The Senate met at 12 noon and was called to order by the President pro tempore (Mr. LEAHY).

PRAYER
The Chaplain, Dr. Barry C. Black, offered the following prayer:  
Let us pray.  
All-powerful God, Sovereign of this beloved land, You are our fortress, and You desire justice to be done. As our Senate jurors remember their accountability to You, use them to cause justice to roll down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream.  
Lord, during this impeachment trial, give our lawmakers the gift of discernment so that they will know truth from falsehood. Inspire them to commit their thoughts and decisions to You.  
Let Your Kingdom come and Your will be done on Earth as it is done in Heaven.  
We pray in Your mighty Name.  
Amen.

PLEDGE OF ALLEGIANCE
The President pro tempore led the Pledge of Allegiance, as follows:  
I pledge allegiance to the Flag of the United States of America, and to the Republic for which it stands, one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

TRIAL OF DONALD J. TRUMP, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
The President pro tempore. Senators, will you please be seated.

If there is no objection—I hear none—the Journal of proceedings of the trial are approved to date.  
The Sergeant at Arms will make the proclamation.  
The Acting Sergeant at Arms, Jennifer A. Hemingway, made the proclamation as follows:  
Hear ye! Hear ye! All persons are commanded to keep silence, on pain of imprisonment, while the Senate of the United States is sitting for the trial of the Article of Impeachment against Donald John Trump, former President of the United States.

RECOGNITION OF THE MAJORITY LEADER
The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Democratic leader is recognized.

ORDER OF BUSINESS
Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, for the information of all Senators, no motions were filed this morning. So we will proceed to the House managers’ presentation. We anticipate two 10-minute breaks and a 45-minute dinner break around 6 p.m.

The President pro tempore. Pursuant to the provisions of S. Res. 47, the managers for the House of Representatives have 16 hours to make a presentation of their case.

The Senate will now hear you. We recognize Mr. Manager RASKIN to begin the presentation of the case for the House of Representatives.

Mr. RASKIN.

MANAGERS' PRESENTATION
Mr. Manager RASKIN. Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Members of the Senate, good morning, good day.

Some people think this trial is a contest of lawyers or, even worse, a competition between political parties. It is neither. It is a moment of truth for America.

My late father, Marcus Raskin, once wrote:

Democracy needs a ground to stand upon. And that ground is the truth.

America needs the truth about ex-President Trump’s role in inciting the insurrection on January 6 because it threatened our government, and it disrupted—it easily could have destroyed—the peaceful transfer of power in the United States for the first time in 233 years.

It was suggested yesterday by President Trump’s counsel that this is really like a very bad accident or a natural disaster, where lots of people get injured or killed, and society is just out looking for someone to blame. And that is a natural and normal human reaction, according to the President’s counsel, but he says it is totally unfair in this case.

President Trump, according to Mr. Castor, is essentially an innocent bystander who got swept up in this catastrophe but did nothing wrong. In this assertion, Mr. Castor unerringly echoes his client, ex-President Trump, who declared after the insurrection that his conduct in the affair was “totally appropriate,” and, therefore, we can only assume he could do and would do the exact same thing again because he said his conduct was totally appropriate.

So now the factual inquiry of the trial is squarely posed for us. The jurisdictional constitutional issue is gone. Whether you were persuaded by the
President’s constitutional analysis yesterday or not, the Senate voted to reject it. And so the Senate is now properly exercising its jurisdiction and sitting as a Court of Impeachment conducting a trial on the facts. We are having a trial involving victim of circumstances, like the other innocent victims that we will see getting caught up in all of the violence and chaos, over the next several days.

The evidence will be for you to see and hear and digest. The evidence will show you that ex-President Trump was no innocent bystander. The evidence will show that he clearly incited the January 6 insurrection. It will show that Donald Trump surrendered his role as Commander in Chief and became the “inciter in chief” of a dangerous insurrection, and this was, as one of our colleagues put it so cogently on January 6 itself, “the greatest betrayal of the presidential oath in the history of the United States.”

The evidence will show you that he saw it coming and was not remotely surprised by the violence. And when the violence inexorably and inevitably came as predicted and overran this body and the House of Representatives with chaos, we will show you that he completely abdicated his duty as Commander in Chief to stop the violence and protect the government and protect our officers and protect our people.

He violated his oath of office to protect, serve, and defend the Constitution, the government, and the people of the United States.

The evidence will show you that he assembled and incited his followers to descend upon the Capitol to “Stop the Steal.” To block Vice President Pence and Congress from finalizing his opponent’s election victory over him.

It will show that he had been warned that these followers were prepared for a violent attack, targeting us at the Capitol through media reports, law enforcement reports, and even arrests.

In short, we will prove that the impeachment was no innocent bystander whose conduct was totally appropriate and should be a standard for future Presidents, but that he incited this attack, and he saw it coming.

To us, it may have felt like chaos and madness, but there was method in the madness that day. This was an organized attack on the counting of the electoral college votes in joint session of the U.S. Congress under the Twelfth Amendment and under the Electoral Count Act to prevent Vice President Mike Pence and to prevent us from counting sufficient electoral college votes to certify Joe Biden’s victory of 306 to 232 in the electoral college—a margin that President Trump had declared a landslide in 2016.

When my colleague Mr. NEGUSE speaks after me, he will set forth in detail the exact roadmap of all the evidence in the case. My fellow House managers and managers in taking you through that evidence step-by-step so everyone can see exactly how these events unfolded.

But I want to tell you a few key reasons right now that we know this case is not about inciting an innocent Po- stander for the horrific violence and harm that took place on January 6. This is about holding accountable the person singularly responsible for inciting the attack.

Let’s start with December 12. You will see during this trial a man who praised and encouraged and cultivated violence. “We have just begun to fight!” he says more than a month after the election has taken place, and that is before the second Million MAGA March rally that ended in serious violence and even a burning of a church. And as the President forecasted, it was only the beginning.

On December 19, 18 days before January 6, he told his base about where the battle would be that they would fight next. January 6 would be “wild.” He promised, “Be there, will be wild!” said the President of the United States of America. And that, too, turned out to be true.

You will see in the days that followed, Donald Trump continued to aggressively promote January 6 to his followers. The event was scheduled at the precise time that Congress would be meeting in joint session to count the electoral college votes and to finalize the 2020 Presidential election.

In fact, in the days leading up to the attack, you will learn that there were countless social media posts, news stories, and, most importantly, credible reports from the FBI and Capitol Police that the thousands gathering for the President’s Save America March were violent, organized with weapons, and were targeting the Capitol. This mob got organized so openly because, as they would later scream in these halls and as they posted on forums before the attack, they were sent here by the President. They were invited here by the President of the United States of America.

And when they showed up, knowing of these reports that the crowd was angry and they were armed, here is what Donald Trump told them. President Trump whipped the crowd into a frenzy, exhorting followers: “If you don’t fight like hell, you’re not going to have a country anymore.”

And then he aimed straight at the Capitol declaring: You’ll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength, and you have to be forceful.

He told them to “fight like hell,” and they brought us hell on that day.

Incited by President Trump, his mob attacked the Capitol. This assault unfolded live on television before a horrified nation.

According to those around him at the time, this is how President Trump reportedly responded to the attack that we saw him incite in public: Delight, enthusiasm, confusion as to why others around him weren’t doing what was.

Trump incited the January 6 attack, and when his mob overran and occupied the Senate and attacked the House and assaulted law enforcement, he watched it on TV like a reality show. He reveled in it, and he did nothing to help us as Commander in Chief, but was observed as the “inciter in chief,” sending tweets that only further incited the rampaging mob. He made statements lauding and sympathizing with the insurrectionists.

At 4:17 p.m.—3 hours after the building of the siege— for the very first time, he spoke out loud—not on Twitter. He spoke out loud to the American people. Here is what he said:

(Text of video presentation of 1-6-2021.)

President TRUMP. I know your pain. I know you’re hurt.

So you might be saying: All right, the President is going to console us now. He is going to reassure America. He knows our pain. He knows we are hurt. We have just seen these horrific images of officers being impaled and smashed over the head. We have just been under attack for hours. But here is what he actually goes on to say:

(Text of video presentation of 1-6-2021.)

President TRUMP. I know your pain. I know you’re hurt. We had an election that was stolen from us. It was a landslide election. Everyone knows it, especially the other side.

So you would think he is about to decry the mayhem and violence, the unprecedented spectacle of this mob attack on the U.S. Capitol, but he is still promoting the big lie that was responsible for inflation and inciting the mob in the first place.

If anyone ever had a doubt as to his focus that day, it was not to defend us; it was not to console us. It was to praise and sympathize and commiserate with the rampaging mob. It was to continue to act as “inciter in chief,” not Commander in Chief, by telling the mob that their election had been stolen from them.

Even then, after that vicious attack, he continued to spread the big lie. And as everyone here knows, Joe Biden won by more than 7 million votes and 306 to 232 in the electoral college. But Donald Trump refused to accept his loss even after this attack, and he celebrated the people who violently interfered with the peaceful transfer of power, for the first time in American history, and did that at his urging.

And when he did, in this video, finally tell them to go home in peace, he added this message:

We love you. You’re very special.
Distinguished Members of the Senate, this is a day that will live in disgrace in American history; that is, unless you ask Donald Trump because this is what he tweeted before he went to bed that night at 6:01 p.m.—not consolation to the Nation, not reassuring everyone that the insurrection was a success, nor a single word that entire day condemning the violent insurrection.

This is what he says:

These are the things and events that happen when a sacred landslide election victory is so unceremoniously and viciously stripped away from great patriots who have been badly & unfairly treated for so long. Go home with love & in peace. Remember this day forever!

“[W]e are an island, obviously, is still exploring ways to change the subject and talk about anything other than his responsibility for inciting the attack. We heard a lot yesterday about his claim that this incitement of the insurrection was perfectly appropriate because it is somehow protected by the First Amendment, and this little diversionary rhetoric simply by referring to President Trump as merely a guy at a rally expressing a political opinion that we disagree with, and now we are trying to put him in jail for it. That has nothing to do with the reality of these charges or his constitutional offense.

The particular political opinions being expressed are not why we impeached the President and have nothing to do with it. It makes no difference what the ideological content of the mob was, and if we license and forgive incitement to violent insurrection by militant Trump followers this week, you can be sure there will be a whole bunch of new ideological flavors coming soon.

As we will demonstrate with overwhelming evidence, portraying Trump as a guy on the street being punished for his ideas is a false description of his actions, his intent, and the role that he played on January 6, when he willfully incited an insurrectionary mob to riot at the Capitol.

Last week, 144 constitutional scholars, including Floyd Abrams, a fero-cious defender of free speech; Charles Fried, President Reagan’s Solicitor General; Steven Calabresi, the founder of the Federalist Society, released a statement calling the President’s First Amendment arguments “legally frivolous.”

No reasonable scholar or jurist could conclude that President Trump had a First Amendment right to incite a violent attack on the seat of the legislative branch, or to sit back and watch on television as Congress was terrorized and the Capitol sacked.

Incitement to violence is, of course, not protected by the First Amendment. That is why most Americans have dismissed Donald Trump’s First Amendment rhetoric simply by referring to Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes’s handy phrase: “The right is not to shout ‘fire’ in a crowded theater.

But even that time-honored principle doesn’t begin to capture how off-base the argument is. This case is much more worse than someone who falsely shouts “fire” in a crowded theater. It is more like a town fire chief, who is paid to put out fires, sends a mob not to yell “fire” in a crowded theater but to actually set the theater on fire; and who then, when the fire alarms go off and the calls start flooding in to the fire department asking for help, does nothing but sit back, encourage the mob to continue its rampage, and watch the fire spread on TV, with glee and delight.

So then why this fire chief should never be allowed to hold this public job again and “you are fired, and you are permanently disqualified”—and he objects. And he says we are violating his free speech rights just because he is inciting a fire or pro-fire or whatever it might be.

Come on. I mean, you really don’t need to go to law school to figure out what is wrong with that argument. Here is the key. Undoubtedly, a private person can run around on the street expressing his or her support for the enemies of the United States and advocating to overthrow the United States Government.

You have got a right to do that under the First Amendment, but if the President spent all of his days doing that, uttering the exact same words, expressing support for the enemies of the United States and for overthrowing the government, is there anyone here who doubts that this would be a violation of his oath of office to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States and that he or she could be impeached for doing that?

Look, if you are President of the United States, you get a side with your oath of office, and if you break it, we can impeach, convict, remove, and disqualify you permanently from holding any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

As Justice Scalia once said, memorably, “You can’t ride with the cops and root for the robbers.” And if you become “inciter in chief” to the insurrection, you can’t expect to be on the payroll as Commander in Chief for the United States.

Trump was the President of the United States, and he had sworn to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution. He had an affirmative, binding duty, one that set him apart from everyone else in the country, to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, including all the laws against assaulting Federal officers, destroying Federal property, violently threatening Members of Congress and the Vice President, interfering with presidential elections, and dozens of other Federal laws that are well known to all of you.

When he incited insurrection on January 6, he broke that oath. He violated that duty. And that is why we are here today, and that is why he has no credible constitutional defense.

I will tell you a final, sad story in this kaleidoscope of sadness and terror and violence. One of our Capitol officers who defended us that day was a longtime veteran of our force, a brave and honorable public servant who spent several hours battling the mob as part of one of those blue lines defending the Capitol and our democracy.
For several hours straight, as the marauders punched and kicked and mauled and spit upon and hit officers with baseball bats and fire extinguishers, cursed the cops and stormed our Capitol, he defended us, and he lived every minute of his oath of office. And as he fled by evacuation, he broke down in the Rotunda and he cried for 15 minutes and he shouted out:

I got called an n-word 15 times today.

And then he reported:

I sat down with one of my buddies, another Black guy, and tears just started streaming down my face. And I said, “What’s the [F], man? Is this America?”

That is the question before all of you in this trial: Is this America? Can our country and our democracy ever be the same if we don’t hold accountable the person responsible for inciting the violent attack against our country, our Capitol, and our democracy and all of those who serve us so faithfully and honorably? Is this America?

Mr. Manager will now provide a road-map, a roadmap of our evidentiary case.

Mr. Manager NEGUSE. Mr. President, distinguished Senators, counsel, like several of you, I am a child of immigrants. And as a son of immigrants, I believe firmly in my heart that the United States is the greatest Republic that this world has ever known.

A hallmark of our Republic since the days of our founding is the peaceful transfer of power. For centuries, we have accepted it as fact.

Unfortunately, sadly, we know now that we can no longer take that for granted because, as Lead Manager RASKIN explained on January 6, the peaceful transition of power was violently interrupted when a mob stormed this Capitol and desecrated this Chamber.

As you will see during the course of this trial, that mob was summoned, assembled, and incited by the former President of the United States, Donald Trump, and he did that because he wanted to stop the transfer of power so that he could retain power, even though he had lost the election. And when the violence erupted, when they were here in our building, with weapons, he did nothing to stop it.

If we are to protect our Republic and prevent something like this from ever happening again, he must be convicted.

Now, I want to be very clear about what we will show you during the course of this trial. As my fellow managers present our case to you today, tonight, and tomorrow, it will be helpful to think about President Trump’s incitement of insurrection in three distinct parts: provocation, the attack, and the harm.

Let’s start with the provocation. We will show, during the course of this trial, that this attack was provoked by the President, incited by the President, and, as a result, it was predictable, and it was foreseeable. And, of course, that makes sense.

This mob was well orchestrated. Their conduct was intentional. They did it all in plain sight—profoundly, openly, and loudly—because they believed, they truly believed that they were doing this for him; that this was their patriotic duty to fight like hell. They even predicted that he would protect them. And for the most part, they were right. In his unique role as Commander in Chief of our country and as the one who the mob was listening to and following orders from, he had the power to stop it, and he didn’t.

Now, some have said that President Trump’s remarks, his speech on January 6, was just a speech. Well, ask you this: When in our history has a speech led thousands of people to storm our Nation’s Capitol with weapons, to scale the walls, break windows, kill a Capitol Police officer?

This was not just a speech. It didn’t just happen. And as you evaluate the facts that we present to you, it will become clear exactly where that mob came from, because here is the thing: President Trump, as you will see, on January 6 in that speech, just like the mob’s actions, were carefully chosen. Those words had a very specific meaning to that crowd. And how do we know this? Because in the weeks prior to, during, and after the election, he used the same words over and over and over again. You will hear over and over three things—you can see them on the screens—first, what Lead Manager RASKIN referred to as the ‘big lie,’ that the election was stolen, full of fraud, rigged. You will hear over and over him using that lie to urge his supporters to ‘never concede’ and ‘stop the steal.’ Finally, you will hear him call to arms, that it was his supporters’ patriotic duty to fight like hell. To do what? To stop the steal. To stop the election from being stolen by showing up in this very Chamber. To stop you. To stop us.

I respectfully ask that you remember those three phrases as you consider the evidence today—‘The election was stolen,’ ‘Stop the Steal,’ and ‘Fight like hell’—because they did not just appear on January 6. Let me show you what I mean. Let’s start with the ‘big lie.’

You will see during this trial that the President realized, really by last spring, that he could lose, he might lose the election. So what did he do? He started planting the seeds to get some of his supporters ready by saying that he could only lose the election if it was stolen.

In other words, really what he did was create a no-lose scenario: either he won the election or he would have some—who believed that if he lost, the election had to be rigged, and they would be angry because he was telling Americans that their vote had been stolen. And in America, our vote is our voice. So his false claims about election fraud, that was the drumbeat being used to inspire, instigate, and ignite them, to anger them.

Watch this clip.

President TRUMP. Because we are not going to let this election be taken away from us. That’s the only way they are going to win this. We are not going to let it happen. (Applause.)

It is the only way we can be—it is the only way we can lose, in my opinion, is massive fraud.

We all know what happened after that. He lost. He lost the election. But remember, he had that no-lose scenario that I referenced earlier. He told his base that the election was stolen, as he worked to create it, and then he told them: Your election has been stolen, but you cannot concede. You must stop the steal.

(The text of video presentation.)

President TRUMP: You can’t let another person steal that election from you. All over the country, people are together in holding up signs: ‘Stop the Steal.’

The Democrats are trying to steal the White House. You cannot let them. You just can’t let them.

Now, while he is inciting his supporters, he is also simultaneously doing everything he possibly can to overturn the election.

First, he begins with the courts—a legitimate avenue, legitimate avenue—to challenge the election, but he ignores all of their adverse rulings when all of his claims are thrown out.

And then he moves on to pressure State election officials to block the election results for his opponent even though he had lost in their States. You will hear my fellow managers discuss that in detail.

Then he tries to threaten State election officials to actually change the votes to make him the winner, even threatening criminal penalties if they refused.

The Democrats are investigating his claims, and even they found no support for those claims. So he tried to persuade some Members of his party in Congress to block the certification of his vote with attacks in public forums.

When that failed, he tried to intimidate the Vice President of the United States of America to refuse to certify the vote and send it back to the States.

None of it worked. So what does he do, with his back against the wall, when all else has failed? He turned back to his supporters. He had already spent months telling them that the election was stolen, and he amplified it further. He turned it up a notch. He told them that they had to be ready not just to stop the steal but to fight like hell.

(The text of video presentation.)

President TRUMP: We are going to fight for the survival of our nation. And we are going to keep on fighting. We will never surrender, we will only win. Now is not the time to retreat. Now is the time to fight harder than ever before. We have to go all the way. We are going to fight like hell. I will tell you right now.

We will not bend, we will not break, we will not yield. We will never give up. We will never back down. We will never, ever surrender.
February 10, 2021

You will see that in the months the President made these statements, people listened. Armed supporters surrounded election officials’ homes. The secretary of state for Georgia got death threats. Officials warned the President that his rhetoric was dangerous, and it was seen in deadly violence. And that is what makes this so different, because when he saw firsthand the violence that his conduct was creating, he didn’t stop it. He didn’t condemn the violence. He incited it further, and it was more specific. He didn’t just tell them to fight like hell; he told them how, where, and when. He made sure they had advance notice. He sent this “save the date” for January 6. He told them to march down Pennsylvania Avenue, to come here; and that was his address. You will see that in the months the President was fulfilling our solemn oath to the Constitution, the President was fin- ishing his speech just a couple of miles away. How did he conclude his speech? Literally moments before Speaker PELOSI had gav- eled us into session.

Many of us were in the House during that entire speech of Congress. I was sitting two rows behind Leader SCHUMER and Leader MCCONNELL. I remem- ber it vividly. And as we were standing there fulfilling our solemn oath to the Constitution, the President was fin- ishing his speech just a couple of miles away. How did he conclude that infamous speech? With a final call to ac- tion. He told them to march down Pennsylvania Avenue, to come here; that was his address. You will see that even when he did hear his speech, they understood his words and what they meant because they had heard it before.

Let’s take just a minute and really look at his words on January 6, as Lead Manager RASKIN said, the exact same day we were certifying the election results. What time was that rally scheduled for? The exact same time that this Chamber was voting on the certification of the election results in joint session. When did he conclude his speech? Literally moments before Speaker PELOSI had gav- eled us into session.

Many of us were in the House during that entire speech of Congress. I was sitting two rows behind Leader SCHUMER and Leader MCCONNELL. I remem- ber it vividly. And as we were standing there fulfilling our solemn oath to the Constitution, the President was fin- ishing his speech just a couple of miles away. How did he conclude that infamous speech? With a final call to ac- tion. He told them to march down Pennsylvania Avenue, to come here; that was his address. You will see that even when he did hear his speech, they understood his words and what they meant because they had heard it before.

Let’s take just a minute and really look at his words on January 6, as he spoke at the Save America rally. Re- member, I told you you would hear three phrases: “The election was stolen.” “Stop the Steal.” and “Fight like hell.” Let’s start with that first phrase.

(1-6-2021)

President TRUMP. All of us here today do not want to see our election victory stolen. There has never been anything like this. It is a pure theft in American history. Everyone knows it. Make no mistake, this elec- tion was stolen from you, from me, and from the country. Now, of course, each of you heard those words before. So had the crowd. The President had spent months telling his supporters that the election had been stolen, and he used this speech to incite them further, to inflame them, to stop the steal, to stop the certifi- cation of the election results.

(1-6-2021)

President TRUMP. We will never give up, we will never concede. It doesn’t happen. You don’t concede when there’s theft in- volved. And I want to use a favorite term that all of you people really came up with: We will stop the steal.

Finally, the President used the speech as a call to arms. It was not rhetorical. Some of his supporters had been primed for this over many months. As you will learn, days before this speech, as Lead Manager RASKIN noted, would across all major media outlets that thousands of people would be armed, that they would be violent. You will learn that Capitol Police and the FBI reported in the days leading up to the attack that there would be more specific targeting the Capitol specifically, that they had arrested people with guns the night before the attack on weapons charges.

And this is what our Commander in Chief said to the crowd in the face of those warnings, right before they came here.

(1-6-2021)

President TRUMP. We will not let them si- lence your voices. We’re not going to let it happen. Not going to happen.

(1-6-2021)

President TRUMP. Thank you. And you have to get your people to fight because you’ll never overcome with weakness. You have to show strength, and you have to be strong. And we fight. We fight like hell. And if you don’t fight like hell, you’re not going to have a country anymore.

“You have to get your people to fight,” he told them.

Senators, this clearly was not just one speech. It didn’t just happen. It was part of a carefully planned, months-long effort with a very specific instruction: Show up on January 6, and get your people to fight the certifi- cation.

He incited it. It was foreseeable. And again, you don’t have to take my word for it. The President’s former Chief of Staff—he is a retired marine, four-star general, was confirmed by this body to be the Secretary of Homeland Security, overwhelming vote—that man was John Kelly. On the day after the insur- rence, he said this.

(1-6-2021)

Mr. KELLY. You know, the president knows who he’s talking to when he tweets or when he makes statements. He knows who he is talking to. He knows what he wants from his tweets or his words. And the fact that he said the things he has been saying the things he has been saying since the election, and encouraging people, there is no surprise, again, at what happened yesterday.

No surprise. Think about that. No surprise. The President had every reason to know that this would happen because he assembled the mob, he sum- moned the mob, and he incited the mob. He knew when he took that po- dium on that fateful morning that those in attendance had heeded the words and they were waiting for his or- ders to begin fighting.

And that, of course, brings me, my fellow managers, to what happened here in this building. As Lead Manager RASKIN stated, my colleagues are going to walk through the events of January 6 and the evidence in very great detail.

They are painful to watch and to re- count, and I am not going to repeat the evidence now.

But I do want to be clear about what also happened during that terrible at- tack, and that is this: that President Trump, once again, failed us because we were immediately and force- fully intervened to stop the violence. It was his duty as Commander in Chief to stop the violence, and he alone had that power, not just because of his unique role as Commander in Chief but because they believed that they were following his orders. They said so.

(1-6-2021)

President Trump! President Trump! Fight for Trump! Fight for Trump! Fight for Trump! Fight for Trump! We were invited by the President of the United States!

I thought I was following my President. I thought I was following what we were called to do. President Trump requested that we be in DC on the 6th.

You heard it from them. They were doing what he wanted them to do. They wouldn’t have listened to you, to me, to the Vice President of the United States who they were attacking. They didn’t stop in the face of law enforce- ment, police officers fighting for their lives to stop them. They were following the President. He alone, our Com- mander in Chief, had the power to stop them and he didn’t.

You will hear evidence tonight, to- morrow, throughout the trial, about his refusal as Commander in Chief to respond to numerous desperate pleas on the phone, across social media, beg- ing him to stop the attack. And you will see his relentless attack on Vice President PENCE, who was at that very moment hiding with his family as armed, extremist supporters chanting, “Hang Mike Pence,” calling him a trai- tor.

You will see that even when he did fi- nally, 3½ hours into the attack, tell these people to go home in peace, he added, as Lead Manager RASKIN said, I will quote: You’re very special. We love you.

Think for a moment—just a mo- mENT—OF the lives lost that day, of the more than 140 wounded police officers, and ask yourself if, as soon as this had started, President Trump had simply said to the White House and the law enforcement officials protec- ting you were under attack, as each of you were being evacuated from this Chamber from a violent mob, as we were being evacuated from the House, wouldn’t we have immediately and force- fully intervened to stop the violence. It was his duty as Commander in Chief to stop the violence, and he alone had that power, not just because of his unique role as Commander in Chief but because they believed that they were following his orders. They said so.
We only got a couple of hours of sleep that morning. Early the next day, I called my dad, who came to this country, as I mentioned, as an immigrant 40 years ago, and I told him that the proudest moment, by far, of serving in Congress was walking back on the floor with each of you to finish the work that we had started.

I am humbled to be back with you today. And just as on January 6, when we overcame that attack on our Capitol, on our country, I am hopeful that at this trial, we can use our resolve and our resilience to, again, uphold our democracy by faithfully applying the law, vindicating the Constitution, and holding President Trump accountable for his actions.

Mr. Manager RASKIN. Senators, Representatives JOAQUIN CASTRO and ERIC SWALLWELL will now show the evidence of President Trump's long campaign to delegitimize his electoral defeat and to galvanize his supporters to help him retain his power at any cost. So we are going to, at this point, step by step to explain the progression all the way up until the attack.

Mr. Manager CASTRO. Good afternoon, you all. My name is JOAQUIN CASTRO. I represent San Antonio in the United States Congress. There is a saying that "[a] lie can travel halfway around the world before the truth has a chance to put on its shoes.'' That was before the internet.

The point of that saying is the lie can do incredible damage and destruction, and that is especially true when that lie is told by the most powerful person on Earth, our Commander in Chief, the President of the United States.

This attack did not come from one speech, and it didn't happen by accident. The evidence shows clearly that this mob was leading up over many months by Donald J. Trump. And if you look at the evidence, his purposeful conduct, you will see that the attack was foreseeable and preventable.

I will start by discussing President Trump's actions leading up to the election when he set up his lie. Beginning in the spring of 2020, President Trump began to fall behind in the polls, and by July, President Trump had reached a new low. He was running 15 points behind his opponent, and he was scared.

He began to believe that he could legitimately lose the election, so he did something entirely unprecedented in the history of our Nation. He refused to commit to a peaceful transition of power. Here is what he said:

"I lose, I will peacefully transfer power to the next President. But this will be one of the greatest frauds in history. The greatest election disaster in history. And, on June 22, more of the same: Rigged 2020 election. It will be the scandal of our times!"

Again—about an election that had not even happened. On July 30, 2020, will be the most inaccurate and fraudulent election in history.

President TRUMP: This is going to be the greatest election disaster in history. Because the only way we are going to lose this election is if the election is rigged. Remember that. The only way they can take this election away from us is if this is a rigged election. We are going to win this election. It's a rigged election. That's the only way we are going to lose.

But this will be one of the greatest frauds—most fraudulent elections ever.

This is clearly a man who refuses to accept the possibility or the reality in our democracy of losing an election, and there are dozens more tweets and speeches of Donald Trump spreading his lie, but you get the point. His supporters got the point as well. They firmly believed that, if he lost, it was because the election was rigged.

(Text of videotape presentation.)

Mr. WALLACE: Can you give a direct answer: will you accept the election? Mr. TRUMP: I have to see. Look, I have to see. No, I'm not just going to just say yes. I'm not going to say no.

Mr. WALLACE: Can you commit to making sure that there is a peaceful transfer of power? Mr. TRUMP: Get rid of the ballots and you'll have a very peaceful—there won't be a transfer, frankly. There will be a continuation.
They are trying to STEAL the Election. We will never let them do it.

A little over an hour later, at, roughly, 2:30 in the morning, before all the votes were even close to being counted, he goes even further and actually declares victory. Take a look:

(Text of video presentation of 11-4-2020.)

President TRUMP. This is a fraud on the American public. This is an embarrassment to our country. We were getting ready to win this election. Frankly, we did win this election.

"Frankly, we did win," rather than calmly saying: Let's count the votes. If there are legal issues, we will go to court, and we will resolve them.

Instead, he told his supporters that he had actually won the election and that the whole thing was a fraud. He said that on November 4, and he has never renounced that statement since.

Despite President Trump's pressure at the materials around the country continued to carry out their duties, and as votes were counted and his loss became more certain, he riled up his base further. Take a look at these tweets.

On November 5, he tweeted, in all capital letters, as if shouting commands:

STOP THE COUNT!  
STOP THE FRAUD!

Senators, this is dangerous.

I also want you to remember these tweets for another reason, because that is what it looks like when Donald Trump wants people to stop doing something.

Bear in mind, this is not the President saying to his supporters that somebody stole your cup of coffee. This is the Commander in Chief telling his supporters "your election is being stolen, and you must stop the counting of American votes," and it worked. His words became their actions. His commands led to their actions. Take a look at this.

The same day as those tweets—the same day as those tweets—around 100 Trump supporters showed up in front of the Maricopa County elections center in Phoenix, some of them carrying rifles, literally trying to intimidate officials to stop the count just as President Trump had commanded. Arizona Secretary of State Katie Hobbs said that protesters were "causing delay and disruption and preventing those employees from doing their job.

Let's call this what it was. We were facing a global pandemic, and workers were risking their health to ensure the integrity of our elections. President Trump's supporters were inciting the Trump crowd to prevent them from doing their own jobs. This was dangerous, it was scary, and it was a blatant act of political intimidation.

In Philadelphia, that same day, police investigated an alleged plot to attack the Pennsylvania Convention Center, where votes were being counted. Police took at least one man into custody who was carrying a weapon.

This happened all over. In Atlanta, in Detroit, and in Milwaukee, his supporters used armed force to try to disrupt the lawful counting of votes because they bought into Trump's big lie that the election was stolen from them.

President Trump's months of inflaming and inciting his supporters had worked. They believed it was their duty to, quite literally, fight to stop the count. So they showed up at election centers across the country to do just that.

(Text of video presentation of 11-5-2020.)

President TRUMP. This is a fraud on the American public. This is an embarrassment to our country. We were getting ready to win this election. Frankly, we did win this election.

(people chanting: "They ain't taking it from us.")

President TRUMP. We were winning in all the locations by a lot, actually, and then our numbers started miraculously getting whittled away in secret.

(people chanting: "They will pay. They will be destroyed because America is rising.")

And there it is. They had bought into his big lie. President Trump told his supporters over and over again, nearly every day, in dozens of tweets, speeches, and rallies, that their most precious right in our democracy—their voice, their vote—was being stripped away, and they had to fight to stop that. They believed him, and so they fought.

You may say: Well, he didn't know that they would take up arms. But when he did know, when it was all over the news, President Trump didn't stop.

As Mr. SWALWELL, will show, after Donald Trump lost, he became even more desperate and incited his base even further. He urged them again and again, with increasingly forceful, to fight to stop the steal. Even as the certification got closer and he grew even more desperate, he gave them specific instructions on how, where, and when to fight to stop the steal. He told them to show up on January 6 and march to the U.S. Capitol to stop the certification of the election results, and he told them to come here and fight like hell.

You will see, clearly, that this violent mob that showed up here on January 6 didn't come out of thin air. President Donald John Trump incited this violence, and that is the truth.

Mr. Manager SWALWELL. Mr. President, distinguished Senators, my name is ERIC SWALWELL, and I represent California's 15th Congressional District.

Manager CASTRO just told you about Donald Trump's lies and acts before the election, but to paraphrase Winston Churchill, that wasn't the end of his efforts. That wasn't the beginning of the end, but perhaps it was the end of the beginning. Here is what I mean.

You saw President Trump prime for months his supporters to believe that, if the election were lost, it only could
have been so because it was rigged, but that took time just like, to build a fire, it doesn’t just start with the flames. Donald Trump, for months and months, assembled the tinder, the kindling—threw on logs for fuel—to have his supporters stop the steal; that the only way their victory would be known was if it was burned. So, that way, President Trump was ready, if he lost the election, to light the match.

And on November 7, after all the votes were counted, President Trump did lose 7 million votes.

But for Donald Trump, all was not lost. He had a backup plan. Instead of accepting the results or pursuing legitimate claims, he told his base more lies. He doused the flames with kerosene.

And this wasn’t just some random guy at the neighborhood bar blowing off steam. This was our Commander in Chief.

Day after day, he told his supporters false, outlandish lies that the victory—that the election outcome was taken and it was rigged. And he had absolutely no support for his claims, but that wasn’t the point. He wanted to make his base angrier and angrier.

And to make them angry, he was willing to say anything. On November 15, he stated:

I concede NOTHING! We have a long way to go. This was a RIGGED ELECTION!

He doesn’t say why the election is rigged.

November 17, in a Twitter statement:

DEAD PEOPLE VOTED.

That is it. No evidence, just “DEAD PEOPLE VOTED.”

November 28, Twitter statement:

We have found many illegal votes. Stay tuned.

“This just wasn’t true. He never found illegal votes. He didn’t even try to pretend that he had evidence for that. And ‘stay tuned’? Well, that was all about inciting his base, not about bringing legitimate claims. It was about dramatizing the election to anger his supporters.

December 5, you see here he goes after the Governors of Arizona and Georgia, Governors from his own party, claiming that they weren’t with him.

You see, Senators, he is casting this in combat terms; that either you are with him, making sure that he won the election, or you are fighting against him.

These are just a few of the hundreds of Twitter statements that President Trump sent. And it wasn’t just Twitter statements.

As you will see, he was dialing into meetings, holding rallies, appearing on television, continuing to spread the big lie that his election victory was stolen.

President Trump. People that were dead were signing up for ballots. Not only were they jumping in and putting in a ballot, but dead people were requesting ballots, and they were dead for years, and they were requesting ballots.

President TRUMP. Dead people voting all over the place.

President TRUMP. The alleged Biden margin of victory in several states is entirely accounted for by extraordinarily large post-election vote dumps. You saw them going up to the sky.

Massive “midnight vote dumps.” Dead people voting all over the place.

He said there were votes “going up to the sky.”

This was never about pursuing legitimate claims. He was saying anything he could to trigger and anger his base so that they would fight like hell to overturn a legitimate election.

And it worked. Manager CASTRO showed you, President Trump’s supporters were taking up arms to stop the count. His message to “fight like hell” was having real consequences.

In Michigan, you will recall that President Trump was attacking that State and its officials. He continued these attacks even after Michigan certified its votes.

(Text of video presentation of 11–26–2020.)

President TRUMP. Take a look at Michigan. Take a look at what they did with respect to counties, and then you get to Detroit and it’s like more votes than people. Dead people voting all over the place.

(Text of video presentation of 12–5–2020.)

President TRUMP. You know I won almost every county in Michigan, almost every district.

President TRUMP. We should have won that state very easily. We have a similar type of governor, I think, but I’ll let you know that in about a week.

He is literally telling them that there were more votes in Detroit than people.

About 260,000 people voted in Detroit. There are roughly 500,000 registered voters in Detroit. There are approximately 670,000 people living in the city. So, again, not true. But he needed to make these outlandish claims to truly make his supporters believe that their victory was stolen from them.

And it was working. A few days after these clips, on December 5, his supporters surrounded the Michigan Secretary of State’s home.

(Text of video presentation of 12–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. I’m just sharing our Secretary of State’s House and . . .

People chanting: “Stop the steal.”

Unidentified Speaker. You are a threat to democracy. You are a threat to free and honest elections.

Nine o’clock at night, Secretary’s family is inside; protestors have surrounded her home; and they are chanting that she is a felon.

And, as we saw, when armed protestors showed up to follow President Trump’s direction to stop the steal, this was not the first time that President Trump’s supporters used threats and intimidation.

President Trump cannot say: I didn’t know what I was inciting. From what Manager CASTRO showed and what I just showed, there was plenty of evidence that his words had consequences, and if he wanted to stop it, he could stop it.

You saw Mr. CASTRO read statement after statement from our Commander in Chief saying, “Stop the count.”

President Trump was never shy about using his platforms to try and stop something. He could have very easily told his supporters: Stop threatening officials. Stop going to their homes. Stop it with the threats.

But each time, he didn’t. Instead, in the face of escalating violence, he incited them further.

The next phase in the certification of results was the certification on December 14 of the electoral college votes.

The night before, President Trump personally issued 14 Twitter statements, with more false claims about the election being stolen and directing his supporters to make sure that “they cannot be certified.”

He states here:

The RINOS—

The RINOS—

that run the state voting apparatus have caused us the problem of allowing the Democrats to so blatantly cheat in their attempt to steal the election, which we won overwhelmingly.

We will never give up!

In the face of threats to elected officials, this is his message.

And he calls them RINOS—Republicans in name only—and tells them to never give up.

President Trump, to him, it was his supporters against anyone who would not overturn the election results so that President Trump could win.

But on December 14, despite all of President Trump’s efforts to stop the election, the electoral college votes were cast according to the will of the American people, and Joe Biden was certified as having won 306 electoral college votes.

The day after this occurred, Leader McCONNELL recognized this, stating:

Many of us hoped that the presidential election would yield a different result, but our system of government has processes to determine who will be sworn in on January 20. The Electoral College has spoken.

As Manager CASTRO said, no one here, no one among us wants to lose an election. Sometimes there is a reason to dispute an election. Sometimes the count is close. Sometimes we ask for a recount or we go to court. That is entirely appropriate.

But what President Trump did was different. What President Trump did was the polar opposite of what any of us would do if we lost an election because once the outcome is clear and a judge rules, we concede. We recognize the will of the American people because we let the people decide.

And that is what all of the courts, the Justice Department, and the 50 States had counted the votes—they said it was time for a peaceful transition of power because that is what our Constitution and rule of law demands.
Except President Trump. He directed all of the rage that he had incited to January 6. That was his last chance to stop the peaceful transition of power.

And that brings us to the attack. Manager Castor told you the power of the vote, especially when the lie comes from the most powerful person in the world, the Commander in Chief.

It also helps if you spend millions of dollars to amplify that lie. You will see here, in mid-December, President Trump announced the release of ads, including ones entitled “The Evidence is Overwhelming—FRAUD!” “STOP THE STEAL.”

He spent $50 million from his legal defense fund on these ads to stop the steal and amplify his message. They were released nationally, played in video ads, online advertising, and targeted text messages.

They used the same words and phrases that President Trump had been spreading for months; that the election was full of fraud, that it was a “scam.” Everyone knew that this was not true.

But now they had a specific purpose. How do we know that purpose? These ads were designed to run all the way up to January 5, and then they stopped. This was purposeful and deliberate planning to target his base to rally around that day.

And it wasn’t just his ads. He continued to use his own platform. He told his supporters, who truly believed their victory had been stolen and were ready to fight, when, where, and how to stop what he believed was a steal.

Donald Trump would issue a deliberate call to action, and just like in his ads, that action was centered around January 6.

On December 19, at 1:42 in the morning, our Commander in Chief tweeted:

Big protest in D.C. on January 6th. be there, will be wild!

“Will be wild!” We know why he picked this day. It wasn’t random. It was his last chance to stop a peaceful transition of power. You cannot let this lie—especially when the lie comes from the Commander in Chief—go unchallenged.

This was purposeful and deliberate planning to target his base to rally around that day.

For the next 18 days, Donald Trump would make sure to remind them over and over to show up on January 6.

And he would tell them exactly what he wanted them to do.

On December 29, he tweets:

If a Democrat Presidential Candidate had an Election Rigged & Stolen, with proof of such acts at a level never seen before, the Democrat Senators would consider it an act of war, and fight to the death. Mitch & the Republicans do NOTHING, just want to let it pass. NO FIGHT!

He is saying that the Republicans are doing nothing and have no fight because you are doing your job, taking on the constitutional process of certifying the official college results.

And he also suggests, President Trump, that if this was the reverse and the Democrats had lost, it would be an act of war—an act of war. That is how Donald Trump prepared his supporters for January 6.

He even stated again, 14 minutes later, to make sure his supporters understood:

The “Justice” Department and the FBI have done nothing about the 2020 Presidential Election Voter Fraud, the biggest SCAM—

All caps.

—in our nation’s history, despite overwhelming evidence. They should be ashamed. And then he adds:

History will remember. Never give up. See everyone in D.C. on January 6th.

That phrase, “History will remember,” was the time—the first time—Donald Trump had used it in his Presidency, and he sent this to 70-plus million Twitter followers the day they needed to show up and be ready to fight.

On December 27, he reminds them again:

Don’t miss it. Information to follow! A few days later, December 30, all caps, “SEE YOU IN DC!” This continues all the way up to January 6.

On January 1, he states:

The BIG Protest Rally in Washington . . . will take place at 11:00 A.M. . . . Locational details to follow. StopTheSteal

You will see that an hour later President Trump retweeted one of his Twitter followers for America First, the group organizing the January 6 rally and the creator of the Facebook group, Stop the Steal.

Kremer tweeted: “The [cavalry] is coming.”

Mr. Trump was referring to the cavalry showing up on January 6. She also added a website for supporters to RSVP and made clear what the message was: hashtag “StopTheSteal.”

And what did President Trump say in response to hearing that the cavalry was coming? “A great honor!” he wrote back.

This wasn’t just a single tweet. He and his organizers would do this over and over repeatedly. On January 3, another supporter tweets:

I hope the Democrats, and even more importantly, the weak and ineffective RINO sections of the Republican Party, are looking at the thousands of people pouring into D.C. They won’t stand for a landslide . . . victory to be stolen. @seematemajldr @JohnCorynn @SenJohnThune.

“Thousands of people pouring into D.C. [who] won’t stand for the landslide election to be stolen”—it is all right there. And he tags Senators to pressure you to stop this, and he warns all of us that the thousands of supporters, whom you will see that the FBI had warned were armed and targeting the Capitol, won’t stand for us certifying the results of the election.

This was never about one speech. He built this mob over many months with repeated messaging until they believed that they had been robbed of their votes and they would do anything to stop the certification. He made them believe that their victory was stolen and incited them so he could use them to steal the election for himself.

(Text of videotape presentation.)

President TRUMP. This election was rigged.

Unidentified Speaker. This is tyranny against the people of the United States, and we are not standing for it any more.

President TRUMP. If we don’t root out the fraud—the tremendous and horrible fraud that has taken place in our 2020 election, we don’t have a country anymore.

The Left lies. They cheat, and they steal. They are ruthless, and they are hell-bent on getting power and control by any means necessary.

(People chanting and screaming.)

(President TRUMP. Can’t let it happen. People chanting: “Stop the steal.”)

President TRUMP. The Democrats are trying to steal the White House. You cannot let them.
esteemed Members of the Senate, it is

Mr. President. RASKIN.

whereupon the Senate reassembled

Mr. President. RASKIN.

This is what the evidence has over-

Mr. President. RASKIN.

This was a deliberate, pre-

Mr. President. RASKIN.

of the American people were being

Mr. President. RASKIN.

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Mr. President. RASKIN.

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and Speaker of the House Bryan Cutler. Majority Leader Ward said the President called her to “declare there was a fraud in the voting.”

Then, on November 25, President Trump phoned in to a Republican State senator, pressing him to try to convince the Republican legislators, senators, and house members that there had been a fraud in the vote. He even had his lawyer hold a phone up to the microphone in that hearing room so the committee could hear him. Here is what he said:

(Text of audio presentation.)

President TRUMP. We can’t let that happen. We can’t let it happen for our country. And this election has to be turned around because we won Pennsylvania by a lot, and we won all of these swing States by a lot.

This was a gathering—I have attended many. I have to tell you, as a former governor, trying to vote for treason and face execution.

It is important to remember that this was a random attack. Trump wasn’t just criticizing a politician over policy or saying he didn’t agree. Donald Trump was savagely attacking a secretary of state because the official did his job and certified the State according to how the people in that State voted.

Donald Trump was trying to undermine our elections by taking votes away from the American people so that he could remain President, and he was willing to blame and betray anyone—anyone—even his own supporters, if they got in the way. Remember, Senators, those threats were to Mr. Raffensperger’s family.

So some may say Trump didn’t know his attacks against Mr. Raffensperger could result in death threats—except that all of this was very public. The secretary published his op-ed in USA TODAY, and major networks, including FOX, covered the threats against the Raffenspergers.

What did Trump do? Did he stop? Did he say: No, no, supporters; that isn’t what I meant? No. He doubled down.

Let’s see the evidence.

(Text of audio presentation of 11–26–2020.)

President TRUMP. This was a massive fraud. This should never take place in this country. We’re like a third world country. We’re like a third world country. We’re not going to let that happen. That’s—that’s a big risk to our elections by taking votes away from the American people. All so he could take the election for himself.

And then in Georgia, a State Trump had counted on for victory, his conduct was perhaps the most egregious. On November 24, Republican Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger confirmed that he believed ballots were accurately counted for Biden.

Trump went on a relentless attack. Here are just a few examples. In all, Trump tweeted at Raffensperger 17 times in the coming weeks—there are just a few—calling him a “disaster,” “obstructive,” “not having a clue,” being played for a fool, and being a “so-called Republican,” all because Raffensperger was not doing his job. The President of the United States was calling public officials, calling from the White House, inviting them to the Oval Office, telling them to disenfranchise voters of their State, telling them to overturn the will of the American people. All so he could take the election for himself.

On January 5, the Washington Post released a recording of that call which had occurred on January 2—remember, just 4 days before the attack on the Capitol. Here is what President Trump said:

(Text of audio presentation of 1–2–2021.)

President TRUMP. It’s more illegal for you than it is for them because you know what they did and you’re not reporting it. That’s the—you know, that’s a criminal—that’s a criminal offense. And you know, you can’t let that happen. That’s—that’s a big risk to you and to Ryan, your lawyer. That’s a big risk.

Let’s be clear. This is the President of the United States telling a Secretary—telling a Secretary—that if he does not find votes, he will face criminal penalties—and not just any number of votes. Donald Trump was asking the secretary of state somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow to somehow.

Mr. Sterling saw what Trump’s conduct was fomenting. He warned him on live TV that violence was already happening, and that more violence was foreseeable and inevitable. Sterling’s pleas were played over and over on every network.

Rather than heed that warning, Trump escalated again. In early December, Trump called Brian Kemp, the Governor of Georgia, and pressured him to hold a special session of the State legislature to overturn the election results and to appoint electors who would vote for Trump.

A few weeks later, on December 3, Trump called the chief investigator for the Georgia Bureau of Investigations, who was conducting an audit, an audit of the signature-matching procedures for absentee ballots. Trump urged him, “Find the fraud,” and claimed the official would be a “national hero” if he did.

Let’s call this what it is. He was asking the official to say there was evidence of fraud when there wasn’t any. The official refused, and the investigation was completed. And on December 29, Raffensperger announced that the audit found “no fraudulent absentee ballots” with a “99 percent confidence” level.

On January 3, Trump tweeted about a call he had with Georgia election officials the day before. He said:

I spoke to Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger yesterday about Fulton County and voter fraud in Georgia. He was unwilling, or unable, to answer questions such as the “ballots under the table” scam, ballot destruction, out of state “voters,” dead voters, and more. He has no clue!

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Here is what he said.

(Text of audio presentation of 1–2–21.)

President TRUMP. So, look, all I want to do is this. I just want to find 11,780 votes, which is one more than we have.

He says it right there, the President of the United States, telling a public official to manufacture the exact votes needed so he can win.

Senators, we must not become numb to this. Trump did this across State after State, so often, so loudly, so publicly. Public officials like you and me received death threats and calls threatening criminal penalties, all because Trump wanted to remain in power. These public officials exercised great political and personal courage in the face of unprecedented pressure from a President of the United States.

Senators, ours is a dialogue with history, a conversation with the past, with a hope for the future.

Senators, I thank you today for your kind attention.

Mr. Manager LIEU. Good afternoon. I am Congressman TED LIEU. My colleague Congresswoman DEAN went throughout the President Trump's efforts to overturn the election through the courts and, when that started failing, his deeply disturbing attacks on State and local officials.

I am going to walk through President Trump's extraordinary efforts remaining until January 6, when he tried again to overturn the election.

I first want to highlight Representative RASKIN's question to all of you today: Was this America? Like all of you, I love this country. I am an immigrant. My parents came to Ohio, and we started off living in the basement of a person's home. We were poor, and they went to flea markets to sell gifts to make ends meet. Over many years, they built a small business, opened six gift stores, and achieved the American dream.

That is one reason I joined the United States Air Force on Active Duty in Alabama, an exceptional country. I was trained as a prosecutor at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama, and I remain in the Reserves because we are the greatest country in the world.

But how did our exceptional country get to the point where a violent mob attacked our Capitol, murdering a police officer, attacking over 140 other officers? How did we get to the point where rioters desecrated, defiled, and disrespected the Senate chamber, where the very place in which you sit became a crime scene, and where National Guard troops still patrol outside wearing body armor?

I will show you how we got here.

President Donald J. Trump ran out of nonviolent options to maintain power. After his efforts in courts and threatening officials failed, he turned to privately and publicly attacking Members of his own party in the House and in the Senate publically bait Senators, naming them in social media.

For example, on December 18, President Trump named ‘‘@senatemajldr and Republican Senators,’’ telling them they have to get tougher or they won’t have a Republican Party anymore. We won the Presidential Election, by a lot. FIGHT FOR IT! Don’t let them take it away!

President Trump was suggesting to Members of this Senate that if they didn’t help him try to overturn the election, there would be consequences.

On December 24, President Trump wrote:

I send at least 8 Republican Senators, including Mitch, from losing in the last Rigged (for President) Election. Now they (almost all) sit back and watch me fight against a crooked and vicious fox, the Radical Left Democrats. I will—

And in all capital letters he wrote—NEVER FORGET!

President Trump was telling you that you owe him; that if you don’t help him fight to overturn the results, he will never forget and that there will be consequences. These are threats, just like the threats he made to State and local officials.

And it continued. On December 29, President Trump tweeted:

Can you imagine if the Republicans stole a Presidential Election from the Democrats—All hell would break out. Republican leadership only wants the path of least resistance. Our leaders (not me, of course!) are pathetic. They only know how to lose! P.S. I got MANY Senators and Congressmen/Congresswomen Elected. I do believe they forgot!

President Trump targeted Senators and Members of Congress on social media, calling them pathetic for letting the election get ‘‘stolen’’ from them.

On January 4, 2 days before the attack, President Trump tweeted:

The ‘‘Surrender Caucus’’ within the Republican Party will go down in infamy as weak and ineffective ‘‘guardians’’ of our Nation, who were willing to accept the certification of fraudulent presidential numbers!

Now he is mocking some Republican Members as the ‘‘Surrender Caucus,’’ calling them ineffectual and ineffective guardians of our Nation by because they would not pretend that he had won when, in fact, he had not.

And then, the very day before the attack, President Trump’s threats were even more heated and specific toward Republicans that he considered to be part of that ‘‘Surrender Caucus.’’

Now, we have shown you this tweet before, but I want to draw your attention to how the President was not just making decisions based on the facts and calling out specific Senate Republicans at the end of this tweet. This is a specific warning to anyone who won’t help him overturn the results. Anyone who was against the President became an enemy.

And let me be very clear. The President wasn’t just coming for one or two people or Democrats like me; he was coming for you, for Democratic and Republican Senators. He was coming for all of you. Just as the mob did at his di-rection.

In addition to going after Senators and Members of Congress, President Trump also pressured our Justice Department to investigate the false claims that the election was stolen. At the President’s direction, Attorney General William Barr, a loyal member of the President’s Cabinet, authorized the investigation for ‘‘substantial allegations of voting and vote tabulation irregularities.’’

Bill Barr pursuing these allegations sparked an outcry. Sixteen assistant U.S. attorneys in the Trump administration urged the Attorney General to cease investigations because they had not seen evidence of any substantial anomalies. That means they did not find any evidence of real fraud.

But even our Justice Department under these circumstances pressed on. Attorney General Barr pursued the investigation anyway, and after his investigation, this is what he found:

[W]e have not seen fraud on a scale that could have affected a different outcome in the election.

Two weeks later, on December 14, the electors voted to give Joe Biden 306 electoral votes and ensured his victory. The following day, Bill Barr resigned.

Attorney General Barr had loyally served President Trump. He had never before come out against a President. But for Bill Barr, making up election fraud claims and saying the election was stolen was a bridge too far.

Bill Barr made clear that attempting to overturn election results caused a line. According to a news report, Bill Barr, the highest law enforcement official in the land, told President Donald Trump to his face that his theories of election fraud were ‘‘bullshit.’’

Bill Barr made the appointment of his former Deputy, Jeff Rosen, to take his place. President Trump initially tweeted about Mr. Rosen that he was ‘‘an outstanding person’’ when he announced that he would become Acting Attorney General, but when Rosen took over, President Trump put the same pressure on him that he had done with State officials and Members of Congress, U.S. Senators, and his former Attorney General Barr.

President Trump reportedly summoned Acting Attorney General Rosen to the Oval Office the next day and pressured Rosen to appoint special counsels to keep investigating the election, including unfounded accusations of widespread voter fraud, and also to investigate Dominion, the voting machines firm.

According to reports, Mr. Rosen refused. He maintained that he would make no decisions based on the facts and the law and reminded President Trump what he had already been told by Attorney General Bill Barr—that the Department had already investigated and found no evidence of widespread fraud. But President Trump insisted that he follow the facts and the law, so the President turned to someone he knew would do his bidding. He turned to Jeffrey Clark, another Justice Department lawyer, who had allegedly expressed support for using the Department of Justice to investigate the election results. Shortly after Acting Attorney General Rosen followed his
duty—and the law—to refuse to reopen investigations. President Trump intended to replace Mr. Rosen with Mr. Clark, who could then try to stop Congress from certifying the electoral college results.

According to reports, White House Counsel Pat Cipollone advised President Trump not to fire Acting Attorney General Rosen. Department officials had also threatened to resign en masse if he had fired Rosen.

President Trump’s actions time and time again made clear that he would do anything and pressure anyone if it meant overturning the election results. We watched President Trump use any means necessary to pursue this aim, feverishly grasping for straws at retaining his hold on the Presidency, but all his efforts prior to January 6 kept failing.

Finally, in his desperation, he turned on his own Vice President. He pressured Mike Pence to violate his constitutional oath and to refuse to certify the vote. President Trump had decided that Vice President Pence, who presided over the certification, could somehow stop it.

As Pence later confirmed, the Vice President does not have that power in the Constitution. And President Trump never tried to explain why he thought the Vice President could block the certification of the election results; he just began relentlessly attacking the Vice President.

Publicly, President Trump attacked Pence on social media and at rallies, getting his supporters to believe that Mike Pence could stop the certification on January 6. Here is what President Trump said in Georgia on January 4.

> Text of video presentation of 1-4-2021

President TRUMP. And I hope Mike Pence comes through for us. I have to tell you. I hope that our great Vice-President, our great country, that he comes through for us. He’s a great guy. Of course, he if doesn’t come through, I won’t like him quite as much.

Behind closed doors, President Trump applied significant pressure to his second-in-command. Multiple reports confirmed that President Trump used his personal attorneys and other officials to pressure the Vice President. Trump reportedly told almost anyone who called him to also call the Vice President. According to reports, when Mike Pence was in the Oval Office, President Trump would call people to try to get them to convince the Vice President to help him.

And President Trump kept repeating the threat that Pence could stop the certification to his base to anger them, hoping to intimidate Mike PENCE.

On the morning of the rally on January 6, President Trump tweeted:

> All Mike Pence has to do is send them back to the States, AND WE WIN. Do it Mike, this is a time for extreme courage!

President Trump later went on to attack Pence nearly a dozen times in his speech at the Save America March.

Privately, in person, before Pence headed to oversee the joint session on January 6, President Trump again threatened Pence. “You can either go down in history as a patriot,” Mr. Trump told him, according to two people briefed on the conversation, “or you can go down in history as a d-cky.”

As a veteran, I find it deeply dishonorable that our former President and Commander in Chief equated patriotism with violating the Constitution and overturning the election.

You can see and hear the consequences of President Trump’s repeated attacks on the Vice President, the chants of “Traitor” and the chants of “Hang Mike Pence.”

Thankfully, Vice President Mike Pence stood his ground, like our other brave officials stood their ground. He refused the President and fulfilled his duty on January 6. Even after the Capitol was attacked, even after he was personally targeted, even after his family was threatened, Vice President Pence stood strong and certified the election. Vice President Pence showed us what it means to be an American, what it means to show courage. He put his country, his oath, his values, and his morals above the fray.

The President had tried everything in his power to seize the—everything in his attempt to seize power from the rightful victor of the election. President Trump’s extraordinary actions were increasingly more desperate. You saw him go from pursuing claims in the courts to threatening State and local election officials, to then attacking Members of Congress in the Senate, to compromising our Justice Department, and then to attacking the Republican Vice President.

These great public servants were being pressured by our Commander in Chief to overturn the results. Some of them and their families got death threats. Thankfully, at every turn, our democratic processes prevailed, and the rule of law prevailed. It is only because all of these people stayed strong and refused President Trump that our Republic held fast and the will of the electorate was seen through. And at this point, President Donald J. Trump ran out of nonviolent options to maintain power.

I began today by raising the question of how we got here. What you saw was a man so desperate to cling to power that he tried everything he could to keep it, and when he ran out of nonviolent measures, he turned to the violent mob that attacked your Senate Chamber on January 6.

As you cast your vote after this trial, I hope each of you will think of the bravery of all of these people who said no to President Trump because they knew that this was not right, that this was not America.

Mr. Manager RASKIN. Next, Representative STACEY PLASKETT of the Virgin Islands will show in quite chilling detail, I should say, how President Trump was well aware of the threat of violence on January 6 and how he welcomed and amplified his supporters’ plans for insurrection against the Union.

I should say as lead manager, this is a moment of special pride for me because Representative PLASKETT is not only the first woman of color on a team of impeachment managers in American history, but she was also my law student at American University Washington College of Law. I hope I am not violating any Federal educational records laws when I say she was an A-student then, and she is an A-plus student now.

STACEY.

Ms. Manager PLASKETT. Thank you so much.

Hi. Mr. President, distinguished Senators, I am STACEY PLASKETT, and I represent the people of the Virgin Islands of the United States.

Over this past weekend, my 11-year-old daughter—I overheard her telling one of my sons: Mommy doesn’t seem really nervous about the impeachment trial, which this daughter, like an older brother, said: Tallah, you will learn that most of the time, Mommy really seems to have it under control.

We know as parents that is not always the case, but I have learned throughout my life that preparation and truth can carry you, can allow you to speak truth to power. I have learned that as a young Black girl growing up in the projects in Brooklyn, a housing community on St. Croix, sent to the most unlikely of settings, and now, as an adult woman representing an island territory, speaking to the U.S. Senate. And because of truth, I am confident today speaking before you because truth and fact are overwhelming that our President, the President of the United States, incited a mob to storm the Capitol to attempt to stop the certification of a Presidential election.

My fellow managers have shown and will continue to show clear evidence that President Trump incited a violent mob to storm our Capitol when he ran out of nonviolent means to stop the election. Once assembled, that mob, at the President’s direction, erupted into the bloodiest attack on this Capitol since 1814.

Some of you have said there is no way the President could have known how violent the mob would be. That is false because the violence—it was foreseeable. I want to show you why this violence was foreseeable and why Donald Trump was different than any other politician just telling his fighters, their supporters to fight for something.

The violence that occurred on January 6, like the attack itself, did not just appear. You will see that Donald Trump knew the people he was inciting; he said the violence that they were carrying out, and also the history and practice of praising and encouraging that violence, never ever condemning it.
And you will see that this violent attack was not planned in secret. The insurgents believed that they were doing the duty of their President. They were following his orders. And so they published openly, loudly, proudly exact blueprints of how the attack would be made.

Law enforcement saw these postings and reported that these insurgents would violently attack the Capitol itself. This was months of cultivating a base of people who were violent, praising the violent, then leading that violence—straight to our door.

The point is this: By the time he called the cavalry of his thousands of supporters on January 6, at an event he had invited them to, he had every reason to know that they were armed, that they were violent, and that they would actually fight. He knew who he was calling and the violence they were capable of, and he still gave the marching order to the Capitol and “Fight like hell” to “Stop the Steal.”

Make no mistake, the violence was not just foreseeable to President Trump; the violence was what he deliberately encouraged. As early as September, Trump set the precedent that, when asked to denounce violence, he would do the opposite and encourage it.

Now, if the President had only said something once about fighting to stop the steal, and violence erupted, there would be no way to know he intended to incite it or saw it coming. But just as the President spent months spreading his big lie of the election, he also spent months cultivating groups of people who, following his command, repeatedly engaged in real, dangerous violence. And when they did, when the violence erupted as a response to his calls to fight against the stolen election, he did not walk back. He did not tell them no. He did the opposite. He praised and encouraged the violence so that it would continue. He fanned the flame of violence and it worked.

You will see this over time. These very groups and individuals whose violence the President praised helped lead the attack on January 6. And that is how we know clearly that President Trump deliberately incited this and how we know he saw it coming.

There are many examples where the President engaged in this pattern. I am just going to walk you through a few of them.

Let’s start with President Trump’s incitement of the Proud Boys. Many of you have heard of this group, which since 2018 has been classified by the FBI as an extremist organization. Since that classification, the group has repeatedly engaged in serious acts of violence, including at pro-Trump rallies. In one such act on September 7, the Proud Boys attacked a man with a baseball bat and then punched him while he was down on the ground.

On September 29, during a Presidential debate, President Trump was asked specifically if he was willing to condemn White supremacy and militia groups, if he was willing to tell them to stand down and stop the violence. Let’s watch.

(Text of video presentation.)

Mr. WALLACE. Are you willing tonight to condemn White supremacists and militia groups—

President TRUMP. Sure.

Mr. WALLACE. And to say that they need to stand down and not add to the violence at a number of these cities as we saw in Kenosha and as we’ve seen in Portland?

President TRUMP. Sure. I’m willing to do that.

Mr. WALLACE. Will you say that specifically?

President TRUMP. I would say—

Mr. WALLACE. Then go ahead, sir. Do it. Say it.

President TRUMP. I would say—

Let’s hear now the President’s response.

(Text of video presentation.)

Mr. WALLACE. Do it, sir. Say it. Do it.

President TRUMP. Say it. Do it. Say it. You want to call them—what do you want to call them? Give me a name. Give me a name. Go ahead.

Mr. WALLACE. White supremacists and White proud—

President TRUMP. Who do you want me to condemn? Proud Boys, stand back and stand by.

When asked to condemn the Proud Boys and White supremacists, what did our President say? He said:

Stand back and stand by.

His message was heard loud and clear. The group adopted that phrase, “Stand back and stand by” as their official slogan. They created merchandise with their new slogan, which they wore proudly across their backs at Trump’s rallies and they followed the President’s orders.

You will see more about this later in the trial, but you will see in these photos to the left, Dominic Pezzola, and to the right, William Pepe, two of the leaders of the group heading to the Capitol on January 6. They were later charged with working together to obstruct law enforcement.

As we go through this evidence, I want you to keep in mind these words by President Trump when asked to condemn violence:

Stand back and stand by.

And see example after example of the kinds of people, like the Proud Boys, who he had standing by on January 6.

By October, as my colleagues Mr. CASTRO and Mr. SWALWELL showed you, Donald Trump was escalating his big lie that the only way he could lose the election was if it was rigged. So as election day neared, his supporters were frustrated and they were angry. They were prepared to ensure his victory by any means necessary.

One of these violent acts was on October 30. Sometime after 12:30 p.m., a caravan of 50 trucks covered in pro-Trump campaign gear confronted and surrounded cars carrying Biden-Harris campaign workers and a Biden-Harris campaign bus as they were traveling down Interstate 35 from San Antonio to Austin.

(Videopresentation.)

According to witnesses, this caravan repeatedly tried to force the bus you saw and you see in that video to slow down in the middle of the highway and then to run it off the road. What that video you just saw does not show is that the bus that they tried to run off the road was filled with young campaign staff, volunteers, supporters, surrogates—people.

As the Trump supporters closed in on the bus, a large black pickup truck adorned with Trump flags suddenly and intentionally swerved and crashed into a car driven by a Biden-Harris volunteer. News of the event went viral on social media. The President of the United States, in a campaign, saw his own supporters trying to run a bus carrying his opponents’ campaign workers off the highway, to physically intimidate people in this country campaign.

Here was his response the next day.

(Text of video presentation.)

Three, two, one, go! Welcome to the Red Kingdom.

Red Kingdom. Welcome to the Red Kingdom.

Red Kingdom. Welcome to the Red Kingdom.

Welcome to the place where we run it.

The President of the United States tweeted a video of his supporters trying to drive a bus off of the road. You will recall in that first video that I showed you there was no sound. Well, that was the plan. That he tweeted had a fighting theme song placed to it that the President—the President—put that music to that video and he added at the top: “I LOVE TEXAS!”

By the next evening, that tweet that had had been viewed 12.6 million times. And it wasn’t just the tweet.

On November 1, at a Michigan rally with a sea of supporters, the President talked about that incident again. Here it is:

President TRUMP. You see the way our people, you know, they were protecting his bus yesterday because they’re nice. So his bus—they had hundreds of cars, “Trump,” “Trump,” “Trump” and the American flag. You see “Trump” and the American flag.

The President made a public joke of violence against campaigners in an American election. He made light of it. There was not a joke. In fact, it was so violent, it put so many people in harm’s way that the FBI investigated the incident and the criminal responsibility of those who attacked these campaign workers.

Now, our President, Donald Trump, could have said: OK, I didn’t realize how bad that was. This was very violent. Please stop.

But he didn’t. He saw the investigation and made a statement in defense of his supporters’ attack on the bus writing:

In my opinion, these patriots did nothing wrong.
Engaging in violence for him made them patriots to Donald Trump. For anyone who says Donald Trump didn’t know the violence he was inciting, I ask you to consider his supporters tried to drive a bus off a highway in the middle of the day to intimidate his opponents, and when the bus attack was thwarted, his response was to tweet the video of the incident that had fight music, joke about it, and call those individuals in that incident patriots.

And once again, Donald Trump’s praise of these incidents, to incite them further. Emboldened by that praise, they remained ready to fight, ready to “Stand back and stand by.” This link is not hypothetical.

Just like you saw the Proud Boys showing up in full force on January 6, Donald Trump’s encouragement of this attack made sure his supporters were ready for the next one. The caravan bus attack had been organized by a Trump supporter named Keith Lee. Leaders of the caravan, on our Capitol of January 6, Mr. Lee teamed up with other supporters to fundraise to help to bring people to Washington, DC, for that date.

The morning of the attack, he filmed footage of the Capitol, pointed out the flimsiness of the fencing, and then addressed his supporters before the attack, saying:

As soon as you all get done hearing the President, y’all get to the Capitol, we need to surround this place.

During the attack, he used the bullhorn to call out to the mob to rush in. He later went to the Rotunda, himself, and then back outside to urge the crowd to come inside. These are the people that President Trump cultivated, who were standing by.

I would like to look at another example. After the election on December 12, Trump supporters gathered in mass to protest the “stolen” election in DC. It was billed by his loyalists as “wild.” Just days after his original rally, the President did after that? He turned right around, and a little over a week later, he began coordinating the January 6 Save America rally with the same people who had planned the second Million MAGA March.

Then, when he saw the violence his supporters were capable of, he channeled it to his big, wild, historic event. He organized January 6 with the same people who had just engaged in serious violence at the second Million MAGA rally to show up to the largest rally to stop the steal. He brought in the same people who spoke at the second Million MAGA rally to help as well. Trump’s campaign adviser, Katrina Pierson, who you will recall said on December 12 that this is only the beginning—“we are the cavalry”—also became directly involved in planning the event. They even sent out invitations together.

This is Amy Kremer, one of the Founders of Women for America First, tweeting the invitation, tagging Donald Trump and other organizers, inviting the same supporters who had just engaged in serious violence at the second Million MAGA rally to show up to the largest rally to stop the steal.

Women for America First had initially planned for the rally goers to remain at the Capitol, to count the electoral college votes as completed, just like they had remained at the Freedom Plaza after the second Million MAGA March. In fact, the permit stated, in no uncertain terms, that the march from the Ellipse was not permitted. It was not until after President Trump and his team became involved in the planning that the march from the Ellipse to the Capitol came about in direct contravention of the original permit. This was not a coincidence. None of this was.

Donald Trump, over many months, cultivated violence, praised it, and then, when he saw the violence his supporters were capable of, he channeled it to his big, wild, historic event. He organized January 6 with the same people who had just organized the rally resulting in substantial violence, and he made absolutely sure, this time, these violent rally-goers wouldn’t just remain in place. He made sure that those same people who violation of electoral college votes, literally marched right here, to our steps, from the Ellipse to the Capitol, to stop the steal—his cavalry. This was deliberate.

Because the President of the United States incited this, because he was orchestrating this, because he was inviting them, the insurgents were not shy about their planning. They believed they were following the orders of the Commander in Chief. They were, as with the tweet we just saw, quite literally, his cavalry. So, they posted on Telegram online, at times, loudly, proudly, and they did this all over public forums. They were not just hidden posts on dark websites that later, Women for America First amended their permit to hold their rally on January 6, pursuant to the President’s save the date, instead of after the inauguration. This was deliberate.

Reports confirm that the President had put the President to the GOP. The President was directly involved with the planning of the event, including the speaking line-up and even the music to be played, just as he chose the music of his retweet of the caravan, driving the Biden-Harris bus off the road, with a fight.

Mr. FUENTES. And as we gather here in Washington, DC, for a second Million MAGA March, we’re done making promises. It has to happen now. We are going to destroy the GOP.

(People chanting: Yeah. Yeah. Let’s go. Let’s go. Destroy the GOP. Destroy the GOP. Destroy the GOP.)

Those words—that was Trump’s message: Destroy anyone who won’t listen, who won’t help them take the election for Trump.

And, as you will see, this was just the preview for Fuentes, who, like the Proud Boys and the Trump caravan organizers, would later heed the President’s call and come to Washington and be there on January 6.

Later in the rally, a former Trump campaign spokesperson, Katrina Pierson, also spoke:

During her speech, she stated: “This isn’t over. This is just beginning,” referring to the fight to stop the steal.

Then she added:

We knew that both Republican and Democratic parties are against us. We are the cavalry. No one is going to us.

It is clear that Trump and some of his supporters saw this as war—a fight against anyone who was unwilling to do whatever it took to keep Donald Trump in power. “We are the cavalry.”

President Trump continued to reinforce the support of these messages throughout the day. At 1:48 p.m., after both speeches, he retweeted his Deputy Chief of Staff’s tweet, showing his crowd that he had flown over on Marine One, and he tweeted:

Thank you, Patriots.

These people were, as you can see, gathered en masse and being told by the President’s allies that their election had been stolen, and they were told they were the cavalry; that no one else could do it.

After hearing these speeches and seeing the President’s support, this is what Donald Trump’s cavalry was capable of.

(Video footage of 12-12-2020.)

What you just saw was the violence that ensued after that rally.

The Proud Boys, after that rally, engaged in serious acts of violence in downtown DC. Some Trump supporters and self-identified Proud Boys vandalized churches after that rally.

If we look at these events, it is clear how we got here because what did the President do after that? He turned right around, and a little over a week later, he began coordinating the January 6 Save America rally with the same people who had planned the second Million MAGA March.

You will recall that the Women for America First had organized that second Million MAGA March. They had originally planned rallies for January 22 and January 23, after the inauguration, but Donald Trump had other plans. On December 19, President Trump tweeted he save the date for January 6. He told his supporters to come to DC for a “big protest” that day, billing it as “wild.” Just days later, Women for America First amended their permit to hold their rally on January 6, pursuant to the President’s save the date, instead of after the inauguration. This was deliberate.

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Trump would not have seen. Quite the opposite. We know that President Trump’s team monitored these websites. We know this because his advisers confirmed it.

An ex-White House and campaign insider, as you will read, “who has known both Scavino and the president for years, said there was no way that Scavino and the Trump social media operation would not have been aware of the plans circulating online to storm the Capitol because the Trump “operation” closely monitored the web’s darkest corners, ranging from mainstream sites such as Twitter, Facebook, and Reddit, to fringe message boards like 4chan and 8chan (now called 8kun) to TheDonald.win, an off-shoot from a banned Reddit community dedicated to rabidly supporting all things Trump.” They actively monitored the exact sites, like TheDonald.win, on which these insurrectionists wrote their posts. So did Trump and his team have seen when they were monitoring these sites? What would his supporters have said? They would have seen a clear roadmap of exactly what happened.

This is an example of a post that was captured from one of the sites dedicated to Donald Trump, that we just talked about, shortly before the site was taken down.

The message:
The Capitol is our goal. Everything else is a distraction. Every corrupt Member of Congress locked in one room and surrounded by real Americans is an opportunity that will never present itself again.

Let that sink in. Think about that. The exact thing that happened on January 6—that was their goal, and they said it out loud on sites that the Trump administration was actively monitoring.

A third-party site captured a post on TheDonald.win, where one user posted:

“This cannot simply be a protest. It has to be the establishment of the MAGA militia with command offices set up, with all further militia tactical missions spreading from there.”

Another user said in response:

“Without a clear roadmap of exactly how the Capitol was to be captured, they would have never presented itself again.”

That is what they understood Donald Trump to want—there it is in black and white—and they explained why they felt justified in this.

Another poster on the forum TheDonald.win wrote on January 4:

“If Congress illegally certifies Biden . . . Trump would have absolutely no choice but to demand us to storm Congress and kill/beat our enemies.”

Donald Trump will have no choice. That was what he made them believe to the point his supporters felt justified even in carrying weapons and storming our Capitol. This was in post after post.

Here is another. When discussing how to carry guns into DC, one noted:

“Yes, it’s illegal, but this is war, and we’re clearly in a post-legal phase of our society.

What? They treated it as a war, and they meant it.

On the morning of the attack, under a thread titled “Today, I told my kids goodbye,” one poster wrote:

“Today I had the very difficult conversation with my wife and kids that daddy might not come home from DC.”

Within a matter of hours, that post amassed 4,000 “likes.”

President Trump had truly made them believe that their election had been stolen and that it was their patriotic duty to help “defend the Capitol” from what they called the “traitors.”

This cannot simply be a protest. It has to be the establishment of the MAGA militia with command offices set up, with all further militia tactical missions spreading from there.

A third-party site captured a post on TheDonald.win again, the site monitored by Trump’s team.

He [meaning Donald Trump in this instance] can order the NAV guard to stand down if needed. Unfortunately he has no control over the Capitol Police . . . but there are only around 2k of them and a lot are useless fat asses or girls.

We will have to achieve an actual tactical victory like storming and occupying [the Capitol] to have the intended effect.

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“Today I had the very difficult conversation with my wife and kids that daddy might not come home from DC.”

Within a matter of hours, that post amassed 4,000 “likes.”

President Trump had truly made them believe that their election had been stolen and that it was their patriotic duty to help “defend the Capitol” from what they called the “traitors.”

This cannot simply be a protest. It has to be the establishment of the MAGA militia with command offices set up, with all further militia tactical missions spreading from there.

A third-party site captured a post on TheDonald.win again, the site monitored by Trump’s team.

He [meaning Donald Trump in this instance] can order the NAV guard to stand down if needed. Unfortunately he has no control over the Capitol Police . . . but there are only around 2k of them and a lot are useless fat asses or girls.

It is all right there—the overall goal, maps of the Capitol, the weapons, communications devices. They even said publicly, openly, proudly that President Trump will help him to command the National Guard so all they have to do is overwhelm the 2,000 Capitol Police officers.

This was reported in the NBC News and the Washington Post, with headlines like: “Violent threats ripple through far-right internet forums ahead of protest.” “Pro-Trump forums erupt with violent threats ahead of Wednesday’s rally against the 2020 election.”

FOX News also reported that the Proud Boys would come to the January 6 rally prepared for violent action, even if they were not asked to. They said they would be “incognito” and “spread across downtown DC in smaller numbers.”

City officials, seeing these same warnings, also publicly warned about the violence and unlawful weapons at the event. DC Mayor Muriel Bowser cautioned residents of the District of Columbia to avoid the downtown area while the rally attendees were in town.

Federal law enforcement of these threats also. On January 3, a Capitol Police intelligence report warned of a violent scenario in which “Congress itself” could be the target of the angry supporters of President Trump on January 6. According to that report, obtained by the Washington Post:

Supporters of the current president see January 6, 2021, as the last opportunity to overturn the results of presidential election. . . . This sense of desperation and disappointment may lead to more . . . incentive to become violent. Unlike previous post-election protests, the targets of the pro-Trump supporters are not necessarily the counter-protesters as they were previously, but rather Congress itself is the target [for January 6].

The day before the rioters stormed the Congress, an FBI office in Virginia also issued an explicit warning that extremists were preparing to travel to Washington to commit violence and “war,” according to internal reports.

The FBI report cited to an online post where the user declared that Trump supporters should go to Washington and get violent. The supporter said:

“Stop calling this a march, or rally, or a protest. Go there ready for war. We get our President or we die.

These threat warnings were not just hypothetical. Actual arrests occurred in the days leading up to the January 6 rally prepared for violent action.

On January 4, 2 days before the rally, one extremely well-publicized arrest was of a Proud Boy leader who destroyed a church’s Black Lives Matter banner a month earlier during the December 12, second Million MAGA March. The report emphasized that when he was arrested, he was carrying high-capacity firearms magazines, which he claimed were meant to be supplied to another rally attendee for January 6.

By the night before the January 6 attack, DC police had already made six arrests in connection with the planned protests on charges of carrying weapons, ammunition, assault, assaulting police.

This is all in public view—all of it. The truth is usually seen and rarely heard. Truth is truth, whether denied or not, and the truth is, President Trump had spent months calling his supporters to a march on a specific day, at a specific time, in specific places to stop the certification.
And leading up to the event, there were hundreds—hundreds—of posts on-line showing that his supporters took this as a call to arms to attack the Capitol. There were detailed posts of the plan to attack online. Law enforcement warned that these posts were real threats and even made arrests days leading up to the attack.

And yet, in the face of all this—these credible warnings of serious, dangerous threats to our Capitol—when tens of thousands of people were standing in front of President Trump, ready to take orders and attack, this is what he said:

We're going to the Capitol.
And we fight. We fight like hell. And if you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore.

And that is why this is different. That is why he must be convicted and disqualified.

Mr. Manager RASKIN. Representative DEAN will now return to the events of January 6 itself. She will demonstrate President Trump's repeated incitement of the crowd that morning, as he directed them to the Capitol in his last-ditch effort to retain his hold on power.

Ms. Manager DEAN. For me and for many Americans, January 6 is forever etched in our memories. I went to work with a sense of excitement—the start of my second term in Congress and the first time I would participate in the certification of a Presidential election.

And then we all know what happened. I know many of us have similar experiences from that day, but I will briefly share mine. I stood with colleagues in the Gallery above the House floor to observe the Arizona challenge. Moments later, police radios reported a breach of the Capitol grounds. Someone shouted up to us, "Duck"; then, "Lie down"; then, "Ready your gas masks."

Shortly after, there was a terrifying banging on the Chamber doors. I will never forget that sound. Shouts and panicked calls to my husband and to my sons, instructions to flee, and then the constant worrying of the gas masks filtering the air—the Chamber of the United States House of Representatives turned to chaos.

For Donald Trump, it was a very different day. Earlier, I showed you Donald Trump's desperate attempts to maintain power: ignoring adverse court rulings, attacking elected officials, pressuring his Justice Department, even attacking his own Vice President. You saw a man who refused to lose, who was desperate to retain power by any means necessary. You saw a man willing to attack anyone and everyone who got in his way, and you saw a man who thought he could play by different rules.

He told his supporters, as my colleague Ms. PLASKETT just showed you, exactly what he thought those different rules were—combat, fight, violence.

This was not just one speech. This was weeks and weeks of deliberate effort by Donald Trump to overturn the election results so that he didn't have to give up the Presidency.

The speech on January 6 builds on, refers to, and even made arrests days leading up to the attack.

And yet, in the face of all this—these credible warnings of serious, dangerous threats to our Capitol—when tens of thousands of people were standing in front of President Trump, ready to take orders and attack, this is what he said:

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And that is why this is different. That is why he must be convicted and disqualified.
He's got guts, unlike a lot of people in the Republican Party. He's got guts. He fights.

Ms. PLASKETT showed you example after example of Donald Trump, when confronted with violence, praising it. We saw him instruct the Proud Boys, a violent extremist group, to stand back and stand by. That group was there on January 6. We saw him praise a caravan of his supporters after they tried to drive a bus belonging to the Biden campaign off the road. The organizer of that attack was there on January 6. And we saw him team up with the organizers of the violent second MAGA Million March to plan his rally on January 6. What does he do at that rally? He tells Giuliani he is doing a great job addressing the crowd, saying he has "guts" to call for fighting. And to be clear, this is what he was praising.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Mr. GUILIANI. So let's have trial by combat.

"Trial by combat." Donald Trump praised Rudy, said he did a good job, had guts for telling the crowd that we need trial by combat.

Next, more attacks.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

President TRUMP. All Vice President Pence has to do is send it back to the States to recertify, and we become President and you are the happiest people.

This attack, like the tweets he sent that morning, had a purpose: convincing his supporters that the future of our country, of our democracy, hinged on whether Vice President Pence would overturn the election—something he knew Pence could not and would not do.

He called out Vice President Pence nine times that day, and each time, he got more forceful. Here is what he said at 12:15.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

President TRUMP. And we're going to have to fight much harder. And Mike Pence is going to have to come through for us. And if he doesn't, that will be a sad day for our country, because you are sworn to uphold our Constitution.

Now it is up to Congress to confront this egregious assault on our democracy. And after this, we are going to walk down—and I'll be there with you. We are going to walk down. We are going to walk down any one you want, but I think right here, we are going to walk down to the Capitol.

(Chairs and applause.)

And we are going to cheer on our brave Senators and Congressmen and women, and we are probably not going to be cheering so much for some of them. Because you'll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength and you have to be strong.

"We're going to have to fight much harder. And Mike Pence will have to come through for us." That is what he said, and to the crowd what he meant and exactly what to do, literally commanding them to confront us at the Capitol. He even told them he would walk there with them, which, of course, was not true, and then he told them exactly what to do when they got to the Capitol.

You'll never take [your] country back with weakness. You have to show strength.

And don't forget who is standing there, the same people Ms. PLASKETT described as the "violent—violent people law enforcement had warned would be armed and would be targeting us.

One of President Trump's key defenses focused on what he said for a few seconds, 15 minutes into the speech.

(Text of videotape presentation of 1–6–2021.)

President TRUMP. I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard.

In a speech spanning almost 11,000 words—yes, we did check—that was the one time, the only time President Trump used the word "peaceful" or any suggestion of nonviolence. The implication of the President's tweets, the rally, and the speeches were clear. President Trump used the word "fight" or "fighting" 20 times, including telling the crowd they needed to "fight like hell" to save our democracy.

We know he responded to Donald Trump's words, and he knew how they responded to his speech. Here is the evidence of how the crowd reacted.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

(people cheering.)

President TRUMP. We are going down to the Capitol—

(people cheering.)

President TRUMP. . . . weakness, you have to show strength—

(Unidentified Speaker. Yes, Right.

(people chanting: "Take the Capitol.")

(people chanting: "Invade the Capitol right now.")

(people chanting: "In a violent way.")

(people chanting: "Storm the Capitol.")

President TRUMP. Make your voices heard.

"Storm the Capitol." "Invade the Capitol." "Fight, fight, fight." "Take the Capitol right now." These were the words of the crowd. Trump was telling them to fight, and he would keep telling them to fight throughout the rest of his speech. These are not only words of aggression, they are words of insurrection, and if you have any doubt, listen to what he says next.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

President TRUMP. Today we see a very important event though, because right over there, right there, we see the events that will take place. And I am going to be watching, because history is going to be made. We are going to try and give our Republicans—the weak ones, because the strong ones don't need any of our help. We are going to try and give them the kind of pride and boldness that they need to take back our country. So let's walk down Pennsylvania Avenue.

(Chairs and applause.)

So we're going to—we're going to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue. I love Pennsylvania Avenue. And we're going to the Capitol, and we are going to try and give—the Democrats are hopeless. They never voted for anything—not even one vote. But we are going to try and give our Republicans—the weak ones, because the strong ones don't need any of our help. We are going to try and give them the kind of pride and boldness that they need to take back our country. So let's walk down Pennsylvania Avenue.

(Chairs and applause.)

President TRUMP. I want to thank you all. God bless you and God bless America. Thank you all for being here. This is incredible. Thank you very much.

(Chairs and applause.)

President TRUMP. I want to thank you all. God bless you and God bless America. Thank you all for being here. This is incredible. Thank you very much.

(Chairs and applause.)

"If you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore." And there was only one fight left, and it was a mile up the road. Donald
Mr. President. 

There is some very graphic, violent recreation of the attack as it unfolded, focusing on the threats to Vice President Pence, Speaker Pelosi, the joint session, and law enforcement.

I do warn you: be aware everyone that there is some very graphic, violent footage coming, so people are aware.

I am going to call, again, on Ms. PLASKETT, who I should also tell you went to work at the Department of Justice and was the senior counsel for Deputy Attorney General Larry Thompson under Attorney General Ashcroft. So she is a very well trained and experienced prosecutor, as you can tell.

Mr. Manager PLASKETT. Mr. President, Senators, almost all of us were here on January 6, and we all have our individual experiences: what we felt, what we saw, what we heard. We have seen clips and reports in the media, but I have to tell you, it was not until preparing for this trial that I understood the full scope and learned the information that you are going to see that I understood the effort to attack our seat of government in order to carry out President Trump’s mission to prevent the certification of a Presidential election. It was an attack to our Republic, to our democratic process.

My colleagues, Manager SWALWELL, and I are going to walk you through the scenes in the Capitol that day and the danger that it posed to the Vice President, to the Speaker of the House, to you all as Senators, my colleagues in the House, Capitol Police, and everyone who works in and around this Capitol.

As you have heard, President Trump had been telling his supporters and his millions of Twitter followers that Pence had the ability to secure the Presidency for Trump; that Mike Pence alone had the power to overturn the election results if he would just do it.

But at 12:55 p.m., on January 6, Vice President Pence formally refused the President’s demand.

He wrote, and I quote: “It is my considered judgment that my oath to support and defend the Constitution constrains me from claiming unilateral authority to determine which electoral votes should be counted and which should not.”

Pence ended his letter with a passage including the words: “I will do my duty. Even though the count resulted in the defeat of his party and his own candidacy, Vice President Pence had the courage to stand against the President, tell the American public the truth, and uphold our Constitution. That is patriotism.”

That patriotism is also what put the Vice President in so much danger on January 6 by the mob sent by our President. To the President and the mob, he incited, that duty to our Constitution was an all-out betrayal, and the Vice President was the direct target of that rage.

At 12:55 p.m., Senators, Members of Congress, Vice President Pence were in their respective Chambers. Outside, rioters, including some linked to the Proud Boys, broke through the outer barricade surrounding the lawn of the Capitol.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. Way to go.

Unidentified Speaker. Break it down.

Twelve minutes later, Vice President Pence began presiding over the joint session of Congress to certify the results of the Presidential election. You will see Vice President Pence gaveling in the joint session here.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

The VICE PRESIDENT. Madam President, Members of Congress, pursuant to the Constitution and the laws of the United States, the Senate and House of Representatives are meeting in joint session to verify the certificates and count the votes of the electors of the several States for President and Vice President of the United States.

While Vice President Pence presided over the joint session, Trump supporters began their assault on our Capitol. Radio communications from the Metropolitan Police Department highlighted, during and following President Trump’s speech, Trump supporters descended on the Capitol and became increasingly violent.

What you are about to hear has not been made public before.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

The Officer. Multiple Capitol injuries. Multiple Capitol injuries.

The Dispatcher. 1318.

The Officer. Twelve to 50, we’re coming around from the south side.

The Dispatcher. Be advised, the speech has ended.

The Dispatcher. Intel 1, be advised you’ve got a group of about 50 up on the wall from just north of the stairs. They are approaching the wall now.

The Officer. They’re starting to dismantle the reviewing stand. They’re throwing metal poles at us.

The Officer. Cruiser 50, give me DSO up here now, DSO. Multiple law enforcement injuries. DSO, get up here.

The Officer. All right. We’re 30 seconds out.

The Officer. We need some reinforcements up here now. They’re starting to pull the gates down. They’re throwing metal poles at us.

The Officer. Cruiser 50, DSO, get up here.

The Officer. OK. We’re here.

The Officer. Twelve to 50, we’re here.

The Officer. We just had an explosion go on up here. I don’t know if they’re fireworks or what, but they’re starting to throw explosives, fireworks material.

After attempting to dismantle the outermost perimeter, the rioters did everything in their power to storm past the police and into the Capitol. They coordinated, moving metal barricades the police were using to maintain distance, as Steve Scalise, Lisanne to the yelling of “pull them this way!” as they grabbed the barriers and attacked officers trying to hold the line.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)


At about 1:10 and 1:23 p.m., respectively, Capitol Police sent out the first evacuation alerts of the day, telling people to evacuate the Madison Building and the Cannon Building, respectively. Shortly after, at 1:45 p.m.,
Trump supporters surged past Capitol Police protecting the Capitol's west steps, the side that is facing the White House. In another radio communication between Metropolitan Police officers, you can hear an officer declare that there is a riot at the Capitol at 1:49 p.m. (Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

The Officer. Cruiser 50, we're going to give riot warnings as soon as the LRAD is here. We're going to give riot warnings. We're going to try to get compliance, but this now is effectively a riot.

The Dispatcher. 1409 hours. Declaring it a riot.

The next video, as well as several videos that follow, have a model of the Capitol Complex. The video is from the west front of the Capitol on the Senate side, the side facing the White House. Watch the red dot, which moves up the lower steps of the Capitol, indicating the approximate location of the rioters as they surge past the police.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. This is our fucking house.

Unidentified Speaker. This is a revolution.

Unidentified Speaker. Let's go. Push.

Unidentified Speaker. Go. Fuck you. Fuck you.

While the mob that Donald Trump sent to stop the certification came closer and closer to breaching the Capitol, just one floor below where we are now, Vice President Pence continued to preside over the session in the Senate Chamber above.

At about 2:12 p.m., Secret Service quickly and suddenly evacuated Vice President Pence from the Senate floor. Here is the immediate reaction to that evacuation.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. No audio. They just cut out. It looks like they—and sometimes the Senate—

Unidentified Speaker. It seemed like they just ushered Mike Pence out really quickly.

Unidentified Speaker. Yes, they did. That's exactly what just happened there. They ushered Mike Pence out. They moved him fast. They were...yeah, I saw the motions too.

While Vice President Pence was being evacuated from the Senate Chamber, rioters were at that time breaking into the Capitol. This next video shows their approach and the initial breach of the Capitol Complex.

Remember to watch the red dot, which broke—has been tracking throughout this incident.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. Let us in.

Unidentified Speaker. Let's go.

Unidentified Speaker. Break the window, bro.

Now we are going to show you, through security footage that has not been made public before, what that same breach looked like from the inside. Now, because this is security footage, there is no sound.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Note, as the video begins, we are seeing the inside view as the mob approaches from outside and beats the windows and doors. You can see that the rioters first break the window with the wooden beam that you saw previously, and a lone police officer inside responds by spraying the first man who enters but is quickly overwhelmed.

I want you to pay attention to the first group of assailants as they break into the building. The second man through the window is wearing full tactical body armor and is carrying a baseball bat. Others are carrying riot shields.

Among this group are members of the Proud Boys—some of whom, like Dominic Pezzola, who was recently indicted on Federal conspiracy charges—we will discuss later.

You can watch where they are coming on our model as well. (Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

When I first saw this model that was created for this, I thought back to September 11. I know a lot of you Senators were here. Some of you might have been Members on the House side. I was also here on September 11. I was a staffer at that time. My office was on the west front of the Capitol. I worked in the Capitol, and I was on the House side.

This year is 20 years since the attacks of September 11, and most every day I remember that 44 Americans gave their lives to stop the plane that was headed to this Capitol Building. I thank them every day for saving my life and the life of so many others.

These Americans sacrificed their lives for love of country, honor, duty—all the things that America means. The Capitol stands because of people like that—this Capitol that was conceived by our Founding Fathers, that was built by slaves, that remains through the sacrifice of service men and women around the world.

And when I think of that, I think of these insurgents, these images, incited by our own President of the United States, attacking this Capitol to stop the certification of a Presidential election, our democracy, our Republic.

At the same time that that breach on this Capitol Building occurred, at approximately 2:13 p.m., just one floor up, while Senator LANKFORD was speaking on the Senate floor, Senator GRASSLEY, who had taken over for Vice President Pence, called an unscheduled immediate recess of the Senate.

A Senate aide approached Senator LANKFORD and informed him that the Capitol had been breached. Senator GRASSLEY is immediately escorted out of the Senate Chamber.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. Protesters are in the building.

Mr. LANKFORD. Thank you.

Now, while this was going on, Officer Eugene Goodman responded to the initial breach. You all may have seen footage of Officer Goodman previously, but there is more to his heroic story. In this security footage, you can see Officer Goodman running to respond to the initial breach.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.) Officer Goodman passes Senator Mitt Romney and directs him to turn around in order to get to safety. On the first floor, just beneath them, the mob had already started to search for the Senate Chamber.

Vice President Pence made his way down to the first floor, where he encountered the same insurrectionists we just saw—watched—breach the Capitol. In this video, we can see the rioters surge toward Officer Goodman. Recall that the rioters are in red, and Officer Goodman, in this model, is in blue. Watch Officer Goodman, who backs up the stairs.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

People chanting: "USA."

Unidentified Speaker. That's my muffin. I paid for that.

Unidentified Speaker. You work for us.

Unidentified Speaker. Where is the meeting at?

Unidentified Speaker. Hey, where do they count the fucking votes?

Unidentified Speaker. Hey! Hey! Hey!

Unidentified Speaker. Do it! Do it!

Unidentified Speaker. Where are they counting the votes? Where are they counting the votes?

Unidentified Speaker. Right there. Hey.

Unidentified Speaker. These people. These people. We have no weapons. We have no fucking weapons. Unidentified Speaker. No, no.

Unidentified Speaker. Son of a b*tch.

Although they were shouting that they did not have any weapons, we know from the earlier video that that is not true. The second assailant through that breach was the one carrying a metal baseball bat. We know there were other weapons there that day.

Did you hear the other shouts? We're here for you. He's one person, we're thousands.

And—

Where do they count the votes?

They were coming at the urging of Donald Trump to keep Congress—a separate branch of government—from certifying the results of a Presidential election.

As the rioters reached the top of the stairs, they were within 100 feet of where the Vice President was sheltering with his family. And they were just feet away from one of the doors to this Chamber, where many of you remained at that time.

I also want to show you a different angle from the security footage of Officer Goodman’s acts. This video is on the second floor of the Senate wing of the Capitol. The red dot, as you recall, represents the insurrectionists. The blue dot is Officer Goodman, who led the mob away from the Chamber, just minutes earlier.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.) On the left-hand side of the video, just inside the hallway is the door to
the Senate Chamber. And watch how Officer Goodman provoked the rioters and purposefully drew them away from the door to the Senate Chamber and toward the other officers waiting down the hall.

They had been carrying a baseball bat, but this video is the same one we saw moments ago breaching the window on the first floor.

While all of this was going on, Vice President Pence was still in the room near the Senate Chamber. It was not until 2:26 that he was evacuated to a secure location. This next security video shows that evacuation.

His movements are depicted by the orange dot in our model. The red and blue dots represent the location where the mob and Officer Goodman were and where Officer Goodman led the mob away from the Chamber just moments ago.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

You can see Vice President Pence and his family quickly moved down the stairs as the President turns around briefly as he is headed down.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

As Pence was being evacuated, rioters started to spread throughout the Capitol. Those inside helped other rioters break through doors in several locations around this entire building. And the mob was looking for Vice President Pence because of his patriotism, because the Vice President had refused to do what the President demanded and overturn the election results.

During the assault on the Capitol, extremists reportedly coordinated online and discussed how they could hunt down the Vice President.

Journalists in the Capitol reported they heard rioters say they were looking for Pence in order to execute him. Trump’s supporters had erected a gallows on the lawn in front of the Capitol Building. Another group of rioters chanted: “Hang Mike Pence,” as they stood in the open door of the Capitol Building.

You can hear the security alarm through the door in the background. And you can hear the mob calling for the death of the Vice President of the United States.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

(People chanting: “Hang Mike Pence.”)

This wasn’t an isolated area or incident where that was being told, where that was being said. It was going on everywhere.

Here is another example of the crowd outside yelling: “Bring out Pence, bring him out.”

(People chanting: “Bring him out.”)

(People chanting: “Bring out Pence.”)

After President Trump had primed his followers for months and inflamed the rally-goers that morning, it is no wonder that the Vice President of the United States was the target of their wrath after Pence refused to overturn the election results.

Listen to this man explain.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. While Congress, cowards, hid in their—inside, and were escorted away because of fear of the people. Of course, they can face the people. They can’t do the right thing. Pence lied to us. He is a total treasonous pig. And his name will be mud forever. Now the real battle begins. And it looks like the American people are very pissed. So good luck with that. Peace out.

“Peace out.”

Several insurrectionists described what they had planned to do if they encountered the Vice President or other lawmakers. One of them, Dominic Pezzola, also known as Spaz, is a member of the Proud Boys, as we discussed. Pezzola came to the Capitol on January 6 with deadly intentions. He commanded a Capitol Police shield, used it to smash a glass window, entered the Capitol, and paved the way for dozens of insurrectionists.

As you recall from an earlier video, Pezzola was one of the first wave of rioters to breach the building. On the left, you can see a screen shot from the video of the break-in we showed earlier. And on the right, you can see Pezzola in the mob chase Capitol Police Officer Eugene Goodman through the building. Pezzola is the man in the center of the photo with the gray beard.

Pezzola has since been charged with eight Federal crimes for his conduct related to January 6. According to an FBI agent’s affidavit submitted to the court, the group that he attacked the Capitol with confirmed that “anyone they got their hands on they would have killed, including Nancy Pelosi.”

William Calhoun, a lawyer, from Georgia, also participated in the insurrection that day. And he, too, has been charged for his actions. This insurrectionist detailed his criminal activity at the Capitol online. Calhoun wrote about his involvement on his own Facebook page.

Here is the post. Calhoun stated:

And get this—the first of us who got upstairs kicked in Nancy Pelosi’s door and pushed down the hall toward her inner sanctum, the mob howling with rage. Crazy Nancy probably would have been torn into little pieces, but she was nowhere to be seen. “Crazy Nancy”—that is Trump’s nickname for Speaker Pelosi. That’s what he explains that he and his group only abandoned their claim to the Speaker’s office when “a SWAT team showed up.”

He writes:

Then a SWAT team showed and we retreated back to the rotunda and continued our hostile takeover of the Capitol Building.

“Retreated,” “hostile takeover.” He is using military terms for this attack.

The mob continued to look for Nancy Pelosi throughout the time they occupied the Capitol, including invading her offices.

Watch now how the mob searches for Speaker Pelosi’s office, which is marked in red, and the House Chamber itself.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. Where are you, Nancy? We are looking for you?

Unidentified Speaker. Nancy! Oh, Nancy! Nancy! Where are you, Nancy? Where are you, Nancy?

During the siege, the Speaker’s staff took cover in her office, hiding in fear for their lives for hours, as rioters broke in and ransacked her office.
As the rioters were breaking into the Capitol, her staff retreated into an interior room. Eight of them gathered in a conference room. About the same time, Capitol Police announced the Capitol had been breached, Speaker Pelosi’s staff heeded the call to shelter in place.

On our model, you can see the rioters in the Rotunda in red and the Speaker’s office, again, in orange.

This is a security video, so there is no sound.

As you can see, the staff moves from their offices through the halls and then enters a door on the right-hand side. That is the outer door of a conference room, which also has an inner door that they barricaded with furniture.

The staff then hid under a conference room table in that inner room. This is the last staffer going in and then barricading themselves inside the inner office.

After just 7 minutes of them barricading themselves and the last staffer entering the door on the right, a group of rioters entered the hallway outside and, once inside, the rioters have free rein in the Speaker’s House office.

In this security video, pay attention to the door that we saw those staffers leaning into and going into.

(Video presentation.)

One of the rioters, you can see, is throwing his body against the door three times until he breaks open that outer door. Luckily, when faced with the inner door, he moves on. Another rioter later tried unsuccessfully to break through that inner door. At this point, the mob had already broken into the Speaker’s formal conference room that is in the back of the hall at the top of the video.

I want to play some audio we have of the Speaker’s staff with the rioters at the door that video image. You can hear the terror in their voices as they describe what is happening to them as they are barricaded in that conference room. Please listen carefully because the staffer is whispering into a phone as he hides from the rioters that are outside the door.

(Video presentation.)

Unidentified Speaker. They’re in the hall. We need the Capitol Police to come into the hallway. They’re pounding on doors trying to find her now.

You can hear the pounding in the background as that staffer is speaking. One of those staffers explained later that they could hear the mob going through her offices, breaking down the door, and yelling: Where are you, Nancy?

The mob also pillaged and vandalized the Speaker’s office and documented their crimes on social media. They stole objects, desecrated the office of the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States.

As you can see in these photos, rioters broke down a door. They also shattered a mirror. At 2:50 p.m., several rioters, including Richard “Bigo” Barnett, entered Speaker Pelosi’s office. The world is all now too familiar with the images from these slides. If you look closely, however, at the now-infamous pictures of Barnett with his feet on the desk, you might see something you didn’t notice previously. Here is a better look. As this photo highlights, he is carrying a stun gun tucked into his waistband. The FBI identified the device as a 950,000-volt stun gun walking stick. The weapon could have caused serious pain and incapacitated anyone Barnett had used it against.

Richard Barnett bragged about his actions. He was proud of the way he desecrated the Speaker of the House’s office. He left a note: WE WILL NOT BACK DOWN. Here is Barnett in his own words. (Text of video presentation.)

Unidentified Man. Where’d you get it? Mr. Barnett, I didn’t steal it. I bled on it. As they were threatening me, and they couldn’t fucking see. And so I figure: Well, I’m in her office. I got blood in her office. I put a quarter on her desk even though she ain’t fucking worth it. And I left a note on her desk that says: Nancy, Bigo was here, you bitch.

Trump’s mob ransacked the Speaker of the House’s office. They terrorized her staff. Again, that is a mob that was sent by the President of the United States to stop the certification of an election.

The Vice President, the Speaker of the House—the first and second in line to the Presidency—were performing their constitutional duties, presiding over the election certification. And they were put in danger because President Trump put his own desires—his own need for power—over his duty to the Constitution and our democratic process. President Trump put a target on their backs, and his mob broke into the Capitol to hunt them down.

(Video presentation.)

The Officer. We’re talking projectiles. Let’s go. We’re going to go. We’re on the terrace. The Vice President is there. We need units. We’re surrounded.

The Officer. Cruiser 50, they’ve breached the scaffolds. Let Capitol know they have breached the scaffolds. They are behind our line.

Mr. Manager SWALWELL. Shortly after 2 p.m., the Capitol Police and Metropolitan Police were overwhelmed by President Trump’s mob. Perimeters were breached. Those officers kept fighting back for hours and hours to hold the line. They fought to defend the Capitol Building and all of us within it.

But they weren’t there just to protect us—and they did—and our staff and the custodial staff and all the people who work so hard in this building. They were there to protect the votes of the American people that were being counted that day. I will show you more later about what that day was like for those brave officers.

But first, let’s go back to what was happening where Manager Plaskett fell out in the House Chamber. Rioters who had entered the building through the Senate quickly spread out through the Capitol. Many headed toward the House and Senate Chambers. After Speaker Pelosi was ushered out, Chairman MCGOVERN was presiding in the House, attempting to keep the count line going.

On our phones, Members were receiving security updates and watching social media to see the horror that was going on outside. We never thought it would make its way in.

At 2:23 p.m., rioters who were already in the building opened the east side doors of the Capitol Rotunda to let more of the mob in. They quickly flooded through the doors, overwhelming the officers.

This is new security footage of those doors, and, as before, the mob is identified with the red dot on the model of the Capitol. If you look closely, you will see the first person through the door is holding the Trump flag. (Video presentation.)

At the same time, just one floor below, the mob finally pushed through a line of Capitol Police officers and took over the area. We all know that area in the Capitol as the Crypt. This is directly beneath the Rotunda at the very center of the Capitol.

(Video presentation.)

(People chanting: “Open up.”)

The Officer. No harm. No harm.

Inside the House Chamber, a security officer suspended the floor debate to update Members.

(Video presentation.)

The Officer. We have a person with tear gas in the Rotunda. Please stand by. There are masks under your seats. Please grab a mask. Place it in your lap, and be prepared to don your mask in the event the room is breached.

We were told there were tear gas masks underneath our seats and to be prepared to grab them.

(Video presentation.)

Manager SWALWELL. Throughout the count going, Chairman MCGOVERN called the House back into session, but only 4 minutes later, at 2:20 p.m., the House abruptly recessed. A new security announcement was made.

(Video presentation.)

The Officer. Be prepared to get down under your chairs, if necessary. So we have folks entering the Rotunda and coming down this way. So we will update you as soon as we can, but just be prepared. Stay calm.

As I heard that announcement on the floor, I saw the new House Chaplain, on just her fourth day on the job, walk to the front podium unannounced, and, amidst the chaos, she started to recite a prayer for peace.

Uncertain what would happen next, I sent a text message to my wife: I love you and the babies, please hug them for me.

I imagine many of you sent a similar message.

What we could not see from inside the Chamber was that outside, the mob was growing larger and larger and approaching our doors. But we could hear them.
This security footage, which does not have sound, shows a closeup of Trump's mob as they move toward the second floor of the House Chamber to stop the counting of votes.

(Video presentation.)

In the back of the group, you see one individual carrying a “Stop the Steal” sign. They get within footsteps of the House door.

The next video is the viewpoint of the insurrectionists. It begins with the mob amassing and cuts ahead to show you the scene to the House door.

(Video presentation.)

(People chanting: “Stop the steal.”)

Unidentified Man. It’s a mob. They’re going. Just stop. Whoa, whoa. Dude, dude, dude—you’re not helping. You’re not helping. You are going to get me hurt and other people.

(Video presentation.)

(People chanting: “Stop the steal.”)

People: Stop the steal.

(Video presentation.)

Those doors, to orient you at home, are the doors that the President of the United States walks through when he or she gives the State of the Union Address.

You may have heard one man yell “no violence” and another respond: It’s too late for that. They don’t listen without that stuff.

(Video presentation.)

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

This security video from 2:56 p.m. shows the mob in the House of Representatives’ wing on the second floor of the Capitol. Insurrectionists who are still inside the building are fighting with the police, who are overwhelmed in trying to get them out.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Throughout this presentation, we have been very careful to not share where Members of Congress were taken or the paths they followed to get out and off the floor, but that very issue was under discussion by the insurrectionists. One example comes from an FBI affidavit, which stated that a leader of a militia group known as the Oath Keepers received messages while he was at the Capitol. The leader was given directions to where Representatives were thought to be sheltering and instructions to “turn on gas; seal them in.”

As you know, the threat to the Senate was no less than that of the Members of the House. The mob approached the Senate with the same purpose: fulfilling President Trump’s goal of stopping the count; delaying the certification of the electoral college votes of the American people.

As you heard from Manager PLASKETT, Vice President Pence was moved away from the area near the Senate Chamber at around 2:25 p.m. By that time, rioters had breached several areas close to this Chamber, and they were on the house floor and had broken into the hall from just outside and nearby. The Senate Chamber was not evacuated until 2:30 p.m. The mob had been in the building for more than 15 minutes.

This new security footage of the Senators and staff leaving the Chamber was displayed on the screens. It is silent.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

You cannot see it in this footage, but quick-thinking Senate floor staff grabbed and protected the electoral ballots that the mob was after.

Those of you who were here that day will recall that, once you left the Senate floor, you moved through a hallway to get to safety. That hallway was near wounds of officers. They encountered a mob and led them upstairs and away from the Senate Chamber. You know how close you came to the mob. Some of you, I understand, could hear them, but most of the public does not know how close these rioters came to you. You were very close that hallway—I paced it off—you were just 56 steps away from where the mob was amassing and where police were rushing to stop them. They were yelling.

In this security video, you can see how the Capitol Police created a line and blocked the hallway with their bodies to prevent rioters at the end of the hall from reaching you and your staff.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Because this is security footage that you have not seen before, I want to play it again. The top of the screen is the other end of that hallway where the mob has amassed and the officers are rushing to protect you.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Additional security footage shows how Leader SCHUMER and the members of his protective detail had a near miss with the mob. They came within just yards of rioters and had to turn around. Here, in this new video, you see Leader SCHUMER walking up a ramp. In going up the ramp with his detail, he will soon go out of view.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Seconds later, they return and run back down the hallway, and officers immediately shut the door and use their bodies to keep them safe.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

At 2:45 p.m., shortly after Senators were whisked to safety from the Senate floor, insurrectionists reached the Senate Galleries. The following video was filmed by a New Yorker reporter.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Where the fuck are they? We're here.

Minutes later, the insurrectionists invaded and desecrated the Senate floor. These vandals shouted and rifled through the desks of this room. They took pictures of documents and of...
themselves, celebrating that they had taken over the floor and stopped the counting of the electoral college votes. (Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. Look at this. Take a picture.

Unidentified Speaker. Here. Look. Ted Cruz’s objections. He was going to sell us out all along.

Unidentified Speaker. Really?

Unidentified Speaker. Objection to counting the electoral votes of the State of Arizona.

Unidentified Speaker. All right. All right. There’s got to be something in here we can use against these scum bags.

Unidentified Speaker. What happened to the police, man?

Larry Brock, who was arrested for his role in the insurrection, was photographed on the Senate floor, wearing a helmet, tactical gear, and carrying flex cuffs. (Video presentation of 1–6–2021.) The man, also in the Senate Galleries, is Eric Munachel. Like Brock, he was dressed in what appears to be tactical gear, also holding up flex cuffs. (Video presentation of 1–6–2021.) If the doors to this Chamber had been breached just minutes earlier, imagine what they could have done with those cuffs.

After insurrectionists occupied the Capitol and stopped the joint session from counting the votes, the Capitol was in lockdown for 5 hours. As long as it took to get back to the Capitol, to get back to the certification of the election, it could have been so much longer, or we might not have been able to resume at all. Horrific as it was—140 officers injured, 3 officers who ultimately lost their lives—we all know that awful day could have been so much worse. The only reason it was not was because of the extraordinary bravery of the men and women of the Capitol Police and the Metropolitan Police Departments. For hours and hours, these insurrectionists were in hand-to-hand combat with these brave men and women.

Like some of you, I come from a law enforcement family. My dad was a cop. My two brothers—my little brothers are cops who walk the beat today. I am proud of them. And like in every law enforcement family, when we hang up the phone, we don’t only say ‘I love you,’ we say ‘Be safe.’

So let’s focus now on the attack and what it was like for the officers defending the Capitol that day. And, again, I want to warn you that the following audio and videos are graphic and are unsettling, but it is important that we understand the extent of what occurred.

Here is an audio recording from the radio traffic of the DC Metropolitan Police Department describing the violence. (Text of audio presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Cruiser 50, I copy. We’re still talking rocks, bottles, and pieces of flag and metal pole.

Cruiser 50, the crowd is using munitions against us. They have bear spray in the crowd. Bear spray in the crowd. 132B. Multiple deployments U.S. Capitol with pepper spray. D80. D80. I need a re-up. I need a re-up here.

You hear the officer describe they are “using munitions”–they, the rioters, are “using munitions against us.” This video shows how the sprays that were described were used against the officers.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.) In a separate Metropolitan Police Department radio traffic recording, you can hear an officer when he realizes that the insurrectionists had overtaken the police line. (Text of audio presentation of 1–6–2021.) I want to show you that same attack from the officer’s perspective, from his body camera footage. (Video presentation of 1–6–2021.) This body camera footage is from 4:27 p.m., over 2 hours from when the Capitol was first breached. The attack on police that afternoon was constant.

Metropolitan Police Officer Michael Fanone, a 20-year police veteran with four daughters, was part of a line of officers protecting the Capitol. He was one of three officers whom the mob dragged down the stairs. When they dragged him, they stole his badge, his radio, his ammunition magazine, and they tased him, triggered a heart attack.

Here he describes his experience. (Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Officer Fanone. It looked like a medieval battle scene. It was some of the most brutal combat, you know, I have ever—ever encountered. At one point I got tased. People were yelling at me, ‘We got one. We got one.’

Officer Christina Laury, who regularly serves in MPD’s Narcotics and Specialized Investigation Division, also protected the front Capitol entrance. Here is her experience. (Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Officer Laury. I mean, I can’t say enough about the officers that were there, the officers that were on the frontline. And when I say ‘the frontline,’ I mean, literally, officers that were in a line, stopping these people that were beating them with metal poles. They were spraying them fast. I mean, they did everything in their power to not let those people in. And this was going on for hours.

Around 4:30 p.m., hours into the Capitol riots, Officer Daniel Hodges was protecting a west side Capitol entrance, when rioters who were trying to stop the certification trapped him between two doors.

When Officer Hodges was interviewed later this is how he described what was happening. (Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Officer Hodges. They threw down a huge metal object that hit me on the head. I was also knocked down. The medical mask I was wearing at the time got pulled up over my eyes, so I was on the ground and blinded, and they started attacking me from all sides.

Rioters crushed Officer Hodges. He was wedged in the doorway, blood dripping from his mouth. He was struggling to breathe, all while the insurrectionists hit him.

Officer Hodges’ experience reminds you of what he and many other officers experienced that day, what they went through.

We are also reminded of three officers who lost their lives: Capitol Hill Police Officer Sicknick, Liebengood, and Metropolitan Police Officer Smith. Many law enforcement families, we pray for our loved ones, and we know the scripture of Matthew 5:9, “Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God.” I am sorry I have to show you the next video, but in it you will see how blessed we were that on that hellish day, we had a peacemaker like Officer Hodges protecting our lives, our staffs’ lives, this Capitol, and the certification process. May we do all we can in this Chamber to make sure that never happens again. (Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)
Donald Trump tweeted: 

to secure this building, here is what Police and the National Guard fighting presentation earlier in the week. 

I remember this from my motions presented earlier in the week. 

At 6 p.m. on January 6, after all the destruction that you just saw, Capitol Police and the National Guard fighting to secure this building, here is what Donald Trump tweeted: 

These are the things and events that happen when a sacred landslide election victory is so unceremoniously & viciously stripped away from great patriots who have been badly & unfairly treated for so long. Go home with love & in peace. Remember this day forever!

He got what he incited, and according to Donald Trump, we got what we deserve. Donald Trump’s incitement of this insurrection, including his dereliction of his duty as Commander in Chief to defend the Capitol and the people in it, his complete refusal to condemn the attack while it was going on, and his continued incitement of the violence during the attack require impeachment.

Now, let’s turn to then-President Trump’s conduct that day. I want to start at the beginning, when he addressed his thousands of great patriots, dressed his thousands of great patriots, speaking at his rally just down Pennsylvania Avenue. Even before Donald Trump finished speaking, his supporters began walking down toward the Capitol, and they were already starting to chant “Stop the Steal” and “Storm the Capitol” and “Invade the Capitol” and “Fight for Trump.”

And by 12:30 p.m., they had violently forced their way through the barricades here at the Capitol. Now, about 1 o’clock that day, with this chaos just starting, Speaker Pelosi, as the Constitution requires, formally commenced the process by which this Chamber certifies election results.

Within 10 minutes, at 1:11 p.m., as if almost on cue, Donald Trump concluded with his final reminder to the thousands gathered there: It was time to go to the Capitol. Let’s watch.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

President Trump. We’re going to the Capitol, and we’re going to try and give—and we’re going to try and give our Republic——the weak ones because the strong ones don’t need any of our help—we’re going to try and give them the kind of pride and boldness that they need to take back our country.

So let’s walk down Pennsylvania Avenue.

I want to thank you all. God bless you, and God bless America.

Thank you all for being here. This is incredible. Thank you very much.

(People chanting: “Fight for Trump.”)

Now, you have seen what happened when these supporters, following his orders, arrived here at the Capitol. But we wanted to look at what happened next. Now, you will recall, during the speech, President Trump said, “We’re going to the Capitol,” sort of suggesting he was going to go with this crowd. Of course, that was not true. But let’s hear what he said.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

President Trump. Now it is up to Congress to continue asserting our right to do what is necessary for our democracy. And after this, we’re going to walk down, and I’ll be there with you. We’re going to walk down. We’re going to walk down.

Any one you want, but I think right here.

We’re going to walk down to the Capitol.

This, of course, was not true. He did not go with them to the Capitol. He left and went back to the White House, and when he was on route to the White House, violence began to grow here at the Capitol.

And within minutes of Donald Trump’s speech ending, there were significant reports of escalating violence that began to surface. Buildings around the Capitol were starting to be evacuated, and by 1:15, an explosive device had been found at the DNC, and a pipe bomb had been found at the RNC about 15 minutes earlier. The House Sergeant at Arms had called for immediate assistance. At 1:34 p.m., the mayor of Washington, D.C., called for additional National Guard troops.

I won’t go through all of the details of violence that unfolded here. You just saw that. But as we walk through what our Commander in Chief did that day, I want to be very clear about exactly what was happening here at the same time.

For 40 minutes, while buildings were being cleared, pipe bombs were being found, and his supporters were literally breaching the perimeter of the Capitol and overwhelming law enforcement. You saw the violence that was occurring. We heard nothing from the President of the United States. We didn’t hear anything from Donald Trump until 1:49 p.m., when, while all of this was unfolding, President Trump sent out a tweet.

This was the first thing he did when he learned the U.S. Capitol, with all the Members of Congress and his own Vice President, was under violent attack. What was that tweet? Nearly an hour after the rioters breached the Capitol perimeter at 1:49, Donald Trump released a propaganda reel of his “Save America” speech that he had given an hour before.

I want to be clear. The events I just described—the rioters breaching the Capitol, attacking law enforcement, the President knowing all this and nothing to help us.

By all accounts, from the people that were around him, he was delighted. And here is the last thing Donald Trump did. The rioters were around him, he was delighted.

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Thank you all for being here. This is incredible. Thank you very much.

(People chanting: “Fight for Trump.”)

Now, you have seen what happened when these supporters, following his orders, arrived here at the Capitol. But we wanted to look at what happened next. Now, you will recall, during the speech, President Trump said, “We’re going to the Capitol,” sort of suggesting he was going to go with this crowd. Of course, that was not true. But let’s hear what he said.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

President Trump. Now it is up to Congress to continue asserting our right to do what is necessary for our democracy. And after this, we’re going to walk down, and I’ll be there with you. We’re going to walk down. We’re going to walk down.

Any one you want, but I think right here.

We’re going to walk down to the Capitol.

This, of course, was not true. He did not go with them to the Capitol. He left and went back to the White House, and when he was on route to the White House, violence began to grow here at the Capitol.

And within minutes of Donald Trump’s speech ending, there were significant reports of escalating violence that began to surface. Buildings around the Capitol were starting to be evacuated, and by 1:15, an explosive device had been found at the DNC, and a pipe bomb had been found at the RNC about 15 minutes earlier. The House Sergeant at Arms had called for immediate assistance. At 1:34 p.m., the mayor of Washington, D.C., called for additional National Guard troops.

I won’t go through all of the details of violence that unfolded here. You just saw that. But as we walk through what our Commander in Chief did that day, I want to be very clear about exactly what was happening here at the same time.

For 40 minutes, while buildings were being cleared, pipe bombs were being found, and his supporters were literally breaching the perimeter of the Capitol and overwhelming law enforcement. You saw the violence that was occurring. We heard nothing from the President of the United States. We didn’t hear anything from Donald Trump until 1:49 p.m., when, while all of this was unfolding, President Trump sent out a tweet.

This was the first thing he did when he learned the U.S. Capitol, with all the Members of Congress and his own Vice President, was under violent attack. What was that tweet? Nearly an hour after the rioters breached the Capitol.
demanding that Mr. Trump do something.

I imagine many of you sitting here today picked up your phone and tried to reach somebody at the White House to ask for help. This wasn’t partisanship or politics. These were Americans from all sides trying to force our Commander in Chief to protect and defend our country. He was required to do that.

Now, the extent of how many people tried to reach the President to get him to act is not known. But what is clear, what we know without any doubt, is that from the very beginning, the people around Donald Trump were lobbying him to take command. What is also clear is what Donald Trump, our Commander in Chief, did in those initial hours to protect us. Nothing. Not a thing. He knew it was happening. The attack was on the Capitol, and he didn’t call. We all know that President Trump had the power to stop these attacks. He was our Commander in Chief. He had the power to assess the security situation, send backup, and send help.

He also had incited these violent attacks, and he was listening to him. He could have commanded them to leave, but he didn’t.

The first critical hour and a half of this bloody attack, Donald Trump tweets and phone calls were listening to him. He could have commanded them to leave, but he didn’t.

The President, as reported by sources at the time of the attack and in the succeeding days, watched the violence unfold on television. President Trump was reportedly “borderline enthusiastic because it meant the certification was being derailed.”

Senator Ben Sasse relayed a conversation with senior White House officials that President Trump was “walking around the White House confused about why other people on his team weren’t as excited as he was.”

Mr. Trump’s reaction to this attack, reportedly, genuinely freaked people out. I understand why. We just suffered a very serious attack, an attack on our country. And we saw them—the people around him—do it. But when Donald Trump saw it, he was delighted.

Now, what President Trump did next confirms why he was so delighted, why he wanted this, because it shows that his singular focus that day—the day we were attacked—was not protecting the Capitol, but it was stopping the certification of the election results. This was the singular focus of Donald Trump: stopping the certification of the election results to ensure that we continue to be a country with leaders who are elected by the people for the people.

Donald Trump’s objections to the certification are not on trial, but what is on trial is, while we were under attack, did he do anything to help defend the Capitol? Did he do anything to help defend the Capitol when Donald Trump was walking around the White House watching TV delighted and spent 5 to 10 minutes talking to Senator Tuberville, urging him to delay the election results, this is what was happening in the Capitol.

Then, the police were outnumbered. The police were outnumbered there. And but for the grace of God, they very likely would have gotten here.

Think about that. Armed insurrectionists with guns, weapons, zip ties, brass knuckles, they were coming for us. They were inside the United States Capitol, trying to stop the certification process. The police were outnumbered. But for the grace of God, they would have gotten us all.

And our Commander in Chief makes a call about an hour after the siege began, not to preserve, protect, and defend you and our country and the Capitol but to join forces with the mob and pressure Congress to stop certification. We just can’t get numb to this kind of behavior.

There can be no doubt as to the purpose of Donald Trump’s call, that he was not calling to assess the security threats or to check on the well-being of you or anyone else. Indeed, later on that evening, while all of the destruction and damage still continued, dozens of officers were being treated for serious injuries. Deaths were confirmed. About 7 p.m., the President’s personal lawyer, Rudy Giuliani, made a call, and in just case you don’t think there was some coordination, he also called Senator Lee’s phone trying to reach Senator Tuberville. We don’t have to guess as to what Rudy Giuliani said in that voicemail because we have it recorded. So let’s listen to what the President’s personal lawyer said on the night of this attack.

(Text of audio presentation.)

Mr. GIULIANI. Senator Tuberville—or I should say, Senator Tuberville, the President’s lawyer. I’m calling you because I want to discuss with you how they’re trying to rush this hearing and how we need you, our Republican friends, to try to slow it down.

This was the singular focus of Donald Trump during this bloody, violent attack on the Capitol: stopping the certification.

Now, look, the certification process, as you all know, includes debate and objections. Some of us disagreed, but we came here on January 6 to formally administer the certification process pursuant to our constitutional duties. At the end of it, Congress certified the result of an election. President Trump is not a prisoner of the people, and we continue to be a country with leaders who are elected by the people for the people.

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He sent a tweet at 1:49 p.m., where he reposted a video of the speech that incited the attack, and he called a Senator to ask him to delay the certification as the Senator was being evacuated for his own safety.

We left off around 2:15 p.m. At this point, we were inside the Senate and the House, and the Senate had been evacuated for everyone’s safety. As you saw, Vice President Mike Pence and his family even had to be evacuated for their safety.

Now, you will recall Donald Trump had made Vice President Pence a target. He attacked the Vice President at the rallies, in speeches, and on Twitter. And during President Trump’s speech that morning of the attack, he ramped it up again. After privately pressuring Mike Pence in front of thousands in the crowd, he called Mike Pence out 11 times, including saying:

(Video presentation of 1-6-2021.)

Mike Pence. I hope you’re going to stand up for the good of our Constitution and for the good of your country. And if you’re not, I’m (inaudible) to be . . . disappointed in you. I will tell you right now, this is what the crowd’s response to Donald Trump’s days of relentless attacks on his own Vice President:

(Text of video presentation.)

By 2:15 p.m., the crowd was chanting in unison “Hang Mike Pence!” outside the very building he had been evacuated in.

Now, even if President Trump didn’t know that his inflammatory remarks about his Vice President would result in chants of “Hang Mike Pence!” by 2:15 p.m., he surely knew. The attack was all over television. They were doing this out in the open. This was a Vice President whose life, whose family’s life, was being threatened by people whom the President had summoned to the Capitol. And what did President Trump do in response? Did he stop? Did he tell his base: No, don’t attack my Vice President. Even when President Trump knew what his words were causing, he didn’t do any of those things to stop the crowd. In fact, he did the opposite. He fueled the fire.

At 2:24 p.m., he tweeted:

Mike Pence didn’t have the courage to do what should have been done to protect our country and our Constitution, giving States a chance to certify or correct a set of facts, not (inaudible) defraud ones or inaccurate ones, which they were asked to previously certify. U.S. demands the truth.

Unidentified Speaker. Mike Pence, anarchist, Mike Pence, anarchist.

Unidentified Speaker. (Inaudible.) Can I speak to Pelosi? Yeah, we’re coming, bitch. Oh, Mike Pence, we’re coming for you, too, fucking traitor.

Unidentified Speaker. Donald J. Trump better (inaudible).

Unidentified Speaker. Full house.

Unidentified Speaker. (Inaudible) Mike Pence let us down. Mike Pence let us down, people. If you didn’t get something done, you are going to have to do it yourself.

This is what Donald Trump incited. Please take a close look at that picture. It hearkens back to our Nation’s worst history of lynching. A President’s words have the power to move people to action, and these were the results.

And why did the President incite such rage against the Vice President? He was exercising his constitutional duty, as we all were that day. Vice Presidents in this country have been carrying out this constitutional duty—overseeing the certification of election results—without incident, without contest, without a word, for the entirety of our Nation. It is part of our peaceful transition of power in the United States.

The Vice President said he reviewed the Constitution and he could not block certification, as President Trump wanted him and was pressuring him to do. He told the President in a letter that morning, a few hours before President Trump’s tweet:

[I will] approach this moment with [a] sense of duty and an open mind, setting politics and personal interests aside, and do [my] part to faithfully discharge our duties under the Constitution. I also pray that we will do so with humility and faith.

And the President’s response to that statement was to attack Mike Pence while he was with his family under the threat of a violent mob. The Vice President was following his faith, his duty, and his oath to our Nation.

The Vice President didn’t agree on too much in politics, but he is a man who upholds his oath, his faith, his duty, and most of all upholds the Constitution. And Mike Pence is not a traitor to this country. He is a patriot. And he and his family, who was with him this entire time, didn’t deserve a President unleashing a mob on them, especially because he was just doing his job.

As this was unfolding and the crowd grew more violent, the President, of course, was not alone at the White House, and the people closest to him—his family and advisers—who saw this unfolding in real-time, begged him, implored him to stop the attack.

An aide to Mark Meadows, the President’s Chief of Staff, urged his boss to go see the President, saying: “They are going to kill people.” “They are going to kill people.” That is what those around President Trump feared, and still nothing. It wasn’t until 2:38 p.m., nearly 2 hours after the start of the siege, that Donald Trump even acknowledged the attack. And when he finally did acknowledge the attack, here is what he said:

On the right you will see what had been happening prior to that tweet and as he sent the tweet, and on the left you will see exactly what he tweeted.

(Text of video presentation of 1-6-2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. I’m going to stop you there for just one moment because we do have some breaking news. We want to bring in our professional correspondent Chad Pergram as this is all developing right now. Chad, I understand the Capitol is now on lockdown?

Chad Pergram. They’re definitely fired up. The chant, by the way, I heard the most today was “fight for Trump,” and that’s clearly what many of them feel they’re doing.

Unidentified Speaker. Hold the line. (People singing: “O, the land of the free.”)

That is what our President saw unfolding in real-time, broadcast all over television, and this is what he tweeted at 2:38 p.m.:

Please support our Capitol Police and Law Enforcement. They are truly on the side of our Country. Stay peaceful.

Much has been made of the fact that in this tweet he says, “Stay peaceful.” Senators, “Stay peaceful”? Think about that for a second. These folks were not peaceful. They were breaking windows, pushing through law enforcement, waving the flag as they invaded this Capitol Building. This was a violent, armed attack.

“Stay peaceful”? How about: Stop the attack. Stop the violence.

“Stay peaceful”? How about you say: Immediately leave, Stop.

And he said: “Please support our Law Enforcement.” How about he actually support our law enforcement by telling these insurgents to leave the Capitol immediately, which he never did. He didn’t do this because, the truth is, he didn’t want it to stop. He wanted them to stay and to stop the certification.

And his failure had grave and deadly consequences.

By 2:45 p.m., the warnings were tragically proven correct. Ashli Babbitt was shot by an officer as she tried to break through a glass door to reach the Speaker’s Lobby.

At this point, the pleads to Donald Trump, publicly and privately, grew even louder. At 2:54 p.m., Alyssa Farah, a former strategic communications director, begged the President:
Condemn this now. You are the only one they will listen to. For our country!

Mick Mulvaney, the President’s former Chief of Staff, his right-hand man at one point, tweeted at 3:01:

The President’s tweet is not enough. He can stop this now and needs to do exactly that. Tell these folks to go home.

He can stop this now. Tell these folks to go home.

At 3:06 p.m., Representative McCarthy appeared on FOX News. Here is what he said.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Mr. McCarthy. I could not be sadder or more disappointed with the way our country looks this very moment. People are getting hurt. Anyone involved in this, if you’re hearing me, hear me very loud and clear: This is not the American way.

He is saying on FOX News, which the President watches: This is not the American way. Stop the attack.

Representative Gallagher, at 3:11 p.m., while secured in his own office, posted a video to Twitter:

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Mr. Gallagher. Mr. President, you have got to stop this. You are the only person who can call this off. Call it off.

And then, when the President didn’t answer his pleas on Twitter, Representative Gallagher went on live television.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Mr. Gallagher. I mean, this is insane. I mean—I have not seen anything like this since I deployed to Iraq in 2007 and 2008. I mean, this is America, and this is what is happening right now. We need—the President needs to call it off. Like, call it off. Call it off.

Representative Gallagher, you see there, said he had not seen anything like this since he was deployed in Iraq.

The message around the President was clear, from everyone: You need to call this off. Stop it.

But does he? No. His next tweet was not until about 3:13 p.m. Once again, it is important to consider what was happening between Donald Trump’s 2:38 p.m. tweet and his next tweet at 3:13 p.m.

You will see footage from the attack during that time on the right and Donald Trump’s tweet on the left.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Unidentified Speaker. We’ve been informed that protesters have penetrated the Capitol.

Unidentified Speaker. This is my fucking building.

Unidentified Speaker. I tell ya, the sentiment in the streets is really getting to a different level. This is spinning out of control. This is turning violent. This is getting dangerous.

Unidentified Speaker. Stand up for America.

Unidentified Speaker. Don’t touch me.

Unidentified Speaker. Don’t get in his way.

Unidentified Speaker. Get the fuck out of here.

This isn’t 10 minutes into the insurrection. This isn’t just after his speech earlier that day. That is what our Commander in Chief saw happening, and that was his response.

You will notice one of the things he says to his mob, to these insurrectionists, rather than to stop or to leave, was to say thank you. Thank you. Tell me for what? Thank you for shattering the windows and destroying property? Thank you for injuring more than 140 police officers? Thank you for putting in danger all of our lives and the lives of our families?

How about, “Thank you.” Donald Trump, on that day, acted like our Commander in Chief and stopped this, as only he could, and told those people to leave.

Here is what former Governor Chris Christie, his very good friend, said after that tweet.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Mr. Christie. It’s pretty simple. The President caused this protest to occur. He is the only one who can make it stop. What the President said is not good enough. The President has to come out and tell his supporters to leave the Capitol grounds and to allow the Congress to do their business peacefully, and it would have been for any President who had done that. And that brings me to my next point. You heard from my colleagues that when planning this attack, the insurgents predicted that Donald Trump would command the National Guard to help them.

There is a lot that we don’t know yet about what happened that day, but here is what we do know: Donald Trump did not send help to these officers who were badly outnumbered, overwhelmed, and being beaten down, two hours into the insurrection, by 3 p.m. President Trump had not deployed the National Guard or any other law enforcement to help, despite multiple pleas to do so.

President Donald Trump was at the time our Commander in Chief of the United States of America. He took a solemn oath to preserve, protect, and defend this country, and he failed to uphold that oath. In fact, there is no indication that President Trump ever made a call to have the Guard deployed or anything to have with the Guard being deployed when it ultimately was. Shortly after 3:04 p.m., the Acting Defense Secretary announced that the Guard had been activated and listed the people he spoke with prior to this activation, including President Mike Pence, Speaker Pelosi, Leader McConnell, Senator Schumer, and Representative Hooyer. But that list did not include the President. This omission of his name was reportedly accidental. According to reports, “Trump initially rebuffed requests to mobilize the National Guard and required interference by other officials,” including his own White House Counsel. And later, “as a mob of Trump supporters breached police barricades and seized the Capitol,” Trump reportedly was “disengaged in discussions with Pentagon leaders about deploying the National Guard to aid the overwhelmed U.S. Capitol Police.” President Trump was reportedly “completely, totally out of it. He made no attempt to reach [the National Guard.]” And it was Vice President Pence, still under threat for his life, who reportedly spoke to the Guard.

President Trump’s conduct confirms this too. At no point on January 6 did Donald Trump even reference the National Guard when he yelled on Twitter: “STOP THE COUNT.”

When he wanted to incite his supporters to show up on January 6, President Trump tweeted 16 times between midnight on January 5 and his noon rally/speech the next day—16 times to get them to do something he wanted. And his message in those 16 times was clear: “Fight.” “Stay strong.” “Be safe.”

But when the violence started, he never once said the one thing everyone around him was begging him to say: Stop the attack. He refused to stop it. And as Governor Christie and Representative Kinzinger and others made clear, only Donald Trump could have stopped that attack.

(Text of video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Mr. Kinzinger. You know, a guy who knows how to tweet very aggressively on Twitter, you know, puts out one of the weakest statements on one of the saddest days in American history because his ego won’t let him admit defeat.

He was not just our Commander in Chief. He had incited the attack. The insurgents were following his commands, as we saw when they read aloud the tweet attacking the Vice President. They confirmed this during the attack too.

(Video presentation of 1–6–2021.)

Senators, ask yourselves this: How easy would it have been for the President to give a simple command, a simple instruction, just telling them: Stop. Leave.

This was a dereliction of duty, plain and simple, and it would have been for any President who had done that. And

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target, but it was the brave men and women who protect our Capitol who were out there combating thousands of armed insurgents in a fight for their lives, and that is who Donald Trump left entirely unprotected.

(Videotape of 1–6–2021.)

This is hard to watch, but I think it is important to understand what the Capitol Police were facing, how severely they were outnumbered while our Commander in Chief, whose job it was to protect and defend them, was just watching, doing nothing for hours, refusing to send help. If he wanted to protect these officers, if he cared about their safety, as he tweeted about, he would have told his supporters to leave. He would have sent help right away.

One brave officer was killed. Others took their lives after the attack. More than 140 police officers were injured, including cracked ribs, smashed spinal discs. One officer will lose an eye. Another with a metal fence stake. They were completely and violently overwhelmed by a mob and needed help, and our Commander in Chief, President Trump, refused to send it.

Senators, you have seen all the evidence and you know is clear: On January 6, President Trump left everyone in this Capitol for dead. For the next hour after President Trump’s 3 p.m. tweet, he still did nothing. Not until 4:17 p.m., over 3½ hours after the violence started, did our President send a message finally asking the insurgents to go home.

On the right, you will see what happened that day in the hours leading up to his prerecorded video. On the left, you will see his message. Let’s watch.

(Text of video presentation.)

Mr. Angeli. Donald Trump asked everybody to go home. He just said—he just put out a tweet. It’s more than a minute long. He asked everybody to go home.

Unidentified Speaker. Why do you think so?

Mr. Angeli. Because we won the fucking day. We fucking won.

Unidentified Speaker. How did we win?

Mr. Angeli. Well, we won by sending a message to the Senators and the Congressmen, we won by sending a message to Pence, OK, that if they don’t do as—as it is their oath to do, if they don’t uphold the Constitution, then we will remove them from office, one way or another.

I suspect you recognize that man. You will hear him say that “we won the day.” Who won the day? We know that at least five people lost their lives that day. The House and the Senate were in life-threatening danger, and so was the Vice President, and think of everyone else here as well. Who won on January 6? That is not a win for America, but it is a win for Donald Trump unless we hold him accountable.

Now, a little over an hour after that video, the brave members of law enforcement secured the Capitol, and we as a Congress got ready to continue certifying the results of our free and fair election.

A half hour after that, President Trump issued another tweet. In case there was any doubt as to whether he was happy with the people who did this, as to whether he had incited this, he commemorated what happened on January 6.

At 6:01 p.m. on January 6, he tweeted:

“[Great patriots. . . . Go home with love & in peace. Remember this day forever. I’m saying to you. . . .] You did good. He is not regretful. He is not grieving. He is not sad. He is not angry about the attack. He is celebrating it. He is commemorating it.

This is the entirety of what President Trump said to the public once the attack began—five tweets and a prerecorded video. On the day of the most bloody insurrection we faced in generations, our Commander in Chief, who is known for sending 108 tweets in a normal day, sent 5 tweets and a prerecorded video. That is the entirety of President Trump’s public statements from when the attack began until he went to bed on January 6. That is all he did despite all the people we know who begged him to preserve, protect, and defend. That was our Commander in Chief’s response.

He began the day with “Our country has had enough, we will not take it anymore, and that’s what this is all about,” and he ended the attack with letting us know that we got what he forewarned that morning.

We will, of course, each of us, remember that day forever, but not in the way that President Trump intended, not because of the actions of these vili- cious attempts throughout the day to encourage the siege and block the certification, he failed. At 8:06 p.m., the Senate gaveled into session, and the counting of the electoral votes continued. About an hour later, the House followed suit. And close to 4 a.m., after spending a significant part of the day evacuated or on the floor or hiding, this great body fulfilled the will of the people and certified the electoral college vote.

And I am proud to be part of Congress. I am proud that we ensured that the will of the American people finally prevailed on that day. And I am proud that I and everyone in this room abided by our oath of office even if the President didn’t abide by his.

President Trump, too, took an oath as President. He swore on a Bible to preserve, protect, and defend. And who among us can honestly say they believe that he upheld that oath? Who among us will let his utter dereliction of duty stand?

Mr. Manager RASKIN. Mr. President, the managers are prepared to recess for the evening and to finish our opening statement tomorrow.

Mr. LEE. Mr. President.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The motion to stop this is out of order.

Mr. LEE. Pursuant to impeachment rule XVI, I make a motion. Statements were attributed to me moments ago by
the House impeachment managers, statements relating to the content of conversations between—a phone call involving President Trump and Senator TUBERVILLE—were not made by me, they are not accurate, and they are contrary to fact. I move, pursuant to rule XVI, that they be stricken from the record.

UNIDENTIFIED SENATOR. Second.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Pursuant to S. Res. 47, section 4, parties’ presentations are not limited to the record provided for in section 1 of that resolution.

Mr. LEE. I appeal the ruling of the Chair.

Mr. PAUL. I second.

I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. WICKER. Mr. President, we might as well hear clearly what the ruling of the Chair was, so if you would repeat that, sir.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Of course, I will. And pursuant to S. Res. 47, section 4, the party’s presentations are not limited to the record provided for in section 1 of that resolution.

The Senator from Utah has appealed that ruling; is that correct?

Mr. LEE. Yes, I have.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The yeas and nays were asked for. The yeas and nays are requested.

Mr. SCHUMER. Point of clarification.

What is the question?

Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum while we work this out.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection.

The clerk will call the roll.

Mr. LEE. I ask that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, we need order.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Senate will be in order.

Mr. LEE. I ask unanimous consent to vitiate the appeal—the request that I made.

I withdraw the request for the yeas and nays.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection.

Mr. SCHUMER. I withdraw the quorum call and call on the manager, Mr. RASKIN, for a brief statement.

Mr. Manager RASKIN. Thank you, Mr. SCHUMER.

The impeachment manager, Mr. CICILLINE, correctly and accurately quoted a newspaper account, which the distinguished Senator has taken objection to, so we are happy to withdraw it.

Mr. LEE. Because it is not true.

Mr. Manager RASKIN. On the grounds it is not true, and we are—Mr. LEE. CASTRO repeated it too.

Mr. Manager RASKIN. We are going to withdraw it this evening without any prejudice for the ability to resubmit it, if possible. This is much ado about nothing because it is not critical in our case.

Mr. LEE. You are not the one being cited as a witness, sir.

Mr. SCHUMER. So the managers’ issue stands. Mr. LEE has withdrawn his request, and we may relitigate it tomorrow if we have to.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL TOMORROW

Mr. SCHUMER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent the trial adjourn until 12 noon tomorrow, Thursday, February 11, and that this order also constitute the adjournment of the Senate.

There being no objection, at 7:40 p.m., the Senate, sitting as a Court of Impeachment, adjourned until Thursday, February 11, 2021, at 12 noon.