State Highlights from the Hearings of the United States House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

Background:

In June and July, the United States House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (January 6 Select Committee) held eight public hearings that revealed new information regarding the coordinated efforts of then-President Donald Trump and his allies to overturn the results of the 2020 presidential election.

The January 6 Select Committee hearings focused on a variety of topics relevant to the January 6 attack on the Capitol: the conduct and actions of Trump and his outside advisors, campaign staff, and White House staff in the days leading up to and on January 6, 2021; the pressure campaign on federal, state, and local officials to challenge and change the official election results; and the roles of militias and white nationalist groups in the January 6 attack.

The January 6 Select Committee presented testimony from live witnesses, excerpts from recorded Committee depositions, interviews with the Committee's investigators and attorneys, and video clips from public events, as well as excerpts from documents, phone logs, official records, and text messages that the Committee obtained in the course of its investigation.

The States United Democracy Center <u>released</u> in June 2022 a series of five state-by-state guides to the January 6 attack highlighting activities that sought to undermine the free, fair, and secure 2020 presidential election. The following summaries highlight the evidence presented at the January 6 Select Committee hearings regarding the efforts to undermine the electoral outcomes in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.



I. ARIZONA

The States United Democracy Center's <u>Arizona January 6 Spotlight</u> outlines the events in the state leading up to the January 6 attack, participation by Arizona actors in related events and the attack itself, efforts in Arizona to discredit or reverse the outcome of the presidential election, and subsequent post-January 6 events. The following is a summary of the evidence presented at the January 6 Select Committee hearings related to Arizona, including the June 21, 2022 testimony from Arizona House Speaker Rusty Bowers (R-Mesa).

Promoting election fraud claims:

- The January 6 Select Committee played deposition clips from Bill Stepien, Trump's campaign manager in 2020, where he testified that although the claim seemed "wild" to him, he asked a campaign lawyer, Alex Cannon, to analyze voter fraud allegations in Arizona! When Cannon's analysis disproving the theory was presented to Trump, Trump responded by replacing the campaign's legal team with Rudy Giuliani as the point person going forward to investigate these fraud allegations?
- Arizona House Speaker Rusty Bowers presented live testimony at one of the January 6 Select Committee hearings regarding the pressure he faced on a phone call with Trump and Giuliani. Bowers testified that Giuliani alleged on the call that hundreds of thousands of undocumented people and thousands of dead people voted in the election. Bowers said he asked Giuliani in November 2020 for the proof supporting these allegations. Giuliani responded that he "did have proof" and would provide the evidence to Bowers, but he "[n]ever" did. Giuliani also asked Bowers to "hold an official committee hearing" at the Arizona capitol building to "hear this evidence" and "take action thereafter[,]" which Bowers refused.
- One week after that call, and on the day Arizona's presidential election results were certified for Joe Biden, Giuliani appeared in a hotel ballroom in Phoenix for an unofficial, self-styled "legislative hearing" where he and Trump attorney Jenna Ellis made unsubstantiated claims of undocumented people voting and voting machine irregularities.
- Bowers testified that he met in person with Giuliani, Ellis, and other Arizona Republican legislators during their visit to Phoenix, and Giuliani and Ellis again repeated these baseless allegations of fraud. Ellis asserted to Bowers that she had proof of such fraud, including the names of unauthorized voters. When Bowers asked if she had brought these names and evidence with her, Ellis conceded that she had not. But Bowers testified that Giuliani then contradicted Ellis, stating that they had "lots of theories" but did not "have the evidence." Bowers testified that he never received this promised evidence.

• Pressure campaign to overturn Arizona's presidential election results:

- Starting in late November 2020, Trump and his allies visited states in which he lost the popular vote, pressuring those states' legislators to redirect their electoral votes to Trump.¹⁵ Republican officials in several states, including Arizona, publicly denounced Trump's proposal as illegal.¹⁶Arizona House Speaker Rusty Bowers "wrote that the idea would undermine the rule of law."¹⁷
- Giuliani further spread a theory that there was "a legal ability in Arizona" for the legislature to "remove the—the electors of President Biden and replace them," and asked for a "legitimate opportunity" through a legislative hearing to present these claims. Bowers testified that taking action to replace the electors for Biden with electors for Trump would run "counter to [his] oath" to the Constitution because there was "no evidence being presented of any strength." 19
- Ultimately, fake electors met on December 14, 2020 in Phoenix, purporting to cast electoral votes for Trump.²⁰ Bowers was not aware of this effort at the time and testified he considered it a "tragic parody."²¹
- Bowers also testified that Trump called him a second time in late December 2020.²² Bowers told Trump that, while he had supported and voted for him, he would not do anything illegal for him.²³ Nevertheless, Trump attorney John Eastman subsequently called Bowers and asked him to "decertify the electors" under the Arizona Legislature's purported "plenary authority."²⁴ Bowers testified that he refused Eastman's request.²⁵
- The January 6 Select Committee presented White House visitor logs demonstrating that on December 21, 2020, Trump met with several Republican members of Congress, including Arizona's Andy Biggs (R-AZ) and Paul Gosar (R-AZ), regarding the "January 6 effort" developed by Eastman.²⁶
- The January 6 Select Committee released the recording of a conversation that took place among members of Congress in which U.S. Representative Debbie Lesko (R-AZ) stated that she knew the efforts to overturn the election results were likely to fail and was concerned about resulting violence: She had "asked [congressional] leadership to come up with a safety plan for members" because there were going to be "Trump supporters who actually believe that we are going to overturn the election ... [a]nd when that doesn't happen, most likely will not happen, they are going to go nuts." Nevertheless, she participated in some of the congressional objections to the election results during the joint congressional session on January 6, 2021.

- As a last-ditch effort, Biggs called Bowers on the morning of January 6, asking whether Bowers would sign on to a letter supporting the decertification of Arizona's electors. Bowers testified that he refused Biggs' request. 30
- Cassidy Hutchinson, a former aide to Trump's Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, testified at the hearings that Biggs talked with her directly and that he asked for a presidential pardon.³¹

Protests and threats towards state officials:

- As a result of his refusal to subvert Arizona's election results, Bowers received "in excess of 20,000 emails and tens of thousands of voicemails and texts which saturated" his offices.³² He explained how he now "worr[ies] what will happen on Saturdays" as "various groups come by and they have video panel trucks with videos of me proclaiming me to be a pedophile and a pervert and a corrupt politician" and blaring loudspeakers.³³ These protestors have also argued with, and threatened, Bowers and his neighbors.³⁴
- Additionally, the January 6 Select Committee disclosed video footage showing that in December 2020, "Stop the Steal" protesters occupied the Arizona House of Representatives building.³⁵ These demonstrators included Jacob Chansley, who is also known as the "QAnon Shaman," along with members of the Proud Boys, and "men armed with rifles stood just outside the entrance" of the building.³⁶ Bowers testified that the demonstrators were calling for him by name.³⁷

II. GEORGIA

The States United Democracy Center's <u>Georgia January 6 Spotlight</u> outlines the events in the state leading up to the January 6 attack, participation by Georgia actors in related events and the attack itself, efforts in Georgia to discredit or reverse the outcome of the presidential election, and subsequent post-January 6 events. The following is a summary of the evidence presented at the January 6 Select Committee hearings related to Georgia, including the June 13, 2022 testimony from the former U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia BJay Pak and the June 21, 2022 testimony from Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger, his Chief Operating Officer Gabriel Sterling, and Fulton County Elections Department employee Wandrea "Shaye" Moss.

Promoting election fraud claims:

- On December 2, 2020, Trump released a lengthy video falsely claiming that, in Georgia, "thousands and thousands of [fraudulent] votes" were found, "all against [him]," in a suitcase brought into a vote-counting location.³⁸ The January 6 Select Committee showed footage from the next day where Giuliani and other Trump representatives appeared before the Georgia State Senate and launched the baseless allegation that on election night, poll observers were removed from the Atlanta counting facility and that "suitcases of ballots [were pulled out] from under a table" and run through the counting machines multiple times.³⁹ The January 6 Select Committee played clips of Giuliani proclaiming that this video was "the perfect smoking gun" and that "[you] don't have to be a genius to figure out that those votes are not legitimate votes. You don't put legitimate votes under a table[.]" ⁴⁰Trump and Giuliani "claimed that these suitcases contained as many as 18,000 ballots, all for Joe Biden." ⁴¹
- BJay Pak, then-U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia, testified that he investigated Giuliani's claim and that the alleged "suitcase" of ballots was actually an official lockbox of uncounted ballots that had been stored for safekeeping and that poll workers brought it back into the room when they were instructed to resume counting. ⁴²Pak concluded "that there was no evidence of widespread fraud sufficient to undermine confidence in the outcome of the election in Georgia." ⁴³And after leaving the U.S. Attorney's office, Pak explained that Trump's hand-picked replacement, Bobby Christine, "continued any investigations that were pending at the time of [Pak's] departure, [and Christine] was unable to find any evidence of fraud that affected the outcome of the election." ⁴⁴

- Gabriel Sterling, Chief Operating Officer for the Georgia Secretary of State, also testified that his aides reviewed approximately 48 hours of surveillance tape from the time when the alleged suitcase was brought in and found no evidence of fraud.⁴⁵ Sterling also testified that their hand recount of the ballots reached the same election outcome as the original vote count tabulation.⁴⁶
- Acting Deputy Attorney General Richard Donoghue testified at the January 6 Select Committee hearings that he "told the president [himself]... several times in several conversations, that the allegations about ballots being smuggled in in a suitcase and run through the machine several times... w[ere] not true."⁴⁷
- The January 6 Select Committee showed a clip from Trump's January 6 speech where he
 continued to claim that "totally fraudulent" ballots were brought in suitcases to the
 counting center in Atlanta and counted for President Biden.⁴⁸
- Separately, Trump claimed that votes in Georgia were cast by deceased people, underage voters, voters with criminal convictions, and unregistered voters.⁴⁹Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger testified that his investigation into these allegations of election fraud found a lack of evidence to support these claims.⁵⁰When Raffensperger told Trump that the numbers from his investigation "don't lie" on their now infamous hour-long call on January 2, 2021,⁵¹ Trump responded that the investigators were either "dishonest" or "incompetent," and suggested that Raffensperger could be criminally liable for his actions in investigating Trump's claims of fraud.⁵²

Pressure campaign to overturn Georgia's presidential election results:

- The January 6 Select Committee played portions of Trump's call to Raffensperger in which Trump said, "I just want to find 11,780 votes, which is one more than we have because we won the state." The Committee also played portions of Trump's call to Raffensperger's lead investigator Frances Watson, where Trump prodded her to find the "right answer" and told her that she would "be praised" when that answer came out. 54
- The January 6 Select Committee played videotape of Trump at a January 4, 2021, rally in Georgia about the Senate runoffs where he exhorted then-Vice President Mike Pence to overturn the presidential election results.⁵⁵Trump told the crowd, "I hope that our great Vice President . . . comes through for us. He's a great guy. Plus if he doesn't come through, I won't like him quite as much." ⁵⁶

- The January 6 Select Committee also presented testimony from former U.S. Department of Justice (Justice Department) officials detailing the sustained campaign by Trump and his allies pressuring the Justice Department to wade into investigating the presidential election results, with particular focus on Georgia's results.⁵⁷
 - The January 6 Select Committee explored how the Justice Department "was fielding almost daily requests from the President to investigate claims of election fraud. Each claim was refuted time and time again, an effort Attorney General Barr described as whack a mole. When each of the President's efforts failed, he resorted to installing a new attorney general to say the election was illegal and corrupt simply so he could stay in power." ⁵⁸
 - After Attorney General Barr resigned, Jeffrey Rosen became the Acting Attorney General.⁵⁹ Trump wanted the "Justice Department to help legitimize his lies, to basically call the election corrupt, to appoint a special counsel to investigate alleged election fraud, to send a letter to six state legislatures urging them to consider altering the election results. And when these and other efforts failed, Donald Trump sought to replace Mr. Rosen, ... with a lawyer who he believed would inappropriately put the full weight of the Justice Department behind the effort to overturn the election." ⁶⁰
 - Rosen and Richard Donoghue, the then-Acting Deputy Attorney General, testified they attended a meeting with Trump and Jeffrey Clark, an environmental attorney for the Justice Department.⁶¹ At this meeting, Clark pitched himself to take over leading the Justice Department so that he could pursue fraud allegations that the Justice Department had already debunked: Clark "repeatedly said to the President that if he was put in the seat, he would conduct real investigations that would in his view uncover widespread fraud. He would send out the letter that he had drafted and that this was a last opportunity to sort of set things straight with this defective election and that he could do it. And he had the intelligence and the will and the desire to pursue these matters in the way that the President thought most appropriate." ⁶²
 - The January 6 Select Committee detailed the contents of a letter it obtained drafted by Justice Department attorneys Jeff Clark and Ken Klukowski.⁶³ The letter claimed that the Justice Department's investigations revealed "significant concerns that may have impacted the outcome of the election in ... Georgia" even though the Justice Department had already informed Trump that its investigations found no evidence of widespread fraud.⁶⁴ The draft letter also recommended that "the Georgia General Assembly should convene in special session" and consider approving a new slate of electors supporting Trump.⁶⁵

 Clark sent the draft to Donoghue and Rosen, who both testified that they refused to sign and send the letter.⁶⁶

• The January 6 Select Committee detailed how Clark and Trump were in frequent communication, as well as the progress of efforts to elevate Clark's stature within the Justice Department, as documented by the fact that by the afternoon of January 3, 2021, White House call logs were already referring to Clark as the "acting attorney general." ⁶⁷

Protests and threats towards state and local election officials:

- Raffensperger testified that his personal information was doxxed and how the resulting flood of phone calls included threats of sexualized violence targeting his wife. He also testified about a break-in at the home of his widowed daughter-in-law.
- As part of the effort to promote unsubstantiated fraud claims of ballots hidden in suitcases, Trump and Giuliani publicized a video of two election workers counting ballots in Fulton County—Wandrea "Shaye" Moss and her mother, Ruby Freeman—and claimed that they were "involved in a plot to kick out observers, bring suitcases of false ballots for President Biden into the arena, and then run them through the machines multiple times." Trump called Freeman "a professional vote scammer and hustler."
- Moss appeared at the January 6 Select Committee hearings, alongside her mother, where she testified that none of Trump's allegations against her were true.⁷² Moss explained how she and her mother received death threats—many of which were racially charged—because of Trump and his allies claiming that she committed election fraud.⁷³
- The January 6 Select Committee showed portions of Freeman's deposition testimony highlighting how she was forced into hiding for two months leading up to, and after, January 6.⁷⁴ Moss testified how Trump supporters invaded her grandmother's home and attempted to make a citizen's arrest of Moss and Freeman.⁷⁵ Moss testified that she ultimately quit her job because of the harassment she experienced.⁷⁶

III. MICHIGAN

The States United Democracy Center's <u>Michigan January 6 Spotlight</u> outlines the events in the state leading up to the January 6 attack, participation by Michigan actors in related events and the attack itself, efforts in Michigan to discredit or reverse the outcome of the presidential election, and subsequent post-January 6 events. The following is a summary of the evidence presented at the January 6 Select Committee hearings related to Michigan.

• Pressure campaign to overturn Michigan's presidential election results:

- Trump mounted a pressure campaign directed at individual state legislators in Michigan to convince them to install "fake electors" who could replace the Biden electors. As part of that pressure campaign, in mid-November 2020, Trump invited a delegation from Michigan, including Michigan Senate Majority Leader Mike Shirkey (R-Clark Lake) and then-House Speaker Lee Chatfield (R-Levering), to a meeting at the White House. The January 6 Select Committee presented deposition testimony from Shirkey, who recalled telling Trump at the White House meeting that "we were going to follow the law" despite Trump's pressure tactics.

Protests and threats towards state officials:

- The day after the Michigan legislators visited the White House, Trump posted on Facebook their contact information, including Shirkey's personal phone number. The January 6 Select Committee presented portions of Shirkey's deposition testimony documenting the aftermath: "All I remember is receiving over just shy of 4,000 text messages over a short period of time calling to take action. It was a loud noise, loud consistent cadence of, you know, we hear that—that the Trump folks are calling and asking for changes in the electors and you guys can do this. Well, you know they were—they were believing things that were untrue."
- The January 6 Select Committee played deposition testimony from Michigan Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson recounting how armed protesters surrounded her family home at night in the weeks following the election, calling her a "threat to democracy."

IV. PENNSYLVANIA

The States United Democracy Center's <u>Pennsylvania January 6 Spotlight</u> outlines the events in the state leading up to the January 6 attack, participation by Pennsylvania actors in related events and the attack itself, efforts in Pennsylvania to discredit or reverse the outcome of the presidential election, and subsequent post-January 6 events. The following is a summary of the evidence presented at the January 6 Select Committee hearings related to Pennsylvania, including the June 21, 2022 testimony from the former City Commissioner for the city of Philadelphia Al Schmidt.

Promoting election fraud claims:

- The January 6 Select Committee played deposition testimony from Attorney General William Barr in which Barr recounted Trump's repeated and sustained promotion of the allegation that there were more votes cast than voters in Philadelphia. But as Barr explained, "The turnout in Philadelphia was in line with the state's turnout" and "there was nothing strange about the Philadelphia turnout. Barr acknowledged the simple fact that "Trump ran weaker than the Republican ticket generally.
- Trump and his allies also alleged that dead people voted in Pennsylvania. The January 6 Select Committee revealed how Giuliani and other Trump allies held a briefing for Pennsylvania legislators where Giuliani said: "I guess the crooks in Philadelphia are disappointed in this. They only submitted 8,021 ballots from dead people—mail in ballots for dead people. Probably easier for dead people to submit mail in ballots than it is to vote in person."
- Al Schmidt, a Republican member of Philadelphia's three-member city commission during the 2020 presidential election, testified at the January 6 Select Committee hearings that he investigated Trump's and his allies' claims of voter fraud and concluded that "[n]ot only was there not evidence of 8,000 dead voters voting in Pennsylvania, there wasn't evidence of eight." ⁹¹

• Pressure campaign to overturn Pennsylvania's presidential election results:

• The January 6 Select Committee presented evidence from the National Archives showing that U.S. Representative Scott Perry (R-PA) was one of the members of Congress that met with Trump about the election results on December 21, 2020. The Committee also revealed records detailing how the next day, Perry introduced Trump to Jeffrey Clark, then-Acting Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Division in the Justice Department.

- That meeting was "strictly against White House policy," which as former Acting Attorney General Jeffrey Rosen testified, limits who at the Justice Department can speak with White House officials, especially to prevent inappropriate communications around criminal matters. 95
- Cassidy Hutchinson, a former aide to Trump's Chief of Staff Mark Meadows, testified at the hearings that Perry was pushing for Clark "to take over the Department of Justice." And Perry's push for Clark stemmed from Clark's belief that there had been voter fraud in the 2020 presidential election. Richard Donoghue, the then-Acting United States Deputy Attorney General, testified that Clark "repeatedly said to [Trump]" that "he would conduct real investigations that would ... uncover widespread fraud."
- The January 6 Select Committee revealed the contents of December 26, 2020 text messages between Perry and Meadows, where Perry "requested that Mr. Clark be elevated within the department" and instructed Meadows that he "should call" Clark." ⁹⁹
- The next day, Perry called Donoghue.¹⁰⁰Donoghue testified at the January 6 Select Committee hearings that Perry called him to talk about allegations that the Pennsylvania secretary of state "had certified more votes than were actually cast."¹⁰¹Perry sent Donoghue a report on these allegations.¹⁰²
- Donoghue testified that he sent these allegations to federal prosecutors who investigated and determined that the secretary of state "had not certified more votes than were actually cast." Instead, the initial temporary discrepancy between the number of votes that were certified and the number on a public website stemmed from delays in four counties uploading their election data.
- The January 6 Select Committee revealed the contents of additional texts Perry sent Meadows on December 31, 2020, linking to a video suggesting that an Italian defense contractor's satellite had switched votes from Trump to Biden; Perry's message to Meadows asked, "Why can't we just work with the Italian government?" 105
- Rosen testified that Meadows then called Rosen asking him to investigate this Italy claim and meet with the video's creator, but Rosen refused and called this claim "debunked." ¹⁰⁶ Meadows called Rosen back a few minutes later to let him know the video's creator was working with Giuliani. ¹⁰⁷
- Donoghue testified that on the same day, he received a follow-up call about the Italy claim from Department of Defense official Kash Patel, who was working for the Acting Secretary of Defense Chris Miller. During this call, Donoghue made clear that the Justice Department was not going to be pursuing the Italian claim further. Danuary 6 Select Committee confirmed that Miller later placed a call to an attaché in Italy to investigate this claim.

• Hutchinson testified at the hearings that Perry talked with her directly and that he asked for a presidential pardon. ¹¹¹Perry's phone was also seized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as part of their investigation into election misconduct. ¹¹²

Protests and threats towards state officials:

- Schmidt testified about the aftermath of Trump's personal attacks on him, which originated
 with a tweet from Trump: "A guy named Al Schmidt, a Philadelphia commissioner and socalled Republican or RINO, is being used big time by the fake news media to explain how
 honest things were with respect to the election in Philadelphia. He refuses to look at a
 mountain of corruption dishonesty. We win."
- Schmidt testified that, although he had received various threats around the time of the election, "[a]fter the President tweeted at me by name ... the threats became much more specific, much more graphic, and included not just me by name but included members of my family by name, their ages, our address, pictures of our home." 114
- The January 6 Select Committee revealed that Pennsylvania House Speaker Bryan Cutler (R-Lancaster) received "daily voicemails from Trump's lawyers in the last week of November," including from Giuliani and Ellis. Cutler reported that he "felt that the outreach was inappropriate and asked his lawyers to tell Rudy Giuliani to stop calling. But Giuliani continued to reach out."

V. WISCONSIN

The States United Democracy Center's <u>Wisconsin January 6 Spotlight</u> outlines the events in the state leading up to the January 6 attack, participation by Wisconsin actors in related events and the attack itself, efforts in Wisconsin to discredit or reverse the outcome of the presidential election, and subsequent post-January 6 events. The following is a summary of the evidence presented at the January 6 Select Committee hearings related to Wisconsin.

• Pressure campaign to overturn Wisconsin's presidential election results:

- The January 6 Select Committee played portions of Trump's speech at the White House Ellipse on January 6 in which he claimed that "[i]n Wisconsin, corrupt Democrat run cities deployed more than 500 illegal, unmanned, unsecured drop boxes, which collected a minimum of 91,000 unlawful votes." 117
- The January 6 Select Committee played video clips detailing how the Committee obtained text messages exchanged on January 4, 2021, between Wisconsin Republican Party officials showing that the Trump campaign had asked that the Wisconsin fake electors' documents be flown to Washington.¹¹⁸
- The counsel for the January 6 Select Committee also revealed that a staffer for U.S. Senator Ron Johnson (R-WI) texted a staffer for then-Vice President Pence moments before the January 6, 2021, joint congressional session began, stating that Johnson "wished to hand-deliver to the Vice President the fake electors' votes from Michigan and Wisconsin." Pence's aide "unambiguously instructed them not to deliver the fake votes to the Vice President." 120
- The January 6 Select Committee also heard direct testimony from the fraudulent presidential electors. Andrew Hitt, former chairman of the Wisconsin Republican Party and one of Wisconsin's fake electors, explained in his deposition that he had been told that the fake elector ballots "would only count if a court ruled in our favor."

Conclusion:

• The January 6 Select Committee has left open the possibility for additional public hearings in September to consider new evidence.¹²³ January 6 Select Committee Vice Chair Liz Cheney (R-WY) noted that "[d]oors have opened, new subpoenas have been issued, and the dam has begun to break."¹²⁴ The January 6 Select Committee is also expected to issue an interim report or a series of interim reports this fall, as well as a final report at the conclusion of its investigation.¹²⁵ The final report could issue legislative recommendations aimed at preventing future subversion of presidential election races.¹²⁶

The January 6 Hearings: State Highlights

- ¹ June 13, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Bill Stepien), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/13/1104690690/heres-every-word-of-the-second-jan-6-committee-hearing-on-its-investigation.
- 2 See note 2.
- ³ June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Rusty Bowers), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- ⁴ June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Rusty Bowers and Adam Kinzinger),

https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.

- ⁵ See note 3.
- ⁶ See note 3.
- 7 See note 3.
- ⁸ June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 9 Randazzo, R., & Polletta, M. (2020, November 30). Arizona GOP lawmakers hold meeting on election outcome with Trump lawyer Rudy Giuliani. *AZ Central*.

https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/politics/elections/2020/11/30/republican-lawmakers-arizona-hold-meeting-rudy-giuliani/6468171002/.

- 10 See note 3.
- ¹¹ See note 3.
- 12 See note 3.
- 13 See note 3.
- 14 See note 3.
- ¹⁵ June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Josh Roselman), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 16 See note 15.
- 17 See note 15.
- 18 See note 3.
- 19 See note 3.
- 20 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Casey Lucier), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 21 See note 3.
- 22 See note 3.
- 23 See note 3.
- 24 See note 3.
- 25 See note 3.
- 26 July 12, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Stephanie Murphy), https://www.npr.org/2022/07/12/1111123258/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 27 July 12, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Debbie Lesko), https://www.npr.org/2022/07/12/1111123258/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 28 See note 26.
- 29 See note 3.
- 30See note 3.

- 31 June 23, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Cassidy Hutchinson), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/23/1106700800/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 32 See note 3.
- 33See note 3.
- 34See note 3.
- 35See note 3.
- 36 See note 8. See also Ruelas, R. (2021, November 10.) Feds ask 51-month sentence for Jake Angeli, who raided U.S. Capitol in fur horned hat. *Arizona Central*. https://www.azcentral.com/story/news/local/arizona/2021/11/10/feds-ask-sentence-jake-angeli-jacob-chansley-qanon-shaman-us-capitol/6369518001/.
- 37 See note 3.
- ³⁸June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff [Video played during statement]), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.

39 See note 8.

- 40 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Video of Rudy Giuliani), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 41 See note 8.
- 42 June 13, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of BJay Pak), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/13/1104690690/heres-every-word-of-the-second-jan-6-committee-hearing-on-its-investigation.
- 43 See note 42.
- 44 See note 42.
- 45 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Gabriel Sterling), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
- 46 See note 45.
- 47 June 13, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Richard Donoghue), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/13/1104690690/heres-every-word-of-the-second-jan-6-committee-hearing-on-its-investigation.
- 48 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff [Video played during statement]),

https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.

- 49 See note 48.
- 50 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Brad Raffensperger), https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript.
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