

The January 6 Hearings: Georgia Spotlight

Background: The United States House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (January 6 Select Committee) is holding oversight hearings in June 2022. It will present public testimony, evidence, and analysis relating to the January 6, 2021 attack, its run-up, and its aftermath. The attack and effort to undermine the will of the American voters did not happen in a vacuum. Fueled by [misinformation and lies about the 2020 election](#), many of the key actors involved and key actions taken that contributed to the attack originated from the states. After all, while elections are national events, they are run and led by the states.

The States United Democracy Center has created a series of state-by-state guides to the January 6 attack highlighting activities that sought to undermine our free, fair, and secure elections. The Georgia Spotlight includes events in the state leading up to the January 6 attack, participation by Georgia actors in relevant events and the attack itself, efforts in Georgia to discredit or reverse the outcome of the presidential election, and subsequent post-January 6 events.

I. EVENTS IN GEORGIA LEADING UP TO JANUARY 6 ATTACK

Supporters of then-President Trump held rallies throughout the country attempting to discredit the 2020 presidential election process and challenging the official election results, including in Georgia, despite lacking factual basis for their allegations.

- As preliminary results of the presidential election in Georgia were announced, Trump prematurely claimed victory in the state.¹
- In the days after election day—November 3, 2020—Trump supporters gathered outside the state capitol protesting the election results and others attempted to oversee the vote counting process.² This came on the heels of Trump making statements, such as “[i]n Georgia, a pipe burst at a faraway location, totally unrelated to the location of what was happening, and they stopped counting for four hours, and a lot of things happened”³ and promoting the protests at the counting locations on social media.⁴

- On November 9, 2020, Georgia’s then-U.S. senators, Kelly Loeffler and David Perdue, called on Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger to resign for “fail[ure] to deliver honest and transparent elections.”⁵ The Republican Party of Georgia and Georgia’s Republican House delegation, including Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene, sent letters to Raffensperger the next day repeating the false “claims of fraud and irregularities.”⁶ Raffensperger conducted a statewide hand recount of the votes that confirmed Biden’s win, matching the results of the machine tally of the votes.⁷ On November 20, 2020, Biden’s win in Georgia was formally certified by state officials.⁸
- On December 5, 2020, Trump called Georgia’s Governor Brian Kemp and urged him to convince state legislators to overturn Biden’s victory in Georgia by: (1) calling a special session of the state legislature to appoint electors for Trump and (2) ordering a special audit of absentee ballot signatures.⁹ After Kemp reportedly told Trump he did not have such authority, Trump said to his supporters in Macon: “Your governor could stop [the steal] very easily if he knew what the hell he was doing. . . So far we haven’t been able to find the people in Georgia willing to do the right thing.”¹⁰
- Also on December 5, Trump spoke at a rally supporting the Republican candidates in the Georgia senate runoffs.¹¹ He used this opportunity to claim widespread voter fraud in the presidential election and attack Kemp and Raffensperger.¹²
- On December 7, 2020, Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton filed a lawsuit to overturn the 2020 presidential election results in Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.¹³ The U.S. Supreme Court rejected his case later that month, and the State Bar of Texas has now pursued a complaint against Paxton, accusing him of professional misconduct relating to this litigation.¹⁴
- On December 14, 2020, as detailed further in Section III, 16 Georgia Republicans convened to “cast votes” claiming to be an alternate slate of electors for Trump in Georgia, which did not reflect the decision of the state’s voters.¹⁵
- On December 23, 2020, Trump reportedly called Frances Watson, chief elections investigator for the Georgia secretary of state, and “told Watson she would find ‘dishonesty’ if she scrutinized absentee ballots in Fulton County.”¹⁶
- On December 29, Raffensperger announced that the ballot signature match audit in Cobb County found “no fraudulent absentee ballots.”¹⁷

- On December 28, 2020, Jeffrey Clark, acting Assistant Attorney General for the Justice Department's Civil Division, emailed his superiors a draft proposal urging Georgia officials to convene a special legislative session to investigate the election.¹⁸ His email also included "assurances that the Department of Justice would look into election fraud" but his superiors refused to pursue the proposal.¹⁹
- On January 2, 2021, Trump held the now infamous hour-long call with some of his supporters, including White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows and attorney Cleta Mitchell, and several Georgia election officials.²⁰ During that call, Trump called on Secretary of State Raffensperger and his general counsel, Ryan Germany, to "find 11,780 votes" in his favor.²¹ 11,780 votes "constitutes one more than the vote gap between him and Biden."²²
- On January 4, 2021, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia, Byung J. Pak, whom Trump had nominated in July 2017, abruptly resigned, reportedly disclosing to congressional investigators that his resignation was caused by a warning that Trump intended to fire him for "refusing to say that widespread voter fraud had been found in Georgia."²³
- Also on January 4, 2021, Trump attended a Georgia rally where he continued to "cast doubt on the legitimacy of November's election results and the trustworthiness of Georgia's current election officials."²⁴
- Twelve Republican Georgia state legislators (along with Republican legislators from Arizona, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania) signed a letter to Vice President Mike Pence, dated January 5, 2021.²⁵ The letter urged Pence to delay the counting of electoral votes for at least 10 days to allow the state legislatures time to certify or decertify the election.²⁶
- The same lies and conspiracy theories that fueled the January 6 attack contributed to threatening and violent messages aimed at election officials, including in Georgia. These threats were launched over email, voicemails, texts, letters, social media, and in-person events including gathering outside election officials' homes. They often expressed false claims that the election was stolen.²⁷

II. GEORGIA ACTORS INVOLVED IN JANUARY 6 ACTIVITIES

The Washington Post compiled a [timeline](#) documenting how January 6, 2021 progressed from Trump's "Save America" rally on the White House Ellipse to the breach and attack on the U.S. Capitol. Just Security and Protect Democracy compiled a [primer](#) that organizes and distills the multiprong campaign to overturn the 2020 election results.

- Anthony Aguero (conservative live streamer): Aguero is an associate of Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-GA). He entered the Capitol during the January 6 attack.²⁸ While Greene was not at the Capitol on January 6, she has made repeated false claims about the 2020 election results and the January 6 attack.²⁹
- Vernon Jones (former Georgia state representative): A former Democrat, Jones spoke at the "Save America March" in D.C. on January 6.³⁰ Jones is currently running in a June 2022 Republican runoff race for a Georgia congressional seat.³¹
- Indictments: At least 18 people with Georgia ties have been charged for their involvement in the January 6 attack³² and their cases have been progressing through the courts:³³ Kevin Creek, Verden Andrew Nalley, Glen Mitchell Simon, Ronald Loehrke, Matthew Webler, Bruno Cua, Nolan Harold Kidd, Savannah Danielle McDonald, Benjamin Henry Torre, Lisa Eisenhart, Joseph (Jose) Padilla, Jack Whitton, William Calhoun Jr., Jonathan Laurens, Blas Santillan, Brian Ulrich, Michael Shane Daughtry, and Christopher Stanton Georgia.

III. GEORGIA'S FRAUDULENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS SLATE

- On December 14, 2020, groups of Republicans in Arizona, Georgia, Nevada, Michigan, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin signed documents made to look official that represented the signatories as the duly authorized or potential alternate presidential electors for Trump, rejecting the will of the voters in their states.³⁴ The actions of these fake electors are the possible subject of state and federal criminal probes.³⁵

- The following individuals served as fake electors in Georgia:³⁶ Joseph Brannon (treasurer of the Georgia Republican Party); James “Ken” Carroll (assistant secretary for the Georgia Republican Party); Vikki Townsend Consiglio (assistant treasurer for the Georgia Republican Party); Carolyn Hall Fisher (first vice chairman for the Georgia Republican Party); Burt Jones (Georgia State Senator since 2013); Gloria Kay Godwin (local Republican Party leader in Blackshear); David G. Hanna (Atlanticus Holdings Corp.); Mark W. Hennessy (CEO of several Atlanta car dealerships); Mark Amick (member of board of governors for the Georgia Republican Foundation); John Downey (House district chair for the Cobb County Republican Party); Cathleen Alston Latham (economics teacher with the Georgia Virtual School); Daryl Moody (chairman of the Georgia Republican Foundation); Brad Carver (member of the Republican National Lawyers Association); David Shafer (chairman of the Georgia GOP); Shawn Still (finance chair of the Georgia GOP); C.B. Yadav (small business owner in Camden County).

IV. POST-JANUARY 6 DEVELOPMENTS IN GEORGIA

Georgia continues to be a hotbed of efforts to undermine nonpartisan election administration and spread disinformation about the 2020 presidential election results.

a. Prominent Anti-Democracy Visitors' Activities in the State

- Rudy Giuliani: An attorney for Trump campaigned for Republican candidates running in the 2022 midterm elections who deny the official 2020 election results.³⁷ Giuliani previously participated in a December 2020 state Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing on election integrity following the 2020 election alongside Trump lawyers Jenna Ellis and John Eastman.³⁸
- Donald Trump: Trump endorsed and campaigned for Republican candidates running in the 2022 midterm elections who deny the official 2020 election results, where he repeatedly attacked Kemp and Raffensperger for refusing to overturn his loss in 2020.³⁹

b. Known January 6 Select Committee Subpoenas to Georgia Actors & Fulton County Georgia Special Grand Jury

The January 6 Select Committee has “issued more than 100 subpoenas to lawmakers, internet and communications companies, Trump White House officials and others” including rally and event organizers.⁴⁰ Here are some examples of the Georgia actors that have received subpoenas from the January 6 Select committee, as well as an overview of the special grand jury that has been convened in Fulton County.

- Representative Barry Loudermilk (GA-14): The January 6 Select Committee has requested a voluntary meeting with Loudermilk regarding a Capitol tour he allegedly provided on the day before the January 6 attack.⁴¹
- Amy Kremer (founder of Women for America First) and her daughter Kylie Kremer: The Kremers have been subpoenaed by the January 6 Select Committee for their role in organizing Stop the Steal rallies.⁴²
- David Shafer (chairman of the state GOP): Shafer has been subpoenaed by the January 6 Select Committee.⁴³
- Shawn Still (finance chair of the Georgia GOP): Still has been subpoenaed by the January 6 Select Committee.⁴⁴
- Fulton County investigation: In May 2022, Fulton County District Attorney Fani Willis convened a special grand jury to investigate whether Trump and his allies illegally tried to interfere in the 2020 election in the state.⁴⁵ The special grand jury heard testimony from Raffensperger on June 2, 2022.⁴⁶ The Brookings Institute has published a [report](#) on the reported facts and applicable law regarding this special grand jury.

c. Partisan Election Reviews

- In June 2021, State Sens. Brandon Beach and Burt Jones, along with state GOP chair David Shafer, visited Arizona to witness the legislature's partisan election review conducted by the Cyber Ninjas.⁴⁷
- In October 2021, a judge dismissed a Georgia lawsuit that could have resulted in a review of Fulton County's 2020 election ballots citing a lack of standing and particularized injury.⁴⁸ Raffensperger's office filed a brief in the case stating that their investigators have "been unable to substantiate the allegations that fraudulent or counterfeit ballots were counted in the 2020 General Election in Fulton County" after conducting interviews and reviewing approximately 1,000 absentee ballots and ballot images.⁴⁹

d. Legislation to Change Georgia's Election Laws

- Georgia enacted S.B. 202⁵⁰ in March 2021, which limits the number of ballot drop boxes, requires different forms of identification for absentee voting, and bans the provision of food and drinks to people waiting in line to vote.⁵¹ The law also alters the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches. For example, the law changes the appointments power and restricts the State Election Board's ability to respond to emergencies. The new law further empowers the State Election Board—to be chaired by a legislative appointee—to investigate and replace local election officials whose competence has been called into question.
- Since the 2020 presidential election and the January 6 attack, state legislatures across the country have considered a wide range of bills that would increase the risk of election subversion—that the purported outcome of the election does not reflect the choice of the voters. State by state, legislatures had moved to seize power from professional, non-partisan election administrators and to subject the running of elections to partisan influence and disruption. For more information about Georgia's election subversion legislation, please see States United's [2021](#) and [2022](#) report, written and published in collaboration with Protect Democracy and Law Forward.

e. Election Deniers are Running for Pennsylvania State Office

Election Deniers ran for key constitutional offices in Georgia that have a role in election administration and enforcement, but they ultimately lost their primary races in 2022.⁵²

Election Denier Gubernatorial Candidates:

- David Perdue (R): [Election Denier](#)
- Kandiss Taylor (R): [Election Denier](#)

Election Denier Attorney General Candidates:

- John Gordon (R): [Election Denier](#)

Election Denier Secretary of State Candidates:

- David Belle Isle (R): [Election Denier](#)
- Jody Hice (R): [Election Denier](#)

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FROM THE STATES UNITED DEMOCRACY CENTER:

[Countering Lies about the 2020 Presidential Election](#)

[A Democracy Crisis in the Making 2021](#) and [2022](#) reports

[Guide to Counting Electoral College Votes and The January 6, 2021 Meeting of Congress](#)

Updated June 13, 2022

This document was prepared by the States United Democracy Center.

The States United Democracy Center is a nonpartisan organization advancing free, fair, and secure elections. We focus on connecting state officials, law enforcement leaders, and pro-democracy partners across America with the tools and expertise they need to safeguard our democracy. For more information, visit www.statesuniteddemocracy.org.

- ¹ Kessler, G. and Rizzo, S. (2020, November 5). President Trump's false claims of vote fraud: A chronology. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/11/05/president-trumps-false-claims-vote-fraud-chronology/>.
- ² Yamanouchi, K. (2020, November 21). Trump supporters gather for Atlanta protests. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/news/trump-supporters-gather-for-protests-in-downtown-atlanta/NRBWISLQK5FQ5NXXNAFNPVS6VA/>; Amy Gardner et al. (2020, November 9). 'We will not allow anyone to stop us': Day and night, under historic scrutiny, the nation's vote counters carried on. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020-election-workers-count/2020/11/08/a6136514-2083-11eb-b532-05c751cd5dc2_story.html.
- ³ See note 2.
- ⁴ See note 2. See also Kessler, G. and Rizzo, S. (2020, Nov. 5). President Trump's false claims of vote fraud: A chronology. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/11/05/president-trumps-false-claims-vote-fraud-chronology/>.
- ⁵ Bethea, C. (2020, November 11). Georgia Republicans turn Trump's baseless claims of voter fraud into an electoral strategy. *The New Yorker*. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/campaign-chronicles/georgia-republicans-turn-trumps-baseless-claims-of-voter-fraud-into-an-electoral-strategy>.
- ⁶ See note 5.
- ⁷ Historic First Statewide Audit of Paper Ballots Upholds Result of Presidential Race. (2020, November 19). *Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger*. <https://sos.ga.gov/news/historic-first-statewide-audit-paper-ballots-upholds-result-presidential-race>.
- ⁸ Brumback, K. (2020, November 20). Georgia Officials Certify Election Results Showing Biden Win. *Associated Press*. <https://apnews.com/article/georgia-certify-election-joe-biden-ea8f867d740f3d7d42d0a55c1aef9e69>.
- ⁹ Holmes, K. and Stracqualursi, V. (2020, December 5). Trump Pressured Georgia Governor in Call to Help Overturn Biden's Win in State. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2020/12/05/politics/trump-georgia-brian-kemp-phone-call/index.html>; Bluestein, G. and Murphy, P. (2020, December 5). UPDATE: Kemp again refuses Trump's demand to overturn election. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/why-kemp-wont-attend-trumps-georgia-rally-on-saturday/4ZGHTTK5YJDIDJ7YVUMTPEIMGY/>.
- ¹⁰ Gardner, A. et al. (2020, December 5). Trump calls Georgia governor to pressure him for help overturning Biden's win in the state. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-kemp-call-georgia/2020/12/05/fd8d677c-3721-11eb-8d38-6aea1adb3839_story.html; Bluestein, G. and Murphy, P. (2020, December 5). UPDATE: Kemp again refuses Trump's demand to overturn election. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/why-kemp-wont-attend-trumps-georgia-rally-on-saturday/4ZGHTTK5YJDIDJ7YVUMTPEIMGY/>.
- ¹¹ Wootson, C.R., et al. (2020, December 5). At Georgia rally, Trump spouts election falsehoods, amplifies old grievances. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/12/05/trump-obama-events-heat-up-georgia-senate-races-before-voter-registration-deadline/>; Bluestein, G. and Murphy, P. (2020, December 5). UPDATE: Kemp again refuses Trump's demand to overturn election. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/why-kemp-wont-attend-trumps-georgia-rally-on-saturday/4ZGHTTK5YJDIDJ7YVUMTPEIMGY/>.

¹² See note 11.

¹³ Liptak, A. (2020, December 11). Texas files an audacious suit with the Supreme Court challenging the election results. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/12/08/us/politics/texas-files-an-audacious-suit-with-the-supreme-court-challenging-the-election-results.html>.

¹⁴ See note 13.

¹⁵ American Oversight Obtains Seven Phony Certificates of Pro-Trump Electors. (2021, March 2). *America Oversight*. <https://www.americanoversight.org/american-oversight-obtains-seven-phony-certificates-of-pro-trump-electors>; Sherman, A. (2022, January 28). What you need to know about the fake Trump electors. *PolitiFact*. <https://www.politifact.com/article/2022/jan/28/what-you-need-know-about-fake-trump-electors/>.

¹⁶ Gardner, A. (2021, March 11). Recording Reveals Details of Trump Call to Georgia's Chief Elections Investigator. *The Washington Post*. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-call-georgia-investigator/2021/03/11/c532ea2e-827a-11eb-ac37-4383f7709abe_story.html; Bluestein, G. (2021, March 16). Georgia official clarifies earlier report on Trump call to a Georgia investigator. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/georgia-official-clarifies-earlier-report-on-trump-call-to-a-georgia-investigator/WQPJG3F7MJEJ7EQJHLNVUEGYLY/>.

¹⁷ WALB News Team (2020, December 29). Raffensperger: No Fraud Found in Cobb Co. Ballot Signature Audit. *WTOC 11*. <https://www.wtoc.com/2020/12/29/raffensperger-no-fraud-found-cobb-co-ballot-signature-audit/>.

¹⁸ Polantz, K. et al. (2021, August 6). How a Trump Environmental Lawyer Tried To Weaponize the Justice Department To Help the President. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2021/08/06/politics/doj-clark-trump-election/index.html>.

¹⁹ See note 18.

²⁰ Bluestein, G. (2021, January 3). Trump demands Georgia elections official overturn his defeat in hourlong call. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/trump-demands-georgia-elections-official-overturn-his-defeat-in-hourlong-call/6MRGK445JNAGHBL2HXLZ3FIVZU/>.

²¹ Darnell, T. (2021, January 4). READ: Transcript of Trump's phone call to Georgia secretary of state. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/news/nation-world/read-transcript-of-trumps-phone-call-to-georgia-secretary-of-state/IRLR3EXOMVFJFJIVYYUQ2C6QTM/>.

²² See note 20.

²³ Benner, K. (2021, August 11). Former U.S. attorney in Atlanta says Trump wanted to fire him for not backing election fraud claims. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/11/us/politics/byung-pak-trump-atlanta-election-fraud.html>. See also Mitchell, T. (2021, October 7). Pak describes pressure from Trump allies leading up to his resignation. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/pak-describes-pressure-from-trump-allies-leading-up-to-his-resignation/4RDYQLDYGNE5NLIDZ235MFZT2Q/>.

²⁴ Beckett, L. et al. (2021, January 4). Trump speaks at Georgia rally ahead of runoff elections – as it happened. *The Guardian*. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/live/2021/jan/04/donald-trump-georgia-votes-joe-biden-brad-raffensperger-senate-covid-coronavirus-us-politics-live>.

- ²⁵ The Georgia legislators who signed the letter are: Rep. Timothy Barr, Senator Brandon Beach, Rep. David Clark, Senator Burt Jones, Rep. Jeff Jones, Rep. Emory Dunahoo, Rep. Sheri Gilligan, Rep. Matt Gurtler, Senator William Ligon, Rep. Ken Pullin, Rep. Philip Singleton, and Senator Bruce Thompson. See Letter to Vice President Michael R. Pence. (2021, January 5). *The Wisconsin Examiner*. <https://wisconsinexaminer.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Letter-to-Pence-1.pdf>.
- ²⁶ See note 25; Timm, C. (2021, January 5). Fact check: No, Pence can't overturn the election results. *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/donald-trump/fact-check-no-pence-can-t-overturn-election-results-n1252869>.
- ²⁷ Eisler, P., et al. (2021, December 30). Anatomy of a death threat. *Reuters*. <https://graphics.reuters.com/USA-ELECTION/THREATS/mopanwmlkva/>.
- ²⁸ Kaczynski, A. et al. (2021, March 25). Videos show ally of Marjorie Taylor Greene among mob inside Capitol during January 6 riot. *CNN Politics*. <https://www.cnn.com/2021/03/24/politics/kfile-marjorie-taylor-greene-ally-us-capitol/index.html>; Lee, A. (2021, March 8). Investigation finds communications between lawmakers, Capitol rioters. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/news/investigation-finds-communications-between-lawmakers-capitol-rioters/7BRYTGFQLNATRNSDZDFZDVPFLQ/>.
- ²⁹ Dale, D. (2021, January 21). Fact Check: 11 false claims Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene has tweeted in the last month. *CNN*. Jarvie, J. (2021, January 30). New congresswoman's fringe views were public for years. Now the GOP is in a quandary over Marjorie Taylor Greene. *Los Angeles Times*. <https://www.latimes.com/politics/story/2021-01-30/georgia-has-a-new-congresswoman-in-marjorie-taylor-greene-some-are-embarrassed-others-not-so-much>.
- ³⁰ Right Side Broadcasting Network. (2021, January 6). Rep. Vernon Jones Officially Joins Republican Party at Trump Rally in DC 1/6/21. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P7DUFEbjAMw>. Dzhanova, Y. (2021, January 10). These are the Republican lawmakers facing calls for resignation after they attended the Trump rally ahead of the Capitol riot. *Insider*. <https://www.businessinsider.com/republican-lawmakers-who-attended-rally-ahead-of-capitol-riot-2021-1#georgia-state-rep-vernon-jones-9>.
- ³¹ Mitchell, T. (2022, May 24). Collins, Jones in GOP runoff in Georgia's 10th Congressional District. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/collins-jones-in-gop-runoff-in-georgias-10th-congressional-district/ZB40LAKYCFG7TDKVIWLCGDQ3B4/>.
- ³² WCTV Staff. (2022, January 6). Dozens from Florida and Georgia face charges in the Jan. 6 attack on the U.S. Capitol. *WCTV*. <https://www.wctv.tv/2022/01/06/dozens-florida-georgia-face-charges-jan-6-attack-us-capitol/>.
- ³³ Henke, J. (2022, January 6). Suspects from Georgia in the Capitol insurrection | Where their cases stand. *11 Alive*. <https://www.11alive.com/article/news/special-reports/capitol-insurrection/january-6-capitol-riot-georgia-people-arrested/85-164940e4-83b5-407b-83d3-eb6a85b81ce4>; NPR Staff. (2022, June 3). The Capitol siege: The cases behind the biggest criminal investigation in U.S. history. *NPR*. <https://www.npr.org/2021/02/09/965472049/the-capitol-siege-the-arrested-and-their-stories#database/>.
- ³⁴ American Oversight Obtains Seven Phony Certificates of Pro-Trump Electors. (2021, March 2). *America Oversight*. <https://www.americanoversight.org/american-oversight-obtains-seven-phony-certificates-of-pro-trump-electors>; Sherman, A. (2022, January 28). What you need to know about the fake Trump electors. *PolitiFact*. <https://www.politifact.com/article/2022/jan/28/what-you-need-know-about-fake-trump-electors/>.

- ³⁵ Feuer, A., et al. (2022, March 25). Intensifying Inquiry Into Alternate Electors Focuses on Trump Lawyers. *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/05/25/us/politics/pro-trump-lawyers-elector-scheme.html>; Polantz, K., & Reid, P. (2022, March 25). DOJ probe of fake elector plot seeks information about Trump's top lawyers and advisers. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2022/05/25/politics/justice-department-fake-elector-plot-trump-lawyers-advisers/index.html>; Boucher, D. (2022, January 19). Nessel: Fake GOP electors committed crimes, hopes feds prosecute 'conspiracy.' *Detroit Free Press*. <https://www.freep.com/story/news/politics/2022/01/18/nessel-gop-electors-crimes-lansing-michigan/6563387001/>.
- ³⁶ American Oversight Obtains Seven Phony Certificates of Pro-Trump Electors. (2021, March 2). *America Oversight*. <https://www.americanoversight.org/american-oversight-obtains-seven-phony-certificates-of-pro-trump-electors>; Lerner, K. (2022, Feb. 2). Trump's fake electors: Here's the full list. *The Wisconsin Examiner*. <https://wisconsinexaminer.com/2022/02/02/trumps-fake-electors-heres-the-full-list/>.
- ³⁷ Mitchell, T. et al. (2021, July 1). The Jolt: Rudy Giuliani's back in Georgia to knock out Brian Kemp. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/the-jolt-rudy-giulianis-back-in-georgia-to-knock-out-brian-kemp/ODJGFJ44KZBABFZEW3UTS3F5CQ/>.
- ³⁸ Kanefield, T. (2020, December 4). Trump and Giuliani's Georgia election fraud farce underscores Republican Party's civil war. *NBC News*. (Dec. 4, 2020), <https://www.nbcnews.com/think/opinion/trump-giuliani-s-georgia-election-fraud-farce-underscores-republican-party-ncna1249948>; Letter Re: Request for Investigation of Jenna L. Ellis (also known as Jenna Lynn Rives), 1 Colorado Registration Number 44026. (2022, May 4); *States United Democracy Center*. <https://statesuniteddemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/2022.05.04-Jenna-Ellis-complaint.pdf>; Letter Re: Matter of John Eastman, Case Number 21-O-12451. (2021, November 16). *States United Democracy Center*. <https://statesuniteddemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Supplemental-Letter-to-State-Bar-of-California.pdf>.
- ³⁹ Fowler, S. (2022, March 27). Trump's Republican revenge tour falters in Georgia. *NPR*. <https://www.gpb.org/news/2022/03/27/trumps-republican-revenge-tour-falters-in-georgia>. Trump's efforts to thwart Kemp and Raffensperger from office in favor of Republicans who are also election deniers were futile, as both won their Republican primary elections. *2022 Georgia Primary Results*. (2022, June 9). *Politico*. <https://www.politico.com/2022-election/results/georgia/>.
- ⁴⁰ Schonfeld, Z. (2022, June 7). Here's a list of the people who have been subpoenaed by the Jan. 6 committee. *The Hill*. <https://thehill.com/news/house/3514712-heres-a-list-of-the-people-who-have-been-subpoenaed-by-the-jan-6-committee/>.
- ⁴¹ Richards, Z. (2022, May 19). Jan. 6 committee seeks info from Georgia Republican about pre-riot tour of Capitol. *NBC News*. <https://www.nbcnews.com/politics/congress/jan-6-committee-seeks-info-georgia-republican-pre-riot-tour-capitol-rcna29698>. Mitchell, T. (2022, May 19). Jan. 6 committee seeks info from Loudermilk regarding tour on eve of Capitol riot. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/jan-6-committee-requests-info-from-loudermilk-regarding-jan-5-tour/VLBYKAQLANCDVBQ4RDIBNSY4Q4/>.
- ⁴² Joyner, C. (2021, September 30). Georgia Trump activists subpoenaed in Jan. 6 investigation. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/news/georgia-trump-activists-subpoenaed-in-jan-6-investigation/JDTIPITFP5E2HN4YGTM5HVVOY4/>.
- ⁴³ Wickert, D. and Bluestein, B. (2022, January 28). Investigators subpoena fake Georgia presidential 'electors.' *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/investigators-subpoena-fake-georgia-presidential-electors/7QLQX4JRWNC0ZEB5PCLLLH5LWI/>.

⁴⁴ See note 43.

⁴⁵ Hallerman, T. (2022, May 2). Fulton prosecutors to begin jury selection for Trump probe. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/news/atlanta-news/fulton-prosecutors-to-begin-jury-selection-for-trump-probe/IGCWQKPRVBDWRKNAI7LNQAMHJI/>.

⁴⁶ Hallerman, T. (2022, June 2). Raffensperger testifies before Fulton grand jury probing 2020 elections. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/raffensperger-testifies-before-fulton-grand-jury-probing-2020-elections/7MXRD5Y5AVCUTPKAGKN3H2SUJ4/>.

⁴⁷ Murphy, P. et. (2021, June 9). The Jolt: Georgia state senators tour “sham” Arizona ballot review. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/the-jolt-georgia-state-senators-tour-sham-arizona-ballot-review/POVNOAVR2ZEVJP5GBXSGZJUTM4/>.

⁴⁸ Niese, M. (2021, October 13). Georgia ballot inspection case dismissed after no fraud found. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/georgia-ballot-inspection-case-dismissed-after-no-fraud-found/OUVOQ5I5ARHMBJ62CX3YBHRMYM/>.

⁴⁹ Murray, S. and Janfaza, R. (2021, October 13). Judge dismisses Fulton County ballot review case in Georgia. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2021/10/13/politics/judge-dismisses-ballot-review-case-georgia/index.html>; Niese, M. (2021, October 13). *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/georgia-ballot-inspection-case-dismissed-after-no-fraud-found/OUVOQ5I5ARHMBJ62CX3YBHRMYM/>.

⁵⁰ S.B. 202, Georgia 2021-2022 Regular Session, <https://www.legis.ga.gov/api/legislation/document/20212022/201498>; A Democracy Crisis in the Making. (2021, April 22, 2021). *States United Democracy Center*. <https://statesuniteddemocracy.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/FINAL-Democracy-Crisis-Report-April-21.pdf>.

⁵¹ Niese, M. (2021, May 6). How Georgia’s voting law works. *The Atlanta Journal Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/how-georgias-new-voting-law-works/GF6PLR44PNESPKR5FXCBE7VEOY/>.

⁵² Replacing the Refs. (2022, June 6). *States United Action*. <https://statesuniteddemocracy.org/resources/replacingtherefs/>