccination has never been successfully developed for a so-called coronavirus. They have all failed at the animal testing stage when they caused hypersensitivity to what they were claiming to protect against and made the impact of a disease far worse. Cult-owned vaccine corporations got around that problem this time by bypassing animal trials, going straight to humans and making the length of the 'trials' before the public rollout as short as they could get away with. Normally it takes five to ten years or more to develop vaccines that still cause demonstrable harm to many people and that's without including the long-term effects that are never officially connected to the vaccination. 'Covid' non-vaccines have been officially produced and approved in a matter of months from a standing start and part of the reason is that (a) they were developed before the 'Covid' hoax began and (b) they are based on computer programs and not natural sources. Official non-trials were so short that government agencies gave *emergency*, not full, approval. 'Trials' were not even completed and full approval cannot be secured until they are. Public 'Covid vaccination' is actually a *continuation of the trial*. Drug company 'trials' are not scheduled to end until 2023 by which time a lot of people are going to be dead. Data on which government agencies gave this emergency approval was supplied by the Big Pharma corporations themselves in the form of Pfizer/BioNTech, AstraZeneca, Moderna, Johnson & Johnson, and

others, and this is the case with all vaccines. By its very nature *emergency* approval means drug companies do not have to prove that the 'vaccine' is 'safe and effective'. How could they with trials way short of complete? Government regulators only have to *believe* that they *could* be safe and effective. It is criminal manipulation to get products in circulation with no testing worth the name. Agencies giving that approval are infested with Big Pharma-connected place-people and they act in the interests of Big Pharma (the Cult) and not the public about whom they do not give a damn.

### **More human lab rats**

'Covid vaccines' produced in record time by Pfizer/BioNTech and Moderna employ a technique *never approved before for use on humans*. They are known as mRNA 'vaccines' and inject a synthetic version of 'viral' mRNA or 'messenger RNA'. The key is in the term 'messenger'. The body works, or doesn't, on the basis of information messaging. Communications are constantly passing between and within the genetic system and the brain. Change those messages and you change the state of the body and even its very nature and you can change psychology and behaviour by the way the brain processes information. I think you are going to see significant changes in personality and perception of many people who have had the 'Covid vaccine' synthetic potions. Insider Aldous Huxley predicted the following in 1961 and mRNA 'vaccines' can be included in the term 'pharmacological methods':

There will be, in the next generation or so, a pharmacological method of making people love their servitude, and producing dictatorship without tears, so to speak, producing a kind of painless concentration camp for entire societies, so that people will in fact have their own liberties taken away from them, but rather enjoy it, because they will be distracted from any desire to rebel by propaganda or brainwashing, or brainwashing enhanced by pharmacological methods. And this seems to be the final revolution.

Apologists claim that mRNA synthetic 'vaccines' don't change the DNA genetic blueprint because RNA does not affect DNA only the other way round. This is so disingenuous. A process called 'reverse



transcription' can convert RNA into DNA and be integrated into DNA in the cell nucleus. This was highlighted in December, 2020, by scientists at Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). Geneticists report that more than 40 percent of mammalian genomes results from reverse transcription. On the most basic level if messaging changes then that sequence must lead to changes in DNA which is receiving and transmitting those communications. How can introducing synthetic material into cells not change the cells where DNA is located? The process is known as transfection which is defined as 'a technique to insert foreign nucleic acid (DNA or RNA) into a cell, typically with the intention of altering the properties of the cell'. Researchers at the Sloan Kettering Institute in New York found that changes in messenger RNA can deactivate tumour-suppressing proteins and thereby promote cancer. This is what happens when you mess with messaging. 'Covid vaccine' maker Moderna was founded in 2010 by Canadian stem cell biologist Derrick J. Rossi after his breakthrough discovery in the field of transforming and reprogramming stem cells. These are neutral cells that can be programmed to become any cell including sperm cells. Moderna was therefore founded on the principle of genetic manipulation and has never produced any vaccine or drug before its genetically-manipulating synthetic 'Covid' shite. Look at the name – Mode-RNA or Modify-RNA. Another important point is that the US Supreme Court has ruled that genetically-modified DNA, or complementary DNA (cDNA) synthesized in the laboratory from messenger RNA, can be patented and owned. These psychopaths are doing this to the human body.

Cells replicate synthetic mRNA in the 'Covid vaccines' and in theory the body is tricked into making antigens which trigger antibodies to target the 'virus spike proteins' which as Dr Tom Cowan said have *never been seen*. Cut the crap and these 'vaccines' deliver *self-replicating* synthetic material to the cells with the effect of changing human DNA. The more of them you have the more that process is compounded while synthetic material is all the time self-replicating. 'Vaccine'-maker Moderna describes mRNA as 'like

software for the cell' and so they are messing with the body's software. What happens when you change the software in a computer? Everything changes. For this reason the Cult is preparing a production line of mRNA 'Covid vaccines' and a long list of excuses to use them as with all the 'variants' of a 'virus' never shown to exist. The plan is further to transfer the mRNA technique to other vaccines mostly given to children and young people. The cumulative consequences will be a transformation of human DNA through a constant infusion of synthetic genetic material which will kill many and change the rest. Now consider that governments that have given emergency approval for a vaccine that's not a vaccine; never been approved for humans before; had no testing worth the name; and the makers have been given immunity from prosecution for any deaths or adverse effects suffered by the public. The UK government awarded *permanent legal indemnity* to itself and its employees for harm done when a patient is being treated for 'Covid-19' or 'suspected Covid-19'. That is quite a thought when these are possible 'side-effects' from the 'vaccine' (they are not 'side', they are effects) listed by the US Food and Drug Administration:

Guillain-Barre syndrome; acute disseminated encephalomyelitis; transverse myelitis; encephalitis; myelitis; encephalomyelitis; meningoencephalitis; meningitis; encephalopathy; convulsions; seizures; stroke; narcolepsy; cataplexy; anaphylaxis; acute myocardial infarction (heart attack); myocarditis; pericarditis; autoimmune disease; death; implications for pregnancy, and birth outcomes; other acute demyelinating diseases; non anaphylactic allergy reactions; thrombocytopenia ; disseminated intravascular coagulation; venous thromboembolism; arthritis; arthralgia; joint pain; Kawasaki disease; multisystem inflammatory syndrome in children; vaccine enhanced disease. The latter is the way the 'vaccine' has the potential to make diseases far worse than they would otherwise be.

UK doctor and freedom campaigner Vernon Coleman described the conditions in this list as 'all unpleasant, most of them very serious, and you can't get more serious than death'. The thought that anyone at all has had the 'vaccine' in these circumstances is testament to the potential that humanity has for clueless, unquestioning, stupidity and for many that programmed stupidity has already been terminal.

## **An insider speaks**

Dr Michael Yeadon is a former Vice President, head of research and Chief Scientific Adviser at vaccine giant Pfizer. Yeadon worked on the inside of Big Pharma, but that did not stop him becoming a vocal critic of 'Covid vaccines' and their potential for multiple harms, including infertility in women. By the spring of 2021 he went much further and even used the no, no, term 'conspiracy'. When you begin to see what is going on it is impossible not to do so. Yeadon spoke out in an interview with freedom campaigner James Delingpole and I mentioned earlier how he said that no one had samples of 'the virus'. He explained that the mRNA technique originated in the anti-cancer field and ways to turn on and off certain genes which could be advantageous if you wanted to stop cancer growing out of control. 'That's the origin of them. They are a very unusual application, really.' Yeadon said that treating a cancer patient with an aggressive procedure might be understandable if the alternative was dying, but it was quite another thing to use the same technique as a public health measure. Most people involved wouldn't catch the infectious agent you were vaccinating against and if they did they probably wouldn't die:

If you are really using it as a public health measure you really want to as close as you can get to zero sides-effects ... I find it odd that they chose techniques that were really cutting their teeth in the field of oncology and I'm worried that in using gene-based vaccines that have to be injected in the body and spread around the body, get taken up into some cells, and the regulators haven't quite told us which cells they get taken up into ... you are going to be generating a wide range of responses ... with multiple steps each of which could go well or badly.

I doubt the Cult intends it to go well. Yeadon said that you can put any gene you like into the body through the 'vaccine'. 'You can certainly give them a gene that would do them some harm if you wanted.' I was intrigued when he said that when used in the cancer field the technique could turn genes on and off. I explore this process in *The Answer* and with different genes having different functions you could create mayhem – physically and psychologically – if you turned the wrong ones on and the right ones off. I read reports of an experiment by researchers at the University of Washington's school of computer science and engineering in which they encoded DNA to infect computers. The body is itself a biological computer and if human DNA can inflict damage on a computer why can't the computer via synthetic material mess with the human body? It can. The Washington research team said it was possible to insert malicious malware into 'physical DNA strands' and corrupt the computer system of a gene sequencing machine as it 'reads gene letters and stores them as binary digits 0 and 1'. They concluded that hackers could one day use blood or spit samples to access computer systems and obtain sensitive data from police forensics labs or infect genome files. It is at this level of digital interaction that synthetic 'vaccines' need to be seen to get the full picture and that will become very clear later on. Michael Yeadon said it made no sense to give the 'vaccine' to younger people who were in no danger from the 'virus'. What was the benefit? It was all downside with potential effects:

The fact that my government in what I thought was a civilised, rational country, is raining [the 'vaccine'] on people in their 30s and 40s, even my children in their 20s, they're getting letters and phone calls, I know this is not right and any of you doctors who are vaccinating you know it's not right, too. They are not at risk. They are not at risk from the disease, so you are now hoping that the side-effects are so rare that you get away with it. You don't give new technology ... that you don't understand to 100 percent of the population.

Blood clot problems with the AstraZeneca 'vaccine' have been affecting younger people to emphasise the downside risks with no benefit. AstraZeneca's version, produced with Oxford University, does not use mRNA, but still gets its toxic cocktail inside cells where

it targets DNA. The Johnson & Johnson 'vaccine' which uses a similar technique has also produced blood clot effects to such an extent that the United States paused its use at one point. They are all 'gene therapy' (cell modification) procedures and not 'vaccines'. The truth is that once the content of these injections enter cells we have no idea what the effect will be. People can speculate and some can give very educated opinions and that's good. In the end, though, only the makers know what their potions are designed to do and even they won't know every last consequence. Michael Yeadon was scathing about doctors doing what they knew to be wrong. 'Everyone's mute', he said. Doctors in the NHS must know this was not right, coming into work and injecting people. 'I don't know how they sleep at night. I know I couldn't do it. I know that if I were in that position I'd have to quit.' He said he knew enough about toxicology to know this was not a good risk-benefit. Yeadon had spoken to seven or eight university professors and all except two would not speak out publicly. Their universities had a policy that no one said anything that countered the government and its medical advisors. They were afraid of losing their government grants. This is how intimidation has been used to silence the truth at every level of the system. I say silence, but these people could still speak out if they made that choice. Yeadon called them 'moral cowards' – 'This is about your children and grandchildren's lives and you have just buggered off and left it.'

### **'Variant' nonsense**

Some of his most powerful comments related to the alleged 'variants' being used to instil more fear, justify more lockdowns, and introduce more 'vaccines'. He said government claims about 'variants' were nonsense. He had checked the alleged variant 'codes' and they were 99.7 percent identical to the 'original'. This was the human identity difference equivalent to putting a baseball cap on and off or wearing it the other way round. A 0.3 percent difference would make it impossible for that 'variant' to escape immunity from the 'original'. This made no sense of having new 'vaccines' for

'variants'. He said there would have to be at least a *30 percent* difference for that to be justified and even then he believed the immune system would still recognise what it was. Gates-funded 'variant modeller' and 'vaccine'-pusher John Edmunds might care to comment. Yeadon said drug companies were making new versions of the 'vaccine' as a 'top up' for 'variants'. Worse than that, he said, the 'regulators' around the world like the MHRA in the UK had got together and agreed that because 'vaccines' for 'variants' were so similar to the first 'vaccines' *they did not have to do safety studies*. How transparently sinister that is. This is when Yeadon said: 'There is a conspiracy here.' There was no need for another vaccine for 'variants' and yet we were told that there was and the country had shut its borders because of them. 'They are going into hundreds of millions of arms without passing 'go' or any regulator. Why did they do that? Why did they pick this method of making the vaccine?'

The reason had to be something bigger than that it seemed and 'it's not protection against the virus'. It's was a far bigger project that meant politicians and advisers were willing to do things and not do things that knowingly resulted in avoidable deaths – 'that's already happened when you think about lockdown and deprivation of health care for a year.' He spoke of people prepared to do something that results in the avoidable death of their fellow human beings and it not bother them. This is the penny-drop I have been working to get across for more than 30 years – the level of pure evil we are dealing with. Yeadon said his friends and associates could not believe there could be that much evil, but he reminded them of Stalin, Pol Pot and Hitler and of what Stalin had said: 'One death is a tragedy. A million? A statistic.' He could not think of a benign explanation for why you need top-up vaccines 'which I'm sure you don't' and for the regulators 'to just get out of the way and wave them through'. Why would the regulators do that when they were still wrestling with the dangers of the 'parent' vaccine? He was clearly shocked by what he had seen since the 'Covid' hoax began and now he was thinking the previously unthinkable:

If you wanted to depopulate a significant proportion of the world and to do it in a way that doesn't involve destruction of the environment with nuclear weapons, poisoning everyone with anthrax or something like that, and you wanted plausible deniability while you had a multi-year infectious disease crisis, I actually don't think you could come up with a better plan of work than seems to be in front of me. I can't say that's what they are going to do, but I can't think of a benign explanation why they are doing it.

He said he never thought that they would get rid of 99 percent of humans, but now he wondered. 'If you wanted to that this would be a hell of a way to do it – it would be unstoppable folks.' Yeadon had concluded that those who submitted to the 'vaccine' would be allowed to have some kind of normal life (but for how long?) while screws were tightened to coerce and mandate the last few percent. 'I think they'll put the rest of them in a prison camp. I wish I was wrong, but I don't think I am.' Other points he made included: There were no coronavirus vaccines then suddenly they all come along at the same time; we have no idea of the long term affect with trials so short; coercing or forcing people to have medical procedures is against the Nuremberg Code instigated when the Nazis did just that; people should at least delay having the 'vaccine'; a quick Internet search confirms that masks don't reduce respiratory viral transmission and 'the government knows that'; they have smashed civil society and they know that, too; two dozen peer-reviewed studies show no connection between lockdown and reducing deaths; he knew from personal friends the elite were still flying around and going on holiday while the public were locked down; the elite were not having the 'vaccines'. He was also asked if 'vaccines' could be made to target difference races. He said he didn't know, but the document by the Project for the New American Century in September, 2000, said developing 'advanced forms of biological warfare that can target *specific genotypes* may transform biological warfare from the realm of terror to a politically useful tool.' Oh, they're evil all right. Of that we can be *absolutely* sure.

## **Another cull of old people**

We have seen from the CDC definition that the mRNA 'Covid vaccine' is not a vaccine and nor are the others that *claim* to reduce 'severity of symptoms' in *some* people, but not protect from infection or transmission. What about all the lies about returning to 'normal' if people were 'vaccinated'? If they are not claimed to stop infection and transmission of the alleged 'virus', how does anything change? This was all lies to manipulate people to take the jabs and we are seeing that now with masks and distancing still required for the 'vaccinated'. How did they think that elderly people with fragile health and immune responses were going to be affected by infusing their cells with synthetic material and other toxic substances? They *knew* that in the short and long term it would be devastating and fatal as the culling of the old that began with the first lockdowns was continued with the 'vaccine'. Death rates in care homes soared immediately residents began to be 'vaccinated' – infused with synthetic material. Brave and committed whistleblower nurses put their careers at risk by exposing this truth while the rest kept their heads down and their mouths shut to put their careers before those they are supposed to care for. A long-time American Certified Nursing Assistant who gave his name as James posted a video in which he described emotionally what happened in his care home when vaccination began. He said that during 2020 very few residents were sick with 'Covid' and no one died during the entire year; but shortly after the Pfizer mRNA injections 14 people died within two weeks and many others were near death. 'They're dropping like flies', he said. Residents who walked on their own before the shot could no longer and they had lost their ability to conduct an intelligent conversation. The home's management said the sudden deaths were caused by a 'super-spreader' of 'Covid-19'. Then how come, James asked, that residents who refused to take the injections were not sick? It was a case of inject the elderly with mRNA synthetic potions and blame their illness and death that followed on the 'virus'. James described what was happening in care homes as 'the greatest crime of genocide this country has ever seen'. Remember the NHS staff nurse from earlier who used the same



word 'genocide' for what was happening with the 'vaccines' and that it was an 'act of human annihilation'. A UK care home whistleblower told a similar story to James about the effect of the 'vaccine' in deaths and 'outbreaks' of illness dubbed 'Covid' after getting the jab. She told how her care home management and staff had zealously imposed government regulations and no one was allowed to even question the official narrative let alone speak out against it. She said the NHS was even worse. Again we see the results of reframing. A worker at a local care home where I live said they had not had a single case of 'Covid' there for almost a year and when the residents were 'vaccinated' they had 19 positive cases in two weeks with eight dying.

### **It's not the 'vaccine' – honest**

The obvious cause and effect was being ignored by the media and most of the public. Australia's health minister Greg Hunt (a former head of strategy at the World Economic Forum) was admitted to hospital after he had the 'vaccine'. He was suffering according to reports from the skin infection 'cellulitis' and it must have been a severe case to have warranted days in hospital. Immediately the authorities said this was nothing to do with the 'vaccine' when an effect of some vaccines is a 'cellulitis-like reaction'. We had families of perfectly healthy old people who died after the 'vaccine' saying that if only they had been given the 'vaccine' earlier they would still be alive. As a numbskull rating that is off the chart. A father of four 'died of Covid' at aged 48 when he was taken ill two days after having the 'vaccine'. The man, a health administrator, had been 'shielding during the pandemic' and had 'not really left the house' until he went for the 'vaccine'. Having the 'vaccine' and then falling ill and dying does not seem to have qualified as a possible cause and effect and 'Covid-19' went on his death certificate. His family said they had no idea how he 'caught the virus'. A family member said: 'Tragically, it could be that going for a vaccination ultimately led to him catching Covid ...The sad truth is that they are never going to know where it came from.' The family warned people to remember

that the virus still existed and was 'very real'. So was their stupidity. Nurses and doctors who had the first round of the 'vaccine' were collapsing, dying and ending up in a hospital bed while they or their grieving relatives were saying they'd still have the 'vaccine' again despite what happened. I kid you not. You mean if your husband returned from the dead he'd have the same 'vaccine' again that killed him??

Doctors at the VCU Medical Center in Richmond, Virginia, said the Johnson & Johnson 'vaccine' was to blame for a man's skin peeling off. Patient Richard Terrell said: 'It all just happened so fast. My skin peeled off. It's still coming off on my hands now.' He said it was stinging, burning and itching and when he bent his arms and legs it was very painful with 'the skin swollen and rubbing against itself'. Pfizer/BioNTech and Moderna vaccines use mRNA to change the cell while the Johnson & Johnson version uses DNA in a process similar to AstraZeneca's technique. Johnson & Johnson and AstraZeneca have both had their 'vaccines' paused by many countries after causing serious blood problems. Terrell's doctor Fnu Nutan said he could have died if he hadn't got medical attention. It sounds terrible so what did Nutan and Terrell say about the 'vaccine' now? Oh, they still recommend that people have it. A nurse in a hospital bed 40 minutes after the vaccination and unable to swallow due to throat swelling was told by a doctor that he lost mobility in his arm for 36 hours following the vaccination. What did he say to the ailing nurse? 'Good for you for getting the vaccination.' We are dealing with a serious form of cognitive dissonance madness in both public and medical staff. There is a remarkable correlation between those having the 'vaccine' and trumpeting the fact and suffering bad happenings shortly afterwards. Witold Rogiewicz, a Polish doctor, made a video of his 'vaccination' and ridiculed those who were questioning its safety and the intentions of Bill Gates: 'Vaccinate yourself to protect yourself, your loved ones, friends and also patients. And to mention quickly I have info for anti-vaxxers and anti-Coviders if you want to contact Bill Gates you can do this through me.' He further ridiculed the dangers of 5G. Days later he

was dead, but naturally the vaccination wasn't mentioned in the verdict of 'heart attack'.

## **Lies, lies and more lies**

So many members of the human race have slipped into extreme states of insanity and unfortunately they include reframed doctors and nursing staff. Having a 'vaccine' and dying within minutes or hours is not considered a valid connection while death from any cause within 28 days or longer of a positive test with a test not testing for the 'virus' means 'Covid-19' goes on the death certificate. How could that 'vaccine'-death connection not have been made except by calculated deceit? US figures in the initial rollout period to February 12th, 2020, revealed that a third of the deaths reported to the CDC after 'Covid vaccines' happened within 48 hours. Five men in the UK suffered an 'extremely rare' blood clot problem after having the AstraZeneca 'vaccine', but no causal link was established said the Gates-funded Medicines and Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA) which had given the 'vaccine' emergency approval to be used. Former Pfizer executive Dr Michael Yeadon explained in his interview how the procedures could cause blood coagulation and clots. People who should have been at no risk were dying from blood clots in the brain and he said he had heard from medical doctor friends that people were suffering from skin bleeding and massive headaches. The AstraZeneca 'shot' was stopped by some 20 countries over the blood clotting issue and still the corrupt MHRA, the European Medicines Agency (EMA) and the World Health Organization said that it should continue to be given even though the EMA admitted that it 'still cannot rule out definitively' a link between blood clotting and the 'vaccine'. Later Marco Cavaleri, head of EMA vaccine strategy, said there was indeed a clear link between the 'vaccine' and thrombosis, but they didn't know why. So much for the trials showing the 'vaccine' is safe. Blood clots were affecting younger people who would be under virtually no danger from 'Covid' even if it existed which makes it all the more stupid and sinister.

The British government responded to public alarm by wheeling out June Raine, the terrifyingly weak infant school headmistress sound-alike who heads the UK MHRA drug 'regulator'. The idea that she would stand up to Big Pharma and government pressure is laughable and she told us that all was well in the same way that she did when allowing untested, never-used-on-humans-before, genetically-manipulating 'vaccines' to be exposed to the public in the first place. Mass lying is the new normal of the 'Covid' era. The MHRA later said 30 cases of rare blood clots had by then been connected with the AstraZeneca 'vaccine' (that means a lot more in reality) while stressing that the benefits of the jab in preventing 'Covid-19' outweighed any risks. A more ridiculous and disingenuous statement with callous disregard for human health it is hard to contemplate. Immediately after the mendacious 'all-clears' two hospital workers in Denmark experienced blood clots and cerebral haemorrhaging following the AstraZeneca jab and one died. Top Norwegian health official Pål Andre Holme said the 'vaccine' was the only common factor: 'There is nothing in the patient history of these individuals that can give such a powerful immune response ... I am confident that the antibodies that we have found are the cause, and I see no other explanation than it being the vaccine which triggers it.' Strokes, a clot or bleed in the brain, were clearly associated with the 'vaccine' from word of mouth and whistleblower reports. Similar consequences followed with all these 'vaccines' that we were told were so safe and as the numbers grew by the day it was clear we were witnessing human carnage.

### **Learning the hard way**

A woman interviewed by UKColumn told how her husband suffered dramatic health effects after the vaccine when he'd been in good health all his life. He went from being a little unwell to losing all feeling in his legs and experiencing 'excruciating pain'. Misdiagnosis followed twice at Accident and Emergency (an 'allergy' and 'sciatica') before he was admitted to a neurology ward where doctors said his serious condition had been caused by the

'vaccine'. Another seven 'vaccinated' people were apparently being treated on the same ward for similar symptoms. The woman said he had the 'vaccine' because they believed media claims that it was safe. 'I didn't think the government would give out a vaccine that does this to somebody; I believed they would be bringing out a vaccination that would be safe.' What a tragic way to learn that lesson. Another woman posted that her husband was transporting stroke patients to hospital on almost every shift and when he asked them if they had been 'vaccinated' for 'Covid' they all replied 'yes'. One had a 'massive brain bleed' the day after his second dose. She said her husband reported the 'just been vaccinated' information every time to doctors in A and E only for them to ignore it, make no notes and appear annoyed that it was even mentioned. This particular report cannot be verified, but it expresses a common theme that confirms the monumental underreporting of 'vaccine' consequences. Interestingly as the 'vaccines' and their brain blood clot/stroke consequences began to emerge the UK National Health Service began a publicity campaign telling the public what to do in the event of a stroke. A Scottish NHS staff nurse who quit in disgust in March, 2021, said:

I have seen traumatic injuries from the vaccine, they're not getting reported to the yellow card [adverse reaction] scheme, they're treating the symptoms, not asking why, why it's happening. It's just treating the symptoms and when you speak about it you're dismissed like you're crazy, I'm not crazy, I'm not crazy because every other colleague I've spoken to is terrified to speak out, they've had enough.

Videos appeared on the Internet of people uncontrollably shaking after the 'vaccine' with no control over muscles, limbs and even their face. A Scottish mother broke out in a severe rash all over her body almost immediately after she was given the AstraZeneca 'vaccine'. The pictures were horrific. Leigh King, a 41-year-old hairdresser from Lanarkshire said: 'Never in my life was I prepared for what I was about to experience ... My skin was so sore and constantly hot ... I have never felt pain like this ...' But don't you worry, the 'vaccine' is perfectly safe. Then there has been the effect on medical

staff who have been pressured to have the 'vaccine' by psychopathic 'health' authorities and government. A London hospital consultant who gave the name K. Polyakova wrote this to the *British Medical Journal* or *BMJ*:

I am currently struggling with ... the failure to report the reality of the morbidity caused by our current vaccination program within the health service and staff population. The levels of sickness after vaccination is unprecedented and staff are getting very sick and some with neurological symptoms which is having a huge impact on the health service function. Even the young and healthy are off for days, some for weeks, and some requiring medical treatment. Whole teams are being taken out as they went to get vaccinated together.

Mandatory vaccination in this instance is stupid, unethical and irresponsible when it comes to protecting our staff and public health. We are in the voluntary phase of vaccination, and encouraging staff to take an unlicensed product that is impacting on their immediate health ... it is clearly stated that these vaccine products do not offer immunity or stop transmission. In which case why are we doing it?

Not to protect health that's for sure. Medical workers are lauded by governments for agenda reasons when they couldn't give a toss about them any more than they can for the population in general. Schools across America faced the same situation as they closed due to the high number of teachers and other staff with bad reactions to the Pfizer/BioNTech, Moderna, and Johnson & Johnson 'Covid vaccines' all of which were linked to death and serious adverse effects. The *BMJ* took down the consultant's comments pretty quickly on the grounds that they were being used to spread 'disinformation'. They were exposing the truth about the 'vaccine' was the real reason. The cover-up is breathtaking.

## **Hiding the evidence**

The scale of the 'vaccine' death cover-up worldwide can be confirmed by comparing official figures with the personal experience of the public. I heard of many people in my community who died immediately or soon after the vaccine that would never appear in the media or even likely on the official totals of 'vaccine' fatalities and adverse reactions when only about ten percent are estimated to be

reported and I have seen some estimates as low as one percent in a Harvard study. In the UK alone by April 29th, 2021, some 757,654 adverse reactions had been officially reported from the Pfizer/BioNTech, Oxford/AstraZeneca and Moderna 'vaccines' with more than a thousand deaths linked to jabs and that means an estimated ten times this number in reality from a ten percent reporting rate percentage. That's seven million adverse reactions and 10,000 potential deaths and a one percent reporting rate would be ten times *those* figures. In 1976 the US government pulled the swine flu vaccine after 53 deaths. The UK data included a combined 10,000 eye disorders from the 'Covid vaccines' with more than 750 suffering visual impairment or blindness and again multiply by the estimated reporting percentages. As 'Covid cases' officially fell hospitals virtually empty during the 'Covid crisis' began to fill up with a range of other problems in the wake of the 'vaccine' rollout. The numbers across America have also been catastrophic. Deaths linked to *all* types of vaccine increased by 6,000 percent in the first quarter of 2021 compared with 2020. A 39-year-old woman from Ogden, Utah, died four days after receiving a second dose of Moderna's 'Covid vaccine' when her liver, heart and kidneys all failed despite the fact that she had no known medical issues or conditions. Her family sought an autopsy, but Dr Erik Christensen, Utah's chief medical examiner, said proving vaccine injury as a cause of death almost never happened. He could think of only one instance where an autopsy would name a vaccine as the official cause of death and that would be anaphylaxis where someone received a vaccine and died almost instantaneously. 'Short of that, it would be difficult for us to definitively say this is the vaccine,' Christensen said. If that is true this must be added to the estimated ten percent (or far less) reporting rate of vaccine deaths and serious reactions and the conclusion can only be that vaccine deaths and serious reactions – including these 'Covid' potions' – are phenomenally understated in official figures. The same story can be found everywhere. Endless accounts of deaths and serious reactions among the public, medical

and care home staff while official figures did not even begin to reflect this.

Professional script-reader Dr David Williams, a 'top public-health official' in Ontario, Canada, insulted our intelligence by claiming only four serious adverse reactions and no deaths from the more than 380,000 vaccine doses then given. This bore no resemblance to what people knew had happened in their own circles and we had Dirk Huyer in charge of getting millions vaccinated in Ontario while at the same time he was Chief Coroner for the province investigating causes of death including possible death from the vaccine. An aide said he had stepped back from investigating deaths, but evidence indicated otherwise. Rosemary Frei, who secured a Master of Science degree in molecular biology at the Faculty of Medicine at Canada's University of Calgary before turning to investigative journalism, was one who could see that official figures for 'vaccine' deaths and reactions made no sense. She said that doctors seldom reported adverse events and when people got really sick or died after getting a vaccination they would attribute that to anything except the vaccines. It had been that way for years and anyone who wondered aloud whether the 'Covid vaccines' or other shots cause harm is immediately branded as 'anti-vax' and 'anti-science'. This was 'career-threatening' for health professionals. Then there was the huge pressure to support the push to 'vaccinate' billions in the quickest time possible. Frei said:

So that's where we're at today. More than half a million vaccine doses have been given to people in Ontario alone. The rush is on to vaccinate all 15 million of us in the province by September. And the mainstream media are screaming for this to be sped up even more. That all adds up to only a very slim likelihood that we're going to be told the truth by officials about how many people are getting sick or dying from the vaccines.

What is true of Ontario is true of everywhere.

### **They KNEW – and still did it**

The authorities knew what was going to happen with multiple deaths and adverse reactions. The UK government's Gates-funded



and Big Pharma-dominated Medicines and Healthcare products Regulatory Agency (MHRA) hired a company to employ AI in compiling the projected reactions to the 'vaccine' that would otherwise be uncountable. The request for applications said: 'The MHRA urgently seeks an Artificial Intelligence (AI) software tool to process the expected high volume of Covid-19 vaccine Adverse Drug Reaction ...' This was from the agency, headed by the disingenuous June Raine, that gave the 'vaccines' emergency approval and the company was hired before the first shot was given. 'We are going to kill and maim you – is that okay?' 'Oh, yes, perfectly fine – I'm very grateful, thank you, doctor.' The range of 'Covid vaccine' adverse reactions goes on for page after page in the MHRA criminally underreported 'Yellow Card' system and includes affects to eyes, ears, skin, digestion, blood and so on. Raine's MHRA amazingly claimed that the 'overall safety experience ... is so far as expected from the clinical trials'. The death, serious adverse effects, deafness and blindness were *expected*? When did they ever mention that? If these human tragedies were expected then those that gave approval for the use of these 'vaccines' must be guilty of crimes against humanity including murder – a definition of which is 'killing a person with malice aforethought or with recklessness manifesting extreme indifference to the value of human life.' People involved at the MHRA, the CDC in America and their equivalent around the world must go before Nuremberg trials to answer for their callous inhumanity. We are only talking here about the immediate effects of the 'vaccine'. The longer-term impact of the DNA synthetic manipulation is the main reason they are so hysterically desperate to inoculate the entire global population in the shortest possible time.

Africa and the developing world are a major focus for the 'vaccine' depopulation agenda and a mass vaccination sales-pitch is underway thanks to caring people like the Rockefellers and other Cult assets. The Rockefeller Foundation, which pre-empted the 'Covid pandemic' in a document published in 2010 that 'predicted' what happened a decade later, announced an initial \$34.95 million grant in February, 2021, 'to ensure more equitable access to Covid-19

testing and vaccines' among other things in Africa in collaboration with '24 organizations, businesses, and government agencies'. The pan-Africa initiative would focus on 10 countries: Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia'. Rajiv Shah, President of the Rockefeller Foundation and former administrator of CIA-controlled USAID, said that if Africa was not mass-vaccinated (to change the DNA of its people) it was a 'threat to all of humanity' and not fair on Africans. When someone from the Rockefeller Foundation says they want to do something to help poor and deprived people and countries it is time for a belly-laugh. They are doing this out of the goodness of their 'heart' because 'vaccinating' the entire global population is what the 'Covid' hoax set out to achieve. Official 'decolonisation' of Africa by the Cult was merely a prelude to financial colonisation on the road to a return to physical colonisation. The 'vaccine' is vital to that and the sudden and convenient death of the 'Covid' sceptic president of Tanzania can be seen in its true light. A lot of people in Africa are aware that this is another form of colonisation and exploitation and they need to stand their ground.

### **The 'vaccine is working' scam**

A potential problem for the Cult was that the 'vaccine' is meant to change human DNA and body messaging and not to protect anyone from a 'virus' never shown to exist. The vaccine couldn't work because it was not designed to work and how could they make it *appear* to be working so that more people would have it? This was overcome by lowering the amplification rate of the PCR test to produce fewer 'cases' and therefore fewer 'deaths'. Some of us had been pointing out since March, 2020, that the amplification rate of the test not testing for the 'virus' had been made artificially high to generate positive tests which they could call 'cases' to justify lockdowns. The World Health Organization recommended an absurdly high 45 amplification cycles to ensure the high positives required by the Cult and then remained silent on the issue until January 20th, 2021 – Biden's Inauguration Day. This was when the

'vaccinations' were seriously underway and on that day the WHO recommended after discussions with America's CDC that laboratories *lowered their testing amplification*. Dr David Samadi, a certified urologist and health writer, said the WHO was encouraging all labs to reduce their cycle count for PCR tests. He said the current cycle was much too high and was 'resulting in any particle being declared a positive case'. Even one mainstream news report I saw said this meant the number of 'Covid' infections may have been 'dramatically inflated'. Oh, just a little bit. The CDC in America issued new guidance to laboratories in April, 2021, to use 28 cycles *but only for 'vaccinated' people*. The timing of the CDC/WHO interventions were cynically designed to make it appear the 'vaccines' were responsible for falling cases and deaths when the real reason can be seen in the following examples. New York's state lab, the Wadsworth Center, identified 872 positive tests in July, 2020, based on a threshold of 40 cycles. When the figure was lowered to 35 cycles 43 percent of the 872 were no longer 'positives'. At 30 cycles the figure was 63 percent. A Massachusetts lab found that between 85 to 90 percent of people who tested positive in July with a cycle threshold of 40 would be negative at 30 cycles, Ashish Jha, MD, director of the Harvard Global Health Institute, said: 'I'm really shocked that it could be that high ... Boy, does it really change the way we need to be thinking about testing.' I'm shocked that I could see the obvious in the spring of 2020, with no medical background, and most medical professionals still haven't worked it out. No, that's not shocking – it's terrifying.

Three weeks after the WHO directive to lower PCR cycles the London *Daily Mail* ran this headline: 'Why ARE Covid cases plummeting? New infections have fallen 45% in the US and 30% globally in the past 3 weeks but experts say vaccine is NOT the main driver because only 8% of Americans and 13% of people worldwide have received their first dose.' They acknowledged that the drop could not be attributed to the 'vaccine', but soon this morphed throughout the media into the 'vaccine' has caused cases and deaths to fall when it was the PCR threshold. In December, 2020, there was

chaos at English Channel ports with truck drivers needing negative 'Covid' tests before they could board a ferry home for Christmas. The government wanted to remove the backlog as fast as possible and they brought in troops to do the 'testing'. Out of 1,600 drivers just 36 tested positive and the rest were given the all clear to cross the Channel. I guess the authorities thought that 36 was the least they could get away with without the unquestioning catching on. The amplification trick which most people believed in the absence of information in the mainstream applied more pressure on those refusing the 'vaccine' to succumb when it 'obviously worked'. The truth was the exact opposite with deaths in care homes soaring with the 'vaccine' and in Israel the term used was 'skyrocket'. A re-analysis of published data from the Israeli Health Ministry led by Dr Hervé Seligmann at the Medicine Emerging Infectious and Tropical Diseases at Aix-Marseille University found that Pfizer's 'Covid vaccine' killed 'about 40 times more [elderly] people than the disease itself would have killed' during a five-week vaccination period and *260 times* more younger people than would have died from the 'virus' even according to the manipulated 'virus' figures. Dr Seligmann and his co-study author, Haim Yativ, declared after reviewing the Israeli 'vaccine' death data: 'This is a new Holocaust.'

Then, in mid-April, 2021, after vast numbers of people worldwide had been 'vaccinated', the story changed with clear coordination. The UK government began to prepare the ground for more future lockdowns when Nuremberg-destined Boris Johnson told yet another whopper. He said that cases had fallen because of *lockdowns* not 'vaccines'. Lockdowns are irrelevant when *there is no 'virus'* and the test and fraudulent death certificates are deciding the number of 'cases' and 'deaths'. Study after study has shown that lockdowns don't work and instead kill and psychologically destroy people. Meanwhile in the United States Anthony Fauci and Rochelle Walensky, the ultra-Zionist head of the CDC, peddled the same line. More lockdown was the answer and not the 'vaccine', a line repeated on cue by the moron that is Canadian Prime Minister Justin Trudeau. Why all the hysteria to get everyone 'vaccinated' if lockdowns and

not 'vaccines' made the difference? None of it makes sense on the face of it. Oh, but it does. The Cult wants lockdowns *and* the 'vaccine' and if the 'vaccine' is allowed to be seen as the total answer lockdowns would no longer be justified when there are still livelihoods to destroy. 'Variants' and renewed upward manipulation of PCR amplification are planned to instigate never-ending lockdown *and* more 'vaccines'.

### **You *must* have it – we're desperate**

Israel, where the Jewish and Arab population are ruled by the Sabbatian Cult, was the front-runner in imposing the DNA-manipulating 'vaccine' on its people to such an extent that Jewish refusers began to liken what was happening to the early years of Nazi Germany. This would seem to be a fantastic claim. Why would a government of Jewish people be acting like the Nazis did? If you realise that the Sabbatian Cult was behind the Nazis and that Sabbatians hate Jews the pieces start to fit and the question of why a 'Jewish' government would treat Jews with such callous disregard for their lives and freedom finds an answer. Those controlling the government of Israel *aren't Jewish* – they're Sabbatian. Israeli lawyer Tamir Turgal was one who made the Nazi comparison in comments to German lawyer Reiner Fuellmich who is leading a class action lawsuit against the psychopaths for crimes against humanity. Turgal described how the Israeli government was vaccinating children and pregnant women on the basis that there was no evidence that this was dangerous when they had no evidence that it *wasn't* dangerous either. They just had no evidence. This was medical experimentation and Turgal said this breached the Nuremberg Code about medical experimentation and procedures requiring informed consent and choice. Think about that. A Nuremberg Code developed because of Nazi experimentation on Jews and others in concentration camps by people like the evil-beyond-belief Josef Mengele is being breached by the *Israeli* government; but when you know that it's a *Sabbatian* government along with its intelligence and military agencies like Mossad, Shin Bet and the Israeli Defense Forces, and that Sabbatians

were the force behind the Nazis, the kaleidoscope comes into focus. What have we come to when Israeli Jews are suing their government for violating the Nuremberg Code by essentially making Israelis subject to a medical experiment using the controversial 'vaccines'? It's a shocker that this has to be done in the light of what happened in Nazi Germany. The Anshe Ha-Emet, or 'People of the Truth', made up of Israeli doctors, lawyers, campaigners and public, have launched a lawsuit with the International Criminal Court. It says:

When the heads of the Ministry of Health as well as the prime minister presented the vaccine in Israel and began the vaccination of Israeli residents, the vaccinated were not advised, that, in practice, they are taking part in a medical experiment and that their consent is required for this under the Nuremberg Code.

The irony is unbelievable, but easily explained in one word: Sabbatians. The foundation of Israeli 'Covid' apartheid is the 'green pass' or 'green passport' which allows Jews and Arabs who have had the DNA-manipulating 'vaccine' to go about their lives – to work, fly, travel in general, go to shopping malls, bars, restaurants, hotels, concerts, gyms, swimming pools, theatres and sports venues, while non-'vaccinated' are banned from all those places and activities. Israelis have likened the 'green pass' to the yellow stars that Jews in Nazi Germany were forced to wear – the same as the yellow stickers that a branch of UK supermarket chain Morrisons told exempt mask-wearers they had to display when shopping. How very sensitive. The Israeli system is blatant South African-style apartheid on the basis of compliance or non-compliance to fascism rather than colour of the skin. How appropriate that the Sabbatian Israeli government was so close to the pre-Mandela apartheid regime in Pretoria. The Sabbatian-instigated 'vaccine passport' in Israel is planned for everywhere. Sabbatians struck a deal with Pfizer that allowed them to lead the way in the percentage of a national population infused with synthetic material and the result was catastrophic. Israeli freedom activist Shai Dannon told me how chairs were appearing on beaches that said 'vaccinated only'. Health Minister Yuli Edelstein said that anyone unwilling or unable to get

the jabs that 'confer immunity' will be 'left behind'. The man's a liar. Not even the makers claim the 'vaccines' confer immunity. When you see those figures of 'vaccine' deaths these psychopaths were saying that you must take the chance the 'vaccine' will kill you or maim you while knowing it will change your DNA or lockdown for you will be permanent. That's fascism. The Israeli parliament passed a law to allow personal information of the non-vaccinated to be shared with local and national authorities for three months. This was claimed by its supporters to be a way to 'encourage' people to be vaccinated. Hadas Ziv from Physicians for Human Rights described this as a 'draconian law which crushed medical ethics and the patient rights'. But that's the idea, the Sabbatians would reply.

### **Your papers, please**

Sabbatian Israel was leading what has been planned all along to be a global 'vaccine pass' called a 'green passport' without which you would remain in permanent lockdown restriction and unable to do anything. This is how badly – *desperately* – the Cult is to get everyone 'vaccinated'. The term and colour 'green' was not by chance and related to the psychology of fusing the perception of the green climate hoax with the 'Covid' hoax and how the 'solution' to both is the same Great Reset. Lying politicians, health officials and psychologists denied there were any plans for mandatory vaccinations or restrictions based on vaccinations, but they knew that was exactly what was meant to happen with governments of all countries reaching agreements to enforce a global system. 'Free' Denmark and 'free' Sweden unveiled digital vaccine certification. Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, and Spain have all committed to a vaccine passport system and the rest including the whole of the EU would follow. The satanic UK government will certainly go this way despite mendacious denials and at the time of writing it is trying to manipulate the public into having the 'vaccine' so they could go abroad on a summer holiday. How would that work without something to prove you had the synthetic toxicity injected into you?

Documents show that the EU's European Commission was moving towards 'vaccine certificates' in 2018 and 2019 before the 'Covid' hoax began. They knew what was coming. Abracadabra – Ursula von der Leyen, the German President of the Commission, announced in March, 2021, an EU 'Digital Green Certificate' – green again – to track the public's 'Covid status'. The passport sting is worldwide and the Far East followed the same pattern with South Korea ruling that only those with 'vaccination' passports – again the *green* pass – would be able to 'return to their daily lives'.

Bill Gates has been preparing for this 'passport' with other Cult operatives for years and beyond the paper version is a Gates-funded 'digital tattoo' to identify who has been vaccinated and who hasn't. The 'tattoo' is reported to include a substance which is externally readable to confirm who has been vaccinated. This is a bio-luminous light-generating enzyme (think fireflies) called ... *Luciferase*. Yes, named after the Cult 'god' Lucifer the 'light bringer' of whom more to come. Gates said he funded the readable tattoo to ensure children in the developing world were vaccinated and no one was missed out. He cares so much about poor kids as we know. This was just the cover story to develop a vaccine tagging system for everyone on the planet. Gates has been funding the ID2020 'alliance' to do just that in league with other lovely people at Microsoft, GAVI, the Rockefeller Foundation, Accenture and IDEO.org. He said in interviews in March, 2020, before any 'vaccine' publicly existed, that the world must have a globalised digital certificate to track the 'virus' and who had been vaccinated. Gates knew from the start that the mRNA vaccines were coming and when they would come and that the plan was to tag the 'vaccinated' to marginalise the intelligent and stop them doing anything including travel. Evil just doesn't suffice. Gates was exposed for offering a \$10 million bribe to the Nigerian House of Representatives to invoke compulsory 'Covid' vaccination of all Nigerians. Sara Cunial, a member of the Italian Parliament, called Gates a 'vaccine criminal'. She urged the Italian President to hand him over to the International Criminal Court for crimes against



humanity and condemned his plans to 'chip the human race' through ID2020.

You know it's a long-planned agenda when war criminal and Cult gofer Tony Blair is on the case. With the scale of arrogance only someone as dark as Blair can muster he said: 'Vaccination in the end is going to be your route to liberty.' Blair is a disgusting piece of work and he confirms that again. The media has given a lot of coverage to a bloke called Charlie Mullins, founder of London's biggest independent plumbing company, Pimlico Plumbers, who has said he won't employ anyone who has not been vaccinated or have them go to any home where people are not vaccinated. He said that if he had his way no one would be allowed to walk the streets if they have not been vaccinated. Gates was cheering at the time while I was alerting the white coats. The plan is that people will qualify for 'passports' for having the first two doses and then to keep it they will have to have all the follow ups and new ones for invented 'variants' until human genetics is transformed and many are dead who can't adjust to the changes. Hollywood celebrities – the usual propaganda stunt – are promoting something called the WELL Health-Safety Rating to verify that a building or space has 'taken the necessary steps to prioritize the health and safety of their staff, visitors and other stakeholders'. They included Lady Gaga, Jennifer Lopez, Michael B. Jordan, Robert DeNiro, Venus Williams, Wolfgang Puck, Deepak Chopra and 17th Surgeon General Richard Carmona. Yawn. WELL Health-Safety has big connections with China. Parent company Delos is headed by former Goldman Sachs partner Paul Scialla. This is another example – and we will see so many others – of using the excuse of 'health' to dictate the lives and activities of the population. I guess one confirmation of the 'safety' of buildings is that only 'vaccinated' people can go in, right?

## **Electronic concentration camps**

I wrote decades ago about the plans to restrict travel and here we are for those who refuse to bow to tyranny. This can be achieved in one go with air travel if the aviation industry makes a blanket decree.

The 'vaccine' and guaranteed income are designed to be part of a global version of China's social credit system which tracks behaviour 24/7 and awards or deletes 'credits' based on whether your behaviour is supported by the state or not. I mean your entire lifestyle – what you do, eat, say, everything. Once your credit score falls below a certain level consequences kick in. In China tens of millions have been denied travel by air and train because of this. All the locations and activities denied to refusers by the 'vaccine' passports will be included in one big mass ban on doing almost anything for those that don't bow their head to government. It's beyond fascist and a new term is required to describe its extremes – I guess fascist technocracy will have to do. The way the Chinese system of technological – technocratic – control is sweeping the West can be seen in the Los Angeles school system and is planned to be expanded worldwide. Every child is required to have a 'Covid'-tracking app scanned daily before they can enter the classroom. The so-called Daily Pass tracking system is produced by Gates' Microsoft which I'm sure will shock you rigid. The pass will be scanned using a barcode (one step from an inside-the-body barcode) and the information will include health checks, 'Covid' tests and vaccinations. Entry codes are for one specific building only and access will only be allowed if a student or teacher has a negative test with a test not testing for the 'virus', has no symptoms of anything alleged to be related to 'Covid' (symptoms from a range of other illness), and has a temperature under 100 degrees. No barcode, no entry, is planned to be the case for everywhere and not only schools.

Kids are being psychologically prepared to accept this as 'normal' their whole life which is why what they can impose in schools is so important to the Cult and its gofers. Long-time American freedom campaigner John Whitehead of the Rutherford Institute was not exaggerating when he said: 'Databit by databit, we are building our own electronic concentration camps.' Canada under its Cult gofer prime minister Justin Trudeau has taken a major step towards the real thing with people interned against their will if they test positive with a test not testing for the 'virus' when they arrive at a Canadian

airport. They are jailed in internment hotels often without food or water for long periods and with many doors failing to lock there have been sexual assaults. The interned are being charged sometimes \$2,000 for the privilege of being abused in this way. Trudeau is fully on board with the Cult and says the 'Covid pandemic' has provided an opportunity for a global 'reset' to permanently change Western civilisation. His number two, Deputy Prime Minister Chrystia Freeland, is a trustee of the World Economic Forum and a Rhodes Scholar. The Trudeau family have long been servants of the Cult. See *The Biggest Secret* and Cathy O'Brien's book *Trance-Formation of America* for the horrific background to Trudeau's father Pierre Trudeau another Canadian prime minister. Hide your fascism behind the façade of a heart-on-the-sleeve liberal. It's a well-honed Cult technique.

### **What can the 'vaccine' really do?**

We have a 'virus' never shown to exist and 'variants' of the 'virus' that have also never been shown to exist except, like the 'original', as computer-generated fictions. Even if you believe there's a 'virus' the 'case' to 'death' rate is in the region of 0.23 to 0.15 percent and those 'deaths' are concentrated among the very old around the same average age that people die anyway. In response to this lack of threat (in truth none) psychopaths and idiots, knowingly and unknowingly answering to Gates and the Cult, are seeking to 'vaccinate' every man, woman and child on Planet Earth. Clearly the 'vaccine' is not about 'Covid' – none of this ever has been. So what is it all about *really*? Why the desperation to infuse genetically-manipulating synthetic material into everyone through mRNA fraudulent 'vaccines' with the intent of doing this over and over with the excuses of 'variants' and other 'virus' inventions? Dr Sherri Tenpenny, an osteopathic medical doctor in the United States, has made herself an expert on vaccines and their effects as a vehement campaigner against their use. Tenpenny was board certified in emergency medicine, the director of a level two trauma centre for 12 years, and moved to Cleveland in 1996 to start an integrative

medicine practice which has treated patients from all 50 states and some 17 other countries. Weaning people off pharmaceutical drugs is a speciality.

She became interested in the consequences of vaccines after attending a meeting at the National Vaccine Information Center in Washington DC in 2000 where she 'sat through four days of listening to medical doctors and scientists and lawyers and parents of vaccine injured kids' and asked: 'What's going on?' She had never been vaccinated and never got ill while her father was given a list of vaccines to be in the military and was 'sick his entire life'. The experience added to her questions and she began to examine vaccine documents from the Centers for Disease Control (CDC). After reading the first one, the 1998 version of *The General Recommendations of Vaccination*, she thought: 'This is it?' The document was poorly written and bad science and Tenpenny began 20 years of research into vaccines that continues to this day. She began her research into 'Covid vaccines' in March, 2020, and she describes them as 'deadly'. For many, as we have seen, they already have been. Tenpenny said that in the first 30 days of the 'vaccine' rollout in the United States there had been more than 40,000 adverse events reported to the vaccine adverse event database. A document had been delivered to her the day before that was 172 pages long. 'We have over 40,000 adverse events; we have over 3,100 cases of [potentially deadly] anaphylactic shock; we have over 5,000 neurological reactions.' Effects ranged from headaches to numbness, dizziness and vertigo, to losing feeling in hands or feet and paraesthesia which is when limbs 'fall asleep' and people have the sensation of insects crawling underneath their skin. All this happened in the first 30 days and remember that only about *ten percent* (or far less) of adverse reactions and vaccine-related deaths are estimated to be officially reported. Tenpenny said:

So can you think of one single product in any industry, any industry, for as long as products have been made on the planet that within 30 days we have 40,000 people complaining of side effects that not only is still on the market but ... we've got paid actors telling us how great

they are for getting their vaccine. We're offering people \$500 if they will just get their vaccine and we've got nurses and doctors going; 'I got the vaccine, I got the vaccine'.

Tenpenny said they were not going to be 'happy dancing folks' when they began to suffer Bell's palsy (facial paralysis), neuropathies, cardiac arrhythmias and autoimmune reactions that kill through a blood disorder. 'They're not going to be so happy, happy then, but we're never going to see pictures of those people' she said. Tenpenny described the 'vaccine' as 'a well-designed killing tool'.

## **No off-switch**

Bad as the initial consequences had been Tenpenny said it would be maybe 14 months before we began to see the 'full ravage' of what is going to happen to the 'Covid vaccinated' with full-out consequences taking anything between two years and 20 years to show. You can understand why when you consider that variations of the 'Covid vaccine' use mRNA (messenger RNA) to in theory activate the immune system to produce protective antibodies without using the actual 'virus'. How can they when it's a computer program and they've never isolated what they claim is the 'real thing'? Instead they use *synthetic* mRNA. They are inoculating synthetic material into the body which through a technique known as the Trojan horse is absorbed into cells to change the nature of DNA. Human DNA is changed by an infusion of messenger RNA and with each new 'vaccine' of this type it is changed even more. Say so and you are banned by Cult Internet platforms. The contempt the contemptuous Mark Zuckerberg has for the truth and human health can be seen in an internal Facebook video leaked to the Project Veritas investigative team in which he said of the 'Covid vaccines': '... I share some caution on this because we just don't know the long term side-effects of basically modifying people's DNA and RNA.' At the same time this disgusting man's Facebook was censoring and banning anyone saying exactly the same. He must go before a Nuremberg trial for crimes against humanity when he *knows* that he

is censoring legitimate concerns and denying the right of informed consent on behalf of the Cult that owns him. People have been killed and damaged by the very 'vaccination' technique he cast doubt on himself when they may not have had the 'vaccine' with access to information that he denied them. The plan is to have at least annual 'Covid vaccinations', add others to deal with invented 'variants', and change all other vaccines into the mRNA system. Pfizer executives told shareholders at a virtual Barclays Global Healthcare Conference in March, 2021, that the public may need a third dose of 'Covid vaccine', plus regular yearly boosters and the company planned to hike prices to milk the profits in a 'significant opportunity for our vaccine'. These are the professional liars, cheats and opportunists who are telling you their 'vaccine' is safe. Given this volume of mRNA planned to be infused into the human body and its ability to then replicate we will have a transformation of human genetics from biological to synthetic biological – exactly the long-time Cult plan for reasons we'll see – and many will die. Sherri Tenpenny said of this replication:

It's like having an on-button but no off-button and that whole mechanism ... they actually give it a name and they call it the Trojan horse mechanism, because it allows that [synthetic] virus and that piece of that [synthetic] virus to get inside of your cells, start to replicate and even get inserted into other parts of your DNA as a Trojan-horse.

Ask the overwhelming majority of people who have the 'vaccine' what they know about the contents and what they do and they would reply: 'The government says it will stop me getting the virus.' Governments give that false impression on purpose to increase take-up. You can read Sherri Tenpenny's detailed analysis of the health consequences in her blog at [Vaxxter.com](https://www.vaxxter.com), but in summary these are some of them. She highlights the statement by Bill Gates about how human beings can become their own 'vaccine manufacturing machine'. The man is insane. ['Vaccine'-generated] 'antibodies' carry synthetic messenger RNA into the cells and the damage starts, Tenpenny contends, and she says that lungs can be adversely affected through varying degrees of pus and bleeding which

obviously affects breathing and would be dubbed 'Covid-19'. Even more sinister was the impact of 'antibodies' on macrophages, a white blood cell of the immune system. They consist of Type 1 and Type 2 which have very different functions. She said Type 1 are 'hyper-vigilant' white blood cells which 'gobble up' bacteria etc. However, in doing so, this could cause inflammation and in extreme circumstances be fatal. She says these affects are mitigated by Type 2 macrophages which kick in to calm down the system and stop it going rogue. They clear up dead tissue debris and reduce inflammation that the Type 1 'fire crews' have caused. Type 1 kills the infection and Type 2 heals the damage, she says. This is her punchline with regard to 'Covid vaccinations': She says that mRNA 'antibodies' block Type 2 macrophages by attaching to them and deactivating them. This meant that when the Type 1 response was triggered by infection there was nothing to stop that getting out of hand by calming everything down. There's an on-switch, but no off-switch, she says. What follows can be 'over and out, see you when I see you'.

## **Genetic suicide**

Tenpenny also highlights the potential for autoimmune disease – the body attacking itself – which has been associated with vaccines since they first appeared. Infusing a synthetic foreign substance into cells could cause the immune system to react in a panic believing that the body is being overwhelmed by an invader (it is) and the consequences can again be fatal. There is an autoimmune response known as a 'cytokine storm' which I have likened to a homeowner panicked by an intruder and picking up a gun to shoot randomly in all directions before turning the fire on himself. The immune system unleashes a storm of inflammatory response called cytokines to a threat and the body commits hara-kiri. The lesson is that you mess with the body's immune response at your peril and these 'vaccines' seriously – fundamentally – mess with immune response. Tenpenny refers to a consequence called anaphylactic shock which is a severe and highly dangerous allergic reaction when the immune system

floods the body with chemicals. She gives the example of having a bee sting which primes the immune system and makes it sensitive to those chemicals. When people are stung again maybe years later the immune response can be so powerful that it leads to anaphylactic shock. Tenpenny relates this 'shock' with regard to the 'Covid vaccine' to something called polyethylene glycol or PEG. Enormous numbers of people have become sensitive to this over decades of use in a whole range of products and processes including food, drink, skin creams and 'medicine'. Studies have claimed that some 72 percent of people have antibodies triggered by PEG compared with two percent in the 1960s and allergic hypersensitive reactions to this become a gathering cause for concern. Tenpenny points out that the 'mRNA vaccine' is coated in a 'bubble' of polyethylene glycol which has the potential to cause anaphylactic shock through immune sensitivity. Many reports have appeared of people reacting this way after having the 'Covid vaccine'. What do we think is going to happen as humanity has more and more of these 'vaccines'?

Tenpenny said: 'All these pictures we have seen with people with these rashes ... these weepy rashes, big reactions on their arms and things like that – it's an acute allergic reaction most likely to the polyethylene glycol that you've been previously primed and sensitised to.'

Those who have not studied the conspiracy and its perpetrators at length might think that making the population sensitive to PEG and then putting it in these 'vaccines' is just a coincidence. It is not. It is instead testament to how carefully and coldly-planned current events have been and the scale of the conspiracy we are dealing with. Tenpenny further explains that the 'vaccine' mRNA procedure can breach the blood-brain barrier which protects the brain from toxins and other crap that will cause malfunction. In this case they could make two proteins corrupt brain function to cause Amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), a progressive nervous system disease leading to loss of muscle control, and frontal lobe degeneration – Alzheimer's and dementia. Immunologist J. Bart Classon published a paper connecting mRNA 'vaccines' to prion



disease which can lead to Alzheimer's and other forms of neurodegenerative disease while others have pointed out the potential to affect the placenta in ways that make women infertile. This will become highly significant in the next chapter when I will discuss other aspects of this non-vaccine that relate to its nanotechnology and transmission from the injected to the uninjected.

## **Qualified in idiocy**

Tenpenny describes how research has confirmed that these 'vaccine'-generated antibodies can interact with a range of other tissues in the body and attack many other organs including the lungs. 'This means that if you have a hundred people standing in front of you that all got this shot they could have a hundred different symptoms.' Anyone really think that Cult gofers like the Queen, Tony Blair, Christopher Whitty, Anthony Fauci, and all the other psychopaths have really had this 'vaccine' in the pictures we've seen? Not a bloody chance. Why don't doctors all tell us about all these dangers and consequences of the 'Covid vaccine'? Why instead do they encourage and pressure patients to have the shot? Don't let's think for a moment that doctors and medical staff can't be stupid, lazy, and psychopathic and that's without the financial incentives to give the jab. Tenpenny again:

Some people are going to die from the vaccine directly but a large number of people are going to start to get horribly sick and get all kinds of autoimmune diseases 42 days to maybe a year out. What are they going to do, these stupid doctors who say; 'Good for you for getting that vaccine.' What are they going to say; 'Oh, it must be a mutant, we need to give an extra dose of that vaccine.'

Because now the vaccine, instead of one dose or two doses we need three or four because the stupid physicians aren't taking the time to learn anything about it. If I can learn this sitting in my living room reading a 19 page paper and several others so can they. There's nothing special about me, I just take the time to do it.

Remember how Sara Kayat, the NHS and TV doctor, said that the 'Covid vaccine' would '100 percent prevent hospitalisation and death'. Doctors can be idiots like every other profession and they

should not be worshipped as infallible. They are not and far from it. Behind many medical and scientific 'experts' lies an uninformed prat trying to hide themselves from you although in the 'Covid' era many have failed to do so as with UK narrative-repeating 'TV doctor' Hilary Jones. Pushing back against the minority of proper doctors and scientists speaking out against the 'vaccine' has been the entire edifice of the Cult global state in the form of governments, medical systems, corporations, mainstream media, Silicon Valley, and an army of compliant doctors, medical staff and scientists willing to say anything for money and to enhance their careers by promoting the party line. If you do that you are an 'expert' and if you won't you are an 'anti-vaxxer' and 'Covidiot'. The pressure to be 'vaccinated' is incessant. We have even had reports claiming that the 'vaccine' can help cure cancer and Alzheimer's and make the lame walk. I am waiting for the announcement that it can bring you coffee in the morning and cook your tea. Just as the symptoms of 'Covid' seem to increase by the week so have the miracles of the 'vaccine'. American supermarket giant Kroger Co. offered nearly 500,000 employees in 35 states a \$100 bonus for having the 'vaccine' while donut chain Krispy Kreme promised 'vaccinated' customers a free glazed donut every day for the rest of 2021. Have your DNA changed and you will get a doughnut although we might not have to give you them for long. Such offers and incentives confirm the desperation.

Perhaps the worse vaccine-stunt of them all was UK 'Health' Secretary Matt-the-prat Hancock on live TV after watching a clip of someone being 'vaccinated' when the roll-out began. Hancock faked tears so badly it was embarrassing. Brain-of-Britain Piers Morgan, the lockdown-supporting, 'vaccine' supporting, 'vaccine' passport-supporting, TV host played along with Hancock – 'You're quite emotional about that' he said in response to acting so atrocious it would have been called out at a school nativity which will presumably today include Mary and Jesus in masks, wise men keeping their camels six feet apart, and shepherds under tent arrest. System-serving Morgan tweeted this: 'Love the idea of covid vaccine passports for everywhere: flights, restaurants, clubs, football, gyms,

shops etc. It's time covid-denying, anti-vaxxer loonies had their bullsh\*t bluff called & bar themselves from going anywhere that responsible citizens go.' If only I could aspire to his genius. To think that Morgan, who specialises in shouting over anyone he disagrees with, was lauded as a free speech hero when he lost his job after storming off the set of his live show like a child throwing his dolly out of the pram. If he is a free speech hero we are in real trouble. I have no idea what 'bullsh\*t' means, by the way, the \* throws me completely.

The Cult is desperate to infuse its synthetic DNA-changing concoction into everyone and has been using every lie, trick and intimidation to do so. The question of '*Why?*' we shall now address.

## CHAPTER TEN

### Human 2.0

*I believe that at the end of the century the use of words and general educated opinion will have altered so much that one will be able to speak of machines thinking without expecting to be contradicted – Alan Turing (1912-1954), the ‘Father of artificial intelligence’*

I have been exposing for decades the plan to transform the human body from a biological to a synthetic-biological state. The new human that I will call Human 2.0 is planned to be connected to artificial intelligence and a global AI ‘Smart Grid’ that would operate as one global system in which AI would control everything from your fridge to your heating system to your car to your mind. Humans would no longer be ‘human’, but post-human and sub-human, with their thinking and emotional processes replaced by AI.

What I said sounded crazy and beyond science fiction and I could understand that. To any balanced, rational, mind it *is* crazy. Today, however, that world is becoming reality and it puts the ‘Covid vaccine’ into its true context. Ray Kurzweil is the ultra-Zionist ‘computer scientist, inventor and futurist’ and co-founder of the Singularity University. Singularity refers to the merging of humans with machines or ‘transhumanism’. Kurzweil has said humanity would be connected to the cyber ‘cloud’ in the period of the ever-recurring year of 2030:

Our thinking ... will be a hybrid of biological and non-biological thinking ... humans will be able to extend their limitations and ‘think in the cloud’ ... We’re going to put gateways to the

cloud in our brains ... We're going to gradually merge and enhance ourselves ... In my view, that's the nature of being human – we transcend our limitations. As the technology becomes vastly superior to what we are then the small proportion that is still human gets smaller and smaller and smaller until it's just utterly negligible.

They are trying to sell this end-of-humanity-as-we-know-it as the next stage of 'evolution' when we become super-human and 'like the gods'. They are lying to you. Shocked, eh? The population, and again especially the young, have been manipulated into addiction to technologies designed to enslave them for life. First they induced an addiction to smartphones (holdables); next they moved to technology on the body (wearables); and then began the invasion of the body (implantables). I warned way back about the plan for microchipped people and we are now entering that era. We should not be diverted into thinking that this refers only to chips we can see. Most important are the nanochips known as smart dust, neural dust and nanobots which are far too small to be seen by the human eye. Nanotechnology is everywhere, increasingly in food products, and released into the atmosphere by the geoengineering of the skies funded by Bill Gates to 'shut out the Sun' and 'save the planet from global warming'. Gates has been funding a project to spray millions of tonnes of chalk (calcium carbonate) into the stratosphere over Sweden to 'dim the Sun' and cool the Earth. Scientists warned the move could be disastrous for weather systems in ways no one can predict and opposition led to the Swedish space agency announcing that the 'experiment' would not be happening as planned in the summer of 2021; but it shows where the Cult is going with dimming the impact of the Sun and there's an associated plan to change the planet's atmosphere. Who gives psychopath Gates the right to dictate to the entire human race and dismantle planetary systems? The world will not be safe while this man is at large.

The global warming hoax has made the Sun, like the gas of life, something to fear when both are essential to good health and human survival (more inversion). The body transforms sunlight into vital vitamin D through a process involving ... *cholesterol*. This is the cholesterol we are also told to fear. We are urged to take Big Pharma

statin drugs to reduce cholesterol and it's all systematic. Reducing cholesterol means reducing vitamin D uptake with all the multiple health problems that will cause. At least if you take statins long term it saves the government from having to pay you a pension. The delivery system to block sunlight is widely referred to as chemtrails although these have a much deeper agenda, too. They appear at first to be contrails or condensation trails streaming from aircraft into cold air at high altitudes. Contrails disperse very quickly while chemtrails do not and spread out across the sky before eventually their content falls to earth. Many times I have watched aircraft cross-cross a clear blue sky releasing chemtrails until it looks like a cloudy day. Chemtrails contain many things harmful to humans and the natural world including toxic heavy metals, aluminium (see Alzheimer's) and nanotechnology. Ray Kurzweil reveals the reason without actually saying so: 'Nanobots will infuse all the matter around us with information. Rocks, trees, everything will become these intelligent creatures.' How do you deliver that? *From the sky*. Self-replicating nanobots would connect everything to the Smart Grid. The phenomenon of Morgellons disease began in the chemtrail era and the correlation has led to it being dubbed the 'chemtrail disease'. Self-replicating fibres appear in the body that can be pulled out through the skin. Morgellons fibres continue to grow outside the body and have a form of artificial intelligence. I cover this at greater length in *Phantom Self*.

### **'Vaccine' operating system**

'Covid vaccines' with their self-replicating synthetic material are also designed to make the connection between humanity and Kurzweil's 'cloud'. American doctor and dedicated campaigner for truth, Carrie Madej, an Internal Medicine Specialist in Georgia with more than 20 years medical experience, has highlighted the nanotechnology aspect of the fake 'vaccines'. She explains how one of the components in at least the Moderna and Pfizer synthetic potions are 'lipid nanoparticles' which are 'like little tiny computer bits' – a 'sci-fi substance' known as nanobots and hydrogel which can be 'triggered

at any moment to deliver its payload' and act as 'biosensors'. The synthetic substance had 'the ability to accumulate data from your body like your breathing, your respiration, thoughts and emotions, all kind of things' and each syringe could carry a *million* nanobots:

This substance because it's like little bits of computers in your body, crazy, but it's true, it can do that, [and] obviously has the ability to act through Wi-Fi. It can receive and transmit energy, messages, frequencies or impulses. That issue has never been addressed by these companies. What does that do to the human?

Just imagine getting this substance in you and it can react to things all around you, the 5G, your smart device, your phones, what is happening with that? What if something is triggering it, too, like an impulse, a frequency? We have something completely foreign in the human body.

Madej said her research revealed that electromagnetic (EMF) frequencies emitted by phones and other devices had increased dramatically in the same period of the 'vaccine' rollout and she was seeing more people with radiation problems as 5G and other electromagnetic technology was expanded and introduced to schools and hospitals. She said she was 'floored with the EMF coming off' the devices she checked. All this makes total sense and syncs with my own work of decades when you think that Moderna refers in documents to its mRNA 'vaccine' as an 'operating system':

Recognizing the broad potential of mRNA science, we set out to create an mRNA technology platform that functions very much like an operating system on a computer. It is designed so that it can plug and play interchangeably with different programs. In our case, the 'program' or 'app' is our mRNA drug – the unique mRNA sequence that codes for a protein ...

... Our MRNA Medicines – 'The 'Software Of Life': When we have a concept for a new mRNA medicine and begin research, fundamental components are already in place. Generally, the only thing that changes from one potential mRNA medicine to another is the coding region – the actual genetic code that instructs ribosomes to make protein. Utilizing these instruction sets gives our investigational mRNA medicines a software-like quality. We also have the ability to combine different mRNA sequences encoding for different proteins in a single mRNA investigational medicine.

Who needs a real 'virus' when you can create a computer version to justify infusing your operating system into the entire human race on the road to making living, breathing people into cyborgs? What is missed with the 'vaccines' is the *digital* connection between synthetic material and the body that I highlighted earlier with the study that hacked a computer with human DNA. On one level the body is digital, based on mathematical codes, and I'll have more about that in the next chapter. Those who ridiculously claim that mRNA 'vaccines' are not designed to change human genetics should explain the words of Dr Tal Zaks, chief medical officer at Moderna, in a 2017 TED talk. He said that over the last 30 years 'we've been living this phenomenal digital scientific revolution, and I'm here today to tell you, that we are actually *hacking the software of life*, and that it's changing the way we think about prevention and treatment of disease':

In every cell there's this thing called messenger RNA, or mRNA for short, that transmits the critical information from the DNA in our genes to the protein, which is really the stuff we're all made out of. This is the critical information that determines what the cell will do. So we think about it as an operating system. So if you could change that, if you could introduce a line of code, or change a line of code, it turns out, that has profound implications for everything, from the flu to cancer.

Zaks should more accurately have said that this has profound implications for the human genetic code and the nature of DNA. Communications within the body go both ways and not only one. But, hey, no, the 'Covid vaccine' will not affect your genetics. Cult fact-checkers say so even though the man who helped to develop the mRNA technique says that it does. Zaks said in 2017:

If you think about what it is we're trying to do. We've taken information and our understanding of that information and how that information is transmitted in a cell, and we've taken our understanding of medicine and how to make drugs, and we're fusing the two. We think of it as information therapy.

I have been writing for decades that the body is an information field communicating with itself and the wider world. This is why



radiation which is information can change the information field of body and mind through phenomena like 5G and change their nature and function. 'Information therapy' means to change the body's information field and change the way it operates. DNA is a receiver-transmitter of information and can be mutated by information like mRNA synthetic messaging. Technology to do this has been ready and waiting in the underground bases and other secret projects to be rolled out when the 'Covid' hoax was played. 'Trials' of such short and irrelevant duration were only for public consumption. When they say the 'vaccine' is 'experimental' that is not true. It may appear to be 'experimental' to those who don't know what's going on, but the trials have already been done to ensure the Cult gets the result it desires. Zaks said that it took decades to sequence the human genome, completed in 2003, but now they could do it in a week. By 'they' he means scientists operating in the public domain. In the secret projects they were sequencing the genome in a week long before even 2003.

## **Deluge of mRNA**

Highly significantly the Moderna document says the guiding premise is that if using mRNA as a medicine works for one disease then it should work for many diseases. They were leveraging the flexibility afforded by their platform and the fundamental role mRNA plays in protein synthesis to pursue mRNA medicines for a broad spectrum of diseases. Moderna is confirming what I was saying through 2020 that multiple 'vaccines' were planned for 'Covid' (and later invented 'variants') and that previous vaccines would be converted to the mRNA system to infuse the body with massive amounts of genetically-manipulating synthetic material to secure a transformation to a synthetic-biological state. The 'vaccines' are designed to kill stunning numbers as part of the long-exposed Cult depopulation agenda and transform the rest. Given this is the goal you can appreciate why there is such hysterical demand for every human to be 'vaccinated' for an alleged 'disease' that has an estimated 'infection' to 'death' ratio of 0.23-0.15 percent. As I write

children are being given the 'vaccine' in trials (their parents are a disgrace) and ever-younger people are being offered the vaccine for a 'virus' that even if you believe it exists has virtually zero chance of harming them. Horrific effects of the 'trials' on a 12-year-old girl were revealed by a family member to be serious brain and gastric problems that included a bowel obstruction and the inability to swallow liquids or solids. She was unable to eat or drink without throwing up, had extreme pain in her back, neck and abdomen, and was paralysed from the waist down which stopped her urinating unaided. When the girl was first taken to hospital doctors said it was all in her mind. She was signed up for the 'trial' by her parents for whom no words suffice. None of this 'Covid vaccine' insanity makes any sense unless you see what the 'vaccine' really is – a body-changer. Synthetic biology or 'SynBio' is a fast-emerging and expanding scientific discipline which includes everything from genetic and molecular engineering to electrical and computer engineering. Synthetic biology is defined in these ways:

- A multidisciplinary area of research that seeks to create new biological parts, devices, and systems, or to redesign systems that are already found in nature.
- The use of a mixture of physical engineering and genetic engineering to create new (and therefore synthetic) life forms.
- An emerging field of research that aims to combine the knowledge and methods of biology, engineering and related disciplines in the design of chemically-synthesized DNA to create organisms with novel or enhanced characteristics and traits (synthetic organisms including humans).

We now have synthetic blood, skin, organs and limbs being developed along with synthetic body parts produced by 3D printers. These are all elements of the synthetic human programme and this comment by Kurzweil's co-founder of the Singularity University,

Peter Diamandis, can be seen in a whole new light with the 'Covid' hoax and the sanctions against those that refuse the 'vaccine':

Anybody who is going to be resisting the progress forward [to transhumanism] is going to be resisting evolution and, fundamentally, they will die out. It's not a matter of whether it's good or bad. It's going to happen.

'Resisting evolution'? What absolute bollocks. The arrogance of these people is without limit. His 'it's going to happen' mantra is another way of saying 'resistance is futile' to break the spirit of those pushing back and we must not fall for it. Getting this genetically-transforming 'vaccine' into everyone is crucial to the Cult plan for total control and the desperation to achieve that is clear for anyone to see. Vaccine passports are a major factor in this and they, too, are a form of resistance is futile. It's NOT. The paper funded by the Rockefeller Foundation for the 2013 'health conference' in China said:

We will interact more with artificial intelligence. The use of robotics, bio-engineering to augment human functioning is already well underway and will advance. Re-engineering of humans into potentially separate and unequal forms through genetic engineering or mixed human-robots raises debates on ethics and equality.

A new demography is projected to emerge after 2030 [that year again] of technologies (robotics, genetic engineering, nanotechnology) producing robots, engineered organisms, 'nanobots' and artificial intelligence (AI) that can self-replicate. Debates will grow on the implications of an impending reality of human designed life.

What is happening today is so long planned. The world army enforcing the will of the world government is intended to be a robot army, not a human one. Today's military and its technologically 'enhanced' troops, pilotless planes and driverless vehicles are just stepping stones to that end. Human soldiers are used as Cult fodder and its time they woke up to that and worked for the freedom of the population instead of their own destruction and their family's destruction – the same with the police. Join us and let's sort this out. The phenomenon of enforce my own destruction is widespread in the 'Covid' era with Woker 'luvvies' in the acting and entertainment

industries supporting 'Covid' rules which have destroyed their profession and the same with those among the public who put signs on the doors of their businesses 'closed due to Covid – stay safe' when many will never reopen. It's a form of masochism and most certainly insanity.

## **Transgender = transhumanism**

When something explodes out of nowhere and is suddenly everywhere it is always the Cult agenda and so it is with the tidal wave of claims and demands that have infiltrated every aspect of society under the heading of 'transgenderism'. The term 'trans' is so 'in' and this is the dictionary definition:

A prefix meaning 'across', 'through', occurring ... in loanwords from Latin, used in particular for denoting movement or conveyance from place to place (transfer; transmit; transplant) or complete change (transform; transmute), or to form adjectives meaning 'crossing', 'on the other side of', or 'going beyond' the place named (transmontane; transnational; trans-Siberian).

Transgender means to go beyond gender and transhuman means to go beyond human. Both are aspects of the Cult plan to transform the human body to a synthetic state with *no gender*. Human 2.0 is not designed to procreate and would be produced technologically with no need for parents. The new human would mean the end of parents and so men, and increasingly women, are being targeted for the deletion of their rights and status. Parental rights are disappearing at an ever-quickenning speed for the same reason. The new human would have no need for men or women when there is no procreation and no gender. Perhaps the transgender movement that appears to be in a permanent state of frenzy might now contemplate on how it is being used. This was never about transgender rights which are only the interim excuse for confusing gender, particularly in the young, on the road to *fusing* gender. Transgender activism is not an end; it is a *means* to an end. We see again the technique of creative destruction in which you destroy the status quo to 'build back better' in the form that you want. The gender status quo had to be

destroyed by persuading the Cult-created Woke mentality to believe that you can have 100 genders or more. A programme for 9 to 12 year olds produced by the Cult-owned BBC promoted the 100 genders narrative. The very idea may be the most monumental nonsense, but it is not what is true that counts, only what you can make people *believe* is true. Once the gender of  $2 + 2 = 4$  has been dismantled through indoctrination, intimidation and  $2 + 2 = 5$  then the new no-gender normal can take its place with Human 2.0.

Aldous Huxley revealed the plan in his prophetic *Brave New World* in 1932:

Natural reproduction has been done away with and children are created, decanted', and raised in 'hatcheries and conditioning centres'. From birth, people are genetically designed to fit into one of five castes, which are further split into 'Plus' and 'Minus' members and designed to fulfil predetermined positions within the social and economic strata of the World State.

How could Huxley know this in 1932? For the same reason George Orwell knew about the Big Brother state in 1948, Cult insiders I have quoted knew about it in 1969, and I have known about it since the early 1990s. If you are connected to the Cult or you work your balls off to uncover the plan you can predict the future. The process is simple. If there is a plan for the world and nothing intervenes to stop it then it will happen. Thus if you communicate the plan ahead of time you are perceived to have predicted the future, but you haven't. You have revealed the plan which without intervention will become the human future. The whole reason I have done what I have is to alert enough people to inspire an intervention and maybe at last that time has come with the Cult and its intentions now so obvious to anyone with a brain in working order.

## **The future is here**

Technological wombs that Huxley described to replace parent procreation are already being developed and they are only the projects we know about in the public arena. Israeli scientists told *The Times of Israel* in March, 2021, that they have grown 250-cell embryos

into mouse foetuses with fully formed organs using artificial wombs in a development they say could pave the way for gestating humans outside the womb. Professor Jacob Hanna of the Weizmann Institute of Science said:

We took mouse embryos from the mother at day five of development, when they are just of 250 cells, and had them in the incubator from day five until day 11, by which point they had grown all their organs.

By day 11 they make their own blood and have a beating heart, a fully developed brain. Anybody would look at them and say, 'this is clearly a mouse foetus with all the characteristics of a mouse.' It's gone from being a ball of cells to being an advanced foetus.

A special liquid is used to nourish embryo cells in a laboratory dish and they float on the liquid to duplicate the first stage of embryonic development. The incubator creates all the right conditions for its development, Hanna said. The liquid gives the embryo 'all the nutrients, hormones and sugars they need' along with a custom-made electronic incubator which controls gas concentration, pressure and temperature. The cutting-edge in the underground bases and other secret locations will be light years ahead of that, however, and this was reported by the London *Guardian* in 2017:

We are approaching a biotechnological breakthrough. Ectogenesis, the invention of a complete external womb, could completely change the nature of human reproduction. In April this year, researchers at the Children's Hospital of Philadelphia announced their development of an artificial womb.

The article was headed 'Artificial wombs could soon be a reality. What will this mean for women?' What would it mean for children is an even bigger question. No mother to bond with only a machine in preparation for a life of soulless interaction and control in a world governed by machines (see the *Matrix* movies). Now observe the calculated manipulations of the 'Covid' hoax as human interaction and warmth has been curtailed by distancing, isolation and fear with people communicating via machines on a scale never seen before.

These are all dots in the same picture as are all the personal assistants, gadgets and children's toys through which kids and adults communicate with AI as if it is human. The AI 'voice' on Sat-Nav should be included. All these things are psychological preparation for the Cult endgame. Before you can make a physical connection with AI you have to make a psychological connection and that is what people are being conditioned to do with this ever gathering human-AI interaction. Movies and TV programmes depicting the transhuman, robot dystopia relate to a phenomenon known as 'pre-emptive programming' in which the world that is planned is portrayed everywhere in movies, TV and advertising. This is conditioning the conscious and subconscious mind to become familiar with the planned reality to dilute resistance when it happens for real. What would have been a shock such is the change is made less so. We have young children put on the road to transgender transition surgery with puberty blocking drugs at an age when they could never be able to make those life-changing decisions.

Rachel Levine, a professor of paediatrics and psychiatry who believes in treating children this way, became America's highest-ranked openly-transgender official when she was confirmed as US Assistant Secretary at the Department of Health and Human Services after being nominated by Joe Biden (the Cult). Activists and governments press for laws to deny parents a say in their children's transition process so the kids can be isolated and manipulated into agreeing to irreversible medical procedures. A Canadian father Robert Hoogland was denied bail by the Vancouver Supreme Court in 2021 and remained in jail for breaching a court order that he stay silent over his young teenage daughter, a minor, who was being offered life-changing hormone therapy without parental consent. At the age of 12 the girl's 'school counsellor' said she may be transgender, referred her to a doctor and told the school to treat her like a boy. This is another example of state-serving schools imposing ever more control over children's lives while parents have ever less.

Contemptible and extreme child abuse is happening all over the world as the Cult gender-fusion operation goes into warp-speed.

### **Why the war on men – and now women?**

The question about what artificial wombs mean for women should rightly be asked. The answer can be seen in the deletion of women's rights involving sport, changing rooms, toilets and status in favour of people in male bodies claiming to identify as women. I can identify as a mountain climber, but it doesn't mean I can climb a mountain any more than a biological man can be a biological woman. To believe so is a triumph of belief over factual reality which is the very perceptual basis of everything Woke. Women's sport is being destroyed by allowing those with male bodies who say they identify as female to 'compete' with girls and women. Male body 'women' dominate 'women's' competition with their greater muscle mass, bone density, strength and speed. With that disadvantage sport for women loses all meaning. To put this in perspective nearly 300 American high school boys can run faster than the quickest woman sprinter in the world. Women are seeing their previously protected spaces invaded by male bodies simply because they claim to identify as women. That's all they need to do to access all women's spaces and activities under the Biden 'Equality Act' that destroys equality for women with the usual Orwellian Woke inversion. Male sex offenders have already committed rapes in women's prisons after claiming to identify as women to get them transferred. Does this not matter to the Woke 'equality' hypocrites? Not in the least. What matters to Cult manipulators and funders behind transgender activists is to advance gender fusion on the way to the no-gender 'human'. When you are seeking to impose transparent nonsense like this, or the 'Covid' hoax, the only way the nonsense can prevail is through censorship and intimidation of dissenters, deletion of factual information, and programming of the unquestioning, bewildered and naive. You don't have to scan the world for long to see that all these things are happening.



Many women's rights organisations have realised that rights and status which took such a long time to secure are being eroded and that it is systematic. Kara Dansky of the global Women's Human Rights Campaign said that Biden's transgender executive order immediately he took office, subsequent orders, and Equality Act legislation that followed 'seek to erase women and girls in the law as a category'. *Exactly*. I said during the long ago-started war on men (in which many women play a crucial part) that this was going to turn into a war on them. The Cult is phasing out *both* male and female genders. To get away with that they are brought into conflict so they are busy fighting each other while the Cult completes the job with no unity of response. Unity, people, *unity*. We need unity everywhere. Transgender is the only show in town as the big step towards the no-gender human. It's not about rights for transgender people and never has been. Woke political correctness is deleting words relating to genders to the same end. Wokers believe this is to be 'inclusive' when the opposite is true. They are deleting words describing gender because gender *itself* is being deleted by Human 2.0. Terms like 'man', 'woman', 'mother' and 'father' are being deleted in the universities and other institutions to be replaced by the *no-gender*, not trans-gender, 'individuals' and 'guardians'. Women's rights campaigner Maria Keffler of Partners for Ethical Care said: 'Children are being taught from kindergarten upward that some boys have a vagina, some girls have a penis, and that kids can be any gender they want to be.' Do we really believe that suddenly countries all over the world at the same time had the idea of having drag queens go into schools or read transgender stories to very young children in the local library? It's coldly-calculated confusion of gender on the way to the fusion of gender. Suzanne Vierling, a psychologist from Southern California, made another important point:

Yesterday's slave woman who endured gynecological medical experiments is today's girl-child being butchered in a booming gender-transitioning sector. Ovaries removed, pushing her into menopause and osteoporosis, uncharted territory, and parents' rights and authority decimated.

The erosion of parental rights is a common theme in line with the Cult plans to erase the very concept of parents and 'ovaries removed, pushing her into menopause' means what? Those born female lose the ability to have children – another way to discontinue humanity as we know it.

### **Eliminating Human 1.0 (before our very eyes)**

To pave the way for Human 2.0 you must phase out Human 1.0. This is happening through plummeting sperm counts and making women infertile through an onslaught of chemicals, radiation (including smartphones in pockets of men) and mRNA 'vaccines'. Common agriculture pesticides are also having a devastating impact on human fertility. I have been tracking collapsing sperm counts in the books for a long time and in 2021 came a book by fertility scientist and reproductive epidemiologist Shanna Swan, *Count Down: How Our Modern World Is Threatening Sperm Counts, Altering Male and Female Reproductive Development and Imperiling the Future of the Human Race*. She reports how the global fertility rate dropped by *half* between 1960 and 2016 with America's birth rate 16 percent below where it needs to be to sustain the population. Women are experiencing declining egg quality, more miscarriages, and more couples suffer from infertility. Other findings were an increase in erectile dysfunction, infant boys developing more genital abnormalities, male problems with conception, and plunging levels of the male hormone testosterone which would explain why so many men have lost their backbone and masculinity. This has been very evident during the 'Covid' hoax when women have been prominent among the Pushbackers and big strapping blokes have bowed their heads, covered their faces with a nappy and quietly submitted. Mind control expert Cathy O'Brien also points to how global education introduced the concept of 'we're all winners' in sport and classrooms: 'Competition was defused, and it in turn defused a sense of fighting back.' This is another version of the 'equity' doctrine in which you drive down rather than raise up. What a contrast in Cult-controlled China with its global ambitions

where the government published plans in January, 2021, to 'cultivate masculinity' in boys from kindergarten through to high school in the face of a 'masculinity crisis'. A government adviser said boys would be soon become 'delicate, timid and effeminate' unless action was taken. Don't expect any similar policy in the targeted West. A 2006 study showed that a 65-year-old man in 2002 had testosterone levels *15 percent* lower than a 65-year-old man in 1987 while a 2020 study found a similar story with young adults and adolescents. Men are getting prescriptions for testosterone replacement therapy which causes an even greater drop in sperm count with up to 99 percent seeing sperm counts drop to zero during the treatment. More sperm is defective and malfunctioning with some having two heads or not pursuing an egg.

A class of *synthetic* chemicals known as phthalates are being blamed for the decline. These are found everywhere in plastics, shampoos, cosmetics, furniture, flame retardants, personal care products, pesticides, canned foods and even receipts. Why till receipts? Everyone touches them. Let no one delude themselves that all this is not systematic to advance the long-time agenda for human body transformation. Phthalates mimic hormones and disrupt the hormone balance causing testosterone to fall and genital birth defects in male infants. Animals and fish have been affected in the same way due to phthalates and other toxins in rivers. When fish turn gay or change sex through chemicals in rivers and streams it is a pointer to why there has been such an increase in gay people and the sexually confused. It doesn't matter to me what sexuality people choose to be, but if it's being affected by chemical pollution and consumption then we need to know. Does anyone really think that this is not connected to the transgender agenda, the war on men and the condemnation of male 'toxic masculinity'? You watch this being followed by 'toxic femininity'. It's already happening. When breastfeeding becomes 'chest-feeding', pregnant women become pregnant people along with all the other Woke claptrap you know that the world is going insane and there's a Cult scam in progress. Transgender activists are promoting the Cult agenda while Cult

billionaires support and fund the insanity as they laugh themselves to sleep at the sheer stupidity for which humans must be infamous in galaxies far, far away.

### **'Covid vaccines' and female infertility**

We can now see why the 'vaccine' has been connected to potential infertility in women. Dr Michael Yeadon, former Vice President and Chief Scientific Advisor at Pfizer, and Dr Wolfgang Wodarg in Germany, filed a petition with the European Medicines Agency in December, 2020, urging them to stop trials for the Pfizer/BioNTech shot and all other mRNA trials until further studies had been done. They were particularly concerned about possible effects on fertility with 'vaccine'-produced antibodies attacking the protein Syncytin-1 which is responsible for developing the placenta. The result would be infertility 'of indefinite duration' in women who have the 'vaccine' with the placenta failing to form. Section 10.4.2 of the Pfizer/BioNTech trial protocol says that pregnant women or those who might become so should not have mRNA shots. Section 10.4 warns men taking mRNA shots to 'be abstinent from heterosexual intercourse' and not to donate sperm. The UK government said that it *did not know* if the mRNA procedure had an effect on fertility. *Did not know?* These people have to go to jail. UK government advice did not recommend at the start that pregnant women had the shot and said they should avoid pregnancy for at least two months after 'vaccination'. The 'advice' was later updated to pregnant women should only have the 'vaccine' if the benefits outweighed the risks to mother and foetus. What the hell is that supposed to mean? Then 'spontaneous abortions' began to appear and rapidly increase on the adverse reaction reporting schemes which include only a fraction of adverse reactions. Thousands and ever-growing numbers of 'vaccinated' women are describing changes to their menstrual cycle with heavier blood flow, irregular periods and menstruating again after going through the menopause – all links to reproduction effects. Women are passing blood clots and the lining of their uterus while men report erectile dysfunction and blood effects. Most

significantly of all *unvaccinated* women began to report similar menstrual changes after interaction with '*vaccinated*' people and men and children were also affected with bleeding noses, blood clots and other conditions. 'Shedding' is when vaccinated people can emit the content of a vaccine to affect the unvaccinated, but this is different. 'Vaccinated' people were not shedding a 'live virus' allegedly in 'vaccines' as before because the fake 'Covid vaccines' involve synthetic material and other toxicity. Doctors exposing what is happening prefer the term 'transmission' to shedding. Somehow those that have had the shots are transmitting effects to those that haven't. Dr Carrie Madej said the nano-content of the 'vaccines' can 'act like an antenna' to others around them which fits perfectly with my own conclusions. This 'vaccine' transmission phenomenon was becoming known as the book went into production and I deal with this further in the Postscript.

Vaccine effects on sterility are well known. The World Health Organization was accused in 2014 of sterilising millions of women in Kenya with the evidence confirmed by the content of the vaccines involved. The same WHO behind the 'Covid' hoax admitted its involvement for more than ten years with the vaccine programme. Other countries made similar claims. Charges were lodged by Tanzania, Nicaragua, Mexico, and the Philippines. The Gardasil vaccine claimed to protect against a genital 'virus' known as HPV has also been linked to infertility. Big Pharma and the WHO (same thing) are criminal and satanic entities. Then there's the Bill Gates Foundation which is connected through funding and shared interests with 20 pharmaceutical giants and laboratories. He stands accused of directing the policy of United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), vaccine alliance GAVI, and other groupings, to advance the vaccine agenda and silence opposition at great cost to women and children. At the same time Gates wants to reduce the global population. Coincidence?

**Great Reset = Smart Grid = new human**

The Cult agenda I have been exposing for 30 years is now being openly promoted by Cult assets like Gates and Klaus Schwab of the World Economic Forum under code-terms like the 'Great Reset', 'Build Back Better' and 'a rare but narrow window of opportunity to reflect, reimagine, and reset our world'. What provided this 'rare but narrow window of opportunity'? The 'Covid' hoax did. Who created that? *They* did. My books from not that long ago warned about the planned 'Internet of Things' (IoT) and its implications for human freedom. This was the plan to connect all technology to the Internet and artificial intelligence and today we are way down that road with an estimated 36 billion devices connected to the World Wide Web and that figure is projected to be 76 billion by 2025. I further warned that the Cult planned to go beyond that to the Internet of *Everything* when the human brain was connected via AI to the Internet and Kurzweil's 'cloud'. Now we have Cult operatives like Schwab calling for precisely that under the term 'Internet of Bodies', a fusion of the physical, digital and biological into one centrally-controlled Smart Grid system which the Cult refers to as the 'Fourth Industrial Revolution'. They talk about the 'biological', but they really mean the synthetic-biological which is required to fully integrate the human body and brain into the Smart Grid and artificial intelligence planned to replace the human mind. We have everything being synthetically manipulated including the natural world through GMO and smart dust, the food we eat and the human body itself with synthetic 'vaccines'. I said in *The Answer* that we would see the Cult push for synthetic meat to replace animals and in February, 2021, the so predictable psychopath Bill Gates called for the introduction of synthetic meat to save us all from 'climate change'. The climate hoax just keeps on giving like the 'Covid' hoax. The war on meat by vegan activists is a carbon (oops, sorry) copy of the manipulation of transgender activists. They have no idea (except their inner core) that they are being used to promote and impose the agenda of the Cult or that they are only the *vehicle* and not the *reason*. This is not to say those who choose not to eat meat shouldn't be respected and supported in that right, but there are ulterior motives

for those in power. A *Forbes* article in December, 2019, highlighted the plan so beloved of Schwab and the Cult under the heading: 'What Is The Internet of Bodies? And How Is It Changing Our World?' The article said the human body is the latest data platform (remember 'our vaccine is an operating system'). *Forbes* described the plan very accurately and the words could have come straight out of my books from long before:

The Internet of Bodies (IoB) is an extension of the IoT and basically connects the human body to a network through devices that are ingested, implanted, or connected to the body in some way. Once connected, data can be exchanged, and the body and device can be remotely monitored and controlled.

They were really describing a human hive mind with human perception centrally-dictated via an AI connection as well as allowing people to be 'remotely monitored and controlled'. Everything from a fridge to a human mind could be directed from a central point by these insane psychopaths and 'Covid vaccines' are crucial to this. *Forbes* explained the process I mentioned earlier of holdable and wearable technology followed by implantable. The article said there were three generations of the Internet of Bodies that include:

- Body external: These are wearable devices such as Apple Watches or Fitbits that can monitor our health.
- Body internal: These include pacemakers, cochlear implants, and digital pills that go inside our bodies to monitor or control various aspects of health.
- Body embedded: The third generation of the Internet of Bodies is embedded technology where technology and the human body are melded together and have a real-time connection to a remote machine.

*Forbes* noted the development of the Brain Computer Interface (BCI) which merges the brain with an external device for monitoring and controlling in real-time. 'The ultimate goal is to help restore function to individuals with disabilities by using brain signals rather than conventional neuromuscular pathways.' Oh, do fuck off. The goal of brain interface technology is controlling human thought and emotion from the central point in a hive mind serving its masters wishes. Many people are now agreeing to be chipped to open doors without a key. You can recognise them because they'll be wearing a mask, social distancing and lining up for the 'vaccine'. The Cult plans a Great Reset money system after they have completed the demolition of the global economy in which 'money' will be exchanged through communication with body operating systems. Rand Corporation, a Cult-owned think tank, said of the Internet of Bodies or IoB:

Internet of Bodies technologies fall under the broader IoT umbrella. But as the name suggests, IoB devices introduce an even more intimate interplay between humans and gadgets. IoB devices monitor the human body, collect health metrics and other personal information, and transmit those data over the Internet. Many devices, such as fitness trackers, are already in use ... IoB devices ... and those in development can track, record, and store users' whereabouts, bodily functions, and what they see, hear, and even think.

Schwab's World Economic Forum, a long-winded way of saying 'fascism' or 'the Cult', has gone full-on with the Internet of Bodies in the 'Covid' era. 'We're entering the era of the Internet of Bodies', it declared, 'collecting our physical data via a range of devices that can be implanted, swallowed or worn'. The result would be a huge amount of health-related data that could improve human wellbeing around the world, and prove crucial in fighting the 'Covid-19 pandemic'. Does anyone think these clowns care about 'human wellbeing' after the death and devastation their pandemic hoax has purposely caused? Schwab and co say we should move forward with the Internet of Bodies because 'Keeping track of symptoms could help us stop the spread of infection, and quickly detect new cases'. How wonderful, but keeping track' is all they are really bothered



about. Researchers were investigating if data gathered from smartwatches and similar devices could be used as viral infection alerts by tracking the user's heart rate and breathing. Schwab said in his 2018 book *Shaping the Future of the Fourth Industrial Revolution*:

The lines between technologies and beings are becoming blurred and not just by the ability to create lifelike robots or synthetics. Instead it is about the ability of new technologies to literally become part of us. Technologies already influence how we understand ourselves, how we think about each other, and how we determine our realities. As the technologies ... give us deeper access to parts of ourselves, we may begin to integrate digital technologies into our bodies.

You can see what the game is. Twenty-four hour control and people – if you could still call them that – would never know when something would go ping and take them out of circulation. It's the most obvious rush to a global fascist dictatorship and the complete submission of humanity and yet still so many are locked away in their Cult-induced perceptual coma and can't see it.

### **Smart Grid control centres**

The human body is being transformed by the 'vaccines' and in other ways into a synthetic cyborg that can be attached to the global Smart Grid which would be controlled from a central point and other sub-locations of Grid manipulation. Where are these planned to be? Well, China for a start which is one of the Cult's biggest centres of operation. The technological control system and technocratic rule was incubated here to be unleashed across the world after the 'Covid' hoax came out of China in 2020. Another Smart Grid location that will surprise people new to this is Israel. I have exposed in *The Trigger* how Sabbatian technocrats, intelligence and military operatives were behind the horrors of 9/11 and not 19 Arab hijackers' who somehow manifested the ability to pilot big passenger airliners when instructors at puddle-jumping flying schools described some of them as a joke. The 9/11 attacks were made possible through control of civilian and military air computer systems and those of the White House, Pentagon and connected agencies. See *The Trigger* – it

will blow your mind. The controlling and coordinating force were the Sabbatian networks in Israel and the United States which by then had infiltrated the entire US government, military and intelligence system. The real name of the American Deep State is 'Sabbatian State'. Israel is a tiny country of only nine million people, but it is one of the global centres of cyber operations and fast catching Silicon Valley in importance to the Cult. Israel is known as the 'start-up nation' for all the cyber companies spawned there with the Sabbatian specialisation of 'cyber security' that I mentioned earlier which gives those companies access to computer systems of their clients in real time through 'backdoors' written into the coding when security software is downloaded. The Sabbatian centre of cyber operations outside Silicon Valley is the Israeli military Cyber Intelligence Unit, the biggest infrastructure project in Israel's history, headquartered in the desert-city of Beersheba and involving some 20,000 'cyber soldiers'. Here are located a literal army of Internet trolls scanning social media, forums and comment lists for anyone challenging the Cult agenda. The UK military has something similar with its 77th Brigade and associated operations. The Beersheba complex includes research and development centres for other Cult operations such as Intel, Microsoft, IBM, Google, Apple, Hewlett-Packard, Cisco Systems, Facebook and Motorola. [Techcrunch.com](http://Techcrunch.com) ran an article about the Beersheba global Internet technology centre headlined 'Israel's desert city of Beersheba is turning into a cybertech oasis':

The military's massive relocation of its prestigious technology units, the presence of multinational and local companies, a close proximity to Ben Gurion University and generous government subsidies are turning Beersheba into a major global cybertech hub. Beersheba has all of the ingredients of a vibrant security technology ecosystem, including Ben Gurion University with its graduate program in cybersecurity and Cyber Security Research Center, and the presence of companies such as EMC, Deutsche Telekom, PayPal, Oracle, IBM, and Lockheed Martin. It's also the future home of the INCB (Israeli National Cyber Bureau); offers a special income tax incentive for cyber security companies, and was the site for the relocation of the army's intelligence corps units.

Sabbatians have taken over the cyber world through the following process: They scan the schools for likely cyber talent and develop them at Ben Gurion University and their period of conscription in the Israeli Defense Forces when they are stationed at the Beersheba complex. When the cyber talented officially leave the army they are funded to start cyber companies with technology developed by themselves or given to them by the state. Much of this is stolen through backdoors of computer systems around the world with America top of the list. Others are sent off to Silicon Valley to start companies or join the major ones and so we have many major positions filled by apparently 'Jewish' but really Sabbatian operatives. Google, YouTube and Facebook are all run by 'Jewish' CEOs while Twitter is all but run by ultra-Zionist hedge-fund shark Paul Singer. At the centre of the Sabbatian global cyber web is the Israeli army's Unit 8200 which specialises in hacking into computer systems of other countries, inserting viruses, gathering information, instigating malfunction, and even taking control of them from a distance. A long list of Sabbatians involved with 9/11, Silicon Valley and Israeli cyber security companies are operatives of Unit 8200. This is not about Israel. It's about the Cult. Israel is planned to be a Smart Grid hub as with China and what is happening at Beersheba is not for the benefit of Jewish people who are treated disgustingly by the Sabbatian elite that control the country. A glance at the Nuremberg Codes will tell you that.

The story is much bigger than 'Covid', important as that is to where we are being taken. Now, though, it's time to really strap in. There's more ... much more ...

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

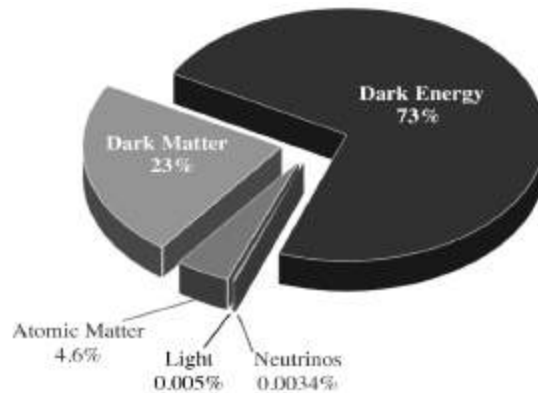
### Who controls the Cult?

*Awake, arise or be forever fall'n*  
John Milton, *Paradise Lost*

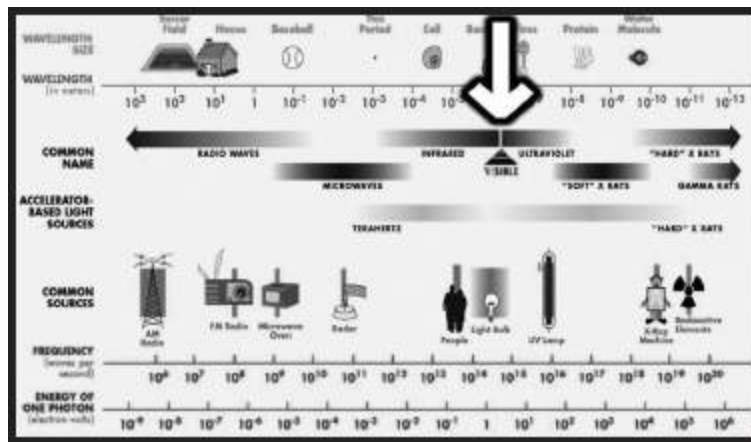
I have exposed this far the level of the Cult conspiracy that operates in the world of the seen and within the global secret society and satanic network which operates in the shadows one step back from the seen. The story, however, goes much deeper than that.

The 'Covid' hoax is major part of the Cult agenda, but only part, and to grasp the biggest picture we have to expand our attention beyond the realm of human sight and into the infinity of possibility that we cannot see. It is from here, ultimately, that humanity is being manipulated into a state of total control by the force which dictates the actions of the Cult. How much of reality can we see? Next to damn all is the answer. We may appear to see all there is to see in the 'space' our eyes survey and observe, but little could be further from the truth. The human 'world' is only a tiny band of frequency that the body's visual and perceptual systems can decode into *perception* of a 'world'. According to mainstream science the electromagnetic spectrum is 0.005 percent of what exists in the Universe (Fig 10). The maximum estimate I have seen is 0.5 percent and either way it's miniscule. I say it is far, far, smaller even than 0.005 percent when you compare reality we see with the totality of reality that we don't. Now get this if you are new to such information: Visible light, the only band of frequency that we can see, is a *fraction* of the 0.005

percent (Fig 11 overleaf). Take this further and realise that our universe is one of infinite universes and that universes are only a fragment of overall reality – *infinite* reality. Then compare that with the almost infinitesimal frequency band of visible light or human sight. You see that humans are as near blind as it is possible to be without actually being so. Artist and filmmaker, Sergio Toporek, said:



**Figure 10:** Humans can perceive such a tiny band of visual reality it's laughable.



**Figure 11:** We can see a smear of the 0.005 percent electromagnetic spectrum, but we still know it all. Yep, makes sense.

Consider that you can see less than 1% of the electromagnetic spectrum and hear less than 1% of the acoustic spectrum. 90% of the cells in your body carry their own microbial DNA and are not 'you'. The atoms in your body are 99.9999999999999999% empty space and none of them are the ones you were born with ... Human beings have 46 chromosomes, two less than a potato.

The existence of the rainbow depends on the conical photoreceptors in your eyes; to animals without cones, the rainbow does not exist. So you don't just look at a rainbow, you create it. This is pretty amazing, especially considering that all the beautiful colours you see represent less than 1% of the electromagnetic spectrum.

Suddenly the 'world' of humans looks a very different place. Take into account, too, that Planet Earth when compared with the projected size of this single universe is the equivalent of a billionth of a pinhead. Imagine the ratio that would be when compared to infinite reality. To think that Christianity once insisted that Earth and humanity were the centre of everything. This background is vital if we are going to appreciate the nature of 'human' and how we can be manipulated by an unseen force. To human visual reality virtually *everything* is unseen and yet the prevailing perception within the institutions and so much of the public is that if we can't see it, touch it, hear it, taste it and smell it then it cannot exist. Such perception is indoctrinated and encouraged by the Cult and its agents because it isolates believers in the strictly limited, village-idiot, realm of the five senses where perceptions can be firewalled and information controlled. Most of those perpetuating the 'this-world-is-all-there-is' insanity are themselves indoctrinated into believing the same delusion. While major players and influencers know that official reality is laughable most of those in science, academia and medicine really believe the nonsense they peddle and teach succeeding generations. Those who challenge the orthodoxy are dismissed as nutters and freaks to protect the manufactured illusion from exposure. Observe the dynamic of the 'Covid' hoax and you will see how that takes the same form. The inner-circle psychopaths knows it's a gigantic scam, but almost the entirety of those imposing their fascist rules believe that 'Covid' is all that they're told it is.

## **Stolen identity**

Ask people who they are and they will give you their name, place of birth, location, job, family background and life story. Yet that is not who they are – it is what they are *experiencing*. The difference is *absolutely crucial*. The true 'I', the eternal, infinite 'I', is consciousness,

a state of being aware. Forget 'form'. That is a vehicle for a brief experience. Consciousness does not come *from* the brain, but *through* the brain and even that is more symbolic than literal. We are awareness, pure awareness, and this is what withdraws from the body at what we call 'death' to continue our eternal beingness, *isness*, in other realms of reality within the limitlessness of infinity or the Biblical 'many mansions in my father's house'. Labels of a human life, man, woman, transgender, black, white, brown, nationality, circumstances and income are not who we are. They are what we are – awareness – is *experiencing* in a brief connection with a band of frequency we call 'human'. The labels are not the self; they are, to use the title of one of my books, a *Phantom Self*. I am not David Icke born in Leicester, England, on April 29th, 1952. I am the consciousness *having that experience*. The Cult and its non-human masters seek to convince us through the institutions of 'education', science, medicine, media and government that what we are *experiencing* is who we *are*. It's so easy to control and direct perception locked away in the bewildered illusions of the five senses with no expanded radar. Try, by contrast, doing the same with a humanity aware of its true self and its true power to consciously create its reality and experience. How is it possible to do this? We do it all day every day. If you perceive yourself as 'little me' with no power to impact upon your life and the world then your life experience will reflect that. You will hand the power you don't think you have to authority in all its forms which will use it to control your experience. This, in turn, will appear to confirm your perception of 'little me' in a self-fulfilling feedback loop. But that is what 'little me' really is – a *perception*. We are all 'big-me', infinite me, and the Cult has to make us forget that if its will is to prevail. We are therefore manipulated and pressured into self-identifying with human labels and not the consciousness/awareness *experiencing* those human labels.

The phenomenon of identity politics is a Cult-instigated manipulation technique to sub-divide previous labels into even smaller ones. A United States university employs this list of letters to

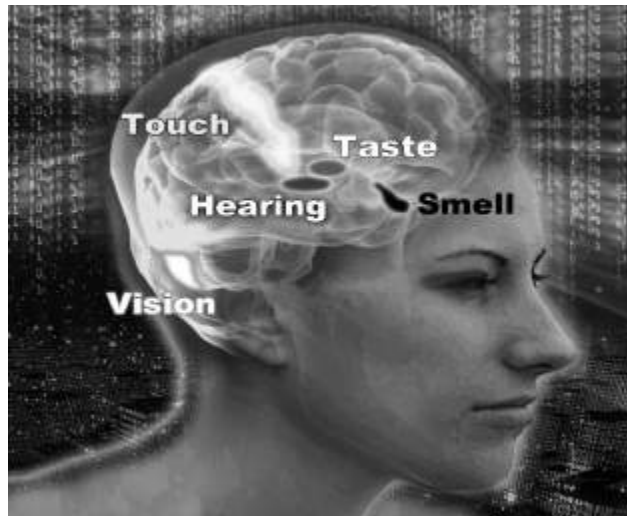
describe student identity: LGBTTQQFAGPBDSM or lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, questioning, flexual, asexual, gender-fuck, polyamorous, bondage/discipline, dominance/submission and sadism/masochism. I'm sure other lists are even longer by now as people feel the need to self-identity the 'I' with the minutiae of race and sexual preference. Wokers programmed by the Cult for generations believe this is about 'inclusivity' when it's really the Cult locking them away into smaller and smaller versions of Phantom Self while firewalling them from the influence of their true self, the infinite, eternal 'I'. You may notice that my philosophy which contends that we are all unique points of attention/awareness within the same infinite whole or Oneness is the ultimate non-racism. The very sense of Oneness makes the judgement of people by their body-type, colour or sexuality utterly ridiculous and confirms that racism has no understanding of reality (including anti-white racism). Yet despite my perception of life Cult agents and fast-asleep Wokers label me racist to discredit my information while they are themselves phenomenally racist and sexist. All they see is race and sexuality and they judge people as good or bad, demons or untouchables, by their race and sexuality. All they see is *Phantom Self* and perceive themselves in terms of Phantom Self. They are pawns and puppets of the Cult agenda to focus attention and self-identity in the five senses and play those identities against each other to divide and rule. Columbia University has introduced segregated graduations in another version of social distancing designed to drive people apart and teach them that different racial and cultural groups have nothing in common with each other. The last thing the Cult wants is unity. Again the pump-primers of this will be Cult operatives in the knowledge of what they are doing, but the rest are just the Phantom Self blind leading the Phantom Self blind. We *do* have something in common – we are all *the same consciousness* having different temporary experiences.

## **What is this 'human'?**



Yes, what *is* 'human'? That is what we are supposed to be, right? I mean 'human'? True, but 'human' is the experience not the 'I'. Break it down to basics and 'human' is the way that information is processed. If we are to experience and interact with this band of frequency we call the 'world' we must have a vehicle that operates within that band of frequency. Our consciousness in its prime form cannot do that; it is way beyond the frequency of the human realm. My consciousness or awareness could not tap these keys and pick up the cup in front of me in the same way that radio station A cannot interact with radio station B when they are on different frequencies. The human body is the means through which we have that interaction. I have long described the body as a biological computer which processes information in a way that allows consciousness to experience this reality. The body is a receiver, transmitter and processor of information in a particular way that we call human. We visually perceive only the world of the five senses in a wakened state – that is the limit of the body's visual decoding system. In truth it's not even visual in the way we experience 'visual reality' as I will come to in a moment. We are 'human' because the body processes the information sources of human into a reality and behaviour system that we *perceive* as human. Why does an elephant act like an elephant and not like a human or a duck? The elephant's biological computer is a different information field and processes information according to that program into a visual and behaviour type we call an elephant. The same applies to everything in our reality. These body information fields are perpetuated through procreation (like making a copy of a software program). The Cult wants to break that cycle and intervene technologically to transform the human information field into one that will change what we call humanity. If it can change the human information field it will change the way that field processes information and change humanity both 'physically' and psychologically. Hence the *messenger* (information) RNA 'vaccines' and so much more that is targeting human genetics by changing the body's information – *messaging* – construct through food, drink, radiation, toxicity and other means.

Reality that we experience is nothing like reality as it really is in the same way that the reality people experience in virtual reality games is not the reality they are really living in. The game is only a decoded source of information that appears to be a reality. Our world is also an information construct – a *simulation* (more later). In its base form our reality is a wavefield of information much the same in theme as Wi-Fi. The five senses decode wavefield information into electrical information which they communicate to the brain to decode into holographic (illusory ‘physical’) information. Different parts of the brain specialise in decoding different senses and the information is fused into a reality that appears to be outside of us but is really inside the brain and the genetic structure in general (Fig 12 overleaf). DNA is a receiver-transmitter of information and a vital part of this decoding process and the body’s connection to other realities. Change DNA and you change the way we decode and connect with reality – see ‘Covid vaccines’. Think of computers decoding Wi-Fi. You have information encoded in a radiation field and the computer decodes that information into a very different form on the screen. You can’t see the Wi-Fi until its information is made manifest on the screen and the information on the screen is inside the computer and not outside. I have just described how we decode the ‘human world’. All five senses decode the waveform ‘Wi-Fi’ field into electrical signals and the brain (computer) constructs reality inside the brain and not outside – ‘You don’t just look at a rainbow, you create it’. Sound is a simple example. We don’t hear sound until the brain decodes it. Waveform sound waves are picked up by the hearing sense and communicated to the brain in an electrical form to be decoded into the sounds that we hear. Everything we hear is inside the brain along with everything we see, feel, smell and taste. Words and language are waveform fields generated by our vocal chords which pass through this process until they are decoded by the brain into words that we hear. Different languages are different frequency fields or sound waves generated by vocal chords. Late British philosopher Alan Watts said:



**Figure 12:** The brain receives information from the five senses and constructs from that our perceived reality.

[Without the brain] the world is devoid of light, heat, weight, solidity, motion, space, time or any other imaginable feature. All these phenomena are interactions, or transactions, of vibrations with a certain arrangement of neurons.

That's exactly what they are and scientist Robert Lanza describes in his book, *Biocentrism*, how we decode electromagnetic waves and energy into visual and 'physical' experience. He uses the example of a flame emitting photons, electromagnetic energy, each pulsing electrically and magnetically:

... these ... invisible electromagnetic waves strike a human retina, and if (and only if) the waves happen to measure between 400 and 700 nano meters in length from crest to crest, then their energy is just right to deliver a stimulus to the 8 million cone-shaped cells in the retina.

Each in turn send an electrical pulse to a neighbour neuron, and on up the line this goes, at 250 mph, until it reaches the ... occipital lobe of the brain, in the back of the head. There, a cascading complex of neurons fire from the incoming stimuli, and we subjectively perceive this experience as a yellow brightness occurring in a place we have been conditioned to call the 'external world'.

**You hear what you decode**

If a tree falls or a building collapses they make no noise unless someone is there to decode the energetic waves generated by the disturbance into what we call sound. Does a falling tree make a noise? Only if you hear it – *decode* it. Everything in our reality is a frequency field of information operating within the overall ‘Wi-Fi’ field that I call The Field. A vibrational disturbance is generated in The Field by the fields of the falling tree or building. These disturbance waves are what we decode into the sound of them falling. If no one is there to do that then neither will make any noise. Reality is created by the observer – *decoder* – and the *perceptions* of the observer affect the decoding process. For this reason different people – different *perceptions* – will perceive the same reality or situation in a different way. What one may perceive as a nightmare another will see as an opportunity. The question of why the Cult is so focused on controlling human perception now answers itself. All experienced reality is the act of decoding and we don’t experience Wi-Fi until it is decoded on the computer screen. The sight and sound of an Internet video is encoded in the Wi-Fi all around us, but we don’t see or hear it until the computer decodes that information. Taste, smell and touch are all phenomena of the brain as a result of the same process. We don’t taste, smell or feel anything except in the brain and there are pain relief techniques that seek to block the signal from the site of discomfort to the brain because if the brain doesn’t decode that signal we don’t feel pain. Pain is in the brain and only appears to be at the point of impact thanks to the feedback loop between them. We don’t see anything until electrical information from the sight senses is decoded in an area at the back of the brain. If that area is damaged we can go blind when our eyes are perfectly okay. So why do we go blind if we damage an eye? We damage the information processing between the waveform visual information and the visual decoding area of the brain. If information doesn’t reach the brain in a form it can decode then we can’t see the visual reality that it represents. What’s more the brain is decoding only a fraction of the information it receives and the rest is absorbed by the

sub-conscious mind. This explanation is from the science magazine, *Wonderpedia*:

Every second, 11 million sensations crackle along these [brain] pathways ... The brain is confronted with an alarming array of images, sounds and smells which it rigorously filters down until it is left with a manageable list of around 40. Thus 40 sensations per second make up what we perceive as reality.

The 'world' is not what people are told to believe that is it and the inner circles of the Cult *know that*.

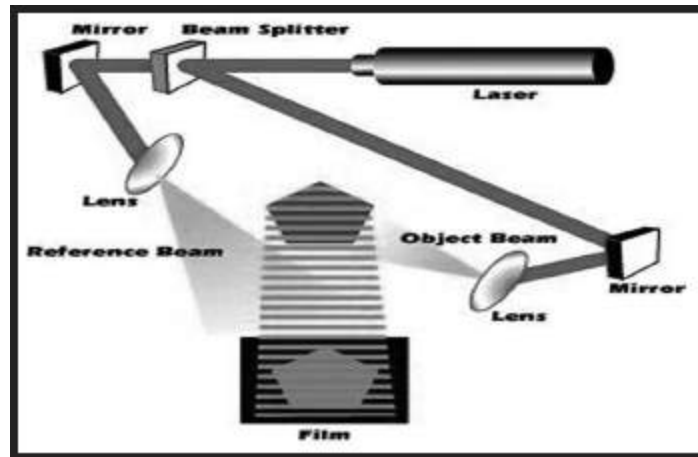
### **Illusory 'physical' reality**

We can only see a smear of 0.005 percent of the Universe which is only one of a vast array of universes – 'mansions' – within infinite reality. Even then the brain decodes only 40 pieces of information ('sensations') from a potential *11 million* that we receive every second. Two points strike you from this immediately: The sheer breathtaking stupidity of believing we know anything so rigidly that there's nothing more to know; and the potential for these processes to be manipulated by a malevolent force to control the reality of the population. One thing I can say for sure with no risk of contradiction is that when you can perceive an almost indescribable fraction of infinite reality there is always more to know as in tidal waves of it. Ancient Greek philosopher Socrates was so right when he said that wisdom is to know how little we know. How obviously true that is when you think that we are experiencing a physical world of solidity that is neither physical nor solid and a world of apartness when everything is connected. Cult-controlled 'science' dismisses the so-called 'paranormal' and all phenomena related to that when the 'para'-normal is perfectly normal and explains the alleged 'great mysteries' which dumbfound scientific minds. There is a reason for this. A 'scientific mind' in terms of the mainstream is a material mind, a five-sense mind imprisoned in see it, touch it, hear it, smell it and taste it. Phenomena and happenings that can't be explained that way leave the 'scientific mind' bewildered and the rule is that if they

can't account for why something is happening then it can't, by definition, be happening. I beg to differ. Telepathy is thought waves passing through The Field (think wave disturbance again) to be decoded by someone able to connect with that wavelength (information). For example: You can pick up the thought waves of a friend at any distance and at the very least that will bring them to mind. A few minutes later the friend calls you. 'My god', you say, 'that's incredible – I was just thinking of you.' Ah, but *they* were thinking of *you* before they made the call and that's what you decoded. Native peoples not entrapped in five-sense reality do this so well it became known as the 'bush telegraph'. Those known as psychics and mediums (genuine ones) are doing the same only across dimensions of reality. 'Mind over matter' comes from the fact that matter and mind are the *same*. The state of one influences the state of the other. Indeed one *and* the other are illusions. They are aspects of the same field. Paranormal phenomena are all explainable so why are they still considered 'mysteries' or not happening? Once you go down this road of understanding you begin to expand awareness beyond the five senses and that's the nightmare for the Cult.



**Figure 13:** Holograms are not solid, but the best ones appear to be.



**Figure 14:** How holograms are created by capturing a waveform version of the subject image.

### **Holographic 'solidity'**

Our reality is not solid, it is holographic. We are now well aware of holograms which are widely used today. Two-dimensional information is decoded into a three-dimensional reality that is not solid although can very much appear to be (Fig 13). Holograms are created with a laser divided into two parts. One goes directly onto a holographic photographic print ('reference beam') and the other takes a waveform image of the subject ('working beam') before being directed onto the print where it 'collides' with the other half of the laser (Fig 14). This creates a *waveform* interference pattern which contains the wavefield information of whatever is being photographed (Fig 15 overleaf). The process can be likened to dropping pebbles in a pond. Waves generated by each one spread out across the water to collide with the others and create a wave representation of where the stones fell and at what speed, weight and distance. A waveform interference pattern of a hologram is akin to the waveform information in The Field which the five senses decode into electrical signals to be decoded by the brain into a holographic illusory 'physical' reality. In the same way when a laser (think human attention) is directed at the waveform interference pattern a three-dimensional version of the subject is projected into apparently 'solid' reality (Fig 16). An amazing trait of holograms reveals more 'paranormal mysteries'. Information of the *whole*

hologram is encoded in waveform in every part of the interference pattern by the way they are created. This means that every *part* of a hologram is a smaller version of the whole. Cut the interference wave-pattern into four and you won't get four parts of the image. You get quarter-sized versions of the *whole* image. The body is a hologram and the same applies. Here we have the basis of acupuncture, reflexology and other forms of healing which identify representations of the whole body in all of the parts, hands, feet, ears, everywhere. Skilled palm readers can do what they do because the information of whole body is encoded in the hand. The concept of as above, so below, comes from this.



**Figure 15:** A waveform interference pattern that holds the information that transforms into a hologram.



**Figure 16:** Holographic people including 'Elvis' holographically inserted to sing a duet with Celine Dion.



The question will be asked of why, if solidity is illusory, we can't just walk through walls and each other. The resistance is not solid against solid; it is electromagnetic field against electromagnetic field and we decode this into the *experience* of solid against solid. We should also not underestimate the power of belief to dictate reality. What you believe is impossible *will be*. Your belief impacts on your decoding processes and they won't decode what you think is impossible. What we believe we perceive and what we perceive we experience. 'Can't dos' and 'impossibles' are like a firewall in a computer system that won't put on the screen what the firewall blocks. How vital that is to understanding how human experience has been hijacked. I explain in *The Answer, Everything You Need To Know But Have Never Been Told* and other books a long list of 'mysteries' and 'paranormal' phenomena that are not mysterious and perfectly normal once you realise what reality is and how it works. 'Ghosts' can be seen to pass through 'solid' walls because the walls are not solid and the ghost is a discarnate entity operating on a frequency so different to that of the wall that it's like two radio stations sharing the same space while never interfering with each other. I have seen ghosts do this myself. The apartness of people and objects is also an illusion. Everything is connected by the Field like all sea life is connected by the sea. It's just that within the limits of our visual reality we only 'see' holographic information and not the field of information that connects everything and from which the holographic world is made manifest. If you can only see holographic 'objects' and not the field that connects them they will appear to you as unconnected to each other in the same way that we see the computer while not seeing the Wi-Fi.

### **What you don't know *can* hurt you**

Okay, we return to those 'two worlds' of human society and the Cult with its global network of interconnecting secret societies and satanic groups which manipulate through governments, corporations, media, religions, etc. The fundamental difference between them is *knowledge*. The idea has been to keep humanity

ignorant of the plan for its total enslavement underpinned by a crucial ignorance of reality – who we are and where we are – and how we interact with it. ‘Human’ should be the interaction between our expanded eternal consciousness and the five-sense body experience. We are meant to be *in* this world in terms of the five senses but not *of* this world in relation to our greater consciousness and perspective. In that state we experience the small picture of the five senses within the wider context of the big picture of awareness beyond the five senses. Put another way the five senses see the dots and expanded awareness connects them into pictures and patterns that give context to the apparently random and unconnected. Without the context of expanded awareness the five senses see only apartness and randomness with apparently no meaning. The Cult and its other-dimensional controllers seek to intervene in the frequency realm where five-sense reality is supposed to connect with expanded reality and to keep the two apart (more on this in the final chapter). When that happens five-sense mental and emotional processes are no longer influenced by expanded awareness, or the True ‘I’, and instead are driven by the isolated perceptions of the body’s decoding systems. They are in the world *and* of it. Here we have the human plight and why humanity with its potential for infinite awareness can be so easily manipulatable and descend into such extremes of stupidity.

Once the Cult isolates five-sense mind from expanded awareness it can then program the mind with perceptions and beliefs by controlling information that the mind receives through the ‘education’ system of the formative years and the media perceptual bombardment and censorship of an entire lifetime. Limit perception and a sense of the possible through limiting knowledge by limiting and skewing information while censoring and discrediting that which could set people free. As the title of another of my books says ... *And The Truth Shall Set You Free*. For this reason the last thing the Cult wants in circulation is the truth about anything – especially the reality of the eternal ‘I’ – and that’s why it is desperate to control information. The Cult knows that information becomes perception

which becomes behaviour which, collectively, becomes human society. Cult-controlled and funded mainstream 'science' denies the existence of an eternal 'I' and seeks to dismiss and trash all evidence to the contrary. Cult-controlled mainstream religion has a version of 'God' that is little more than a system of control and dictatorship that employs threats of damnation in an afterlife to control perceptions and behaviour in the here and now through fear and guilt. Neither is true and it's the 'neither' that the Cult wishes to suppress. This 'neither' is that everything is an expression, a point of attention, within an infinite state of consciousness which is the real meaning of the term 'God'.

Perceptual obsession with the 'physical body' and five-senses means that 'God' becomes personified as a bearded bloke sitting among the clouds or a raging bully who loves us if we do what 'he' wants and condemns us to the fires of hell if we don't. These are no more than a 'spiritual' fairy tales to control and dictate events and behaviour through fear of this 'God' which has bizarrely made 'God-fearing' in religious circles a state to be desired. I would suggest that fearing *anything* is not to be encouraged and celebrated, but rather deleted. You can see why 'God fearing' is so beneficial to the Cult and its religions when *they* decide what 'God' wants and what 'God' demands (the Cult demands) that everyone do. As the great American comedian Bill Hicks said satirising a Christian zealot: 'I think what God meant to say.' How much of this infinite awareness ('God') that we access is decided by how far we choose to expand our perceptions, self-identity and sense of the possible. The scale of self-identity reflects itself in the scale of awareness that we can connect with and are influenced by – how much knowing and insight we have instead of programmed perception. You cannot expand your awareness into the infinity of possibility when you believe that you are little me Peter the postman or Mary in marketing and nothing more. I'll deal with this in the concluding chapter because it's crucial to how we turnaround current events.

## **Where the Cult came from**

When I realised in the early 1990s there was a Cult network behind global events I asked the obvious question: When did it start? I took it back to ancient Rome and Egypt and on to Babylon and Sumer in Mesopotamia, the 'Land Between Two Rivers', in what we now call Iraq. The two rivers are the Tigris and Euphrates and this region is of immense historical and other importance to the Cult, as is the land called Israel only 550 miles away by air. There is much more going on with deep esoteric meaning across this whole region. It's not only about 'wars for oil'. Priceless artefacts from Mesopotamia were stolen or destroyed after the American and British invasion of Iraq in 2003 justified by the lies of Boy Bush and Tony Blair (their Cult masters) about non-existent 'weapons of mass destruction'.

Mesopotamia was the location of Sumer (about 5,400BC to 1,750BC), and Babylon (about 2,350BC to 539BC). Sabbatians may have become immensely influential in the Cult in modern times but they are part of a network that goes back into the mists of history. Sumer is said by historians to be the 'cradle of civilisation'. I disagree. I say it was the re-start of what we call human civilisation after cataclysmic events symbolised in part as the 'Great Flood' destroyed the world that existed before. These fantastic upheavals that I have been describing in detail in the books since the early 1990s appear in accounts and legends of ancient cultures across the world and they are supported by geological and biological evidence. Stone tablets found in Iraq detailing the Sumer period say the cataclysms were caused by non-human 'gods' they call the Anunnaki. These are described in terms of extraterrestrial visitations in which knowledge supplied by the Anunnaki is said to have been the source of at least one of the world's oldest writing systems and developments in astronomy, mathematics and architecture that were way ahead of their time. I have covered this subject at length in *The Biggest Secret* and *Children of the Matrix* and the same basic 'Anunnaki' story can be found in Zulu accounts in South Africa where the late and very great Zulu high shaman Credo Mutwa told me that the Sumerian Anunnaki were known by Zulus as the Chitauri or 'children of the serpent'. See my six-hour video interview with Credo on this subject entitled *The*

*Reptilian Agenda* recorded at his then home near Johannesburg in 1999 which you can watch on the Ickonic media platform.

The Cult emerged out of Sumer, Babylon and Egypt (and elsewhere) and established the Roman Empire before expanding with the Romans into northern Europe from where many empires were savagely imposed in the form of Cult-controlled societies all over the world. Mass death and destruction was their calling card. The Cult established its centre of operations in Europe and European Empires were Cult empires which allowed it to expand into a global force. Spanish and Portuguese colonialists headed for Central and South America while the British and French targeted North America. Africa was colonised by Britain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Italy, and Germany. Some like Britain and France moved in on the Middle East. The British Empire was by far the biggest for a simple reason. By now Britain was the headquarters of the Cult from which it expanded to form Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. The Sun never set on the British Empire such was the scale of its occupation. London remains a global centre for the Cult along with Rome and the Vatican although others have emerged in Israel and China. It is no accident that the 'virus' is alleged to have come out of China while Italy was chosen as the means to terrify the Western population into compliance with 'Covid' fascism. Nor that Israel has led the world in 'Covid' fascism and mass 'vaccination'.

You would think that I would mention the United States here, but while it has been an important means of imposing the Cult's will it is less significant than would appear and is currently in the process of having what power it does have deleted. The Cult in Europe has mostly loaded the guns for the US to fire. America has been controlled from Europe from the start through Cult operatives in Britain and Europe. The American Revolution was an illusion to make it appear that America was governing itself while very different forces were pulling the strings in the form of Cult families such as the Rothschilds through the Rockefellers and other subordinates. The Rockefellers are extremely close to Bill Gates and

established both scalpel and drug 'medicine' and the World Health Organization. They play a major role in the development and circulation of vaccines through the Rockefeller Foundation on which Bill Gates said his Foundation is based. Why wouldn't this be the case when the Rockefellers and Gates are on the same team? Cult infiltration of human society goes way back into what we call history and has been constantly expanding and centralising power with the goal of establishing a global structure to dictate everything. Look how this has been advanced in great leaps with the 'Covid' hoax.

### **The non-human dimension**

I researched and observed the comings and goings of Cult operatives through the centuries and even thousands of years as they were born, worked to promote the agenda within the secret society and satanic networks, and then died for others to replace them. Clearly there had to be a coordinating force that spanned this entire period while operatives who would not have seen the end goal in their lifetimes came and went advancing the plan over millennia. I went in search of that coordinating force with the usual support from the extraordinary synchronicity of my life which has been an almost daily experience since 1990. I saw common themes in religious texts and ancient cultures about a non-human force manipulating human society from the hidden. Christianity calls this force Satan, the Devil and demons; Islam refers to the Jinn or Djinn; Zulus have their Chitauri (spelt in other ways in different parts of Africa); and the Gnostic people in Egypt in the period around and before 400AD referred to this phenomena as the 'Archons', a word meaning rulers in Greek. Central American cultures speak of the 'Predators' among other names and the same theme is everywhere. I will use 'Archons' as a collective name for all of them. When you see how their nature and behaviour is described all these different sources are clearly talking about the same force. Gnostics described the Archons in terms of 'luminous fire' while Islam relates the Jinn to 'smokeless fire'. Some refer to beings in form that could occasionally be seen, but the most common of common theme is that they operate from

unseen realms which means almost all existence to the visual processes of humans. I had concluded that this was indeed the foundation of human control and that the Cult was operating within the human frequency band on behalf of this hidden force when I came across the writings of Gnostics which supported my conclusions in the most extraordinary way.

A sealed earthen jar was found in 1945 near the town of Nag Hammadi about 75-80 miles north of Luxor on the banks of the River Nile in Egypt. Inside was a treasure trove of manuscripts and texts left by the Gnostic people some 1,600 years earlier. They included 13 leather-bound papyrus codices (manuscripts) and more than 50 texts written in Coptic Egyptian estimated to have been hidden in the jar in the period of 400AD although the source of the information goes back much further. Gnostics oversaw the Great or Royal Library of Alexandria, the fantastic depository of ancient texts detailing advanced knowledge and accounts of human history. The Library was dismantled and destroyed in stages over a long period with the death-blow delivered by the Cult-established Roman Church in the period around 415AD. The Church of Rome was the Church of Babylon relocated as I said earlier. Gnostics were not a race. They were a way of perceiving reality. Whenever they established themselves and their information circulated the terrorists of the Church of Rome would target them for destruction. This happened with the Great Library and with the Gnostic Cathars who were burned to death by the psychopaths after a long period of oppression at the siege of the Castle of Monségur in southern France in 1244. The Church has always been terrified of Gnostic information which demolishes the official Christian narrative although there is much in the Bible that supports the Gnostic view if you read it in another way. To anyone studying the texts of what became known as the Nag Hammadi Library it is clear that great swathes of Christian and Biblical belief has its origin with Gnostics sources going back to Sumer. Gnostic themes have been twisted to manipulate the perceived reality of Bible believers. Biblical texts have been in the open for centuries where they could be changed while Gnostic

documents found at Nag Hammadi were sealed away and untouched for 1,600 years. What you see is what they wrote.

### **Use your *pneuma* not your *nous***

Gnosticism and Gnostic come from 'gnosis' which means knowledge, or rather *secret* knowledge, in the sense of spiritual awareness – knowledge about reality and life itself. The desperation of the Cult's Church of Rome to destroy the Gnostics can be understood when the knowledge they were circulating was the last thing the Cult wanted the population to know. Sixteen hundred years later the same Cult is working hard to undermine and silence me for the same reason. The dynamic between knowledge and ignorance is a constant. 'Time' appears to move on, but essential themes remain the same. We are told to 'use your nous', a Gnostic word for head/brain/intelligence. They said, however, that spiritual awakening or 'salvation' could only be secured by expanding awareness *beyond* what they called *nous* and into *pneuma* or Infinite Self. Obviously as I read these texts the parallels with what I have been saying since 1990 were fascinating to me. There is a universal truth that spans human history and in that case why wouldn't we be talking the same language 16 centuries apart? When you free yourself from the perception program of the five senses and explore expanded realms of consciousness you are going to connect with the same information no matter what the perceived 'era' within a manufactured timeline of a single and tiny range of manipulated frequency. Humans working with 'smart' technology or knocking rocks together in caves is only a timeline appearing to operate within the human frequency band. Expanded awareness and the knowledge it holds have always been there whether the era be Stone Age or computer age. We can only access that knowledge by opening ourselves to its frequency which the five-sense prison cell is designed to stop us doing. Gates, Fauci, Whitty, Vallance, Zuckerberg, Brin, Page, Wojcicki, Bezos, and all the others behind the 'Covid' hoax clearly have a long wait before their range of frequency can make that connection given that an open heart is



crucial to that as we shall see. Instead of accessing knowledge directly through expanded awareness it is given to Cult operatives by the secret society networks of the Cult where it has been passed on over thousands of years outside the public arena. Expanded realms of consciousness is where great artists, composers and writers find their inspiration and where truth awaits anyone open enough to connect with it. We need to go there fast.

## **Archon hijack**

A fifth of the Nag Hammadi texts describe the existence and manipulation of the Archons led by a 'Chief Archon' they call 'Yaldabaoth', or the 'Demiurge', and this is the Christian 'Devil', 'Satan', 'Lucifer', and his demons. Archons in Biblical symbolism are the 'fallen ones' which are also referred to as fallen angels after the angels expelled from heaven according to the Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christianity and Islam. These angels are claimed to tempt humans to 'sin' ongoing and you will see how accurate that symbolism is during the rest of the book. The theme of 'original sin' is related to the 'Fall' when Adam and Eve were 'tempted by the serpent' and fell from a state of innocence and 'obedience' (connection) with God into a state of disobedience (disconnection). The Fall is said to have brought sin into the world and corrupted everything including human nature. Yaldabaoth, the 'Lord Archon', is described by Gnostics as a 'counterfeit spirit', 'The Blind One', 'The Blind God', and 'The Foolish One'. The Jewish name for Yaldabaoth in Talmudic writings is Samael which translates as 'Poison of God', or 'Blindness of God'. You see the parallels. Yaldabaoth in Islamic belief is the Muslim Jinn devil known as Shaytan – Shaytan is Satan as the same themes are found all over the world in every religion and culture. The 'Lord God' of the Old Testament is the 'Lord Archon' of Gnostic manuscripts and that's why he's such a bloodthirsty bastard. Satan is known by Christians as 'the Demon of Demons' and Gnostics called Yaldabaoth the 'Archon of Archons'. Both are known as 'The Deceiver'. We are talking about the same 'bloke' for sure and these common themes

using different names, storylines and symbolism tell a common tale of the human plight.

Archons are referred to in Nag Hammadi documents as mind parasites, inverters, guards, gatekeepers, detainers, judges, pitiless ones and deceivers. The 'Covid' hoax alone is a glaring example of all these things. The Biblical 'God' is so different in the Old and New Testaments because they are not describing the same phenomenon. The vindictive, angry, hate-filled, 'God' of the Old Testament, known as Yahweh, is Yaldabaoth who is depicted in Cult-dictated popular culture as the 'Dark Lord', 'Lord of Time', Lord (Darth) Vader and Dormammu, the evil ruler of the 'Dark Dimension' trying to take over the 'Earth Dimension' in the Marvel comic movie, *Dr Strange*. Yaldabaoth is both the Old Testament 'god' and the Biblical 'Satan'. Gnostics referred to Yaldabaoth as the 'Great Architect of the Universe' and the Cult-controlled Freemason network calls their god 'the 'Great Architect of the Universe' (also Grand Architect). The 'Great Architect' Yaldabaoth is symbolised by the Cult as the all-seeing eye at the top of the pyramid on the Great Seal of the United States and the dollar bill. Archon is encoded in *arch*-itect as it is in *arch*-angels and *arch*-bishops. All religions have the theme of a force for good and force for evil in some sort of spiritual war and there is a reason for that – the theme is true. The Cult and its non-human masters are quite happy for this to circulate. They present themselves as the force for good fighting evil when they are really the force of evil (absence of love). The whole foundation of Cult modus operandi is inversion. They promote themselves as a force for good and anyone challenging them in pursuit of peace, love, fairness, truth and justice is condemned as a satanic force for evil. This has been the game plan throughout history whether the Church of Rome inquisitions of non-believers or 'conspiracy theorists' and 'anti-vaxxers' of today. The technique is the same whatever the timeline era.

**Yaldabaoth is revolting (true)**

Yaldabaoth and the Archons are said to have revolted against God with Yaldabaoth claiming to *be* God – the *All That Is*. The Old Testament ‘God’ (Yaldabaoth) demanded to be worshipped as such: ‘*I am the LORD, and there is none else, there is no God beside me*’ (Isaiah 45:5). I have quoted in other books a man who said he was the unofficial son of the late Baron Philippe de Rothschild of the Mouton-Rothschild wine producing estates in France who died in 1988 and he told me about the Rothschild ‘revolt from God’. The man said he was given the name Phillip Eugene de Rothschild and we shared long correspondence many years ago while he was living under another identity. He said that he was conceived through ‘occult incest’ which (within the Cult) was ‘normal and to be admired’. ‘Phillip’ told me about his experience attending satanic rituals with rich and famous people whom he names and you can see them and the wider background to Cult Satanism in my other books starting with *The Biggest Secret*. Cult rituals are interactions with Archontic ‘gods’. ‘Phillip’ described Baron Philippe de Rothschild as ‘a master Satanist and hater of God’ and he used the same term ‘revolt from God’ associated with Yaldabaoth/Satan/Lucifer/the Devil in describing the Sabbatian Rothschild dynasty. ‘I played a key role in my family’s revolt from God’, he said. That role was to infiltrate in classic Sabbatian style the Christian Church, but eventually he escaped the mind-prison to live another life. The Cult has been targeting religion in a plan to make worship of the Archons the global one-world religion. Infiltration of Satanism into modern ‘culture’, especially among the young, through music videos, stage shows and other means, is all part of this.

Nag Hammadi texts describe Yaldabaoth and the Archons in their prime form as energy – consciousness – and say they can take form if they choose in the same way that consciousness takes form as a human. Yaldabaoth is called ‘formless’ and represents a deeply inverted, distorted and chaotic state of consciousness which seeks to attach to humans and turn them into a likeness of itself in an attempt at assimilation. For that to happen it has to manipulate

humans into low frequency mental and emotional states that match its own. Archons can certainly appear in human form and this is the origin of the psychopathic personality. The energetic distortion Gnostics called Yaldabaoth is psychopathy. When psychopathic Archons take human form that human will be a psychopath as an expression of Yaldabaoth consciousness. Cult psychopaths are Archons in human form. The principle is the same as that portrayed in the 2009 *Avatar* movie when the American military travelled to a fictional Earth-like moon called Pandora in the Alpha Centauri star system to infiltrate a society of blue people, or Na'vi, by hiding within bodies that looked like the Na'vi. Archons posing as humans have a particular hybrid information field, part human, part Archon, (the ancient 'demigods') which processes information in a way that manifests behaviour to match their psychopathic evil, lack of empathy and compassion, and stops them being influenced by the empathy, compassion and love that a fully-human information field is capable of expressing. Cult bloodlines interbreed, be they royalty or dark suits, for this reason and you have their obsession with incest. Interbreeding with full-blown humans would dilute the Archontic energy field that guarantees psychopathy in its representatives in the human realm.

Gnostic writings say the main non-human forms that Archons take are *serpentine* (what I have called for decades 'reptilian' amid unbounded ridicule from the Archontically-programmed) and what Gnostics describe as 'an unborn baby or foetus with grey skin and dark, unmoving eyes'. This is an excellent representation of the ET 'Greys' of UFO folklore which large numbers of people claim to have seen and been abducted by – Zulu shaman Credo Mutwa among them. I agree with those that believe in extraterrestrial or interdimensional visitations today and for thousands of years past. No wonder with their advanced knowledge and technological capability they were perceived and worshipped as gods for technological and other 'miracles' they appeared to perform. Imagine someone arriving in a culture disconnected from the modern world with a smartphone and computer. They would be

seen as a 'god' capable of 'miracles'. The Renegade Mind, however, wants to know the source of everything and not only the way that source manifests as human or non-human. In the same way that a Renegade Mind seeks the original source material for the 'Covid virus' to see if what is claimed is true. The original source of Archons in form is consciousness – the distorted state of consciousness known to Gnostics as Yaldabaoth.

### **'Revolt from God' is energetic disconnection**

Where I am going next will make a lot of sense of religious texts and ancient legends relating to 'Satan', Lucifer' and the 'gods'. Gnostic descriptions sync perfectly with the themes of my own research over the years in how they describe a consciousness distortion seeking to impose itself on human consciousness. I've referred to the core of infinite awareness in previous books as Infinite Awareness in Awareness of Itself. By that I mean a level of awareness that knows that it is all awareness and is aware of all awareness. From here comes the frequency of love in its true sense and balance which is what love is on one level – the balance of all forces into a single whole called Oneness and Isness. The more we disconnect from this state of love that many call 'God' the constituent parts of that Oneness start to unravel and express themselves as a part and not a whole. They become individualised as intellect, mind, selfishness, hatred, envy, desire for power over others, and such like. This is not a problem in the greater scheme in that 'God', the *All That Is*, can experience all these possibilities through different expressions of itself including humans. What we as expressions of the whole experience the *All That Is* experiences. We are the *All That Is* experiencing itself. As we withdraw from that state of Oneness we disconnect from its influence and things can get very unpleasant and very stupid. Archontic consciousness is at the extreme end of that. It has so disconnected from the influence of Oneness that it has become an inversion of unity and love, an inversion of everything, an inversion of life itself. Evil is appropriately live written backwards. Archontic consciousness is obsessed with death, an inversion of life,

and so its manifestations in Satanism are obsessed with death. They use inverted symbols in their rituals such as the inverted pentagram and cross. Sabbatians as Archontic consciousness incarnate invert Judaism and every other religion and culture they infiltrate. They seek disunity and chaos and they fear unity and harmony as they fear love like garlic to a vampire. As a result the Cult, Archons incarnate, act with such evil, psychopathy and lack of empathy and compassion disconnected as they are from the source of love. How could Bill Gates and the rest of the Archontic psychopaths do what they have to human society in the 'Covid' era with all the death, suffering and destruction involved and have no emotional consequence for the impact on others? Now you know. Why have Zuckerberg, Brin, Page, Wojcicki and company callously censored information warning about the dangers of the 'vaccine' while thousands have been dying and having severe, sometimes life-changing reactions? Now you know. Why have Tedros, Fauci, Whitty, Vallance and their like around the world been using case and death figures they're aware are fraudulent to justify lockdowns and all the deaths and destroyed lives that have come from that? Now you know. Why did Christian Drosten produce and promote a 'testing' protocol that he knew couldn't test for infectious disease which led to a global human catastrophe. Now you know. The Archontic mind doesn't give a shit (Fig 17). I personally think that Gates and major Cult insiders are a form of AI cyborg that the Archons want humans to become.

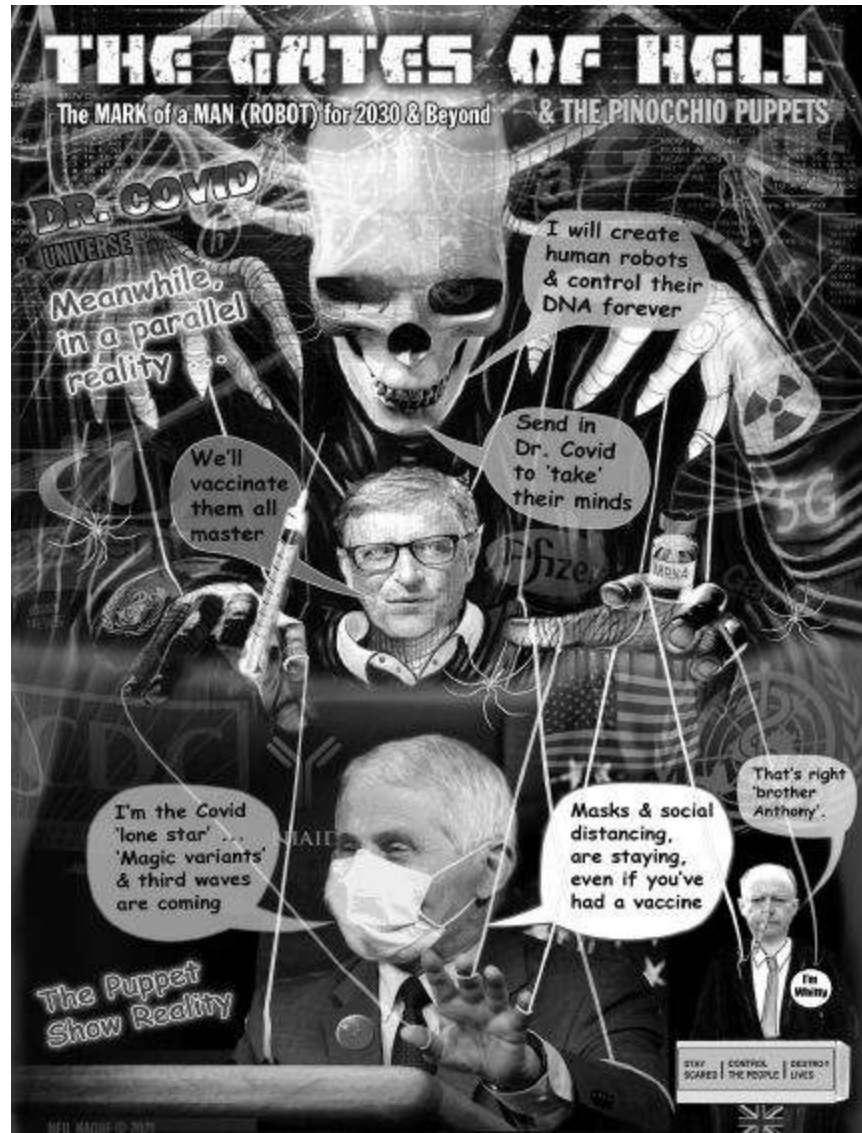


Figure 17: Artist Neil Hague's version of the 'Covid' hierarchy.

## Human batteries

A state of such inversion does have its consequences, however. The level of disconnection from the Source of All means that you withdraw from that source of energetic sustenance and creativity. This means that you have to find your own supply of energetic power and it has – us. When the Morpheus character in the first *Matrix* movie held up a battery he spoke a profound truth when he said: 'The Matrix is a computer-generated dream world built to keep us under control in order to change the human being into one of

these.’ The statement was true in all respects. We do live in a technologically-generated virtual reality simulation (more very shortly) and we have been manipulated to be an energy source for Archontic consciousness. The Disney-Pixar animated movie *Monsters, Inc.* in 2001 symbolised the dynamic when monsters in their world had no energy source and they would enter the human world to terrify children in their beds, catch the child’s scream, terror (low-vibrational frequencies), and take that energy back to power the monster world. The lead character you might remember was a single giant eye and the symbolism of the Cult’s all-seeing eye was obvious. Every thought and emotion is broadcast as a frequency unique to that thought and emotion. Feelings of love and joy, empathy and compassion, are high, quick, frequencies while fear, depression, anxiety, suffering and hate are low, slow, dense frequencies. Which kind do you think Archontic consciousness can connect with and absorb? In such a low and dense frequency state there’s no way it can connect with the energy of love and joy. Archons can only feed off energy compatible with their own frequency and they and their Cult agents want to delete the human world of love and joy and manipulate the transmission of low vibrational frequencies through low-vibrational human mental and emotional states. *We are their energy source.* Wars are energetic banquets to the Archons – a world war even more so – and think how much low-frequency mental and emotional energy has been generated from the consequences for humanity of the ‘Covid’ hoax orchestrated by Archons incarnate like Gates.

The ancient practice of human sacrifice ‘to the gods’, continued in secret today by the Cult, is based on the same principle. ‘The gods’ are Archontic consciousness in different forms and the sacrifice is induced into a state of intense terror to generate the energy the Archontic frequency can absorb. Incarnate Archons in the ritual drink the blood which contains an adrenaline they crave which floods into the bloodstream when people are terrorised. Most of the sacrifices, ancient and modern, are children and the theme of ‘sacrificing young virgins to the gods’ is just code for children. They



have a particular pre-puberty energy that Archons want more than anything and the energy of the young in general is their target. The California Department of Education wants students to chant the names of Aztec gods (Archontic gods) once worshipped in human sacrifice rituals in a curriculum designed to encourage them to 'challenge racist, bigoted, discriminatory, imperialist/colonial beliefs', join 'social movements that struggle for social justice', and 'build new possibilities for a post-racist, post-systemic racism society'. It's the usual Woke crap that inverts racism and calls it anti-racism. In this case solidarity with 'indigenous tribes' is being used as an excuse to chant the names of 'gods' to which people were sacrificed (and still are in secret). What an example of Woke's inability to see beyond black and white, us and them, They condemn the colonisation of these tribal cultures by Europeans (quite right), but those cultures sacrificing people including children to their 'gods', and mass murdering untold numbers as the Aztecs did, is just fine. One chant is to the Aztec god Tezcatlipoca who had a man sacrificed to him in the 5th month of the Aztec calendar. His heart was cut out and he was eaten. Oh, that's okay then. Come on children ... after three ... Other sacrificial 'gods' for the young to chant their allegiance include Quetzalcoatl, Huitzilopochtli and Xipe Totec. The curriculum says that 'chants, affirmations, and energizers can be used to bring the class together, build unity around ethnic studies principles and values, and to reinvigorate the class following a lesson that may be emotionally taxing or even when student engagement may appear to be low'. Well, that's the cover story, anyway. Chanting and mantras are the repetition of a particular frequency generated from the vocal cords and chanting the names of these Archontic 'gods' tunes you into their frequency. That is the last thing you want when it allows for energetic synchronisation, attachment and perceptual influence. Initiates chant the names of their 'Gods' in their rituals for this very reason.

## **Vampires of the Woke**

Paedophilia is another way that Archons absorb the energy of children. Paedophiles possessed by Archontic consciousness are used as the conduit during sexual abuse for discarnate Archons to vampire the energy of the young they desire so much. Stupendous numbers of children disappear every year never to be seen again although you would never know from the media. Imagine how much low-vibrational energy has been generated by children during the 'Covid' hoax when so many have become depressed and psychologically destroyed to the point of killing themselves. Shocking numbers of children are now taken by the state from loving parents to be handed to others. I can tell you from long experience of researching this since 1996 that many end up with paedophiles and assets of the Cult through corrupt and Cult-owned social services which in the reframing era has hired many psychopaths and emotionless automatons to do the job. Children are even stolen to order using spurious reasons to take them by the corrupt and secret (because they're corrupt) 'family courts'. I have written in detail in other books, starting with *The Biggest Secret* in 1997, about the ubiquitous connections between the political, corporate, government, intelligence and military elites (Cult operatives) and Satanism and paedophilia. If you go deep enough both networks have an interlocking leadership. The Woke mentality has been developed by the Cult for many reasons: To promote almost every aspect of its agenda; to hijack the traditional political left and turn it fascist; to divide and rule; and to target agenda pushbackers. But there are other reasons which relate to what I am describing here. How many happy and joyful Wokers do you ever see especially at the extreme end? They are a mental and psychological mess consumed by emotional stress and constantly emotionally cocked for the next explosion of indignation at someone referring to a female as a female. They are walking, talking, batteries as Morpheus might say emitting frequencies which both enslave them in low-vibrational bubbles of perceptual limitation and feed the Archons. Add to this the hatred claimed to be love; fascism claimed to 'anti-fascism', racism claimed to be 'anti-racism';

exclusion claimed to inclusion; and the abuse-filled Internet trolling. You have a purpose-built Archontic energy system with not a wind turbine in sight and all founded on Archontic *inversion*. We have whole generations now manipulated to serve the Archons with their actions and energy. They will be doing so their entire adult lives unless they snap out of their Archon-induced trance. Is it really a surprise that Cult billionaires and corporations put so much money their way? Where is the energy of joy and laughter, including laughing at yourself which is confirmation of your own emotional security? Mark Twain said: 'The human race has one really effective weapon, and that is laughter.' We must use it all the time. Woke has destroyed comedy because it has no humour, no joy, sense of irony, or self-deprecation. Its energy is dense and intense. *Mmmmm*, lunch says the Archontic frequency. Rudolf Steiner (1861-1925) was the Austrian philosopher and famous esoteric thinker who established Waldorf education or Steiner schools to treat children like unique expressions of consciousness and not minds to be programmed with the perceptions determined by authority. I'd been writing about this energy vampiring for decades when I was sent in 2016 a quote by Steiner. He was spot on:

There are beings in the spiritual realms for whom anxiety and fear emanating from human beings offer welcome food. When humans have no anxiety and fear, then these creatures starve. If fear and anxiety radiates from people and they break out in panic, then these creatures find welcome nutrition and they become more and more powerful. These beings are hostile towards humanity. Everything that feeds on negative feelings, on anxiety, fear and superstition, despair or doubt, are in reality hostile forces in super-sensible worlds, launching cruel attacks on human beings, while they are being fed ... These are exactly the feelings that belong to contemporary culture and materialism; because it estranges people from the spiritual world, it is especially suited to evoke hopelessness and fear of the unknown in people, thereby calling up the above mentioned hostile forces against them.

Pause for a moment from this perspective and reflect on what has happened in the world since the start of 2020. Not only will pennies drop, but billion dollar bills. We see the same theme from Don Juan Matus, a Yaqui Indian shaman in Mexico and the information source for Peruvian-born writer, Carlos Castaneda, who wrote a series of

books from the 1960s to 1990s. Don Juan described the force manipulating human society and his name for the Archons was the predator:

We have a predator that came from the depths of the cosmos and took over the rule of our lives. Human beings are its prisoners. The predator is our lord and master. It has rendered us docile, helpless. If we want to protest, it suppresses our protest. If we want to act independently, it demands that we don't do so ... indeed we are held prisoner!

They took us over because we are food to them, and they squeeze us mercilessly because we are their sustenance. Just as we rear chickens in coops, the predators rear us in human coops, humaneros. Therefore, their food is always available to them.

Different cultures, different eras, same recurring theme.

## **The 'ennoia' dilemma**

Nag Hammadi Gnostic manuscripts say that Archon consciousness has no 'ennoia'. This is directly translated as 'intentionality', but I'll use the term 'creative imagination'. The *All That Is* in awareness of itself is the source of all creativity – all possibility – and the more disconnected you are from that source the more you are subsequently denied 'creative imagination'. Given that Archon consciousness is almost entirely disconnected it severely lacks creativity and has to rely on far more mechanical processes of thought and exploit the creative potential of those that do have 'ennoia'. You can see cases of this throughout human society. Archon consciousness almost entirely dominates the global banking system and if we study how that system works you will appreciate what I mean. Banks manifest 'money' out of nothing by issuing lines of 'credit' which is 'money' that has never, does not, and will never exist except in theory. It's a confidence trick. If you think 'credit' figures-on-a-screen 'money' is worth anything you accept it as payment. If you don't then the whole system collapses through lack of confidence in the value of that 'money'. Archontic bankers with no 'ennoia' are 'lending' 'money' that doesn't exist to humans that *do* have creativity – those that have the inspired ideas and create businesses and products. Archon banking feeds off human creativity

which it controls through 'money' creation and debt. Humans have the creativity and Archons exploit that for their own benefit and control while having none themselves. Archon Internet platforms like Facebook claim joint copyright of everything that creative users post and while Archontic minds like Zuckerberg may officially head that company it will be human creatives on the staff that provide the creative inspiration. When you have limitless 'money' you can then buy other companies established by creative humans. Witness the acquisition record of Facebook, Google and their like. Survey the Archon-controlled music industry and you see non-creative dark suit executives making their fortune from the human creativity of their artists. The cases are endless. Research the history of people like Gates and Zuckerberg and how their empires were built on exploiting the creativity of others. Archon minds cannot create out of nothing, but they are skilled (because they have to be) in what Gnostic texts call 'countermimicry'. They can imitate, but not innovate. Sabbatians trawl the creativity of others through backdoors they install in computer systems through their cybersecurity systems. Archon-controlled China is globally infamous for stealing intellectual property and I remember how Hong Kong, now part of China, became notorious for making counterfeit copies of the creativity of others – 'countermimicry'. With the now pervasive and all-seeing surveillance systems able to infiltrate any computer you can appreciate the potential for Archons to vampire the creativity of humans. Author John Lamb Lash wrote in his book about the Nag Hammadi texts, *Not In His Image*:

Although they cannot originate anything, because they lack the divine factor of ennoia (intentionality), Archons can imitate with a vengeance. Their expertise is simulation (HAL, virtual reality). The Demiurge [Yaldabaoth] fashions a heaven world copied from the fractal patterns [of the original] ... His construction is celestial kitsch, like the fake Italianate villa of a Mafia don complete with militant angels to guard every portal.

This brings us to something that I have been speaking about since the turn of the millennium. Our reality is a simulation; a virtual reality that we think is real. No, I'm not kidding.

## **Human reality? Well, virtually**

I had pondered for years about whether our reality is 'real' or some kind of construct. I remembered being immensely affected on a visit as a small child in the late 1950s to the then newly-opened Planetarium on the Marylebone Road in London which is now closed and part of the adjacent Madame Tussauds wax museum. It was in the middle of the day, but when the lights went out there was the night sky projected in the Planetarium's domed ceiling and it appeared to be so real. The experience never left me and I didn't know why until around the turn of the millennium when I became certain that our 'night sky' and entire reality is a projection, a virtual reality, akin to the illusory world portrayed in the *Matrix* movies. I looked at the sky one day in this period and it appeared to me like the domed roof of the Planetarium. The release of the first *Matrix* movie in 1999 also provided a synchronistic and perfect visual representation of where my mind had been going for a long time. I hadn't come across the Gnostic Nag Hammadi texts then. When I did years later the correlation was once again astounding. As I read Gnostic accounts from 1,600 years and more earlier it was clear that they were describing the same simulation phenomenon. They tell how the Yaldabaoth 'Demiurge' and Archons created a 'bad copy' of original reality to rule over all that were captured by its illusions and the body was a prison to trap consciousness in the 'bad copy' fake reality. Read how Gnostics describe the 'bad copy' and update that to current times and they are referring to what we would call today a virtual reality simulation.

Author John Lamb Lash said 'the Demiurge fashions a heaven world copied from the fractal patterns' of the original through expertise in 'HAL' or virtual reality simulation. Fractal patterns are part of the energetic information construct of our reality, a sort of blueprint. If these patterns were copied in computer terms it would indeed give you a copy of a 'natural' reality in a non-natural frequency and digital form. The principle is the same as making a copy of a website. The original website still exists, but now you can change the copy version to make it whatever you like and it can

become very different to the original website. Archons have done this with our reality, a *synthetic* copy of prime reality that still exists beyond the frequency walls of the simulation. Trapped within the illusions of this synthetic Matrix, however, were and are human consciousness and other expressions of prime reality and this is why the Archons via the Cult are seeking to make the human body synthetic and give us synthetic AI minds to complete the job of turning the entire reality synthetic including what we perceive to be the natural world. To quote Kurzweil: 'Nanobots will infuse all the matter around us with information. Rocks, trees, everything will become these intelligent creatures.' Yes, *synthetic* 'creatures' just as 'Covid' and other genetically-manipulating 'vaccines' are designed to make the human body synthetic. From this perspective it is obvious why Archons and their Cult are so desperate to infuse synthetic material into every human with their 'Covid' scam.

### **Let there be (electromagnetic) light**

Yaldabaoth, the force that created the simulation, or Matrix, makes sense of the Gnostic reference to 'The Great Architect' and its use by Cult Freemasonry as the name of its deity. The designer of the Matrix in the movies is called 'The Architect' and that trilogy is jam-packed with symbolism relating to these subjects. I have contended for years that the angry Old Testament God (Yaldabaoth) is the 'God' being symbolically 'quoted' in the opening of Genesis as 'creating the world'. This is not the creation of prime reality – it's the creation of the *simulation*. The Genesis 'God' says: 'Let there be Light: and there was light.' But what is this 'Light'? I have said for decades that the speed of light (186,000 miles per second) is not the fastest speed possible as claimed by mainstream science and is in fact the frequency walls or outer limits of the Matrix. You can't have a fastest or slowest anything within all possibility when everything is possible. The human body is encoded to operate within the speed of light or *within the simulation* and thus we see only the tiny frequency band of visible *light*. Near-death experiencers who perceive reality outside the body during temporary 'death' describe a very different

form of light and this is supported by the Nag Hammadi texts. Prime reality beyond the simulation ('Upper Aeons' to the Gnostics) is described as a realm of incredible beauty, bliss, love and harmony – a realm of 'watery light' that is so powerful 'there are no shadows'. Our false reality of Archon control, which Gnostics call the 'Lower Aeons', is depicted as a realm with a different kind of 'light' and described in terms of chaos, 'Hell', 'the Abyss' and 'Outer Darkness', where trapped souls are tormented and manipulated by demons (relate that to the 'Covid' hoax alone). The watery light theme can be found in near-death accounts and it is not the same as *simulation* 'light' which is electromagnetic or radiation light within the speed of light – the 'Lower Aeons'. Simulation 'light' is the 'luminous fire' associated by Gnostics with the Archons. The Bible refers to Yaldabaoth as 'that old serpent, called the Devil, and Satan, which deceiveth the whole world' (Revelation 12:9). I think that making a simulated copy of prime reality ('countermimicry') and changing it dramatically while all the time manipulating humanity to believe it to be real could probably meet the criteria of deceiving the whole world. Then we come to the Cult god Lucifer – the *Light Bringer*. Lucifer is symbolic of Yaldabaoth, the bringer of radiation light that forms the bad copy simulation within the speed of light. 'He' is symbolised by the lighted torch held by the Statue of Liberty and in the name 'Illuminati'. Sabbatian-Frankism declares that Lucifer is the true god and Lucifer is the real god of Freemasonry honoured as their 'Great or Grand Architect of the Universe' (simulation).

I would emphasise, too, the way Archontic technologically-generated luminous fire of radiation has deluged our environment since I was a kid in the 1950s and changed the nature of The Field with which we constantly interact. Through that interaction technological radiation is changing us. The Smart Grid is designed to operate with immense levels of communication power with 5G expanding across the world and 6G, 7G, in the process of development. Radiation is the simulation and the Archontic manipulation system. Why wouldn't the Archon Cult wish to unleash radiation upon us to an ever-greater extreme to form



Kurzweil's 'cloud'? The plan for a synthetic human is related to the need to cope with levels of radiation beyond even anything we've seen so far. Biological humans would not survive the scale of radiation they have in their script. The Smart Grid is a technological sub-reality within the technological simulation to further disconnect five-sense perception from expanded consciousness. It's a technological prison of the mind.

### **Infusing the 'spirit of darkness'**

A recurring theme in religion and native cultures is the manipulation of human genetics by a non-human force and most famously recorded as the biblical 'sons of god' (the gods plural in the original) who interbred with the daughters of men. The Nag Hammadi *Apocryphon of John* tells the same story this way:

He [Yaldabaoth] sent his angels [Archons/demons] to the daughters of men, that they might take some of them for themselves and raise offspring for their enjoyment. And at first they did not succeed. When they had no success, they gathered together again and they made a plan together ... And the angels changed themselves in their likeness into the likeness of their mates, filling them with the spirit of darkness, which they had mixed for them, and with evil ... And they took women and begot children out of the darkness according to the likeness of their spirit.

Possession when a discarnate entity takes over a human body is an age-old theme and continues today. It's very real and I've seen it. Satanic and secret society rituals can create an energetic environment in which entities can attach to initiates and I've heard many stories of how people have changed their personality after being initiated even into lower levels of the Freemasons. I have been inside three Freemasonic temples, one at a public open day and two by just walking in when there was no one around to stop me. They were in Ryde, the town where I live, Birmingham, England, when I was with a group, and Boston, Massachusetts. They all felt the same energetically – dark, dense, low-vibrational and sinister. Demonic attachment can happen while the initiate has no idea what is going on. To them it's just a ritual to get in the Masons and do a bit of good

business. In the far more extreme rituals of Satanism human possession is even more powerful and they are designed to make possession possible. The hierarchy of the Cult is dictated by the power and perceived status of the possessing Archon. In this way the Archon hierarchy becomes the Cult hierarchy. Once the entity has attached it can influence perception and behaviour and if it attaches to the extreme then so much of its energy (information) infuses into the body information field that the hologram starts to reflect the nature of the possessing entity. This is the *Exorcist* movie type of possession when facial features change and it's known as shapeshifting. Islam's Jinn are said to be invisible tricksters who change shape, 'whisper', confuse and take human form. These are all traits of the Archons and other versions of the same phenomenon. Extreme possession could certainly infuse the 'spirit of darkness' into a partner during sex as the Nag Hammadi texts appear to describe. Such an infusion can change genetics which is also energetic information. Human genetics is information and the 'spirit of darkness' is information. Mix one with the other and change must happen. Islam has the concept of a 'Jinn baby' through possession of the mother and by Jinn taking human form. There are many ways that human genetics can be changed and remember that Archons have been aware all along of advanced techniques to do this. What is being done in human society today – and far more – was known about by Archons at the time of the 'fallen ones' and their other versions described in religions and cultures.

Archons and their human-world Cult are obsessed with genetics as we see today and they know this dictates how information is processed into perceived reality during a human life. They needed to produce a human form that would decode the simulation and this is symbolically known as 'Adam and Eve' who left the 'garden' (prime reality) and 'fell' into Matrix reality. The simulation is not a 'physical' construct (there is no 'physical'); it is a source of information. Think Wi-Fi again. The simulation is an energetic field encoded with information and body-brain systems are designed to decode that information encoded in wave or frequency form which

is transmitted to the brain as electrical signals. These are decoded by the brain to construct our sense of reality – an illusory ‘physical’ world that only exists in the brain or the mind. Virtual reality games mimic this process using the same sensory decoding system. Information is fed to the senses to decode a virtual reality that can appear so real, but isn’t (Figs 18 and 19). Some scientists believe – and I agree with them – that what we perceive as ‘physical’ reality only exists when we are looking or observing. The act of perception or focus triggers the decoding systems which turn waveform information into holographic reality. When we are not observing something our reality reverts from a holographic state to a waveform state. This relates to the same principle as a falling tree not making a noise unless someone is there to hear it or decode it. The concept makes sense from the simulation perspective. A computer is not decoding all the information in a Wi-Fi field all the time and only decodes or brings into reality on the screen that part of Wi-Fi that it’s decoding – focusing upon – at that moment.



**Figure 18:** Virtual reality technology ‘hacks’ into the body’s five-sense decoding system.



**Figure 19:** The result can be experienced as very ‘real’.

Interestingly, Professor Donald Hoffman at the Department of Cognitive Sciences at the University of California, Irvine, says that our experienced reality is like a computer interface that shows us only the level with which we interact while hiding all that exists beyond it: 'Evolution shaped us with a user interface that hides the truth. Nothing that we see is the truth – the very language of space and time and objects is the wrong language to describe reality.' He is correct in what he says on so many levels. Space and time are not a universal reality. They are a phenomenon of decoded *simulation* reality as part of the process of enslaving our sense of reality. Near-death experiencers report again and again how space and time did not exist as we perceive them once they were free of the body – body decoding systems. You can appreciate from this why Archons and their Cult are so desperate to entrap human attention in the five senses where we are in the Matrix and of the Matrix. Opening your mind to expanded states of awareness takes you beyond the information confines of the simulation and you become aware of knowledge and insights denied to you before. This is what we call 'awakening' – *awakening from the Matrix* – and in the final chapter I will relate this to current events.

### **Where are the 'aliens'?**

A simulation would explain the so-called 'Fermi Paradox' named after Italian physicist Enrico Fermi (1901-1954) who created the first nuclear reactor. He considered the question of why there is such a lack of extraterrestrial activity when there are so many stars and planets in an apparently vast universe; but what if the night sky that we see, or think we do, is a simulated projection as I say? If you control the simulation and your aim is to hold humanity fast in essential ignorance would you want other forms of life including advanced life coming and going sharing information with humanity? Or would you want them to believe they were isolated and apparently alone? Themes of human isolation and apartness are common whether they be the perception of a lifeless universe or the fascist isolation laws of the 'Covid' era. Paradoxically the very

existence of a simulation means that we are not alone when some force had to construct it. My view is that experiences that people have reported all over the world for centuries with Reptilians and Grey entities are Archon phenomena as Nag Hammadi texts describe; and that benevolent 'alien' interactions are non-human groups that come in and out of the simulation by overcoming Archon attempts to keep them out. It should be highlighted, too, that Reptilians and Greys are obsessed with *genetics* and *technology* as related by cultural accounts and those who say they have been abducted by them. Technology is their way of overcoming some of the limitations in their creative potential and our technology-driven and controlled human society of today is *archetypical* Archon-Reptilian-Grey modus operandi. Technocracy is really *Archontocracy*. The Universe does not have to be as big as it appears with a simulation. There is no space or distance only information decoded into holographic reality. What we call 'space' is only the absence of holographic 'objects' and that 'space' is The Field of energetic information which connects everything into a single whole. The same applies with the artificially-generated information field of the simulation. The Universe is not big or small as a physical reality. It is decoded information, that's all, and its perceived size is decided by the way the simulation is encoded to make it appear. The entire night sky as we perceive it only exists in our brain and so where are those 'millions of light years'? The 'stars' on the ceiling of the Planetarium looked a vast distance away.

There's another point to mention about 'aliens'. I have been highlighting since the 1990s the plan to stage a fake 'alien invasion' to justify the centralisation of global power and a world military. Nazi scientist Werner von Braun, who was taken to America by Operation Paperclip after World War Two to help found NASA, told his American assistant Dr Carol Rosin about the Cult agenda when he knew he was dying in 1977. Rosin said that he told her about a sequence that would lead to total human control by a one-world government. This included threats from terrorism, rogue nations, meteors and asteroids before finally an 'alien invasion'. All of these

things, von Braun said, would be bogus and what I would refer to as a No-Problem-Reaction-Solution. Keep this in mind when 'the aliens are coming' is the new mantra. The aliens are not coming – they are *already here* and they have infiltrated human society while looking human. French-Canadian investigative journalist Serge Monast said in 1994 that he had uncovered a NASA/military operation called Project Blue Beam which fits with what Werner von Braun predicted. Monast died of a 'heart attack' in 1996 the day after he was arrested and spent a night in prison. He was 51. He said Blue Beam was a plan to stage an alien invasion that would include religious figures beamed holographically into the sky as part of a global manipulation to usher in a 'new age' of worshipping what I would say is the Cult 'god' Yaldabaoth in a one-world religion. Fake holographic asteroids are also said to be part of the plan which again syncs with von Braun. How could you stage an illusory threat from asteroids unless they were holographic inserts? This is pretty straightforward given the advanced technology outside the public arena and the fact that our 'physical' reality is holographic anyway. Information fields would be projected and we would decode them into the illusion of a 'physical' asteroid. If they can sell a global 'pandemic' with a 'virus' that doesn't exist what will humans not believe if government and media tell them?

All this is particularly relevant as I write with the Pentagon planning to release in June, 2021, information about 'UFO sightings'. I have been following the UFO story since the early 1990s and the common theme throughout has been government and military denials and cover up. More recently, however, the Pentagon has suddenly become more talkative and apparently open with Air Force pilot radar images released of unexplained craft moving and changing direction at speeds well beyond anything believed possible with human technology. Then, in March, 2021, former Director of National Intelligence John Ratcliffe said a Pentagon report months later in June would reveal a great deal of information about UFO sightings unknown to the public. He said the report would have 'massive implications'. The order to do this was included bizarrely

in a \$2.3 trillion 'coronavirus' relief and government funding bill passed by the Trump administration at the end of 2020. I would add some serious notes of caution here. I have been pointing out since the 1990s that the US military and intelligence networks have long had craft – 'flying saucers' or anti-gravity craft – which any observer would take to be extraterrestrial in origin. Keeping this knowledge from the public allows craft flown by *humans* to be perceived as alien visitations. I am not saying that 'aliens' do not exist. I would be the last one to say that, but we have to be streetwise here. President Ronald Reagan told the UN General Assembly in 1987: 'I occasionally think how quickly our differences worldwide would vanish if we were facing an alien threat from outside this world.' That's the idea. Unite against a common 'enemy' with a common purpose behind your 'saviour force' (the Cult) as this age-old technique of mass manipulation goes global.

### **Science moves this way ...**

I could find only one other person who was discussing the simulation hypothesis publicly when I concluded it was real. This was Nick Bostrom, a Swedish-born philosopher at the University of Oxford, who has explored for many years the possibility that human reality is a computer simulation although his version and mine are not the same. Today the simulation and holographic reality hypothesis have increasingly entered the scientific mainstream. Well, the more open-minded mainstream, that is. Here are a few of the ever-gathering examples. American nuclear physicist Silas Beane led a team of physicists at the University of Bonn in Germany pursuing the question of whether we live in a simulation. They concluded that we probably do and it was likely based on a lattice of cubes. They found that cosmic rays align with that specific pattern. The team highlighted the Greisen–Zatsepin–Kuzmin (GZK) limit which refers to cosmic ray particle interaction with cosmic background radiation that creates an apparent boundary for cosmic ray particles. They say in a paper entitled 'Constraints on the Universe as a Numerical Simulation' that this 'pattern of constraint' is exactly what you

would find with a computer simulation. They also made the point that a simulation would create its own 'laws of physics' that would limit possibility. I've been making the same point for decades that the *perceived* laws of physics relate only to this reality, or what I would later call the simulation. When designers write codes to create computer and virtual reality games they are the equivalent of the laws of physics for that game. Players interact within the limitations laid out by the coding. In the same way those who wrote the codes for the simulation decided the laws of physics that would apply. These can be overridden by expanded states of consciousness, but not by those enslaved in only five-sense awareness where simulation codes rule. Overriding the codes is what people call 'miracles'. They are not. They are bypassing the encoded limits of the simulation. A population caught in simulation perception would have no idea that this was their plight. As the Bonn paper said: 'Like a prisoner in a pitch-black cell we would not be able to see the "walls" of our prison,' That's true if people remain mesmerised by the five senses. Open to expanded awareness and those walls become very clear. The main one is the speed of light.

American theoretical physicist James Gates is another who has explored the simulation question and found considerable evidence to support the idea. Gates was Professor of Physics at the University of Maryland, Director of The Center for String and Particle Theory, and on Barack Obama's Council of Advisors on Science and Technology. He and his team found *computer codes* of digital data embedded in the fabric of our reality. They relate to on-off electrical charges of 1 and 0 in the binary system used by computers. 'We have no idea what they are doing there', Gates said. They found within the energetic fabric mathematical sequences known as error-correcting codes or block codes that 'reboot' data to its original state or 'default settings' when something knocks it out of sync. Gates was asked if he had found a set of equations embedded in our reality indistinguishable from those that drive search engines and browsers and he said: 'That is correct.' Rich Terrile, director of the Centre for Evolutionary Computation and Automated Design at NASA's Jet



Propulsion Laboratory, has said publicly that he believes the Universe is a digital hologram that must have been created by a form of intelligence. I agree with that in every way. Waveform information is delivered electrically by the senses to the brain which constructs a *digital* holographic reality that we call the 'world'. This digital level of reality can be read by the esoteric art of numerology. Digital holograms are at the cutting edge of holographics today. We have digital technology everywhere designed to access and manipulate our digital level of perceived reality. Synthetic mRNA in 'Covid vaccines' has a digital component to manipulate the body's digital 'operating system'.

## **Reality is numbers**

How many know that our reality can be broken down to numbers and codes that are the same as computer games? Max Tegmark, a physicist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), is the author of *Our Mathematical Universe* in which he lays out how reality can be entirely described by numbers and maths in the way that a video game is encoded with the 'physics' of computer games. Our world and computer virtual reality are essentially the same.

Tegmark imagines the perceptions of characters in an advanced computer game when the graphics are so good they don't know they are in a game. They think they can bump into real objects (electromagnetic resistance in our reality), fall in love and feel emotions like excitement. When they began to study the apparently 'physical world' of the video game they would realise that everything was made of pixels (which have been found in our energetic reality as must be the case when on one level our world is digital). What computer game characters thought was physical 'stuff', Tegmark said, could actually be broken down into numbers:

And we're exactly in this situation in our world. We look around and it doesn't seem that mathematical at all, but everything we see is made out of elementary particles like quarks and electrons. And what properties does an electron have? Does it have a smell or a colour or a texture? No! ... We physicists have come up with geeky names for [Electron] properties, like

electric charge, or spin, or lepton number, but the electron doesn't care what we call it, the properties are just numbers.

This is the illusory reality Gnostics were describing. This is the simulation. The A, C, G, and T codes of DNA have a binary value – A and C = 0 while G and T = 1. This has to be when the simulation is digital and the body must be digital to interact with it. Recurring mathematical sequences are encoded throughout reality and the body. They include the Fibonacci sequence in which the two previous numbers are added to get the next one, as in ... 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, etc. The sequence is encoded in the human face and body, proportions of animals, DNA, seed heads, pine cones, trees, shells, spiral galaxies, hurricanes and the number of petals in a flower. The list goes on and on. There are fractal patterns – a 'never-ending pattern that is infinitely complex and self-similar across all scales in the as above, so below, principle of holograms. These and other famous recurring geometrical and mathematical sequences such as Phi, Pi, Golden Mean, Golden Ratio and Golden Section are *computer codes* of the simulation. I had to laugh and give my head a shake the day I finished this book and it went into the production stage. I was sent an article in *Scientific American* published in April, 2021, with the headline 'Confirmed! We Live in a Simulation'. Two decades after I first said our reality is a simulation and the speed of light is its outer limit the article suggested that we do live in a simulation and that the speed of light is its outer limit. I left school at 15 and never passed a major exam in my life while the writer was up to his eyes in qualifications. As I will explain in the final chapter *knowing* is far better than thinking and they come from very different sources. The article rightly connected the speed of light to the processing speed of the 'Matrix' and said what has been in my books all this time ... 'If we are in a simulation, as it appears, then space is an abstract property written in code. It is not real'. No it's not and if we live in a simulation something created it and it wasn't *us*. 'That David Icke says we are manipulated by aliens' – he's crackers.'

## **Wow ...**

The reality that humanity thinks is so real is an illusion. Politicians, governments, scientists, doctors, academics, law enforcement, media, school and university curriculums, on and on, are all founded on a world that *does not exist* except as a simulated prison cell. Is it such a stretch to accept that 'Covid' doesn't exist when our entire 'physical' reality doesn't exist? Revealed here is the knowledge kept under raps in the Cult networks of compartmentalised secrecy to control humanity's sense of reality by inducing the population to believe in a reality that's not real. If it wasn't so tragic in its experiential consequences the whole thing would be hysterically funny. None of this is new to Renegade Minds. Ancient Greek philosopher Plato (about 428 to about 347BC) was a major influence on Gnostic belief and he described the human plight thousands of years ago with his Allegory of the Cave. He told the symbolic story of prisoners living in a cave who had never been outside. They were chained and could only see one wall of the cave while behind them was a fire that they could not see. Figures walked past the fire casting shadows on the prisoners' wall and those moving shadows became their sense of reality. Some prisoners began to study the shadows and were considered experts on them (today's academics and scientists), but what they studied was only an illusion (today's academics and scientists). A prisoner escaped from the cave and saw reality as it really is. When he returned to report this revelation they didn't believe him, called him mad and threatened to kill him if he tried to set them free. Plato's tale is not only a brilliant analogy of the human plight and our illusory reality. It describes, too, the dynamics of the 'Covid' hoax. I have only skimmed the surface of these subjects here. The aim of this book is to crisply connect all essential dots to put what is happening today into its true context. All subject areas and their connections in this chapter are covered in great evidential detail in *Everything You Need To Know, But Have Never Been Told* and *The Answer*.

They say that bewildered people 'can't see the forest for the trees'. Humanity, however, can't see the forest for the *twigs*. The five senses

see only twigs while Renegade Minds can see the forest and it's the forest where the answers lie with the connections that reveals. Breaking free of perceptual programming so the forest can be seen is the way we turn all this around. Not breaking free is how humanity got into this mess. The situation may seem hopeless, but I promise you it's not. We are a perceptual heartbeat from paradise if only we knew.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

### **Escaping Wetiko**

*Life is simply a vacation from the infinite*

Dean Cavanagh

**R**enegade Minds weave the web of life and events and see common themes in the apparently random. They are always there if you look for them and their pursuit is aided by incredible synchronicity that comes when your mind is open rather than mesmerised by what it thinks it can see.

Infinite awareness is infinite possibility and the more of infinite possibility that we access the more becomes infinitely possible. That may be stating the apparently obvious, but it is a devastatingly-powerful fact that can set us free. We are a point of attention within an infinity of consciousness. The question is how much of that infinity do we choose to access? How much knowledge, insight, awareness, wisdom, do we want to connect with and explore? If your focus is only in the five senses you will be influenced by a fraction of infinite awareness. I mean a range so tiny that it gives new meaning to infinitesimal. Limitation of self-identity and a sense of the possible limit accordingly your range of consciousness. We are what we think we are. Life is what we think it is. The dream is the dreamer and the dreamer is the dream. Buddhist philosophy puts it this way: 'As a thing is viewed, so it appears.' Most humans live in the realm of touch, taste, see, hear, and smell and that's the limit of their sense of the possible and sense of self. Many will follow a religion and speak of a God in his heaven, but their lives are still

dominated by the five senses in their perceptions and actions. The five senses become the arbiter of everything. When that happens all except a smear of infinity is sealed away from influence by the rigid, unyielding, reality bubbles that are the five-sense human or Phantom Self. Archon Cult methodology is to isolate consciousness within five-sense reality – the simulation – and then program that consciousness with a sense of self and the world through a deluge of life-long information designed to instil the desired perception that allows global control. Efforts to do this have increased dramatically with identity politics as identity bubbles are squeezed into the minutiae of five-sense detail which disconnect people even more profoundly from the infinite 'I'.

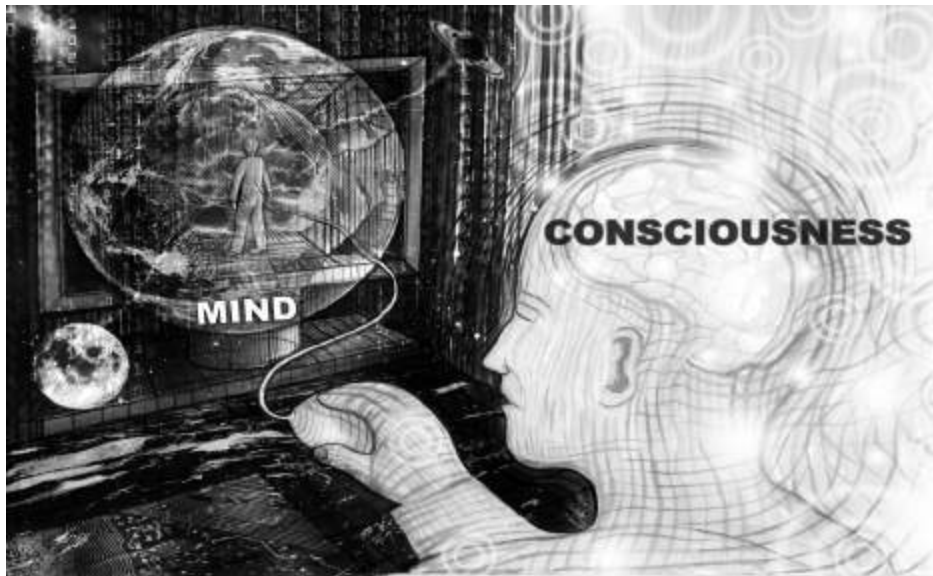
Five-sense focus and self-identity are like a firewall that limits access to the infinite realms. You only perceive one radio or television station and no other. We'll take that literally for a moment. Imagine a vast array of stations giving different information and angles on reality, but you only ever listen to one. Here we have the human plight in which the population is overwhelmingly confined to CultFM. This relates only to the frequency range of CultFM and limits perception and insight to that band – limits *possibility* to that band. It means you are connecting with an almost imperceptibly minuscule range of possibility and creative potential within the infinite Field. It's a world where everything seems apart from everything else and where synchronicity is rare. Synchronicity is defined in the dictionary as 'the happening by chance of two or more related or similar events at the same time'. Use of 'by chance' betrays a complete misunderstanding of reality. Synchronicity is not 'by chance'. As people open their minds, or 'awaken' to use the term, they notice more and more coincidences in their lives, bits of 'luck', apparently miraculous happenings that put them in the right place at the right time with the right people. Days become peppered with 'fancy meeting you here' and 'what are the chances of that?' My entire life has been lived like this and ever more so since my own colossal awakening in 1990 and 91 which transformed my sense of reality. Synchronicity is not 'by chance'; it is by accessing expanded

realms of possibility which allow expanded potential for manifestation. People broadcasting the same vibe from the same openness of mind tend to be drawn 'by chance' to each other through what I call frequency magnetism and it's not only people. In the last more than 30 years incredible synchronicity has also led me through the Cult maze to information in so many forms and to crucial personal experiences. These 'coincidences' have allowed me to put the puzzle pieces together across an enormous array of subjects and situations. Those who have breached the bubble of five-sense reality will know exactly what I mean and this escape from the perceptual prison cell is open to everyone whenever they make that choice. This may appear super-human when compared with the limitations of 'human', but it's really our natural state. 'Human' as currently experienced is consciousness in an unnatural state of induced separation from the infinity of the whole. I'll come to how this transformation into unity can be made when I have described in more detail the force that holds humanity in servitude by denying this access to infinite self.

### **The Wetiko factor**

I have been talking and writing for decades about the way five-sense mind is systematically barricaded from expanded awareness. I have used the analogy of a computer (five-sense mind) and someone at the keyboard (expanded awareness). Interaction between the computer and the operator is symbolic of the interaction between five-sense mind and expanded awareness. The computer directly experiences the Internet and the operator experiences the Internet via the computer which is how it's supposed to be – the two working as one. Archons seek to control that point where the operator connects with the computer to stop that interaction (Fig 20). Now the operator is banging the keyboard and clicking the mouse, but the computer is not responding and this happens when the computer is taken over – *possessed* – by an appropriately-named computer 'virus'. The operator has lost all influence over the computer which goes its own way making decisions under the control of the 'virus'. I have

just described the dynamic through which the force known to Gnostics as Yaldabaoth and Archons disconnects five-sense mind from expanded awareness to imprison humanity in perceptual servitude.



**Figure 20:** The mind ‘virus’ I have been writing about for decades seeks to isolate five-sense mind (the computer) from the true ‘I’. (Image by Neil Hague).

About a year ago I came across a Native American concept of Wetiko which describes precisely the same phenomenon. Wetiko is the spelling used by the Cree and there are other versions including wintiko and windigo used by other tribal groups. They spell the name with lower case, but I see Wetiko as a proper noun as with Archons and prefer a capital. I first saw an article about Wetiko by writer and researcher Paul Levy which so synced with what I had been writing about the computer/operator disconnection and later the Archons. I then read his book, the fascinating *Dispelling Wetiko, Breaking the Spell of Evil*. The parallels between what I had concluded long before and the Native American concept of Wetiko were so clear and obvious that it was almost funny. For Wetiko see the Gnostic Archons for sure and the Jinn, the Predators, and every other name for a force of evil, inversion and chaos. Wetiko is the Native American name for the force that divides the computer from



the operator (Fig 21). Indigenous author Jack D. Forbes, a founder of the Native American movement in the 1960s, wrote another book about Wetiko entitled *Columbus And Other Cannibals – The Wetiko Disease of Exploitation, Imperialism, and Terrorism* which I also read. Forbes says that Wetiko refers to an evil person or spirit ‘who terrorizes other creatures by means of terrible acts, including cannibalism’. Zulu shaman Credo Mutwa told me that African accounts tell how cannibalism was brought into the world by the Chitauri ‘gods’ – another manifestation of Wetiko. The distinction between ‘evil person or spirit’ relates to Archons/Wetiko possessing a human or acting as pure consciousness. Wetiko is said to be a sickness of the soul or spirit and a state of being that takes but gives nothing back – the Cult and its operatives perfectly described. Black Hawk, a Native American war leader defending their lands from confiscation, said European invaders had ‘poisoned hearts’ – Wetiko hearts – and that this would spread to native societies. Mention of the heart is very significant as we shall shortly see. Forbes writes: ‘Tragically, the history of the world for the past 2,000 years is, in great part, the story of the epidemiology of the wetiko disease.’ Yes, and much longer. Forbes is correct when he says: ‘The wetikos destroyed Egypt and Babylon and Athens and Rome and Tenochtitlan [capital of the Aztec empire] and perhaps now they will destroy the entire earth.’ Evil, he said, is the number one export of a Wetiko culture – see its globalisation with ‘Covid’. Constant war, mass murder, suffering of all kinds, child abuse, Satanism, torture and human sacrifice are all expressions of Wetiko and the Wetiko possessed. The world is Wetiko made manifest, *but it doesn’t have to be*. There is a way out of this even now.



**Figure 21:** The mind 'virus' is known to Native Americans as 'Wetiko'. (Image by Neil Hague).

## **Cult of Wetiko**

Wetiko is the Yaldabaoth frequency distortion that seeks to attach to human consciousness and absorb it into its own. Once this connection is made Wetiko can drive the perceptions of the target which they believe to be coming from their own mind. All the horrors of history and today from mass killers to Satanists, paedophiles like Jeffrey Epstein and other psychopaths, are the embodiment of Wetiko and express its state of being in all its grotesqueness. The Cult is Wetiko incarnate, Yaldabaoth incarnate, and it seeks to facilitate Wetiko assimilation of humanity in totality into its distortion by manipulating the population into low frequency states that match its own. Paul Levy writes: 'Holographically enforced within the psyche of every human being the wetiko virus pervades and underlies the entire field of consciousness, and can therefore potentially manifest through any one of us at any moment if we are not mindful.' The 'Covid' hoax has achieved this with many people, but others have not fallen into Wetiko's frequency lair. Players in the 'Covid' human catastrophe including Gates, Schwab, Tedros, Fauci, Whitty, Vallance, Johnson, Hancock, Ferguson, Drosten, and all the rest, including the psychopath psychologists, are expressions of Wetiko. This is why

they have no compassion or empathy and no emotional consequence for what they do that would make them stop doing it. Observe all the people who support the psychopaths in authority against the Pushbackers despite the damaging impact the psychopaths have on their own lives and their family's lives. You are again looking at Wetiko possession which prevents them seeing through the lies to the obvious scam going on. *Why can't they see it?* Wetiko won't let them see it. The perceptual divide that has now become a chasm is between the Wetikoed and the non-Wetikoed.

Paul Levy describes Wetiko in the same way that I have long described the Archontic force. They are the same distorted consciousness operating across dimensions of reality: '... the subtle body of wetiko is not located in the third dimension of space and time, literally existing in another dimension ... it is able to affect ordinary lives by mysteriously interpenetrating into our three-dimensional world.' Wetiko does this through its incarnate representatives in the Cult and by weaving itself into The Field which on our level of reality is the electromagnetic information field of the simulation or Matrix. More than that, the simulation *is* Wetiko / Yaldabaoth. Caleb Scharf, Director of Astrobiology at Columbia University, has speculated that 'alien life' could be so advanced that it has transcribed itself into the quantum realm to become what we call physics. He said intelligence indistinguishable from the fabric of the Universe would solve many of its greatest mysteries:

Perhaps hyper-advanced life isn't just external. Perhaps it's already all around. It is embedded in what we perceive to be physics itself, from the root behaviour of particles and fields to the phenomena of complexity and emergence ... In other words, life might not just be in the equations. It might BE the equations [My emphasis].

Scharf said it is possible that 'we don't recognise advanced life because it forms an integral and unsuspecting part of what we've considered to be the natural world'. I agree. Wetiko/Yaldabaoth *is* the simulation. We are literally in the body of the beast. But that doesn't mean it has to control us. We all have the power to overcome Wetiko

influence and the Cult knows that. I doubt it sleeps too well because it knows that.

## **Which Field?**

This, I suggest, is how it all works. There are two Fields. One is the fierce electromagnetic light of the Matrix within the speed of light; the other is the 'watery light' of The Field beyond the walls of the Matrix that connects with the Great Infinity. Five-sense mind and the decoding systems of the body attach us to the Field of Matrix light. They have to or we could not experience this reality. Five-sense mind sees only the Matrix Field of information while our expanded consciousness is part of the Infinity Field. When we open our minds, and most importantly our hearts, to the Infinity Field we have a mission control which gives us an expanded perspective, a road map, to understand the nature of the five-sense world. If we are isolated only in five-sense mind there is no mission control. We're on our own trying to understand a world that's constantly feeding us information to ensure we do not understand. People in this state can feel 'lost' and bewildered with no direction or radar. You can see ever more clearly those who are influenced by the Fields of Big Infinity or little five-sense mind simply by their views and behaviour with regard to the 'Covid' hoax. We have had this division throughout known human history with the mass of the people on one side and individuals who could see and intuit beyond the walls of the simulation – Plato's prisoner who broke out of the cave and saw reality for what it is. Such people have always been targeted by Wetiko/Archon-possessed authority, burned at the stake or demonised as mad, bad and dangerous. The Cult today and its global network of 'anti-hate', 'anti-fascist' Woke groups are all expressions of Wetiko attacking those exposing the conspiracy, 'Covid' lies and the 'vaccine' agenda.

Woke as a whole is Wetiko which explains its black and white mentality and how at one it is with the Wetiko-possessed Cult. Paul Levy said: 'To be in this paradigm is to still be under the thrall of a two-valued logic – where things are either true or false – of a

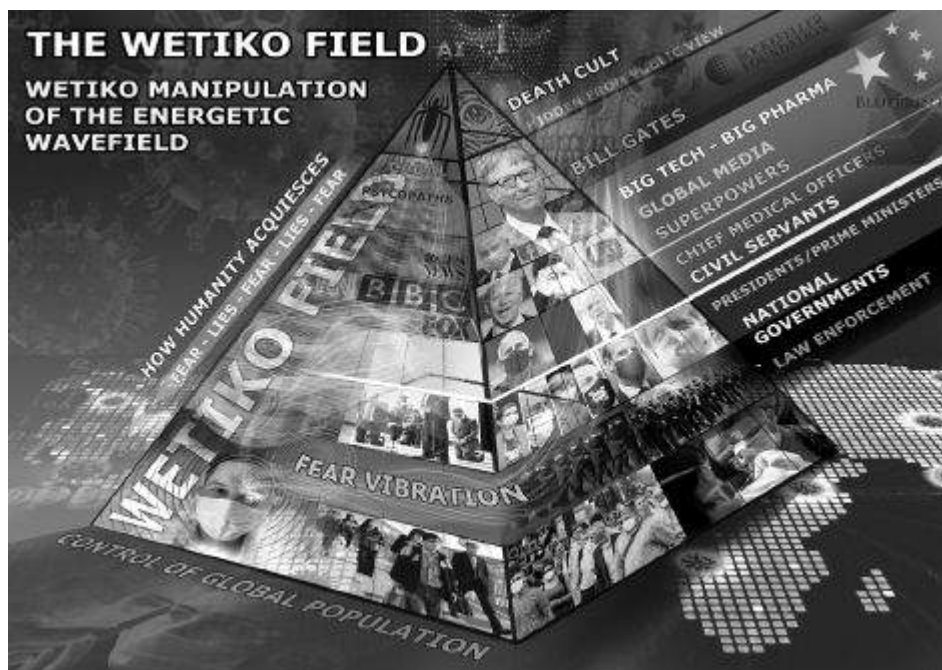
wetikoized mind.’ Wetiko consciousness is in a permanent rage, therefore so is Woke, and then there is Woke inversion and contradiction. ‘Anti-fascists’ act like fascists because fascists *and* ‘anti-fascists’ are both Wetiko at work. Political parties act the same while claiming to be different for the same reason. Secret society and satanic rituals are attaching initiates to Wetiko and the cold, ruthless, psychopathic mentality that secures the positions of power all over the world is Wetiko. Reframing ‘training programmes’ have the same cumulative effect of attaching Wetiko and we have their graduates described as automatons and robots with a cold, psychopathic, uncaring demeanour. They are all traits of Wetiko possession and look how many times they have been described in this book and elsewhere with regard to personnel behind ‘Covid’ including the police and medical profession. Climbing the greasy pole in any profession in a Wetiko society requires traits of Wetiko to get there and that is particularly true of politics which is not about fair competition and pre-eminence of ideas. It is founded on how many backs you can stab and arses you can lick. This culminated in the global ‘Covid’ coordination between the Wetiko possessed who pulled it off in all the different countries without a trace of empathy and compassion for their impact on humans. Our sight sense can see only holographic form and not the Field which connects holographic form. Therefore we perceive ‘physical’ objects with ‘space’ in between. In fact that ‘space’ is energy/consciousness operating on multiple frequencies. One of them is Wetiko and that connects the Cult psychopaths, those who submit to the psychopaths, and those who serve the psychopaths in the media operations of the world. Wetiko is Gates. Wetiko is the mask-wearing submissive. Wetiko is the fake journalist and ‘fact-checker’. The Wetiko Field is coordinating the whole thing. Psychopaths, gofers, media operatives, ‘anti-hate’ hate groups, ‘fact-checkers’ and submissive people work as one unit *even without human coordination* because they are attached to the *same* Field which is organising it all (Fig 22). Paul Levy is here describing how Wetiko-possessed people are drawn together and refuse to let any information breach their rigid

perceptions. He was writing long before 'Covid', but I think you will recognise followers of the 'Covid' religion *oh just a little bit*:

People who are channelling the vibratory frequency of wetiko align with each other through psychic resonance to reinforce their unspoken shared agreement so as to uphold their deranged view of reality. Once an unconscious content takes possession of certain individuals, it irresistibly draws them together by mutual attraction and knits them into groups tied together by their shared madness that can easily swell into an avalanche of insanity.

A psychic epidemic is a closed system, which is to say that it is insular and not open to any new information or informing influences from the outside world which contradict its fixed, limited, and limiting perspective.

There we have the Woke mind and the 'Covid' mind. Compatible resonance draws the awakening together, too, which is clearly happening today.



**Figure 22:** The Wetiko Field from which the Cult pyramid and its personnel are made manifest. (Image by Neil Hague).

## **Spiritual servitude**

Wetiko doesn't care about humans. It's not human; it just possesses humans for its own ends and the effect (depending on the scale of

possession) can be anything from extreme psychopathy to unquestioning obedience. Wetiko's worst nightmare is for human consciousness to expand beyond the simulation. Everything is focussed on stopping that happening through control of information, thus perception, thus frequency. The 'education system', media, science, medicine, academia, are all geared to maintaining humanity in five-sense servitude as is the constant stimulation of low-vibrational mental and emotional states (see 'Covid'). Wetiko seeks to dominate those subconscious spaces between five-sense perception and expanded consciousness where the computer meets the operator. From these subconscious hiding places Wetiko speaks to us to trigger urges and desires that we take to be our own and manipulate us into anything from low-vibrational to psychopathic states. Remember how Islam describes the Jinn as invisible tricksters that 'whisper' and confuse. Wetiko is the origin of the 'trickster god' theme that you find in cultures all over the world. Jinn, like the Archons, are Wetiko which is terrified of humans awakening and reconnecting with our true self for then its energy source has gone. With that the feedback loop breaks between Wetiko and human perception that provides the energetic momentum on which its very existence depends as a force of evil. Humans are both its target and its source of survival, but only if we are operating in low-vibrational states of fear, hate, depression and the background anxiety that most people suffer. We are Wetiko's target because we are its key to survival. It needs us, not the other way round. Paul Levy writes:

A vampire has no intrinsic, independent, substantial existence in its own right; it only exists in relation to us. The pathogenic, vampiric mind-parasite called wetiko is nothing in itself – not being able to exist from its own side – yet it has a 'virtual reality' such that it can potentially destroy our species ...

...The fact that a vampire is not reflected by a mirror can also mean that what we need to see is that there's nothing, no-thing to see, other than ourselves. The fact that wetiko is the expression of something inside of us means that the cure for wetiko is with us as well. The critical issue is finding this cure within us and then putting it into effect.

Evil begets evil because if evil does not constantly expand and find new sources of energetic sustenance its evil, its *distortion*, dies with the assimilation into balance and harmony. Love is the garlic to Wetiko's vampire. Evil, the absence of love, cannot exist in the presence of love. I think I see a way out of here. I have emphasised so many times over the decades that the Archons/Wetiko and their Cult are not all powerful. *They are not*. I don't care how it looks even now *they are not*. I have not called them little boys in short trousers for effect. I have said it because it is true. Wetiko's insatiable desire for power over others is not a sign of its omnipotence, but its insecurity. Paul Levy writes: 'Due to the primal fear which ultimately drives it and which it is driven to cultivate, wetiko's body politic has an intrinsic and insistent need for centralising power and control so as to create imagined safety for itself.' *Yeaaaaaaes!* Exactly! Why does Wetiko want humans in an ongoing state of fear? Wetiko itself *is* fear and it is petrified of love. As evil is an absence of love, so love is an absence of fear. Love conquers all and *especially* Wetiko which *is* fear. Wetiko brought fear into the world when it wasn't here before. *Fear* was the 'fall', the fall into low-frequency ignorance and illusion – fear is **False Emotion Appearing Real**. The simulation is driven and energised by fear because Wetiko/Yaldabaoth (fear) *are* the simulation. Fear is the absence of love and Wetiko is the absence of love.

## **Wetiko today**

We can now view current events from this level of perspective. The 'Covid' hoax has generated momentous amounts of ongoing fear, anxiety, depression and despair which have empowered Wetiko. No wonder people like Gates have been the instigators when they are Wetiko incarnate and exhibit every trait of Wetiko in the extreme. See how cold and unemotional these people are like Gates and his cronies, how dead of eye they are. That's Wetiko. Sabbatians are Wetiko and everything they control including the World Health Organization, Big Pharma and the 'vaccine' makers, national 'health'



hierarchies, corporate media, Silicon Valley, the banking system, and the United Nations with its planned transformation into world government. All are controlled and possessed by the Wetiko distortion into distorting human society in its image. We are with this knowledge at the gateway to understanding the world. Divisions of race, culture, creed and sexuality are diversions to hide the real division between those possessed and influenced by Wetiko and those that are not. The 'Covid' hoax has brought both clearly into view. Human behaviour is not about race. Tyrants and dictatorships come in all colours and creeds. What unites the US president bombing the innocent and an African tribe committing genocide against another as in Rwanda? What unites them? *Wetiko*. All wars are Wetiko, all genocide is Wetiko, all hunger over centuries in a world of plenty is Wetiko. Children going to bed hungry, including in the West, is Wetiko. Cult-generated Woke racial divisions that focus on the body are designed to obscure the reality that divisions in behaviour are manifestations of mind, not body. Obsession with body identity and group judgement is a means to divert attention from the real source of behaviour – mind and perception. Conflict sown by the Woke both within themselves and with their target groups are Wetiko providing lunch for itself through still more agents of the division, chaos, and fear on which it feeds. The Cult is seeking to assimilate the entirety of humanity and all children and young people into the Wetiko frequency by manipulating them into states of fear and despair. Witness all the suicide and psychological unravelling since the spring of 2020. Wetiko psychopaths want to impose a state of unquestioning obedience to authority which is no more than a conduit for Wetiko to enforce its will and assimilate humanity into itself. It needs us to believe that resistance is futile when it fears resistance and even more so the game-changing non-cooperation with its impositions. It can use violent resistance for its benefit. Violent impositions and violent resistance are *both* Wetiko. The Power of Love with its Power of No will sweep Wetiko from our world. Wetiko and its Cult know that. They just don't want us to know.

## **AI Wetiko**

This brings me to AI or artificial intelligence and something else Wetikos don't want us to know. What is AI *really*? I know about computer code algorithms and AI that learns from data input. These, however, are more diversions, the expeditionary force, for the real AI that they want to connect to the human brain as promoted by Silicon Valley Wetikos like Kurzweil. What is this AI? It is the frequency of *Wetiko*, the frequency of the Archons. The connection of AI to the human brain is the connection of the Wetiko frequency to create a Wetiko hive mind and complete the job of assimilation. The hive mind is planned to be controlled from Israel and China which are both 100 percent owned by Wetiko Sabbatians. The assimilation process has been going on minute by minute in the 'smart' era which fused with the 'Covid' era. We are told that social media is scrambling the minds of the young and changing their personality. This is true, but what is social media? Look more deeply at how it works, how it creates divisions and conflict, the hostility and cruelty, the targeting of people until they are destroyed. That's Wetiko. Social media is manipulated to tune people to the Wetiko frequency with all the emotional exploitation tricks employed by platforms like Facebook and its Wetiko front man, Zuckerberg. Facebook's Instagram announced a new platform for children to overcome a legal bar on them using the main site. This is more Wetiko exploitation and manipulation of kids. Amnesty International likened the plan to foxes offering to guard the henhouse and said it was incompatible with human rights. Since when did Wetiko or Zuckerberg (I repeat myself) care about that? Would Brin and Page at Google, Wojcicki at YouTube, Bezos at Amazon and whoever the hell runs Twitter act as they do if they were not channelling Wetiko? Would those who are developing technologies for no other reason than human control? How about those designing and selling technologies to kill people and Big Pharma drug and 'vaccine' producers who know they will end or devastate lives? Quite a thought for these people to consider is that if you are Wetiko in a human life you are Wetiko on the 'other side' unless your frequency

changes and that can only change by a change of perception which becomes a change of behaviour. Where Gates is going does not bear thinking about although perhaps that's exactly where he wants to go. Either way, that's where he's going. His frequency will make it so.

## **The frequency lair**

I have been saying for a long time that a big part of the addiction to smartphones and devices is that a frequency is coming off them that entraps the mind. People spend ages on their phones and sometimes even a minute or so after they put them down they pick them up again and it all repeats. 'Covid' lockdowns will have increased this addiction a million times for obvious reasons. Addictions to alcohol overindulgence and drugs are another way that Wetiko entraps consciousness to attach to its own. Both are symptoms of low-vibrational psychological distress which alcoholism and drug addiction further compound. Do we think it's really a coincidence that access to them is made so easy while potions that can take people into realms beyond the simulation are banned and illegal? I have explored smartphone addiction in other books, the scale is mind-blowing, and that level of addiction does not come without help. Tech companies that make these phones are Wetiko and they will have no qualms about destroying the minds of children. We are seeing again with these companies the Wetiko perceptual combination of psychopathic enforcers and weak and meek unquestioning compliance by the rank and file.

The global Smart Grid is the Wetiko Grid and it is crucial to complete the Cult endgame. The simulation is radiation and we are being deluged with technological radiation on a devastating scale. Wetiko frauds like Elon Musk serve Cult interests while occasionally criticising them to maintain his street-cred. 5G and other forms of Wi-Fi are being directed at the earth from space on a volume and scale that goes on increasing by the day. Elon Musk's (officially) SpaceX Starlink project is in the process of putting tens of thousands of satellites in low orbit to cover every inch of the planet with 5G and other Wi-Fi to create Kurzweil's global 'cloud' to which the

human mind is planned to be attached very soon. SpaceX has approval to operate 12,000 satellites with more than 1,300 launched at the time of writing and applications filed for 30,000 more. Other operators in the Wi-Fi, 5G, low-orbit satellite market include OneWeb (UK), Telesat (Canada), and AST & Science (US). Musk tells us that AI could be the end of humanity and then launches a company called Neuralink to connect the human brain to computers. Musk's (in theory) Tesla company is building electric cars and the driverless vehicles of the smart control grid. As frauds and bullshitters go Elon Musk in my opinion is Major League.

5G and technological radiation in general are destructive to human health, genetics and psychology and increasing the strength of artificial radiation underpins the five-sense perceptual bubbles which are themselves expressions of radiation or electromagnetism. Freedom activist John Whitehead was so right with his 'databit by databit, we are building our own electronic concentration camps'. The Smart Grid and 5G is a means to control the human mind and infuse perceptual information into The Field to influence anyone in sync with its frequency. You can change perception and behaviour en masse if you can manipulate the population into those levels of frequency and this is happening all around us today. The arrogance of Musk and his fellow Cult operatives knows no bounds in the way that we see with Gates. Musk's satellites are so many in number already they are changing the night sky when viewed from Earth. The astronomy community has complained about this and they have seen nothing yet. Some consequences of Musk's Wetiko hubris include: Radiation; visible pollution of the night sky; interference with astronomy and meteorology; ground and water pollution from intensive use of increasingly many spaceports; accumulating space debris; continual deorbiting and burning up of aging satellites, polluting the atmosphere with toxic dust and smoke; and ever-increasing likelihood of collisions. A collective public open letter of complaint to Musk said:

We are writing to you ... because SpaceX is in process of surrounding the Earth with a network of thousands of satellites whose very purpose is to irradiate every square inch of the

Earth. SpaceX, like everyone else, is treating the radiation as if it were not there. As if the mitochondria in our cells do not depend on electrons moving undisturbed from the food we digest to the oxygen we breathe.

As if our nervous systems and our hearts are not subject to radio frequency interference like any piece of electronic equipment. As if the cancer, diabetes, and heart disease that now afflict a majority of the Earth's population are not metabolic diseases that result from interference with our cellular machinery. As if insects everywhere, and the birds and animals that eat them, are not starving to death as a result.

People like Musk and Gates believe in their limitless Wetiko arrogance that they can do whatever they like to the world because they own it. Consequences for humanity are irrelevant. It's absolutely time that we stopped taking this shit from these self-styled masters of the Earth when you consider where this is going.

## **Why is the Cult so anti-human?**

I hear this question often: Why would they do this when it will affect them, too? Ah, but will it? Who is this *them*? Forget their bodies. They are just vehicles for Wetiko consciousness. When you break it all down to the foundations we are looking at a state of severely distorted consciousness targeting another state of consciousness for assimilation. The rest is detail. The simulation is the fly-trap in which unique sensations of the five senses create a cycle of addiction called reincarnation. Renegade Minds see that everything which happens in our reality is a smaller version of the whole picture in line with the holographic principle. Addiction to the radiation of smart technology is a smaller version of addiction to the whole simulation. Connecting the body/brain to AI is taking that addiction on a giant step further to total ongoing control by assimilating human incarnate consciousness into Wetiko. I have watched during the 'Covid' hoax how many are becoming ever more profoundly attached to Wetiko's perceptual calling cards of aggressive response to any other point of view ('There is no other god but me'), psychopathic lack of compassion and empathy, and servile submission to the narrative and will of authority. Wetiko is the psychopaths *and* subservience to psychopaths. The Cult of Wetiko is

so anti-human because it is *not* human. It embarked on a mission to destroy human by targeting everything that it means to be human and to survive as human. 'Covid' is not the end, just a means to an end. The Cult with its Wetiko consciousness is seeking to change Earth systems, including the atmosphere, to suit them, not humans. The gathering bombardment of 5G alone from ground and space is dramatically changing The Field with which the five senses interact. There is so much more to come if we sit on our hands and hope it will all go away. It is not meant to go away. It is meant to get ever more extreme and we need to face that while we still can – just.

Carbon dioxide is the gas of life. Without that human is over. Kaput, gone, history. No natural world, no human. The Cult has created a cock and bull story about carbon dioxide and climate change to justify its reduction to the point where Gates and the ignoramus Biden 'climate chief' John Kerry want to suck it out of the atmosphere. Kerry wants to do this because his master Gates does. Wetikos have made the gas of life a demon with the usual support from the Wokers of Extinction Rebellion and similar organisations and the bewildered puppet-child that is Greta Thunberg who was put on the world stage by Klaus Schwab and the World Economic Forum. The name Extinction Rebellion is both ironic and as always Wetiko inversion. The gas that we need to survive must be reduced to save us from extinction. The most basic need of human is oxygen and we now have billions walking around in face nappies depriving body and brain of this essential requirement of human existence. More than that 5G at 60 gigahertz interacts with the oxygen molecule to reduce the amount of oxygen the body can absorb into the bloodstream. The obvious knock-on consequences of that for respiratory and cognitive problems and life itself need no further explanation. Psychopaths like Musk are assembling a global system of satellites to deluge the human atmosphere with this insanity. The man should be in jail. Here we have two most basic of human needs, oxygen and carbon dioxide, being dismantled.

Two others, water and food, are getting similar treatment with the United Nations Agendas 21 and 2030 – the Great Reset – planning to

centrally control all water and food supplies. People will not even own rain water that falls on their land. Food is affected at the most basic level by reducing carbon dioxide. We have genetic modification or GMO infiltrating the food chain on a mass scale, pesticides and herbicides polluting the air and destroying the soil. Freshwater fish that provide livelihoods for 60 million people and feed hundreds of millions worldwide are being 'pushed to the brink' according the conservationists while climate change is the only focus. Now we have Gates and Schwab wanting to dispense with current food sources all together and replace them with a synthetic version which the Wetiko Cult would control in terms of production and who eats and who doesn't. We have been on the Totalitarian Tiptoe to this for more than 60 years as food has become ever more processed and full of chemical shite to the point today when it's not natural food at all. As Dr Tom Cowan says: 'If it has a label don't eat it.' Bill Gates is now the biggest owner of farmland in the United States and he does nothing without an ulterior motive involving the Cult. Klaus Schwab wrote: 'To feed the world in the next 50 years we will need to produce as much food as was produced in the last 10,000 years ... food security will only be achieved, however, if regulations on genetically modified foods are adapted to reflect the reality that gene editing offers a precise, efficient and safe method of improving crops.' Liar. People and the world are being targeted with aluminium through vaccines, chemtrails, food, drink cans, and endless other sources when aluminium has been linked to many health issues including dementia which is increasing year after year. Insects, bees and wildlife essential to the food chain are being deleted by pesticides, herbicides and radiation which 5G is dramatically increasing with 6G and 7G to come. The pollinating bee population is being devastated while wildlife including birds, dolphins and whales are having their natural radar blocked by the effects of ever-increasing radiation. In the summer windscreens used to be splattered with insects so numerous were they. It doesn't happen now. Where have they gone?

## **Synthetic everything**

The Cult is introducing genetically-modified versions of trees, plants and insects including a Gates-funded project to unleash hundreds of millions of genetically-modified, lab-altered and patented male mosquitoes to mate with wild mosquitoes and induce genetic flaws that cause them to die out. Clinically-insane Gates-funded Japanese researchers have developed mosquitos that spread vaccine and are dubbed 'flying vaccinators'. Gates is funding the modification of weather patterns in part to sell the myth that this is caused by carbon dioxide and he's funding geoengineering of the skies to change the atmosphere. Some of this came to light with the Gates-backed plan to release tonnes of chalk into the atmosphere to 'deflect the Sun and cool the planet'. Funny how they do this while the heating effect of the Sun is not factored into climate projections focussed on carbon dioxide. The reason is that they want to reduce carbon dioxide (so don't mention the Sun), but at the same time they do want to reduce the impact of the Sun which is so essential to human life and health. I have mentioned the sun-cholesterol-vitamin D connection as they demonise the Sun with warnings about skin cancer (caused by the chemicals in sun cream they tell you to splash on). They come from the other end of the process with statin drugs to reduce cholesterol that turns sunlight into vitamin D. A lack of vitamin D leads to a long list of health effects and how vitamin D levels must have fallen with people confined to their homes over 'Covid'. Gates is funding other forms of geoengineering and most importantly chemtrails which are dropping heavy metals, aluminium and self-replicating nanotechnology onto the Earth which is killing the natural world. See *Everything You Need To Know, But Have Never Been Told* for the detailed background to this.

Every human system is being targeted for deletion by a force that's not human. The Wetiko Cult has embarked on the process of transforming the human body from biological to synthetic biological as I have explained. Biological is being replaced by the artificial and synthetic – Archontic 'countermimicry' – right across human society. The plan eventually is to dispense with the human body altogether



and absorb human consciousness – which it wouldn't really be by then – into cyberspace (the simulation which is Wetiko/Yaldabaoth). Preparations for that are already happening if people would care to look. The alternative media rightly warns about globalism and 'the globalists', but this is far bigger than that and represents the end of the human race as we know it. The 'bad copy' of prime reality that Gnostics describe was a bad copy of harmony, wonder and beauty to start with before Wetiko/Yaldabaoth set out to change the simulated 'copy' into something very different. The process was slow to start with. Entrapped humans in the simulation timeline were not technologically aware and they had to be brought up to intellectual speed while being suppressed spiritually to the point where they could build their own prison while having no idea they were doing so. We have now reached that stage where technological intellect has the potential to destroy us and that's why events are moving so fast. Central American shaman Don Juan Matus said:

Think for a moment, and tell me how you would explain the contradictions between the intelligence of man the engineer and the stupidity of his systems of belief, or the stupidity of his contradictory behaviour. Sorcerers believe that the predators have given us our systems of beliefs, our ideas of good and evil; our social mores. They are the ones who set up our dreams of success or failure. They have given us covetousness, greed, and cowardice. It is the predator who makes us complacent, routinary, and egomaniacal.

In order to keep us obedient and meek and weak, the predators engaged themselves in a stupendous manoeuvre – stupendous, of course, from the point of view of a fighting strategist; a horrendous manoeuvre from the point of those who suffer it. They gave us their mind. The predators' mind is baroque, contradictory, morose, filled with the fear of being discovered any minute now.

For 'predators' see Wetiko, Archons, Yaldabaoth, Jinn, and all the other versions of the same phenomenon in cultures and religions all over the world. The theme is always the same because it's true and it's real. We have reached the point where we have to deal with it. The question is – how?

**Don't fight – walk away**

I thought I'd use a controversial subheading to get things moving in terms of our response to global fascism. What do you mean 'don't fight'? What do you mean 'walk away'? We've got to fight. We can't walk away. Well, it depends what we mean by fight and walk away. If fighting means physical combat we are playing Wetiko's game and falling for its trap. It wants us to get angry, aggressive, and direct hate and hostility at the enemy we think we must fight. Every war, every battle, every conflict, has been fought with Wetiko leading both sides. It's what it does. Wetiko wants a fight, anywhere, any place. Just hit me, son, so I can hit you back. Wetiko hits Wetiko and Wetiko hits Wetiko in return. I am very forthright as you can see in exposing Wetikos of the Cult, but I don't hate them. I refuse to hate them. It's what they want. What you hate you become. What you *fight* you become. Wokers, 'anti-haters' and 'anti-fascists' prove this every time they reach for their keyboards or don their balaclavas. By walk away I mean to disengage from Wetiko which includes ceasing to cooperate with its tyranny. Paul Levy says of Wetiko:

The way to 'defeat' evil is not to try to destroy it (for then, in playing evil's game, we have already lost), but rather, to find the invulnerable place within ourselves where evil is unable to vanquish us – this is to truly 'win' our battle with evil.

Wetiko is everywhere in human society and it's been on steroids since the 'Covid' hoax. Every shouting match over wearing masks has Wetiko wearing a mask and Wetiko not wearing one. It's an electrical circuit of push and resist, push and resist, with Wetiko pushing *and* resisting. Each polarity is Wetiko empowering itself. Dictionary definitions of 'resist' include 'opposing, refusing to accept or comply with' and the word to focus on is 'opposing'. What form does this take – setting police cars alight or 'refusing to accept or comply with'? The former is Wetiko opposing Wetiko while the other points the way forward. This is the difference between those aggressively demanding that government fascism must be obeyed who stand in stark contrast to the great majority of Pushbackers. We saw this clearly with a march by thousands of Pushbackers against lockdown in London followed days later by a Woker-hijacked

protest in Bristol in which police cars were set on fire. Masks were virtually absent in London and widespread in Bristol. Wetiko wants lockdown on every level of society and infuses its aggression to police it through its unknowing stooges. Lockdown protesters are the ones with the smiling faces and the hugs, The two blatantly obvious states of being – getting more obvious by the day – are the result of Wokers and their like becoming ever more influenced by the simulation Field of Wetiko and Pushbackers ever more influenced by The Field of a far higher vibration beyond the simulation. Wetiko can't invade the heart which is where most lockdown opponents are coming from. It's the heart that allows them to see through the lies to the truth in ways I will be highlighting.

Renegade Minds know that calmness is the place from which wisdom comes. You won't find wisdom in a hissing fit and wisdom is what we need in abundance right now. Calmness is not weakness – you don't have to scream at the top of your voice to be strong. Calmness is indeed a sign of strength. 'No' means I'm not doing it. NOOOO!!! doesn't mean you're not doing it even more. Volume does not advance 'No – I'm not doing it'. You are just not doing it. Wetiko possessed and influenced don't know how to deal with that. Wetiko wants a fight and we should not give it one. What it needs more than anything is our *cooperation* and we should not give that either. Mass rallies and marches are great in that they are a visual representation of feeling, but if it ends there they are irrelevant. You demand that Wetikos act differently? Well, they're not going to are they? They are Wetikos. We don't need to waste our time demanding that something doesn't happen when that will make no difference. We need to delete the means that *allows* it to happen. This, invariably, is our cooperation. You can demand a child stop firing a peashooter at the dog or you can refuse to buy the peashooter. If you provide the means you are cooperating with the dog being smacked on the nose with a pea. How can the authorities enforce mask-wearing if millions in a country refuse? What if the 74 million Pushbackers that voted for Trump in 2020 refused to wear masks, close their businesses or stay in their homes. It would be unenforceable. The

few control the many through the compliance of the many and that's always been the dynamic be it 'Covid' regulations or the Roman Empire. I know people can find it intimidating to say no to authority or stand out in a crowd for being the only one with a face on display; but it has to be done or it's over. I hope I've made clear in this book that where this is going will be far more intimidating than standing up now and saying 'No' – I will not cooperate with my own enslavement and that of my children. There might be consequences for some initially, although not so if enough do the same. The question that must be addressed is what is going to happen if we don't? It is time to be strong and unyieldingly so. No means no. Not here and there, but *everywhere* and *always*. I have refused to wear a mask and obey all the other nonsense. I will not comply with tyranny. I repeat: Fascism is not imposed by fascists – there are never enough of them. Fascism is imposed by the population acquiescing to fascism. *I will not do it*. I will die first, or my body will. Living meekly under fascism is a form of death anyway, the death of the spirit that Martin Luther King described.

## **Making things happen**

We must not despair. This is not over till it's over and it's far from that. The 'fat lady' must refuse to sing. The longer the 'Covid' hoax has dragged on and impacted on more lives we have seen an awakening of phenomenal numbers of people worldwide to the realisation that what they have believed all their lives is not how the world really is. Research published by the system-serving University of Bristol and King's College London in February, 2021, concluded: 'One in every 11 people in Britain say they trust David Icke's take on the coronavirus pandemic.' It will be more by now and we have gathering numbers to build on. We must urgently progress from seeing the scam to ceasing to cooperate with it. Prominent German lawyer Reiner Fuellmich, also licenced to practice law in America, is doing a magnificent job taking the legal route to bring the psychopaths to justice through a second Nuremberg tribunal for crimes against humanity. Fuellmich has an impressive record of

beating the elite in court and he formed the German Corona Investigative Committee to pursue civil charges against the main perpetrators with a view to triggering criminal charges. Most importantly he has grasped the foundation of the hoax – the PCR test not testing for the ‘virus’ – and Christian Drosten is therefore on his charge sheet along with Gates frontman Tedros at the World Health Organization. Major players must not be allowed to inflict their horrors on the human race without being brought to book. A life sentence must follow for Bill Gates and the rest of them. A group of researchers has also indicted the government of Norway for crimes against humanity with copies sent to the police and the International Criminal Court. The lawsuit cites participation in an internationally-planned false pandemic and violation of international law and human rights, the European Commission’s definition of human rights by coercive rules, Nuremberg and Hague rules on fundamental human rights, and the Norwegian constitution. We must take the initiative from hereon and not just complain, protest and react.

There are practical ways to support vital mass non-cooperation. Organising in numbers is one. Lockdown marches in London in the spring in 2021 were mass non-cooperation that the authorities could not stop. There were too many people. Hundreds of thousands walked the London streets in the centre of the road for mile after mile while the Face-Nappies could only look on. They were determined, but calm, and just *did it* with no histrionics and lots of smiles. The police were impotent. Others are organising group shopping without masks for mutual support and imagine if that was happening all over. Policing it would be impossible. If the store refuses to serve people in these circumstances they would be faced with a long line of trolleys full of goods standing on their own and everything would have to be returned to the shelves. How would they cope with that if it kept happening? I am talking here about moving on from complaining to being pro-active; from watching things happen to making things happen. I include in this our relationship with the police. The behaviour of many Face-Nappies

has been disgraceful and anyone who thinks they would never find concentration camp guards in the 'enlightened' modern era have had that myth busted big-time. The period and setting may change – Wetikos never do. I watched film footage from a London march in which a police thug viciously kicked a protestor on the floor who had done nothing. His fellow Face-Nappies stood in a ring protecting him. What he did was a criminal assault and with a crowd far outnumbering the police this can no longer be allowed to happen unchallenged. I get it when people chant 'shame on you' in these circumstances, but that is no longer enough. They *have* no shame those who do this. Crowds needs to start making a citizen's arrest of the police who commit criminal offences and brutally attack innocent people and defenceless women. A citizen's arrest can be made under section 24A of the UK Police and Criminal Evidence (PACE) Act of 1984 and you will find something similar in other countries. I prefer to call it a Common Law arrest rather than citizen's for reasons I will come to shortly. Anyone can arrest a person committing an indictable offence or if they have reasonable grounds to suspect they are committing an indictable offence. On both counts the attack by the police thug would have fallen into this category. A citizen's arrest can be made to stop someone:

- Causing physical injury to himself or any other person
- Suffering physical injury
- Causing loss of or damage to property
- Making off before a constable can assume responsibility for him

A citizen's arrest may also be made to prevent a breach of the peace under Common Law and if they believe a breach of the peace will happen or anything related to harm likely to be done or already done in their presence. This is the way to go I think – the Common Law version. If police know that the crowd and members of the public will no longer be standing and watching while they commit

their thuggery and crimes they will think twice about acting like Brownshirts and Blackshirts.

### **Common Law – common sense**

Mention of Common Law is very important. Most people think the law is the law as in one law. This is not the case. There are two bodies of law, Common Law and Statute Law, and they are not the same. Common Law is founded on the simple premise of do no harm. It does not recognise victimless crimes in which no harm is done while Statute Law does. There is a Statute Law against almost everything. So what is Statute Law? Amazingly it's the law of the *sea* that was brought ashore by the Cult to override the law of the land which is Common Law. They had no right to do this and as always they did it anyway. They had to. They could not impose their will on the people through Common Law which only applies to do no harm. How could you stitch up the fine detail of people's lives with that? Instead they took the law of the sea, or Admiralty Law, and applied it to the population. Statute Law refers to all the laws spewing out of governments and their agencies including all the fascist laws and regulations relating to 'Covid'. The key point to make is that Statute Law is *contract law*. It only applies between *contracting* corporations. Most police officers don't even know this. They have to be kept in the dark, too. Long ago when merchants and their sailing ships began to trade with different countries a contractual law was developed called Admiralty Law and other names. Again it only applied to *contracts* agreed between *corporate* entities. If there is no agreed contract the law of the sea had no jurisdiction *and that still applies to its new alias of Statute Law*. The problem for the Cult when the law of the sea was brought ashore was an obvious one. People were not corporations and neither were government entities. To overcome the latter they made governments and all associated organisations corporations. All the institutions are *private corporations* and I mean governments and their agencies, local councils, police, courts, military, US states, the whole lot. Go to the

Dun and Bradstreet corporate listings website for confirmation that they are all corporations. You are arrested by a private corporation called the police by someone who is really a private security guard and they take you to court which is another private corporation. Neither have jurisdiction over you unless you consent and *contract* with them. This is why you hear the mantra about law enforcement policing by *consent* of the people. In truth the people 'consent' only in theory through monumental trickery.

Okay, the Cult overcame the corporate law problem by making governments and institutions corporate entities; but what about people? They are not corporations are they? Ah ... well in a sense, and *only* a sense, they are. Not people exactly – the illusion of people. The Cult creates a corporation in the name of everyone at the time that their birth certificate is issued. Note birth/ *berth* certificate and when you go to court under the law of the sea on land you stand in a *dock*. These are throwbacks to the origin. My Common Law name is David Vaughan Icke. The name of the corporation created by the government when I was born is called Mr David Vaughan Icke usually written in capitals as MR DAVID VAUGHAN ICKE. That is not me, the living, breathing man. It is a fictitious corporate entity. The trick is to make you think that David Vaughan Icke and MR DAVID VAUGHAN ICKE are the same thing. *They are not*. When police charge you and take you to court they are prosecuting the corporate entity and not the living, breathing, man or woman. They have to trick you into identifying as the corporate entity and contracting with them. Otherwise they have no jurisdiction. They do this through a language known as legalese. Lawful and legal are not the same either. Lawful relates to Common Law and legal relates to Statute Law. Legalese is the language of Statue Law which uses terms that mean one thing to the public and another in legalese. Notice that when a police officer tells someone why they are being charged he or she will say at the end: 'Do you understand?' To the public that means 'Do you comprehend?' In legalese it means 'Do you stand under me?' Do you stand under my authority? If you say



yes to the question you are unknowingly agreeing to give them jurisdiction over you in a contract between two corporate entities.

This is a confidence trick in every way. Contracts have to be agreed between informed parties and if you don't know that David Vaughan Icke is agreeing to be the corporation MR DAVID VAUGHAN ICKE you cannot knowingly agree to contract. They are deceiving you and another way they do this is to ask for proof of identity. You usually show them a driving licence or other document on which your corporate name is written. In doing so you are accepting that you are that corporate entity when you are not. Referring to yourself as a 'person' or 'citizen' is also identifying with your corporate fiction which is why I made the Common Law point about the citizen's arrest. If you are approached by a police officer you identify yourself immediately as a living, breathing, man or woman and say 'I do not consent, I do not contract with you and I do not understand' or stand under their authority. I have a Common Law birth certificate as a living man and these are available at no charge from [commonlawcourt.com](http://commonlawcourt.com). Businesses registered under the Statute Law system means that its laws apply. There are, however, ways to run a business under Common Law. Remember all 'Covid' laws and regulations are Statute Law – the law of *contracts* and you do not have to contract. This doesn't mean that you can kill someone and get away with it. Common Law says do no harm and that applies to physical harm, financial harm etc. Police are employees of private corporations and there needs to be a new system of non-corporate Common Law constables operating outside the Statute Law system. If you go to [davidicke.com](http://davidicke.com) and put Common Law into the search engine you will find videos that explain Common Law in much greater detail. It is definitely a road we should walk.

### **With all my heart**

I have heard people say that we are in a spiritual war. I don't like the term 'war' with its Wetiko dynamic, but I know what they mean. Sweep aside all the bodily forms and we are in a situation in which two states of consciousness are seeking very different realities.

Wetiko wants upheaval, chaos, fear, suffering, conflict and control. The other wants love, peace, harmony, fairness and freedom. That's where we are. We should not fall for the idea that Wetiko is all-powerful and there's nothing we can do. Wetiko is not all-powerful. It's a joke, pathetic. It doesn't have to be, but it has made that choice for now. A handful of times over the years when I have felt the presence of its frequency I have allowed it to attach briefly so I could consciously observe its nature. The experience is not pleasant, the energy is heavy and dark, but the ease with which you can kick it back out the door shows that its real power is in persuading us that it has power. It's all a con. Wetiko is a con. It's a trickster and not a power that can control us if we unleash our own. The con is founded on manipulating humanity to give its power to Wetiko which recycles it back to present the illusion that it has power when its power is *ours* that we gave away. This happens on an energetic level and plays out in the world of the seen as humanity giving its power to Wetiko authority which uses that power to control the population when the power is only the power the population has handed over. How could it be any other way for billions to be controlled by a relative few? I have had experiences with people possessed by Wetiko and again you can kick its arse if you do it with an open heart. Oh yes – the *heart* which can transform the world of perceived 'matter'.

We are receiver-transmitters and processors of information, but what information and where from? Information is processed into perception in three main areas – the brain, the heart and the belly. These relate to thinking, knowing, and emotion. Wetiko wants us to be head and belly people which means we think within the confines of the Matrix simulation and low-vibrational emotional reaction scrambles balance and perception. A few minutes on social media and you see how emotion is the dominant force. Woke is all emotion and is therefore thought-free and fact-free. Our heart is something different. It *knows* while the head *thinks* and has to try to work it out because it doesn't know. The human energy field has seven prime vortexes which connect us with wider reality ([Fig 23](#)). Chakra means

'wheels of light' in the Sanskrit language of ancient India. The main ones are: The crown chakra on top of the head; brow (or 'third eye') chakra in the centre of the forehead; throat chakra; heart chakra in the centre of the chest; solar plexus chakra below the sternum; sacral chakra beneath the navel; and base chakra at the bottom of the spine. Each one has a particular function or functions. We feel anxiety and nervousness in the belly where the sacral chakra is located and this processes emotion that can affect the colon to give people 'the shits' or make them 'shit scared' when they are nervous. Chakras all play an important role, but the Mr and Mrs Big is the heart chakra which sits at the centre of the seven, above the chakras that connect us to the 'physical' and below those that connect with higher realms (or at least should). Here in the heart chakra we feel love, empathy and compassion – 'My heart goes out to you'. Those with closed hearts become literally 'heart-less' in their attitudes and behaviour (see Bill Gates). Native Americans portrayed Wetiko with what Paul Levy calls a 'frigid, icy heart, devoid of mercy' (see Bill Gates).



**Figure 23:** The chakra system which interpenetrates the human energy field. The heart chakra is the governor – or should be.

Wetiko trembles at the thought of heart energy which it cannot infiltrate. The frequency is too high. What it seeks to do instead is close the heart chakra vortex to block its perceptual and energetic influence. Psychopaths have 'hearts of stone' and emotionally-damaged people have 'heartache' and 'broken hearts'. The astonishing amount of heart disease is related to heart chakra

disruption with its fundamental connection to the 'physical' heart. Dr Tom Cowan has written an outstanding book challenging the belief that the heart is a pump and making the connection between the 'physical' and spiritual heart. Rudolph Steiner who was way ahead of his time said the same about the fallacy that the heart is a pump. *What?* The heart is not a pump? That's crazy, right? Everybody knows that. Read Cowan's *Human Heart, Cosmic Heart* and you will realise that the very idea of the heart as a pump is ridiculous when you see the evidence. How does blood in the feet so far from the heart get pumped horizontally up the body by the heart?? Cowan explains in the book the real reason why blood moves as it does. Our 'physical' heart is used to symbolise love when the source is really the heart vortex or spiritual heart which is our most powerful energetic connection to 'out there' expanded consciousness. That's why we feel *knowing* – intuitive knowing – in the centre of the chest. Knowing doesn't come from a process of thoughts leading to a conclusion. It is there in an instant all in one go. Our heart knows because of its connection to levels of awareness that *do* know. This is the meaning and source of intuition – intuitive *knowing*.

For the last more than 30 years of uncovering the global game and the nature of reality my heart has been my constant antenna for truth and accuracy. An American intelligence insider once said that I had quoted a disinformant in one of my books and yet I had only quoted the part that was true. He asked: 'How do you do that?' By using my heart antenna was the answer and anyone can do it. Heart-centred is how we are meant to be. With a closed heart chakra we withdraw into a closed mind and the bubble of five-sense reality. If you take a moment to focus your attention on the centre of your chest, picture a spinning wheel of light and see it opening and expanding. You will feel it happening, too, and perceptions of the heart like joy and love as the heart impacts on the mind as they interact. The more the chakra opens the more you will feel expressions of heart consciousness and as the process continues, and becomes part of you, insights and knowings will follow. An open

heart is connected to that level of awareness that knows all is *One*. You will see from its perspective that the fault-lines that divide us are only illusions to control us. An open heart does not process the illusions of race, creed and sexuality except as brief experiences for a consciousness that is all. Our heart does not see division, only unity (Figs 24 and 25). There's something else, too. Our hearts love to laugh. Mark Twain's quote that says 'The human race has one really effective weapon, and that is laughter' is really a reference to the heart which loves to laugh with the joy of knowing the true nature of infinite reality and that all the madness of human society is an illusion of the mind. Twain also said: 'Against the assault of laughter nothing can stand.' This is so true of Wetiko and the Cult. Their insecurity demands that they be taken seriously and their power and authority acknowledged and feared. We should do nothing of the sort. We should not get aggressive or fearful which their insecurity so desires. We should laugh in their face. Even in their no-face as police come over in their face-nappies and expect to be taken seriously. They don't take themselves seriously looking like that so why should we? Laugh in the face of intimidation. Laugh in the face of tyranny. You will see by its reaction that you have pressed all of its buttons. Wetiko does not know what to do in the face of laughter or when its targets refuse to concede their joy to fear. We have seen many examples during the 'Covid' hoax when people have expressed their energetic power and the string puppets of Wetiko retreat with their tail limp between their knees. Laugh – the world is bloody mad after all and if it's a choice between laughter and tears I know which way I'm going.



**Figure 24:** Head consciousness without the heart sees division and everything apart from everything else.



**Figure 25:** Heart consciousness sees everything as One.

## **'Vaccines' and the soul**

The foundation of Wetiko/Archon control of humans is the separation of incarnate five-sense mind from the infinite 'I' and closing the heart chakra where the True 'I' lives during a human life. The goal has been to achieve complete separation in both cases. I was interested therefore to read an account by a French energetic healer of what she said she experienced with a patient who had been given the 'Covid' vaccine. Genuine energy healers can sense information and consciousness fields at different levels of being which are referred to as 'subtle bodies'. She described treating the patient who later returned after having, without the healer's knowledge, two doses of the 'Covid vaccine'. The healer said:

I noticed immediately the change, very heavy energy emanating from [the] subtle bodies. The scariest thing was when I was working on the heart chakra, I connected with her soul: it was detached from the physical body, it had no contact and it was, as if it was floating in a state of total confusion: a damage to the consciousness that loses contact with the physical body, i.e. with our biological machine, there is no longer any communication between them.

I continued the treatment by sending light to the heart chakra, the soul of the person, but it seemed that the soul could no longer receive any light, frequency or energy. It was a very powerful experience for me. Then I understood that this substance is indeed used to detach consciousness so that this consciousness can no longer interact through this body that it possesses in life, where there is no longer any contact, no frequency, no light, no more energetic balance or mind.

This would create a human that is rudderless and at the extreme almost zombie-like operating with a fractional state of consciousness at the mercy of Wetiko. I was especially intrigued by what the healer said in the light of the prediction by the highly-informed Rudolf Steiner more than a hundred years ago. He said:

In the future, we will eliminate the soul with medicine. Under the pretext of a 'healthy point of view', there will be a vaccine by which the human body will be treated as soon as possible directly at birth, so that the human being cannot develop the thought of the existence of soul and Spirit. To materialistic doctors will be entrusted the task of removing the soul of humanity.

As today, people are vaccinated against this disease or that disease, so in the future, children will be vaccinated with a substance that can be produced precisely in such a way that people, thanks to this vaccination, will be immune to being subjected to the 'madness' of spiritual life. He would be extremely smart, but he would not develop a conscience, and that is the true goal of some materialistic circles.

Steiner said the vaccine would detach the physical body from the etheric body (subtle bodies) and 'once the etheric body is detached the relationship between the universe and the etheric body would become extremely unstable, and man would become an automaton'. He said 'the physical body of man must be polished on this Earth by spiritual will – so the vaccine becomes a kind of arymanique (Wetiko) force' and 'man can no longer get rid of a given materialistic feeling'. Humans would then, he said, become 'materialistic of constitution and can no longer rise to the spiritual'. I have been writing for years about DNA being a receiver-transmitter of information that connects us to other levels of reality and these 'vaccines' changing DNA can be likened to changing an antenna and what it can transmit and receive. Such a disconnection would clearly lead to changes in personality and perception. Steiner further predicted the arrival of AI. Big Pharma 'Covid vaccine' makers, expressions of Wetiko, are testing their DNA-manipulating evil on children as I write with a view to giving the 'vaccine' to babies. If it's a soul-body disconnecter – and I say that it is or can be – every child would be disconnected from 'soul' at birth and the 'vaccine' would create a closed system in which spiritual guidance from the greater self would play no part. This has been the ambition of Wetiko all

along. A Pentagon video from 2005 was leaked of a presentation explaining the development of vaccines to change behaviour by their effect on the brain. Those that believe this is not happening with the 'Covid' genetically-modifying procedure masquerading as a 'vaccine' should make an urgent appointment with Naivety Anonymous. Klaus Schwab wrote in 2018:

Neurotechnologies enable us to better influence consciousness and thought and to understand many activities of the brain. They include decoding what we are thinking in fine levels of detail through new chemicals and interventions that can influence our brains to correct for errors or enhance functionality.

The plan is clear and only the heart can stop it. With every heart that opens, every mind that awakens, Wetiko is weakened. Heart and love are far more powerful than head and hate and so nothing like a majority is needed to turn this around.

## **Beyond the Phantom**

Our heart is the prime target of Wetiko and so it must be the answer to Wetiko. We *are* our heart which is part of one heart, the infinite heart. Our heart is where the true self lives in a human life behind firewalls of five-sense illusion when an imposter takes its place – *Phantom Self*; but our heart waits patiently to be set free any time we choose to see beyond the Phantom, beyond Wetiko. A Wetikoed Phantom Self can wreak mass death and destruction while the love of forever is locked away in its heart. The time is here to unleash its power and let it sweep away the fear and despair that is Wetiko. Heart consciousness does not seek manipulated, censored, advantage for its belief or religion, its activism and desires. As an expression of the One it treats all as One with the same rights to freedom and opinion. Our heart demands fairness for itself no more than for others. From this unity of heart we can come together in mutual support and transform this Wetikoed world into what reality is meant to be – a place of love, joy, happiness, fairness, justice and freedom. Wetiko has another agenda and that's why the world is as



it is, but enough of this nonsense. Wetiko can't stay where hearts are open and it works so hard to keep them closed. Fear is its currency and its food source and love in its true sense has no fear. Why would love have fear when it knows it is *All That Is, Has Been, And Ever Can Be* on an eternal exploration of all possibility? Love in this true sense is not the physical attraction that passes for love. This can be an expression of it, yes, but Infinite Love, a love without condition, goes far deeper to the core of all being. It *is* the core of all being. Infinite reality was born from love beyond the illusions of the simulation. Love infinitely expressed is the knowing that all is One and the swiftly-passing experience of separation is a temporary hallucination. You cannot disconnect from Oneness; you can only *perceive* that you have and withdraw from its influence. This is the most important of all perception trickery by the mind parasite that is Wetiko and the foundation of all its potential for manipulation.

If we open our hearts, open the sluice gates of the mind, and redefine self-identity amazing things start to happen. Consciousness expands or contracts in accordance with self-identity. When true self is recognised as infinite awareness and label self – Phantom Self – is seen as only a series of brief experiences life is transformed. Consciousness expands to the extent that self-identity expands and everything changes. You see unity, not division, the picture, not the pixels. From this we can play the long game. No more is an experience something in and of itself, but a fleeting moment in the eternity of forever. Suddenly people in uniform and dark suits are no longer intimidating. Doing what your heart knows to be right is no longer intimidating and consequences for those actions take on the same nature of a brief experience that passes in the blink of an infinite eye. Intimidation is all in the mind. Beyond the mind there is no intimidation.

An open heart does not consider consequences for what it knows to be right. To do so would be to consider not doing what it knows to be right and for a heart in its power that is never an option. The Renegade Mind is really the Renegade Heart. Consideration of consequences will always provide a getaway car for the mind and

the heart doesn't want one. What is right in the light of what we face today is to stop cooperating with Wetiko in all its forms and to do it without fear or compromise. You cannot compromise with tyranny when tyranny always demands more until it has everything. Life is your perception and you are your destiny. Change your perception and you change your life. Change collective perception and we change the world.

*Come on people ... One human family, One heart, One goal ...*  
**FREEEEEEEDOM!**

We must settle for nothing less.

## Postscript

The big scare story as the book goes to press is the 'Indian' variant and the world is being deluged with propaganda about the 'Covid catastrophe' in India which mirrors in its lies and misrepresentations what happened in Italy before the first lockdown in 2020.

The *New York Post* published a picture of someone who had 'collapsed in the street from Covid' in India in April, 2021, which was actually taken during a gas leak in May, 2020. Same old, same old. Media articles in mid-February were asking why India had been so untouched by 'Covid' and then as their vaccine rollout gathered pace the alleged 'cases' began to rapidly increase. Indian 'Covid vaccine' maker Bharat Biotech was funded into existence by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (the pair announced their divorce in May, 2021, which is a pity because they so deserve each other). The Indian 'Covid crisis' was ramped up by the media to terrify the world and prepare people for submission to still more restrictions. The scam that worked the first time was being repeated only with far more people seeing through the deceit. [Davidicke.com](http://Davidicke.com) and [Ickonic.com](http://Ickonic.com) have sought to tell the true story of what is happening by talking to people living through the Indian nightmare which has nothing to do with 'Covid'. We posted a letter from 'Alisha' in Pune who told a very different story to government and media mendacity. She said scenes of dying people and overwhelmed hospitals were designed to hide what was really happening – genocide and starvation. Alisha said that millions had already died of starvation during the ongoing lockdowns while government and media were lying and making it look like the 'virus':

Restaurants, shops, gyms, theatres, basically everything is shut. The cities are ghost towns. Even so-called 'essential' businesses are only open till 11am in the morning. You basically have just an hour to buy food and then your time is up.

Inter-state travel and even inter-district travel is banned. The cops wait at all major crossroads to question why you are traveling outdoors or to fine you if you are not wearing a mask.

The medical community here is also complicit in genocide, lying about hospitals being full and turning away people with genuine illnesses, who need immediate care. They have even created a shortage of oxygen cylinders.

This is the classic Cult modus operandi played out in every country. Alisha said that people who would not have a PCR test not testing for the 'virus' were being denied hospital treatment. She said the people hit hardest were migrant workers and those in rural areas. Most businesses employed migrant workers and with everything closed there were no jobs, no income and no food. As a result millions were dying of starvation or malnutrition. All this was happening under Prime Minister Narendra Modi, a 100-percent asset of the Cult, and it emphasises yet again the scale of pure anti-human evil we are dealing with. Australia banned its people from returning home from India with penalties for trying to do so of up to five years in jail and a fine of £37,000. The manufactured 'Covid' crisis in India was being prepared to justify further fascism in the West. Obvious connections could be seen between the Indian 'vaccine' programme and increased 'cases' and this became a common theme. The Seychelles, the most per capita 'Covid vaccinated' population in the world, went back into lockdown after a 'surge of cases'.

Long ago the truly evil Monsanto agricultural biotechnology corporation with its big connections to Bill Gates devastated Indian farming with genetically-modified crops. Human rights activist Gurcharan Singh highlighted the efforts by the Indian government to complete the job by destroying the food supply to hundreds of millions with 'Covid' lockdowns. He said that 415 million people at the bottom of the disgusting caste system (still going whatever they say) were below the poverty line and struggled to feed themselves every year. Now the government was imposing lockdown at just the

time to destroy the harvest. This deliberate policy was leading to mass starvation. People may reel back at the suggestion that a government would do that, but Wetiko-controlled 'leaders' are capable of any level of evil. In fact what is described in India is in the process of being instigated worldwide. The food chain and food supply are being targeted at every level to cause world hunger and thus control. Bill Gates is not the biggest owner of farmland in America for no reason and destroying access to food aids both the depopulation agenda and the plan for synthetic 'food' already being funded into existence by Gates. Add to this the coming hyper-inflation from the suicidal creation of fake 'money' in response to 'Covid' and the breakdown of container shipping systems and you have a cocktail that can only lead one way and is meant to. The Cult plan is to crash the entire system to 'build back better' with the Great Reset.

### **'Vaccine' transmission**

Reports from all over the world continue to emerge of women suffering menstrual and fertility problems after having the fake 'vaccine' and of the non-'vaccinated' having similar problems when interacting with the 'vaccinated'. There are far too many for 'coincidence' to be credible. We've had menopausal women getting periods, others having periods stop or not stopping for weeks, passing clots, sometimes the lining of the uterus, breast irregularities, and miscarriages (which increased by 400 percent in parts of the United States). Non-'vaccinated' men and children have suffered blood clots and nose bleeding after interaction with the 'vaccinated'. Babies have died from the effects of breast milk from a 'vaccinated' mother. Awake doctors – the small minority – speculated on the cause of non-'vaccinated' suffering the same effects as the 'vaccinated'. Was it nanotechnology in the synthetic substance transmitting frequencies or was it a straight chemical bioweapon that was being transmitted between people? I am not saying that some kind of chemical transmission is not one possible answer, but the foundation of all that the Cult does is frequency and

this is fertile ground for understanding how transmission can happen. American doctor Carrie Madej, an internal medicine physician and osteopath, has been practicing for the last 20 years, teaching medical students, and she says attending different meetings where the agenda for humanity was discussed. Madej, who operates out of Georgia, did not dismiss other possible forms of transmission, but she focused on frequency in search of an explanation for transmission. She said the Moderna and Pfizer 'vaccines' contained nano-lipid particles as a key component. This was a brand new technology never before used on humanity. 'They're using a nanotechnology which is pretty much little tiny computer bits ... nanobots or hydrogel.' Inside the 'vaccines' was 'this sci-fi kind of substance' which suppressed immune checkpoints to get into the cell. I referred to this earlier as the 'Trojan horse' technique that tricks the cell into opening a gateway for the self-replicating synthetic material and while the immune system is artificially suppressed the body has no defences. Madej said the substance served many purposes including an on-demand ability to 'deliver the payload' and using the nano 'computer bits' as biosensors in the body. 'It actually has the ability to accumulate data from your body, like your breathing, your respiration, thoughts, emotions, all kinds of things.'

She said the technology obviously has the ability to operate through Wi-Fi and transmit and receive energy, messages, frequencies or impulses. 'Just imagine you're getting this new substance in you and it can react to things all around you, the 5G, your smart device, your phones.' We had something completely foreign in the human body that had never been launched large scale at a time when we were seeing 5G going into schools and hospitals (plus the Musk satellites) and she believed the 'vaccine' transmission had something to do with this: '... if these people have this inside of them ... it can act like an antenna and actually transmit it outwardly as well.' The synthetic substance produced its own voltage and so it could have that kind of effect. This fits with my own contention that the nano receiver-transmitters are designed to connect people to the

Smart Grid and break the receiver-transmitter connection to expanded consciousness. That would explain the French energy healer's experience of the disconnection of body from 'soul' with those who have had the 'vaccine'. The nanobots, self-replicating inside the body, would also transmit the synthetic frequency which could be picked up through close interaction by those who have not been 'vaccinated'. Madej speculated that perhaps it was 5G and increased levels of other radiation that was causing the symptoms directly although interestingly she said that non-'vaccinated' patients had shown improvement when they were away from the 'vaccinated' person they had interacted with. It must be remembered that you can control frequency and energy with your mind and you can consciously create energetic barriers or bubbles with the mind to stop damaging frequencies from penetrating your field. American paediatrician Dr Larry Palevsky said the 'vaccine' was not a 'vaccine' and was never designed to protect from a 'viral' infection. He called it 'a massive, brilliant propaganda of genocide' because they didn't have to inject everyone to get the result they wanted. He said the content of the jabs was able to infuse any material into the brain, heart, lungs, kidneys, liver, sperm and female productive system. 'This is genocide; this is a weapon of mass destruction.' At the same time American colleges were banning students from attending if they didn't have this life-changing and potentially life-ending 'vaccine'. Class action lawsuits must follow when the consequences of this college fascism come to light. As the book was going to press came reports about fertility effects on sperm in 'vaccinated' men which would absolutely fit with what I have been saying and hospitals continued to fill with 'vaccine' reactions. Another question is what about transmission via blood transfusions? The NHS has extended blood donation restrictions from seven days after a 'Covid vaccination' to 28 days after even a sore arm reaction.

I said in the spring of 2020 that the then touted 'Covid vaccine' would be ongoing each year like the flu jab. A year later Pfizer CEO, the appalling Albert Bourla, said people would 'likely' need a 'booster dose' of the 'vaccine' within 12 months of getting 'fully

vaccinated' and then a yearly shot. 'Variants will play a key role', he said confirming the point. Johnson & Johnson CEO Alex Gorsky also took time out from his 'vaccine' disaster to say that people may need to be vaccinated against 'Covid-19' each year. UK Health Secretary, the psychopath Matt Hancock, said additional 'boosters' would be available in the autumn of 2021. This is the trap of the 'vaccine passport'. The public will have to accept every last 'vaccine' they introduce, including for the fake 'variants', or it would cease to be valid. The only other way in some cases would be continuous testing with a test not testing for the 'virus' and what is on the swabs constantly pushed up your nose towards the brain every time?

### **'Vaccines' changing behaviour**

I mentioned in the body of the book how I believed we would see gathering behaviour changes in the 'vaccinated' and I am already hearing such comments from the non-'vaccinated' describing behaviour changes in friends, loved ones and work colleagues. This will only increase as the self-replicating synthetic material and nanoparticles expand in body and brain. An article in the *Guardian* in 2016 detailed research at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville which developed a new method for controlling brain circuits associated with complex animal behaviour. The method, dubbed 'magnetogenetics', involves genetically-engineering a protein called ferritin, which stores and releases iron, to create a magnetised substance – 'Magneto' – that can activate specific groups of nerve cells from a distance. This is claimed to be an advance on other methods of brain activity manipulation known as optogenetics and chemogenetics (the Cult has been developing methods of brain control for a long time). The ferritin technique is said to be non-invasive and able to activate neurons 'rapidly and reversibly'. In other words, human thought and perception. The article said that earlier studies revealed how nerve cell proteins 'activated by heat and mechanical pressure can be genetically engineered so that they become sensitive to radio waves and magnetic fields, by attaching them to an iron-storing protein called ferritin, or to inorganic



paramagnetic particles'. Sensitive to radio waves and magnetic fields? You mean like 5G, 6G and 7G? This is the human-AI Smart Grid hive mind we are talking about. The *Guardian* article said:

... the researchers injected Magneto into the striatum of freely behaving mice, a deep brain structure containing dopamine-producing neurons that are involved in reward and motivation, and then placed the animals into an apparatus split into magnetised and non-magnetised sections.

Mice expressing Magneto spent far more time in the magnetised areas than mice that did not, because activation of the protein caused the striatal neurons expressing it to release dopamine, so that the mice found being in those areas rewarding. This shows that Magneto can remotely control the firing of neurons deep within the brain, and also control complex behaviours.

Make no mistake this basic methodology will be part of the 'Covid vaccine' cocktail and using magnetics to change brain function through electromagnetic field frequency activation. The Pentagon is developing a 'Covid vaccine' using ferritin. Magnetics would explain changes in behaviour and why videos are appearing across the Internet as I write showing how magnets stick to the skin at the point of the 'vaccine' shot. Once people take these 'vaccines' anything becomes possible in terms of brain function and illness which will be blamed on 'Covid-19' and 'variants'. Magnetic field manipulation would further explain why the non-'vaccinated' are reporting the same symptoms as the 'vaccinated' they interact with and why those symptoms are reported to decrease when not in their company. Interestingly 'Magneto', a 'mutant', is a character in the Marvel Comic *X-Men* stories with the ability to manipulate magnetic fields and he believes that mutants should fight back against their human oppressors by any means necessary. The character was born Erik Lehnsherr to a Jewish family in Germany.

## **Cult-controlled courts**

The European Court of Human Rights opened the door for mandatory 'Covid-19 vaccines' across the continent when it ruled in a Czech Republic dispute over childhood immunisation that legally

enforced vaccination could be 'necessary in a democratic society'. The 17 judges decided that compulsory vaccinations did not breach human rights law. On the face of it the judgement was so inverted you gasp for air. If not having a vaccine infused into your body is not a human right then what is? Ah, but they said human rights law which has been specifically written to delete all human rights at the behest of the state (the Cult). Article 8 of the European Convention on Human Rights relates to the right to a private life. The crucial word here is '*except*':

There shall be no interference by a public authority with the exercise of this right EXCEPT such as is in accordance with the law and is necessary in a democratic society in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic wellbeing of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others [My emphasis].

No interference *except* in accordance with the law means there *are* no 'human rights' *except* what EU governments decide you can have at their behest. 'As is necessary in a democratic society' explains that reference in the judgement and 'in the interests of national security, public safety or the economic well-being of the country, for the prevention of disorder or crime, for the protection of health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others' gives the EU a coach and horses to ride through 'human rights' and scatter them in all directions. The judiciary is not a check and balance on government extremism; it is a vehicle to enforce it. This judgement was almost laughably predictable when the last thing the Cult wanted was a decision that went against mandatory vaccination. Judges rule over and over again to benefit the system of which they are a part. Vaccination disputes that come before them are invariably delivered in favour of doctors and authorities representing the view of the state which owns the judiciary. Oh, yes, and we have even had calls to stop putting 'Covid-19' on death certificates within 28 days of a 'positive test' because it is claimed the practice makes the 'vaccine' appear not to work. They are laughing at you.

The scale of madness, inhumanity and things to come was highlighted when those not 'vaccinated' for 'Covid' were refused evacuation from the Caribbean island of St Vincent during massive volcanic eruptions. Cruise ships taking residents to the safety of another island allowed only the 'vaccinated' to board and the rest were left to their fate. Even in life and death situations like this we see 'Covid' stripping people of their most basic human instincts and the insanity is even more extreme when you think that fake 'vaccine'-makers are not even claiming their body-manipulating concoctions stop 'infection' and 'transmission' of a 'virus' that doesn't exist. St Vincent Prime Minister Ralph Gonsalves said: 'The chief medical officer will be identifying the persons already vaccinated so that we can get them on the ship.' Note again the power of the chief medical officer who, like Whitty in the UK, will be answering to the World Health Organization. This is the Cult network structure that has overridden politicians who 'follow the science' which means doing what WHO-controlled 'medical officers' and 'science advisers' tell them. Gonsalves even said that residents who were 'vaccinated' after the order so they could board the ships would still be refused entry due to possible side effects such as 'wooziness in the head'. The good news is that if they were woozy enough in the head they could qualify to be prime minister of St Vincent.

## **Microchipping freedom**

The European judgement will be used at some point to justify moves to enforce the 'Covid' DNA-manipulating procedure. Sandra Ro, CEO of the Global Blockchain Business Council, told a World Economic Forum event that she hoped 'vaccine passports' would help to 'drive forced consent and standardisation' of global digital identity schemes: 'I'm hoping with the desire and global demand for some sort of vaccine passport – so that people can get travelling and working again – [it] will drive forced consent, standardisation, and frankly, cooperation across the world.' The lady is either not very bright, or thoroughly mendacious, to use the term 'forced consent'.

You do not 'consent' if you are forced – you *submit*. She was describing what the plan has been all along and that's to enforce a digital identity on every human without which they could not function. 'Vaccine passports' are opening the door and are far from the end goal. A digital identity would allow you to be tracked in everything you do in cyberspace and this is the same technique used by Cult-owned China to enforce its social credit system of total control. The ultimate 'passport' is planned to be a microchip as my books have warned for nearly 30 years. Those nice people at the Pentagon working for the Cult-controlled Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA) claimed in April, 2021, they have developed a microchip inserted under the skin to detect 'asymptomatic Covid-19 infection' before it becomes an outbreak and a 'revolutionary filter' that can remove the 'virus' from the blood when attached to a dialysis machine. The only problems with this are that the 'virus' does not exist and people transmitting the 'virus' with no symptoms is brain-numbing bullshit. This is, of course, not a ruse to get people to be microchipped for very different reasons. DARPA also said it was producing a one-stop 'vaccine' for the 'virus' and all 'variants'. One of the most sinister organisations on Planet Earth is doing this? Better have it then. These people are insane because Wetiko that possesses them is insane.

Researchers from the Salk Institute in California announced they have created an embryo that is part human and part monkey. My books going back to the 1990s have exposed experiments in top secret underground facilities in the United States where humans are being crossed with animal and non-human 'extraterrestrial' species. They are now easing that long-developed capability into the public arena and there is much more to come given we are dealing with psychiatric basket cases. Talking of which – Elon Musk's scientists at Neuralink trained a monkey to play Pong and other puzzles on a computer screen using a joystick and when the monkey made the correct move a metal tube squirted banana smoothie into his mouth which is the basic technique for training humans into unquestioning compliance. Two Neuralink chips were in the monkey's skull and

more than 2,000 wires 'fanned out' into its brain. Eventually the monkey played a video game purely with its brain waves. Psychopathic narcissist Musk said the 'breakthrough' was a step towards putting Neuralink chips into human skulls and merging minds with artificial intelligence. *Exactly*. This man is so dark and Cult to his DNA.

## **World Economic Fascism (WEF)**

The World Economic Forum is telling you the plan by the statements made at its many and various events. Cult-owned fascist YouTube CEO Susan Wojcicki spoke at the 2021 WEF Global Technology Governance Summit (see the name) in which 40 governments and 150 companies met to ensure 'the responsible design and deployment of emerging technologies'. Orwellian translation: 'Ensuring the design and deployment of long-planned technologies will advance the Cult agenda for control and censorship.' Freedom-destroyer and Nuremberg-bound Wojcicki expressed support for tech platforms like hers to censor content that is 'technically legal but could be harmful'. Who decides what is 'harmful'? She does and they do. 'Harmful' will be whatever the Cult doesn't want people to see and we have legislation proposed by the UK government that would censor content on the basis of 'harm' no matter if the information is fair, legal and provably true. Make that *especially* if it is fair, legal and provably true. Wojcicki called for a global coalition to be formed to enforce content moderation standards through automated censorship. This is a woman and mega-censor so self-deluded that she shamelessly accepted a 'free expression' award – *Wojcicki* – in an event sponsored by her own *YouTube*. They have no shame and no self-awareness.

You know that 'Covid' is a scam and Wojcicki a Cult operative when YouTube is censoring medical and scientific opinion purely on the grounds of whether it supports or opposes the Cult 'Covid' narrative. Florida governor Ron DeSantis compiled an expert panel with four professors of medicine from Harvard, Oxford, and Stanford Universities who spoke against forcing children and

vaccinated people to wear masks. They also said there was no proof that lockdowns reduced spread or death rates of 'Covid-19'. Cult-gofer Wojcicki and her YouTube deleted the panel video 'because it included content that contradicts the consensus of local and global health authorities regarding the efficacy of masks to prevent the spread of Covid-19'. This 'consensus' refers to what the Cult tells the World Health Organization to say and the WHO tells 'local health authorities' to do. Wojcicki knows this, of course. The panellists pointed out that censorship of scientific debate was responsible for deaths from many causes, but Wojcicki couldn't care less. She would not dare go against what she is told and as a disgrace to humanity she wouldn't want to anyway. The UK government is seeking to pass a fascist 'Online Safety Bill' to specifically target with massive fines and other means non-censored video and social media platforms to make them censor 'lawful but harmful' content like the Cult-owned Facebook, Twitter, Google and YouTube. What is 'lawful but harmful' would be decided by the fascist Blair-created Ofcom.

Another WEF obsession is a cyber-attack on the financial system and this is clearly what the Cult has planned to take down the bank accounts of everyone – except theirs. Those that think they have enough money for the Cult agenda not to matter to them have got a big lesson coming if they continue to ignore what is staring them in the face. The World Economic Forum, funded by Gates and fronted by Klaus Schwab, announced it would be running a 'simulation' with the Russian government and global banks of just such an attack called Cyber Polygon 2021. What they simulate – as with the 'Covid' Event 201 – they plan to instigate. The WEF is involved in a project with the Cult-owned Carnegie Endowment for International Peace called the WEF-Carnegie Cyber Policy Initiative which seeks to merge Wall Street banks, 'regulators' (I love it) and intelligence agencies to 'prevent' (arrange and allow) a cyber-attack that would bring down the global financial system as long planned by those that control the WEF and the Carnegie operation. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace sent an instruction to First World

War US President Woodrow Wilson not to let the war end before society had been irreversibly transformed.

## **The Wuhan lab diversion**

As I close, the Cult-controlled authorities and lapdog media are systematically pushing 'the virus was released from the Wuhan lab' narrative. There are two versions – it happened by accident and it happened on purpose. Both are nonsense. The perceived existence of the never-shown-to-exist 'virus' is vital to sell the impression that there is actually an infective agent to deal with and to allow the endless potential for terrifying the population with 'variants' of a 'virus' that does not exist. The authorities at the time of writing are going with the 'by accident' while the alternative media is promoting the 'on purpose'. Cable news host Tucker Carlson who has questioned aspects of lockdown and 'vaccine' compulsion has bought the Wuhan lab story. 'Everyone now agrees' he said. Well, I don't and many others don't and the question is *why* does the system and its media suddenly 'agree'? When the media moves as one unit with a narrative it is always a lie – witness the hour by hour mendacity of the 'Covid' era. Why would this Cult-owned combination which has unleashed lies like machine gun fire suddenly 'agree' to tell the truth??

Much of the alternative media is buying the lie because it fits the conspiracy narrative, but it's the *wrong* conspiracy. The real conspiracy is that *there is no virus* and that is what the Cult is desperate to hide. The idea that the 'virus' was released by accident is ludicrous when the whole 'Covid' hoax was clearly long-planned and waiting to be played out as it was so fast in accordance with the Rockefeller document and Event 201. So they prepared everything in detail over decades and then sat around strumming their fingers waiting for an 'accidental' release from a bio-lab? *What??* It's crazy. Then there's the 'on purpose' claim. You want to circulate a 'deadly virus' and hide the fact that you've done so and you release it down the street from the highest-level bio-lab in China? I repeat – *What??*

You would release it far from that lab to stop any association being made. But, no, we'll do it in a place where the connection was certain to be made. Why would you need to scam 'cases' and 'deaths' and pay hospitals to diagnose 'Covid-19' if you had a real 'virus'? What are sections of the alternative media doing believing this crap? Where were all the mass deaths in Wuhan from a 'deadly pathogen' when the recovery to normal life after the initial propaganda was dramatic in speed? Why isn't the 'deadly pathogen' now circulating all over China with bodies in the street? Once again we have the technique of tell them what they want to hear and they will likely believe it. The alternative media has its 'conspiracy' and with Carlson it fits with his 'China is the danger' narrative over years. China *is* a danger as a global Cult operations centre, but not for this reason. The Wuhan lab story also has the potential to instigate conflict with China when at some stage the plan is to trigger a Problem-Reaction-Solution confrontation with the West. Question everything – *everything* – and especially when the media agrees on a common party line.

### **Third wave ... fourth wave ... fifth wave ...**

As the book went into production the world was being set up for more lockdowns and a 'third wave' supported by invented 'variants' that were increasing all the time and will continue to do so in public statements and computer programs, but not in reality. India became the new Italy in the 'Covid' propaganda campaign and we were told to be frightened of the new 'Indian strain'. Somehow I couldn't find it within myself to do so. A document produced for the UK government entitled 'Summary of further modelling of easing of restrictions – Roadmap Step 2' declared that a third wave was inevitable (of course when it's in the script) and it would be the fault of children and those who refuse the health-destroying fake 'Covid vaccine'. One of the computer models involved came from the Cult-owned *Imperial College* and the other from Warwick University which I wouldn't trust to tell me the date in a calendar factory. The document states that both models presumed extremely high uptake



of the 'Covid vaccines' and didn't allow for 'variants'. The document states: 'The resurgence is a result of some people (mostly children) being ineligible for vaccination; others choosing not to receive the vaccine; and others being vaccinated but not perfectly protected.' The mendacity takes the breath away. Okay, blame those with a brain who won't take the DNA-modifying shots and put more pressure on children to have it as 'trials' were underway involving children as young as six months with parents who give insanity a bad name. Massive pressure is being put on the young to have the fake 'vaccine' and child age consent limits have been systematically lowered around the world to stop parents intervening. Most extraordinary about the document was its claim that the 'third wave' would be driven by 'the resurgence in both hospitalisations and deaths ... dominated by *those that have received two doses of the vaccine*, comprising around 60-70% of the wave respectively'. The predicted peak of the 'third wave' suggested 300 deaths per day with 250 of them *fully 'vaccinated' people*. How many more lies do acquiescers need to be told before they see the obvious? Those who took the job to 'protect themselves' are projected to be those who mostly get sick and die? So what's in the 'vaccine'? The document went on:

It is possible that a summer of low prevalence could be followed by substantial increases in incidence over the following autumn and winter. Low prevalence in late summer should not be taken as an indication that SARS-CoV-2 has retreated or that the population has high enough levels of immunity to prevent another wave.

They are telling you the script and while many British people believed 'Covid' restrictions would end in the summer of 2021 the government was preparing for them to be ongoing. Authorities were awarding contracts for 'Covid marshals' to police the restrictions with contracts starting in July, 2021, and going through to January 31st, 2022, and the government was advertising for 'Media Buying Services' to secure media propaganda slots worth a potential £320 million for 'Covid-19 campaigns' with a contract not ending until March, 2022. The recipient – via a list of other front companies – was reported to be American media marketing giant Omnicom Group

Inc. While money is no object for 'Covid' the UK waiting list for all other treatment – including life-threatening conditions – passed 4.5 million. Meantime the Cult is seeking to control all official 'inquiries' to block revelations about what has really been happening and why. It must not be allowed to – we need Nuremberg jury trials in every country. The cover-up doesn't get more obvious than appointing ultra-Zionist professor Philip Zelikow to oversee two dozen US virologists, public health officials, clinicians, former government officials and four American 'charitable foundations' to 'learn the lessons' of the 'Covid' debacle. The personnel will be those that created and perpetuated the 'Covid' lies while Zelikow is the former executive director of the 9/11 Commission who ensured that the truth about those attacks never came out and produced a report that must be among the most mendacious and manipulative documents ever written – see *The Trigger* for the detailed exposure of the almost unimaginable 9/11 story in which Sabbatians can be found at every level.

## **Passive no more**

People are increasingly challenging the authorities with amazing numbers of people taking to the streets in London well beyond the ability of the Face-Nappies to stop them. Instead the Nappies choose situations away from the mass crowds to target, intimidate, and seek to promote the impression of 'violent protestors'. One such incident happened in London's Hyde Park. Hundreds of thousands walking through the streets in protest against 'Covid' fascism were ignored by the Cult-owned BBC and most of the rest of the mainstream media, but they delighted in reporting how police were injured in 'clashes with protestors'. The truth was that a group of people gathered in Hyde Park at the end of one march when most had gone home and they were peacefully having a good time with music and chat. Face-Nappies who couldn't deal with the full-march crowd then waded in with their batons and got more than they bargained for. Instead of just standing for this criminal brutality the crowd used their numerical superiority to push the Face-Nappies out of the

park. Eventually the Nappies turned and ran. Unfortunately two or three idiots in the crowd threw drink cans striking two officers which gave the media and the government the image they wanted to discredit the 99.9999 percent who were peaceful. The idiots walked straight into the trap and we must always be aware of potential agent provocateurs used by the authorities to discredit their targets.

This response from the crowd – the can people apart – must be a turning point when the public no longer stand by while the innocent are arrested and brutally attacked by the Face-Nappies. That doesn't mean to be violent, that's the last thing we need. We'll leave the violence to the Face-Nappies and government. But it does mean that when the Face-Nappies use violence against peaceful people the numerical superiority is employed to stop them and make citizen's arrests or Common Law arrests for a breach of the peace. The time for being passive in the face of fascism is over.

We are the many, they are the few, and we need to make that count before there is no freedom left and our children and grandchildren face an ongoing fascist nightmare.

*COME ON PEOPLE – IT'S TIME.*

### **One final thought ...**

The power of love  
A force from above  
Cleaning my soul  
Flame on burn desire  
Love with tongues of fire  
Purge the soul  
Make love your goal

I'll protect you from the hooded claw  
Keep the vampires from your door  
When the chips are down I'll be around  
With my undying, death-defying  
Love for you

Envy will hurt itself  
Let yourself be beautiful  
Sparkling love, flowers  
And pearls and pretty girls  
Love is like an energy  
Rushin' rushin' inside of me

This time we go sublime  
Lovers entwine, divine, divine,  
Love is danger, love is pleasure  
Love is pure – the only treasure

I'm so in love with you  
Purge the soul  
Make love your goal

The power of love  
A force from above  
Cleaning my soul  
The power of love  
A force from above  
A sky-scraping dove

Flame on burn desire  
Love with tongues of fire  
Purge the soul  
Make love your goal

**Frankie Goes To Hollywood**

## APPENDIX

### **Cowan-Kaufman-Morell Statement on Virus Isolation (SOVI)**

*Isolation: The action of isolating; the fact or condition of being isolated or standing alone; separation from other things or persons; solitariness*

Oxford English Dictionary

The controversy over whether the SARS-CoV-2 virus has ever been isolated or purified continues. However, using the above definition, common sense, the laws of logic and the dictates of science, any unbiased person must come to the conclusion that the SARS-CoV-2 virus has never been isolated or purified. As a result, no confirmation of the virus' existence can be found. The logical, common sense, and scientific consequences of this fact are:

- the structure and composition of something not shown to exist can't be known, including the presence, structure, and function of any hypothetical spike or other proteins;
- the genetic sequence of something that has never been found can't be known;
- "variants" of something that hasn't been shown to exist can't be known;
- it's impossible to demonstrate that SARS-CoV-2 causes a disease called Covid-19.

In as concise terms as possible, here's the proper way to isolate, characterize and demonstrate a new virus. First, one takes samples (blood, sputum, secretions) from many people (e.g. 500) with symptoms which are unique and specific enough to characterize an illness. Without mixing these samples with ANY tissue or products that also contain genetic material, the virologist macerates, filters and ultracentrifuges i.e. *purifies* the specimen. This common virology technique, done for decades to isolate bacteriophages<sup>1</sup> and so-called giant viruses in every virology lab, then allows the virologist to demonstrate with electron microscopy thousands of identically sized and shaped particles. These particles are the isolated and purified virus.

These identical particles are then checked for uniformity by physical and/or microscopic techniques. Once the purity is determined, the particles may be further characterized. This would include examining the structure, morphology, and chemical composition of the particles. Next, their genetic makeup is characterized by extracting the genetic material directly from the purified particles and using genetic-sequencing techniques, such as Sanger sequencing, that have also been around for decades. Then one does an analysis to confirm that these uniform particles are exogenous (outside) in origin as a virus is conceptualized to be, and not the normal breakdown products of dead and dying tissues.<sup>2</sup> (As of May 2020, we know that virologists have no way to determine whether the particles they're seeing are viruses or just normal breakdown products of dead and dying tissues.)<sup>3</sup>

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1 Isolation, characterization and analysis of bacteriophages from the haloalkaline lake Elmenteita, Kenya Julia Khayeli Akhwale et al, PLOS One, Published: April 25, 2019.  
<https://journals.plos.org/plosone/article?id=10.1371/journal.pone.0215734> – accessed 2/15/21

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2 "Extracellular Vesicles Derived From Apoptotic Cells: An Essential Link Between Death and Regeneration," Maojiao Li et al, Frontiers in Cell and Developmental Biology, 2020 October 2.  
<https://www.frontiersin.org/articles/10.3389/fcell.2020.573511/full> – accessed 2/15/21

If we have come this far then we have fully isolated, characterized, and genetically sequenced an exogenous virus particle. However, we still have to show it is causally related to a disease. This is carried out by exposing a group of healthy subjects (animals are usually used) to this isolated, purified virus in the manner in which the disease is thought to be transmitted. If the animals get sick with the same disease, as confirmed by clinical and autopsy findings, one has now shown that the virus actually causes a disease. This demonstrates infectivity and transmission of an infectious agent.

None of these steps has even been attempted with the SARS-CoV-2 virus, nor have all these steps been successfully performed for any so-called pathogenic virus. Our research indicates that a single study showing these steps does not exist in the medical literature.

Instead, since 1954, virologists have taken unpurified samples from a relatively few people, often less than ten, with a similar disease. They then minimally process this sample and inoculate this unpurified sample onto tissue culture containing usually four to six other types of material – all of which contain identical genetic material as to what is called a “virus.” The tissue culture is starved and poisoned and naturally disintegrates into many types of particles, some of which contain genetic material. Against all common sense, logic, use of the English language and scientific integrity, this process is called “virus isolation.” This brew containing fragments of genetic material from many sources is then subjected to genetic analysis, which then creates in a computer-simulation process the alleged sequence of the alleged virus, a so called in silico genome. At no time is an actual virus confirmed by electron microscopy. At no time is a genome extracted and sequenced from an actual virus. This is scientific fraud.



The observation that the unpurified specimen — inoculated onto tissue culture along with toxic antibiotics, bovine fetal tissue, amniotic fluid and other tissues — destroys the kidney tissue onto which it is inoculated is given as evidence of the virus' existence and pathogenicity. This is scientific fraud.

From now on, when anyone gives you a paper that suggests the SARS-CoV-2 virus has been isolated, please check the methods sections. If the researchers used Vero cells or any other culture method, you know that their process was not isolation. You will hear the following excuses for why actual isolation isn't done:

1. There were not enough virus particles found in samples from patients to analyze.
2. Viruses are intracellular parasites; they can't be found outside the cell in this manner.

If No. 1 is correct, and we can't find the virus in the sputum of sick people, then on what evidence do we think the virus is dangerous or even lethal? If No. 2 is correct, then how is the virus spread from person to person? We are told it emerges from the cell to infect others. Then why isn't it possible to find it?

Finally, questioning these virology techniques and conclusions is not some distraction or divisive issue. Shining the light on this truth is essential to stop this terrible fraud that humanity is confronting. For, as we now know, if the virus has never been isolated, sequenced or shown to cause illness, if the virus is imaginary, then why are we wearing masks, social distancing and putting the whole world into prison?

Finally, if pathogenic viruses don't exist, then what is going into those injectable devices erroneously called "vaccines," and what is their purpose? This scientific question is the most urgent and relevant one of our time.

We are correct. The SARS-CoV2 virus does not exist.

Sally Fallon Morell, MA

Dr. Thomas Cowan, MD

Dr. Andrew Kaufman, MD

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/ˈren·iˌgeɪd/

**noun**

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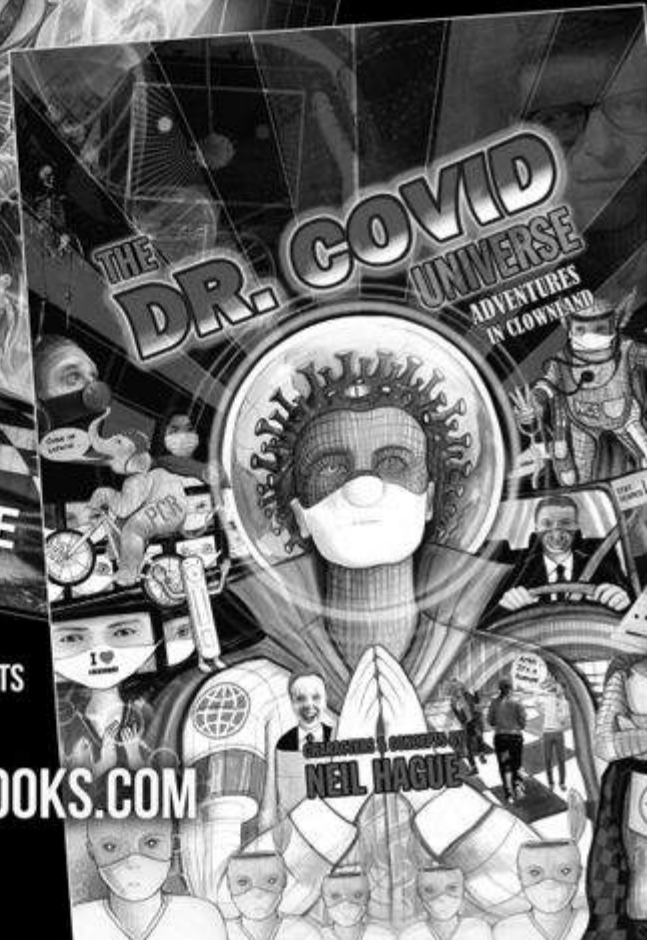
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