



Donald J. Trump
@realDonaldTrump

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“BE THERE, WILL BE WILD!”

On December 14, 2020, electors around the country met to cast their Electoral College votes. Their vote ensured former Vice President Joe Biden's victory and cemented President Donald J. Trump's defeat. The people, and the States, had spoken. Members of President Trump's own Cabinet knew the election was over. Attorney General William Barr viewed it as “the end of the matter.”¹ Secretary of State Mike Pompeo and Secretary of Labor Eugene Scalia concurred.² That same day, Scalia told President Trump directly that he should concede defeat.³

President Trump had no intention of conceding. As he plotted ways to stay in power, the President summoned a mob for help.

At 1:42 a.m., on December 19th, President Trump tweeted: “Big protest in D.C. on January 6th. Be there, will be wild!”⁴

The President's tweet galvanized tens of thousands of his supporters around the country. President Trump had been lying to them since election day, claiming he won, and that the Democrats had stolen victory from him. Now, with a single tweet, the President focused his supporters' anger on the joint session of Congress in Washington, DC on January 6th.

Anika Navaroli, the longest-tenured member of Twitter's Trust and Safety Policy team, monitored the reaction to President Trump's “be wild” tweet. She told the Select Committee that the President was “essentially staking a flag in DC ... for his supporters to come and rally.”⁵ The tweet created a “fire hose” of calls to overthrow the U.S. Government. President Trump's supporters had a new sense of urgency because they felt “as if their Commander in Chief” had summoned them.⁶

For many extremists and conspiracy theorists, the President's announcement was a call to arms.⁷

For the Proud Boys—described in more detail below—and their leader, Henry “Enrique” Tarrío, President Trump's tweet set in motion a chain of events that led directly to the attack on the U.S. Capitol. In the days that followed, the Proud Boys reorganized their hierarchy, imposed a stricter



Tarrio's video appears on a screen during a Select Committee hearing on June 09, 2022.

Photo by Drew Angerer/Getty Images

chain-of-command, and instructed followers to go “incognito” on January 6th.⁸ The Proud Boys had made their presence known at previous pro-Trump events, including “Stop the Steal” rallies, where they brandished their black and yellow apparel and engaged in street brawls.⁹ Suddenly, they did not want to stand out from the crowd. They wanted to blend in. They were planning something big.¹⁰

Tarrio allegedly used encrypted messages to plot the January 6, 2021, attack. On January 4, 2021, Tarrio told his men that they should “storm the Capitol.”¹¹ While the attack was underway, Tarrio claimed credit in a private chat, writing: “We did this.”¹² And on the evening of January 6th, Tarrio released a video of a man, presumably Tarrio himself, dressed in an odd costume standing in front of the U.S. Capitol. The eerie production had been recorded prior to the events of that day. Tarrio—who was not in Washington, DC on January 6th¹³—titled it, “Premonition.”¹⁴

The Oath Keepers, a far-right, anti-government militia movement—also described in more detail below—began planning for January 6th after the President’s tweet as well. Stewart Rhodes, the group’s leader, had agitated against the U.S. Government for years.¹⁵ Immediately following the 2020 presidential election, Rhodes and others schemed to stop the peaceful

transfer of power. They stored weapons outside of Washington, DC,¹⁶ hoping that President Trump would deputize them as his own militia.¹⁷ An Oath Keeper leader, Kelly Meggs, read President Trump’s December 19th tweet and commented in a Facebook message: “He called us all to the Capitol and wants us to make it wild!!! Sir Yes Sir!!!”¹⁸ The Oath Keepers formed two military “stacks” and marched up the steps of the U.S. Capitol on January 6th. Meggs led one of them.¹⁹

Members of both the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers have been charged with “seditious conspiracy” and other serious crimes, including conspiracy to interfere with a Federal proceeding; some, including Stewart Rhodes, have been convicted.²⁰ U.S. law defines seditious conspiracy as plotting “to overthrow,” or “to oppose by force,” or to use “force to prevent, hinder, or delay the execution of any law of the United States.”²¹ Some of the two groups’ members have already admitted that this is what they intended to do.²²

Other extremists and conspiracy theorists mobilized after President Trump’s tweet as well. These movements are described in more detail in subsequent sections. Three Percenter militias—another far-right, anti-government movement—shared “#OccupyCongress” memes²³ and planned for violence at the U.S. Capitol.²⁴ Nick Fuentes, leader of the white nationalist “Groypers,” rallied his followers for January 6th.²⁵ Fuentes bragged afterwards that the “Capitol siege was fucking awesome.”²⁶ Users on TheDonald.win, a website populated by some of President Trump’s most ardent fans, openly discussed surrounding and occupying the U.S. Capitol.²⁷

Adherents of QAnon, a bizarre and dangerous conspiracy cult, believed January 6th would bring the prophesied “Storm”—a violent purge of Democrats and government officials promised by the mysterious online personality known only as “Q.”²⁸ QAnon’s devotees flocked to Washington, DC because of the President’s tweet and subsequent rhetoric. They shared a digital banner, “Operation Occupy the Capitol,” which depicted the U.S. Capitol being torn in two.²⁹

One especially notorious conspiracy theorist, Alex Jones, repeatedly told his *InfoWars*’ viewers that January 6th would be a day of reckoning.³⁰ Jones is known for his outlandish conspiracy-mongering, including his baseless claim that the massacre of school children at Sandy Hook Elementary School was really a “false flag” operation staged by the U.S. Government. Of course, his vicious lie was disproven in court, but Jones is obsessed with “deep state” conspiracy theories and often propagates them.³¹ After the 2020 presidential election, Jones argued that President Trump should use the power of the Government to impose martial law on American citizens.³² Along with his *InfoWars* co-hosts, Jones amplified President Trump’s “Big

Lie” and relentlessly promoted President Trump’s “wild” protest. One of Jones’ co-hosts floated the idea of “storming right into the Capitol.”³³ Jones himself marched to the Capitol January 6th.³⁴

Jones’s influence helped shape the planning for January 6th behind the scenes as well. The Select Committee investigated how event organizers and the White House staff planned President Trump’s rally at the Ellipse, a park south of the White House. This event was intended to rile up the President’s supporters just prior to the joint session of Congress. A wealthy heiress paid for the event after listening to Jones’ *InfoWars* rant about the importance of President Trump’s tweet. She spent \$3 million with the goal to “get as many people there as possible.”³⁵ It worked—Americans who believed the election was stolen flocked to the Nation’s capital.

By January 5th, President Trump’s supporters—a large, angry crowd ready for instructions—had assembled in Washington. That evening, he could hear his raucous supporters at a rally not far from the White House. The President knew his supporters were “angry,”³⁶ and he planned to call on them to march on the U.S. Capitol.³⁷ He even wanted to join them on the march.³⁸ It was all part of President Trump’s plan to intimidate officials and obstruct the joint session of Congress.

“We fight like hell,” President Trump told the crowd assembled at the Ellipse on January 6, 2021. “And if you don’t fight like hell, you’re not going to have a country anymore.”³⁹ Some of those in attendance, as well as elsewhere in Washington that day, were already prepared to fight. They had begun preparing two and a half weeks earlier—when President Trump told them it would “be wild!”

6.1 HOW FAR-RIGHT EXTREMISTS AND CONSPIRACY THEORISTS PLANNED FOR JANUARY 6TH

THE “STOP THE STEAL” COALITION

President Trump’s “be wild” tweet immediately mobilized extremists and conspiracy theorists in the “Stop the Steal” coalition. The phrase “Stop the Steal” was originally coined in early 2016 by President Trump’s longtime political advisor, Roger Stone.⁴⁰ At the time, Stone alleged first that Candidate Trump’s Republican rivals were attempting to steal Candidate Trump’s nomination.⁴¹ After Trump became the nominee, Stone repurposed the saying to claim that former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton would steal the presidency.⁴² When President Trump won the 2016 election, “Stop the Steal” was rendered moot—and did not become a significant political movement until President Trump’s defeat on election night in 2020.⁴³ As

early as November 5, 2020, Stone advised associates that he intended to reconstitute “Stop the Steal” by building an army of lawyers and suing “like there’s no tomorrow.”⁴⁴

Ali Alexander, a rightwing provocateur who has worked closely with Stone,⁴⁵ quickly organized a new “Stop the Steal” campaign. On November 10, 2020, Alexander established “Stop the Steal” as an entity incorporated in Alabama.⁴⁶ Alexander added a bank account and various websites.⁴⁷

One of Alexander’s key allies in the “Stop the Steal” movement was Alex Jones. Prior to January 6th, Jones riled up crowds both in-person and online with incendiary rhetoric about the election. Jones’ *InfoWars* was also a platform for others in the election-denial coalition. For instance, both Enrique Tarrio and Stewart Rhodes made multiple appearances on *InfoWars*, including between election day 2020 and January 6, 2021.⁴⁸

Another frequent guest on *InfoWars* was Roger Stone—a nexus character in the “Stop the Steal” coalition.⁴⁹ Stone recommended that then Presidential Candidate Donald Trump appear on Jones’s show in December 2015.⁵⁰ Trump accepted the invitation and praised Jones at length during his appearance.⁵¹ The significance of Trump’s interview with Jones should not be underestimated. Donald Trump was a leading presidential contender at the time and would go on to win the election. His appearance with Jones normalized *InfoWars*, welcoming its conspiracy-minded audience into Trump’s base.⁵² Trump did not appear on *InfoWars* again. However, Stone continued to make regular guest appearances.⁵³

After election day 2020, Alexander Jones, and other “Stop the Steal” organizers, held rallies around the country to protest fictional claims of voter fraud. These events provided an opportunity for radicals and extremists to coalesce. The Proud Boys, Oath Keepers, and Three Percenters were all attendees. QAnon adherents were well-represented. So, too, were the white nationalist Groyppers and their leader, Nick Fuentes.

“Stop the Steal” events and other protests throughout 2020 helped build the momentum for January 6th. The Select Committee collected data on 85 right-wing events between January 1, 2020, and January 20, 2021, which were inspired by opposition to COVID-19 lockdown measures, racial justice protests, and, later, the perceived theft of President Trump’s victory.⁵⁴ Far-right extremists protested at or inside State capitols, or at other government buildings, in at least 68 instances.⁵⁵ Of those, 49 occurred during the period after the election through January 6th.⁵⁶ In the year leading up to January 6th, there were at least nine events at which far-right actors entered State capitols.⁵⁷ At least four of these capitol incursions—in Michigan,⁵⁸ Idaho,⁵⁹ Arizona,⁶⁰ and Oregon⁶¹—involved identifiable individuals who later participated in the attack on the U.S. Capitol.



Alex Jones and Ali Alexander inside the Georgia State Capitol during a "Stop the Steal" rally on November 18, 2020 in Atlanta, Georgia.

Photo by Elijah Nouvelage/Getty Images

Consider, for example, the protests held in Atlanta between November 18 and 21, 2020. Leaders and rank-and-file members of the Proud Boys, Oath Keepers, and Groyppers, gathered outside the State capitol and the governor's mansion for nonstop events, including armed protests. Enrique Tarrio⁶² and Stewart Rhodes⁶³ personally led contingents of the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers, respectively.

Jones first announced the Atlanta events on InfoWars on November 16th. In his announcement, Jones teased that he would be joined by Roger Stone and also called on listeners to "surround the governor's mansion" in order to prevent the election results from being certified.⁶⁴ Fuentes advertised that he would be speaking at the capitol every day at noon.⁶⁵ In fiery speeches across Atlanta, Fuentes spread election lies as well as wink-and-nod hints at intimidation and violence.⁶⁶

Alexander, standing alongside Jones and Fuentes outside the State capitol on November 18th, exhorted the crowd to "storm the capitol" with them.⁶⁷ The three men led a crowd into the State capitol building. On November 20th, Roger Stone gave a speech outside the Georgia capitol. Speaking through a telephone held up by Alexander, Stone advanced election lies, and finished with a provocative rallying cry: "Victory or death!"⁶⁸

That same day, Fuentes told the crowd, “Look, we’ve been in front of the State capitol, maybe we’ve been trying the wrong approach.”⁶⁹ Days earlier, at a nighttime event outside the governor’s mansion, Alexander, again flanked by Jones and Fuentes, goaded the crowd: “We’ll light the whole shit on fire.”⁷⁰

While the crowd did not turn violent, the “Stop the Steal” protests in Atlanta, Georgia, prefigured January 6th in important respects. “Stop the Steal” organizers tried to use the mob they had assembled—including extremists from the Proud Boys, Oath Keepers, Three Percenters and Groyper—to intimidate lawmakers and overturn the election results in Georgia, which was required to certify former Vice President Biden’s victory in the State by the end of that week.⁷¹ They implored their followers to “storm the capitol.”⁷² As discussed in Chapter 8, this same coalition of radicals did just that on January 6, 2021.

Other “Stop the Steal” events helped pave the way for the events of January 6th. Two rallies in Washington D.C.—on November 14 and December 12, 2020—were critically important. Alexander’s “Stop the Steal” was not the only protest organization present at these events. Both were called “Million MAGA Marches” and drew in other rally organizers. One of these other protests was called the “Jericho March” prayer rally.⁷³ Regardless, the same constellation of actors that appeared in Atlanta also incited Trump supporters in Washington.

For instance, during the Jericho March rally on December 12th, Stewart Rhodes called on President Trump to invoke the Insurrection Act as part of a desperate gambit to remain in power. In Rhodes’ vision, he would lead militiamen on behalf of President Trump when others tried to remove him from office.⁷⁴ If President Trump did not invoke the Insurrection Act, Rhodes warned the crowd, then they would be forced to wage a “much more desperate [and] much more bloody war.” Alex Jones also gave an incendiary speech at the Jericho March event, declaring: “I don’t know who is going to the White House in 38 days, but I sure know this, Joe Biden is a globalist, and Joe Biden will be removed, one way or another!”⁷⁵

As the crowds gathered in Washington on December 12th, President Trump was publicly lobbying the Supreme Court to hear his fictitious claims of election fraud. The President assailed the Supreme Court on Twitter throughout the day.⁷⁶ The “Stop the Steal” coalition was eager to help. After the Jericho March event ended, Jones, his InfoWars co-host Owen Shroyer, and Ali Alexander led a march on the Supreme Court. Once there, the crowd chanted slogans such as “Stop the Steal!”, “1776!!”, “Our revolution!”, and “The fight has just begun!!”⁷⁷



“Million MAGA March” protest on November 14, 2020 in Washington, DC.

Photo by Tasos Katopodis/Getty Images

President Trump made sure to let the protestors in Washington know that he personally approved of their mission. During the November rally, President Trump waved to the crowd from his presidential motorcade.⁷⁸ Then, on the morning of December 12th, President Trump tweeted: “Wow! Thousands of people forming in Washington (D.C.) for Stop the Steal. Didn’t know about this, but I’ll be seeing them! #MAGA.”⁷⁹ Later that day, President Trump flew over the protestors in Marine One.⁸⁰

When President Trump tweeted one week later that there would be a “wild” protest in Washington on January 6th, the “Stop the Steal” coalition immediately began to mobilize. Jones posted an article on the *InfoWars* website asking readers if they would “answer President Trump’s call to defend the Republic?”⁸¹ The next day, December 20th, Jones devoted much of his *InfoWars* show to the President’s announcement. Jones told his audience several times that if 10 million Americans came to Washington, DC on January 6th, Congress would have to listen to them.⁸² He repeated this idea over the course of the episode, saying things such as, “He’s calling you, he needs your help, we need your help, we need 10 million people there,” “[w]e need martial law and have to prevent the police state of foreigners from taking over.” Jones added: “It’s literally in our hands. It’s literally up to us.”⁸³

Other *InfoWars* hosts promoted the “wild” protest as well. In late December, Matt Bracken told *InfoWars* viewers that it may be necessary to storm the U.S. Capitol. “We’re going to only be saved by millions of Americans moving to Washington, occupying the entire area, if—if necessary storming right into the Capitol,” Bracken said. “You know, they’re—we know the rules of engagement. If you have enough people, you can push down any kind of a fence or a wall.”⁸⁴

Far-right extremists planned to do just that.

6.2 THE PROUD BOYS: “[Y]OU WANT TO STORM THE CAPITOL”

From the Proud Boys’ founding in 2016, violence was intrinsic to their mission. “We will kill you. That’s the Proud Boys in a nutshell,” their founder said.⁸⁵ New recruits pledge an oath, established in the group’s bylaws, identifying themselves as unapologetic “Western chauvinists,”⁸⁶ promoting an exclusionary, hyper-masculine interpretation of Western culture.⁸⁷ They find common ground in an embrace of misogyny and hate for their perceived enemies.⁸⁸ The group is somewhat ethnically diverse, but their public and private messages fester with toxic white supremacist, xenophobic, and anti-Semitic slurs.⁸⁹

The Proud Boys have participated in, or instigated, protests since their founding.⁹⁰ They’ve long been known as street brawlers looking for a fight.⁹¹ But 2020 was a watershed year for the group. As protests spread around the country, the Proud Boys deputized themselves as agents of law and order—vigilantes against perceived threats.⁹² More often, they played the role of instigators.⁹³ They portrayed themselves as counter-protestors and identified their targets as Black Lives Matter and Antifa—though they were hard-pressed to define their organizational enemies.⁹⁴

During the presidential debate on September 29, 2020, President Trump was asked to disavow far-right extremists, including the Proud Boys. The President did not explicitly condemn the group. Instead, he seemingly endorsed their mission. “Stand back and stand by,” President Trump told the Proud Boys, before adding, “but I’ll tell you what ... somebody’s got to do something about Antifa and the left.”⁹⁵ The President’s words electrified the group, injecting new life into their recruitment and activities. According to Nick Quested, a filmmaker who spent significant time with the group and testified before the Select Committee, the Proud Boys had found their “savior” in President Trump.⁹⁶

Joseph Biggs, a senior Proud Boy, immediately trumpeted President Trump’s debate statement on Parler,⁹⁷ a fringe social media platform. Biggs made it clear that the Proud Boys were ready to fight Antifa.⁹⁸ The group’s



A Proud Boy during a "Stop the Steal" rally on November 7, 2020 in Salem, Oregon.

Photo by Nathan Howard/Getty Images

size “tripled” in response to President Trump’s apparent endorsement, according to Jeremy Bertino, a Proud Boys leader who has pleaded guilty to seditious conspiracy in relation to January 6th.⁹⁹ Similarly, Enrique Tarrío and another Proud Boys member, George Meza, testified to the Select Committee that the President’s comment was a pivotal, energizing moment.¹⁰⁰ The group started selling merchandise with their new “stand back and stand by” slogan the very same night.¹⁰¹

As the presidential votes were tallied, the Proud Boys became agitated at the prospect that President Trump would lose. On November 5, 2020, Biggs posted on social media, “It’s time for fucking war if they steal this shit.”¹⁰² As former Vice President Joe Biden’s victory became apparent, Proud Boys leaders directed their ire toward others in the Government. Biggs, speaking on a Proud Boys livestream show with Tarrío and others, warned that government officials are “evil scum, and they all deserve to die a traitor’s death.” Ethan Nordean—another Proud Boys leader who allegedly helped lead the attack at the Capitol—responded, “Yup, Day of the Rope,”¹⁰³ referring to a day of mass lynching of “race traitors” in the white supremacist novel *The Turner Diaries*.¹⁰⁴

THE PROUD BOYS IN WASHINGTON PRIOR TO JANUARY 6TH

Within days of the election, dozens of “Stop the Steal” protests were organized around the country.¹⁰⁵ The Proud Boys participated alongside other right-wing extremist groups in some of them, including a November 7, 2020, protest outside of the Pennsylvania State capitol in Harrisburg.¹⁰⁶ The two events in Washington, DC—on November 14, 2020, and the other on December 12, 2020—proved to be especially important for the group’s evolution.

The daytime events on both dates passed by without violence or major unrest, but as the sun set, bouts of violence erupted,¹⁰⁷ driven by clashes between far-right extremist groups—chiefly the Proud Boys—and counter-protestors.¹⁰⁸ Among far-right extremists, the Proud Boys had the largest showing in both November and December,¹⁰⁹ with roughly 200 to 300 Proud Boys at the November 14th rally, and the same number or more in December.¹¹⁰ As discussed in Chapter 8, they mustered about the same contingent for the attack on the U.S. Capitol.

The gathering on November 14th provided a chance for Tarrío to socialize with rally leaders and far-right celebrities. In fact, his travel to DC by private jet appears to have been paid for by Patrick Byrne, a businessman who had President Trump’s ear in the last weeks of his presidency and encouraged the President to authorize the seizure of voting machines in a December 18th meeting.¹¹¹ Tarrío’s testimony and photographs from the day show that he met with “Stop the Steal” organizer Ali Alexander that evening, and the pair toasted each other.¹¹² Tarrío described the event as a “historic” meeting of Trump supporters and celebrated the opportunity to share that platform with Alexander, Jones, and Jones’ *InfoWars* co-host, Owen Shroyer.¹¹³ Shroyer would later be charged with crimes committed during the January 6th attack.¹¹⁴

A month later, the Proud Boys returned to the Nation’s capital. On the evening of December 11th, hundreds of Proud Boys and friends gathered in downtown Washington, DC to listen to an impromptu bullhorn speech by Tarrío and Nordean, along with Roger Stone and Shroyer.¹¹⁵ Stone implored the crowd to “fight to the bitter end.”¹¹⁶

The next day, as the Proud Boys marched in force on the streets, Tarrío teased in a social media post that he had a meeting in the White House.¹¹⁷ The visit, which was only a public White House tour, appears to have been facilitated by a friend, Bianca Gracia, the head of Latinos for Trump.¹¹⁸ As the rallies concluded the next day, the Proud Boys took to the streets again. Two key events occurred that evening.

First, members of the Proud Boys tore down a Black Lives Matter banner from a historically Black church in downtown Washington, DC.¹¹⁹ They

filmed themselves burning it.¹²⁰ Tarrio was eventually charged with destruction of property.¹²¹ He was arrested on January 4, 2021, and banned from Washington, DC, barring him from joining the group at the Capitol.¹²² As explained in Chapter 8, however, Tarrio's arrest did not stop him from conspiring with his men on January 6th.

Minutes after the flag burning, a man wearing black clothes walked into a crowd of Proud Boys.¹²³ Assuming he was associated with Antifa, they began pushing and harassing him, and he drew a knife in response.¹²⁴ In the ensuing melee, four Proud Boys suffered stab wounds, including Bertino, a confidant to Tarrio.¹²⁵ Bertino's wounds were severe and life-threatening, preventing him from joining the group on January 6th.¹²⁶

STORMING THE WINTER PALACE

The Proud Boys began to reorient and formalize their operations to focus on January 6th after President Trump's December 19th tweet. Inspired, in part, by Bertino's stabbing, the Proud Boys centered their new hierarchy in group chats that used terms such as "Ministry of Self Defense" (MOSD).¹²⁷ However, the words "Self Defense" were misleading: Enrique Tarrio and others would soon go on the offense. And the MOSD served as their organizational scaffolding for the January 6, 2021, attack.

On December 20, 2020, Tarrio established a "national rally planning committee" and created an encrypted MOSD chat to organize their activities.¹²⁸ Tarrio added Proud Boys leaders from across the country, including several who played lead roles in the violence on January 6th.¹²⁹ In the ensuing weeks, the Proud Boys traded equipment recommendations, shared maps marked with law enforcement positions, and established command and control structures.¹³⁰ A separate encrypted chat, named "Boots on the Ground," was established for foot soldiers who would be in Washington, DC on January 6th.¹³¹

The Proud Boys' planning for January 6th was a significant step in the group's evolution. Previously, they were loosely organized. The MOSD was created to enforce a "top down structure" with a defined leadership.¹³² Tarrio stressed the command structure by telling members that they needed to "[f]it in [] or fuck off."¹³³

From the start, it was clear that MOSD chat members were intensely interested in disrupting the electoral count on January 6th. On December 20, 2020, one MOSD leader stated, "I assume most of the protest will be at the capital [sic] building given what's going on inside."¹³⁴ On December 29, 2020, in a group message to the MOSD, a member wrote, "I know most of the events will be centered around freedom plaza..." Tarrio responded, "Negative. They're centered around the Capitol."¹³⁵

On December 30, 2020, Tarrío received an intriguing document titled, "1776 Returns."¹³⁶ The document was apparently sent to him by cryptocurrency investors in South Florida.¹³⁷ The file's author(s) divided their plan into five parts, "Infiltrate, Execution, Distract, Occupy and Sit-In," with the goal of overrunning several Federal buildings around the U.S. Capitol. The plan specifically mentioned House and Senate office buildings, setting forth steps for occupying them. The author(s) called for "the masses to rush the building[s]," distract law enforcement in the area by pulling fire alarms around the city, target specific Senators' offices, and disguise participants' identities with COVID masks.¹³⁸

One proposal mentioned in the document is titled, "Storm the Winter Palace."¹³⁹ This is a reference to a dramatic reenactment of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, during which Vladimir Lenin ordered his forces to take over the Romanovs' residence in Petrograd. The "Winter Palace" was the seat of the provisional government, which had held out against the Bolshevik revolutionaries. The Proud Boys would frame their actions on January 6th as part of the American Revolution. But the "1776 Returns" document shows their inspiration came at least in part from the Communist Revolution, which led to 70-plus years of totalitarian rule. No historical event has been less American.

The Proud Boys did not adopt the "1776 Returns" plan in full. Several Proud Boys testified that they were unaware of the document before it became public.¹⁴⁰ But the document does appear to have been significantly edited while in the Proud Boys' hands.¹⁴¹ The person who sent it to Tarrío—his ex-girlfriend, Eryka Gemma Flores—commented, "The revolution is [more] important than anything." To which Tarrío responded: "That's what every waking moment consists of ... I'm not playing games."¹⁴²

On January 3rd, Tarrío posted a conspicuous question on Telegram: "What if we invade it?" The first response to his post read: "January 6th is D day [sic] in America."¹⁴³ In private, on the Proud Boys' leadership group message, planning continued. One MOSD leader, John Stewart, floated a plan that centered around "the front entrance to the Capitol building."¹⁴⁴ At 7:10 p.m. on January 3rd, Stewart wrote to the MOSD leaders:

I mean the main operating theater should be out in front of the house of representatives. It should be out in front of the Capitol building. That's where the vote is taking place and all of the objections. So, we can ignore the rest of these stages and all that shit and plan the operations based around the front entrance to the Capitol building. I strongly recommend you use the national mall and not Pennsylvania avenue though. It's wide-open space, you can see everything coming from all angles.¹⁴⁵

Early the next morning, on January 4th, Tarrío sent a voice memo to the same group of MOSD leaders stating, “I didn’t hear this voice until now, you want to storm the Capitol.”¹⁴⁶

One of Tarrío’s comrades in the Proud Boys’ leadership, Charles Donohoe—who pleaded guilty to conspiracy to obstruct an official proceeding and assaulting, resisting, or impeding certain officers¹⁴⁷—later told authorities that by January 4th he “was aware that members of MOSD leadership were discussing the possibility of storming the Capitol.”¹⁴⁸ Donohoe “believed that storming the Capitol would achieve the group’s goal of stopping the government from carrying out the transfer of presidential power” and “understood that storming the Capitol would be illegal.”¹⁴⁹ By the following evening, January 5th, Tarrío was discussing with other Proud Boy leaders a “tactical plan” for the following day. Their “objective” was “to obstruct, impede, or interfere with the certification of the Electoral College vote.”¹⁵⁰ Moreover, Donohoe understood that the Proud Boys “would pursue this through the use of force and violence, in order to show Congress that ‘we the people’ were in charge.”¹⁵¹ On January 6th, Charles Donohoe understood that two of his fellow Proud Boys’ leaders—Ethan Nordean and Joe Biggs—“were searching for an opportunity to storm the Capitol.”¹⁵²

Jeremy Bertino, the Proud Boys leader who was stabbed on the night of December 12th, later told authorities that his fellow extremists plotted to stop the peaceful transfer of power. In October 2022, Bertino pleaded guilty to “seditious conspiracy” and other crimes.¹⁵³ Bertino admitted that the Proud Boys traveled to Washington, DC on January 6, 2021, “to stop the certification of the Electoral College Vote.” They “were willing to do whatever it would take, including using force against police and others, to achieve that objective.”¹⁵⁴

In testimony before the Select Committee, Bertino recalled a telling text exchange with Tarrío on the evening of January 6th. “I was like, ‘holy shit,’ or something like that I said to him,” Bertino recalled. “And I was like, ‘I can’t believe this is happening,’ or something like that, and ‘1776.’”¹⁵⁵

Tarrío replied to Bertino: “Winter Palace.”¹⁵⁶

6.3 THE OATH KEEPERS: “HE CALLED US ALL TO THE CAPITOL AND WANTS US TO MAKE IT WILD!!!”

The Oath Keepers, founded in 2009 by Elmer Stewart Rhodes, is a far-right anti-government organization. The group targets former and current military and law enforcement for recruitment. Their name refers to the oath taken by public servants to support and defend the U.S. Constitution. The Oath Keepers’ claimed fealty to the U.S. Constitution is belied by their

obsession with conspiracy theories about alleged evil-intentioned elites in the Government.¹⁵⁷ Rhodes has often spouted these conspiracy theories on *InfoWars*.¹⁵⁸

Over the summer of 2020, the Oath Keepers organized armed groups, ostensibly to serve as volunteer, self-appointed security at protests around the country. The Oath Keepers used the protests to draw in new recruits.¹⁵⁹ They also built muscle memory by coordinating for these events. For example, the Oath Keepers hired Michael Greene, who later coordinated Oath Keepers’ activities on January 5th and 6th, to lead security operations in multiple cities around the country.¹⁶⁰ In the early part of 2020, protests against COVID-related lockdowns served as additional growth and networking opportunities. Kellye SoRelle, a lawyer for the Oath Keepers, met the Oath Keepers at a lockdown protest in Austin, Texas in early 2020. SoRelle saw these COVID events as a “coalescing moment” for different far-right groups.¹⁶¹

The “Stop the Steal” movement created another opportunity for the Oath Keepers to grow their influence. Rhodes repeatedly amplified the stolen election conspiracy theory. On November 10, 2020, he posted a “Call to Action!” on the Oath Keepers website, alleging the election was “stolen” and exhorting his followers to “refuse to EVER recognize this as a legitimate election, and refuse to recognize Biden as a legitimate winner.”¹⁶² Under a section entitled “What We the People Must Do,” Rhodes quoted a “patriot from Serbia, who also loves America.” The Serbian author described how his fellow countrymen fomented a political revolution. Parts of the statement presaged the attack on the U.S. Capitol:

... Millions gathered in our capital [sic]. There were no barricades strong enough to stop them, nor the police determined enough to stop them. Police and Military aligned with the people after few hours of fist-fight [sic]. We stormed the Parliament. And burned down fake state Television! WE WON!¹⁶³

The Oath Keepers were obsessed with the Insurrection Act—seeing it as a way for President Trump to cling to power. Rhodes believed that the President could empower militias like the Oath Keepers to enforce law and order after other Americans refused to accept President Trump’s rule.¹⁶⁴ Indeed, President Trump had been intensely interested in the Insurrection Act as a potential tool to quell the protests in summer 2020.¹⁶⁵ Rhodes wished the Act had been invoked then, but he did not give up on the fantasy.¹⁶⁶ As mentioned above, Rhodes called for President Trump to invoke the Insurrection Act during his speech in Washington on December 12, 2020.¹⁶⁷

That day, Rhodes also coordinated with Jericho March organizers to provide security.¹⁶⁸ He coordinated with a paramilitary group known as 1st

Amendment Praetorian (1AP), to guard VIPs, including retired Lieutenant General Michael Flynn and Patrick Byrne.¹⁶⁹ Rhodes indicated that the Oath Keepers would be “working closely” with them for the event.¹⁷⁰

The Oath Keepers continued to call for President Trump to invoke the Insurrection Act throughout December 2020, arguing that the President needed to do so to “Stop the Steal.”¹⁷¹ This fantasy reflected a warped sense of reality. Rhodes testified that President Trump could have mobilized “unorganized militia,” including the Oath Keepers, to suppress an insurrection if he attempted to stay in power after losing the election.¹⁷² But the Oath Keepers themselves were the ones contemplating insurrection. On December 10, 2020, Rhodes messaged others: “Either Trump gets off his ass and uses the Insurrection Act to defeat the Chicom puppet coup or we will have to rise up in insurrection (rebellion) against the ChiCom puppet Biden. Take your pick.”¹⁷³ Rhodes was blunt in other messages to the Oath Keepers, writing: “We need to push Tump [sic] to do his duty. If he doesn’t, we will do ours. Declare Independence. Defy[,] Resist[,] Defend[,] Conquer or Die. This needs to be our attitude.”¹⁷⁴

6.4 “TRUMP SAID IT’S GONNA BE WILD!!!!!! IT’S GONNA BE WILD!!!!!!”

As the Proud Boys began their plans for January 6th, Kelly Meggs, the leader of the Florida chapter of the Oath Keepers, reached out. In the past, the Proud Boys and the Oath Keepers had their differences, deriding each other’s tactics and ethos during the summer 2020 protests.¹⁷⁵ But President Trump’s tweet on December 19th conveyed a sense of urgency which provided the two extremist rivals the opportunity to work together for a common goal.

After President Trump’s tweet, Meggs called Enrique Tarrio. They spoke for 3 minutes and 26 seconds.¹⁷⁶ Meggs also sent a message on Facebook, bragging about an alliance he had formed among the Oath Keepers, the Florida Three Percenters, and the Proud Boys: “We have decided to work together and shut this shit down.”¹⁷⁷ The Oath Keepers were making plans of their own, too.

“Oath Keepers president [Rhodes] is pretty disheartened,” Roberto Minuta, one of Rhodes’ men, messaged someone on December 19th. “He feels like it’s go time, the time for peaceful protest is over in his eyes. I was talking with him last night.”¹⁷⁸ Minuta has been charged with “seditious conspiracy” and other crimes.¹⁷⁹

In the days that followed, the Oath Keepers planned for violence. They used encrypted chats on Signal to discuss travel plans, trade tips on tactical equipment to bring, and develop their plans for once they were on the

ground in the DC area.¹⁸⁰ On December 21st, 2020, Joshua James messaged the group, stating, “SE region is creating a NATIONAL CALL TO ACTION FOR DC JAN 6TH. ... 4 states are mobilizing[.]”¹⁸¹ Meggs, Rhodes, and others created several different chat groups to coordinate for January 6th.¹⁸²

On December 22nd, Meggs echoed President Trump’s tweet in a Facebook message to someone else:

Trump said It’s gonna be wild!!!!!! It’s gonna be wild!!!!!! He wants us to make it WILD that’s what he’s saying. He called us all to the Capitol and wants us to make it wild!!! Sir Yes Sir!!! Gentlemen we are heading to DC pack your shit!!”¹⁸³

Meggs also wrote that the Oath Keepers would have 50–100 members in Washington, DC on January 6th.¹⁸⁴

The Oath Keepers hosted periodic group video meetings to discuss plans for January 6th. Richard Dockery, a former Oath Keepers member, testified to the Select Committee about a video call that took place around December 31st, and related specifically to planning for January 6th.¹⁸⁵ During the call, Oath Keepers’ leadership announced plans to provide security for far-right celebrities like Roger Stone.¹⁸⁶ If there were any problems while they were providing security, “there was a quick reaction force in Virginia that would come help them out ... and that they would have firearms.”¹⁸⁷

Rhodes announced during an episode of *InfoWars* in November 2020 that the Oath Keepers had established a “Quick Reaction Force” (QRF) outside of Washington, DC.¹⁸⁸ After President Trump announced the “wild” protest, the group’s advanced coordination largely focused on planning related to their QRF, as well as the various security details for VIPs and stage areas on January 5th and 6th.¹⁸⁹ Oath Keepers from North Carolina, Florida, South Carolina, and Arizona converged on the Comfort Inn in Ballston, Virginia, and used the location to store their cache of weapons for January 6th.¹⁹⁰ Oath Keepers leaders communicated actively about the QRF for January 6th.¹⁹¹ Rhodes and another contingent of Oath Keepers stayed at the Hilton Garden Inn in Vienna, Virginia, and stored weapons there as well.¹⁹²

Rhodes amassed an arsenal of military-grade assault weapons and equipment in the days leading up to January 6th. On December 30th, Rhodes spent approximately \$7,000 on two night-vision devices and a weapon sight and shipped them to Marsha Lessard, a rally organizer who lived near Washington, DC and who had previously been in contact with the organizers of the Ellipse rally.¹⁹³ On January 1st and 2nd, Rhodes purchased additional weapons and accessories at a cost of approximately \$5,000.¹⁹⁴ The following day, January 3rd, Rhodes and Kellye SoRelle departed Texas for Washington, DC. While traveling, Rhodes spent an additional \$6,000 on

an AR-style rifle and firearms attachments.¹⁹⁵ Making one final shopping trip in Mississippi, Rhodes purchased \$4,500 of firearms equipment including more sights, magazines, and weapons parts on January 4th.¹⁹⁶

On the morning of January 6th, with weapons stockpiled, Rhodes messaged the Signal group of Oath Keepers leaders:

We have several well equipped [sic] QRFs outside DC. And there are many, many others, from other groups, who will be watching and waiting on the outside in case of worst case [sic] scenarios.¹⁹⁷

6.5 “READY TO STEP IN AND DO WHAT IS NEEDED”

Stewart Rhodes’s and Oath Keepers’ lawyer Kellye SoRelle arrived in Washington on the afternoon of January 5th.¹⁹⁸ They immediately went to Freedom Plaza, where President Trump had instructed rally organizers to give some of his most extreme supporters time to speak.¹⁹⁹ As a small group of Oath Keepers patrolled Freedom Plaza, they were able to see the results of President Trump’s call to mobilize.²⁰⁰ SoRelle testified that there were Oath Keepers, Proud Boys, and “Alex Jones people” mingling together in the crowd, with “just a small distinction between them.”²⁰¹

The Oath Keepers later found themselves at the Phoenix Park Hotel,²⁰² where they ate and drank with a motley coalition of far-right political activists who were united in their shared belief in President Trump’s Big Lie.²⁰³ Among them were: Proud Boys-linked Bianca Gracia of Latinos for Trump; Joshua Macias, leader of Vets for Trump;²⁰⁴ and Amanda Chase, a Virginia State senator.²⁰⁵ In a livestream discussion moderated by Chase, they promoted false election fraud claims. Macias and Rhodes encouraged President Trump to invoke the Insurrection Act and call up combat veterans who are “ready to step in and do what is needed.”²⁰⁶

SoRelle later told the Select Committee that there was discussion of going to “storm the Capitol,” although she claimed that this was “normal” discussion and supposedly did not indicate violence or “any of that type of stuff.”²⁰⁷

That same evening, Gracia asked SoRelle and Rhodes to follow her to a garage where she was supposed to meet Proud Boys leader Enrique Tarrio,²⁰⁸ who had just been released from custody and ordered to leave the DC area.²⁰⁹ Instead of immediately leaving Washington, DC, Tarrio instead made his way to a garage near the hotel where the others gathered.²¹⁰ Portions of the ensuing meeting were captured on video by documentary filmmaker Nick Quested and his camera crew. SoRelle claims that she was asked to attend to discuss Tarrio’s legal woes,²¹¹ but there is evidence indicating that the conversation turned tactical.

Tarrio discussed the court’s order, informing the group he was going north to Maryland, so he could “stay close just to make sure my guys are ok.”²¹² Tarrio discussed his confiscated phone with Gracia. He told her that “they couldn’t get in there,” apparently referencing the two-factor authentication enabled on his phone.²¹³ Tarrio also appeared familiar with another attendee, Vets for Trump leader Macias, who rested his hand on Tarrio’s shoulder at various points.²¹⁴ Rhodes and Tarrio shook hands.²¹⁵

Much of the substantive conversation between Rhodes, Tarrio, and the others cannot be heard because Tarrio asked Qusted’s camera crew to stop recording.²¹⁶ However, some of the conversation is audible from afar and Rhodes can be heard telling Tarrio that he “has three groups in Tyson’s Corner,”²¹⁷ a reference to the QRFs that he had mustered in the event that President Trump called the Oath Keepers into service.

Tarrio later expressed appreciation for Rhodes’s presence at the garage meeting and underscored that their two organizations needed to stand together on January 6th. Tarrio explained that the Proud Boys and Oath Keepers are “just two different groups” and that he and Rhodes “don’t get along,” but said that “for situations like this where there is a need to unite regardless of our differences ... what he did today was commendable.”²¹⁸ Tarrio added that Rhodes’s presence at the garage meeting was “thoughtful” because Rhodes had “quickly provided security” for the meeting and “seemed concerned” about Tarrio’s legal situation.²¹⁹ In a likely nod to prior coordination between Proud Boys and Oath Keepers at other post-election events, Tarrio further explained that “my guys have helped him [Rhodes] out in the past,” and that he and Rhodes have “mutual respect” for one another.²²⁰ Tarrio then traveled north to a hotel near Baltimore, Maryland, where he stayed through the events of the next day.²²¹

6.6 “FRIENDS OF STONE”

As explained above, a constellation of far-right characters came together in late 2020 as part of the “Stop the Steal” cause. Among them was Roger Stone, a right-wing political operative whose career as a self-trumpeted dirty trickster stretched back decades. Stone is arguably President Trump’s oldest political advisor.²²² For example, he worked for Donald Trump’s independent presidential bid during the 2000 campaign.²²³ In addition to his political connections, Stone cultivated relationships with far-right extremists, including the two groups charged with seditious conspiracy: the Oath Keepers and the Proud Boys.

The Select Committee found that at least seven members of the Oath Keepers provided security for Stone, or were seen with him, in the weeks



Roger Stone in front of the Supreme Court on January 5, 2021 in Washington, DC.

Photo by Tasos Katopodis/Getty Images

immediately preceding the attack on the U.S. Capitol.²²⁴ Text messages released by Edward Vallejo, an Oath Keeper charged with seditious conspiracy and other crimes, show that Stewart Rhodes and Kelly Meggs discussed providing security for Stone.²²⁵ Some of these Oath Keepers guarded Stone during an event at Freedom Plaza in Washington, DC on the night of January 5th.²²⁶ Stone was also flanked by Oath Keepers outside of the Willard Hotel on the morning of January 6th.²²⁷ One of the Oath Keepers who provided security for Stone was Joshua James, who pleaded guilty to seditious conspiracy, obstruction of Congress and other charges in March 2022.²²⁸ James was also reportedly seen in Stone's hotel room at the Willard hours before the attack on the U.S. Capitol.²²⁹

Stone has a longstanding, close relationship with the Proud Boys. Stone has taken the Proud Boys oath²³⁰ and repeatedly defended the group.²³¹ Danish documentarians filmed him working with Proud Boys for years.²³² In one scene, filmed in 2019, Stone warmly greets Joe Biggs, a Proud Boys leader central to the Capitol violence. Stone says of Biggs: "My guy, right here."²³³ In a 2019 court case, Stone identified Enrique Tarrio as one of his volunteers, explaining that Tarrio had access to his phone and could post to Stone's Instagram account from it.²³⁴

As mentioned above, Stone, Tarrio and another Proud Boy leader, Ethan Nordean, addressed an impromptu rally in Washington, DC on the night of December 11, 2020. Owen Shroyer, an *InfoWars* host, was also with them.²³⁵ “We will fight to the bitter end for an honest count of the 2020 election,” Stone told the crowd. “Never give up, never quit, never surrender, and fight for America!”²³⁶ A few weeks later, on January 2, 2021, Tarrio led a Proud Boys protest outside of Senator Marco Rubio’s home in Florida. The Proud Boys wanted to convince Rubio to vote against certification of the vote on January 6th.²³⁷ Stone reportedly called into the event to speak to Tarrio’s crowd.²³⁸

One way in which Stone maintained these contacts was through a Signal chat group named “F.O.S.” —or Friends of Stone.²³⁹ Two days after the election, Stone sent a text: “We provide information several times a day. So please monitor the F.O.S. feed so you can act in a timely fashion.”²⁴⁰ Ali Alexander and Stone continued to coordinate about Stop the Steal strategy and events between the election and January 6th.²⁴¹ In addition to Alexander, Stone’s “Friends” on the Signal chat included Rhodes and Tarrio.²⁴²

In July 2020, President Trump granted Stone clemency after he was convicted of lying to Congress and other charges.²⁴³ Then, on December 23rd, President Trump pardoned Stone.²⁴⁴ Several days later, at a dinner on the evening of December 27th, Stone thanked President Trump. In a post on Parler, Stone wrote that he “thanked President Trump in person tonight for pardoning me” and also recommended to the President that he “appoint a special counsel” to stop “those who are attempting to steal the 2020 election through voter fraud.” Stone also wrote that he wanted “to ensure that Donald Trump continues as our president.”²⁴⁵ Finally, he added: “#StopTheSteal” and “#rogerstonedidnothingwrong.”²⁴⁶ The Select Committee has learned that Stone discussed the January 6th event with the President, likely at this same dinner on December 27th.²⁴⁷ The President told Stone he “was thinking of speaking.”²⁴⁸

The Select Committee sought to question Roger Stone about his relationships with President Trump and far-right extremists, as well as other issues. During his deposition, Stone invoked his Fifth Amendment right nearly 90 times.²⁴⁹ Stone has publicly stated that he committed no wrongdoing and that he encouraged a peaceful protest.²⁵⁰

6.7 WHITE NATIONALISTS: “THE CAPITOL SIEGE WAS FUCKING AWESOME...”

Nick Fuentes is an online provocateur who leads a white nationalist movement known as “America First,” or the “Groypers.” Fuentes immediately responded to President Trump’s “be wild” tweet. On December 19, 2020,

Fuentes wrote on Twitter: “I will return to Washington DC to rally for President Trump on January 6th!”²⁵¹ Fuentes and his Groypers did return to Washington, DC for the joint session. As the attack was underway, Fuentes incited followers from his perch immediately outside of the U.S. Capitol. Some of his followers joined the attack inside, with one even sitting in Vice President Pence’s seat on the Senate dais.²⁵²

Fuentes and a fellow Groyper leader, Patrick Casey, rose to prominence in 2017 after rallying at the Charlottesville “Unite the Right” event.²⁵³ For years, the Groypers have repeatedly promoted white supremacist and Christian nationalist beliefs, often cloaked in wink-and-nod humor, puns, or religion, and they regularly gin up public opposition to other right-wing organizations or politicians whom they deem insufficiently conservative.²⁵⁴

Fuentes was a key voice for “Stop the Steal” conspiracy theories leading up to January 6th. He spent 2 months leading rallies in State capitals across the country,²⁵⁵ spreading the Big Lie and livestreaming coded calls to violence.²⁵⁶ He also used his livestream to raise significant funds between November 2020 and January 2021.²⁵⁷

On November 9, 2020, Fuentes promised, “GROYPERS ARE GOING TO STOP THIS COUP!”²⁵⁸ Two days later, Fuentes organized a “Stop the Steal” rally at the Michigan State Capitol. He told the crowd that they should be “more feral” in their tactics to overturn the election, suggesting that they target lawmakers in their homes.²⁵⁹ On November 14th, Fuentes rallied a crowd of his followers at the Million MAGA March in Washington, DC, pushing “Stop the Steal” conspiracies, calling for President Trump to rule for life, and exhorting his followers to “storm every State capitol until January 20, 2021, until President Trump is inaugurated for 4 more years.”²⁶⁰

As discussed above, Fuentes was a prominent figure at the “Stop the Steal” rally in Atlanta, Georgia, in November 2020.²⁶¹ He promoted election conspiracies, criticized the Republican Party, joked about the Holocaust, and denounced former Vice President Biden as illegitimate.²⁶² Fuentes also suggested his followers intimidate politicians in their homes.²⁶³

On December 12th, Fuentes again rallied a crowd of supporters at the “Stop the Steal” events in Washington, DC, calling for the destruction of the Republican Party because it had failed to overturn the election.²⁶⁴ As others spoke at the Jericho March rally, Fuentes headlined a “Stop the Steal” protest just a few blocks away.²⁶⁵

On January 4th, Fuentes suggested that his followers kill State legislators who don’t support efforts to overturn the 2020 election. As discussed in Chapter 2, President Trump and his surrogates were pressuring State legislators at the time to do just that. Fuentes complained that his side “had

no leverage.” Fuentes then asked: “What can you and I do to a state legislator, besides kill them?” He then quickly added: “Although we should not do that. I am not advising that, but I mean, what else can you do, right?”²⁶⁶

On January 5th, Casey advertised the marches in Washington, DC on his Telegram channel and provided repeated updates on the logistics of getting into the city. Casey also spoke to his followers about the next day’s rally on a livestream on DLive.²⁶⁷ As discussed in Chapter 8, the Groypers clearly played a role in the January 6th attack. They even planted their flag in the inner chambers of the U.S. Capitol.²⁶⁸ Fuentes crowed about the attack the day after, tweeting: “The Capitol Siege was fucking awesome and I’m not going to pretend it wasn’t.”²⁶⁹ In another tweet on January 7th, Fuentes wrote: “For a brief time yesterday the US Capital [sic] was once again occupied by The American People, before the regime wrested back control.”²⁷⁰

Despite his boasts on Twitter, Fuentes exercised his Fifth Amendment privilege against self-incrimination and refused to provide information about his organizing activities to the Select Committee.²⁷¹

6.8 THE THREE (III%) PERCENTERS: “#OCCUPYCONGRESS”

The Oath Keepers were not the only anti-government extremists who viewed President Trump’s December 19th, tweet as a call to arms. Militias around the country were similarly inspired to act. “People were retweeting it right and left. . . . I saw people retweeting it, talking about, yeah, it’s going to be crazy, going to be a huge crowd,” Michael Lee Wells, a militia leader in North Carolina, told the Select Committee.²⁷² Members of militias known as the “Three Percenters” were electrified.

The Three Percenters believe that three percent of American colonists successfully overthrew the British during the American Revolution.²⁷³ This is not true. Far more than a tiny fraction of the colonial population fought in or supported the Revolutionary War.²⁷⁴ Regardless, this ahistorical belief has become an organizing myth for militias around modern-day America.

As with the Oath Keepers, many Three Percenters have turned against the U.S. Government, such that they equate it with the British monarchy and believe it should be overthrown.²⁷⁵ The movement does not have one, centralized hierarchy. Instead, semi-autonomous branches organize and run themselves.²⁷⁶ The Three Percenter cause was growing prior to the attack on the U.S. Capitol. Jeremy Liggett, a militia leader in Florida, told the Select Committee it was “trendy” in far-right circles to identify with the Three Percenter movement in the months leading up to January 6th.²⁷⁷

President Trump tapped into this well of anti-government extremism. The President’s repeated insistence that the election had been stolen resonated with militia members who were already inclined to believe in shady

political conspiracies. The President's December 19th tweet mobilized Three Percenters around the country. Suddenly, they had a focal point for their anti-government beliefs: the joint session of Congress on January 6th. Court filings and other evidence reveal that Three Percenters immediately began planning for violence after President Trump's "be wild" announcement.

For example, Lucas Denney and Donald Hazard led a militia affiliated with the Three Percenter movement called the "Patriot Boys of North Texas." Both Denney and Hazard were charged with assaulting officers on January 6th.²⁷⁸ Denney pleaded guilty and has been sentenced to 52 months in prison.²⁷⁹ After President Trump's tweet, they discussed travel plans, as well as the need to procure body armor, helmets, knuckle gloves and pepper spray.²⁸⁰ But they did not plan to act alone. Instead, they saw themselves as part of a coalition. In multiple messages, both Denney and Hazard claimed they were also affiliated with Proud Boys and intended to work with them on or before January 6th.²⁸¹

Denney repeatedly cited President Trump's tweet. "Trump himself is calling for a big protest in DC on January 6th. I'm not going to miss this one," Denney told Hazard on December 21st.²⁸² On December 30th, Denney wrote in a Facebook message:

Trump has called this himself. For everyone to come. It's the day the electoral college is suppose to be certified by congress to officially elect Biden. But, Pence is in charge of this and he's going to throw out all the votes from States that were proved to have fraud. There's so much more going on behind the scenes though. That's why he's called this rally for support. ... Trump will stay President ...²⁸³

As this message indicates, Denney was well-aware of President Trump's multi-part plan to disrupt the transfer of power. He thought that Vice President Pence had the power to "throw out" electoral votes, just as the President demanded. In other messages, Denney claimed that President Trump wanted militias to descend on Washington, DC so they could serve as a security force against a perceived threat from Antifa and Black Lives Matter on January 6th.²⁸⁴

Additional messages between the two reveal their intent to march on the U.S. Capitol. For instance, Denney attempted to post two banners on Facebook that advertised events on January 6th.²⁸⁵ Both banners contained the hashtag "#OccupyCongress." The pictures contained images of the U.S. Capitol and referenced "The Great Betrayal." One of them read "If They Won't Hear Us" and "They Will Fear Us." In another post, Denney wrote: "I can't wait to be in the middle of it on the front line on the 6th."²⁸⁶

Curiously, Denney had also heard a "rumor" that President Trump would march with them. On January 4, 2021, he stated in a Facebook message:

Things are going to be happening here. Trump is going to be speaking to everyone Wed [January 6] before everyone marches to the capital [sic]. Rumour [sic] has it that he may march with us. I'll tell you more when you get here on where to be wed and what time so you have the best seats.²⁸⁷

On or about January 6th, Denney sent another message via Facebook, writing: "Trump speaking to us around 11 am then we march to the capital and after that we have special plans that I can't say right now over Facebook. But keep an eye out for live feed tomorrow from me. Tomorrow will be historic."²⁸⁸ Later on January 6th, during the attack, Hazard was captured on video bragging: "We have stormed our nation's capitol."²⁸⁹

The Patriot Boys of North Texas were not the only Three Percenter group that mobilized after President Trump's tweet. The Department of Justice has alleged that multiple other cadres of Three Percenter militiamen prepared for violence on January 6th and then took part in the attack on the U.S. Capitol.

In Florida, a Three Percenter organization known as the "Guardians of Freedom" established a "B-squad" for January 6th because they allegedly wanted to avoid being called a "militia."²⁹⁰ These men were led by Jeremy Liggett, mentioned above.²⁹¹

On December 24, 2020, the B-squad sent out a flyer, "CALLING ALL PATRIOTS!" to Washington, D.C.²⁹² The flyer read: "The Guardians of Freedom III% are responding to the call from President Donald J. Trump to assist in the security, protection, and support of the people as we all protest the fraudulent election and re-establish liberty for our nation. JOIN US & Thousands of other Patriots!"²⁹³ The B-Squad claimed it was the "right & duty of the people to alter or to abolish" the Government.²⁹⁴ Its members discussed bringing tactical gear to Washington, DC.²⁹⁵

On December 30th, Liggett posted a meme to Facebook stating that "3% Will Show In Record Numbers In DC."²⁹⁶ When the Select Committee asked about this post, Liggett downplayed its significance or disclaimed any knowledge about other Three Percenter groups that might "show in record numbers."²⁹⁷ However, on January 3, 2021, Liggett posted a "safety video" on Facebook in which he and others dressed in military gear. Liggett instructed listeners about self-defense and the tools they (like him) could bring to Washington, DC, including "an expandable metal baton, a walking cane and a folding knife."²⁹⁸ He advised "all of you Patriots going to

Washington, D.C. ... to support Trump,” and to “keep up the fight.”²⁹⁹ Several “B-squad” members have been charged with civil disorder and disorderly and disruptive conduct, which took place while rioters nearby were assaulting officers in the tunnel area of the Capitol’s Lower West Terrace on January 6th.³⁰⁰

In California, another group of men associated with the Three Percenter movement quickly began plotting their next moves after President Trump’s tweet. Alan Hostetter and Russell Taylor ran a non-profit known as the American Phoenix Project, which protested COVID-19 lockdowns and the 2020 election results, while also promoting violence ahead of January 6th.³⁰¹ Ahead of the joint session, Hostetter and Taylor organized a small group in an encrypted chat they named “The California Patriots—DC Brigade.”³⁰²

On December 19th, Taylor linked to President Trump’s “will be wild” tweet and asked members of the chat “Who is going?”³⁰³ The same day, Hostetter posted a message to his Instagram account, explaining he was traveling to Washington, DC on January 6th because President Trump “tweeted that all patriots should descend on Washington DC” and that day “is the date of the Joint Session of Congress in which they will either accept or reject the fake/phony/stolen electoral college votes.”³⁰⁴ The next day, Taylor renamed the Telegram chat as “The California Patriots-Answer the Call Jan 6.”³⁰⁵ On December 29th, Taylor posted to that chat: “I personally want to be on the front steps and be one of the first ones to breach the doors!”³⁰⁶

Between December 19th and January 6th, Hostetter, Taylor and their alleged co-conspirators exchanged messages about bringing weapons, such as hatchets, bats, or large metal flashlights, as well as possibly firearms, with them to Washington, DC.³⁰⁷ They were “ready and willing to fight.”³⁰⁸ In one message, Hostetter predicted that January 6th would be similar to the “War of Independence” because “[t]here will likely be 3% of us again that will commit fully to this battle, but just as in 1776 patriots will prevail.”³⁰⁹

There are additional examples of how President Trump’s “be wild” tweet led Three Percenters to descend on the U.S. Capitol. One Three Percenter group issued an open letter on December 16, 2020, announcing that they “stand ready and are standing by to answer the call from our President should the need arise that We The People are needed to take back our country from the pure evil that is conspiring to steal our country away from the American people.... We will not act unless we are told to.”³¹⁰ In late December, after the President’s tweet, The Three Percenters Original (TTPO) issued a letter to its members announcing that “this organization will be answering that call!”³¹¹

There is also additional evidence showing that militia groups like the Three Percenters coordinated with other groups both before and on January 6th. Josh Ellis, the owner of the MyMilitia website, testified that he used Zello (a walkie-talkie app) when he was in Washington, DC on January 6th. The Proud Boys, Oath Keepers, other militia members, and “regular patriots” all used these Zello channels in the leadup to January 6th and in response to President Trump’s December 19th tweet. They used these channels to share intelligence.³¹²

6.9 QANON: “OPERATION OCCUPY THE CAPITOL”

Shortly after the January 6th attack, a video of a bearded man in a “Q” shirt chasing U.S. Capitol Police Officer Ryan Goodman through the halls of the U.S. Capitol went viral.³¹³ That man was Doug Jensen, a QAnon believer.³¹⁴ After Jensen’s arrest, FBI agents asked him why he traveled from Iowa to Washington, DC in the first place. “Trump posted make sure you’re there, January 6 for the rally in Washington, D.C.,” Jensen responded.³¹⁵

Jensen was not the only QAnon believer to attack the U.S. Capitol on January 6th. The letter “Q” and related slogans, such as “Where We Go One, We Go All,” were ubiquitous among the rioters. They were visible on shirts, signs, and flags throughout the crowd. What was once a marginal digital movement had become a bricks-and-mortar force powerful enough to help obstruct a joint session of Congress.

QAnon is a bizarre and dangerous cult that gained popularity in 2017, when a person known only as “Q” began posting on 4chan, an anonymous message board.³¹⁶ The poster supposedly held a “Q” security clearance at the Department of Energy. QAnon adherents believe that President Trump is a messianic figure battling the forces of the “deep state” and a Satanic pedophile ring operated by leading Democrats and the American elite.³¹⁷ Q’s first post in October 2017 predicted that former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton would be arrested in short order.³¹⁸ Although that prophecy did not come to pass, the conspiracy theory evolved and grew over time, spreading across social media platforms and eventually finding a home in 8kun, another anonymous message board known for trafficking in conspiracy theories and hate.³¹⁹

President Trump was given multiple opportunities to disavow QAnon. Instead, he essentially endorsed its core tenets. During an August 19, 2020, press briefing, President Trump was asked what he thought about the QAnon belief that he was fighting a Satanic cabal. “I mean, you know, if I can help save the world from problems, I’m willing to do it. I’m willing to put myself out there,” he replied.³²⁰ During a townhall on NBC News two

weeks prior to the election, President Trump first claimed he “knew nothing” about QAnon, but he then praised its believers for being “very strongly against pedophilia.” The President emphasized: “And I agree with that. I mean, I do agree with that.”³²¹

In 2020, QAnon played a significant role in spreading various election conspiracy theories. After the election, QAnon accounts amplified the claim that Dominion Voting System’s software had altered votes.³²² On November 19th, President Trump tweeted and retweeted a link to a segment on One America News Network (OAN) that was captioned, “Dominion-izing the Vote.”³²³ The segment claimed that Dominion had switched votes from President Trump to former Vice President Biden. OAN featured a supposed cyber expert, Ron Watkins, a key figure in the QAnon conspiracy movement.³²⁴ Watkins’s father, Jim, owned the 8kun site that “Q” called home, and Ron helped oversee its message boards.³²⁵

After promoting the OAN segment, President Trump retweeted Ron Watkins’s account on several other occasions. On December 15, 2020, President Trump retweeted a post in which Watkins spread false claims of foreign influence in the election.³²⁶ Then, on January 3rd, President Trump retweeted Ron Watkins’s account four more times.³²⁷

QAnon’s adherents were clearly paying attention to President Trump’s words—and tweets. The President’s “be wild” tweet was widely heard as a clarion call. Jim Watkins told the Select Committee that “thousands and thousands of people probably” agreed that the President’s December 19th tweet was a call for them to come to Washington, DC.³²⁸ Jim Watkins himself marched in Washington, DC on January 6th because of the President’s call, but he has not been charged with any crime.³²⁹

Other QAnon adherents flocked to Washington, DC in response to the President’s call to action. “POTUS HAS REQUESTED YOUR ATTENDANCE Washington DC JANUARY 6TH 2021,” Thomas Munn, a QAnon believer, posted on Facebook. Munn added: “Our President has only asked two things from us, so far...#1 Vote #2 January 6, 2021.”³³⁰ Jacob Chansley, better known as the QAnon Shaman, told the FBI that he traveled from Arizona because President Trump had requested that all “patriots” come to Washington, DC on January 6th.³³¹

During the investigation, the Select Committee learned that the QAnon conspiracy theory often overlaps with other extremist beliefs. Stewart Rhodes of the Oath Keepers testified to the Select Committee that he’s “not a Q-tard” and “not a follower of Q at all.”³³² However, Rhodes cynically exploited QAnon for his own purposes. The Oath Keepers’ website and text messages were littered with QAnon phrases.³³³ Nick Quested, a filmmaker who shadowed the Proud Boys, often heard QAnon themes in the Proud Boys’ private discussions.³³⁴

As January 6th drew closer, multiple posts on the QAnon-linked website 8kun indicated that violence was imminent. “You can go to Washington on Jan 6 and help storm the Capitol,” one user wrote. This same user continued: “As many Patriots as can be. We will storm the government buildings, kill cops, kill security guards, kill federal employees and agents, and demand a recount.”³³⁵ Other posts on 8kun debated the politicians that users should target once they got inside the Capitol.³³⁶

A QAnon-inspired banner was also widely shared by groups planning events for January 5th and 6th. The top of the image read: “Operation Occupy the Capitol.” The central image showed the U.S. Capitol being torn in two. In the lower left corner, there appeared a QAnon phrase: “#WeAreTheStorm.”³³⁷

6.10 THEDONALD.WIN: “OCCUPY THE CAPITOL”

Within three minutes of President Trump’s tweet, a user on TheDonald.win message board posted: “Trump Tweet. Daddy Says Be In DC on Jan. 6th.”³³⁸ Moderators pinned the post to the top of the board from December 19th until January 6th. It garnered nearly 6,000 comments and more than 24,000 upvotes during that time.³³⁹ Many of the site’s users quickly interpreted President Trump’s tweet as a call for violence. For example, one user wrote, “[Trump] can’t exactly openly tell you to revolt. This is the closest he’ll ever get.”³⁴⁰ Jody Williams, the site’s then-owner, testified that while users had been talking about traveling to Washington, DC since the election, after the tweet “anything else was kind of shut out, and it just was going to be the 6th.”³⁴¹

In the days that followed, users on TheDonald.win discussed: surrounding and occupying the U.S. Capitol; cutting off access tunnels used by Members of Congress; the types of weapons they should bring; and even how to build a hangman’s gallows.³⁴² The parallels to what transpired on January 6th are obvious.

TheDonald.win and its predecessor site was a website for some of its namesake’s most ardent fans. Even before President Trump was elected, his social media team monitored and interacted with the site’s users. In the summer of 2016, then-candidate Trump himself engaged in a written question and answer session on TheDonald, which at the time was a forum on Reddit.³⁴³ This online community, which had upwards of 790,000 users, was banned by Reddit in mid-2020.³⁴⁴ However, the site’s users migrated to another online location, becoming TheDonald.win.³⁴⁵

Dan Scavino, the President’s social media guru, amplified content from this website. During the 2016 presidential campaign, “a team in the war



White House social media director Dan Scavino Jr.

Photo by Chip Somodevilla/Getty Images

room at Trump Tower was monitoring social media trends, including TheDonald subreddit ... and privately communicating with the most active users to seed new trends.”³⁴⁶ “Campaign staffers monitored Twitter and TheDonald subreddit, and pushed any promising trends up to social media director Dan Scavino, who might give them a boost with a tweet.”³⁴⁷ In 2017, President Trump tweeted a video of himself attacking CNN.³⁴⁸ The video had appeared on The Donald four days earlier.³⁴⁹ In 2019, *Politico* reported that Scavino “regularly monitors Reddit, with a particular focus on the pro-Trump /r/The_Donald channel.”³⁵⁰

The Select Committee sought to question Scavino about how he and others on President Trump’s social media team interacted with The Donald subreddit and then TheDonald.win. But Scavino refused to cooperate with the committee’s subpoena.³⁵¹

After President Trump’s December 19th tweet, users on the site posted simple maps of the U.S. Capitol and telegraphed their intent to invade the building.³⁵² “If we occupy the capitol building, there will be no vote,” one user wrote.³⁵³ “The media will call us evil if we have to occupy the Capitol Building on January 6th. Let them,” another post read.³⁵⁴ One user argued the goal should be to “surround the enemy” and “create [a] perimeter” around the Capitol on January 6th, such that no one was allowed to leave

until President Trump was “re-admitted for another 4 years.”³⁵⁵ This same user posted a diagram of the U.S. Capitol’s perimeter with arrows indicating where the “Capitol Access Tunnels” were located.

On January 5th, another user on TheDonald.win encouraged President Trump’s supporters to “be prepared to secure the capitol building,” claiming that “there will be plenty of ex military to guide you.”³⁵⁶ Multiple other posts made it clear that the U.S. Capitol was the target on January 6th, with one poster writing that people should bring “handcuffs and zip ties to DC,” so they could enact “citizen’s arrests” of those officials who certified the election’s results.³⁵⁷ Another post highlighted the “most important map for January 6th. Form a TRUE LINE around the Capitol and the tunnels.”³⁵⁸ That “post included a detailed schematic of Capitol Hill with the tunnels surrounding the complex highlighted.”³⁵⁹

Other posts on TheDonald.win included specific plans to build gallows outside the U.S. Capitol. “Gallows are simpler and more cost effective, plus they’re an American old west tradition too,” one user wrote on December 22, 2020.³⁶⁰ A week later, another wrote: “Let’s construct a Gallows outside the Capitol building next Wednesday so the Congressmen watching from their office windows shit their pants.”³⁶¹ Another said that “building a hanging platform in front of Congress on the 6 should send a strong message.”³⁶² The site hosted a diagram showing how to tie a hangman’s knot,³⁶³ with one site member writing that they should build gallows “so the traitors know the stakes.”³⁶⁴ On January 5, 2021, hours before the attack began, a user posted an image of gallows and titled it, “Election Fraud Repair Kit.”³⁶⁵

Text messages between Trump Campaign Senior Advisor Jason Miller and White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows show that these kinds of posts reached deep into the President’s inner circle. Miller sent Meadows a text on December 30th, declaring, “I got the base FIRED UP.”³⁶⁶ The thread contained a link to a TheDonald.win comment thread filled with reactions to a post by Miller promoting January 6th.³⁶⁷ Users in the thread made comments such as “gallows don’t require electricity,” and that millions will “bust in through the doors if they try to stop Pence from declaring Trump the winner,” all in response to Miller.³⁶⁸

On December 19, 2020, the same day President Trump posted his inflammatory “be wild” tweet, he also tweeted a noteworthy video. The short clip was titled, “FIGHT FOR TRUMP!—SAVE AMERICA—SAVE THE WORLD.”³⁶⁹ The video reportedly appeared on TheDonald.win two days earlier.³⁷⁰ As with so much else on TheDonald.win, this refrain featured prominently on the day of the attack on the Capitol. During his speech at the Ellipse south of the White House on January 6th, the crowd broke out into a chant of “Fight for Trump! Fight for Trump!” President Trump thanked those in attendance.³⁷¹

In the two and a half weeks since he first announced the January 6th “protest,” extremists and conspiracy theorists plotted to make the unprecedented, presidentially announced protest against the peaceful transfer of power “wild” indeed. Meanwhile, event organizers and White House staffers prepared for the final rally of President Trump’s term.

6.11 HOW THE WHITE HOUSE AND RALLY ORGANIZERS PREPARED FOR JANUARY 6TH

In the days following President Trump’s tweet, rally organizers secured permits for about one dozen events in Washington, DC on January 5th and 6th.³⁷² At 7:12 a.m., not even 6 hours after President Trump’s tweet, Cindy Chafian, an executive at Women for America First (WFAF), emailed the National Park Service (NPS) about an event that had been planned to coincide with President-elect Biden’s inauguration on January 20, 2021.³⁷³ Chafian’s ask was simple: “Can I change the date to January 6th?”³⁷⁴

WFAF was founded in 2019 by Amy and Kylie Kremer, a mother-daughter pair who were longtime supporters of the President.³⁷⁵ WFAF became a significant player in the “Stop the Steal” movement.³⁷⁶ The Kremers started a “Stop the Steal” Facebook group that gathered some 365,000 members in less than 24 hours.³⁷⁷ Their online organizing coincided with their on-the-ground mobilization activities. The Kremers organized a bus tour to promote the Big Lie, in addition to events in Washington, DC on November 14, 2020, and December 12, 2020.³⁷⁸ After President Trump’s December 19th tweet, the Kremers focused on January 6th. Kylie Kremer proudly declared their support on Twitter: “The calvary [sic] is coming, President! JANUARY 6th | Washington, DC TrumpMarch.com #MarchForTrump #StopTheSteal.”³⁷⁹ After the date of their permit was revised, WFAF ultimately provided President Trump the stage on the Ellipse where he would direct the crowd to march on the Capitol.³⁸⁰

The Kremers were not alone in responding quickly to the President’s tweet. Ali Alexander, the founder of Stop the Steal, LLC,³⁸¹ was eager to get ahead of other organizers. On the morning of December 19th, Alexander told his event planner, “Everyone is trying to get the jump on us so I’d like to get the court side of the capitol (lawn) and I’d like to get capitol steps and court.”³⁸² Alexander told his event planner to “grab whatever we can. All of it.”³⁸³ Alexander’s team did just that: they registered and launched a new website, WildProtest.com,³⁸⁴ which advertised planned events for January 6th under a banner that read: “President Trump Wants You in DC January 6.”³⁸⁵

Still other organizers were quick to seize on the President’s tweet. Arina Grossu and Robert Weaver, co-founders of the self-proclaimed “Judeo-Christian” Jericho March organization,³⁸⁶ held a rally in Washington, DC on

December 12, 2020. Oath Keepers leader Stewart Rhodes, Flynn, Jones, Alexander, and others shared a stage at that event.³⁸⁷ Grossu and Weaver exchanged emails just a few hours after President Trump’s first mention of January 6th. In an email on the morning of December 19th, Weaver told Grossu to “enjoy the peace before the storm” and said, “Trump has called for a protest on 1/6, FYI.”³⁸⁸ The Jericho March’s website used President Trump’s “Be there, will be wild!” language to advertise additional events between January 2nd and January 6, 2021.³⁸⁹

Marsha Lessard, the leader of a vaccine-skeptic group, Virginia Freedom Keepers, worked to stage an event with Bianca Gracia, the leader of Latinos for Trump on January 6th.³⁹⁰ The women had ties to the Oath Keepers³⁹¹ and Proud Boys,³⁹² respectively—two groups central to the violence on January 6. Latinos for Trump reportedly advertised their January 6th event with the same QAnon-inspired banner, “Operation Occupy the Capitol.”³⁹³ Another conservative group, Moms for America, worked with Alexander before securing a permit for an event on January 5th.³⁹⁴

6.12 “HE’S CALLING ON YOU, HE NEEDS YOUR HELP”

As discussed above, Alex Jones was one of the loudest supporters of the “Stop the Steal” movement. Jones dedicated much of the December 20th episode of his *InfoWars* show to President Trump’s “be wild” tweet, telling his listeners that nothing less than the fate of the American Republic was at stake. “He’s calling you, he needs your help, we need your help,” Jones told his audience.³⁹⁵ The Select Committee has learned that, between the time of the President’s tweet and Jones’s December 20th show, Jones’s staff had several calls with Chafian, who had just procured a new permit for WFAF’s event on the Ellipse.³⁹⁶ The two parties apparently discussed whether this newly hatched January 6th event was an opportunity to work together.³⁹⁷

Jones’s broadcast also led to an influx of funds for the January 6th event at the Ellipse. Julie Fancelli is the billionaire heiress to the Publix supermarket fortune and a longtime supporter of President Trump.³⁹⁸ Fancelli had recently become a donor to Jones’s *InfoWars* site.³⁹⁹ She listened to Jones’s December 20th show,⁴⁰⁰ and decided she wanted to back the cause.

Inspired by Jones and the fervor that continued to surround the President’s tweet, Fancelli called Caroline Wren, a Republican fundraiser linked to the Trump Campaign, the next day.⁴⁰¹ According to Wren, Fancelli said that “she wanted to see a lot of people there in DC, so how much would that cost?”⁴⁰² Fancelli spoke with Jones’s staff and they recommended that she connect with Chafian, who was organizing the Ellipse rally.⁴⁰³ In the waning days of 2020, Fancelli and Jones spoke several times.⁴⁰⁴

Fancelli worked with Wren to create a multimillion-dollar budget to convene as many supporters of President Trump as possible.⁴⁰⁵ To ensure that Fancelli's dollars made maximum impact, Wren contacted some of the major players who were rallying supporters for January 6th. Wren emailed Kylie Kremer⁴⁰⁶ and exchanged texts with Jones⁴⁰⁷ and Chafian.⁴⁰⁸ Fancelli's goal was clear: she wanted to spend \$3 million to "get as many people there as possible."⁴⁰⁹ The resulting budget allocated \$500,000 to a busing program and a centralized ad campaign by the Tea Party Express to promote the event.⁴¹⁰ Another \$500,000 went to assisting WFAF and Jones in their organizational efforts.⁴¹¹

Caroline Wren also connected with Ali Alexander. On December 29th, Wren told the Stop the Steal leader, "I can pay for the buses and I have my team looking for available companies, so let me know what cities you need them in!"⁴¹² Wren's offer came in response to a tweet from Alexander earlier that day: "Coalition of us working on 25 new charter buses to bring people FOR FREE to #JAN6 #STOPTHESTEAL for President Trump. If you have money for more buses or have a company, let me know. We will list our buses sometime in the next 72 hours. STAND BACK & STAND BY!"⁴¹³

The final words of Alexander's tweet directly echoed President Trump's command to the Proud Boys during the September 29, 2020, presidential debate.⁴¹⁴ Alexander's word choice was apt. The Proud Boys were already planning to show up in force, and to ensure that the crowd would be "wild."

6.13 "TRUMP IS SUPPOSED TO ORDER US TO THE CAPITOL"

On the evening of December 27th, President Trump boosted the upcoming event on Twitter: "See you in Washington, DC, on January 6th. Don't miss it. Information to follow!"⁴¹⁵ The Select Committee learned that this tweet came after the White House spoke with a former Trump staffer, Justin Caporale, who was asked to help produce the Ellipse rally.⁴¹⁶ That same evening, the President had dinner with Donald Trump, Jr., and his girlfriend Kimberly Guilfoyle,⁴¹⁷ who spoke with rally organizer Caroline Wren during the meal.⁴¹⁸ Wren also texted Guilfoyle talking points that described her ambitions for the event, saying that "buses of people are coming in from all over the country to support you. It's going to be huge, we are also adding in programming the night of January 5th."⁴¹⁹

After Guilfoyle's call with Wren, there was a series of calls among the senior White House staff,⁴²⁰ likely underscoring the seriousness of the White House's interest in the event.

Within a few days, the White House began to take a more direct role in coordinating the rally at the Ellipse.⁴²¹ In a December 29th text to Wren, Caporale wrote that after the President’s planned speech there “maybe [sic] a call to action to march to the [C]apitol and make noise.”⁴²²

This is the earliest indication uncovered by the Select Committee that the President planned to call on his supporters to march on the U.S. Capitol. But it wasn’t the last. On January 2nd, rally organizer Katrina Pierson informed Wren that President Trump’s Chief of Staff, Mark Meadows, had said the President was going to “call on everyone to march to the [C]apitol.”⁴²³

Inside the White House, the President’s intent was well-known. Cassidy Hutchinson, an aide to Meadows, recalled in her testimony that she overheard discussions to this effect toward the end of December or early January. One such discussion included an exchange between Meadows and Rudolph Giuliani that occurred on January 2nd.⁴²⁴ Hutchinson understood that President Trump wanted to have a crowd at the Capitol in connection with what was happening inside—the certification of the electoral count.⁴²⁵ Hutchinson also recalled that President Trump’s allies in Congress were aware of the plan. During a call with members of the House Freedom Caucus, the idea of telling people to go to the Capitol was discussed as a way to encourage Congress to delay the electoral college certification and send it back to the States.⁴²⁶

On January 4th, WFAF’s Kylie Kremer informed Mike Lindell, the CEO of MyPillow and an ally of President Trump, that “POTUS is going to have us march there [the Supreme Court]/the Capitol” but emphasized that the plan “stays only between us.”⁴²⁷

The “Stop the Steal” coalition was aware of the President’s intent. On January 5th, Ali Alexander sent a text to a journalist saying: “Ellipse then US capitol [sic]. Trump is supposed to order us to the capitol [sic] at the end of his speech but we will see.”⁴²⁸

6.14 “WELL, I SHOULD WALK WITH THE PEOPLE.”

President Trump wanted to personally accompany his supporters on the march from the Ellipse to the U.S. Capitol. During a January 4th meeting with staffers and event organizer Katrina Pierson, President Trump emphasized his desire to march with his supporters.⁴²⁹ “Well, I should walk with the people,” Pierson recalled President Trump saying.⁴³⁰ Though Pierson said that she did not take him “seriously,” she knew that “he would absolutely want to be with the people.”⁴³¹ Pierson pointed out that President Trump “did the drive-by the first time and the flyover the second time”—a

reference to the November and December 2020 protests in Washington, DC.⁴³² During these previous events, President Trump made cameo appearances to fire up his supporters. Now, as January 6th approached, the President again wanted to be there, on the ground, as his supporters marched on the U.S. Capitol.

The President's advisors tried to talk him out of it. White House Senior Advisor Max Miller "shot it down immediately" because of concerns about the President's safety.⁴³³ Pierson agreed.⁴³⁴ But President Trump was persistent, and he floated the idea of having 10,000 National Guardsmen deployed to protect him and his supporters from any supposed threats by leftwing counter-protestors.⁴³⁵ Miller again rejected the President's idea, saying that the National Guard was not necessary for the event. Miller testified that there was no further conversation on the matter.⁴³⁶ After the meeting, Miller texted Pierson, "Just glad we killed the national guard and a procession."⁴³⁷ That is, President Trump briefly considered having the National Guard oversee his procession to the U.S. Capitol. The President did not order the National Guard to protect the U.S. Capitol, or to secure the joint session proceedings.

Although his advisors tried to talk the President out of personally going, they understood that his supporters would be marching.⁴³⁸ Pierson's agenda for the meeting reflected the President's plan for protestors to go to the U.S. Capitol after the rally.⁴³⁹ But President Trump did not give up on the idea of personally joining his supporters on their march, as discussed further in Chapter 7.

6.15 "POTUS...LIKES THE CRAZIES."

As Katrina Pierson helped plan the Ellipse rally, she faced another complication. The "Stop the Steal" movement played an outsized role in promoting January 6th. And now, as the day approached, its leading voices wanted prime speaking gigs—perhaps even on the same stage as President Trump. Roger Stone, Alex Jones and Ali Alexander were all angling for significant stage time. Pierson knew they were trouble.

In her testimony before the Select Committee, Pierson cited several concerns, including that Jones and Alexander had played a prominent role in the November 2020 protest in Atlanta, Georgia. This was no ordinary protest. Jones and Alexander "had gone into the Georgia Capitol with some inflammatory rhetoric," Pierson explained.⁴⁴⁰ When Pierson was asked if Jones and Alexander "surrounding the governor's mansion" and "going into the Capitol" were the "kind of thing" that gave her pause, she responded: "Absolutely."⁴⁴¹ After the Georgia protest, Pierson explained,



Photos of Roger Stone, Alex Jones and Ali Alexander appear on a screen during a Select Committee hearing on July 12, 2022.

Photo by Anna Moneymaker/Getty Images

the Kremers—who had helped organize “Stop the Steal” activities—distanced themselves from Jones and Alexander.⁴⁴²

But there was an additional problem. President Trump wanted to include the “Stop the Steal” leaders in the January 6th event. As Pierson put it in a text message to Kylie Kremer: “POTUS ... likes the crazies.”⁴⁴³ Pierson said that she believed this was the case because President Trump “loved people who viciously defended him in public.”⁴⁴⁴ But their “vicious” defenses of the President clearly troubled Pierson.

Pierson tried to trim the speaker lineup—which still included the “Stop the Steal” trio of Stone, Jones, and Alexander. She was initially vetoed by the White House after Deputy Chief of Staff for Communications Dan Scavino,⁴⁴⁵ who had approved the “original psycho list.”⁴⁴⁶ At one point, she texted Scavino’s boss, Mark Meadows, saying: “Things have gotten crazy and I desperately need some direction.”⁴⁴⁷ She was concerned by the possibility of “crazy people” being included in the event, their incendiary role in Georgia, and the fact that people coming to Washington, DC were planning to protest at the U.S. Capitol.⁴⁴⁸

Meadows told Pierson that she should take control of the situation and remove the possibility of controversial speakers.⁴⁴⁹ Pierson agreed to do

so.⁴⁵⁰ But the President remained an obstacle. During their January 4th meeting, Pierson tried to convince President Trump to minimize the role of these potentially explosive figures at the Ellipse. She offered to place them at a planned event the night before in Freedom Plaza or on other stages in DC on January 6th. She told the President to “[k]eep the fringe on the fringe”⁴⁵¹ and advised him to “[e]liminate convicted felons that could damage other speakers.”⁴⁵²

President Trump was still unwilling to remove them from the lineup entirely. The President instructed Pierson to give Stone a speaking slot on January 5th and asked for more information about Ali Alexander.⁴⁵³ After discussing the matter with Scavino, President Trump also requested that Alexander be given a speaking slot. President Trump “brought up Ali [Alexander] ... just keep him on stage not associated with POTUS or main event,” Scavino wrote.⁴⁵⁴

In the end, the “Stop the Steal” leaders—Stone, Jones and Alexander—did not appear on the stage at the Ellipse on January 6th, although they did speak at other planned events, consistent with the President’s request about Alexander. “POTUS expectations are [to have something] intimate and then send everyone over to the Capitol,” Pierson explained in a text message to Justin Caporale and Taylor Budowich.⁴⁵⁵ Caporale redacted this text and others in his early production of documents to the Select Committee, and he only revealed them after they had already been produced by other witnesses.⁴⁵⁶

However, other incendiary voices—in addition to President Trump’s—were given time on the Ellipse stage. The Select Committee learned that President Trump’s aides warned him against the inclusion of figures like John Eastman⁴⁵⁷ and Rudolph Giuliani,⁴⁵⁸ given their false claims about election fraud.⁴⁵⁹ Both men, of course, ended up sharing a stage with him on January 6th.⁴⁶⁰ Meadows himself directed that they be allowed to speak.⁴⁶¹

6.16 JANUARY 5, 2021: “FORT TRUMP”

While the “Stop the Steal” coalition was not given speaking slots on the Ellipse stage on January 6th, its leaders had plenty of opportunities to speak the day before. And they used their platforms to rile up the crowd in Washington, DC in advance of the joint session.

Ali Alexander spoke at an event sponsored by Moms for America in front of the U.S. Capitol. Alexander claimed that he was honored to be sharing the same stage with President Trump the following day, even though behind the scenes his appearance had been nixed.⁴⁶²

“We must rebel,” Alexander told rallygoers. “I’m not even sure if I’m going to leave D.C. We might make this ‘Fort Trump,’ right?” Alexander said, while standing in front of the U.S. Capitol. “We’re going to keep fighting for you, Mr. President.”⁴⁶³ On his Twitter account, Alexander also spread the idea that President Trump’s supporters should occupy areas of Washington, DC, using the phrases and hashtags such as “Fort Trump” and “#OccupyDC”.⁴⁶⁴

Alex Jones and Roger Stone spoke at a separate event hosted by Virginia Women for Trump in front of the Supreme Court.⁴⁶⁵ The event, named the “One Nation Under God” prayer rally, was cohosted by the American Phoenix Project—the Three Percenter-linked group run by Alan Hostetter and Russel Taylor, discussed above, which is charged with conspiracy to obstruct an official proceeding.⁴⁶⁶

Jones repeated his claims about the election being stolen, claiming that those in attendance stood against a “Satanic world government.”⁴⁶⁷ Stone led a “Stop the Steal” chant, claiming the “evidence of election fraud is not only growing, it is overwhelming, and it is compelling.” President Trump “won the majority of the legal votes cast” and President Trump “won this election,” Stone said. Nothing less than the fate of Western Civilization was at stake, according to Stone:

Let’s be very clear. This is not fight between Republicans and Democrats. This is not a fight between liberals and conservatives. This is a fight for the future the United States of America. It is a fight for the future of Western Civilization as we know it. It’s a fight between dark and light. It’s a fight between the godly and the godless. It’s a fight between good and evil. And we dare not fail, or we will step out into one thousand years of darkness.⁴⁶⁸

Stone claimed that they “renounce violence” and those on “the left ... are the violent ones.” But he insisted that “nothing is over until we say it is,” and “Victory will be ours.”⁴⁶⁹

Both Taylor and Hostetter spoke as well. Hostetter told the crowd, “We are at war.”⁴⁷⁰ Taylor promised to “fight” and “bleed,” vowing that “Patriot[s]” would “not return to our peaceful way of life until this election is made right.”⁴⁷¹

A long rally was also hosted at Freedom Plaza, an open-air space on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC. It is a symbolic protest site, standing in the direct line between the White House and the U.S. Capitol. Stone, Jones and Alexander all appeared at Freedom Plaza on the evening of January 5th. Their remarks were incendiary.

Stone repeated his apocalyptic language from earlier in the day, claiming that rallygoers were embroiled in “an epic struggle for the future of this country between dark and light.”⁴⁷² “I want them to know that 1776 is

always an option,” Ali Alexander said. “These degenerates in the deep state are going to give us what we want, or we are going to shut this country down.”⁴⁷³ When Alex Jones took to the stage, he screamed at the crowd: “It’s 1776!”⁴⁷⁴

Another speaker that evening was Lt. Gen. Michael Flynn (ret.). “Tomorrow, tomorrow, trust me, the American people that are standing on the soil that we are standing on tonight, and they’re going to be standing on this soil tomorrow, this is soil that we have fought over, fought for, and we will fight for in the future,” Flynn also told the crowd. Flynn addressed Members of Congress, saying “those of you who are feeling weak tonight, those of you that don’t have the moral fiber in your body, get some tonight because tomorrow, we the people are going to be here, and we want you to know that we will not stand for a lie. We will not stand for a lie.”⁴⁷⁵

6.17 “TOGETHER, WE WILL STOP THE STEAL.”

On the evening of January 5th, the President edited the speech he would deliver the next day at the Ellipse. The President’s speechwriting team had only started working on his remarks the day before.⁴⁷⁶ Despite concerns from the speechwriting team, unfounded claims coming from Giuliani and others made their way into the draft.⁴⁷⁷

The initial draft circulated on January 5th emphasized that the crowd would march to the U.S. Capitol.⁴⁷⁸ Based on what they had heard from others in the White House, the speechwriting team expected President Trump to use his address to tell people to go to the Capitol.⁴⁷⁹

That evening, President Trump convened an impromptu gathering in the Oval Office with members of his staff, primarily his press team⁴⁸⁰ and White House Deputy Chief of Staff Dan Scavino, who was in charge of President Trump’s personal Twitter account.⁴⁸¹ Despite the bitter cold, the President ordered his staff to keep the door to the Rose Garden open so he could hear the music and cheering from his supporters at Freedom Plaza.⁴⁸² The music playing at Freedom Plaza was so loud “you could feel it shaking in the Oval.”⁴⁸³

As President Trump listened, he was tweeting, at one point telling his supporters he could hear them from the Oval Office.⁴⁸⁴ His speechwriters incorporated those tweets into a second draft of the speech that was circulated later that evening.⁴⁸⁵ The following appeared in both tweet form⁴⁸⁶ and was adapted into the speech:

“All of us here today do not want to see our election victory stolen by emboldened Radical Left Democrats. Our Country has had enough, they won’t take it anymore! Together, we will STOP THE STEAL.”⁴⁸⁷



President Trump and members of his staff in the Oval Office on the evening of January 5, 2021.

Photo provided to the Select Committee by the National Archives and Records Administration.

In speaking with staff, he still seemed optimistic that “Congress would take some sort of action in his favor.”⁴⁸⁸ The White House photographer, who was also in attendance, recalled that President Trump again remarked that he should go to the Capitol the next day, and even asked about the best route to get there.⁴⁸⁹ The President peppered staff for ideas concerning how “we could make the RINOs do the right thing” and make the next day “big.”⁴⁹⁰ Deputy Press Secretary Sarah Matthews, who was present in the Oval Office that evening, understood that President Trump wanted to get Republican Members of Congress to send the electoral votes back to the States, rather than certify the election.⁴⁹¹ Matthews recalled that initially no one spoke up in response, since they were trying to “process” what he had said.⁴⁹²

Eventually, Deere suggested that President Trump should focus his speech on his administration’s accomplishments, rather than on his claim that the election had been stolen.⁴⁹³ But the President told Deere that while they had accomplished a lot, the crowd was going to be “fired up” and “angry” the next day because they believed the election had been stolen and was rigged.⁴⁹⁴ President Trump knew the crowd was angry because he could hear them.⁴⁹⁵ Of course, President Trump was responsible, more than any other party, for ginning up their anger.

President Trump ended the evening by asking an aide how many people were going to be at the rally. The aide responded that he was not sure but

told President Trump that he saw videos on Twitter of “pro-trump people chanting on planes heading to DC,” which he asked to be shared with Scavino.⁴⁹⁶

“We will not let them silence your voices,” the President told the crowd from the podium at the Ellipse. “We’re not going to let it happen, I’m not going to let it happen.”⁴⁹⁷ His supporters started chanting, “fight for Trump!” The President thanked them.⁴⁹⁸

President Trump knew not only that his supporters were angry, but also that some of them were armed.⁴⁹⁹ At times, he ad-libbed, deliberately stoking their rage even more. At one point he said: “And we fight. We fight like hell. And if you don’t fight like hell, you’re not going to have a country anymore.”⁵⁰⁰ The word “fight,” or a variation thereof, appeared only twice in the prepared text.⁵⁰¹ President Trump would go on to utter the word twenty times during his speech at the Ellipse.⁵⁰²

President Trump had summoned a mob, including armed extremists and conspiracy theorists, to Washington, DC on the day the joint session of Congress was to meet. He then told that same mob to march on the U.S. Capitol and “fight.” They clearly got the message.

ENDNOTES

1. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Barr, (June 2, 2022), p. 62.
2. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Barr, (June 2, 2022), pp. 27,62; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Michael Pompeo, (Aug. 9, 2022), p. 30; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Eugene Scalia, (June 30, 2022), p. 11.
3. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Eugene Scalia, (June 30, 2022), p. 11. Others throughout the White House similarly recognized that December 14 was a milestone in America’s constitutional process, and it was time for the President to move on. But it was not just members of President Trump’s Cabinet who viewed that the election was over, and that President Trump had lost by December 14—President Trump’s top advisors at the White House came to similar conclusions. For example, White House Counsel Pat Cipollone agreed with Senator McConnell’s December 15th comments on the Senate floor and viewed the process for challenging the election as “done.” See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Pasquale Anthony “Pat” Cipollone, (July 8, 2022), p. 73. White House Deputy Press Secretary and Deputy Assistant to the President Judd Deere also recognized the significance of the electoral college vote in determining the president and vice president and conveyed this to President Trump. He also advised him to concede. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson P. Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), pp. 23-25. White House Advisor Ivanka Trump viewed the electoral college vote as important and had already started planning for leaving the administration prior to then. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ivanka Trump, (Apr. 5, 2022), p. 193. White House Advisor Jared Kushner similarly viewed that day as “significant.” Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Jared Kushner, (Mar. 31, 2022), p. 107.

4. President Trump's full tweet read: "Peter Navarro releases 36-page report alleging election fraud 'more than sufficient' to swing victory to Trump <https://t.co/D8KrMHnFdK>. A great report by Peter. Statistically impossible to have lost the 2020 Election. Big protest in D.C. on January 6th. Be there, will be wild!" President Donald J. Trump: Tweets of December 19, 2020, The American Presidency Project, available at <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/tweets-december-19-2020>.
5. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of J. Smith, (May 9, 2022), p. 79. Navaroli appeared for two deposition sessions with the Select Committee, the first of which was conducted anonymously to protect her identity. In this deposition session, she was called "J. Smith." She later agreed to put her name in the record and sat for another round of questioning. Testimony from that second session is referred to as "Deposition of Anika Navaroli."
6. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Anika Navaroli, (Sept. 1, 2022), pp. 66-67. She went on to characterize the tweet as an "RSVP card" that became a "rallying point" for the President's supporters, one that prompted violent responses from users that were highly suggestive of the coming violence targeting DC on January 6th. *Id.*, at p. 64. Another former Twitter employee, whose deposition was also conducted anonymously, testified that the tweet "in many ways kind of crystallized the plans" for violence and that, after that point, supporters of President Trump began tweeting about movements to D.C. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of J. Johnson, (Sept. 7, 2022), p. 55.
7. The President's call to action quickly reverberated beyond Twitter and spread across the internet. On one social networking site, Discord, a forum called "DonaldsArmy.US" erupted in the hours after the tweet, with users seeing it as a "call to action" and beginning to organize travel plans to D.C., including by discussing how and whether to evade DC gun restrictions and bring firearms into the city. See Summary Memorandum from Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol. Briefing with Discord, (July 29, 2022); see also Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Discord Production), JAN6C_DIS_000269 (Memo from Discord titled "DonaldsArmy.US and BASEDMedia.").
8. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 28, *United States v. Nordean et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
9. See, e.g., Ian Ward, "How a D.C. Bar Became the 'Haven' for the Proud Boys," *Politico*, (Dec. 14, 2020), available at <https://www.politico.com/news/magazine/2020/12/14/harrys-bar-proud-boys-washington-dc-445015>.
10. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 37, *United States v. Nordean et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305 (citing Tarrio's message to the Proud Boys on December 29, 2020, that they would "not be wearing our traditional Black and Yellow" on January 6th; they would "be incognito.").
11. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 50, *United States v. Nordean et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
12. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 100, *United States v. Nordean et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
13. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 83-84.
14. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 107, *United States v. Nordean et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
15. See, e.g., Mike Levine, "How A Standoff in Nevada Years Ago Set The Militia Movement on A Crash Course with The US Capitol," ABC News, (Jan. 5, 2022), available at <https://abcnews.go.com/US/standoff-nevada-years-ago-set-militia-movement-crash/story?id=82051940>.

16. Indictment at ¶¶ 67, 68, *United States v. Rhodes, III, et al.*, No. 22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
17. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Elmer Stewart Rhodes, (Feb. 22, 2022), pp. 132,134; Stewart Rhodes and Kellye SoRelle, “Open Letter to President Trump: You Must Use the Insurrection Act to ‘Stop the Steal’ and Defeat the Coup,” Oathkeepers.org, (Dec. 14, 2020), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20210123133022/https://oathkeepers.org/2020/12/open-letter-to-president-trump-you-must-use-insurrection-act-to-stop-the-steal-and-defeat-the-coup/> (archived). Jason Van Tatenhove, the former spokesman of the Oath Keepers described how he suspected that Rhodes saw the Insurrection Act as a blank check: “He could pretty much do whatever he wanted, and [President Trump] could install Stewart and the Oath Keepers as some sort of security force that would bring them real legitimacy and political power.” Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Jason Van Tatenhove, (Mar. 9, 2022), p. 73.
18. Third Superseding Indictment at ¶ 37, *United States v. Crowl et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-28 (D.D.C., Mar. 31, 2021), ECF No. 127.
19. Third Superseding Indictment at ¶ 95-99, *United States v. Crowl et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-28 (D.D.C., Mar. 31, 2021), ECF No. 127.
20. Trial Transcript at 10502-508, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. Nov. 29, 2022); Alan Feuer and Zach Montague, “Oath Keepers Leader Convicted of Sedition in Landmark Jan. 6 Case,” *New York Times*, (Nov. 29, 2022), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2022/11/29/us/politics/oath-keepers-trial-verdict-jan-6.html>.
21. 18 U.S.C. § 2384.
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23. Criminal Complaint at 10-11, *United States v. Hazard*, No. 1:21-mj-868 (D.D.C. Dec. 7, 2021), ECF No. 1.
24. See, e.g., Indictment at ¶¶ 34-37, *United States v. Hostetter et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-392 (D.D.C. June 9, 2021), ECF No. 1.
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28. Statement of Mike Rothschild, (Mar. 23, 2022), at pp. 3-6.
29. See, “NCRI Assessment of The Capitol Riots,” Rutgers Miller Center for Community Protection and Resilience, Network Contagion Research Institute, (Jan. 9, 2021) available at <https://millercenter.rutgers.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/NCRI-Assessment-of-the-Capitol-Riots-1.pdf>.

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34. See, Lena V. Groeger, Jeff Kao, Al Shaw, Moiz Syed, and Maya Eliahou, "What Parler Saw During the Attack on the Capitol," *Pro Publica*, (Jan. 17, 2021), available at <https://projects.propublica.org/parler-capitol-videos/?id=50CkdWjRD0a3> (showing Alex Jones marching down Pennsylvania Avenue at 1:10 p.m.).
35. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Caroline Wren, (Dec. 17, 2021), pp. 50, 70-71.
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37. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (Feb. 23, 2022), pp. 32-33, 41; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (June 20, 2022), pp. 107-108, 135.
38. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson P. Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), pp. 70-71.
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 46. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Ali Alexander, (Jan. 9, 2021), p. 18.
 47. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Ali Alexander, (Dec. 9, 2021), pp. 199-200.
 48. See, e.g., WillfulWarrior, "Hispanic Proud Boys Leader: 'We Fought Off Antifa Terrorists for 12 Hrs,'" BitChute, Nov. 19, 2020, available at <https://www.bitchute.com/video/if5u7EuD7NU3/>; Infowars: War Room, "Enrique Tarrio Spat on While Flying to Austin Texas," BitChute, Dec. 2, 2020, available at <https://www.bitchute.com/video/yKijHk6m25RL/>; BNN, "Full Show: Witnesses Testify on Michigan Voter Fraud; Thousands of Illegal Votes Counted for Biden," BitChute, Dec. 2, 2020, available at <https://www.bitchute.com/video/74NOWNH0jiRy/>; Jan 6th Protest and Save America March (2020-2H), "Patriots Plot Their Recapture of America in D.C. This Weekend," Banned.Video, Nov. 9, 2020, available at https://archive.org/details/banned.video_-_jan_6th_protest_and_save_america_march_2020-2h/2020-11-11T02%3A07.148Z--Patriots+Plot+Their+Recapture+Of+America+In+D.C.+This+Weekend/2020-11-11T02%3A19%3A07.148Z--%20Patriots+Plot+Their+Recapture+Of+America+In+D.C.+This+Weekend.mp4 (archived); The Alex Jones Show, "Oathkeepers Founder: Americans Need to Overcome Their Fears And Join The March on DC," Banned.Video, Nov. 10, 2020, available at <https://freeworldnews.tv/watch?id=5fab1b880ad7422090a8242f>.
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85. "Proud Boys," Anti-Defamation League, (Jan. 23, 2020), available at <https://www.adl.org/proudboys>.
86. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Proud Boys International Production), PBI 12 (The Constitution and Bylaws of Proud Boys International L.L.C., revised November 24, 2018).
87. "Proud Boys," Stanford University Center for International Security and Cooperation, (January 2022), available at <https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/proud-boys>.
88. "Proud Boys," Stanford University Center for International Security and Cooperation, (January 2022), available at <https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/proud-boys>.
89. See, e.g., Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Jay Thaxton Production), CTRL0000055644, (December 27-28, 2020, "Ministry of Self Defense," Telegram messages from 7:43 p.m.-1:53 a.m.); "Proud

- Boys," Stanford University Center for International Security and Cooperation, (January 2022), available at <https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/proud-boys>.
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91. See Statement of Heidi L. Beirich, Ph.D., (Mar. 22, 2022), at p.1.
92. See, e.g., Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of George Meza, (Mar. 16, 2022), p. 155.
93. See, e.g., Cleve R. Wootson Jr., "Thousands of Proud Boys Plan to Rally in Portland, Setting Up Another Clash in a Combustible City," *Washington Post*, (Sept. 25, 2020), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/nation/2020/09/25/portland-oregon-proud-boys-rally/>; see also, Aaron Wolfson and Hampton Stall, "Actor Profile: Proud Boys," Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project, (Apr. 22, 2021), available at <https://acleddata.com/2021/04/22/actor-profile-proud-boys/> (noting the "percentage of events with counter-demonstrators in which Proud Boys members participated was more than 10 times the rate at which others engaged with counter-demonstrators.").
94. Nick Quested, a filmmaker who followed the Proud Boys through January 6th, described how Proud Boys couldn't define Black Lives Matter or Antifa—and that, in person, Proud Boys simply identified them as "people of color and people with progressive values." Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Nick Quested, (Apr. 5, 2022), p. 78.
95. Kathleen Ronayne and Michael Kunzelman, "Trump to Far-Right Extremists: 'Stand Back and Stand By,'" *Associated Press*, (Sept. 30, 2020), available at <https://apnews.com/article/election-2020-joe-biden-race-and-ethnicity-donald-trump-chris-wallace-0b32339da25fbc9e8b7c7c7066a1db0f>.
96. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Nick Quested, (Apr. 5, 2022), p. 117.
97. Emails obtained by the Select Committee show that Parler featured alarmingly violent and specific posts that in some cases advocated for civil war. See, e.g., Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Parler Production), PARLER_00000006 (December 24, 2020, email forwarded to the FBI, "We need to mass an armed force of American Patriots 150,000 on the Virginia side of the Potomac prepared to react to the congressional events of January 6th"). In a January 2, 2021, email, a Parler employee wrote that they were "concerned about Wednesday," which would be January 6th. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Parler Production), PARLER_00000009 (January 2, 2021, email forwarded to the FBI, "One more from same account. More where came from. Concerned about Wednesday...").
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99. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), p. 38; see also "Former Leader of Proud Boys Pleads Guilty to Seditious Conspiracy for Efforts to Stop Transfer of Power Following 2020 Presidential Election," Department of Justice, (Oct. 6, 2022), available at <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/former-leader-proud-boys-pleads-guilty-seditious-conspiracy-efforts-stop-transfer-power-mer-leader-proud-boys-pleads-guilty-seditious-conspiracy-efforts-stop-transfer-power>.

100. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 50-51, 221-22; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of George Meza, (Mar. 16, 2022), pp. 21-22.
101. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 221.
102. Tom Dreisbach, "Conspiracy Charges Bring Proud Boys' History Of Violence into Spotlight," NPR, (Apr. 9, 2021), available at <https://www.npr.org/2021/04/09/985104612/conspiracy-charges-bring-proud-boys-history-of-violence-into-spotlight>.
103. Tom Dreisbach, "Conspiracy Charges Bring Proud Boys' History Of Violence into Spotlight," NPR, (Apr. 9, 2021), available at <https://www.npr.org/2021/04/09/985104612/conspiracy-charges-bring-proud-boys-history-of-violence-into-spotlight>.
104. "Day of the Rope," Anti-Defamation League, available at <https://www.adl.org/resources/hate-symbol/day-rope>.
105. "Contested States," #StopTheSteal, (Nov. 7, 2020), available at <http://archive.ph/C9lwN> (archived).
106. Christopher Mathias, "After Trump's Defeat, His Supporters Held a Heavily Armed Pity Party," *Huff Post*, (Nov. 7, 2020), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/harrisburg-trump-rally-defeat-extremists-proud-boys-armed-militias_n_5fa756dc5b67c3259afbc42.
107. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 10.
108. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 10.
109. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Michael Simmons, (Feb. 10, 2022), p. 71; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of George Douglas Smith, Jr., (Apr. 28, 2022), p. 47.
110. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), pp. 81-82; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 19; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Nick Qusted, (Apr. 5, 2022), p. 26.
111. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Patrick Byrne, (July 15, 2022), pp. 151-52.
112. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 107-09; Luke O'Brien, "How Republican Politics (And Twitter) Created Ali Alexander, The Man Behind 'Stop the Steal'," *Huff Post*, (Mar. 7, 2021), available at https://www.huffpost.com/entry/republicans-twitter-ali-alexander-stop-the-steal_n_6026fb26c5b6f88289fbab57.
113. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 107-09.
114. Criminal Complaint, *United States v. Shroyer*, No. 1:21-mj-572 (D.D.C. Aug. 19, 2021), ECF No. 1, available at <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/case-multi-defendant/file/1428181/download>.
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118. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 117.
119. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), pp. 125-27; Affidavit in Support of Arrest Warrant, *United States v. Tarrio*, No. 2020 CRWSLD 5553, (D.C. Super. Ct. Dec. 30, 2020).
120. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), p. 127.
121. Affidavit in Support of Arrest Warrant, *United States v. Tarrio*, No. 2020 CRWSLD 5553, (D.C. Super. Ct. Dec. 30, 2020).
122. Peter Herman and Martin Weil, "Proud Boys Leader Arrested in the Burning of Church's Black Lives Matter Banner, D.C. Police Say," *Washington Post*, (Jan. 4, 2021), available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/local/public-safety/proud-boys-enrique-tarrio-arrest/2021/01/04/8642a76a-4edf-11eb-b96e-0e54447b23a1_story.html; Laura Wamsley, "Proud Boys Leader Released from Police Custody and Ordered to Leave D.C.," NPR, (Jan. 5, 2021), available at <https://www.npr.org/2021/01/05/953685035/proud-boys-leader-released-from-police-custody-and-ordered-to-leave-d-c>.
123. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 16.
124. Elizabeth Elizalde, "Proud Boys Surround Man with Knife at Violent DC Trump Rally," *New York Post*, (Dec. 13, 2020), available at <https://nypost.com/2020/12/13/one-person-stabbed-during-massive-proud-boys-brawl-in-dc/>.
125. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), pp. 128-29.
126. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), p. 129.
127. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), pp. 130-131.
128. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 30, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
129. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 32, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305; see also Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Jay Thaxton Production), CTRL0000055644, (December 27-28, 2020, "Ministry of Self Defense," Telegram messages from 7:43 p.m.-1:53 a.m.).
130. See, Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Jay Thaxton Production), CTRL0000055644, (December 27-28, 2020, "Ministry of Self Defense," Telegram messages from 7:43 p.m.-1:53 a.m.).
131. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 55, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
132. Third Superseding Indictment at ¶ 38, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. June 6, 2022), ECF No. 380; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Jay Thaxton Production),

- CTRL0000055644, (December 27-28, 2020, “Ministry of Self Defense,” Telegram messages from 7:43 p.m.-1:53 a.m.).
133. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 33, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
 134. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 31, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305; *see also* Carter Walker, “Carlisle Proud Boy Member Targeted in Search Warrant Tied to Jan. 6 Plot,” *Lancaster Online* (Mar. 12, 2022), available at https://lancasteronline.com/news/politics/carlisle-proud-boy-member-targeted-in-search-warrant-tied-to-jan-6-plot/article_c2596928-a258-11ec-a6bb-c79ff2e0e8a7.html (identifying John Stewart as Person-3 in Second Superseding Indictment).
 135. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Jay Thaxton Production), CTRL0000055644, (December 29, 2020, “Ministry of Self Defense,” Telegram message at 11:09 a.m.).
 136. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 41, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022) ECF No. 305.
 137. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Samuel Armes, (July 18, 2022), p. 10-14 (describing Armes’ role in drafting a prior version of the document, which he then shared with Eryka Gemma Flores, another cryptocurrency investor who shared the document with Tarrio); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Eryka Gemma Flores, (July 1, 2022).
 138. Zachary Rehl’s Motion to Reopen Detention Hearing and Request for a Hearing, Exhibit 1: “1776 Returns,” *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. June 15, 2022) ECF No. 401-1, available at <https://s3.documentcloud.org/documents/22060615/1776-returns.pdf>.
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 140. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Matthew Thomas Walter, (Mar. 9, 2022), pp. 70-71; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Christopher Barcnas, (Mar. 10, 2022), p. 98; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of George Meza, (Mar. 16, 2022), p. 118; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), p. 23.
 141. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Samuel Armes, (July 18, 2022), p. 14.
 142. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 41, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
 143. Georgia Wells, Rebecca Ballhaus, and Keach Hagey, “Proud Boys, Seizing Trump’s Call to Washington, Helped Lead Capitol Attack,” *Wall Street Journal*, (Jan. 17, 2021), available at <https://www.wsj.com/articles/proud-boys-seizing-trumps-call-to-washington-helped-lead-capitol-attack-11610911596>.
 144. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 49, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305; Carter Walker, “Carlisle Proud Boy Member Targeted in Search Warrant Tied to Jan. 6 Plot,” *Lancaster Online* (Mar. 12, 2022), available at https://lancasteronline.com/news/politics/carlisle-proud-boy-member-targeted-in-search-warrant-tied-to-jan-6-plot/article_c2596928-a258-11ec-a6bb-c79ff2e0e8a7.html (identifying John Stewart as Person-3 in Second Superseding Indictment).
 145. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 49, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305; Carter Walker, “Carlisle Proud Boy Member Targeted in Search Warrant Tied to Jan. 6 Plot,” *Lancaster Online* (Mar. 12, 2022), available at <https://lancasteronline.com/news/politics/carlisle-proud-boy-member-targeted-in-search->

- [warrant-tied-to-jan-6-plot/article_c2596928-a258-11ec-a6bb-c79ff2e0e8a7.html](https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/former-leader-proud-boys-pleads-guilty-seditious-conspiracy-efforts-stop-transfer-power) (identifying John Stewart as Person-3 in Second Superseding Indictment).
146. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 50, *United States v. Nordean et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022) ECF No. 305.
147. Plea Agreement at 1, *United States v. Donohoe*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Apr. 8, 2022), ECF No. 335.
148. Statement of Offense at 4, *United States v. Donohoe*, No. 1:21-cr-00175-4-TJK (D.D.C. Apr. 8, 2022).
149. Statement of Offense at 4, *United States v. Donohoe*, No. 1:21-cr-00175-4-TJK (D.D.C. Apr. 8, 2022).
150. Statement of Offense at 6, *United States v. Donohoe*, No. 1:21-cr-00175-4-TJK (D.D.C. Apr. 8, 2022).
151. Statement of Offense at 6, *United States v. Donohoe*, No. 1:21-cr-00175-4-TJK (D.D.C. Apr. 8, 2022).
152. Statement of Offense at 8, *United States v. Donohoe*, No. 1:21-cr-00175-4-TJK (D.D.C. Apr. 8, 2022).
153. “Former Leader of Proud Boys Pleads Guilty to Seditious Conspiracy for Efforts to Stop Transfer of Power Following 2020 Presidential Election,” Department of Justice, (Oct. 6, 2022), available at <http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/former-leader-proud-boys-pleads-guilty-seditious-conspiracy-efforts-stop-transfer-power>.
154. “Former Leader of Proud Boys Pleads Guilty to Seditious Conspiracy for Efforts to Stop Transfer of Power Following 2020 Presidential Election,” Department of Justice, (Oct. 22, 2022), available at <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/former-leader-proud-boys-pleads-guilty-seditious-conspiracy-efforts-stop-transfer-power>.
155. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), p. 156.
156. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeremy Bertino, (Apr. 26, 2022), p. 156.
157. *Statement of Sam Jackson, Ph.D.*, (Mar. 30, 2022), at p. 2.
158. Zachary Cohen, “Oath Keepers Leader Spewed Anti-government Hate for More than a Decade. Alex Jones Gave Him the Audience,” CNN, (Jan. 14, 2022), available at <https://www.cnn.com/2022/01/14/politics/oath-keepers-stewart-rhodes-alex-jones-invs/index.html>.
159. The Select Committee found that the idea that violence loomed from the left was a powerful draw for people to join the Oath Keepers. Richard Dockery, a former Oath Keepers member from Florida, decried “all the riots and stuff I was seeing on the news all over the country” and expressed concern about Antifa and Black Lives Matter activity in his area of Florida, a prospect that he called “nerve-wracking.” Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Richard Dockery, (Feb. 2, 2022), pp. 10, 31. Because of this, he said that the Oath Keepers “seemed like a really good organization to support” in order to keep communities safe. *Id.*, at p. 9. Similarly, Jeff Morelock told the Select Committee that joining the Oath Keepers “would give me a chance to do something to help instead of just sitting on the couch,” referring to watching protests on television. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Jeffrey Lawrence Morelock, (Jan. 26, 2022), pp. 87-88. Jason Van Tatenhove, a former spokesman for the Oath Keepers and confidant to Rhodes who has since publicly denounced the group, described how the Oath Keepers tried to deliberately leverage this dynamic to increase their clout. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Jason Van Tatenhove, (Mar. 9, 2022), pp. 54-55.
160. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Elmer Stewart Rhodes, (Feb. 2, 2022), pp. 103-104.

161. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), pp. 9-10.
162. Stewart Rhodes, "Call to Action! March on DC, Stop the Steal, Defend the President, & Defeat the Deep State," Oath Keepers, (Nov. 10, 2020), available at <https://oathkeepers.org/2020/11/call-to-action-march-on-dc-stop-the-steal-defend-the-president-defeat-the-deep-state/>.
163. Stewart Rhodes, "Call to Action! March on DC, Stop the Steal, Defend the President, & Defeat the Deep State," Oath Keepers, (Nov. 10, 2020), available at <https://oathkeepers.org/2020/11/call-to-action-march-on-dc-stop-the-steal-defend-the-president-defeat-the-deep-state/>.
164. Stewart Rhodes and Kellye SoRelle, "Open Letter to President Trump: You Must Use the Insurrection Act to 'Stop the Steal' and Defeat the Coup," Oath Keepers, (Dec. 14, 2020), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20210123133022/https://oathkeepers.org/2020/12/open-letter-to-president-trump-you-must-use-insurrection-act-to-stop-the-steal-and-defeat-the-coup/>.
165. Michael S. Schmidt and Maggie Haberman, "Trump Aides Prepared Insurrection Act Order During Debate Over Protests," *New York Times*, (June 25, 2021), available at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/06/25/us/politics/trump-insurrection-act-protests.html>.
166. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Elmer Stewart Rhodes, (Feb. 2, 2022), p. 131.
167. "Pro-Trump Rallies in DC Attract Extremists & Erupt into Violence," Anti-Defamation League, (Dec. 13, 2020), available at <https://www.adl.org/blog/pro-trump-rallies-in-dc-attract-extremists-erupt-into-violence>.
168. In texts between Rhodes and Rob Weaver, one of the organizers of the Jericho March, Weaver instructed his associate to work with Rhodes "on extra security." Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Robert Weaver Production), Weaver J6 Prod. (S. Rhodes)0001 (December 11, 2020, text from Rob Weaver at 1:39 p.m.).
169. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Thomas Speciale Production), CTRL0000050180, pp. 1-6, 26-28 (Signal Chat Titled Dec 12 DC Security/Leadership); Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Robert Weaver Production), Weaver J6 Production) Prod. (S. Rhodes)0039 (Signal Chat Titled Dec 12 DC Security/Leadership).; Superseding Indictment at 12, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167 (noting that on December 11, 2020, Rhodes "sent a message to an invitation-only Signal group chat titled, 'Dec 12 DC Security/Leadership,' which included James, MINUTA, and others. RHODES stated that if President-Elect Biden were to assume the presidency, 'It will be a bloody and desperate fight. We are going to have a fight. That can't be avoided.'").
170. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Robert Weaver Production), Weaver J6 Prod. (S. Rhodes) 0045 (December 10, 2020, Stewart Rhodes chat with Dec. 12 DC Security/Leadership at 10:17p.m.).
171. Stewart Rhodes and Kellye SoRelle, "Open Letter to President Trump: You Must Use the Insurrection Act to 'Stop the Steal' and Defeat the Coup," Oath Keepers, (Dec. 14, 2020), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20210123133022/https://oathkeepers.org/2020/12/open-letter-to-president-trump-you-must-use-insurrection-act-to-stop-the-steal-and-defeat-the-coup/>.
172. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Elmer Stewart Rhodes, (Feb. 2, 2022), pp. 132, 134.

173. Trial Exhibit 6748, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. Oct. 20, 2022); Kyle Cheney, “Prosecutors Detail Oath Keepers’ Mounting Frustration with Trump as Jan. 6 Approached,” *Politico*, (Oct. 20, 2022), available at <https://www.politico.com/news/2022/10/20/oath-keepers-trump-jan-6-00062779>.
174. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Alondra Propes Production), CTRL0000029585, p.1 (Stewart Rhodes writing in ‘OKFL Hangout’ chat).
175. Stewart Rhodes and Alondra Propes characterized the Proud Boys as street brawlers in contrast to the Oath Keepers’ discipline. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Elmer Stewart Rhodes, (Feb. 22, 2022), pp. 40, 43; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Alondra Propes, (Jan. 31, 2022), pp. 42-43, 136. Kellye SoRelle described the Proud Boys as extreme white supremacists. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), p. 63-64. Enrique Tarrio characterized the Oath Keepers as “oath breakers” and embarrassing. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 77, 193-94.
176. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Google Voice Production, Feb. 25, 2022).
177. Government’s Opposition to Defendant’s Renewed Request for Pretrial Release at 7, *United States v. Meggs*, No. 1:21-cr-28 (D.D.C. Mar. 23, 2021). Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 125.
178. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 28, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-25 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
179. “Leader of Oath Keepers and 10 Other Individuals Indicted in Federal Court for Seditious Conspiracy and Other Offenses Related to U.S. Capitol Breach,” Department of Justice, (Jan. 13, 2022), available at <https://www.justice.gov/usao-dc/pr/leader-oath-keepers-and-10-other-individuals-indicted-federal-court-seditious-conspiracy>.
180. See Superseding Indictment at ¶ 17, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-25 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Landon Bentley, (May 12, 2022), p. 11 (discussing use of Signal as an encrypted chat).
181. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 29, *United States v. Rhodes, et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
182. Superseding Indictment at ¶¶ 38, 39, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
183. Third Superseding Indictment at ¶ 37, *United States v. Crawl et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-28 (D.D.C., Mar. 31, 2021), ECF No. 127.
184. Third Superseding Indictment at ¶ 37, *United States v. Crawl et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-28 (D.D.C., Mar. 31, 2021), ECF No. 127.
185. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Richard Dockery, (Feb. 2, 2022), pp. 48-52.
186. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Richard Dockery, (Feb. 2, 2022), p. 49.
187. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Richard Dockery, (Feb. 2, 2022), p. 51.
188. Infowars Army, “Alex Jones Show—DOJ Launches National Probe of Election Fraud,” BitChute, Nov. 10, 2020, available at <https://www.bitchute.com/video/NoELuXs06RzX/>.

189. See, e.g., Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Robert Weaver Production), Weaver J6 Prod. (S. Rhodes) 0011 (January 1, 2021, Stewart Rhodes chat with Jan 5/6 DC OK Security/VIP Chat at 7:58-8:00 pm).
190. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 45, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Frank Marchisella, (Apr. 29, 2022), p. 34.
191. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 44, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
192. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 68, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167. Documents filed with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Hilton Garden Inn Production), MHG000049-103 (January 2-8, 2021, Hilton Garden Inn invoices).
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194. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 47, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022) ECF No. 167.
195. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 57, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
196. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 61, *United States v. Rhodes, et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
197. Superseding Indictment at ¶ 70, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022), ECF No. 167.
198. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Frank Marchisella, (Apr. 29, 2022), p. 39.
199. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), p. 196.
200. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Frank Marchisella, (Apr. 29, 2022), p. 40.
201. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), p. 196.
202. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Frank Marchisella, (Apr. 29, 2022), pp. 40-42.
203. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Frank Marchisella, (Apr. 29, 2022), pp. 45-47.
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207. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), pp. 207-08.

208. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), p. 197.
209. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), p. 197.
210. Second Superseding Indictment at ¶ 23, *United States v. Nordean, et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-175 (D.D.C. Mar. 7, 2022), ECF No. 305.
211. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), p. 197.
212. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Nick Qusted Production), Video file ML_DC_20210105_Sony_FS7-GC_1859.mov, at 0:50 (Jan. 5, 2021).
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216. Spencer S. Hsu, "Video Released of Garage Meeting of Proud Boys, Oath Keepers Leaders," *Washington Post*, embedded video at 3:20, (May 24, 2022), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-vi/2022/05/24/tarrio-rhodes-video/>.
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218. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Nick Qusted Production), Video file ML_DC_20210105_Sony_FS5_Clip0042.mov, at 2:32-3:38 (Jan. 5, 2021).
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221. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 83-84.
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371. Lena V. Groeger, Jeff Kao, Al Shaw, Moiz Syed, and Maya Eliahou, "What Parler Saw During the Attack on the Capitol," *Pro Publica*, at 12:05 p.m. ET at 0:30, Jan. 17, 2021, available, <https://projects.propublica.org/parler-capitol-videos/>; Statement of Catherine A. Sander-son, Ph.D., (June 3, 2022), at 5.
372. Through review of public records, the Select Committee identified organizers for about a dozen events scheduled for January 5th or 6th secured permits from either the U.S. Capitol Police (USCP) or National Park Service (NPS). Except for two events—one unrelated to January 6th and the other put on by a group that regularly held demonstrations around D.C.—all of the applications were submitted after President Trump's December 19th tweet. The three most important events were: Cindy Chafian's January 5th event at Freedom Plaza (using the group name "The Eighty Percent Coalition"); WFAF's January 6th event at the Ellipse; and Ali Alexander's January 6th event on the Capitol grounds (under the "One Nation Under God" moniker). In addition to the permits issued to WFAF, Cindy Chafian, and Ali Alexander (under the "One Nation Under God" moniker), at least nine additional permits were issued by USCP or NPS for events in Washington, D.C., on January 5, 2021 or January 6, 2021.
373. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of the Interior Production), DOI_46000428_00005162 (Dec. 19, 2020, Cindy Chafian email Re: Status of application - Women for America First at 7:12 AM).
374. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of the Interior Production), DOI_46000428_00005162 (Dec. 19, 2020, Cindy Chafian email Re: Status of application - Women for America First at 7:12 AM).
375. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Kylie Kremer, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 5.
376. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Amy Kremer, (Feb. 18, 2022), pp. 8-10.

377. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Amy Kremer, (Feb. 18, 2022), pp. 8-10.
378. Women for America First, "March for Trump Bus Tour," [trumpmarch.com](https://web.archive.org/web/20201226001527/https://trumpmarch.com/), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20201226001527/https://trumpmarch.com/>..
379. Kylie Jane Kremer (@KylieJaneKremer), Twitter, Dec. 19, 2020 3:50 p.m. ET, available at <https://twitter.com/kyliejanekremer/status/1340399063875895296?lang=en>.
380. Women For America First Ellipse Public Gathering Permit, National Park Service, available at https://www.nps.gov/aboutus/foia/upload/21-0278-Women-for-America-First-Ellipse-permit_REDACTED.pdf.
381. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Ali Alexander, (Dec. 9, 2021), p. 15.
382. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Resource Group Production), CTRL0000010113 (Dec. 19, 2020, Ali Alexandra text message to Stephen Brown at 10:49 a.m.).
383. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Resource Group Production), CTRL0000010113 (Dec. 19, 2020, Ali Alexandra text message to Stephen Brown at 10:49 a.m.).
384. "Valuation and Analysis," WildProtest.com, (Jan. 14, 2021 (last updated)), available at <https://wildprotest.com.siteindices.com/>.
385. "President Trump Wants You in DC January 6," WildProtest.com, (Dec 19, 2020), available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20201223062953/http://wildprotest.com/> (archived).
386. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Arina Grossu, (Apr. 29, 2022), p. 40.
387. Statement of Andrew J. Seidel, (Mar. 18, 2022), at 11, 13.
388. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Arina Grossu Production), Grossu_01_002721 (Dec. 19, 2020, Rob Weaver email message to Arina Grossu at 8:20 a.m. CT).
389. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Arina Grossu Production), Arina Grossu Exhibit 20 (Jericho March Rally registration page).
390. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Marsha Lessard, (Dec. 10, 2021); *see also* Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Capitol Police Production), CTRL000001834 (Permit Relating to Demonstration Activities on United States Capitol Grounds for Virginia Freedom Keepers, No. 20-12-25).
391. . *See* Superseding Indictment at ¶ 37, *United States v. Rhodes et al.*, No. 1:22-cr-15 (D.D.C. June 22, 2022) (noting that Stewart Rhodes, President of the Oath Keepers, shipped weapons to Lessard's home in Virginia before his arrival in DC for January 6th); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Kellye SoRelle, (Apr. 13, 2022), p. 180.
392. *See* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Henry Tarrio, (Feb. 4, 2021), p. 117 (testifying that Gracia arranged a White House tour for him in December 2020).
393. Latinos for Trump (@OfficialLft2021), Twitter, Dec. 27, 2020 7:58 p.m., available at <https://twitter.com/i/web/status/1343360740313321474>.
394. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Nathan Martin Production), NMartin0318 (December 30, 2020, email from Kimberly Fletcher of Moms for America to Ali Alexander and Nathan Martin re: MFA VIP list for White House); Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Resource Group Production),

- CTRL0000010100 (December 27, 2020, text messages between Nathan Martin, Stephen Martin, Kimberly Fletcher, and Ali Alexander discussing permitting); Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Capitol Police Production), CTRL0000000086, CTRL0000000086.0001 (December 23, 2020, Special Event Assessment identifying Fletcher as a speaker at the "Wild Protest" event during the same time as MFA's permitted event in a different area).
395. "The Alex Jones Show," Prison Planet TV, at 10:07, Dec. 20, 2020, available at <http://tv.infowars.com/index/display/id/11151>.
396. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (T-Mobile Production, Nov. 19, 2021).
397. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Cynthia "Cindy" Chafian (Nov. 1-2, 2021).
398. See, Beth Reinhard, Jaqueline Alemany, and Josh Dawsey, "Low-Profile Heiress Who 'Played a Strong Role' in Financing Jan. 6 Rally is Thrust Into Spotlight," *Washington Post*, (Dec. 8, 2021), available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/investigations/publix-heiress-capitol-insurrection-fancelli/2021/12/08/5144fe1c-5219-11ec-8ad5-b5c50c1fb4d9_story.html.
399. Documents on File with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Julia Fancelli Production), REL0000000994, (Bank Statements for Julia Fancelli at the Bank of Central Florida from December 10, 2020, to January 10, 2021).
400. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Caroline Wren, (Dec. 17, 2021), p. 58.
401. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Verizon Production, Feb. 9, 2022).
402. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Caroline Wren, (Dec. 17, 2021), pp. 45-46.
403. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Caroline Wren, (Dec. 17, 2021), p. 71.
404. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Verizon Production, Feb. 9, 2022).
405. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000014 (January 4 - 6, 2021, Fancelli Budget & Trip Plan).
406. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000005 (December 27, 2020, Kylie Kremer e-mail to Caroline Wren at 11:25 am).
407. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000468 (December 27, 2020, Caroline Wren text message thread with Alex Jones).
408. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000550 (Dec. 27, 2020, Caroline Wren text messages with Cindy Chafian).
409. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Caroline Wren, (Dec. 17, 2021), pp. 50, 70-71.
410. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000014 (January 4 - 6, 2021, Fancelli Budget & Trip Plan).
411. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000014 (January 4 - 6, 2021, Fancelli Budget & Trip Plan).

412. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000482 (December 29, 2020, Caroline Wren text message to Ali Alexander at 4:19 p.m.).
413. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000482 (December 29, 2020, Caroline Wren text message to Ali Alexander at 4:19 pm).
414. Kathleen Ronayne and Michael Kunzelman, "Trump to Far-Right Extremists: 'Stand Back and Stand By,'" *Associated Press*, (Sept. 30, 2020), available at <https://apnews.com/article/election-2020-joe-biden-race-and-ethnicity-donald-trump-chris-wallace-0b32339da25fbc9e8b7c7c7066a1db0f>.
415. Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Twitter, Dec. 27, 2020 5:51 p.m. ET, available at <https://www.thetrumparchive.com> (archived).
416. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Justin Caporale, (Mar. 1, 2022), pp. 20-21.
417. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Donald Trump, Jr., (May 3, 2022), p.30; Anthony Man, "At Trump Golf Club in West Palm Beach, Roger Stone Thanks President for Pardon," *Orlando Sun Sentinel*, (Dec. 28, 2020), available at <https://www.sun-sentinel.com/news/politics/elections/fl-ne-roger-stone-thanks-trump-pardon-20201228-2ejqzv6e7vhyvf26cxz6e6jysa-story.html>.
418. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (AT&T Production, Dec. 17, 2021).
419. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_000444, pp. 1-3 (December 27, 2020, text message from Caroline Wren to Kimberly Guilfoyle at 7:10 p.m.).
420. As revealed in the phone records for the personal cell phones of Max Miller and Anthony Ornato. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Verizon Production, Dec. 17, 2021); Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Verizon Production, Sep. 23, 2022). The Select Committee also subpoenaed the phone records for the personal cell phones of Robert Peede, Mark Meadows, Dan Scavino, and Justin Caporale. They each filed lawsuits to block the respective phone companies' production of the phone records, which were still pending at the time of writing. Thus, there may have been additional relevant phone calls among or involving these four of which the Select Committee is not aware.
421. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Max Miller, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 36-37.
422. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Justin Caporale, (Mar. 1, 2020), p. 44; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_0644 (December 29, 2020, text messages with Justin Caporale).
423. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 79-82; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Caroline Wren Production), REVU_0181 (January 2nd email from Katrina Pierson to Caroline Wren and Taylor Budowich).
424. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (Feb. 23, 2022), pp. 32-33, 41; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (June 20, 2022), pp. 107-08, 135.
425. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (Feb. 23, 2022), p. 42.

426. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (Feb. 23, 2022), pp. 44-45, 47, 52-54; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (June 20, 2022), p. 87.
427. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Kylie Kremer Production), KKremer5447, p. 3 (January 4, 2021, text message from Kylie Kremer to Mike Lindell at 9:32 a.m.).
428. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Ali Alexander Production), CTRL0000017718, p. 41 (January 5, 2021 text message with Liz Willis at 7:19 a.m.).
429. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 120-21.
430. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 121.
431. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 121.
432. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 121.
433. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Max Miller, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 91-92.
434. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 123.
435. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 121-26.
436. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Max Miller, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 98-99.
437. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Max Miller Production) Miller Production 0001, p. 1 (January 4, 2021, text message from Max Miller to Katrina Pierson).
438. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 121.
439. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 95; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson0180, at 180, 196-97 (January 4, 2021, President Trump Meeting Agenda).
440. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 41.
441. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 42.
442. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 42-43.
443. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson0374 (December 30, 2020, Katrina Pierson text message to Kylie Kremer); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 4.
444. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 86.

445. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 62-63.
446. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 84; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson0924 (January 2, 2021, Katrina Pierson text message to Mark Meadows at 1:39 p.m. and 1:40 p.m.)
447. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (March 25, 2022), p. 74; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson0921, (January 2, 2021, Katrina Pierson text message to Mark Meadows at 5:16 p.m.).
448. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 76-77, 80-81.
449. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 75-77.
450. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson0924 (January 2, 2021 Katrina Pierson text message to Mark Meadows at 5:49 p.m.).
451. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 108; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson180 (January 4, 2021, agenda for meeting with President Trump at 1:21 p.m.).
452. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 107-08; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson0196 (Document titled: "Meeting w/ POTUS - January 4th 2021 at 3:30pm ET").
453. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), pp. 116-18.
454. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Katrina Pierson Production), KPierson0906 (January 5, 2021, text message from Dan Scavino to Katrina Pierson at 4:23 a.m.).
455. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Justin Caporale Production), Caporale_05_003987, (Jan. 3, 2021, Katrina Pierson text message to Justin Caporale and Taylor Budowich); *see also* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 79; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Taylor Budowich Production), Budo-00714 (January 2, 2021, Katrina Pierson email to Caroline Wren and Taylor Budowich at 10:49 p.m.).
456. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Justin Caporale Production), Caporale_02_000673-88, (Jan. 3, 2021, Justin Caporale text message to Katrina Pierson, redacted).
457. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Max Miller, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 81-83. Miller testified that he had not been involved in or paying attention to the conversation until the President directly addressed him about Giuliani. Miller's testimony was not credible on this point. Miller said he did not take notes, yet in communications with people after the fact he recounted details about the President's decision regarding speakers other than Giuliani, Eastman, Powell, Wood, and Flynn. *See* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States

Capitol, Deposition of Max Miller, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 85 (stating that neither he nor Peede took notes); *id.* at p. 107 (confirming that he told Megan Powers on January 5th that President Trump cut Paxton from the list).

458. In the January 4 meeting with Pierson and Miller, President Trump initially indicated that Giuliani would not be able to speak at the Ellipse because he needed to be working on lobbying Members of Congress to block certification of the electoral college vote, yet another sign that the President intended January 6th to be a full-fledged effort to stay in power. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Katrina Pierson, (Mar. 25, 2022), p. 117.
459. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Max Miller, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 81-83, 129-30.
460. User-Generated Clip, "John Eastman at January 6 Rally," CSPAN, Mar. 24, 2021, available at <https://www.c-span.org/video/?c4953961/user-clip-john-eastman-january-6-rally>.
461. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Max Miller, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 115-116.
462. It appears that Alexander was given front row seating for the Ellipse rally. He tweeted a picture in front of the Ellipse stage, writing: "Nice seats! Thank you @realdonaldtrump!" Ali [Orange Square] #StopTheSteal (@Ali), Twitter, Jan. 6, 2021, available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20210107094927/https://twitter.com/ali> (archived)
463. Moms for America, "Save the Republic: Ali Alexander," Rumble, at 2:24, Jan. 29, 2021, available at <https://rumble.com/vdepmx-save-the-republic-ali-alexander.html>.
464. Ali [Orange Square] #StopTheSteal (@Ali), Twitter, Jan. 5, 2021, available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20210107094927/https://twitter.com/ali> (archived).
465. NTD Television, "'Virginia Women for Trump' Rally at Supreme Court," Facebook Live, Jan. 5, 2021, available at <https://www.facebook.com/NTDTelevision/videos/220171109588984>.
466. Radley Balko, "Meet the Police Chief Turned Yoga Instructor Prodding Wealthy Suburbanites to Civil War," *Washington Post*, (Jan. 27, 2021), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/01/27/alan-hostetter-capitol-riot-police-chief-yoga-instructor/>.
467. NTD Television, "'Virginia Women for Trump' Rally at Supreme Court," Facebook Live, at 20:10, Jan. 5, 2021, available at <https://www.facebook.com/NTDTelevision/videos/220171109588984>.
468. NTD Television, "'Virginia Women for Trump' Rally at Supreme Court," Facebook Live, at 1:44:14 -1:45:54, Jan. 5, 2021, available at <https://www.facebook.com/NTDTelevision/videos/220171109588984>.
469. NTD Television, "'Virginia Women for Trump' Rally at Supreme Court," Facebook Live, at 1:46:04 - 1:49:40, Jan. 5, 2021, available at <https://www.facebook.com/NTDTelevision/videos/220171109588984>.
470. Radley Balko, "Meet the Police Chief Turned Yoga Instructor Prodding Wealthy Suburbanites to Civil War," *Washington Post*, (Jan. 27, 2021), available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/01/27/alan-hostetter-capitol-riot-police-chief-yoga-instructor/>.
471. Indictment at ¶ 56, *United States v. Hostetter et al.*, No. 1:21-cr-392 (D.D.C., June 9, 2021), ECF No. 1.
472. EpiqEpoch, "Roger Stone January 5, 2021 Freedom Plaza," Rumble, at 8:09, Jan. 6, 2021, available at <https://rumble.com/vchgtl-roger-stone-january-5-2021-freedom-plaza.html>.
473. Project Truth Beam, "Jan 5th Freedom Plaza: Ali Alexander," Rumble, at 1:58-2:21, Jan. 16, 2021, available at <https://rumble.com/vcx1mt-jan-5th-freedom-plaza-ali-alexander.html>.
474. EpiqEpoch, "Alex Jones January 5, 2021 Freedom Plaza," Rumble, at 1:24, Jan. 6, 2021, available at <https://rumble.com/vchguz-alex-jones-january-5-2021-freedom-plaza.html>.

475. EpiqEpoch, "Gen. Michael Flynn, January 5, 2021 Freedom Plaza," Rumble, at 5:28, Jan. 6, 2021, available at <https://rumble.com/vchisz-gen.-michael-flynn-january-5-2021-freedom-plaza.html>.
476. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Ross Worthington, (Feb. 15, 2022), p. 112.
477. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Bock IV, (Apr. 15, 2022), pp. 23, 32; Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attacks on the United States Capitol (National Archives Production), 076P-R000002884_00001, (January 5, 2021, email from Worthington to Staff Secretary at 7:46 p.m., attaching a draft speech). In the final hours before the speech, White House lawyers would insist that the speech needed fact-checking and were most worried about the claims about Dominion Voting. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (National Archives Production) 076P-R000007308_0001 (January 5, 2021, email from Worthington to Staff Secretary at 7:46 p.m.). But President Trump would deliver the speech with the allegations intact. See Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and Committee on Rules and Administration, 117th Congress, "Examining the U.S. Capitol Attack: A Review of the Security, Planning, and Response Failures on January 6" (Staff Report), p. B-18, (June 8, 2021).
478. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (Vincent Haley Production), VMH-00002701-02 (Draft Speech, "Stop the Steal Rally").
479. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Stephen Miller (Apr. 14, 2022), p. 125-26; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ross Worthington (Feb. 15, 2022), p. 124.
480. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), pp. 15-16.
481. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), p. 16; see also Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (National Archives Production), Photo files 69c1_x032_555c_7, 0d9d_x039_557d_7 (January 5, 2021, photos of the meeting).
482. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Nicholas Luna, (Mar. 21, 2022), pp. 76-77; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), pp. 17, 19-20; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson P. Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), p. 84; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Madison Fox Porter, (May 5, 2022), p. 19.
483. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), pp. 16-17; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), pp. 83-84.
484. Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Twitter, Jan. 5, 2021 5:05 p.m. ET, available at <https://www.thetrumparchive.com/?searchbox=%22Washington+is+being+inundated%22> (archived). ("Washington is being inundated with people who don't want to see an election victory stolen by emboldened Radical Left Democrats. Our Country has had enough, they won't take it anymore! We hear you (and love you) from the Oval Office. MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!").
485. The Select Committee has obtained two drafts of the speech from January 5th, one of which was circulated at approximately 3:30 p.m. and another at 7:40 p.m. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United

States Capitol (Vincent Haley Production), VMH-00002700, VMH-00002708 (January 5, 2021, email from Ross Worthington to Stephen Miller circulating draft speech at 3:30 p.m.); Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (National Archives Production), 076P-R000002878_00001, 076P-R000002879_00001, (January 5, 2021, email from Ross Worthington to Stephen Miller circulating draft speech at 7:40 p.m.).

486. Donald J. Trump (@realDonaldTrump), Twitter, Jan. 5, 2021 5:05 p.m. ET, available at <https://www.thetrumparchive.com> (archived). ("Washington is being inundated with people who don't want to see an election victory stolen by emboldened Radical Left Democrats. Our Country has had enough, they won't take it anymore! We hear you (and love you) from the Oval Office. MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN!").
487. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, (National Archives Production), 076P-R000002879_00001 (Draft of Jan. 6, 2021 speech by President Donald Trump).
488. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson P. Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), pp. 91-92.
489. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Shealah Craighead, (June 8, 2022), pp. 32-33. Craighead believed that she later shared this with Ornato. See *id.*, at 33.
490. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), p. 17; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson P. Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), p. 99.
491. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), p. 17. Deere did not recall this specific question nor responding to it, but did remember advising President Trump that he should focus on his administration's accomplishments during his January 6th Ellipse rally speech rather than his stolen election claims. Deere recalled President Trump asking about which Members of Congress would be with him the next day and vote against certifying the election. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), pp. 88-90, 92, 99-100.
492. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), p. 17.
493. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Sarah Matthews, (Feb. 8, 2022), p. 17; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), pp. 85-86.
494. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson P. Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), pp. 86-87, 99.
495. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Deposition of Judson P. Deere, (Mar. 3, 2022), p. 86.
496. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 076P-R000007361_0001 (January 5, 2021, email from Austin Ferrer to Dan Scavino at 10:16 p.m.).
497. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and Committee on Rules and Administration, 117th Congress, "Examining the U.S. Capitol Attack: A Review of the Security, Planning, and Response Failures on January 6" (Staff Report), p. B-2, (June 8, 2021); Statement of Catherine A. Sanderson, Ph.D., (June 3, 2022), at 5.
498. Lena V. Groeger, Jeff Kao, Al Shaw, Moiz Syed, and Maya Eliahou, "What Parler Saw During the Attack on the Capitol," *Pro Publica*, at 12:05 p.m. ET at 0:30, Jan. 17, 2021, available, <https://projects.propublica.org/parler-capitol-videos/>; Statement of Catherine A. Sanderson, Ph.D., (June 3, 2022), at 5.

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499. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of Cassidy Hutchinson, (June 20, 2022), pp. 11-19.
 500. Senate Committee on Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs and Committee on Rules and Administration, 117th Congress, "Examining the U.S. Capitol Attack: A Review of the Security, Planning, and Response Failures on January 6" (Staff Report), pp. B-22, 23, (June 8, 2021).
 501. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (National Archives Production), 076P-R000002911_00001, 076P-R000002912_00001 (January 6, 2021, email from Robert Gabriel Jr. to Dan Scavino at 1:25 p.m. re: Final draft attached with attachment '210106 Save America March.doc'); Statement of Jennifer Mercieca, (Mar. 31, 2022), at 18.
 502. Statement of Jennifer Mercieca, (Mar. 31, 2022), at 18.