

ON TAPE, TRUMP PUSHES GEORGIA TO 'FIND' VOTES

Senate Runoffs  
Reflect Changes  
In Old Red State

By JONATHAN MARTIN  
and ASTED W. HERNDON

With President Trump touching down in North Georgia on Monday to court white rural voters and President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. rallying support from a diverse electorate in Atlanta, the high-stakes Senate runoffs are concluding with a test of how much the politics have shifted in a state that no longer resembles its Deep South neighbors.

Should the two challengers win Tuesday and hand Democrats control of the Senate, it will be with the same multiracial and heavily metropolitan support that propelled Mr. Biden to victory in Georgia and nationally. And if the Republican incumbents prevail, it will be because they pile up margins in conservative regions, just as Mr. Trump did.

That's a marked change from the 2000 election, when George W. Bush won decisively in the Atlanta suburbs to capture the state and Democrats still ran competitively with right-of-center voters in much of rural North and South Georgia.

After resisting the tide of Republicanism longer than in other parts of the South — it didn't elect its first G.O.P. governor until 2002 — Georgia became a reliably red state in the nearly two decades since. But now, it's fast becoming a political microcosm of the country.

Although Georgia still skews slightly to the right of America's political center, it has become politically competitive for the same demographic reasons the country is closely divided: Democrats have become dominant in big cities and suburban areas but they suffer steep losses in the lightly-populated regions that once elected governors, senators and, in Georgia, a native-born president, Jimmy Carter.

"Georgia is now a reflection of the country," said Keith Mason, a former chief of staff to Zell Miller, the late Democratic governor and U.S. senator from a small town in North Georgia. Mr. Miller helped hold off Republican realignment in the state in the 1990s only to accelerate it in the early 2000s when he crossed party lines to endorse Mr. Bush's re-election.

Conservative Democrats like Mr. Miller are rare, as are the sort

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From Audio Recording of President Trump's Phone Conversation  
With Georgia's Secretary of State, Brad Raffensperger

PRESIDENT TRUMP We have won this election in Georgia based on all of this. And there's nothing wrong with saying that, Brad. ... And there's nothing wrong with saying that, you know, um, that you've recalculated ...

BRAD RAFFENSPERGER Well Mr. President, the challenge that you have is the data you have is wrong.

◆

TRUMP You know what they did and you're not reporting it. That's a criminal — that's a criminal offense. And you can't let that happen. That's a big risk to you and to Ryan, your lawyer. And that's a big risk. ... So look. All I want to do is this. I just want to find 11,780 votes, which is one more than we have because we won the state.

◆

TRUMP I watched you this morning and you said, uh, well, there was no criminality. But I mean, all of this stuff is very dangerous stuff. When you talk about no criminality, I think it's very dangerous for you to say that.

◆

RAFFENSPERGER Mr. President, you have people that submit information and we have our people that submit information. And then it comes before the court and the court then has to make a determination. We have to stand by our numbers. We believe our numbers are right.

TRUMP Why do you say that though? I don't know. I mean, sure, we can play this game with the courts, but why do you say that?

New Congress Opens  
With Republicans  
Bitterly Divided

By CARL HULSE

WASHINGTON — After four years of enabling and appeasing President Trump, Republicans find themselves at the end of his tenure in exactly the place they had so desperately tried to avoid: a toxic internecine brawl over his conduct and character that could badly damage their party.

With their Senate power on the line in Georgia in one day, Republicans entered the new Congress on Sunday bitterly divided over the basic question of whether to acknowledge the reality that Mr. Trump had lost the election, or to abet his unjustified and increasingly brazen attempts to overturn the results.

The extraordinary conflict among congressional Republicans reflects the dilemma they face after four years of acquiescence to Mr. Trump's whims and silence in the face of his most outrageous actions. Now that the president has escalated his demands to subvert an election, they are confronting a litmus test involving democracy itself, keenly aware that many voters could punish them for failing to back Mr. Trump.

The rift has thrust Republicans — who typically try to minimize their differences in public — into an intramural battle more pronounced than any other of the Trump era before what would normally be a routine joint session on Wednesday to certify President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s victory. Top party officials, including the top two Senate leaders and the No. 3 House Republican, quietly pushed back against what all sides conceded would be a futile effort — though one that has the backing of a growing segment of the party — to reject the results.

Others spoke out publicly against the instigators of the move to invalidate Mr. Biden's win, accusing them of putting political ambition before the nation's interest.

"Efforts to reject the votes of the Electoral College and sow doubt about Joe Biden's victory strike at the foundation of our Republic," Paul D. Ryan, the former House speaker and Republican

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Official Rejects Call  
to Overturn State's  
Election Result

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR  
and STEPHANIE SAUL

WASHINGTON — President Trump pressured Georgia's Republican secretary of state to "find" him enough votes to overturn the presidential election and vaguely threatened him with "a criminal offense" during an hour-long telephone call on Saturday, according to an audio recording of the conversation.

Mr. Trump, who has spent almost nine weeks making false conspiracy claims about his loss to President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr., told Brad Raffensperger, the state's top elections official, that he should recalculate the vote count so Mr. Trump, not Mr. Biden, would end up winning the state's 16 electoral votes.

"I just want to find 11,780 votes, which is one more than we have," Mr. Trump said during the conversation, according to a recording first obtained by The Washington Post, which published it online Sunday. The New York Times also acquired a recording of Mr. Trump's call.

The president, who will be in charge of the Justice Department for the 17 days left in his administration, hinted that Mr. Raffensperger and Ryan Germany, the chief lawyer for secretary of state's office, could be prosecuted criminally if they did not do his bidding.

"You know what they did and you're not reporting it," the president said during the call. "You know, that's a criminal — that's a criminal offense. And you know, you can't let that happen. That's a big risk to you and to Ryan, your lawyer. That's a big risk."

The effort to cajole and bully elected officials in his own party — which some legal experts said could be prosecuted under Georgia law — was a remarkable act by a defeated president to crash through legal and ethical boundaries as he seeks to remain in power.

By any standard measure, the election has long been over. Every state in the country has certified its vote, and a legal campaign by Mr. Trump to challenge the results has been met almost uniformly

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RAMIFICATIONS President Trump's actions could violate statutes on election fraud, depending on interpretation, lawyers said. PAGE A16

Delay 2nd Doses? Give 2 Half-Doses? Vaccine Lag Fuels a Debate

By KATHERINE J. WU  
and REBECCA ROBBINS

As governments around the world rush to vaccinate their citizens against the surging coronavirus, scientists are locked in a heated debate over a surprising question: Is it wisest to hold back the second doses everyone will need, or to give as many people as possible an inoculation now — and push back the second doses until later?

Since even the first shot appears to provide some protection against Covid-19, some experts believe that the shortest route to containing the virus is to disseminate the initial injections as widely as possible now.

Officials in Britain have already elected to delay second doses of vaccines made by the pharmaceutical companies AstraZeneca and Pfizer as a way of more widely distributing the partial protection afforded by a single shot.

Health officials in the United States have been adamantly opposed to the idea. "I would not be in favor of that," Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, the nation's top infectious disease expert, told CNN on Friday. "We're going to keep doing



People lined up for vaccinations last week in Lehigh Acres, Fla. About 300 doses were available. OCTAVIO JONES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

what we're doing."

But on Sunday, Moncef Slaoui, scientific adviser of Operation Warp Speed, the federal effort to accelerate vaccine development and distribution, offered up an intriguing alternative: giving some Americans two half-doses of the Moderna vaccine, a way to possibly milk more immunity from the nation's limited vaccine supply.

The rising debate reflects nationwide frustration that so few Americans have gotten the first doses — far below the number the administration had hoped would be inoculated by the end of 2020.

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Lawsuits Target a Covid Fund  
Meant to Help Black Residents

By JOHN ELIGON

Black civic leaders in Oregon heard the alarm bells early in the pandemic.

Data and anecdotes around the country suggested that the coronavirus was disproportionately killing Black people. Locally, Black business owners had begun fretting about their livelihoods, as stay-at-home orders and various other measures were put into place. Many did not have valuable houses they could tap for capital, and requests for government assistance had gone nowhere.

After convening several virtual meetings, the civic leaders proposed a bold and novel solution that state lawmakers approved in July. The state would earmark \$62 million of its \$1.4 billion in federal Covid-19 relief money to provide grants to Black residents, business owners and community organizations enduring pandemic-related hardships.

"It was finally being honest: This is who needs this support right now," said Lew Frederick, a state senator who is Black.

A Cry of Discrimination  
Over the Economic  
Aid in Oregon

But now millions of dollars in grants are on hold after one Mexican-American and two white business owners sued the state, arguing that the fund for Black residents discriminated against them.

The dispute in Oregon is the latest legal skirmish in the nation's decades-long battle over affirmative action, and comes in a year in which the pandemic has starkly exposed the socioeconomic and health disparities that African-Americans face. It has unfolded, too, against the backdrop of the Black Lives Matter movement, with institutions across America — from corporations to city councils — acknowledging systemic racism, and activists demanding that meaningful steps be taken to undo racial inequities.

Politicians, social scientists and

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India Clears 2 Vaccines

The approvals, which include a shot developed in India, begin a vast campaign to inoculate 1.3 billion. PAGE A4

'Relapsing Left and Right'

Substance-abuse centers say the shift from in-person programs to virtual care has led to a worrisome trend. PAGE A7

INTERNATIONAL A8-12

Examining French Publishers

The release of "Consent" put France's literary establishment under a harsh spotlight, forcing it to confront a nation it resembles less and less. PAGE A8

China's Leader Builds Leverage

President Xi Jinping is making trade deals, in hopes of heading off U.S. efforts to rally a united front. PAGE A9

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Concerns About Tribal Health

A federal agency reduced a hospital in New Mexico to a clinic — in the middle of the pandemic. PAGE A13



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No Fans to Keep in the Seats

The pandemic has shelved N.B.A. half-time performers, exacting a financial and emotional toll. PAGE D5

An Eventful N.F.L. Week 17

The Jets fired Coach Adam Gase after finishing 2-14, and the Browns ended a long playoff absence. PAGES D2-3

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Oil Careers on the Skids

Students and recent graduates struggle to get hired as the fossil fuel industry cuts tens of thousands of jobs, some of which may never come back. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES D6-8

A Trailblazing Businesswoman

Shirley Young rose in advertising before General Motors took her onboard, and in a second act served as a cultural diplomat to China. She was 85. PAGE D6

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Kara Swisher

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Relentlessly Super Stylish

Wonder Woman has remained steadfast in her decades-long fight for justice, but her costumes have evolved quite a bit, George Gene Gustines writes. PAGE C2





# TRUMP INCITES MOB

## RAMPAGE IN CAPITOL FORCES EVACUATIONS; IT'S 'PART OF HIS LEGACY,' A REPUBLICAN SAYS



JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES



ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS

After scaling the walls outside the Capitol on Wednesday afternoon, some in the crowd made it into the House chamber as lawmakers and others scrambled for cover.

### President Lit Fuse for Chaos, Biden Declares

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR  
and JIM TANKERSLEY

WASHINGTON — President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. denounced the storming of the Capitol on Wednesday as the violent expression of President Trump's refusal to accept his defeat, calling it "an assault on the citadel of liberty" and saying the president had stoked the mob with his brazen and false claims that the 2020 election had been stolen.

In direct, forceful language, Mr. Biden called the scenes of chaos in the halls of Congress "a dark moment" in the nation's history, appealed for calm and made clear that he held Mr. Trump accountable for instigating violence that left members of both parties and allies around the world appalled.

"At their best, the words of a president can inspire. At their worst, they can incite," Mr. Biden said.

"This is not dissent," the president-elect said in remarks from Delaware as scenes of the armed takeover of the Capitol played out on television screens. "It's disorder. It's chaos. It borders on sedition and it must end now."

The day had started as one of triumph for Mr. Biden and his party, with Democrats coming off elections that sealed control of the Senate by picking up two seats in Georgia and Congress scheduled to clear away the last formal Republican objections to his victory by certifying the Electoral College outcome.

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### Americans at the Gates: The Trump Era's Inevitable Denouement

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — So this is how it ends. The presidency of Donald John Trump, rooted from the beginning in anger, division and conspiracy-mongering,

#### WASHINGTON MEMO

comes to a close with a violent mob storming the Capitol at the instigation of a defeated leader trying to hang onto power as if America were just another authoritarian nation.

The scenes in Washington would have once been unimaginable: A rampage through the

citadel of American democracy. Police officers brandishing guns in an armed standoff to defend the House chamber. Tear gas deployed in the Rotunda. Lawmakers in hiding. Extremists standing in the vice president's spot on the Senate dais and sitting at the desk of the speaker of the House.

The words used to describe it were equally alarming: Coup. Insurrection. Sedition. Suddenly the United States was being compared to a "banana republic" and receiving messages of concern from other capitals. "American carnage," it turned out, was not what President Trump would

#### 4 Years of Provocation End With Invasion of Seat of Democracy

stop, as he promised upon taking office, but what he wound up delivering four years later to the very building where he took the oath.

The convulsion in Washington capped 1,448 days of Twitter storms, provocations, race-baiting, busted norms, shock-jock governance and truth-bending

from the Oval Office that have left the country more polarized than in generations. Those who warned of worst-case scenarios only to be dismissed as alarmists found some of their darkest fears realized. By day's end, even some Republicans suggested removing Mr. Trump under the 25th Amendment rather than wait two weeks for the inauguration of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.

The extraordinary invasion of the Capitol was a last-ditch act of desperation from a camp facing political eviction. Even before the

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### As House Was Breached, a Fear 'We'd Have to Fight' to Get Out

This article is by Zolan Kanno-Youngs, Sabrina Tavernise and Emily Cochrane.

WASHINGTON — The mob of Trump supporters pressed through police barricades, broke windows and battered their way with metal poles through entrances to the Capitol. Then, stunningly, they breached the "People's House" itself, forcing masked police officers to draw their guns to keep the insurgents off the chamber floor.

"I thought we'd have to fight our way out," said Representative Jason Crow, Democrat of Colorado and a former Army Ranger in Iraq, who found himself captive in the House chamber.

What unfolded at that point, at times on national television, was a

tableau of violence and mayhem that shocked the nation, one of the most severe intrusions of the Capitol since the British invaded during the War of 1812 and burned it down.

An armed standoff ensued in the House chamber, with police officers drawing their weapons. A pro-Trump protester casually monkeyed around at the dais of the Senate. Intruders in Speaker Nancy Pelosi's suite overturned desks and smashed photos. Others ripped artwork in Senate hideaway offices.

"This is what the president has caused today, this insurrection," Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, said as he and other senators were hustled off to a secure location.

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### Democrats Take Senate With Victories in Georgia

By ASTEAD W. HERNDON  
and RICK ROJAS

ATLANTA — Democrats gained control of the Senate on Wednesday by winning both of Georgia's runoff races, an electoral repudiation of President Trump that will give the incoming Democratic administration broader policy latitude even as the victory was temporarily overshadowed by a violent mob storming the United States Capitol in the name of the ousted incumbent.

The election of the Rev. Raphael Warnock and Jon Ossoff was a political triumph for the Democratic Party in a state that has stymied it for decades. It was also a jarring split-screen encapsulation of the politics of progress and grievance that have defined Mr. Trump's administration and the changing country he is sworn to serve.



NICOLE CRAINE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DOUG MILLIS/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Rev. Raphael Warnock, left, and Jon Ossoff won runoffs.

On the same day that Georgia elected Mr. Ossoff, a 33-year-old Jewish documentary filmmaker, and Mr. Warnock, 51, a pastor who will become the state's first Black senator, an almost entirely white crowd of aggrieved Trump supporters, some carrying Confederate flags, descended on Washington

to defy political reality. Mr. Warnock's own Twitter feed showed how quickly the mood among Democrats had shifted. At 1:55 p.m. Eastern, he toasted his victory by thanking Georgia voters, saying he was "forever grateful." Within two hours, he was

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#### Scientists Warn U.S. on Variant

Experts said the nation is ill equipped to trace the especially contagious new mutant, but added that it's not too late to curb the contagion's spread. PAGE A7

INTERNATIONAL A8-10

#### The Heavy Hand of Beijing

For a time, the Chinese government wielded its power over Hong Kong with discretion. That's no longer true, as an arrest sweep illustrates. PAGE A8

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#### Louisville Hires New Chief

Erika Shields, who stepped down as police chief in Atlanta after the killing of Rayshard Brooks, takes charge in a city reeling over Breonna Taylor. PAGE A20

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#### The Freedom to Create

Suzi Analogue couldn't find a label that understood her experimental music, so she started her own. She's on a mission to provide a home for others. PAGE C1

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#### Gail Collins

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# National

The New York Times

A mob of people loyal to President Trump stormed the Capitol and halted the counting of the electoral votes, upending what is usually a procedural action but not changing what the final outcome will be.



A person hung from the balcony of the Senate Chamber on Wednesday after a mob of people stormed the Capitol, halting Congress’s counting of the electoral votes as the police evacuated the building.

## Constitutional Process Has Safeguards to Keep Certification on Track

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — The storming of the United States Capitol on Wednesday stalled the counting of electoral votes by Congress to confirm President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s victory, prolonging the process but not preventing Mr. Biden from becoming president.

Legal scholars were struck by what they described as a shocking assault on the Democratic process, in which protesters descended on the Capitol, resulting in some electoral ballots being whisked to safety.

But they said the delay was unlikely to derail the process of formalizing Mr. Biden’s victory, even if the violence disrupts activity on Capitol Hill for several days. In fact, the proceeding, which was enshrined in the Electoral Count Act of 1887, had safeguards in place to address delays.

Trevor Potter, a former commissioner and chairman of the Federal Election Commission, said that because of anticipated objections by members of Congress to some of the votes, the process was already expected to bleed into Thursday. In fact, Congress has five days from when the counting started — Wednesday — before the pace must pick up. If the count is not complete by Monday, Congress can no longer take breaks or recess until the electoral votes are certified.

“It was designed so someone could not slow-walk this to prevent the conclusion of the Electoral College process,” Mr. Potter said.

Still, there is one real deadline when it comes to the transfer of presidential power: Jan. 20.

If the electoral votes are not certified by then, things would become more com-

plicated. President Trump would not get to stay in office. At noon on Inauguration Day, the term of the sitting president and vice president ends.

The job of president would temporarily go to Speaker Nancy Pelosi, given the Presidential Succession Act, which dictates that the speaker of the House is third in line to the presidency in the absence of a president and vice president. She would hold the job until Congress finished certifying the votes.

The delays are not expected to reach that point. A Senate aide said that lawmakers hoped to reconvene Wednesday night to finish their work and that Senators Mitch McConnell, the majority leader, and Chuck Schumer, the Democratic minority leader, were in agreement on that. Representative James E. Clyburn, Democrat of South Carolina, said on Twitter that he also wanted to continue certifying the votes.

Ms. Pelosi said that the joint session of Congress would proceed Wednesday night once the Capitol was cleared for use. “We always knew this responsibility would take us into the night,” she said.

Matthew A. Seligman, a special counsel for election integrity at the Campaign Legal Center, noted the irony of the current crisis, given the Electoral Count Act was created to prevent a contested election from rolling more strife.

“This is an unprecedented assault on the rule of law,” Mr. Seligman said. “The entire point of the Electoral Count Act was to allow a process in Congress to decide these sorts of disputes.”

In 1876, Rutherford B. Hayes, a Republican, ultimately defeated his Democratic opponent, Samuel Tilden, despite garnering a smaller share of the popular vote. Contesting the results, three swing states in the South still occupied by Union troops — Louisiana, South Carolina

and Florida — sent competing slates of electors to Washington for Congress to consider. Ultimately the dispute was resolved through an arduous process and Mr. Rutherford was victorious but tainted, paving the way for Electoral Count Act a decade later.

“What we saw today did not happen even in 1876, in the immediate shadow of the Civil War — that shows how serious this is,” Mr. Seligman said.

During the chaos on Wednesday, quick-thinking Senate aides did manage to take an important measure to keep a crucial part of the certification process intact.

Senator Jeff Merkley, Democrat of Oregon, shared an image on Twitter of ornate boxes of Electoral College ballots that had been rescued from the floor for safe-keeping. If they had been damaged, Congress would have needed to obtain duplicates to resume its work.



**Violence in the Capital** Danger and Disruption

# Inside the House, Fearing a ‘Fight’ to Get Out

From Page A1

cation. Some of the protesters gawked at the grand and storied building they had unlawfully flooded while others looked at it with contempt. “I don’t trust any of these people,” said Eric Martin, 49, a woodworker from Charleston, S.C., as he marveled at the opulence of the Capitol and helped a friend wash pepper spray from his eyes. “Absolute power corrupts absolutely.” But if some only stared at the Capitol, others resorted to violence. A woman inside the building was shot and later died, the District of Columbia police said, and multiple officers were injured. Two explosive devices were found around noon near the headquarters of the Republican National Committee, then destroyed by a bomb squad. And the federal authorities arrested a 70-year-old man from Alabama near the Capitol in possession of a firearm and materials to make several Molotov cocktails. By Wednesday evening, the scene outside the Capitol had calmed, after Capitol Police, supplemented by F.B.I. agents and Department of Homeland Security officers with members of the National Guard on their way, squeezed protesters from every corner of the building to the majestic Rotunda, then persuaded them to leave. Before that was mayhem. At one point, as lawmakers and staff members were rushing out of a Senate chamber under assault, aides scurried back to grab hold of

**A rally, false election claims, then a rapid descent into chaos.**

boxes containing the Electoral College certificates, making sure that the protesters could not literally steal the results of the election. It began around 1 p.m., when a mass of Trump supporters, some in camouflage and armed with baseball bats or knives, left the National Mall and, encouraged by President Trump, ascended on the Capitol complex. Leaders exhorted the crowd through megaphones. “This is our house” and “Move forward!” The few police officers standing on the steps of the Capitol were overwhelmed. Their flash bang grenades only invigorated the protesters. Around 2:30, an entrance near the west side of the Capitol descended into chaos as a wave of Trump supporters wearing Make America Great Again apparel pressed past police barricades. On the east side of the complex, people banged on the glass windows. Crowds charged past the front columns, and some pressed their faces into the glass. Others in camouflage used poles to batter an entrance to the building, breaking it open. The crowd then rushed through, passing through metal detectors as one man blared a Trump speech about the “stolen” election through a speaker. For about an hour, the Trump loyalists went in and out of at least one entrance of the Capitol with little disruption from the police. As debate progressed in the House chamber over a Republican protest of Arizona’s Electoral College votes for President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr., few lawmakers knew of the commotion. But Capitol Police officers were quietly locking down the building, instructing everyone in the hallways to shelter in place and preparing reporters for the possibility of doing so in the chamber. Soon, a nervous energy pulsed through the room. The police began to close the gallery doors, which had remained open to allow for better ventilation as lawmakers streamed in. Congressional leaders were quickly ushered out, as staff aides urged lawmakers in the gallery and on the floor to remain calm. “This is because of you,” Representative Dean Phillips, Democrat of Minnesota, yelled from the gallery at his Republican colleagues. Representative Elissa Slotkin, Democrat of Michigan and a former Pentagon official, was on her way to the House chamber when she heard screaming, breaking glass, and what sounded like a flash bang. She returned to her office, locked the door, and began shelter to a colleague and offered shelter the phones. One of her first calls was to Gen. Mark A. Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to plead for help from the National Guard. Reporting was contributed by Katie Benner, Adam Goldman, John Ismay, Matthew Rosenberg, Eric Schmitt and Jennifer Steinhauer.



WIN MENAEE/CETTY IMAGES

“I said, ‘Mark, I absolutely understand that you are between a rock and a hard place. But we need help here. There are weapons,’” she said. In the House, just after 2:30 p.m., a police officer stepped on the dais and informed lawmakers that they might need to duck under their chairs. “We now have individuals that have breached the Capitol building,” he said, warning them to be prepared to relocate to the cloakrooms. “They are in the Rotunda.” Representative Ruben Gallego, Democrat of Arizona and a veteran, jumped on the armrests of chairs and began directing members to move calmly and quickly from the chamber. Frantic shouting filled the room as lawmakers struggled to unfold the plastic bags that they were instructed to prepare to put over their heads in case of tear gas. Police officers and members of the floor staff began yelling for lawmakers to exit. A wooden chest was pushed in front of the main doors to the chamber. Security officers drew their guns, pointing and shouting at the entrance, as lawmakers, staff aides and reporters covered in the top levels of the chamber. There was a bang, and everyone was told to get down. Shortly after 2:45, the evacuation resumed. With the police in the lead, guns drawn, the lawmakers entered a scene of havoc, Mr. Crow said. Some police officers scrambled to barricade other doors to block pro-Trump extremists. Others pinned some protesters to the ground to allow the

lawmakers to pass. “We heard yelling through the halls,” said Mr. Crow, who said he brought up the rear to ensure all the members made it to safety. As the police led the members down stairwells and into the subterranean maze of tunnels to a secure location, Mr. Crow said he called his wife in Colorado, who had been watching the scene on television. But the mob continued to stream in. A young man in a red baseball hat was helping people through a broken window. Inside, two large wooden desks were on their sides, broken. Two large panels of glass were crushed on the colorful tile floor. In a surreal scene of chaos and glee, hundreds of Trump loyalists roamed the halls, taking photos and breaking into offices. No police officers were in view. In a room where there were images of mountains and maps of Oregon on the wall, a man in a leather jacket ripped a scroll with Chinese characters. A young man put a framed picture of the Dalai Lama in his backpack. “We’re claiming the House, and the Senate is ours,” a sweaty man in a checked shirt shouted, stabbing his finger in the air. Nearby in the first-floor Crypt, the heart of the Capitol building, the police appeared to be overwhelmed. One wiped tear gas from his eyes. When a man approached to ask where the bathroom was, he said softly, “We just need you guys to get out of here safely.” An officer with the Capitol Police tried to reason with the crowd. “You guys just need to go outside,” he said to a man in a green backpack. Asked why the police were not forcing the mob out, the



SCOTT REINHARD/THE NEW YORK TIMES

officer said, “We just got to let them do their thing for now.” Another officer stood by a stairway, watching everything unfold and answering a few questions, including directing a woman to the bathroom. One protester came up to him and shouted in his face, “Traitor!” When another man approached to apologize to the officer, the officer replied, “You’re fine.” “Everybody’s been OK today, except that guy,” he said, motioning to the person who yelled. Most of the crowd in the Crypt just milled around. A young man in a red Trump hat smoked a cigarette. Several men shouted and screamed. A man wearing a backpack with two American flags jumped underneath a chandelier, yelling, “Whose house,” as the crowd answered, “Our house.” The sound boomed and reverberated around the tile and marble as the police looked on. Around 3:30 p.m., about 25 police officers entered the Crypt and started asking people to move back. A few minutes later, dozens more, wearing riot gear and some in gas masks, ejected the roughly 150 protesters in the Crypt. But not before one man marched through the hall of Congress with a Confederate flag while another protester raised a Trump flag from the balcony of the Capitol. Protesters repeatedly exited the building bearing trophies that they had torn off walls. A few carried “Area Closed” signs that they had snatched, and then stormed past. But objects stolen from Ms. Pelosi’s office were especially



DREW ANCKER/CETTY IMAGES

Top, Trump supporters breaking into the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday afternoon, shortly after a rally on the National Mall where the president had encouraged them to protest Congress. “We now have individuals that have breached the Capitol building,” a police officer warned lawmakers in the House about 2:30 p.m. Above, people being detained by the police after an armed standoff. A woman inside the building was shot and later died, the police said, and multiple officers were injured during the mayhem.



KENNY HEALSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shortly after Trump supporters broke through barricades, lawmakers were fleeing through tunnels with armed escorts.

## ‘They Are in the Rotunda’: Sounds of an Unruly Mob, Then a Frantic Evacuation

By LUKE BROADWATER and EMILY COCHRANE

WASHINGTON — A ceremonial session of Congress to formally declare President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s victory devolved in an instant into a scene of violence and mayhem on Wednesday when a pro-Trump mob stormed the Capitol, halting the counting of electoral votes. Journalists from The New York Times witnessed the events. Here is how the chaos unfolded. Not long after Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the majority leader, warned his Republican colleagues that their efforts to overturn an American election would send its democracy into a “death spiral,” fear surged through the Senate chamber. A large group of pro-Trump extremists broke through barricades and breached the building, and the police whisked Vice President Mike Pence off the dais and out of the chamber, as the shouts of the mob could be heard outside the door. Above the Senate floor, inside the press gallery, reporters craned their necks to catch a glimpse of the havoc outside. Journalists were rushed into the Senate chamber, as staff aides shouted “In or out!” and scrambled to secure the doors against intruders. Senator Todd Young, Republican of Indiana, yelled for the doors to be locked. Looking at her phone, Senator Amy Klobuchar, Democrat of Minnesota, alerted fellow senators to the escalating danger and called out that there had been “shots fired” somewhere in the melee. Panic tinged the voices of both lawmakers and journalists. As it became clear the Senate chamber was not safe, security officers ordered the senators to leave. As lawmakers and staff rushed out, aides snatched the boxes containing the Electoral College certificates, making sure that the vandals could not literally steal the results of the election. “If our capable floor staff hadn’t grabbed them, they would have been burned by the mob,” said Senator Jeff Merkley, Democrat of Oregon. Through the tunnels of the Capitol, senators walked quickly with an armed police escort. A member of Mr. McConnell’s security detail took the arm of the senator, who walks with a limp because of a childhood bout with polio, pulling and steadying him as they hustled away from danger. Before long, the president’s supporters were inside the Senate chamber, prowling among the mahogany desks and even sitting on the marble dais where Mr. Pence had been seated not long before. Across the Capitol, a police officer stepped onto the House rostrum to inform lawmakers that they might need to duck under their chairs. “We now have individuals that have breached the Capitol building,” he told them, warning House members to be prepared to move quickly out of the chamber. “They are in the Rotunda.” “Call Trump,” Representative Steve Cohen, Democrat of Tennessee, replied to shouts and grumbles from the House floor. “Call your friend.”

Representative Ruben Gallego, Democrat of Arizona and a veteran, jumped on the arm rests of chairs and began directing members, cautioning them to move calmly and quickly from the chamber. Capitol Police officers passed out gas masks to reporters in the press area above, as lawmakers pulled their own silver-boxed masks from underneath the chairs in front of them. There were warnings that tear gas had been fired in the Capitol Rotunda, so they prepared to don the masks. The chamber filled with frantic shouting and the whirring of the masks, their red lights flashing as lawmakers struggled to figure out how to unfold the plastic bags that were supposed to go over their heads. Police officers and members of the floor staff urged lawmakers to exit, clambering over chairs and banisters to reach the doors. A wooden chest was pushed in front of the main doors to the chamber, through which Mr. Pence and the chests of election certifications had come just an hour earlier. Security officers drew their guns and pointed and yelled at the door, whose glass

**Lawmakers took cover and yelled out to lock the doors.**

panels were shattered, as lawmakers, staff aides and reporters covered in the top levels of the chamber. There was a bang, and evacuation momentarily stopped. Everyone was told to get down, with reporters and lawmakers struggling to hide behind low-backed chairs and equipment normally used to broadcast the floor proceedings. Outside, members of the mob were making themselves at home throughout the Capitol, including inside Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s office. Shortly after 2:45 p.m., the evacuation resumed, with a line of lawmakers and journalists clambering out of the House chamber. They were climbing over chairs, ducking under banisters — anything to get out quickly. Police officers had their guns drawn. “Are you OK? Are you OK?” was the constant refrain as the members of Congress, aides and reporters scurried down staircases and hallways. Phones buzzed with texts and calls, with lawmakers frantically checking on staff aides who had been in office buildings and responding to family. Senators gathered at a secure location in another building in the Capitol complex, with journalists asked to stay outside. F.B.I. tactical units in camouflage with firearms and shields monitored the location, as senators spoke in hushed tones about whether and how to proceed with the electoral count. “These thugs are not running us off,” said Senator Joe Manchin III, Democrat of West Virginia. “We’re going to finish tonight. Everyone is committed to staying whatever it takes to get our job done.” As night fell, an announcement came over the loudspeaker in the Capitol telling lawmakers the city was now under a curfew. Distant sirens could still be heard blaring throughout the capital. Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting.



# CALLS GROW TO REMOVE TRUMP AS U.S. OFFICIALS HEAD FOR EXIT



## President Finally Concedes Loss in a Video

By PETER BAKER  
and MAGGIE HABERMAN

WASHINGTON — President Trump's administration plunged deeper into crisis on Thursday as more officials resigned in protest, prominent Republicans broke with him and Democratic congressional leaders threatened to impeach him for encouraging a mob that stormed the Capitol a day earlier.

What was already shaping up as a volatile final stretch to the Trump presidency took on an air of national emergency as the White House emptied out and some Republicans joined Speaker Nancy Pelosi and a cascade of Democrats calling for Mr. Trump to be removed from office without waiting the 12 days until the inauguration of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.

The prospect of actually short-circuiting Mr. Trump's tenure in its last days appeared remote. Despite a rupture with Mr. Trump, Vice President Mike Pence privately ruled out invoking the disability clause of the 25th Amendment to sideline the president, as many had urged that he and the cabinet do, according to officials. Democrats suggested they could move quickly to impeachment, a step that would have its own logistical and political challenges.

But the highly charged debate about Mr. Trump's capacity to govern even for less than two weeks underscored the depth of anger and anxiety after the invasion of the Capitol that forced lawmakers to evacuate, halted the counting of the Electoral College votes for several hours and left four people dead.

Ending a day of public silence, Mr. Trump posted a 2½-minute video on Twitter on Thursday evening denouncing the mob attack in a way that he had refused to do a day earlier. Reading from a script prepared by his staff, he declared himself "outraged by the violence, lawlessness and mayhem" and told those who broke the law that "you will pay."

While he did not give up his false claims of election fraud, he finally conceded defeat. "A new administration will be inaugurated on Jan. 20," Mr. Trump acknowledged. "My focus now turns to ensuring a smooth, orderly and seamless transition of power. This moment calls for healing and reconciliation."

Mr. Trump initially resisted taping the video, agreeing to do it only after aides pressed him and he appeared to suddenly realize he could face legal risk for prodding the mob, coming shortly after the chief federal prosecutor for Washington left open the possibility of investigating the president for illegally inciting the attack by telling supporters to march on the Capitol and show strength.

Pat A. Cipollone, the White House counsel, had warned Mr. Trump of just that danger on Wednesday as aides frantically tried to get the president to intervene and publicly call off rioters, which he did only belatedly, reluctantly.

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**SHAKEN** Images from the Capitol undercut a pillar of global democracy. News Analysis. PAGE A17

**BAD FOR BUSINESS** Executives who courted Trump are breaking with him. News Analysis. PAGE B1



TRAIL OF DESTRUCTION Trump supporters on Wednesday left broken windows, doors and furniture in the Capitol, as well as a defaced bust of President Zachary Taylor. The damage to the nation was still being assessed by lawmakers, many of whom are saying even two weeks would be too long to let the president remain in office. PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Capitol Breach Puts the Police Under Scrutiny

This article is by Shaila Dewan, Neil MacFarquhar, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Ali Watkins.

Six days before a raucous rally of President Trump's supporters in Washington, Representative Maxine Waters anxiously grilled the chief of the Capitol Police about his preparations for various



Police officers after the Capitol was cleared on Wednesday.

scenarios: Were the rooftops secured? Would streets be blocked off? Did he know that violent groups like the Proud Boys and the Oath Keepers were vowing to stir up chaos?

Ms. Waters, a California Democrat, said each of her concerns was met with a similar response from Chief Steven Sund during their hourlong call: "He assured me that they have everything under control, that they were on top of everything."

They weren't. Instead, an angry mob of pro-Trump extremists swarmed the barricades around the Capitol on Wednesday, spraying chemical irritants and wielding lead pipes, injuring more than 50 officers. They battered doors,

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## After the Mob, A Reckoning For the G.O.P.

By JONATHAN MARTIN  
and ALEXANDER BURNS

WASHINGTON — President Trump not only inspired a mob to storm the Capitol on Wednesday — he also brought the Republican Party close to a breaking point.

Having lost the presidency, the House and now the Senate on Mr. Trump's watch, Republicans are so deeply divided that many are insisting they must fully break from the president to rebound.

Those divisions were in especially sharp relief this week when scores of House Republicans sided with Mr. Trump in voting to block certification of the election — in a tally taken after the mob rampaged through the Capitol — while dozens of other House members and all but eight Republican senators refused to go along.

Republicans who spent years putting off a reckoning with Mr. Trump over his dangerous behavior are now confronting a disturbing prospect: that Wednesday's episode of violence, incited by Mr. Trump's remarks, could linger for decades as a stain on the party — much as the Watergate break-in and the Great Depression shadowed earlier generations of Republicans.

"His conduct over the last eight weeks has been injurious to the country and incredibly harmful to the party," said Chris Christie, the former governor of New Jersey who was the first major Republican to endorse Mr. Trump.

Mr. Christie said Republicans must "separate message from messenger," because "I don't think the messenger can recover from yesterday."

A small number of Republican officials who have been critical of

Continued on Page A19

## With Senate in Control, Biden Solidifies Agenda

By JIM TANKERSLEY  
and MICHAEL D. SHEAR

WASHINGTON — With his victory recognized by Congress and his party set to control both the House and Senate, President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. moved on Thursday to fill out his cabinet, while his aides and allies drafted plans for an ambitious legislative agenda headlined by \$2,000 stimulus checks to individual Americans.

Just hours after the House and Senate confirmed his election and President Trump said he would peacefully transfer power, Mr. Biden announced Judge Merrick B. Garland as his attorney general and selected three nominees to run the Labor Department, the Commerce Department and the Small Business Administration.

The president-elect's ability to push through key parts of his agenda and win confirmation of his cabinet selections received a significant lift this week, as Democrats picked up two Senate seats in Georgia, resulting in a 50-50 split. Vice President-elect Kamala Harris has the power to cast the tiebreaking vote, which would give Democrats control of the chamber.

As part of what he has pledged will be a next round of economic

## President-Elect Reveals 4 More Cabinet Picks

assistance, Mr. Biden is expected to move quickly to gain passage of \$2,000 stimulus checks — which were a big focus in the Georgia elections — along with expanded unemployment benefits, aid to state and local governments and additional relief for small businesses.



Judge Merrick B. Garland is the nominee for attorney general.

## 'It's Us Who's in Charge': A Boiling Desire to Desecrate the Capitol

By SABRINA TAVERNISE  
and MATTHEW ROSENBERG

WASHINGTON — There were infamous white nationalists and noted conspiracy theorists who have spread dark visions of pedophile Satanists running the country. Others were more anonymous, people who had journeyed from Indiana and South Carolina

to heed President Trump's call to show their support. One person, a West Virginia lawmaker, had only been elected to office in November.

All of them converged on Wednesday on the grounds of the U.S. Capitol, where hundreds of rioters crashed through barricades, climbed through windows and walked through doors, wandering the hallways with a sense of glee

## Spreading Lawlessness in the Halls of Power

ful desecration, because, for a few breathtaking hours, they believed that they had displaced the very elites they said they hated.

"We wanted to show these poli-

ticians that it's us who's in charge, not them," said a construction worker from Indianapolis, who is 40 and identified himself only as Aaron. He declined to give his last name, saying, "I'm not that dumb."

He added: "We've got the strength."

As the country sifts through the shards of what happened in Wash-

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# National

The New York Times

## THOSE WHO OBJECTED

By KAREN YOURISH, LARRY BUCHANAN and DENISE LU

When a mob of President Trump’s supporters stormed the Capitol building on Wednesday, they forced an emergency recess in the congressional proceedings to officially certify the results of the 2020 presidential election. The disruption came shortly after some Republican lawmakers made the first of a planned series of highly unusual objections, based on spurious accusations of wide-

spread voter fraud, to states’ election results. The chambers were separately debating an objection to Arizona’s results when proceedings were halted and the Capitol was locked down. When the Senate reconvened at 8 p.m., and the House of Representatives an hour later, the proceedings — including the objection debates — continued, although some lawmakers who had

previously planned to vote with the objectors stood down after the occupation of the Capitol. Plans to challenge a number of states after Arizona were scrapped, as well — but one other objection, to Pennsylvania’s results, also advanced to a vote. Here are the eight senators and 139 representatives, all Republicans, who voted to sustain one or both objections.

 Sen. Tommy Tuberville ALABAMA	 Sen. Rick Scott FLORIDA	 Sen. Roger Marshall KANSAS	 Sen. John Kennedy LOUISIANA	 Sen. Cindy Hyde-Smith MISSISSIPPI	 Sen. Josh Hawley MISSOURI	 Sen. Ted Cruz TEXAS	 Sen. Cynthia Lummis WYOMING	 Rep. Robert S. Aderholt ALABAMA	 Rep. Mo Brooks ALABAMA	 Rep. Jerry Carl ALABAMA
 Rep. Barry Moore ALABAMA	 Rep. Gary Palmer ALABAMA	 Rep. Mike Rogers ALABAMA	 Rep. Andy Biggs ARIZONA	 Rep. Paul Gosar ARIZONA	 Rep. Debbie Lesko ARIZONA	 Rep. David Schweikert ARIZONA	 Rep. Rick Crawford ARKANSAS	 Rep. Ken Calvert CALIFORNIA	 Rep. Mike Garcia CALIFORNIA	 Rep. Darrell Issa CALIFORNIA
 Rep. Doug LaMalfa CALIFORNIA	 Rep. Kevin McCarthy CALIFORNIA	 Rep. Devin Nunes CALIFORNIA	 Rep. Jay Obermiller CALIFORNIA	 Rep. Lauren Boebert COLORADO	 Rep. Doug Lamborn COLORADO	 Rep. Kat Cammack FLORIDA	 Rep. Mario Diaz-Balart FLORIDA	 Rep. Byron Donalds FLORIDA	 Rep. Neal Dunn FLORIDA	 Rep. Scott Franklin FLORIDA
 Rep. Matt Gaetz FLORIDA	 Rep. Carlos Gimenez FLORIDA	 Rep. Brian Mast FLORIDA	 Rep. Bill Posey FLORIDA	 Rep. John Rutherford FLORIDA	 Rep. Greg Steube FLORIDA	 Rep. Daniel Webster FLORIDA	 Rep. Rick Allen GEORGIA	 Rep. Earl L. "Buddy" Carter GEORGIA	 Rep. Andrew Clyde GEORGIA	 Rep. Marjorie Taylor Greene GEORGIA
 Rep. Jody Hice GEORGIA	 Rep. Barry Loudermilk GEORGIA	 Rep. Russ Fulcher IDAHO	 Rep. Mike Bost ILLINOIS	 Rep. Mary Miller ILLINOIS	 Rep. Jim Baird INDIANA	 Rep. Jim Banks INDIANA	 Rep. Greg Pence INDIANA	 Rep. Jackie Walorski INDIANA	 Rep. Ron Estes KANSAS	 Rep. Jacob LaTurner KANSAS
 Rep. Tracey Mann KANSAS	 Rep. Harold Rogers KENTUCKY	 Rep. Garret Graves LOUISIANA	 Rep. Clay Higgins LOUISIANA	 Rep. Mike Johnson LOUISIANA	 Rep. Steve Scalise LOUISIANA	 Rep. Andy Harris MARYLAND	 Rep. Jack Bergman MICHIGAN	 Rep. Lisa McClain MICHIGAN	 Rep. Tim Walberg MICHIGAN	 Rep. Michelle Fischbach MINNESOTA
 Rep. Jim Hagedorn MINNESOTA	 Rep. Michael Guest MISSISSIPPI	 Rep. Trent Kelly MISSISSIPPI	 Rep. Steven Palazzo MISSISSIPPI	 Rep. Sam Graves MISSOURI	 Rep. Vicky Hartzler MISSOURI	 Rep. Billy Long MISSOURI	 Rep. Blaine Luetkemeyer MISSOURI	 Rep. Jason Smith MISSOURI	 Rep. Matt Rosendale MONTANA	 Rep. Adrian Smith NEBRASKA
 Rep. Jeff Van Drew NEW JERSEY	 Rep. Yvette Herrell NEW MEXICO	 Rep. Chris Jacobs NEW YORK	 Rep. Nicole Malliotakis NEW YORK	 Rep. Elise M. Stefanik NEW YORK	 Rep. Lee Zeldin NEW YORK	 Rep. Dan Bishop NORTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Ted Budd NORTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Madison Cawthorn NORTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Virginia Foxx NORTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Richard Hudson NORTH CAROLINA
 Rep. Gregory F. Murphy NORTH CAROLINA	 Rep. David Rouzer NORTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Steve Chabot OHIO	 Rep. Warren Davidson OHIO	 Rep. Bob Gibbs OHIO	 Rep. Bill Johnson OHIO	 Rep. Jim Jordan OHIO	 Rep. Stephanie Bice OKLAHOMA	 Rep. Tom Cole OKLAHOMA	 Rep. Kevin Hern OKLAHOMA	 Rep. Frank Lucas OKLAHOMA
 Rep. Markwayne Mullin OKLAHOMA	 Rep. Cliff Bentz OREGON	 Rep. John Joyce PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Fred Keller PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Mike Kelly PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Daniel Meuser PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Scott Perry PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Guy Reschenthaler PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Lloyd Smucker PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Glenn Thompson PENNSYLVANIA	 Rep. Jeff Duncan SOUTH CAROLINA
 Rep. Ralph Norman SOUTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Tom Rice SOUTH CAROLINA	 Rep. William Timmons SOUTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Joe Wilson SOUTH CAROLINA	 Rep. Tim Burchett TENNESSEE	 Rep. Scott Desjarlais TENNESSEE	 Rep. Chuck Fleischmann TENNESSEE	 Rep. Mark E. Green TENNESSEE	 Rep. Diane Harshbarger TENNESSEE	 Rep. David Kustoff TENNESSEE	 Rep. John Rose TENNESSEE
 Rep. Jodey Arrington TEXAS	 Rep. Brian Babin TEXAS	 Rep. Michael C. Burgess TEXAS	 Rep. John R. Carter TEXAS	 Rep. Michael Cloud TEXAS	 Rep. Pat Fallon TEXAS	 Rep. Louie Gohmert TEXAS	 Rep. Lance Gooden TEXAS	 Rep. Ronny Jackson TEXAS	 Rep. Troy Nehls TEXAS	 Rep. August Pfluger TEXAS
 Rep. Pete Sessions TEXAS	 Rep. Beth Van Duyne TEXAS	 Rep. Randy Weber TEXAS	 Rep. Roger Williams TEXAS	 Rep. Ron Wright UTAH	 Rep. Burgess Owens UTAH	 Rep. Chris Stewart UTAH	 Rep. Ben Cline VIRGINIA	 Rep. Bob Good VIRGINIA	 Rep. Morgan Griffith VIRGINIA	 Rep. Robert J. Wittman VIRGINIA
 Rep. Carol Miller WEST VIRGINIA	 Rep. Alex X. Mooney WEST VIRGINIA	 Rep. Scott Fitzgerald WISCONSIN	 Rep. Tom Tiffany WISCONSIN							



## Violence in the Capital The Global Reaction

## NEWS ANALYSIS

Images That Shake  
A Pillar of Freedom

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS — The choreography was unusual: President Emmanuel Macron of France, standing before the Stars and Stripes, declaring in English that “we believe in the strength of our democracies. We believe in the strength of American democracy.”

And so the presidency of Donald J. Trump draws to a close with a French leader obliged to declare his faith in the resilience of American democracy, a remarkable development. Mr. Macron’s wider point was clear enough: The mob of Trump loyalists in Washington attempting to disrupt the peaceful transition of American power also posed a threat to all democracies.

The reputation of the United States may be tarnished, but its identification with the global defense of democracy remains singular. So when an angry horde, incited by President Trump himself, was seen taking over the Capitol, defiling its sacred chambers with swaggering contempt as lawmakers gathered to certify President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s victory, the fragility of freedom felt palpable in Paris and across the world.

“A universal idea — that of ‘one person, one vote’ — is undermined,” Mr. Macron said in an address that began in French and ended in English. It

*The world is reminded that democracy is a fragile institution.*

was the “temple of American democracy” that had been attacked.

The institutions of democracy prevailed in the early hours of the following morning, but the images of mob rule in Washington touched a particular nerve in fractured Western societies. They have been confronted with the emergence of an illiberal authoritarian model in Hungary and Poland, and the rise of rightist political forces from Italy to Germany. They have also faced the truculence of leaders like President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia, who has declared liberalism “obsolete,” or Xi Jinping, China’s top leader, who has offered his country’s surveillance-state model to the world as he crushed democratic protest in Hong Kong.

“For European societies, these were shattering images,” said Jacques Rupnik, a political scientist. “Even if America was no longer the beacon on a hill, it was still the pillar that sustained European democracy and extended it eastward after the Cold War.”

Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany said she was “angry and sad.” She blamed Mr. Trump unequivocally for the storming of the Capitol that left one woman dead. “Doubts about the election outcome were stoked and created the atmosphere that made the events of last night possible,” she said.

Germans, for whom the United States was postwar savior, protector and liberal democratic model, have observed Mr. Trump’s attempts to subvert the democratic process and rule of law with particular dismay.

Their anxiety has been accentuated in recent years because the fraying of democracy through polarization, violence, social breakdown and economic hardship has not been confined to the United States. The coronavirus pandemic has sharpened anxieties and mistrust of government. In this context, the mob

stampeding through the Capitol seemed to reflect disruptive forces lurking in many parts of the Western world.

If it could happen at democracy’s heart, it could happen anywhere.

Last year, as battles over racial justice raged in several American cities, the German weekly magazine Der Spiegel portrayed Mr. Trump in the Oval Office with a lighted match and called him “Der Feuerteufel,” or literally, “The Fire Devil.”

The message was clear: The American president was playing with fire. This could only stir German memories of the Reichstag fire of 1933 that enabled Hitler and the Nazis to scrap the fragile Weimar democracy that brought them to power.

Painful memory has not been confined to Germany. Throughout much of Europe — a continent where totalitarian rule is not some distant specter, but something people alive today have lived — Mr. Trump’s attacks on an independent judiciary, a free press and the sanctity of the ballot were long seen as ominous.

Mrs. Merkel herself started life in Communist East Germany. She has watched as the post-1989 euphoria over the inevitability of a free democratic world has evaporated, deflated by the rise of authoritarian governments. Mr. Trump, attacking foundations of that world like NATO or the European Union, often appeared to want to tilt the world in the same illiberal direction.

He has been defeated. American institutions have withstood the mayhem. Mr. Biden’s victory was duly certified by Congress once order was restored.

Vice President Mike Pence, whom Mr. Trump had tried to enlist in his effort to overturn the November election result, affirmed Mr. Biden as the winner. Mr. Trump issued a statement saying, for the first time, that there would be “an orderly transition on January 20th.” Two victories in Senate races in Georgia ensured that Democrats would control the Senate, a stinging final rebuke to Mr. Trump that opens the way for the new president to pursue his agenda.

So, all is well after all? Not really. The American idea and American values — democracy, the rule of law, the defense of human rights — have suffered a sustained assault during Mr. Trump’s presidency. Mr. Rupnik suggested it would be “very difficult” for Mr. Biden to project America as “the convener of a community of democracies,” an idea the incoming administration has aired to signal a return to America’s core principles.

For some time, the rest of the world will look on the United States with skepticism when it seeks to promote democratic values. The images of the overrun Capitol will be there, for those who want to use them, to make the point that America would be best advised to avoid giving lessons in the exercise of freedom. Dictators of the hard and soft variety have new and potent ammunition.

“Democracy Fractured” was the banner headline in the French daily Le Figaro, above a photograph of the Capitol under siege. An editorial suggested that Mr. Trump might have left office with “a contested but not negligible balance sheet.” Instead, “his narcissism having overcome any dignity, he manhandled institutions, trampled on democracy, divided his own camp and ends his presidency in a ditch.”

There were signs that Mr. Trump’s magnetism was already ebbing. The Czech prime minister, Andrej Babis, a supporter of Mr. Trump, promptly changed his Twitter profile picture from one showing him wearing a MAGA-style red baseball cap with the words “Slne Česko” (Strong Czech Republic) to one that shows him wearing a face mask with the Czech flag.

The Washington turmoil illustrated in the end that the United States is bigger than one man, a point Mr. Macron seemed intent on making. He alluded to joint American and French support for freedom and democracy since the 18th century. He mentioned Alexis de Tocqueville’s praise of American democracy. He spoke of American defense of French freedom during two World Wars.

Mr. Macron’s message seemed clear: The America of “We the People,” the America that held it self-evident at its creation that “all men are created equal,” was still common, and urgently, for “our common struggle to ensure that our democracies emerge from this moment that we are all living through even stronger.”

Headlines  
Tell Story  
Of Chaos

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI

It was a siege. It was a mob. It was anarchy.

Or, as the Italian newspaper La Stampa put it in its front-page headline Thursday, “Once upon a time, there was America.”

Wednesday’s violent siege of the United States Capitol — that symbol of Western democracy — instantly created a dire new image of America for the world to see.

But to some people, shocking news only feels real after it is printed on the pages of a newspaper they know. By Thursday, photos of officers with guns drawn at a barricaded door to the House chamber, and crowds of supporters of President Trump storming the Capitol steps, had cemented the reality of a day of stunning political violence in America on newspaper front pages around the world.

Editors wrestled with the right words to describe what had happened. At least two British newspapers blared there was “anarchy,” while the Daily Mirror, a popular tabloid, said the violence was perpetrated by a “crazed Trump mob.”

The urgent newspaper headlines mirrored the statements of Western politicians who criticized in newly blunt terms the leader of their most powerful allied nation. Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany said she was “angry and sad.” Emmanuel Macron, the French president, appeared before an American flag in a video he released just before 3 a.m. Paris time on Thursday and said, in English: “We believe in the strength of American democracy.”

But the British magazine The Economist struck a less hopeful note. Rather than illustrate the next cover with a drawing, as they usually do, the magazine’s editors chose a photograph of a hooded member of the mob that stormed the Capitol, holding an iPhone, sitting in the head chair of the Senate chamber.

The headline: “Trump’s Legacy.”



OFFICE OF THE FRENCH PRESIDENT, VIA GETTY IMAGES  
President Emmanuel Macron of France suggested that the mob of Trump loyalists put all democracies in danger.

Newspaper front pages from around the world after a mob stormed the United States Capitol on Wednesday.



**4 AVIATION**  
Boeing has agreed to pay more than \$2.5 billion in a settlement with the U.S. over its 737 Max jet debacle.



**6 WHEELS**  
With aerodynamics dictating design, carmakers find that the grille is the best place to make a visual statement.



**7 SPORTS**  
His career has been one for the notebooks. Now, after 57 years as the Warriors' official scorer, Fred Kast is retiring.

TECH | ECONOMY | MEDIA | FINANCE

FRIDAY, JANUARY 8, 2021 B1

# Business

The New York Times



## CORPORATE AMERICA REACHES ITS LIMIT

ILLUSTRATION BY GLUEKIT; PHOTOS, FROM TOP: ALEX WONG/GETTY IMAGES; ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS; JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

### How an Ally Became Bad For Business

By DAVID GELLES  
Big business struck a Faustian bargain with President Trump. When he said something incendiary or flirted with authoritarianism, high-minded chief executives would issue vague, moralizing statements and try to

distance themselves from a pro-business president who coveted their approval. But when Mr. Trump cut taxes, rolled back onerous regulations or used them as props for a photo op, they would applaud his leadership and grin for the cameras. After the events on Capitol Hill on Wednesday, the true cost of that balancing act was plain to see, even through the tear gas wafting in the rotunda. The executives who stood by Mr. Trump were ultimately among his enablers, bestowing him with the imprimatur of mainstream business credibility

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4

### Megaphone To Masses Goes Silent

Kevin Roose  
THE SHIFT

For years, top executives at social media companies treated President Trump with kid gloves, contorting themselves into pretzels to explain why he was still allowed to post on their platforms despite violating their rules again and again. Fearful of provoking a backlash from the president and his allies, they gave gauzy speeches defending free expression, wrote special policies to justify their inaction and attached weak warning labels to his posts. But Wednesday's rampage at the Capitol — and perhaps the knowledge, solidified earlier in the day, that Democrats will soon control both houses of Congress — appears to have stiffened some spines. After Wednesday, the big tech platforms took their strongest actions yet against Mr. Trump. Facebook's chief executive, Mark Zuckerberg, said he would support a peaceful transition of power.

### Facebook Bans Trump To Term's End

By MIKE ISAAC and KATE CONGER  
SAN FRANCISCO — Facebook on Thursday said it will block President Trump on its platforms at least until the end of his term on Jan. 20, as much of the mainstream online world moved forcefully to limit the president after years of inaction. But Twitter, which had locked Mr. Trump's account on Wednesday for posts that violated its rules, lifted the suspension, allowing the president to tweet. Late on Thursday, Mr. Trump marked his return to social media by posting a two minute 41 second video on Twitter in which he said he would support a peaceful transition of power. Facebook and Twitter said they made their contrasting decisions for different reasons. Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook's chief executive, said in a post that the social network decided to cut off Mr. Trump because a rampage by pro-Trump supporters in the nation's capital a day earlier, which was

'We believe the risks of allowing the president to continue to use our service during this period are simply too great.'  
Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook's chief executive.

'This is what happens when we subordinate our moral principles for what we perceive to be business interests.'  
Darren Walker, the president of the Ford Foundation.



# SCENES OF INSURGENCY

Outside, doors were splintered and windows smashed. Inside, guns were drawn and people took cover wherever they could find it. The world watched, stunned, as democracy was under ideological and physical attack.



ANNA MONEYMAKER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



DREW ANGERER/GETTY IMAGES



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The surging crowd swarmed on the Capitol on Wednesday, and made its way into the building. Law enforcement officers detained several intruders outside the House chamber, left. Only a short time before, boxes carrying the certified election results had been brought inside, top left.



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES



ANDREW HARNIK/ASSOCIATED PRESS



JIM LO SCALZO/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK



OLIVIER DOULIERY/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

As intruders confronted officers outside the Senate chamber, center of page, officers inside the House chamber, above, drew their guns as the mob tried to force its way in. Agents cleared offices where congressional aides had taken refuge, right. One man, Richard Barnett, 60, of Gravette, Ark., entered the office of the House speaker, Nancy Pelosi, and posed at her desk. He has since been arrested.



Attack on the Capitol As It Happened

# Cascading Failures Let Mob Rampage Through Capitol

From Page A1

the nearby Capitol was surely a spark that helped ignite the deadly riots that left five dead — including a policeman and a woman who stormed the building — injured dozens of others and damaged the country's reputation for carrying out peaceful transfers of power. But the tinder for the blaze had been gathering for months, with every tweet that the election had been stolen, every refusal by Republican lawmakers to recognize Joseph R. Biden Jr. as the next president, every dog-whistle call that emboldened white supremacist groups to violently strike.

A full reckoning will take months or even years, and many lawmakers have called for a formal commission to investigate.

But an initial anatomy of the siege by The New York Times revealed numerous failures. The chaos showed that government agencies have no coordinated plan to defend against an attack on the Capitol — especially one specifically aimed at powerful elected officials — though law enforcement agencies have for years raised alarms about the growing threat of domestic terrorism.

QAnon, an online conspiracy group that was well represented among the crowd, has been labeled a domestic terrorist threat by the F.B.I.

Federal agencies and the Capitol Police appeared to issue no serious warnings in the days leading up to the riots that the gathering could turn violent, despite countless posts on right-wing social media sites pledging confrontation and even bloodshed.

The Department of Homeland Security invited local law enforcement agencies to its situation room — held online during the pandemic — only the day before the riots, which some security experts said was far too late.

Poor planning and communication among a constellation of federal, state and local law enforcement agencies hamstrung the response to the rioting. Once the Capitol building was breached, a patchwork group of reinforcements was forced to try to navigate a labyrinthine complex of unfamiliar passages and byways that would prove dangerous.

Above all, the fiasco demonstrated that government agencies were not prepared for a threat that, until recently, seemed unimaginable: when the person inciting the violence is the president of the United States.

The Capitol Police and the Metropolitan Police Department did not respond to requests for comment. Ms. Bowser's chief of staff, John Falcichio, said that defense officials determined the number of personnel deployed. But Pentagon officials said they made those decisions based on the specific requests they received.

The recriminations began almost immediately, and the violence carried a sobering reality: The country got lucky. Hundreds of rioters carrying long guns and Molotov cocktails breached the seat of American power — some with the clear intent of injuring, holding hostage or even killing federal officials to stop them from certifying the vote. In the end, all of the lawmakers were spirited away to safety.

"It was such an embarrassing bad failure and immediately became an infamous moment in American history," said R.P. Eddy, a former American counterterrorism official and diplomat who now runs a private intelligence firm. "But it could have been so much worse."

## Missed Warnings

"The Capitol is our goal. Everything that is a distraction," announced one post on far-right social media a day before the uprising. "Every corrupt member of Congress locked in one room and surrounded by real Americans is an opportunity that will never present itself again."

That was just one example of how extremists were organizing on social media.

In private Facebook groups, activists planning to make the trip to the capital discussed not only logistics like hotels and rideshares, but also sleeping in cars and pitching tents should the Capitol be "occupied" the city. Many comments included photographs of guns and ammunition that they planned to bring.

On smaller social media platforms such as Parler and Gab that became rallying places for the far right, calls for violence were more overt. Dozens of posts in the days leading up to Wednesday listed assault rifles and other weapons that people claimed they were bringing to Washington. People

Reporting was contributed by Eric Lipton, Adam Goldman, Emily Cochran and Katie Benner from Washington; Ali Watkins, Ashley Southall and Shaile Dewan from New York; and Sheera Frenkel from Oakland, Calif.

discussed which types of ammunition were best and whether medics would be in place for those potentially injured.

Law enforcement and other officials were aware of the chatter and took some steps to try to reduce the chances of violence. Homeland security officials put tactical agents on standby in downtown Washington. The F.B.I. questioned neo-Nazis who were under investigation and planning to attend the demonstrations, prompting some of them to change their plans and skip the trip, officials said.

And on Monday, the Metropolitan Police Department arrested Enrique Tarrio, the leader of the Proud Boys, a far-right group. The police also announced before the rally that anyone who planned to show up to the demonstrations armed, in violation of local firearms laws, would be arrested.

But missed opportunities abounded. Despite the ominous social media posts, officials leading intelligence-sharing centers throughout the United States received no warnings from the federal government about the potential threat to the Capitol.

"We did not see any federal products related to this," said Mike Sena, the president of the National Fusion Center Association. Such centers were formed after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks to improve communication and planning among federal and local agencies.

One senior federal prosecutor in the Midwest said he did not even speak with the top F.B.I. agent in his city about local residents possibly traveling to Washington. What the F.B.I. had been observing online, officials would later say, amounted to First Amendment-protected activity, despite the incendiary language in social media posts.

Intelligence experts denounced the inability—or refusal—of government analysts to provide proper warning about impending violence.

"The evidence is starkly clear that the momentum of violence has shifted to the right in this country. We've seen this in city after city," Mr. Eddy said. "There was a failure among law enforcement to imagine that people who 'look like me' would do this."

Chase Jennings, a spokesman for the Homeland Security Department, said in the days leading up to the breach at the Capitol, the agency "had open channels with partners and shared information on those channels."

## Protests Last Year

Looming over preparation was the government's heavy-handed response to the Black Lives Matter demonstrations over the summer. Mr. Trump had deployed unidentified agents and tactical teams to the streets of Washington in June against the wishes of Ms. Bowser, and agents tear-gassed protesters, allowing the president to walk to a nearby church and stage a photo op holding a Bible. In the run-up to the violence on Wednesday, the fractured relationship between federal and local law enforcement was evident.

Ms. Bowser had sent a letter to top federal law enforcement officials on Tuesday warning against excessive deployments. Though the city had sought some National Guard troops for traffic control, she noted that the D.C. police had not requested additional personnel from law enforcement agencies for the rallies on Wednesday and referred to the aggressive deployment in June.

Still, federal law enforcement officials conveyed to lawmakers that they were prepared. David L. Bowditch, the F.B.I. deputy director, assured Senator Mark Warner of Virginia, the top Democrat on the Senate Intelligence Committee, that the bureau had the resources to handle the Trump rally.

The Justice Department was treating the event as relatively peaceful, officials said. The acting attorney general, Jeffrey A. Rosen, worked on Wednesday from his office rather than the F.B.I. war room, where the crisis response unfolded.

Several officials, including Chief Sund of the Capitol Police, briefed Representative Zoe Lofgren, Democrat of California, the chairwoman of the House Administration Committee, on Tuesday. The message was similar to the one that Chief Sund had given to other lawmakers for days.

"I was told by the police chief and the sergeant-at-arms that everything was under control and they had provided for every contingency," Ms. Lofgren said in an interview. "That turned out to be completely false."

## 'Active, Hostile Situation'

Within minutes of the mob breaching the Capitol complex, rioters were pounding on the doors of the House gallery, where a group of nearly two dozen lawmakers were trapped. The sounds



OLIVIER DOUBLEY/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



ROBERTO SCHMIDT/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES



J. SCOTT APPLEWHITE/ASSOCIATED PRESS

The police trying to hold back rioters, above and left, who attacked the Capitol on Wednesday at the urging of President Trump. Below left, lawmakers being evacuated after the mob broke into the House chamber. The attack left five dead, including an officer and a woman who stormed the building, and damaged the country's reputation for peaceful transfers of power.

odically provided updates to the room, as lawmakers called their families and checked on their staff members.

On the Senate side of the Capitol, the rioters came perilously close to lawmakers. As they approached, a quick-thinking Capitol Police officer pushed one of them, then backed away, and the crowd chased him. The officer's maneuver helped lead the mob away from an entrance to the Senate several feet away, according to a video taken by Igor Bobic, a HuffPost reporter.

In a secure, undisclosed location, Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, screamed at the Senate sergeant-at-arms, Michael C. Stenger, demanding a plan and ordering him to clear the rioters, according to a person in the room. Mr. Stenger was milling around, the person said, inspiring no confidence that he was in control of the situation.

He has since resigned, as has Chief Sund. Throughout the Capitol, urgent voices crackled across police radios giving details about the unfolding siege.

"There was definitely a higher sense of urgency" on police radio side of the Capitol, said Ashan M. Benedict, the head of the Washington field office of the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives, who was working with the Capitol Police at the nearby Republican Party headquarters, where a pipe bomb was found.

Mr. Benedict connected with a commander of the Capitol Police SWAT team who was inside the complex, who acknowledged that they needed immediate help but said he needed a moment to arrange the official request.

A.T.F. and F.B.I. teams were soon headed to the Capitol. Neither bureau trains its agents for crowd control or riots, and they would have to find a way in, where they could help clear the Capitol and rescue staff members and employees.

When Mr. Benedict and his deputy finally got into the building, it was madness, he recalled. Clouds of noxious gas — bear spray, he guessed, from rioters — floated

Ms. Bowser was having similar problems. Even during the phone call when Chief Sund said he needed National Guard troops to beat back the rioters — a request the mayor and her staff members figured would immediately prompt an order of reinforcements — Pentagon officials would not commit to sending them.

Lt. Gen. Walter E. Piatt, the director of the Army staff, who was on that call, reacted to Chief Sund's request with caution. He said that he did not have the authority to send the troops, that the request would have to go through his chain of command, and that the group needed a plan for how the National Guard would be deployed.

Chief Robert J. Contee of the Metropolitan Police was on a video conference call with the Japanese ambassador when his chief of staff rushed into his office, telling him, "The Capitol is under attack."

"We are not denying the request," the general insisted. But, he added, he would have to seek approval first. The phone call ended.

Inside the mayor's command center, where officials recalled the debate in June when the military sent a helicopter to Black Lives Matter protests, frustration turned to anger.

"The Capitol Police were requesting the guard, they were not getting the request fulfilled, and we are seeing blood on the ground of the United States Capitol. That was the moment for me," said Mr. Falcichio, the mayor's chief of staff.

In an interview, General Piatt defended his caution. "The last thing you want to do is throw forces at it where you have no idea where they're going, and all of a sudden it gets a lot worse," he said.

Inside the besieged Capitol, lawmakers were making their own urgent requests to the Pentagon. Representative Elissa Slotkin, Democrat of Michigan and a former defense official, called Gen. Mark A. Milley, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, to plead for help from the National Guard.

"What I was hearing is that the Pentagon was really struggling with the request," she said, because of the response to the protests in June, which had brought intense criticism upon the Defense Department and General Milley.

"I said, 'Yes, we've been waiting,'" Mr. Hogan recalled.

that this was a tough decision" because of the violence last year, Ms. Slotkin said. "I said, 'Mark, I absolutely understand that you are between a rock and a hard place. But we need help here.'"

Finally, at about 3 p.m., Mr. Miller decided that all available D.C. National Guard soldiers — 1,100 troops — would be deployed.

## Help Arrives

As the Pentagon deliberated, city officials sent an urgent dispatch to all local police forces asking for help.

Ed Roessler, the police chief in Fairfax County, Va., was driving when his phone rang at 2:27 p.m. A deputy told him that a request for help had just gone out over the police mutual aid radio system used by law enforcement agencies in the Washington region. He was stunned.

"It was surreal," said Chief Roessler, a 32-year veteran of the department. "To get a request over the police mutual aid radio system—I don't recall something at this level."

About 40 Fairfax County officers were quickly deputized by an official from the United States marshals and sent to Washington. At the Capitol, they assembled in a wedge formation and went inside, where they helped push out rioters.

Then they stood guard while officers from other agencies built a larger security perimeter around the Capitol.

Other requests for help went out, and the Capitol Police also sought assistance from the Homeland Security Department, but not until more than an hour after the rioters had surrounded the Capitol and the police had first fired what appeared to be flash-bang grenades.

When the request came at 2:30 p.m., the Secret Service deployed both uniformed and special agents, according to Kenneth T. Cucinelli II, the acting deputy secretary of homeland security, the parent agency of the Secret Service.

Asked if he wondered why the request from the Capitol Police came at 2:30, Mr. Cucinelli said, "It's pretty clear they were under-prepared, unfortunately."

## Placing Blame

When the rioters breached the Capitol, Senator Kevin Cramer, Republican of North Dakota, said

a quick prayer. As he and the other senators made their way out of the chamber to the basement, an officer urged them to hurry because the rioters were on their heels.

"Move quicker, people," the officer said. "They're right behind." It was serious," Mr. Cramer recalled.

Out of immediate danger, senators took roll call. Four were missing, including Senator Tammy Duckworth, Democrat of Illinois, who uses a wheelchair after sustaining injuries in Iraq. She had barricaded herself in her office.

Inside the secure location, some senators grew increasingly angry at Senators Ted Cruz of Texas and Josh Hawley of Missouri — Republicans who had vowed to fight the election certification unless a commission was established to investigate Mr. Trump's baseless claims of voter fraud.

Senator Joe Manchin III of West Virginia, a moderate Democrat, said he approached Senators Steve Daines of Montana and James Lankford of Oklahoma, Republicans who had planned to object to the election to send a message.

"Steve, c'mon, you don't want to be part of this," Mr. Manchin recalled saying. "I said, 'James, you're better than this.'"

Mr. Manchin said the appeals affected them, but Mr. Hawley showed no remorse.

"Josh Hawley started the whole thing, and all who assisted him, they've got to be held accountable," Mr. Manchin said. When asked to respond, spokespeople for Mr. Hawley said he had quickly condemned the violence and never claimed there was widespread election fraud, making only a narrow argument about mail balloting in Pennsylvania. Mr. Hawley has declined interviews in the aftermath of the riot.

For others, the blame goes far wider.

Senator Amy Klobuchar, Democrat of Minnesota, said she and other senators were investigating what went wrong and focusing on how to keep Mr. Biden's inauguration safe.

"There clearly needs to be an overhaul of security," she said, adding that ultimately the blame fell on the president of the United States.

"He convinced them this was a righteous cause, to be part of an insurrection," Ms. Klobuchar said. "And they went for it."

# What Trump Told Supporters Before the Violence Began

By CHARLIE SAVAGE

WASHINGTON — The speech President Trump delivered to his supporters just before they attacked the Capitol last week is a central focus as House Democrats prepare an article of impeachment against him for inciting the deadly riot.

Mr. Trump had urged supporters to come to Washington for a "Save America March" on Wednesday, when Congress would ceremonially count President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s win — telling them to "be there, will be wild!" At a rally just before the violence, he repeated many of his falsehoods about how the election was stolen, then dispatched the marchers to the Capitol as those proceedings were about to start. Here are some notable excerpts from Mr. Trump's remarks, with analysis.

## Trump urged his supporters to 'fight much harder' against 'bad people' and 'show strength' at the Capitol.

"Republicans are constantly fighting like a boxer with his hands tied behind his back. It's like a boxer. And we want to be so nice. We want to be so respectful of everybody, including bad people. And we're going to have to fight much harder...."

"We're going to walk down to the Capitol, and we're going to cheer on our brave senators and congressmen and women, and we're probably not going to be cheering so much for some of them, because you'll never take back our country with weakness. You have to show strength, and you have to be strong."

The president's speech was riddled with violent imagery and calls to fight harder than before. By contrast, he made only a passing suggestion that the protest should be nonviolent: "I know that everyone here will soon be marching over to the Capitol building to peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard."

During Mr. Trump's impeachment last year, one of his defenses was that the primary accusation against him was not an ordinary crime, so it did not matter even if it were true. Most legal specialists said that made no difference for impeachment, but that argument would not be a defense here. Several laws clearly make it a crime to incite a riot or otherwise try to get another person to engage in violent crime against property or people.

## Trump insinuated that Republican officials, including Pence, would endanger themselves by accepting Biden's win.

"I hope Mike is going to do the right thing. I hope so. I hope so, because if Mike Pence does the right thing, we win the election. ... And I actually — I just spoke to Mike. I said: 'Mike, that doesn't take courage. What takes courage is to do nothing. That takes courage.'"

"I also want to thank our 13 most courageous members of the U.S. Senate, Senator Ted Cruz, Senator Ron Johnson, Senator Josh Hawley. ... Senators have stepped up. We want to thank them. I actually think, though, it takes, again, more courage not to step up, and I think a lot of those people are going to find that out. And you better start looking at your leadership, because your leadership has led you down the tubes."

## Trump told the crowd that 'very different rules' applied.

"When you catch somebody in a fraud, you are allowed to go by very different rules. So I hope Mike has the courage to do what he has to do, and I hope he doesn't listen to the RINOs and the stupid people that he's listening to."

Whipping up anger against Republicans who were not going along with his plan for subverting the election, like Mr. Pence, Mr. Trump told the crowd that "different rules" now applied. The president was arguing that what he wanted Mr. Pence to do — reject the state-certified Electoral College results — would be legitimate, but the notion of "very different rules" carried broader overtones of extraordinary permission as well. ("RINO" is a term of abuse used by highly partisan Republicans against more moderate colleagues they deem to be "Republicans in Name Only.")

## Trump suggested that he wanted his supporters to stop the certification of Biden's electoral win, not just protest it.

"We will never give up. We will never concede. It doesn't happen. You don't concede when there's theft involved. Our country has had enough. We will not take it anymore, and that is what this is all about. And to use a favorite term that all of you people really came up with, we will stop the steal. ..."

"You will have an illegitimate president. That is what you will have, and we can't let that happen. These are the facts that you won't hear from the fake news media. It's all part of the suppression effort. They don't want to talk about it. They don't want to talk about it. ..."

"We fight like hell, and if you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore."

## As he dispatched his supporters into what became deadly chaos, Trump falsely told them that he would come, too.

Now it is up to Congress to confront this egregious assault on our democracy. And after this, we're going to walk down, and I'll be there with you. ... We are going to the Capitol, and we are going to try and give — the Democrats are hopeless, they are never voting for anything, not even one vote, but we are going to try — give our Republicans, the weak ones, because the strong ones don't need any of our help, we're trying to go to try and give them the kind of pride and boldness that they need to take back our country."

As he incited his supporters to go to Congress, Mr. Trump assured them that he would personally accompany them to the Capitol. In fact, as several of his followers and police officers were being injured or dying in the ensuing chaos, the president was watching the violence play out on television from the safety of the White House.



117TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION H. RES.

Impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mr. CICILLINE (for himself, Mr. TED LIEU of California, Mr. RASKIN, Mr. NADLER, and [see ATTACHED LIST of cosponsors]) submitted the following resolution; which was referred to the Committee on \_\_\_\_\_

RESOLUTION

Impeaching Donald John Trump, President of the United States, for high crimes and misdemeanors.

Resolved, That Donald John Trump, President of the United States, is impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors and that the following article of impeachment be exhibited to the United States Senate:

Article of impeachment exhibited by the House of Representatives of the United States of America in the name of itself and of the people of the United States of America, against Donald John Trump, President of the United States of America, in maintenance and support of its impeachment against him for high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE I: INCITEMENT OF INSURRECTION

The Constitution provides that the House of Representatives “shall have the sole Power of Impeachment” and that the President “shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors”. Further, section 3 of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution prohibits any person who has “engaged in insurrection or rebellion against” the United States from “hold[ing] any office...under the United States”. In his conduct while President of the United States—and in violation of his constitutional oath faithfully to execute the office of President of the United States and, to the best of his ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States, and in violation of his constitutional duty to take care that the laws be faithfully executed—Donald John Trump engaged in high Crimes and Misdemeanors by inciting violence against the Government of the United States, in that:

On January 6, 2021, pursuant to the 12th Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the House of Representatives, and the Senate met at the United States Capitol for a Joint Session of Congress to

Highlighting by The New York Times

count the votes of the Electoral College. In the months preceding the Joint Session, President Trump repeatedly issued false statements asserting that the Presidential election results were the product of widespread fraud and should not be accepted by the American people or certified by State or Federal officials. Shortly before the Joint Session commenced, President Trump, addressed a crowd at the Ellipse in Washington, DC. There, he reiterated false claims that “we won this election, and we won it by a landslide”. He also willfully made statements that, in context, encouraged—and foreseeably resulted in—lawless action at the Capitol, such as: “if you don’t fight like hell you’re not going to have a country anymore”. Thus incited by President Trump, members of the crowd he had addressed, in an attempt to, among other objectives, interfere with the Joint Session’s solemn constitutional duty to certify the results of the 2020 Presidential election, unlawfully breached and vandalized the Capitol, injured and killed law enforcement personnel, menaced Members of Congress, the Vice President, and Congressional personnel, and engaged in other violent, deadly, destructive, and seditious acts.

President Trump’s conduct on January 6, 2021, followed his prior efforts to subvert and obstruct the certification of the results of the 2020 Presidential election. Those prior efforts included a phone call on January 2, 2021, during which President Trump urged the secretary of state of Georgia, Brad Raffensperger, to “find” enough votes to overturn the Georgia Presidential election results and threatened Secretary Raffensperger if he failed to do so.

In all this, President Trump gravely endangered the security of the United States and its institutions of Government. He threatened the integrity of the democratic system, interfered with the peaceful transition of power, and imperiled a coequal branch of Government. He there by betrayed his trust as President, to the manifest injury of the people of the United States.

Wherefore, Donald John Trump, by such conduct, has demonstrated that he will remain a threat to national security, democracy, and the Constitution if allowed to remain in office, and has acted in a manner grossly incompatible with self-governance and the rule of law. Donald John Trump thus warrants impeachment and trial, removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States.

HOUSE SETS A VOTE  
TO IMPEACH TRUMP  
UNLESS PENCE ACTS

‘Threat to America Is Urgent,’ Pelosi Says  
as Democrats Introduce Article

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — House Democrats introduced an article of impeachment against President Trump on Monday for his role in inflaming a mob that attacked the Capitol, scheduling a Wednesday vote to charge the president with “inciting violence against the government of the United States” if Vice President Mike Pence refused to strip him of power first. Moving with exceptional speed, top House leaders began summoning lawmakers still stunned by the attack back to Washington, promising the protection of National Guard troops and Federal Air Marshal escorts after last week’s stunning security failure. Their return set up a high-stakes 24-hour standoff between two branches of government.

As the impeachment drive proceeded, federal law enforcement authorities accelerated efforts to fortify the Capitol ahead of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s inauguration on Jan. 20. The authorities announced plans to deploy up to 15,000 National Guard troops and set up a multilayered buffer zone with checkpoints around the building by Wednesday, just as lawmakers are to debate and vote on impeaching Mr. Trump.

Federal authorities also said they were bracing for a wave of armed protests in all 50 state capi-

als and Washington in the days leading up to the inauguration.

“I’m not afraid of taking the oath outside,” Mr. Biden said Monday, referring to a swearing-in scheduled to take place on a platform on the west side of the Capitol, in the very spot where rioters marauded last week, beating police officers and vandalizing the building.

Mr. Biden signaled more clearly than before that he would not stand in the way of the impeachment proceeding, telling reporters in Newark, Del., that his primary focus was trying to minimize the effect an all-consuming trial in the Senate might have on his first days in office.

He said he had consulted with lawmakers about the possibility they could “bifurcate” the proceedings in the Senate, such that half of each day would be spent on the trial and half on the confirmation of his cabinet and other nominees.

In the House, a vote was scheduled for Tuesday evening to first formally call on Mr. Pence to invoke the 25th Amendment. Republicans had objected on Monday to unanimously passing the resolution, which asked the vice president to declare “president Donald J. Trump incapable of exe-

Continued on Page A12

SECURITY As many as 15,000 National Guard troops will be deployed to Washington ahead of the Jan. 20 presidential inauguration. PAGE A18

Manhunt Is On  
For Marauders  
At U.S. Capitol

By KATIE BENNER  
and ADAM GOLDMAN

WASHINGTON — The Justice Department and the F.B.I. have embarked on a nationwide manhunt to track down scores of people who attacked the Capitol last week, according to law enforcement officials, as they grapple with the fallout from the widespread government failure to protect the building.

Investigators are pursuing more than 150 suspects for prosecution, a total that is almost certain to grow, an official said. Analysts are also scouring intelligence to identify any role that domestic terrorist organizations or foreign adversaries may have played in radicalizing Americans who were among the rioters, according to a law enforcement official briefed on the investigations.

Some indication had emerged that at least some assailants initiated a more organized attack, Representative Tim Ryan, Democrat of Ohio and the chairman of the House subcommittee that has oversight of the Capitol Police, told reporters on Monday. Initial reports on Wednesday afternoon about pipe bombs planted at the nearby Republican and Democratic Party headquarters drew some law enforcement attention away from the breach that was unfolding at the Capitol, Mr. Ryan said, suggesting a “level of coordination.”

Two Capitol Police officers have also been suspended, according to Continued on Page A17

A Movement Buttressed by Grievance and God

By ELIZABETH DIAS  
and RUTH GRAHAM

WASHINGTON — Before self-proclaimed members of the far-right group the Proud Boys marched toward the U.S. Capitol on Wednesday, they stopped to kneel in the street and prayed in the name of Jesus.

The group, whose participants have espoused misogynistic and anti-immigrant views, prayed for God to bring “reformation and revival.” They gave thanks for “the wonderful nation we’ve all been blessed to be in.”

They asked God for the restoration of their “value systems” and for the “courage and strength to both represent you and represent

White Extremists Lean  
on Christian Imagery  
in Fight for Trump

our culture well.” And they invoked the divine protection for what was to come.

Then they rose. Their leader declared into a bullhorn that the media must “get the hell out of my way.” And then they moved toward the Capitol.

The presence of Christian rituals, symbols and language was unmistakable on Wednesday in Washington. There was a mock campaign banner, “Jesus 2020,” in

blue and red; an “Armor of God” patch on a man’s fatigues; a white cross declaring “Trump won” in all capitals. All of this was interspersed with allusions to QAnon conspiracy theories, Confederate flags and anti-Semitic T-shirts.

The blend of cultural references, and the people who brought them, made clear a phenomenon that has been brewing for years now: that the most extreme corners of support for Mr. Trump have become inextricable from some parts of white evangelical power in America. Rather than completely separate strands of support, these groups have become increasingly blended together.

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KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Many Trump loyalists see themselves as waging a kind of holy war for conservative Christianity.

Trump’s Brand  
Loses Its Luster  
In the Backlash

This article is by Eric Lipton, Ben Protess and Steve Eder.

In the span of four days, President Trump’s family business has lost its online store, the buzz from Mr. Trump’s promotional tweets about its luxury resorts and bragging rights as host to one of the world’s most prestigious golf tournaments.

The mob attack on Congress last week by Mr. Trump’s supporters has spurred a reckoning for the Trump Organization by businesses and institutions, at a scale far greater than his previous polarizing actions.

And the Trump brand, premised on gold-plated luxury and a super-affluent clientele, may not fully recover from the fallout of his supporters violently storming and vandalizing the U.S. Capitol, hospitality analysts say and some people close to the business acknowledge. Other companies linked with the Trumps, including Deutsche Bank, the president’s largest lender, and Signature Bank, are also seeking distance from him and his business.

The backlash is part of a broader shunning of Mr. Trump and his allies unfolding in the wake of the deadly assault on the Capitol. Schools stripped the president of honorary degrees, some prominent Republicans threatened to leave the party and the New York State Bar Association announced it had begun investigating Mr. Trump’s personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, which could lead to his removal from the group.

As House Democrats introduced an article of impeachment on Monday, more than a dozen big businesses vowed to withhold certain political donations. Coca-Cola said it would pause donations from its political action committee, saying in a statement that “these events will long be remembered and will factor into our future contribution decisions.” Marriott, the giant hotel chain, said it would pause donations from its political action committee “to those who voted against certification of the election,” a reference to the congressional Republicans who joined Mr. Trump’s false Continued on Page A11



GRANT HINDSLEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Standing guard on Monday at the Washington State Capitol.

Facing Threats,  
Statehouses Go  
‘On High Alert’

By NEIL MacFARQUHAR  
and MIKE BAKER

It was opening day of the 2021 legislative session, and the perimeter of the Georgia State Capitol on Monday was bristling with state police officers in full camouflage gear, most of them carrying tactical rifles.

On the other side of the country, in Olympia, Wash., dozens of National Guard troops in riot gear and shields formed a phalanx behind a temporary fence. Facing them in the pouring rain was a small group of demonstrators, some also wearing military fatigues and carrying weapons. “Honor your oath!” they shouted. “Fight for freedom every day!”

And in Idaho, Ammon Bundy, an antigovernment activist who once led his supporters in the occupation of a federal wildlife refuge in Oregon, showed up outside the statehouse in Boise with members of his organization carrying “wanted” posters for Gov. Brad Little and others on charges of “treason” and “sedition.” “At a time of uncertainty, we need our neighbors to stand next to and continue the war that is raging within this country,” Mr. Bundy’s group declared in a message to followers.

Officials in state capitals across the country are bracing for a spill-over from last week’s violent assault on the U.S. Capitol, with legislatures already becoming targets for protesters in the tense days around the inauguration of Continued on Page A13

New York City Mayor’s Race to Test Yang’s National Star Power

By KATIE GLUECK

In the last few months, the man who would be New York’s most famous mayoral candidate acted like anything but one.

He spent more time barnstorming Georgia than he did the five boroughs. He openly contemplated cabinet roles and lobbied Washington lawmakers around stimulus relief. And he often made television appearances from his

weekend home in the Hudson Valley rather than from his apartment in Hell’s Kitchen.

Andrew Yang has a habit of practicing politics in unexpected ways.

He began the presidential race as an unknown candidate and stayed relevant longer than more accomplished politicians did, building an ardent fan base through his quirky style, warnings about automation and cham-

Political Outsider Even  
in His Hometown

pioning of a universal basic income. He now turns to the New York City mayor’s race with significant name recognition, a vivid social media presence and a demonstrated ability to raise money.

But he is still every bit the unor-

thodox contender, and that approach offers Mr. Yang both opportunities and monumental challenges in the race to lead New York out of a pandemic-fueled crisis. His candidacy — which may be officially announced as early as this week — would offer a clear test of whether New Yorkers want a splashy but inexperienced contender with bold ideas for navigating the city’s recovery, or whether Continued on Page A19

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Despair Grips Kashmir

A security crackdown by India’s government and rolling virus restrictions have brought life in the tourist-dependent region to a near halt. PAGE A6

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A Bright 2021, With a Big ‘If’

Business owners are counting on a post-pandemic recovery as the population is vaccinated. But first they have to make it through a bleak winter. PAGE B1

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Declining a Medal From Trump

Bill Belichick, the coach of the Patriots, turned down a chance to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom after the violence at the Capitol. PAGE B7

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Caligula’s Hidden Treasures

An Italian museum plans to exhibit relics that were excavated at a hide-away that was used by the ancient Roman tyrant. PAGE D1

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Bret Stephens

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## Attack on the Capitol Repercussions



ANNA MONSIEUR/REUTERS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Senator Mitch McConnell, the majority leader, has indicated he wants to see the specific article of impeachment the House is set to consider on Wednesday and hear eventual debate in the Senate.

## G.O.P. Leaders Begin to Break With Trump as Impeachment Looms

From Page A1

Mr. Trump has shown no trace of contrition. On Tuesday, in his first public appearance since the siege of the Capitol, he told reporters that his remarks to supporters at a rally that day — in which he exhorted them to go on the Capitol and “fight” so Republicans would reject the election results — had been “totally appropriate.” It was the specter of his impeachment, he said, that was “causing tremendous anger.” But with Twitter having suspended his account for good, Mr. Trump no longer has his favorite weapon to train on lawmakers who cross him, which could curtail the blowback they face for voting against him.

Nonetheless, Mr. Trump’s advisers used their own Twitter feeds to highlight his hold on the party’s voters to keep Republicans in line. Jason Miller, a senior adviser, tweeted from an internal poll: “80% of Trump voters and 76% of Republicans in Battleground states are less likely to vote for a Member of Congress/U.S. Senator who votes for impeachment.”

The Republican Party’s rapid turn against Mr. Trump unfolded as the House met in the night on Tuesday to debate and vote on a resolution formally calling on Vice President Mike Pence to invoke the 25th Amendment to strip the president of his powers, a move that Mr. Pence shut down hours before the House planned its action.

In a letter to Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Mr. Pence argued that the amendment was meant to address medical emergencies or presidential “incapacity” and that using it as “a means of punishment or usurpation” would set a “terrible precedent.” In a veiled reference to impeachment, he urged Congress “to avoid actions that would further divide and inflame the passions of the moment” and pledged work in “good faith” with Mr. Biden’s transition team.

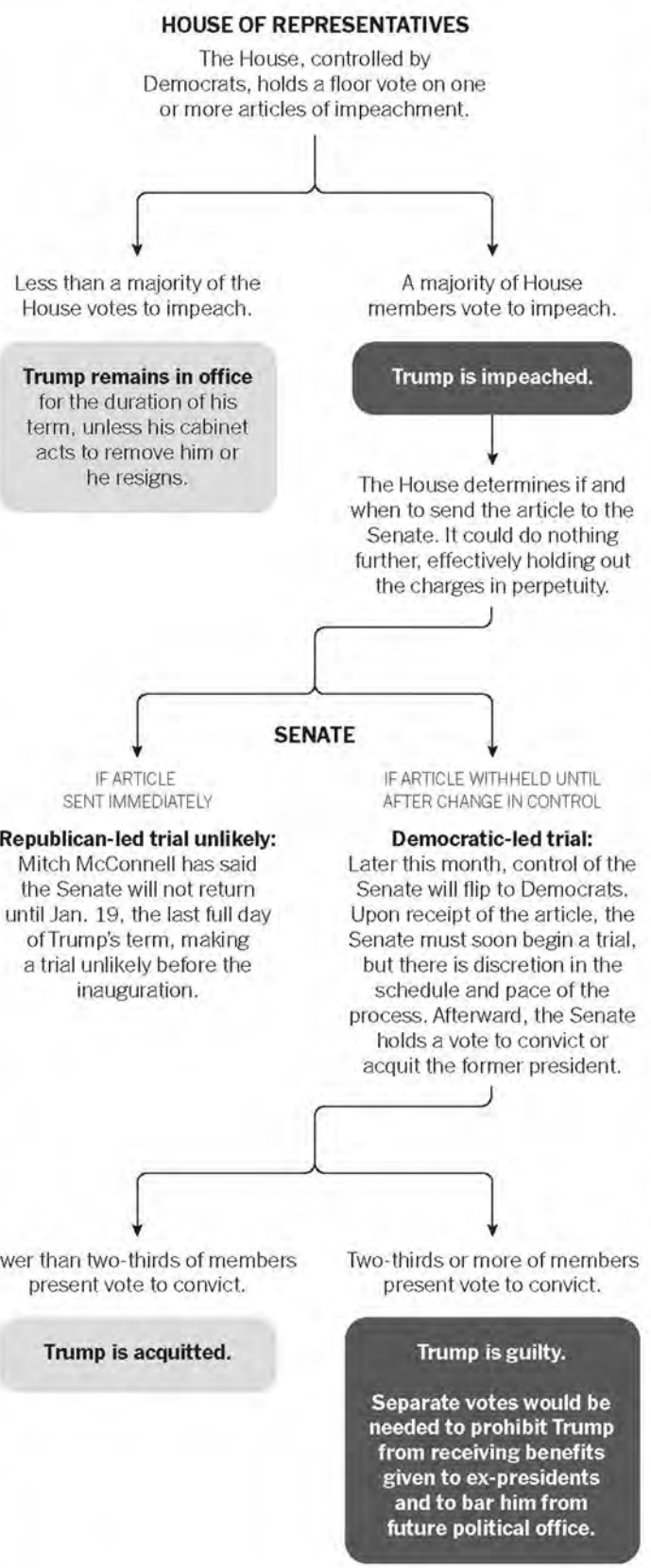
“Last week, I did not yield to pressure to exert power beyond my constitutional authority to determine the outcome of the election, and I will not now yield to efforts in the House of Representatives to play political games at a time so serious in the life of our nation,” Mr. Pence wrote.

With Mr. Pence refusing their call, Democrats planned a Wednesday vote on a single article of impeachment charging Mr. Trump with “inciting violence against the government of the United States.”

The White House expected roughly two dozen Republicans to support the charge, according to a senior administration official who insisted on anonymity to share a private assessment. Along with Ms. Cheney, Representatives John Katko of New York, Adam Kinzinger of Illinois and Fred Upton of Michigan announced they would support the charge. Just over a year ago, House Republicans rallied unanimously against Democrats’ first impeachment of Mr. Trump.

### How a Second Impeachment Could Play Out

The House plans to begin debate on an impeachment resolution Wednesday morning. How the process could unfold:



BILL MARSH AND WENDY CAU/THE NEW YORK TIMES

be disqualified to prevent the recurrence of the extraordinary threat he presents.”

In the clearest sign to date that Ms. Pelosi plans to press the case to trial just as quickly as she brought it, she named nine Democrats as “managers” to serve as prosecutors in the Senate. Representative Jamie Raskin, Democrat of Maryland, will be the lead manager, she said. He will be joined by Representatives Diana DeGette of Colorado, David Cicilline of Rhode Island, Joaquin Castro of Texas, Eric Swalwell of



OLIVER CONTRERAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

President Trump, en route to Texas on Tuesday, showed no contrition for inciting a mob that stormed the Capitol last week.



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Representative Kevin McCarthy, left, the House minority leader, did not mount an official effort to halt the push to impeach.

California, Ted Lieu of California, Stacey Plaskett of the Virgin Islands, Joe Neguse of Colorado and Madeleine Dean of Pennsylvania.

Mr. McConnell has indicated he wants to see the specific article of impeachment that the House is set to approve on Wednesday, and to hear the eventual arguments in the Senate. But the Senate Republican leader has made clear in private discussions that he believes now is the moment to move on from Mr. Trump, whom he blames for causing Republicans to lose the Senate. Mr. McConnell has not spoken to Mr. Trump since mid-December, when the senator informed the president he would be recognizing Mr. Biden as president-elect after the Electoral College certified it.

David Popp, a spokesman for Mr. McConnell, declined to comment on Tuesday, instead pointing a reporter to a speech the Kentucky Republican made when he returned to the Senate floor after Wednesday’s siege.

“This failed attempt to obstruct the Congress, this failed insurrection, only underscores how crucial the task before us is for our republic,” Mr. McConnell said as the Senate reconvened to complete the electoral count disrupted by the mob. “Our nation was founded precisely so that the free choice of the American people is what shapes our self-government and determines the destiny of our nation.”

On Monday, Mr. Biden telephoned Mr. McConnell to ask whether it would be possible to set up a dual track that would allow the Senate to confirm Mr. Biden’s cabinet nominees and hold a Senate trial at the same time, according to officials briefed on the conversation who disclosed it on the condition of anonymity. Far from avoiding the topic of impeaching Mr. Trump, Mr. McConnell said it was a question for the Senate parliamentarian, and promised Mr. Biden a quick answer.

After whipping votes to ensure Mr. Trump was not found guilty in the impeachment trial last year, Mr. McConnell has turned sharply against Mr. Trump. Last week, in a memo to Senate Republicans, he indicated it would be difficult to hold a trial before Jan. 20, but notably did not defend the president. Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic leader, called on Mr. McConnell to use emergency powers to call the Senate back for a trial as soon as the articles were adopted.

“The bottom line is that Leader McConnell has the ability to call us back into session and we can then move to convict Donald Trump, draw on the impeachment trial and try him,” Mr. Schumer told reporters in New York. “And that’s what we hope McConnell will do.”

But because the Senate is in recess, the two leaders must agree to do so or else a trial would begin no sooner than Jan. 19, when they return. The next day, with Mr. Bi-

den’s inauguration, Democrats will take operational control of the Senate, where they will have a working majority by dint of Vice President-elect Kamala Harris’s power to cast tiebreaking votes.

For Mr. McConnell and other Republicans, the crisis offered an opportunity to bar Mr. Trump from seeking the presidency again in 2024, as he has repeatedly mused with allies about doing.

“Congressional Republicans must evaluate this latest Trump situation and look at the best long-term solutions for the country,” said Scott Reed, a longtime Republican strategist. “This is now totally about Trump, not his supporters, and a permanent purge must be on the table.”

But that prospect has created a conundrum for Republicans who, understanding the deep affection for Mr. Trump among a powerful segment of their party’s core supporters, are concerned they could pay a steep political price for abandoning him.

In the days since the attack, Mr. McCarthy has veered from asking Republican colleagues if he should call for Mr. Trump to resign to privately floating impeachment to his current posture, opposed to impeachment but open to a censure. After he and over 100 other House Republicans opposed the certification of the Electoral College, Mr. McCarthy is now finding anger and regret among his Republican colleagues and is moving to take a tougher line with the president.

Reports emerged Monday from Axios that the House Republican leader had had an intense conversation with Mr. Trump, in which the president floated conspiracy theories about the rioters and Mr. McCarthy pushed back forcefully.

A number Republican lawmakers and aides were worried that Senator Rick Scott of Florida, who is taking over the party’s Senate campaign arm, would find it highly difficult to raise money with corporate America moving to freeze out Republicans who refused to certify the Electoral College. Americans for Prosperity and its political action committee, funded by the influential conservative Koch network, will evaluate future support of politicians based on their actions last week, its chief executive told The Wall Street Journal.

Mr. Biden has made clear, in public and private, that he will not oppose the Democratic push to impeach Mr. Trump, even though his advisers and some lawmakers in his party are concerned about the impact it could have on his first days in office.

When he spoke with Mr. McConnell about the matter, the Senate leader left Mr. Biden with a bit of welcome news.

Mr. McConnell, who led the 2016 blockade against confirming Judge Merrick B. Garland when he was President Barack Obama’s nominee for the Supreme Court, told Mr. Biden that he would vote to confirm Judge Garland as attorney general.

## Attack on the Capitol Looking Back

## Congress Rallied, But Failed to Unite

WASHINGTON — As the Senate majority leader on Sept. 11, 2001, Tom Daschle was among those hurriedly evacuated in the chaos of an expected attack on the Capitol, only to return later that evening for a bipartisan show of unity and resolve on the marble steps many

**CARL HULSE** had used to flee just hours earlier. “We all joined together after 9/11 and professed ourselves to be Americans, not just Republicans and Democrats, as we sang ‘God Bless America’ on those same Capitol steps and returned to business the next morning,” Mr. Daschle, the former Democratic senator from South Dakota, recalled this week.

But like many Democrats, Mr. Daschle is not in a unifying mood in the wake of the assault on the Capitol by a pro-Trump mob last week, and Jan. 6 is not proving to be a Sept. 11 moment.

This time, the menace to Congress was not from 19 shadowy hijackers from overseas but from within — fellow Americans and colleagues taking their usual places in the House and Senate chambers to try to overturn President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s victory and stoke President Trump’s false claims of a stolen election, which inspired the violent rioting that chased lawmakers from the House and the Senate.

“On 9/11 we were united as Americans against a common enemy, a foreign enemy, foreign terrorists,” said Senator Susan Collins, the Maine Republican

The assault put at risk the safety of lawmakers, law enforcement, staff workers and members of the news media while undermining the most basic tenets of American democracy. Now, Democratic lawmakers are reporting testing positive for the coronavirus after being isolated in secure rooms with Republicans who refused to wear masks, adding to their fury.

They are particularly incensed that the same Republican lawmakers who refused to recognize Mr. Biden’s election and fueled the divisions over the result are now pleading for Democrats to drop their push to impeach Mr. Trump and punish complicit Republicans, in a belated appeal for national unity.

“They don’t want unity. They want absolution,” said Representative Ruben Gallego, Democrat of Arizona, still angry at the Republican challenge to his state’s vote count. “They want us to forgive them for their crimes and cowardice that have occurred under Donald Trump. They would rather feed that monster than defend the Constitution of the United States and our democracy.”

Mr. Gallego, who said he would lead a natural resources subcommittee, said he and other Democrats were exploring ways to marginalize Republicans who did not recognize the consequences of their actions should Congress not take steps to try to oust those who were most outspoken against counting the electoral ballots for Mr. Biden.

“I am contemplating not allowing any Republican bills to go to the floor if you are one of the people who voted to not recognize the votes of Arizona,” said Mr. Gallego, who said he had routinely advanced Republican bills in the past. “I don’t know if I can look at any of these members in the same way unless there is some good level of contrition.”

For a brief period last Wednesday, there was a glimmer of hope for Sept. 11-style unity as the House and the Senate reconvened in the same chambers ransacked by the mob just hours before, determined to demonstrate that the rioters would not halt the counting of the electoral votes. Lawmakers struck a defiant tone reminiscent of the singing on the Capitol steps, which this time had been occupied by hundreds of insurrectionists intent on denying Congress the opportunity to tabulate the legitimate presidential votes.

“The United States Senate will not be intimidated,” said Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the majority leader. “We will not be kept out of this chamber by thugs, mobs or threats.”

At the same time, some Senate Republicans, notably Kelly Loeffler of Georgia, backed off their plans to challenge the electoral vote. But other Republicans, despite the havoc that the election challenge had just wrought on the Capitol and the fact that they were certain to fail, pushed ahead with their objections, one of which was supported by seven Republican senators and 138 House members.

“I give both the Senate and House leadership great credit for returning to business hours afterward, but I am shocked by the fact that a majority of House Republicans voted to overturn the election results,” said Mr. Daschle, who recommended ethics inquiries in both chambers. “Truly amazing and deeply troubling. My contempt for them and those in the Senate who led the effort could not be greater.”

Republicans protested that Democrats were trying to exploit the riot for political advantage and risking more violence themselves by moving ahead with impeachment.

“Why continue this?” Representative Debbie Lesko, Republican of Arizona, pressed Democrats on Tuesday at a tense meeting of the Rules Committee before the House was to take up a measure calling on Vice President Mike Pence to strip Mr. Trump’s powers under the 25th Amendment. “It is just likely to cause more divisiveness. Chalk up your wins and let’s move on.”

Democrats scoffed, noting that Republicans still refused to concede that the election was not stolen or that Mr. Biden’s win was not the result of widespread fraud.

Without some sincere acknowledgment by relevant Republicans that they were instigators and enablers of the Jan. 6 mayhem, Democrats were nowhere near ready to move on, demanding accountability for the attack on the Capitol that has shaken Washington.

For now, the political unity that came to be a defining characteristic of the aftermath of the Sept. 11 attacks will remain far out of reach.



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

Shattered glass remains on the doors to the House chamber.

who was on Capitol Hill for both shattering events. “On Jan. 6, America was divided against itself.”

Outraged at the conduct of Republicans who perpetuated Mr. Trump’s bogus allegations of widespread voting fraud, Democrats are determined to impeach the president a second time, to try to expel and censure members who sought to overturn the presidential election even after the mob assault on the Capitol, and to ostracize Republicans who do not acknowledge and apologize for their role.

The 2001 terrorist attacks on Washington and New York — and the recognition that a horrific assault on the Capitol was prevented only by courageous passengers who brought down Flight 93 in Pennsylvania — led to an extraordinary period of congressional comity and cooperation.

Both parties immediately pulled together in a show of strength despite lingering Democratic resentment over the Supreme Court decision that had given the presidency to George W. Bush just months earlier. Democrats and Republicans set aside their very real differences — including concern among some Democrats that the new administration had failed to heed warnings about the attack — to present an impenetrable front to the country and the world.

“This Congress is united — Democrats, independents, Republicans,” Representative Richard Gephardt of Missouri, the Democratic leader, declared during somber but angry proceedings on Sept. 12 as Congress passed a resolution condemning the attacks and promising national unity in the face of such threats. “There is no light or air between us. We stand shoulder to shoulder.”

Today, there is outright hostility among members of Congress, emotions that will be hard to contain even as Mr. Biden plans an inauguration with the theme of “America United” — an admirable goal, but one that seems difficult if not impossible to attain at the moment.

“Democrats say a considerable number of their Republican colleagues, by whipping up Mr. Trump’s supporters and their own with weeks of baseless claims about election fraud, are accomplices to the president in inciting the attack on the Capitol.



JARRETT ROBERTSON

### VISUAL INVESTIGATIONS

## Officers Under Attack: A Closer Look

By EVAN HILL, ARIELLE RAY and DAHLIA KOZLOWSKY

The Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol building by a pro-Trump mob left a police officer and a rioter dead. More than 50 members of the U.S. Capitol Police were injured, including 15 who required hospitalization, most of them with head wounds, according to Representative Tim Ryan, Democrat of Ohio. ¶ Of all the scenes of violence, one of the most intense occurred during a struggle to breach a west-side door, during which multiple rioters dragged police officers out of a formation and assaulted them while they were trapped in the crowd. ¶ There was widespread speculation on social media that one of the officers was Brian Sicknick — the Capitol Police officer who died after being hit in the head by a rioter wielding a fire extinguisher. But videos show the officers involved in this incident were members of the Metropolitan Police Department. ¶ Here’s how the assault happened.



SHANNON STAPLETON/REUTERS

A Metropolitan Police officer who has been pulled away from his colleagues.



JARRETT ROBERTSON; ANNOTATIONS BY THE NEW YORK TIMES



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JARRETT ROBERTSON; ANNOTATIONS BY THE NEW YORK TIMES



METROPOLITAN POLICE DEPARTMENT

These four men are among those captured on video attacking police officers.

Christiaan Triebert, Jennifer Valentino-DeVries, Nicholas Bogel-Burroughs and Haley Willis contributed reporting.

SHORTLY AFTER 2 P.M., the mob on the Capitol’s west side forced its way through the final, thinly-defended police barricades and reached the building’s walls.

Hundreds of rioters swarmed toward a west-side doorway that’s traditionally used when presidents emerge for their inauguration ceremonies.

They surged into the doorway, and an hours-long fight to breach the Capitol began.

Not long after the start of the struggle, rioters were captured on video pulling a Metropolitan Police officer down the stairs. In a video, some rioters can be heard urging others not to hurt him.

News photographers on the scene captured images of the officer caught in the crowd, which began chanting “police stand down!”

THE MOB PULLED the officer away, and rioters continued to try to force their way past the police defending the doorway. They climbed on top of each other to attack the officers with stolen Capitol Police shields, sticks and poles.

DURING A BRIEF LULL, some rioters appeared to give up and retreat down the stairway.

But a new group lunged toward the police and started a new attack. At the front of the mob, they exchanged blows with the police and struck officers with hockey sticks, crutches and flags. Some rioters shouted, “Push! Push!”

One of the attackers, a man wearing a white and blue hat and a green jacket, reached into the doorway, grabbed an officer and dragged him out, aided by a man in a gray hooded sweatshirt.

As they pulled the officer down the stairs, face down, another rioter beat him with an American flag as the mob chanted, “USA! USA! USA!”

Seconds later, two other men — one wearing a red hat and tactical vest bearing a “sheriff” patch — began yanking the legs of another officer who had fallen to the ground.

With the aid of a third man in a gray jacket, they pulled the officer down the steps as well. One rioter appeared to punch him while he was on the ground.

One of the two dragged officers can be seen in another video standing up before being mobbed and punched.

Some rioters called on others not to hurt him as the mob led him away.

THE TIMES SENT an image to the Metropolitan Police Department of one of the officers whose helmet number is clearly visible on video. Dustin Sternbeck, a spokesman for the department, said he did not want to try to identify the officer because many may have put on other officers’ helmets.

Mr. Sternbeck said he hoped more officers would be able to share their stories with the public soon. “They just feel beaten up,” he said.

At least four of the individuals who can be seen dragging and beating the officers in the videos reviewed by the Times match images included on a Metropolitan Police list of “persons of interest.”

They are suspected of assaulting police officers and could face federal charges.



IMPEACHED

TRUMP, AFTER INCITING RAMPAGE IN CAPITOL, IS FIRST PRESIDENT TO FACE 2ND SENATE TRIAL



National Guard troops found a moment to rest under the gaze of George Washington on Wednesday as they patrolled the Capitol grounds.

10 Republicans Join Vote as House Acts Swiftly

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — Donald J. Trump on Wednesday became the first American president to be impeached twice, as 10 members of his party joined with Democrats in the House to charge him with “incitement of insurrection” for his role in egging on a violent mob that stormed the Capitol last week.

Reconvening in a building now heavily militarized against threats from pro-Trump activists and adorned with bunting for the inauguration of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr., lawmakers voted 232 to 197 to approve a single impeachment article. It accused Mr. Trump of “inciting violence against the government of the United States” in his quest to overturn the election results, and called for him to be removed and disqualified from ever holding public office again.

The vote left another indelible stain on Mr. Trump’s presidency just a week before he is slated to leave office and laid bare the cracks running through the Republican Party. More members of his party voted to charge the president than in any other impeachment.

Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California, declaring the past week one of the darkest chapters in American history, implored colleagues to embrace “a constitutional remedy that will ensure that the republic will be safe from this man who is so resolutely determined to tear down the things that we hold dear and that hold us together.”

A little more than a year after she led a painstaking, three-month process to impeach Mr. Trump the first time for a pressure campaign on Ukraine to incriminate Mr. Biden — a case rejected by the president’s unfailingly loyal Republican supporters — Ms. Pelosi had moved this time with little fanfare to do the same job in only seven days.

“He must go. He is a clear and present danger to the nation that we all love,” the speaker said, adding later, “It gives me no pleasure to say this — it breaks my heart.”

The top House Republican, Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, conceded in a pained speech on the floor that Mr. Trump had been to blame for the deadly assault at the Capitol. It had forced the vice president and lawmakers who had gathered there to formalize Mr. Biden’s victory to flee for their lives.

“The president bears responsibility for Wednesday’s attack on Congress by mob rioters,” said Mr. McCarthy, one of the 138 Republicans who returned to the House floor after the mayhem and voted to reject certified electoral votes for Mr. Biden. “He should have immediately denounced the mob when he saw what was unfolding.”

Outside the House chamber, a surreal tableau

Continued on Page A14

Biden Stays Above the Fray To Focus on Mounting Crises

By MICHAEL D. SHEAR and MICHAEL CROWLEY

WASHINGTON — His fellow Democrats are red hot with rage after the assault on the Capitol, but President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. has maintained a studied cool, staying largely removed from the searing debate that culminated on Wednesday with President Trump’s impeachment and keeping his focus on battling a deadly pandemic, reviving a faltering economy and lowering the political temperature.

Hours after the vote in the House to impeach Mr. Trump for a second time, Mr. Biden denounced what he called a violent attack on the Capitol and the “public servants in that citadel of liberty.” He said a bipartisan group of lawmakers had condemned the violence by following “the Constitution and their conscience.”

But he also pledged to ensure that Americans “stand together as a nation” when he becomes president next week, exhibiting the deliberate approach to politics that became the trademark of his march to the White House.

“This nation also remains in the grip of a deadly virus and a reeling economy,” he said in a statement. “I hope that the Senate leadership will find a way to deal with their constitutional responsibilities on impeachment while also working on the other urgent business of this nation.”

Rather than step up to lead his



KRISTON JAS BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Joseph R. Biden Jr.

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U.S. Authorities Warn of Threat By Extremists

This article is by John Eligon, Frances Robles, Zolan Kanno-Youngs and Helene Cooper.

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — The F.B.I. on Wednesday urged police chiefs across the country to be on high alert for extremist activity and to share intelligence on any threats they encounter, as the U.S. government issued a dire intelligence bulletin warning of potential violence ahead of the inauguration.

In the call with police chiefs, Christopher Wray, the F.B.I. director, and Kenneth Cuccinelli, the acting deputy secretary of the Department of Homeland Security, warned about potential attacks on state capitols, federal buildings, the homes of congressional members and businesses, according to one of the chiefs on the call. The officials failed to identify any specific threats, participants said, but called on law enforcement officers across the country to watch for signs of trouble, no matter how small.

“They don’t want to be dismissive of anything,” Chief Jorge Colina of the Miami Police Department, one of thousands of officials participating in the call, said in an interview. “So even if it sounds aspirational, even if it’s just like, ‘Yeah, it’d be great if the whole place is burned down,’ they don’t

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Armed Soldiers in the Halls and Anger in the Air

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — Not since the dark days of the Civil War and its aftermath has Washington seen a day quite like Wednesday.

In a Capitol bristling with heavily armed soldiers and newly installed metal detectors, with the physical wreckage of last week’s siege cleaned up but the emotional and political wreckage still on display, the president of the United States was impeached for trying to topple American democracy.

Somehow, it felt like the pre-ordained coda of a presidency

NEWS ANALYSIS

that repeatedly pressed all limits and frayed the bonds of the body politic. With less than a week to go, President Trump’s term is climaxing in violence and recrimination at a time when the country has fractured deeply and lost a sense of itself. Notions of truth and reality have been atomized. Faith in the system has eroded. Anger is the one common ground.

As if it were not enough that Mr. Trump became the only president impeached twice or that lawmakers were trying to remove him with days left in his

term, Washington devolved into a miasma of suspicion and conflict. A Democratic member of Congress accused Republican colleagues of helping the mob last week scout the building in advance. Some Republican members sidestepped magnetometers intended to keep guns off the House floor or kept going even after setting them off.

All of which was taking place against the backdrop of a pandemic that, while attention has drifted away, has grown catastrophically worse in the closing weeks of Mr. Trump’s presidency.

More than 4,400 people in the United States died of the corona-

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KRISTON JAS BETHEL FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES  
Speaker Nancy Pelosi presiding over the second impeachment of President Trump in his one term.

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

**China Locks Down 22 Million**  
Addressing flare-ups around Beijing, the measures affect twice the number of people who were ordered to stay inside in Wuhan last January. PAGE A6

INTERNATIONAL A9-11

**Scottish Seafood Trade in Peril**  
After Brexit, daunting new paperwork requirements may cause border delays that will ruin entire shipments — and businesses. PAGE A9

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**A Brooklyn Blockbuster**  
In a four-team deal, the Houston Rockets agreed to send the unhappy All-Star James Harden to the Nets, reuniting him with Kevin Durant. PAGE B9

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**A Stunning Transformation**  
Turning a post office into the Moynihan Train Hall gives New York a lofty, light-filled, steel, glass and marble cathedral, Michael Kimmelman writes. PAGE C1

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**Nicholas Kristof** PAGE A24





# National

The New York Times

## High Crimes and Misdemeanors



With only a week left in his term, the House impeached President Trump, but he will probably leave office before he stands trial in the Senate.

### A Guide to the Second Impeachment of the President

**By CATIE EDMONDSON**

WASHINGTON — The House on Wednesday impeached President Trump for a second time, a first in American history, charging him with “incitement of insurrection” one week after he egged on a mob of supporters that stormed the Capitol while Congress met to formalize President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s victory.

At least five people, including a Capitol Police officer, died during the siege and in the aftermath.

Events are taking place with extraordinary speed and will test the bounds of the impeachment process, raising questions never contemplated before.

#### Impeachment is one of the Constitution’s gravest penalties.

Impeachment is one of the weightiest tools the Constitution gives Congress to hold government officials, including the president, accountable for misconduct and abuse of power.

Members of the House consider whether to impeach the president — the equivalent of an indictment in a criminal case — and members of the Senate consider whether to remove him, holding a trial in which senators act as the jury. The test, as set by the Constitution, is whether the president has committed “treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.”

The House vote requires only a simple majority of lawmakers to agree that the president has, in fact, committed high crimes and misdemeanors; the Senate vote requires a two-thirds majority.

#### The charge against Trump is ‘incitement of insurrection.’

The article, drafted by Representatives David Cicilline of Rhode Island, Ted Lieu of California, Jamie Raskin of Maryland and Jerrold Nadler of New York, charged Mr. Trump with “incitement of insurrection,” saying he is guilty of “inciting violence against the government of the United States.”

The article cited Mr. Trump’s weekslong campaign to falsely discredit the results of the November election, and it quotes directly from the speech he gave on the day of the siege in which he told his supporters to go to the Capitol.

“If you don’t fight like hell,” he said, “you’re not going to have a country anymore.”

Nicholas Fandos contributed reporting.

#### Proponents say impeachment is worthwhile even though Trump has only days left in office.

While the House moved with remarkable speed to impeach Mr. Trump, the Senate trial to determine whether to remove him cannot begin until Jan. 19, his final full day in office. That means any conviction would almost certainly not be completed until after he leaves the White House.

Democrats have argued that Mr. Trump’s offense — using his power as the nation’s leader and commander in chief to incite an insurrection against the legislative branch — is so grave that it must be addressed, even with just a few days remaining in his term.

To let it go unpunished, Democrats argued, would set a dangerous precedent of impunity for future presidents.

“Is there little time left?” Representative Steny H. Hoyer, Democrat of Maryland and the majority leader, said during the debate. “Yes. But it is never too late to do the right thing.”

Republicans, many of whom voted to overturn the election results, have claimed that going through the impeachment process so late in Mr. Trump’s term will foster unnecessary division and that the country should move on from last week’s siege.

#### The biggest consequence for Trump could be disqualifying him from holding office again.

Conviction in an impeachment trial would not automatically disqualify Mr. Trump from future public office.

But if the Senate were to convict him, the Constitution allows a subsequent vote to bar an official from holding “any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States.”

That vote would require only a simple majority of senators. Such a step could be an appealing prospect not just to Democrats, but also to many Republicans who either have set their sights on the presidency themselves or are convinced that it is the only thing that will purge Mr. Trump from their party.

Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader, is said to hold the latter view.

There is no precedent, however, for disqualifying a president from future office, and the issue could end up before the Supreme Court.

#### The Senate trial won’t start until after Biden becomes president.

Democrats who control the House can choose when to send their article of impeachment to the Senate, at which point that chamber would have to immediately move to begin the trial. But because the Senate is not scheduled to hold a regular session until Jan. 19, even if the House immediately transmitted the charge to the other side of the Capitol, an agreement between Senate Republican and Democratic leaders would be needed to take it up before then.

Mr. McConnell said on Wednesday that he would not agree to do so, meaning that the article could not be taken up until the day before Mr. Biden is sworn in. Since time is needed for the Senate to set the rules for an impeachment trial, that means the proceeding probably would not start until after Mr. Biden was president, and Democrats had operational control of the Senate.

“Given the rules, procedures, and Senate precedents that govern presidential impeachment trials, there is simply no chance that a fair or serious trial could conclude before President-elect Biden is sworn in next week,” Mr. McConnell said. “In light of this reality, I believe it will best serve our nation if Congress and the executive branch spend the next seven days completely focused on facilitating a safe inauguration and an orderly transfer of power to the incoming Biden administration.”

#### The trial could consume the Senate during Biden’s first days in office.

Once the Senate receives the impeachment charge, it must immediately take up the issue, as articles of impeachment carry the highest privilege. Under rules in place for decades, impeachment is the only issue the Senate can consider while a trial is underway.

But Mr. Biden has asked Mr. McConnell whether it would be possible to alter that rule, allowing the Senate to conduct Mr. Trump’s impeachment trial on a parallel track to consideration of his cabinet nominees. Mr. McConnell told Mr. Biden he would consult with the Senate parliamentarian on whether that would be possible.

If such a bifurcated process were not possible, House Democrats might choose to hold back the article to allow Mr. Biden time to win confirmation of his team before a trial got underway.

The Senate could hold a trial for Mr. Trump even after he has left office, though there is no precedent for a president being tried after his term is over.

### Trials and Resignations

**By MAGGIE ASTOR**

In the first two centuries of the United States government, the House of Representatives conducted only two presidential impeachment proceedings.

By the time the sun set on Wednesday, it had conducted three in just 25 years — with two of them in the past year and a half, against the first president ever to be impeached twice.

Welcome to history.

**Donald Trump, 2019**

In September 2019, Speaker Nancy Pelosi announced that the House would open an impeachment inquiry against Mr. Trump.

She took that step — one she had previously resisted — in response to a phone call in which Mr. Trump had pressured President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine to investigate former Vice President Joseph R. Biden Jr., then a front-runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, and Mr. Biden’s son Hunter. The call came shortly after Mr. Trump had frozen nearly \$400 million in aid to Ukraine.

The resulting charges stated that Mr. Trump had abused his power by using government aid as leverage to persuade Ukraine to help him electorally, and that he had obstructed Congress by refusing to provide documents and telling administration officials not to testify. The House impeached him on Dec. 18, 2019, voting 230 to 197 to approve the abuse of power charge and 229 to 198 to approve the obstruction charge.

On Feb. 5, 2020, the Senate acquitted Mr. Trump on both charges: 52 to 48 on abuse of power and 53 to 47 on obstruction of Congress. Senator Mitt Romney, Republican of Utah, joined Democrats in voting to remove him from office on the abuse of power charge, becoming the first senator ever to vote to convict a president of his own party.

**Bill Clinton, 1998**

The impeachment process against President Bill Clinton, a Democrat, began in October 1998 in response to the revelation that he’d had a sexual relationship with a White House intern.

The charges pertained not directly to his misconduct with the intern, Monica Lewinsky — who was 22, nearly three decades younger than Mr. Clinton, when it began — but to the allegation that Mr. Clinton had lied about it under oath and encouraged others to do the same.

On Dec. 19, 1998 — 21 years, almost to the day, before a Democratic-controlled House would vote to impeach Mr. Trump — the Republican-controlled House impeached Mr. Clinton on charges of perjury and obstruction of justice. The votes were 228 to 206 on the perjury charge (with five Democrats voting for impeachment and five Republicans voting against it) and 221 to 212 on the obstruction charge (with five Democrats voting for and 12 Republicans voting against).

On Feb. 12, 1999, the Senate acquitted Mr. Clinton 55 to 45 on the perjury charge, with 10 Republicans joining all Democrats, and 50-50 on the obstruction charge, with five Republicans joining Democrats. A two-thirds majority would have been required to convict Mr. Clinton and remove him from office.

**Richard Nixon, 1973**

Congress never voted to impeach President Richard M. Nixon, a Republican, but only because he resigned before it could.

The impeachment proceedings stemmed broadly from the Watergate scandal, which started in 1972 when Nixon associates broke into the Democratic National Committee headquarters. That break-in was part of a huge, coordinated effort to influence the coming election, which Nixon ended up winning in one of the biggest landslides in American history.

The immediate catalyst for the House Judiciary Committee’s decision to begin the impeachment process, on Oct. 30, 1973, was the so-called Saturday Night Massacre 10 days earlier. That was the night Nixon, enraged by the Watergate investigation, ordered the firing of the special prosecutor, Archibald Cox. Two officials whom he ordered to fire Cox refused to do so and resigned; the third, Solicitor General Robert Bork, obeyed.

The committee ultimately approved three articles of impeachment. But before the full House could complete its hearings and vote on impeachment, Nixon announced his resignation.

**Andrew Johnson, 1868**

More than any president impeached after him, Andrew Johnson was impeached not really for a specific violation of law, but because of a broad power struggle between the White House and Congress.

Johnson — a Democrat and white supremacist who was Abraham Lincoln’s vice president and became president when Lincoln was assassinated — had spent much of his term clashing with the Republican-controlled Congress over Reconstruction.

In March 1868, the House approved 11 articles of impeachment against Johnson. The main charge was that he had violated the Tenure of Office Act of 1867, which stated that the president needed Senate approval to fire Senate-confirmed executive officials. Johnson defied it by firing Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton.

In May 1868, Johnson came within a single vote of being removed from office. He served out the remainder of his term, a little under a year.







# The Donor Class Pressures Republicans Still Backing Trump

By SHANE GOLDMACHER and NICK CORASANITI

Republican lawmakers are facing intensifying pressure from some longtime allies and financiers over their continued ties with President Trump, as they reckon with taking stands on impeachment and protecting themselves politically to survive the 2022 midterm primaries and elections.

From Amazon to Walmart, a lengthening list of blue-chip giants of corporate America — long a bastion of G.O.P. money — are pledging to cut off funds to Republicans who opposed certifying the victory of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr. An arm of Charles Koch's political and nonprofit network, which is one of the largest and most influential in conservative circles and spent about \$60 million in federal elections last year, said that opposing certification would be a factor that would "weigh heavily" in determining its future spending decisions.

And a handful of Democratic and independent groups are pledging to spend aggressively on advertising against Republican lawmakers who opposed certifying the results, with the first ads already hitting the airwaves in Wisconsin, Missouri, Texas and California.

Many veteran Republican donors have long had an uneasy relationship with Mr. Trump. But the president's incitement of a violent mob that stormed the Capitol a week ago — which swiftly sparked his second impeachment on Wednesday — has deepened the divide.

Kenneth G. Langone, the billionaire co-founder of Home Depot and an influential Republican donor who contributed \$1 million to a Senate Republican super PAC just two months ago, said he felt

Jonathan Martin contributed reporting.

"betrayed" by Mr. Trump. "The biggest mistake anybody is going to make is try and rationalize what happened last week, what the president did and what that crowd did," Mr. Langone said in an interview on CNBC on Wednesday.

A total of 10 House Republicans voted to impeach Mr. Trump. That sum is at once the largest number ever to cast such a vote against a president of the same party and also less than 5 percent of the G.O.P. conference.

Some Washington Republicans remain dubious of the long-term impact of any threatened breakup within the G.O.P. donor or corporate class. The 2022 House and Senate elections are still far off, the fact that an exploding share of political money now comes from online donors has weakened the traditional donor class, and those online contributors have proved durably loyal to Mr. Trump and his brand of grievance politics.

Still, Lisa Spies, a veteran Republican fund-raiser, said "the pressure is immense" on Republican lawmakers right now.

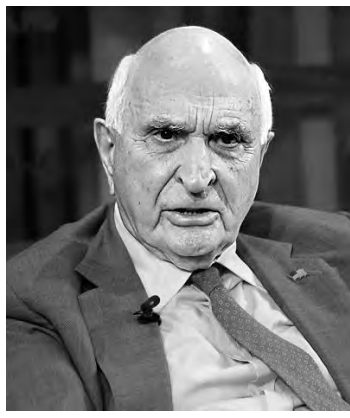
"I have never seen anything like this as far as PAC fund-raising goes," said Ms. Spies, who urged corporations to think twice before cutting off the G.O.P. "As soon as the Biden administration comes in and starts regulating corporations, they're going to need allies, and they're abandoning their allies."

In a sign of the growing public consciousness about political donations to Republicans aligned with Mr. Trump, a leading public relations firm, Weber Shandwick, sent out a "reputation advisory" to clients on Wednesday about the risks and rewards of reconsidering their political giving at this moment. "At the very least, companies need to be preparing for what they say when (not if) they are asked about specific contributions," the memo said.

Some of the biggest corporate



DAVID L. JOHNSON/ASSOCIATED PRESS



KEN LANGONE/INVISION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

The influential donors Charles Koch, left, and Ken Langone have indicated displeasure with some Republican lawmakers.

givers in America, including AT&T, Comcast, Cisco, Morgan Stanley and Verizon, have started cutting off donations to the 147 Republicans who voted against certifying the 2020 election results in at least one state. Other major companies are freezing donations, at least temporarily, to both parties. Major League Baseball announced such a move on Wednesday.

"You cannot overstate the consternation by lawmakers about fund-raising drying up," said a former senior Trump administration official, who spoke on the condition of anonymity to discuss private conversations with Republican lawmakers.

The death this week of Sheldon Adelson, the Republican Party's biggest financial benefactor, a casino magnate who poured more than \$500 million into G.O.P. campaigns and super PACs in the last decade, punctuated the party's precarious financial future with only days left until Democrats control the White House, the House and the Senate.

"Republican donors are disgusted," said Scott Reed, a longtime Republican strategist and current lobbyist. He said there was growing frustration after

both the riot at the Capitol and the two Georgia runoff losses "in races that should have been layups" that cost the party its Senate majority.

"It's a one-two gut punch," Mr. Reed said.

Along with Mr. Adelson, Mr. Koch has been one of the party's most influential donors through a

*'You cannot overstate the consternation' if fund-raising dries up.*

web of nonprofit and outside groups. Emily Seidel, the chief executive of the Koch-backed Americans for Prosperity and a senior adviser to its political arm, AFP Action, said this week that "lawmakers' actions leading up to and during last week's insurrection will weigh heavily in our evaluation of future support."

Across Washington, business lobbyists said they were struggling to contemplate how a blacklist of Republicans who objected to Mr. Trump would work in reality, when a majority of House Repub-

licans — many of whom are likely to be allies in coming legislative fights in a Democrat-dominated Washington — voted to reject the election result.

After Mr. Trump's impeachment by the House, he faces an uncertain future in a Senate trial where at least two Republicans, Senators Lisa Murkowski and Pat Toomey, have called on the president to resign and a third, Senator Mitt Romney, voted to convict him in an impeachment trial last year.

Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, told colleagues on Wednesday he was undecided on his vote.

To bolster those who break party ranks, a group of anti-Trump Republicans and former administration officials announced on Tuesday a \$50 million commitment to support Republican lawmakers who join Democrats in impeaching Mr. Trump.

The first television advertisements of the 2022 campaign arrived on the airwaves in Wisconsin on Wednesday, as the state Democratic Party targeted Senator Ron Johnson, a Republican facing re-election, for his vote to reject the results of the presidential election. "A violent mob attacks the Capitol, incited by power-hungry politicians like Ron Johnson," a narrator proclaims in the ad, which the party is spending \$63,000 to air for a week. "Johnson should resign."

The Lincoln Project, an anti-Trump group, has pledged to mount an intense pressure campaign on Republican lawmakers who opposed certifying the election results. And while the group is most focused on the Republican senators up for re-election in 2022, it is also promising to make life difficult for Senators Josh Hawley of Missouri and Ted Cruz of Texas, who led the opposition to certifying the results in the Senate.

On Wednesday, the Lincoln Project began airing its first ad attacking Republican members of

Congress for their vote against the election results, spending \$570,000 on an ad that proclaims "this is your coup" in the home media markets of Mr. Cruz, Mr. Hawley and Representative Kevin McCarthy, the minority leader.

Another group, the Boot Texas Republicans PAC, is taking aim at Mr. Cruz's donors in Texas. On Wednesday, it began a new campaign called "Defund Cruz" and published a website listing the name of every donor who has contributed more than \$1,000 to Mr. Cruz's political campaigns. The group is aiming to pressure donors to demand their money back.

"Ted Cruz has blood on his hands, and so will his top donors unless they take action now to defund his political career," Zack Malitz, who was a state director for former Representative Beto O'Rourke's 2018 campaign and is a founder of Boot Texas Republicans, said in a statement.

For more than four years, the Republican Party base has remained fiercely loyal to Mr. Trump, and many lawmakers are still feeling pressure to toe the Trump line. Less than a day after Representative Liz Cheney, the No. 3 House Republican, announced plans to vote to impeach Mr. Trump, a group of her colleagues started moving to oust her from her leadership post.

Mr. Trump has loyalists in the donor community, too.

Doug Deason, a Republican contributor in Texas, said it was "hypocritical of Democrats, and any corporations who have singled out Republicans, to try and force a break with Trump because they believe he incited violence."

He blamed Democrats for the street protests against racial injustice over the summer, some of which broke into violence. "My father and I will double down our contributions and efforts to take out these disingenuous Democrats everywhere we can," Mr. Deason said.

## Prosecutors, Parliamentarians And Professors

The House's slate of managers includes a constitutional law expert, a son of refugees and some familiar faces from Trump's first impeachment.



Jamie Raskin Maryland

Representative Jamie Raskin began drafting the article of impeachment against President Trump within hours of the violent mob attack on the Capitol. "We don't have a minute to spare," he declared Wednesday on the House floor. "He is a clear and present danger to the people."

Mr. Raskin, 58, a former constitutional law professor at American University who also served as a state senator from Maryland, won election to Congress in 2016 after an expensive, hard-fought nine-way primary in his heavily Democratic district in the Washington suburbs. A graduate of Harvard University and Harvard Law School, he is passionate about the Constitution and American history.

Speaker Nancy Pelosi has named him the lead impeachment manager, which means he will be the lead prosecutor in a Senate trial of Mr. Trump.

"We need to create a dynamic of action in which all of our colleagues are forced to confront their conscience about the permission they've given the president to trample all of the principles and values of our Constitution," he said in an interview this week.

In many ways, Mr. Raskin was made for this moment; he has been engaged in progressive politics since he was a toddler, learning at the knee of his father, Marcus Raskin, a well-known antiwar activist and liberal intellectual. But as he assumes the weighty role of lead prosecutor, he is also coping with a devastating family tragedy: the loss of his son, Tommy, 25 and a student at Harvard Law, to suicide on New Year's Eve.

"Even in this darkest moment, he has not in any way diminished what he sees as his responsibility as a member of Congress to defend our democracy," said Representative David Cicilline, Democrat of Rhode Island and one of Mr. Raskin's closest friends in the Capitol. Well liked on both sides of the political aisle, Mr. Raskin is a member of Ms. Pelosi's unofficial "kitchen cabinet," and serves on both the House Judiciary Committee and the House Rules Committee, the powerful 13-member panel that sets the terms of debate in the House.

In addition to drafting the article of impeachment, he also wrote the resolution, adopted by the House on Tuesday night, calling on Vice President Mike Pence to invoke the 25th Amendment to strip Mr. Trump of his powers. He is fond of quoting Thomas Paine, the Revolutionary War figure for whom his son was named. "The times have found us," SHERYL GAY STOLBERG



Eric Swalwell California

Representative Eric Swalwell approaches his impeachment manager duties as both an experienced prosecutor and a vocal critic of President Trump. After graduating from law school, Mr. Swalwell spent seven years in the district attorney's office in Alameda County, Calif., and was the office's lead prosecutor on hate crimes.

Since his election to Congress in 2012, he has risen to prominence through posts on the House Intelligence and Judiciary Committees, roles in which he helped investigate evidence against the president during his first impeachment in 2019.

Mr. Swalwell has often come into public conflict with Mr. Trump over what he has described as the president's lack of leadership during moments of crisis. In 2018, as the deadliest wildfires in California's history blanketed his district with smoke and ash, Mr. Swalwell was among the loudest voices demanding action from Mr. Trump on climate change.

Even before the first impeachment drive, Mr. Swalwell had pushed to investigate the president. Along with Representative Adam B. Schiff of California, he pursued a measure in the Intelligence Committee to subpoena Marina Gross, the interpreter who was the only other American in the room during a meeting between Mr. Trump and President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia that raised questions about the nature of the president's relationship with an adversary.

Mr. Swalwell brought his criticisms to a larger stage during a brief bid for the Democratic nomination for president.

"What we have to do now in Congress is figure out how we hold him accountable," Mr. Swalwell said in an interview with The New York Times's editorial board in June 2019. "What we do next will not only make sure that it checks a out-of-control, abusive executive, but also it sets the standard for future presidents." ZACH MONTAGUE



Diana DeGette Colorado

When Speaker Nancy Pelosi was looking for someone to preside over the historic debate over impeaching President Trump at the end of 2019, she chose a veteran Democrat who had impressed her with a tough, skillful parliamentary hand. Representative Diana DeGette of Colorado. "Sitting here in the speaker's chair, all I can think is how serious this debate is for the future of our republic," she wrote on Twitter at the time. "The fact that I've been asked to preside over the House for this important moment in our nation's history is truly an honor."

Now Ms. Pelosi has turned to Ms. DeGette again, this time as an impeachment manager to prosecute the case against Mr. Trump in the Senate. In picking the Colorado congresswoman, she chose someone with deep experience in the House and in the presiding officer's chair. Ms. DeGette, first elected in 1996, spent 14 years as the Democrats' chief deputy whip — the member of leadership responsible for counting votes. She often holds the gavel in the House, rotating in and out of the chair as members customarily do.

On Capitol Hill, she has carved out a niche in health policy, and as a champion of reproductive rights — a legislative portfolio that dates to her days as a state legislator in the 1990s.

When Democrats reclaimed the House majority in 2018, Ms. DeGette announced her intention to run for the top whip's slot, which would have made her the No. 3 Democrat in the House. But she ultimately withdrew from the race, citing "internal pressure" from Democrats to align behind the existing leadership triumvirate of Ms. Pelosi; Representative Steny H. Hoyer of Maryland, the majority leader; and Representative James E. Clyburn of South Carolina, the current whip.

On Tuesday, she said she was "honored" to help with this second impeachment effort. SHERYL GAY STOLBERG



David Cicilline Rhode Island

Having worked before as a member of the House Judiciary Committee to investigate President Trump during House Democrats' first impeachment effort in 2019, Representative David Cicilline of Rhode Island is set to take on a larger role as an impeachment manager in Mr. Trump's second trial.

Mr. Cicilline has been a member of the Judiciary Committee since 2014, and as part of that has led the subcommittee on antitrust, commercial and administrative law. In his work on antitrust law, specifically, he has overseen what experts have described as among the most ambitious campaigns against some of the country's most powerful tech companies, including Amazon, Google and Facebook — companies that have all since come under fire by top lawmakers from both parties.

Before joining Congress, Mr. Cicilline worked as a public defender in Washington and served two terms as the mayor of Providence, R.I.

"As lawmakers who have impeached this president once before, we do not take this responsibility lightly," Mr. Cicilline wrote in an Op-Ed article published Monday by The New York Times.

Like others who have been tapped to serve as managers in the impeachment proceedings this week, Mr. Cicilline helped oversee investigations of the president and his advisers in the past, including inquiries into the possibility of campaign finance violations stemming from payments made by the Trump campaign to two women who said they had had affairs with Mr. Trump. ZACH MONTAGUE



Madeleine Dean Pennsylvania

One week ago, Representative Madeleine Dean, Democrat of Pennsylvania, was among the lawmakers who hid on the floor of the House gallery as tear gas was fired in the Rotunda and protesters threatened to break into the chamber.

Ms. Dean, nearly two weeks into her second term, is now one of the impeachment managers. Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California has designated to present the case for removing President Trump from office on the grounds that he committed high crimes and misdemeanors.

"The president and many in this chamber have shamelessly peddled dangerous untruths about this election — despite the warnings of where these lies would lead," Ms. Dean said on the House floor before voting to impeach Mr. Trump. "Last Wednesday, those lies and dangers found themselves inside this Capitol. This hateful rhetoric is another virus — it is time to remove its host."

In the Democratic caucus, she was an early advocate of pursuing an impeachment inquiry against the president just over a year ago, and showed little hesitation in endorsing a second one. "To heal we need accountability and truth," Ms. Dean said Wednesday. "That begins by acknowledging the president's dangerous lies and their deadly consequences."

At 19, Ms. Dean volunteered on her first campaign for a state representative from the Virgin Islands. Ms. Plaskett graduated from Georgetown with a degree in history and diplomacy and from American University's law school. She worked as an assistant district attorney in the Bronx, as counsel to the House ethics committee, and as a political appointee at the Justice Department under President George W. Bush, among other positions.

Ms. Plaskett moved to the Virgin Islands, where she worked in the private sector, before being elected in 2014.

In a 2019 letter to Ms. Pelosi in which Ms. Plaskett asked to be made a House impeachment manager in the first trial of Mr. Trump, she cited the weight the decision would carry for her constituents, who do not have full voting rights, as well as her years working in public service and as a prosecutor.

"The party says that Black women are the base and our primary support, and there are five Black women in the House who are attorneys and only two of us are former prosecutors," Ms. Plaskett said in the letter, addressed to BuzzFeed News.

Ms. Plaskett was not chosen the first time. But Ms. Pelosi announced on Tuesday evening that Ms. Plaskett would help make the second case against Mr. Trump. AISHVARYA KAVI



Joe Neguse Colorado

Nearly four decades ago, Representative Joe Neguse's parents fled Eritrea and came to the United States as refugees, eventually settling in Colorado to raise their son and daughter.

Now Mr. Neguse, 36, Democrat of Colorado and the first African-American to represent the state, will be one of the impeachment managers.

"If Congress does not act," he told colleagues on Wednesday on the House floor before the impeachment vote, "if we shrink from our constitutional responsibilities to defend our republic, it will undoubtedly undermine the vision of America as the last best hope of earth," quoting Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Neguse had been an early advocate of bringing charges against Mr. Trump and supported impeachment in the Russia and Ukraine matters since shortly after he was elected in 2018. At the time, he was a representative for the freshman class in Speaker Nancy Pelosi's leadership circle. He is a member of the House Judiciary Committee and the Progressive Caucus.

When the Judiciary Committee debated the two articles of impeachment against Mr. Trump in 2019, Mr. Neguse said he thought of his infant daughter, Natalie, as he deliberated on how he would vote.

"She's not old enough to understand the proceeding before us today," Mr. Neguse said at a hearing about the impeachment articles. "But one day she will be, and I hope she will know that this Congress had an obligation to defend our democracy, to honor our oaths and to uphold the rule of law."

Mr. Neguse graduated from the University of Colorado Law School, where he was elected to serve on the school's Board of Regents, the second African-American to hold the post of regent in Colorado's history.

Mr. Neguse announced his candidacy after Mr. Trump's victory and went on to win his election in a House district that is more than 90 percent white. He was re-elected in November. EMILY COCHRANE



Stacey E. Plaskett U.S. Virgin Islands

Delegate Stacey Plaskett of the Virgin Islands has limited privileges as a member of Congress because she represents a U.S. territory: She cannot cast votes on the House floor.

She could not vote to impeach President Trump, but now will be able to make a case against him in his Senate trial as an impeachment manager chosen by Speaker Nancy Pelosi.

On Wednesday on Twitter, she accused Mr. Trump of "conduct that foreseeably resulted in the imminent lawless actions of his supporters" when he incited a mob that assaulted the Capitol last week.

Born in Brooklyn to parents from the Virgin Islands, Ms. Plaskett graduated from Georgetown with a degree in history and diplomacy and from American University's law school. She worked as an assistant district attorney in the Bronx, as counsel to the House ethics committee, and as a political appointee at the Justice Department under President George W. Bush, among other positions.

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## How Every Representative Voted

There were two big votes the past two days in the House of Representatives. On Wednesday, members adopted an article of impeachment that charges President Trump in connection with the mob attack last week on the Capitol, making Mr. Trump the first president to be impeached twice. Ten Republicans voted "yes." One of them, Tom Rice of South Carolina, was one of the 147 Republicans in Congress who voted to overturn election results last week. On Tuesday evening, the House adopted a resolution almost entirely along party lines that called on Vice President Mike Pence to employ the 25th Amendment to remove Mr. Trump from office. (Mr. Pence had rejected the idea earlier in a letter to Speaker Nancy Pelosi.)

Calling on the Vice President to Invoke 25th Amendment				
	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Needed to pass
Yes	223	222	1	
No	205	0	205	
Not voting	5	0	5	

Impeachment Article: Incitement of Insurrection				
	Total	Dem.	Rep.	Needed to pass
Yes	232	222	10	
No	197	0	197	
Not voting	4	0	4	

### Democrats

ALABAMA	7 Terri A. Sewell	■	GEORGIA	2 Sanford D. Bishop, Jr.	■	MISSISSIPPI	2 Bennie Thompson	■		
ARIZONA	1 Tom O'Halleran	■	4 Hank Johnson	■	MISSOURI	1 Cori Bush	■			
2 Ann Kirkpatrick	■	5 Nikema Williams	■	3 Carolyn Bourdeaux	■	5 Emanuel Cleaver II	■			
3 Raul M. Grijalva	■	6 Lucy McBath	■	13 David Scott	■	NEVADA	1 Dina Titus	■		
7 Ruben Gallego	■	7 Carolyn Bourdeaux	■	HAWAII	1 Ed Case	■	3 Susie Lee	■		
9 Greg Stanton	■	13 David Scott	■	1 Ed Case	■	4 Steven Horsford	■			
CALIFORNIA	2 Jared Huffman	■	2 Kai Kahele	■	ILLINOIS	1 Bobby L. Rush	■	NEW HAMPSHIRE	1 Chris Pappas	■
3 John Garamendi	■	1 Bobby L. Rush	■	1 Robin Kelly	■	2 Ann McLane Kuster	■	NEW JERSEY	1 Donald Norcross	■
5 Mike Thompson	■	3 Marie Newman	■	4 Jesus "Chuy" Garcia	■	3 Andy Kim	■	7 Josh Gottheimer	■	
7 Doris Matsui	■	5 Mike Quigley	■	6 Sean Casten	■	5 Frank Pallone Jr.	■	9 Tom Hovind	■	
7 Ami Bera	■	6 Jesse "Chen" Chen	■	7 Danny K. Davis	■	7 John Gathorn	■	13 Mike Scherrill	■	
9 Jerry McNerney	■	7 Danny K. Davis	■	8 Raja Krishnamoorthi	■	11 Mike Scherrill	■	12 Bonnie Watson	■	
10 John Garamendi	■	10 Brad Schneider	■	12 Nancy Pelosi	■	NEW MEXICO	1 Debi Haaland	■		
11 Mark DeSaulniers	■	11 Bill Foster	■	13 Jan Schakowsky	■	3 Teresa Lopez	■	NEW YORK	3 Thomas Suozzi	■
12 Nancy Pelosi	■	17 Ro Khanna	■	15 Eric Swalwell	■	4 Kathleen Rice	■	5 Gregory W. Meeks	■	
13 Barbara Lee	■	18 Lauren Underwood	■	16 Jim Costa	■	6 Grace Meng	■	6 Gregory W. Meeks	■	
14 Jackie Speier	■	19 Anna G. Eshoo	■	17 Ro Khanna	■	7 Nydia M. Velázquez	■	7 Grace Meng	■	
15 Eric Swalwell	■	20 Zoe Lofgren	■	20 Zoe Lofgren	■	8 Hakeem Jeffries	■	8 Hakeem Jeffries	■	
16 Jim Costa	■	21 Jimmy Panetta	■	INDIANA	1 Frank J. Mrvan	9 Yvette D. Clarke	■	9 Yvette D. Clarke	■	
17 Ro Khanna	■	24 Salud Carbajal	■	2 Cedric L. Richmond	■	10 Jerrold Nadler	■	10 Jerrold Nadler	■	
18 Anna G. Eshoo	■	26 Julia Brownley	■	IOWA	3 Cindy Axne	12 Carolyn B. Malone	■	12 Carolyn B. Malone	■	
19 Zoe Lofgren	■	27 Judy Chu	■	KANSAS	3 Shari Davis	13 Alexandria Ocasio	■	13 Alexandria Ocasio	■	
20 Jimmy Panetta	■	28 Adam B. Schiff	■	3 Shari Davis	■	14 Ritchie Torres	■	14 Ritchie Torres	■	
21 Jimmy Panetta	■	29 Tony Cardenas	■	KENTUCKY	3 John Yarmuth	15 Jamal Bowman	■	15 Jamal Bowman	■	
24 Salud Carbajal	■	30 Brad Sherman	■	3 John Yarmuth	■	17 Mondarte Jones	■	17 Mondarte Jones	■	
26 Julia Brownley	■	31 Pete Aguilar	■	LOUISIANA	2 Cedric L. Richmond	18 Sean Patrick Maloney	■	18 Sean Patrick Maloney	■	
27 Judy Chu	■	32 Grace F. Napolitano	■	2 Cedric L. Richmond	■	19 Antonio Delgado	■	19 Antonio Delgado	■	
28 Adam B. Schiff	■	33 Ted Lieu	■	MAINE	1 Chellie Pingree	20 Paul Tonko	■	20 Paul Tonko	■	
29 Tony Cardenas	■	34 Jim Gohmert	■	1 Chellie Pingree	■	21 Joseph D. Meagle	■	21 Joseph D. Meagle	■	
30 Brad Sherman	■	35 Norma J. Torres	■	2 Jared Golden	■	22 Brian Higgins	■	22 Brian Higgins	■	
31 Pete Aguilar	■	36 Raul Ruiz	■	MARYLAND	2 C. A. Dutch	1 G. K. Butterfield	■	1 G. K. Butterfield	■	
32 Grace F. Napolitano	■	37 Karen Bass	■	2 C. A. Dutch	■	2 Deborah K. Ross	■	2 Deborah K. Ross	■	
33 Ted Lieu	■	38 Linda T. Sanchez	■	Ruppersberger	■	3 David E. Price	■	3 David E. Price	■	
34 Jim Gohmert	■	40 Lucille Roybal-Allard	■	3 Ruppersberger	■	4 John M. Muscarelli	■	4 John M. Muscarelli	■	
35 Norma J. Torres	■	41 Mark Takano	■	4 Anthony Brown	■	12 Almas Adams	■	12 Almas Adams	■	
36 Raul Ruiz	■	42 Maxine Waters	■	5 Steny H. Hoyer	■	OHIO	3 Joyce Beatty	■		
37 Karen Bass	■	44 Nanette Barragán	■	6 David Trone	■	5 Kathy Castor	■	5 Kathy Castor	■	
38 Linda T. Sanchez	■	45 Katie Porter	■	7 Keesia Mouton	■	11 Marica L. Fudge	■	11 Marica L. Fudge	■	
40 Lucille Roybal-Allard	■	46 J. Luis Correa	■	8 Jamie Raskin	■	13 Chrissy Houlahan	■	13 Chrissy Houlahan	■	
41 Mark Takano	■	47 Alan Lowenthal	■	MASSACHUSETTS	1 Richard E. Neal	7 Susan Bonamic	■	7 Susan Bonamic	■	
42 Maxine Waters	■	48 Mike Levin	■	1 Richard E. Neal	■	8 Peter A. DeFazio	■	8 Peter A. DeFazio	■	
44 Nanette Barragán	■	50 Juan C. Vargas	■	2 Jim McGovern	■	5 Kurt Schrader	■	5 Kurt Schrader	■	
45 Katie Porter	■	COLORADO	■	3 Jake Auchincloss	■	PENNSYLVANIA	2 Brendan F. Boyle	■		
46 J. Luis Correa	■	1 Diana DeGette	■	4 Jake Auchincloss	■	3 Dwight Evans	■	3 Dwight Evans	■	
47 Alan Lowenthal	■	2 Joe Neguse	■	5 Katherine M. Clark	■	4 Madeleine Dean	■	4 Madeleine Dean	■	
48 Mike Levin	■	7 Jason Crow	■	6 Seth Moulton	■	5 Mary Gay Scanlon	■	5 Mary Gay Scanlon	■	
50 Juan C. Vargas	■	7 Ed Perlmutter	■	7 Jenna S. Pressley	■	6 Chrissy Houlahan	■	6 Chrissy Houlahan	■	
CONNECTICUT	1 John B. Larson	■	8 Stephen F. Lynch	■	7 Jenna S. Pressley	■	7 Susan Wild	■	7 Susan Wild	■
2 Joe Courtney	■	DELAWARE	■	9 William Keating	■	8 Matt Cartwright	■	8 Matt Cartwright	■	
3 Rosa L. DeLauro	■	1 Al. Lisa Blunt Rochester	■	MICHIGAN	5 Dan Kildee	9 Hon. Lamar	■	9 Hon. Lamar	■	
4 Jim Himes	■	FLORIDA	■	5 Dan Kildee	■	10 Mike DeLoe	■	10 Mike DeLoe	■	
5 Jahana Hayes	■	5 Al Lawson	■	6 Elissa Slotkin	■	11 Mike DeLoe	■	11 Mike DeLoe	■	
DELAWARE	1 Al. Lisa Blunt Rochester	■	7 Andy Levin	■	7 Andy Levin	■	12 Mike DeLoe	■	12 Mike DeLoe	■
FLORIDA	5 Al Lawson	■	8 Elissa Slotkin	■	8 Elissa Slotkin	■	13 Mike DeLoe	■	13 Mike DeLoe	■
7 Stephanie Murphy	■	■	9 Andy Levin	■	9 Andy Levin	■	14 Mike DeLoe	■	14 Mike DeLoe	■
9 Darren Soto	■	■	11 Haley Stevens	■	11 Haley Stevens	■	15 Mike DeLoe	■	15 Mike DeLoe	■
10 Val Demings	■	■	12 Debbie Dingell	■	12 Debbie Dingell	■	16 Mike DeLoe	■	16 Mike DeLoe	■
13 Charlie Crist	■	■	13 Rachida Tadé	■	13 Rachida Tadé	■	17 Mike DeLoe	■	17 Mike DeLoe	■
14 Kathy Castor	■	■	14 Debbie Dingell	■	14 Debbie Dingell	■	18 Mike DeLoe	■	18 Mike DeLoe	■
20 Alcee L. Hastings	■	■	15 Haley Stevens	■	15 Haley Stevens	■	19 Mike DeLoe	■	19 Mike DeLoe	■
21 Lois Frankel	■	■	16 Debbie Dingell	■	16 Debbie Dingell	■	20 Mike DeLoe	■	20 Mike DeLoe	■
22 Ted Deutch	■	■	17 Rachida Tadé	■	17 Rachida Tadé	■	21 Mike DeLoe	■	21 Mike DeLoe	■
23 Debbie Wasserman Schultz	■	■	18 Debbie Dingell	■	18 Debbie Dingell	■	22 Mike DeLoe	■	22 Mike DeLoe	■
24 Frederica S. Wilson	■	■	19 Haley Stevens	■	19 Haley Stevens	■	23 Mike DeLoe	■	23 Mike DeLoe	■
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3 Dean Phillips	■	■	22 Debbie Dingell	■	22 Debbie Dingell	■	26 Mike DeLoe	■	26 Mike DeLoe	■
4 Dean Phillips	■	■	23 Haley Stevens	■	23 Haley Stevens	■	27 Mike DeLoe	■	27 Mike DeLoe	■
5 Ilhan Omar	■	■	24 Debbie Dingell	■	24 Debbie Dingell	■	28 Mike DeLoe	■	28 Mike DeLoe	■
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## Attack on the Capitol The Rioters



ITV



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TIMOTHY WOLFER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

## VISUAL INVESTIGATIONS

## Decoding Far-Right Symbols of the Capitol Mob

By MATTHEW ROSENBERG  
and AINARA TIEFENTHÄLER

Militiamen showed up proudly bearing the emblems of their groups — American flags with the stars replaced by the Roman numeral III, patches that read “Oath Keepers.” Alt-right types wore Pepe the Frog masks, and QAnon adherents could be seen in T-shirts urging people to “Trust the Plan.” White supremacists brought their variant of the Crusader cross.

And then there were thousands of Trump supporters with MAGA gear — flags, hats, T-shirts, thermoses, socks. One flag portrayed President Trump as Rambo; another featured him riding a

Tyrannosaurus rex and carrying the kind of rocket-propelled grenade launcher seen on the streets of Mogadishu or Kandahar.

The iconography of the American far right was on display on Jan. 6, during the violence at the Capitol. The dizzying array of symbols, slogans and images was, to many Americans, a striking aspect of the unrest, revealing an alternate political universe where violent extremists, outright racists and conspiracy theorists march side by side with evangelical Christians, suburban Trump supporters and young men who revel in making memes to “own the libs.”

Uniting them is a loyalty to Mr. Trump and a

firm belief in his false and discredited insistence that the election was stolen. The absurdity of many images — the patches that read “Zombie Outbreak Response Team,” for instance — only masked a devotion that inspired hundreds from the crowd to mount a deadly attack on Congress.

“It’s often all a caricature — it looks like military fan fiction — until it’s not and it crosses a very dangerous line,” said Joan Donovan, the research director of the Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy at the Harvard Kennedy School.

“It’s funny until it’s scary,” she said.

These are some of the groups and their insignia.

## The Militias

Out in force were right-wing militias like the **Oath Keepers** and the **Three Percenters**, whose symbol, the Roman numeral III, could be seen on patches and flags. Both groups are anti-government, pro-guns and, nowadays, devoted to Mr. Trump.



Others on the right who share the militia’s anti-government views often signal their beliefs with the **Gadsden flag**, a yellow banner dating to the American Revolution with a rattlesnake and the phrase “Don’t Tread on Me.” Dozens were waved at the Capitol last week.



And then there is the **Confederate battle flag**. A man carried the banner of secession and slavery through the halls of the Capitol on Jan. 6.



## QAnon

This conspiracy theory falsely claims that there is a cabal of Democrats, deep-state bureaucrats and international financiers who use their power to rape and kill children, and that Mr. Trump was elected to vanquish them. The canard is convoluted and confusing, but its

iconography is clear and was plentiful: There were shirts with the letter “Q” or slogans like “Trust the Plan”; signs saying “Save the Children”; and flags with the abbreviation “WWG1WGA,” which stands for “Where We Go One, We Go All.”



JON CHERRY/GETTY IMAGES; ANNOTATIONS BY THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Other Symbols



The skull-like symbol of the **Punisher**, a crime-fighting Marvel comic book antihero, was a common sight. It has become a popular emblem on the far right in recent years and is sometimes used by police officers to signal one another without having to wear badges.



There were people waving the **South Vietnamese flag**, which disappeared decades ago when the North won the war. But now it lives again, adopted by some on the American right as a symbol of anti-communist resistance.



Then there was the **Zombie Outbreak Response Team**. A man wearing a sticker with its emblem was photographed inside the Capitol. His face is obscured, and he has not been identified. But the zombie team’s website describes its members as “survivalists preparing for all worst case scenarios.”

## Pepe and ‘Kek’



EVELYN HOCKSTEIN FOR THE WASHINGTON POST, VIA GETTY IMAGES

Pepe the Frog, the smirking cartoon amphibian that has become a widely recognized symbol of the alt-right crowd, was a common sight.

Also on display were the **green-and-white flags of Kekistan**, the fictional country that is home to the deity “Kek.”

In the meme-driven culture of the alt-right, a satirical religion has sprouted up around Kek “as a way to troll liberals and self-righteous conservatives,” according to the Southern Poverty Law Center, which tracks hate groups. “He is a god of chaos and darkness, with

the head of a frog, the source of their mimetic ‘magic,’ to whom the alt-right and Donald Trump owe their success.”

The flag is partly derived from the Nazi flag, a design that is treated as a provocative joke in alt-right circles.

## Boogaloos and Proud Boys

The Boogaloos marked themselves by wearing their signature Hawaiian shirts. A group of Proud Boys showed up in **orange hats**. Both the Boogaloos and the Proud Boys include racists and anti-Semites, though the outright white supremacists tend to keep a lower profile. Some wear Crusader crosses or Germanic pagan imagery that has become popular on the racist and anti-Semitic fringes. Others have adopted the “OK” hand gesture as their own, seeing it as mimicking the letters “W” and “P,” for “white power.”

PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES (CONFEDERATE FLAG); STATUS COUR/VIA STORYFUL (PUNISHER FLAG, ZOMBIE OUTBREAK RESPONSE TEAM HELMET); TIMOTHY WOLFER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES (OATH KEEPER JACKET, GADSDEN FLAG, SOUTH VIETNAMESE FLAG)

## Trump Supporters



TIMOTHY WOLFER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



TIMOTHY WOLFER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Alongside the violent, the overtly racist and the paranoid were thousands of devoted Trump supporters, some of whom even brought young children.

The crowd was filled with people in **MAGA regalia**, and **Trump flags** were everywhere. Most just said “Trump”; others were a bit more outlandish.



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ELLIOT ACKERMAN ON BATTLE MADNESS IN WASHINGTON **PAGE 4** KATHERINE STEWART ON THE  
NEO-MEDIEVAL VISION OF THE TRUMP HOLDOUTS **PAGE 6**

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SundayReview

The New York Times

SUNDAY, JANUARY 17, 2021



THE  
INEVITABLE

Finally the  
world agrees that  
Trump is  
exactly the man  
his fiercest  
critics said he was.  
But has the  
reckoning  
come too late?

BY MICHELLE GOLDBERG  
PAGE 3





PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARK PETERSON/REDUX FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

# Why the Capitol Riot Reminded Me of War

OPINION  
BY ELLIOT ACKERMAN  
A former U.S. Marine and intelligence officer, and a contributing opinion writer.

EVER since I returned from our wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, people will from time to time casually ask me what combat is like. Typically, I'll direct them to films like "Full Metal Jacket" and "Black Hawk Down," which, in my opinion, do a pretty good job of capturing something of the experience. Now I have another film I might recommend.

Not long after the Jan. 6 storming of the Capitol, a video began circulating among veterans I know. It is a roughly 40-minute continuous shot that moves from the breach on the western staircase of the Capitol to the shooting of one of the rioters, Ashli Babbitt, an Air Force veteran, outside the Speaker's Lobby. When sending it, many of the veterans asked, "What does this remind you of?" I watched with my heart in my throat — the exhilaration of the participants, the chaos of a historic event playing out around you, the violence and latent presence of madness; it reminded me of combat.

I say this not to draw a political equivalency between insurrectionists and men and women in uniform — though some of

the insurrectionists have turned out to be veterans — but rather to place a focus on the level of insanity we witnessed that day. Anyone who has been to war can tell you that no matter how honorably it is conducted, it is an exercise in collective insanity, where norms of civilized behavior melt away as you engage in the act of state-sanctioned killing.

The video I watched was made by a young man identifying himself as John Sullivan who goes by the name Jayden X online. His commentary runs throughout the video. After breaching the first line of barricades, he says breathlessly: "I can't believe this is reality! We accomplished this. . . I We did this [expletive], together!" And then: "This is [expletive] history!" That sense of being part of history and the attendant thrill in Mr. Sullivan's voice is certainly something that I experienced in combat.

I remember the first night of the battle in Falluja — thousands of Marines advancing into the city, jets swarming overhead and dropping their ground-shaking ordnance, and the knowledge that I was part of something that, for a moment, held the entire world in its thrall, surrounded by people who were also a part of it. We did this together. Yes, we certainly did, but we didn't yet know the full implications of what we had done and how it would echo in our own lives and the lives of others for years and decades to come. Violence has a long tail.

Within minutes of the first breach, the crowd pours into the Capitol. On entering an opulent conference room, Mr. Sullivan asks himself, "What reality is this?" Then, along with a crowd, he rushes into the Rotunda, and his advance is stalled as if he has hit an invisible wall. He and others are stupefied by what they see: the gilded dome above their heads, the statuary and paintings along the walls. While Trump supporters meander around him, he shouts: "What is this? What is life?" A woman, who has been filming him as he is recording her, stops and says, "I'll give you your hug now." They embrace and congratulate each other. Mr. Sullivan tells her to watch his YouTube channel, and she says, "You weren't recording, were you?" and he assures her that he'll delete their exchange.

Throughout the video, the elation of

the insurrectionists is juxtaposed with the horror of the Capitol Police officers, who know they're overwhelmed and continually seem to be falling back. This vacillation — between horror and ecstasy, not only within groups but also within individuals — attends the madness in every war, and it is the defining characteristic of this video.

Within minutes, Mr. Sullivan has pushed to the head of the crowd, which is closing in on the main legislative chambers. When they approach locked doors, he is quick to volunteer his knife to pry them open (though it is never used). Eventually, the crowd stalls at a bank of glass-paneled doors marked "Speaker's Lobby." Law enforcement has barricaded the corridor with office chairs and desks. Mr. Sullivan urges the police officers to step away, warning them that they're only going to get hurt. As the crowd continues to break sections of the glass, Mr. Sullivan sees an officer aiming a pistol at the mob on the other side of the doors. He shouts, "There's a gun!"

For 14 seconds, his camera holds steady on the gun aimed at the rioters. He doesn't run away or push anyone else away. He simply repeats, "There's a gun!" over and over. It's as if the experience has left him unclear whether this is real or a dream, unable to imagine he might be the one about to get shot. Violence, up close, is surreal. Your mind struggles to comprehend its own fracturing, and so the response to the most threatening forms of danger often isn't terror. It's stupefaction, wonder, a sense of "Wow, look at that."

Mr. Sullivan survives this altercation. But Ashli Babbitt does not. When a glass panel on one of the doors is completely broken, she climbs through and is shot in the neck, collapsing backward onto the floor. The video is graphic, and Mr. Sullivan is right there. His camera finally turns off as she lies dying at his feet.

After watching the video, I felt depleted. We have, each in our own way, tried to

make sense of what happened politically, with impeachment proceedings underway and bipartisan condemnation of the siege of the People's House. However, a solely political response to what occurred is insufficient. It requires an emotional understanding as well.

In a follow-up video, Mr. Sullivan, who describes himself as a supporter of Black Lives Matter, explains that he believes in "recording these situations and allowing people to see it for what it is." Yet it is hard to square his professed politics with his actions in the video, in which he is clearly a participant, trying to help rioters penetrate more deeply into the Capitol. Right-wing conspiracy theories assert that radical left-wing elements incited the storming of the Capitol. I don't bring up Mr. Sullivan's stated group affiliation to lend credence to those theories, but rather to show that there is a political incoherence that characterizes events like this. It's the same in war.

Mr. Sullivan's political rationale for why he stormed the Capitol lasts 20 minutes and is opaque, at best. But his emotional rationale is crystal clear: "Who doesn't want to be there for the action, right? Who doesn't want to see a bunch of Trump supporters just [expletive] up the Capitol? . . . That's why you watched it. You watched it as an action movie."

This brand of nihilism — destruction for the sake of spectacle — is ubiquitous in war. We must avoid it. If Americans are to find any meaning in the storming of the Capitol, our leaders must salvage some good from this atrocity. And there is an opportunity to do so. The bonds of those who endure war last a lifetime, and perhaps that's where we might move forward as a country.

A photograph from that day of Jason Crow, an Army Ranger-turned-U.S. representative, holding the hand of his colleague Susan Wild as they were trapped in the House chamber speaks to the intensity of what lawmakers of both parties endured. One can only hope that the emotion of that moment might now be harnessed into political action and a willingness for lawmakers to work together. Maybe out of this we could see Republican and Democratic collaboration on major legislation in the early days of the Biden administration — on infrastructure, stimulus, immigration — or any of the myriad issues about which petty posturing has fed our endemic political dysfunction. Perhaps it's naive to be hopeful, but war taught me about the importance of hope.

On my way home from my first combat deployment in Iraq, I spent the night in a transient barracks. Graffiti by those returning from combat littered the plywood walls. Scrawled in one corner in black Sharpie was a quote by Friedrich Nietzsche: "Anyone who fights with monsters should take care that he does not in the process become a monster. And if you gaze for long into an abyss, the abyss gazes back into you." I was 24 years old, and those words felt like a revelation. Reading them seemed like a first step in the process of understanding not only what I'd been through, but also this distinctly human practice: war.

Watching the storming of the Capitol felt similar to reading those words, not only in that I was understanding some new shade of human darkness, but also that I was gazing at something that, like war, had a certain inexplicable quality: It was gazing right back into me.



## Cuomo's Scorn Fueling Exodus In Health Dept.

### Nine Top N.Y. Officials Have Quit Amid Rift

This article is by J. David Goodman, Joseph Goldstein and Jesse McKinley.

The deputy commissioner for public health at the New York State Health Department resigned in late summer. Soon after, the director of its bureau of communicable disease control also stepped down. So did the medical director for epidemiology. Last month, the state epidemiologist said she, too, would be leaving.

The drumbeat of high-level departures in the middle of the pandemic came as morale plunged in the Health Department and senior health officials expressed alarm to one another over being sidelined and treated disrespectfully, according to five people with direct experience inside the department.

Their concern had an almost singular focus: Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo.

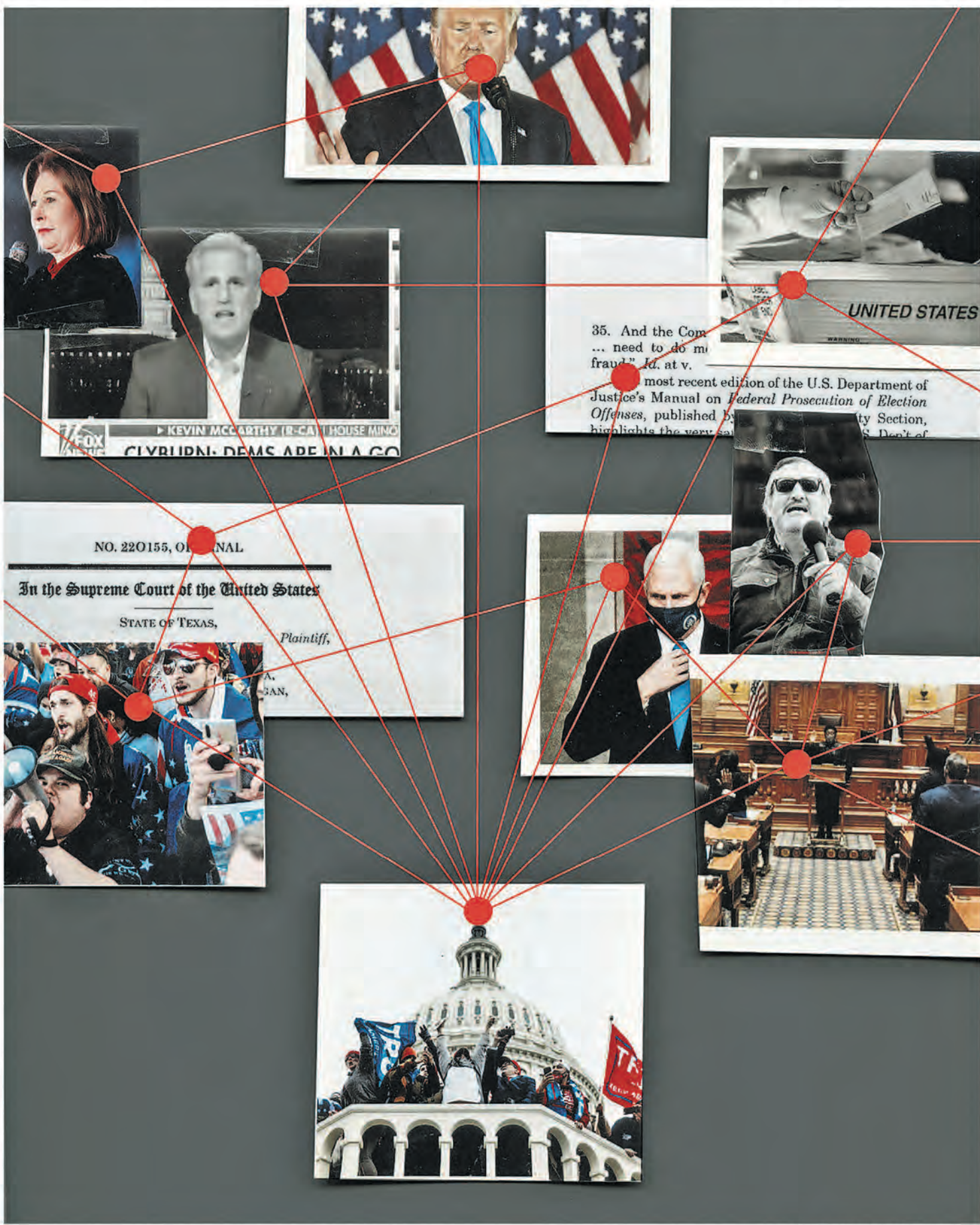
Even as the pandemic continues to rage and New York struggles to vaccinate a large and anxious population, Mr. Cuomo has all but declared war on his own public health bureaucracy. The departures have underscored the extent to which pandemic policy has been set by the governor, who with his aides crafted a vaccination program beset by early delays.

The troubled rollout came after Mr. Cuomo declined to use the longstanding vaccination plans that the State Department of Health had developed in recent years in coordination with local health departments. Mr. Cuomo instead adopted an approach that relied on large hospital systems to coordinate vaccinations not only of their own staffs, but also of much of the population.

In recent weeks, the governor has repeatedly made it clear that he believed he had no choice but to seize more control over pandemic policy from state and local public health officials, who he said had no understanding of how to conduct a real-world, large-scale operation like vaccinations. After early problems, in which rela-

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# 77 Days: Trump's Campaign to Subvert the Election



## How a Lie Stoked the Assault on the Capitol

This article is by Jim Rutenberg, Jo Becker, Eric Lipton, Maggie Haberman, Jonathan Martin, Matthew Rosenberg and Michael S. Schmidt.

By Thursday the 12th of November, President Donald J. Trump's election lawyers were concluding that the reality he faced was the inverse of the narrative he was promoting in his comments and on Twitter. There was no substantial evidence of election fraud, and there were nowhere near enough "irregularities" to reverse the outcome in the courts.

Mr. Trump did not, could not, win the election, not by "a lot" or even a little. His presidency would soon be over.

Allegations of Democratic malfeasance had disintegrated in embarrassing fashion. A supposed suitcase of illegal ballots in Detroit proved to be a box of camera equipment. "Dead voters" were turning up alive in television and newspaper interviews.

The week was coming to a particularly demoralizing close: In Arizona, the Trump lawyers were preparing to withdraw their main lawsuit as the state tally showed Joseph R. Biden Jr. leading by more than 10,000 votes, against the 191 ballots they had identified for challenge.

As he met with colleagues to discuss strategy, the president's deputy campaign manager, Justin Clark, was urgently summoned to the Oval Office. Mr. Trump's personal lawyer, Rudolph W. Giuliani, was on speaker phone, pressing the president to file a federal suit in Georgia and sharing a conspiracy theory gaining traction in conservative media — that Dominion Systems voting machines had transformed thousands of Trump votes into Biden votes.

Mr. Clark warned that the suit Mr. Giuliani had in mind would be dismissed on procedural grounds. And a state audit was barreling toward a conclusion that the Dominion machines had operated without interference or foul play.

Mr. Giuliani called Mr. Clark a liar, according to people with direct knowledge of the exchange.

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## Posing Global Threat, Variants Spread Where Vaccines Have Not

By LYNSEY CHUTEL  
and MARC SANTORA

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — As a dangerous variant of the coronavirus first discovered in South Africa sickens and kills thousands across the country, Jan Matsena has shown up every day to stock the shelves at a Cape Town supermarket, terrified that he, too, will catch it.

A neighbor died in December, then a co-worker in January. Now Mr. Matsena is waiting for a vaccine so he can return home to his township and hold his baby daughter again. But in South Africa, the country hit hardest so far by the variant, inoculations have not yet started.

"The wait for this vaccine has been long, long now," said Mr. Matsena, a first-time father who has been living away from his family for fear of exposing them. "People are passing away, people are losing jobs. It's trauma."

While more than 90 million people worldwide have been vaccinated, only 25 in all of sub-Saharan Africa, a region of about one billion people, have been given doses outside of drug trials, according to the World Health Organization.

But as new variants like the one discovered in South Africa migrate to more countries — including the United States — it is becoming ever clearer that the trag-

edy for poorer countries could become a tragedy for every country. The more the virus spreads, and the longer it takes to vaccinate people, the greater chance it has to continue to mutate in ways that put the whole world at risk.

Recent studies suggest that at least four vaccines that are effective at preventing infection with

the original virus did not perform as well against the variant found in South Africa. That variant is also more infectious — as is another one, discovered in Britain — and it is now estimated to make up 90 percent of all cases in South Africa, according to data compiled by researchers. It has turned up in dozens of other countries.

Inoculation prompts the immune system to make antibodies to the virus, but as mutations change its shape, the virus can become more resistant to those antibodies. In the worst case, failing to stop the spread of the virus globally would allow more mutations that could make existing vaccines

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PHILL MAGAKOE/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

The new, more contagious variant is estimated to make up 90 percent of all cases in South Africa.

## Leader Is Held As Coup Fears Grip Myanmar

By HANNAH BEECH

BANGKOK — Myanmar's civilian leader, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, and her top lieutenants were reported detained in early-morning raids Monday as the country ran afire with rumors of a coup.

Officials from the governing National League for Democracy confirmed the detentions on Monday morning, but the military, which directly controlled the country for nearly five decades, made no statement about them or about whether it had seized power.

Mobile networks and the internet appeared to be down in at least two major cities in Myanmar, and some local journalists went into hiding for fear that their reporting could compromise their safety. Domestic flights were suspended.

Myanmar had been celebrated as a rare case in which generals willingly handed over some power to civilians, honoring 2015 election results that ushered into office the National League for Democracy.

The stalwarts of that party had spent years in jail for their political opposition to the military. Ms. Aung San Suu Kyi, the political party's patron saint, spent 15 years under house arrest and won

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## House Mapping Is Next Conflict In Power Battle

By REID J. EPSTEIN  
and NICK CORASANTI

WASHINGTON — With the election over and Democrats in control of the White House and both chambers of Congress, officials in both parties are bracing for a bruising new battle with a different balance of power: the redrawing of congressional maps, where Republicans hold the advantage in many state legislatures across the country, including in key battleground states.

Republicans hold total control of redistricting in 18 states, including Florida, North Carolina and Texas, which are growing in population and expected to gain seats after the 2020 census is tabulated. Some election experts believe the G.O.P. could retake the House in 2022 based solely on gains from newly drawn districts.

Already, Republicans are discussing redrawing two suburban Atlanta districts held by Democrats to make one of them more Republican; slicing Democratic sections out of a Houston district that Republicans lost in 2018; and carving up a northeastern Ohio district held by Democrats since 1985.

"I would say that the national

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#### Show of Force in Russia

A heavy police response to protests in support of the opposition leader signaled the Kremlin's anxiety. PAGE A10

#### Thailand's Legal Dragnet

Dozens who marched in pro-democracy demonstrations last year now face lengthy prison sentences. PAGE A8



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Smallpox. Polio. Swine flu. Mass inoculation campaigns of the past can offer officials lessons about rollout strategies and mistakes. PAGE A4

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Black and Latino residents of New York City have received far fewer vaccine doses than white residents. PAGE A5

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An online tool lets you search images from sources used to develop facial recognition technology. PAGE B1

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Democrats say they missed out on a stronger stimulus in 2009 in a quest for Republican backing. They plan to not repeat that mistake. PAGE A18

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The bipartisan rush to side with traders disrupting the markets reflects recognition of rage against the system. PAGE A12

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#### Early Force in AIDS Fight

Joseph Sonnabend was a pioneering researcher known for his devotion to patients. He was 88. PAGE D6

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The league has not made real progress in hiring Black head coaches, Kurt Streeter writes. PAGE D1

#### Seeking a Wetter Stage

Cody Simpson has been a singer, a dancer, an actor and an author. Now he wants to swim in the Olympics. PAGE D1



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#### Still Making the Cut

Magicians have been sawing people, mostly lovely assistants, in half for a little more than a century now. PAGE C1

#### Dating and Hypocrisy

In a new play, all Ryan J. Haddad wants is a boyfriend. But pride, or maybe prejudice, gets in the way. PAGE C1

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#### Charles M. Blow

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# 77 Days: Trump's Campaign to Subvert the Election

From Page A1

Mr. Clark called Mr. Giuliani something much worse. And with that, the election-law experts were sidelined in favor of the former New York City mayor, the man who once again was telling the president what he wanted to hear.

Thursday the 12th was the day Mr. Trump's flimsy, long-shot legal effort to reverse his loss turned into something else entirely — an extralegal campaign to subvert the election, rooted in a lie so convincing to some of his most devoted followers that it made the deadly Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol almost inevitable.

Weeks later, Mr. Trump is the former President Trump. In coming days, a presidential transition like no other will be dissected when he stands trial in the Senate on an impeachment charge of “incitement of insurrection.” Yet his lie of an election stolen by corrupt and evil forces lives on in a divided America.

A New York Times examination of the 77 democracy-bending days between election and inauguration shows how, with conspiratorial belief rife in a country ravaged by pandemic, a lie that Mr. Trump had been grooming for years finally overwhelmed the Republican Party and, as brake after brake fell away, was propelled forward by new and more radical lawyers, political organizers, financiers and the surround-sound right-wing media.

In the aftermath of that broken afternoon at the Capitol, a picture has emerged of entropic forces coming together on Trump's behalf in an ad hoc, yet calamitous, crash of rage and denial.

But interviews with central players, and documents including previously unreported emails, videos and social media posts scattered across the web, tell a more encompassing story of a more coordinated campaign.

Across those 77 days, the forces of disorder were summoned and directed by the departing president, who wielded the power derived from his near-infallible status among the party faithful in one final norm-defying act of a reality-denying presidency.

Throughout, he was enabled by influential Republicans motivated by ambition, fear or a misplaced belief that he would not go too far.

In the Senate, he got early room to maneuver from the majority leader, Mitch McConnell. As he sought the president's help in Georgia runoffs that could cost him his own grip on power, Mr. McConnell heeded misplaced assurances from White House aides like Jared Kushner that Mr. Trump would eventually accede to reality, people close to the senator told The Times. Mr. McConnell's later recognition of Mr. Biden's victory would not be enough to dissuade 14 Republican senators from joining the president's last-ditch bid to nullify millions of Americans' votes.

Likewise, during the campaign, Attorney General William P. Barr had echoed some of Mr. Trump's complaints of voter fraud. But privately the president was chafing at Mr. Barr's resistance to his more authoritarian impulses — including his idea to end birthright citizenship in a legally dubious pre-election executive order. And when Mr. Barr informed Mr. Trump in a tense Oval Office session that the Justice Department's fraud investigations had run dry, the president dismissed the department as derelict before finding other officials there who would view things his way.

For every lawyer on Mr. Trump's team who quietly pulled back, there was one ready to push forward with propagandistic suits that skated the lines of legal ethics and reason. That included not only Mr. Giuliani and lawyers like Sidney Powell and Lin Wood, but also the vast majority of Republican attorneys general, whose dead-on-arrival Supreme Court lawsuit seeking to discount 20 million votes was secretly drafted by lawyers close to the White House, The Times found.

As traditional Republican donors withdrew, a new class of Trump-era benefactors rose to finance data analysts and sleuths to come up with fodder for the stolen-election narrative. Their ranks included the founder of MyPillow, Mike Lindell, and the former Overstock.com chief executive Patrick Byrne, who warned of “fake ballots” and voting-machine manipulation from China on One America News Network and Newsmax, which were finding ratings in their willingness to go further than Fox in embracing the fiction that Mr. Trump had won.

As Mr. Trump's official election campaign wound down, a new, highly organized campaign stepped into the breach to turn his demagogic fury into a movement of its own, recruiting key lawmakers at key times of the cost of denying the will of the president and his followers. Called Women for America First, it had ties to Mr. Trump and former White House aides then seeking presidential pardons, among them Stephen K. Bannon and Michael T. Flynn.

As it crossed the country spreading the new gospel of a stolen election in Trump-red buses, the group helped build an acutely Trumpian coalition that included sitting and incoming members of Congress, rank-and-file voters and the “de-platformed” extremists and conspiracy theorists promoted on its home page — including the white nationalist Jared Taylor, prominent QAnon proponents and the Proud Boys leader Enrique Tarrio.

With each passing day the lie grew, fir-



Within hours of the final polls closing, President Donald J. Trump fired the opening salvo in his disinformation campaign, declaring in a brief speech shortly before 2:30 a.m. on Nov. 4 that the election was “a fraud on the American public.” In the following days, the “Stop the Steal” campaign took shape.

nally managing to do what the political process and the courts would not: upend the peaceful transfer of power that for 224 years had been the bedrock of American democracy.

## ‘A Fraud on the American Public’

In the days before Nov. 3, polls strongly indicated that election night would show Mr. Trump in the lead, as his voters were less concerned about the coronavirus and more likely to vote in person. Those tallies would register first on the network television scoreboards.

But the polls also indicated that the president's apparent lead would diminish or disappear overnight, as more mail-in ballots, favored by Biden voters, were added to the official counts.

As Election Day approached, Mr. Trump and those closest to him believed that his lead would be insurmountable, their views swayed by the assurances of pro-Trump pundits and the unscientific measure of the size and excitement of the crowds. Yet for months he had also been preparing an argument to dispute a possible loss: that it could only be because of a vast conspiracy of fraud. (A spokesman for the former president declined to comment for this article.)

Flying home on Air Force One from the final campaign event in Grand Rapids, Mich., in the early hours of Nov. 3, Mr. Trump's son Eric proposed an Electoral College betting pool.

He wagered that the president would win at least 320 electoral votes, according to a person present for the exchange. “We’re just trying to get to 270,” an adviser more grounded in polling and analytics replied.

The polls, in fact, had hit right.

Gathered in the East Room of the White House on election night, Mr. Trump and his entourage fell into engaged disbelief as his lead inexorably dissipated, even in formerly red states like Arizona, which Fox called for Mr. Biden at 11:20 in what the president took as a stinging betrayal. Eric Trump goaded him on — a dynamic that would play out in the weeks to come. There would be no early victory speech that evening.

Instead, in a brief televised address shortly before 2:30 a.m., Mr. Trump furiously laid down his postelection lie.

“This is a fraud on the American public. This is an embarrassment to our country. We were getting ready to win this election — frankly, we did win this election,” the president declared. “We want all voting to stop. We don’t want them to find any ballots at 4 o’clock in the morning and add them to the list.”

Leading Republicans quickly fell in line.

On Fox, Newt Gingrich, the former House speaker, predicted that Mr. Trump's supporters would erupt in rage “as they watch Joe Biden's Democratic Party steal the election in Philadelphia, steal the election in Atlanta, steal the election in Milwaukee.”

On Thursday night, Kevin McCarthy, the House Republican leader, told Laura Ingraham on Fox: “Everyone who's listening, do not be quiet, do not be silent about this. We cannot allow this to happen before our very eyes.”

Online, the disinformation floodgates opened still further, their messages frequently landing on local and cable news. Facebook, Twitter and Instagram filled with videos alleging that a dog had voted in Santa Cruz, Calif. Fears that thousands of Trump votes would be thrown out in Arizona — because voters had been forced to use felt-tipped Sharpie pens that scanners could not read — rocketed across conservative social media accounts and the QAnon network before informing two lawsuits, one filed by Mr. Trump's campaign. (The ballots were readable; both suits were dropped.)

But another, more enduring conspiracy theory was gaining momentum, one that would soon be taken up by Mr. Giuliani.

On Oct. 31, an obscure website, The American Report, had published a story saying that a supercomputer called the Hammer, running software called Scorecard, would be used to steal votes from Mr. Trump.

The story's authors had spent years spreading false claims that the Obama administration had used the Hammer to spy on the 2016 Trump campaign — in their telling, a central part of the deep-state conspiracy that spawned the Russia investigation and Mr. Trump's first impeachment.

Their reports were sourced to Dennis Montgomery, a onetime national security contractor described by his former lawyer as a “con man,” and were often backed by Thomas McInerney, a retired Air Force lieutenant general whose military résumé could lend credibility to the fantastical tales.

Mr. McInerney was just emerging from conservative media purgatory. Two years earlier, Fox had banned him after he falsely stated that Senator John McCain had shared military secrets while he was a prisoner of war in North Vietnam. But he was finding new exposure through social media and new outlets, like One America News and Mr. Bannon's podcast and radio show, “War Room: Pandemic,” that had elastic ideas about journalistic standards of verification.

The vote-stealing theory got its first exposure beyond the web the day before the election on Mr. Bannon's show. Because of the Hammer, Mr. McInerney said, “it's going to look good for President Trump, but they're going to change it. The Democrats, he alleged, were seeking to use the system to install Mr. Biden and bring the country to “a totalitarian state.”

The Hammer and Scorecard story came together with disparate conspiracy theories about Dominion voting systems that had been kicking around on the left

and the right, most forcefully on the Twitter feed of a Republican congressman from Arizona, Paul Gosar. In a post on Nov. 6, he called on Arizona's governor, Doug Ducey, to “investigate the accuracy and reliability of the Dominion ballot software and its impact on our general election.”

The tweet helped set off a social media wildfire, drawing intense interest from accounts that regularly circulate and de-code QAnon-related content.

A day later, The Associated Press and the major television networks declared that Mr. Biden would be the 46th president of the United States.

## ‘The Media Doesn’t Get to Decide’

For decades, leaders of both parties have treated the TV network and Associated Press election calls as definitive, congratulating the president-elect within hours. Despite record reliance on mail voting because of the pandemic, there was nothing especially unusual about the outcome in 2020: Mr. Biden's margins in key Electoral College states were similar to Mr. Trump's four years before.

This time, Republican leaders in Congress broke with the norm.

On ABC's “This Week” on Nov. 8, the senior Republican senator overseeing elections, Roy Blunt of Missouri, declared that the old rules no longer applied. “The media can project, but the media doesn't get to decide who the winner is,” he said. “There is a canvassing process. That needs to happen.”

The senator who mattered most, whose words would have the greatest bearing on Mr. Trump's odds-against campaign, was the majority leader, Mr. McConnell of Kentucky.

Mr. McConnell was playing a long game.

The leader and the president had been in regular contact in the days since the

election, according to several people with knowledge of their conversations. But the publicly bellicose president rarely confronted Mr. McConnell in one-on-one calls and avoided making any specific demands. He did not threaten retribution should Mr. McConnell follow tradition and congratulate Mr. Biden.

But Mr. McConnell knew that by doing so, he would endanger his own overriding political goal — winning the two runoffs in Georgia and maintaining Republican control of the Senate, which would allow him to keep his power as majority leader. If he provoked Mr. Trump's anger, he would almost certainly lose the president's full support in Georgia.

So as Mr. Trump would rant about voter fraud as if he were making an appearance on “Fox & Friends,” Mr. McConnell would try to redirect the discussion to a specific court case or the runoffs, according to party officials familiar with the calls. “They were talking past one another,” one of them said.

The senator was also under a false impression that the president was only blustering, the officials said. Mr. McConnell had had multiple conversations with the White House chief of staff, Mark Meadows, and the senator's top political adviser, Josh Holmes, had spoken with Mr. Kushner, the president's son-in-law and senior adviser. Both West Wing officials had conveyed the same message: They would pursue all potential avenues but recognized that they might come up short. Mr. Trump would eventually bow to reality and accept defeat.

The majority leader rendered his verdict on Nov. 9, during remarks at the first postelection Senate session. Even as he celebrated Republican victories in the Senate and the House — which in party talking points somehow escaped the pervasive fraud that cast Mr. Biden's victory in doubt — Mr. McConnell said, “President Trump is 100 percent within his rights to look into allegations of irregularities and weigh his legal options.” He added, “A few legal inquiries from the president do not exactly spell the end of the republic.”

That left the Senate with only a handful of Republicans willing to acknowledge the president's loss: established Trump critics like Mitt Romney of Utah and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska.

That night, Senator Lindsey Graham of South Carolina, then the Judiciary Committee chairman, went on Sean Hannity's program to share an affidavit from a postal worker in Erie, Pa., who said he had overheard supervisors discussing illegally backdating postmarks on ballots that had arrived too late to be counted. He had forwarded it to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

“They can all go to hell as far as I'm concerned — I've had it with these people. Let's fight back,” Mr. Graham said. “We lose elections because they cheat us.”

Earlier that day, however, the postal worker had recanted his statement in an interview with federal investigators — even though he continued to push his story online afterward. His affidavit, it turned out, had been written with the assistance of the conservative media group Project Veritas, known for its deceptive tactics and ambush videos.

Twenty years later, the margins were far too large to be made up by recounts or small-bore court maneuvers.

Even after a recount in the tightest state, Georgia, found some 2,000 lost Trump votes, Mr. Biden led by nearly 12,000. And Mr. Giuliani's arguments that the Trump campaign could prove Dominion voting machines illegally made the difference were summarily dismissed by Mr. Trump's other lawyers, who were carefully tracking a recount of the machines' paper receipts.

“There was a literal physical hand count of every single one of those five million pieces of paper, and they matched almost identically, and we knew that within a week,” said Stefan Passantino, a

conspiracy theories about Dominion Voting Systems gained a powerful ally when Representative Paul Gosar, Republican of Arizona, demanded an investigation on Nov. 6. His tweets helped set off a social media wildfire, drawing intense interest from accounts that circulate QAnon content.

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Caravans of Trump supporters, organized by Women for America First, rallied across the country to oppose the certification of President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s electoral votes. A 23-city “Stop the Steal” bus tour began on Nov. 29. It ended with a huge rally in Washington on Dec. 12, above. Women for America First also organized Mr. Trump's rally on Jan. 6.

# 77 Days: Trump's Campaign to Subvert the Election

From Preceding Page

that “we have not seen fraud on a scale that could have effected a different outcome.”

But another allegation had just captured the presidential imagination: A truck driver on contract with the Postal Service was claiming that he had delivered many thousands of illegally filled-out ballots to Pennsylvania from a depot on Long Island.

Federal investigators had determined that that one, too, was bunk. Court records showed that the driver had a history of legal problems, had been involuntarily committed to mental institutions several times and had a sideline as a ghost hunter. The York Daily Record reported.

Now, with the White House counsel, Pat A. Cipollone, backing him, Mr. Barr told the president that he could not manufacture evidence and that his department would have no role in challenging states' results, said a former senior official with knowledge about the meeting, a version of which was first reported by Axios. The allegations about manipulated voting machines were ridiculously false, he added; the lawyers propagating them, led by Mr. Giuliani, were “clowns.”

Mr. Trump paused, thought about it and said, “Maybe.”

But before Mr. Barr left the building, the president tweeted out the truck driver's account, which quickly gained 154,000 mentions on Twitter, according to an analysis by Signal Labs. The driver would appear on Newsmax, Mr. Bannon's “War Room” and “Hannity,” among the most-watched programs on cable.

Days later, that allegation was featured in a lawsuit with an extraordinary request: that the court decertify the Pennsylvania result and strip Mr. Biden of the state's delegates — a call to potentially disenfranchise nearly seven million voters.

The legal group behind the suit, the Amended Project, was part of the Thomas More Society, a conservative law firm historically focused on religious liberty issues. It was now working with Mr. Giuliani and had as a special counsel a Trump campaign legal strategist, Jenna Ellis. A judge dismissed the suit as “improper and untimely.”

It was exactly the sort of lawsuit Mr. Trump's more experienced election lawyers viewed as counterproductive and, several people involved in the effort said in interviews, embarrassing.

In the run-up to the election, the legal team, led by Mr. Clark and Matt Morgan, had modeled its strategy on the disputed election of 2000, when only a few hundred votes separated Al Gore and George W. Bush in Florida. Mr. Bush had benefited from a combination of savvy lawyering and ugly political tactics that included the riotous “Brooks Brothers” protest over spurious allegations of Democratic fraud.

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“There was a literal physical hand count of every single one of those five million pieces of paper, and they matched almost identically, and we knew that within a week,” said Stefan Passantino, a

Trump lawyer who helped oversee the initial strategy in the state. “We are not going to participate in bringing allegations about the sanctity of this machine,” (Dominion has sued Mr. Giuliani and Ms. Powell for defamation.)

But the Trump election lawyers were looking to another offer lesson from 2000. In a Supreme Court opinion in *Bush v. Gore*, Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist had argued that Florida court orders dictating recount procedures violated the constitutional clause that gives state legislatures the power to set the terms for selecting electors.

Many of the early Trump campaign suits had adopted that approach. Contradicting the president, the campaign lawyers — and even Mr. Giuliani — had in several cases acknowledged in court that they were not alleging fraud. Rather, they argued that in bending rules to make mail voting easier during the pandemic — extending deadlines, striking requirements for witness signatures — secretaries of state or state courts or election boards had improperly usurped their legislatures' role.

Yet as the suits failed in court after court across the country, leaving Mr. Trump without credible options to reverse his loss before the Electoral College vote on Dec. 14, Mr. Giuliani and his allies were developing a new legal theory — that in crucial swing states, there was enough fraud, and there were enough inappropriate election-rule changes, to render their entire popular votes invalid.

As a result, the theory went, those states' Republican-controlled legislatures would be within their constitutional rights to send slates of their choosing to the Electoral College.

If the theory was short on legal or factual merit, it was rich in the sort of sensational claims — the swirl of forged ballots and “deep state” manipulation of voting machines — that would allow Mr. Trump to revive his fight, give his millions of voters hope that he could still prevail and perhaps even foment enough chaos to somehow bring about an undemocratic reversal in his favor.

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Days later, that allegation was featured in a lawsuit with an extraordinary request: that the court decertify the Pennsylvania result and strip Mr. Biden of the state's delegates — a call to potentially disenfranchise nearly seven million voters.

The legal group behind the suit, the Amended Project, was part of the Thomas More Society, a conservative law firm historically focused on religious liberty issues. It was now working with Mr. Giuliani and had as a special counsel a Trump campaign legal strategist, Jenna Ellis. A judge dismissed the suit as “improper and untimely.”

It was exactly the sort of lawsuit Mr. Trump's more experienced election lawyers viewed as counterproductive and, several people involved in the effort said in interviews, embarrassing.

In the run-up to the election, the legal team, led by Mr. Clark and Matt Morgan, had modeled its strategy on the disputed election of 2000, when only a few hundred votes separated Al Gore and George W. Bush in Florida. Mr. Bush had benefited from a combination of savvy lawyering and ugly political tactics that included the riotous “Brooks Brothers” protest over spurious allegations of Democratic fraud.

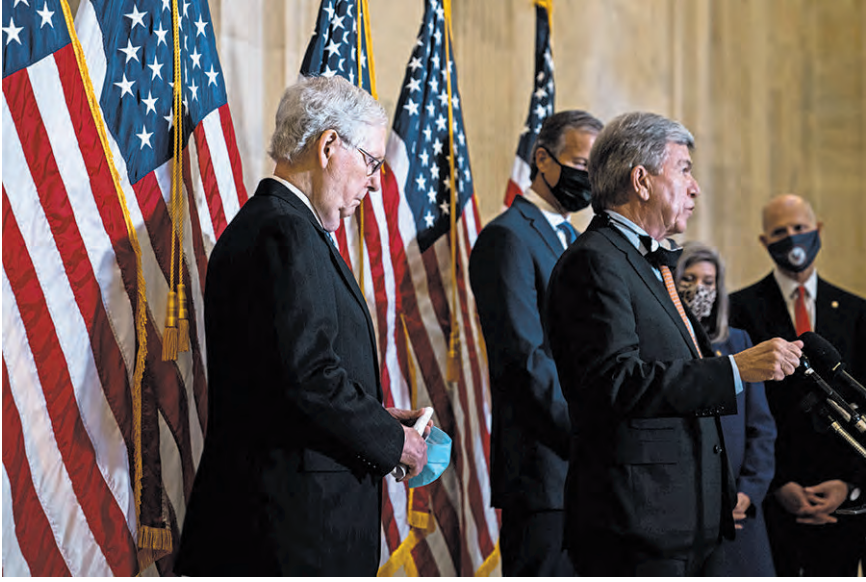
Twenty years later, the margins were far too large to be made up by recounts or small-bore court maneuvers.

Even after a recount in the tightest state, Georgia, found some 2,000 lost Trump votes, Mr. Biden led by nearly 12,000. And Mr. Giuliani's arguments that the Trump campaign could prove Dominion voting machines illegally made the difference were summarily dismissed by Mr. Trump's other lawyers, who were carefully tracking a recount of the machines' paper receipts.

“There was a literal physical hand count of every single one of those five million pieces of paper, and they matched almost identically, and we knew that within a week,” said Stefan Passantino, a



Rudolph W. Giuliani, Mr. Trump's personal lawyer, worked with the Thomas More Society, a conservative law firm, to file a suit asking that Pennsylvania's election result be decertified and that Mr. Biden be stripped of the state's delegates. A judge dismissed it as “improper and untimely.”



Senators Mitch McConnell and Roy Blunt delayed acknowledging the Biden win as Mr. Trump rallied against the results. Mr. McConnell and a Senate adviser were assured in multiple conversations with White House aides that Mr. Trump would eventually bow to reality and accept defeat.

## ‘This Is the Big One’

Before Thanksgiving, a team of lawyers with close ties to the Trump campaign began planning a sweeping new lawsuit to carry that argument.

One of them, Kris Kobach, a former Kansas secretary of state, had been a central player in some of the harshest recent moves to restrict voting, leading to frequent pushbacks in court. He had also helped lead Mr. Trump's “election integrity” commission, created after the president claimed he had lost the 2016 popular vote because of a contest between lawyers and ugly political tactics that included the riotous “Brooks Brothers” protest over spurious allegations of Democratic fraud.

Another member of the team, Mark Martin, a former North Carolina chief justice, was now a law school dean and informal Trump adviser. A third, Lawrence Joseph, had previously intervened in federal court to support Mr. Trump's efforts to block the release of his income-tax returns.

According to lawyers involved in the conversations, the group determined that the fast-approaching Electoral College vote did not leave time for a series of lawsuits to work their way through the courts. They would need to go directly to the Supreme Court, where, they believed, the conservative majority would be sympathetic to the president, who had appointed three of its members. The team quickly began working on a draft complaint.

Only one type of lawyer can take a case filed against another state directly to the Supreme Court: a state attorney general. The president's original election lawyers doubted that any attorney general would be willing to do so, according to one member of the team, speaking on the condition of anonymity. But Mr. Kobach and his colleagues were confident. After all, the attorneys general were on the Trump campaign's lawyers group, whose recruitment logo featured the president as Uncle Sam, saying: “I want you to join Lawyers for Trump. Help prevent voter fraud on Election Day.”

Yet as the draft circulated among Republican attorneys general, several of their senior staff lawyers raised red flags. How could one state ask the Supreme Court to nullify another's election results? Didn't the Republican attorneys general consider themselves devoted federalists, champions of the way the Constitution delegates many powers — including crafting election laws — to each state, not the federal government?

In an interview, Mr. Kobach explained his group's reasoning: The states that held illegitimate elections (which happened to be won by Mr. Biden) were violating the rights of voters in states that

special outside counsel, at no cost to the State of Texas. Mr. Joseph referred questions about his role to the Texas attorney general; Mr. Paxton declined to comment.

The same day the contract was signed, Mr. Paxton filed his complaint with the Supreme Court. Mr. Joseph was listed as a special counsel, but the brief did not disclose that it had been written by outside parties.

The lawsuit was audacious in its scope. It claimed that, without their legislatures' approval, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin had made unconstitutional last-minute election-law changes, helping create the conditions for widespread fraud. Citing a litany of convoluted and speculative allegations — including one involving Dominion voting machines — it asked the court to shift the selection of their Electoral College delegates to their legislatures, effectively nullifying 20 million votes.

Condemnation, some of it from conservative legal experts, rained down. The suit made “a mockery of federalism” and “would violate the most fundamental constitutional principles,” read a brief from a group of Republican office holders and former administration officials. Putting a finer point on it, Richard L. Hasen, an election-law scholar at the University of California, Irvine, called it “a heaping pile of a lawsuit.”

One lawyer knowledgeable about the planning, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said: “There was no plausible chance the court will take this up. It was really disgraced to put this in front of justices of the Supreme Court.”

Even the Republican attorney general of Georgia, Chris Carr, said it was “constitutionally, legally and factually wrong.”

That prompted a call from the president, who warned Mr. Carr not to interfere, an aide to the attorney general confirmed. The pressure campaign was on.

The next day, Dec. 9, Representative Mike Johnson of Louisiana sent an email to his colleagues with the subject line, “Time-sensitive request from President Trump.” The congressman was putting together an amicus brief in support of the Texas suit; Mr. Trump, he wrote, “specifically asked me to contact all Republican Members of the House and Senate today and less than 24 hours to decide whether to join a multistate brief.”

In fact, the Missouri solicitor general, D. John Sauer, was already circulating an email, giving Republican attorneys general less than 24 hours to decide whether to join a multistate brief.

And once again, red flags were going up among the attorneys general's staff, emails obtained by The Times show.

“The decision whether we join this amicus is more political than it is legal,” James E. Nicolai, North Dakota's deputy solicitor general, wrote to his boss.

“I still think it is most likely that the Court will deny this in one sentence,” Mr. Nicolai wrote in a follow-up email, which was also sent to the attorney general,





Thousands of Trump supporters filled Freedom Plaza on Dec. 12 in Washington, culminating the “Stop the Steal” tour organized by Women for America First. Marjorie Taylor Greene, the conspiracy theorist recently elected to Congress, urged the crowd not to give up. The rally also attracted militia groups from around the country, including the Oath Keepers and the Proud Boys.



Mr. Trump spoke on Jan. 6 at the Save America rally near the Washington Monument. He took the stage at the Ellipse shortly before 1 p.m., calling on the tens of thousands before him to carry his message to Republicans in the Capitol: “You’ll never take back our country with weakness.” As he spoke, some were already breaching the outer perimeter at the Capitol.

Wayne Stenehjem. But the brief was gaining momentum, closing in on support from two-thirds of the Republican attorneys general, 18 in all. At the last minute, Mr. Stenehjem decided to become one of them, leading Mr. Nicolai to send another email. “Wonder what made Wayne decide to sign on?” he wrote. At Mr. Trump’s urging, the Republican Attorneys General Association made one final play, asking Mr. Barr to back the suit. He refused.

On Dec. 11, the court declined to hear the case, ruling that Texas had no right to challenge other states’ votes.

### ‘We the People Decide’

If the highest court in the land couldn’t do it, there had to be some other way. And so they came the next day, by the thousands, to a long-planned rally in Washington, filling Freedom Plaza with red MAGA caps and Trump and QAnon flags, vowing to carry on. The president’s legal campaign to subvert the election might have been unraveling, but their most trusted sources of information were glossing over the cascading losses, portraying as irrefutable the evidence of rampant fraud.

The justice system has a purpose in our country, but the courts do not decide who the next president of the United States of America will be,” the freshly pardoned former national security adviser, Mr. Flynn, told the crowd. “We the people decide.”

There was encouragement from figures like Marjorie Taylor Greene, the conspiracy theorist just elected to Congress from Georgia, and Senator Marsha Blackburn of Tennessee, beamed in on a giant video screen. “Hey there, all of you happy warrior freedom fighters,” Ms. Blackburn said. “We’re glad you’re there standing up for the Constitution, for liberty, for justice.”

The rally had been planned by Women for America First, which was quietly becoming the closest thing Mr. Trump had to a political organizing force, gathering his aggrieved supporters behind the lie of a stolen election.

The group’s founder, Amy Kremer, had been one of the original Tea Party organizers, building the movement through cross-country bus tours. She had been among the earliest Trump supporters, forming a group called Women Vote Trump along with Ann Stone, ex-wife of the longtime Trump adviser Roger Stone.

With donors including the Trump-affiliated America First Policies, Women for America First had rallied support for the Supreme Court nomination of Amy Coney Barrett and defended Mr. Trump during his first impeachment.

The group’s executive director was Ms. Kremer’s daughter, Kylie Jane Kremer, who recently worked on Sean Hannity’s radio show. Two organizers helping the effort, Jennifer Lawrence and Dustin Stockton, were close to Mr. Bannon, having worked at Breitbart and then at his nonprofit seeking private financing to help complete Mr. Trump’s border wall. (In August, federal prosecutors accused Mr. Bannon of defrauding the nonprofit’s donors, after an investigation that included a raid of Ms. Lawrence and Mr. Stockton’s motor home; they were not implicated, and Mr. Bannon, who pleaded not guilty, was later pardoned by the president.)

A onetime organizer for the hard-line Gun Owners of America, according to his LinkedIn page, Mr. Stockton had come to know members of the Three Percenters

militia group. He had an online newsletter, Tyrant’s Curse, whose credo was, “A well-armed and self-reliant populace, who take personal responsibility and put their faith in God, can never be oppressed and will never be ruled.” One post featured a photo from the Dec. 12 rally — Mr. Stockton posing with several Three Percenters “brothers” in military-grade body armor.

Ms. Lawrence had personal ties to Mr. Trump. Her father was a real estate broker in the Hudson Valley, where Mr. Trump has a golf club and his sons have a hunting ranch. “He’s done business with Mr. Trump for over a decade, so I’ve had the opportunity of meeting the president and interacting with him on a lot of occasions,” she said in an interview. She also knew Mr. Flynn through their mutual association with a conservative think tank, she said.

Within hours of the last poll closings on election night, Women for America First had started organizing, forming one of the first major “Stop the Steal” Facebook groups — shut down within 22 hours for posts that the platform said could lead to violence — and holding the first major rally on the Mall, on Nov. 14. The rally permit predicted 10,000 protesters; the crowd was far larger.

“The takedown of the election was kind of put aside,” Mr. Stockton said in an interview. “It was like, ‘We have a new fight to engage in.’”

For the Kremers, Ms. Lawrence and Mr. Stockton, the instrument of that fight

would be a reprise of the Tea Party Express, a bus tour to enlist state and federal lawmakers in Mr. Trump’s effort to keep states from certifying results ahead of the Electoral College vote. Equally important, it would be a megaphone to rally the dejected faithful.

The group tapped new veins of financing, with sponsorships from Mr. Bannon’s “War Room,” which paid \$5,000, and Mr. Lindell, who said he believed he gave \$50,000. It helped the group lease the bus and paint it MAGA red, with a huge photo of Mr. Trump and the logos of MyPillow, “War Room” and other sponsors emblazoned on the sides.

As they made their way across the country, they reached out to local elected officials and branches of the Republican National Committee. But with the social media platforms starting to block groups often promoting the stolen-election theory, Ms. Lawrence explained, the bus tour would also give “people the outlet that if they’d been de-platformed, they were able to come out and be around like-minded people.”

Early on, the “Trump March” website had included promotion for banned extremists and conspiracy theorists like the white supremacist Mr. Taylor, various QAnon “doctors” and the “Western chauvinist” Proud Boys, according to a version saved by the Internet Archive. (The promotion was taken down ahead of the bus tour).

There were early warning signs of the explosion to come.

In Tennessee, a church that was to host a rally canceled after threats of violence. An evangelical pastor, Greg Locke, who had gained national attention for calling Covid-19 a “fake pandemic,” offered them his church and joined the tour as a speaker.

Following a rally in Des Moines, an armed and armored protester shot a Black teenager in the leg after she and some friends drove by taunting the crowd. An Army veteran named William McKinney who followed the Proud Boys on his Facebook page, The Des Moines Register reported, was later charged with attempted murder. (He has pleaded not guilty; his lawyer says he was acting in self-defense as the teenagers menaced the crowd with their car.)

The tour was otherwise doing what it was intended to do. Large crowds often turned out, drawn in part by Mr. Lindell. He had emerged as a star of the Trump media universe in part by standing firm as a major sponsor of Tucker Carlson on Fox, among other advertisers deserted over, among other things, Mr. Carlson’s remarks that white supremacy was “a hoax.”

In an interview, Mr. Lindell said he had sponsored the bus tour so that he could share the findings of investigations he was financing — he was spending \$1 million in all — to produce evidence of voter fraud, including for Ms. Powell’s Dominion lawsuits.

“Donald Trump got so many votes that they didn’t expect, it broke the algo-

rithms in the machines,” he told the crowd in Des Moines. “What they had to do was backfill the votes.” Ms. Powell, he said, had “the proof, 100 percent the proof.”

Mr. Trump was watching and, seeing the tour’s success, even helicoptered above the Dec. 12 rally on Marine One.

But after the 12th, the group found itself in limbo — leading a resolute movement without a clear destination.

### The Cavalry ‘Is Coming, Mr. President’

The day after the Electoral College certified the votes as expected, Mitch McConnell moved to bring the curtain down. He called the president’s chief of staff, Mr. Meadows, to say that he would be acknowledging Mr. Biden as president-elect that afternoon on the Senate floor.

Mr. McConnell had been holding off in part because of the earlier assurances from Mr. Meadows and Mr. Kushner, and he had been inclined to believe them when Mr. Trump finally freed the General Services Administration to begin the transition. Yet even now, the president was refusing to concede. “This fake election can no longer stand,” he wrote on Twitter. “Get moving Republicans.”

Perhaps most important in Mr. McConnell’s evolving calculus, internal polls were showing that the Republicans’ strongest argument in the Georgia run-offs was that a Republican-led Senate would be a necessary check on a new — and inevitable — Democratic administration.

At the training center, Kylie Kremer and Ms. Lawrence taped an episode of Mr. Yeager’s “Tactical Response” YouTube show, promoting their tour. They also documented the afternoon with a campy Facebook video of themselves cradling assault weapons and flanking Mr. Stockton, who narrated.

“See, in America, we love our Second Amendment like we love our women: strong. Isn’t that right, girls?”

Ms. Lawrence whooped, “That’s right,” she replied. “Second Amendment, baby.”

By the time the bus pulled into West Monroe, La., for a New Year’s Day stop to urge Senator John Kennedy to object to certification, Mr. Trump was making it clear to his followers that a rally at the Ellipse in Washington on Jan. 6 was part of his plan. On Twitter, he promoted the event five times that day alone.

The M.C. of the Louisiana stop, the Tea Party activist James Lyle, announced that the next day’s event in Missouri was now going to be a thank-you — Senator Josh Hawley had just become the first senator to announce that he would object.

“You’ve got to thank them when they do the right thing,” Mr. Lyle said. But talk at the rally was tilting toward what to do if they didn’t.

“We need our president to be confirmed through the states on the 6th,” said Couy Griffin, the founder of Cow-boys for Trump. “And right after that, we’re going to have to declare martial law.”

The next day, Mr. Kennedy announced that he would sign on, too.

‘Standing at the Precipice of History’

On Saturday, Jan. 2, Kylie Kremer posted a promotional video for Wednesday’s rally on Twitter, along with a message: “BE A PART OF HISTORY.”

Continued on Following Page

## 77 Days: Trump’s Campaign to Subvert the Election

From Preceding Page

In fact, under the Constitution and the law, the vice president’s role is strictly ministerial. He “shall” open envelopes from each state, read the vote count and ask if there are objections. Nothing more. But that process, at the very least, gave Mr. Trump and his congressional allies an opening to stir up trouble — and a cause to energize the base. If one senator and one House member object to a state’s results, the two chambers must convene separately to debate, then reconvene to vote. Rejection of the results requires majority votes in both chambers.

Now, Women for America First had a purpose, too. Objectors were already lining up in the House. So the group planned a new bus tour, this one to travel from state to state helping to sway persuadable senators — 11 by their count.

The cavalry “is coming, Mr. President,” Kylie Kremer tweeted to Mr. Trump on Dec. 18.

This tour took on an edgier tone. Before heading out, the Kremers, Ms. Lawrence and Mr. Stockton visited the Tactical Response marksman training center in Nashville. Its owner, James Yeager, had had his gun permit suspended in 2013 after posting a video in which he threatened to “start killing people” if the Obama administration banned assault rifles.

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### ‘Standing at the Precipice of History’

On Saturday, Jan. 2, Kylie Kremer posted a promotional video for Wednesday’s rally on Twitter, along with a message: “BE A PART OF HISTORY.”

The president shared her post and wrote: “I’ll be there! Historic day.”

Though Ms. Kremer held the permit, the rally would now effectively become a White House production. After 12,000 miles of drumbeating through 44 stops in more than 20 states, they would be handing over their movement to the man whose grip on power it had been devised to maintain.

There were new donors, including the Public supermarket heiress Julie Jenkins Fancelli. She gave \$300,000 in an arrangement coordinated through the internet conspiracy theorist Alex Jones, who pledged \$50,000 as well, The Wall Street Journal reported.

New planners also joined the team, among them Caroline Wren, a former deputy to Kimberly Guilfoyle, the Trump fund-raiser and partner of Donald Trump Jr. The former Trump campaign adviser Katrina Pierson was the liaison to the White House, a former administration official said. The president discussed the speaking lineup, as well as the music to be played, according to a person with direct knowledge of the conversations.

For Mr. Trump, the rally was to be the percussion line in the symphony of subversion he was composing from the Oval Office.

That Saturday, Mr. Trump had called the Georgia secretary of state, Brad Raffensperger, and pressed him, unsuccessfully, to “find” the 11,780 votes needed to win the state.

Mr. Barr had resigned in December. But behind the back of the acting attorney general, Jeffrey A. Rosen, the president was plotting with the Justice Department’s acting civil division chief, Jeffrey Clark, and a Pennsylvania congressman named Scott Perry to pressure Georgia to invalidate its results, investigate Dominion and bring a new Supreme Court case challenging the entire election. The scheming came to an abrupt halt when Mr. Rosen, who would have been fired under the plan, assured the president that top department officials would resign en masse.

That left the congressional certification as the main event.

Mr. McConnell had been working for weeks to keep his members in line. In a mid-December conference call, he had urged them to hold off and protect the two Republican runoff candidates in Georgia from having to take a difficult stand.

When Mr. Hawley stepped forward, according to Republican senators, Mr. McConnell hoped at least to keep him isolated.

But Mr. Cruz was working at cross-purposes, trying to conscript others to sign a letter laying out his circular logic: Because polling showed that Republicans’ “unprecedented allegations” of fraud had convinced two-thirds of their party that Mr. Biden had stolen the election, it was incumbent on Congress to at least delay certification and order a 10-day audit in the “disputed states,” Mr. Cruz, joined by 10 other objectors, released the letter on the Saturday after New Year’s.

Mr. McConnell knew that Senator Tom Cotton of Arkansas, among the most conservative Republicans, had been planning to come out publicly against the gambit. Now the majority leader called Mr. Cotton, according to a Republican fa-

miliar with the conversation, and urged him to do so as soon as possible. Mr. Cotton quickly complied.

It was coming down to a contest of wills within the Republican Party, and tens of thousands of Trump supporters were converging on Washington to send a message to those who might defy the president.

The rally had taken on new branding, the March to Save America, and other groups were joining in, among them the Republican Attorneys General Association. Its policy wing, the Rule of Law Defense Fund, promoted the event in a robocall that said, “We will march to the Capitol building and call on Congress to stop the steal,” according to a recording obtained by the progressive investigative group Documented.

Mr. Stockton said he was surprised to learn on the day of the rally that it would now include a march from the Ellipse to the White House, a former administration official said. The president discussed the speaking lineup, as well as the music to be played, according to a person with direct knowledge of the conversations.

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she praised other militant nationalist groups in the crowd, including the Oath Keepers and the Three Percenters.

Speakers including Mr. Byrne, Mr. Flynn, Mr. Jones, Mr. Stone and the Tennessee pastor Mr. Locke spoke of Dominion machines switching votes and Biden ballots “falling from the sky,” of “enemies at the gate” and Washington’s troops on the Delaware in 1776, of a fight between “good and evil.”

“Take it back,” the crowd chanted. “Stop the steal.”

As the rally wound down in a cold drizzle, groups of young men wearing Kevlar vests and helmets began appearing toward the back of the plaza. Some carried bats and clubs, others knives. Some were Proud Boys, but more sported the insignia of the Three Percenters.

One of the men, with a line of stitches running through his ear, told a reporter: “We’re not backing down any more. This is our country.” Another, holding a bat, cut the conversation short. “We know what to do with people like you,” he said.

Mr. Trump took the stage at the Ellipse the next day shortly before 1 p.m., calling on the tens of thousands before him to carry his message to Republicans in the Capitol: “You’ll never take back our country with weakness.”

As he spoke, some protesters, with Proud Boys helping take the lead, were already breaching the outer security perimeter around the Capitol. Inside, when Mr. Gosar stood to raise the first objection, to results in his home state of Arizona, several Republican lawmakers gave him a standing ovation.

Less than an hour later, the lawmakers would flee to a secure location as the mob streamed into the building.

By that point, with “all hell breaking loose,” as Mr. Stockton put it, he and Ms. Lawrence decided to take golf carts back to their room at the Willard Hotel and, “await instructions about whether to go back to the Ellipse.”

Women for America First put out a statement. “We are saddened and disappointed at the violence that erupted on Capitol Hill, instigated by a handful of bad actors, that transpired after the

rally,” it read. (The Kremers did not provide comment for this article.)

At least one of those actors had been part of their tour — Mr. Griffin, the Cow-boys for Trump founder, who was later arrested and charged with knowingly entering a restricted building. The federal charging documents cited a Facebook post in which he vowed to return and leave “blood running out of that building.” Others arrested included members of the Proud Boys and the Three Percenters.

On Jan. 15, Mr. Trump acquiesced to an Oval Office meeting with Mr. Lindell, who arrived with two sets of documents. One, provided by a lawyer he would not name, included a series of steps Mr. Trump could take, including “martial law if necessary.” The other, Mr. Lindell claimed in an interview the next day, was computer code indicating that China and other state actors had altered the election results — vetted by his own investigators after he found it online.

“I said: ‘Mr. President, I have great news. You won with 79 million votes, and Biden had 68 million,’” he recalled. (Mr. Biden had more than 80 million votes, to Mr. Trump’s 74 million; Homeland Security officials have rejected the allegations of foreign meddling.)

A couple of minutes later, Mr. Trump directed his national security adviser, Robert O’Brien, to escort Mr. Lindell upstairs, to Mr. Cipollone’s office. He told the MyPillow founder to come back afterward.

After a perfunctory discussion, aides directed Mr. Lindell to the exit. “I say it loud, ‘I’m not leaving,’” he recalled telling them. He eventually left when an aide made it clear there would be no Oval Office follow-up. The president was done.

The violence at the Capitol, and Congress’s eventual certification of Mr. Biden’s victory that day, may have spelled the end of Mr. Trump’s postelection campaign. The same cannot be said about the political staying power, the grip on the Republican faithful, of the lie he set in motion.

In the Senate, Mr. McConnell, who lost his majority leader’s gavel with dual defeats in Georgia, initially indicated that he might vote against Mr. Trump in an impeachment trial. But amid rising fury in the Republican ranks, he ultimately voted with most of his colleagues in an unsuccessful attempt to cancel the trial altogether. With only five defectors, though, any thought of a conviction seemed dead on arrival.

In the House, moves were afoot to recruit primary challengers to the 10 Republicans who had voted for impeachment.

It was all as Ms. Lawrence had predicted. “The MAGA movement is more than just Donald Trump,” she said in an interview. “This is not going to go away when he leaves office.”

Mr. Lindell now says he has spent \$2 million and counting on his continuing investigations of voting machines and foreign interference.

And Mr. Stockton recently announced a new plan on his Facebook page: a “MAGA Sellout Tour.”

“What we do now is we take note of the people who betrayed President Trump in Congress and we get them out of Congress,” he said. “We’re going to make the Tea Party look tiny in comparison.”



KENNY HOLSTON FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The president’s supporters, emboldened by the lie of a stolen election, breached the halls of Congress to stop the certification of the vote. Tear gas was eventually used to break up the crowd on the Capitol steps.



# Arrested in Riot: Organized Militants and a Mob of Radicals

*This article is by Jennifer Valentino-DeVries, Grace Ashford, Denise Lu, Eleanor Lutz, Alex Leeds Matthews and Karen Yourish.*

In the weeks since the Jan. 6 attack on the Capitol, federal prosecutors have announced criminal charges against more than 175 people — less than a quarter of those involved in the melee, but enough to provide a rough portrait of the mob and the sprawling investigation into its actions.

At least 21 of those charged so far had ties to militant groups and militias, according to court documents and other records. At least 22 said they were current or former members of the military. More than a dozen were clear supporters of the conspiracy theory QAnon. But a majority expressed few organizing principles, outside a fervent belief in the false assertion that President Donald J. Trump had won re-election.

## 11 have been charged with conspiracy.

Prosecutors have said some of the people involved in the riot could face charges of seditious conspiracy, which requires proof that rioters planned to use force to oppose the authority of the United States government or to hinder the execution of its laws. Such cases are complex because they require evidence not only of planning but also intent, and no such charges have yet been filed.

The few conspiracy charges that the government has already brought provide clues to how these investigations might grow.

Two cases with conspiracy charges appear limited in scope, including one involving two friends from Texas who posted pictures of themselves on Facebook at the Capitol with the caption “You want to steal our election, and not hear us in court? Good!

**Thomas Edward Caldwell, 66**  
From Berryville, Va.  
Charges: [Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Donovan Ray Crowl, 50**  
From Woodstock, Ohio  
[Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Nicholas DeCarlo, 30**  
Far-right media personality from Fort Worth  
[Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Lisa Marie Eisenhart, 56**  
Nurse from Woodstock, Ga.  
[Conspiracy](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Alex Kirk Harkrider, 32**  
From Carthage, Texas  
[Conspiracy](#), [Weapons crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Eric Gavelek Munchel, 30**  
Bartender from Nashville  
[Conspiracy](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

The accused came from at least 39 states, as far away as Hawaii. At least three were state or local officials, and three were police officers. Some were business owners; others were unemployed or made their living as conservative social media personalities. Many made comments alluding to revolution and violence, while others said the protests had been largely peaceful.

A New York Times review of federal cases through the end of January suggests that many of those in the horde were likely disorganized, but some groups and individuals came to the events of Jan. 6 trained and prepared for battle. The early charges set the stage for those to come as the Justice Department promises to prosecute even those accused of misdemeanor trespass, and also devotes resources to more serious crimes, like conspiracy and homicide.

Now you'll hear our civil unrest!” and a mother and son recognized from photographs with the son, Eric Gavelek Munchel, 30, carrying zip-tie handcuffs.

But other more prominent cases involving conspiracy charges cite the involvement of two major right-wing groups: the Oath Keepers militia and the Proud Boys, a nationalist organization. In both of those matters, prosecutors have already referenced other unnamed participants who they say were involved, hinting that the number of accused conspirators is likely to grow.

“As with a traditional criminal case, you build up through the organization,” said Anne Milgram, an ex-prosecutor and former attorney general of New Jersey who has been a frequent critic of Mr. Trump.

**Ryan Taylor Nichols, 30**  
Business owner from Longview, Texas  
[Conspiracy](#), [Assault](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Weapons crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Nicholas R. Ochs, 34**  
Far-right media personality from Honolulu  
[Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**William Pepe, 31**  
M.T.A. worker from Beacon, N.Y.  
[Conspiracy](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Dominic Pezzola, 43**  
From Rochester, N.Y.  
[Conspiracy](#), [Assault](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Jessica Marie Watkins, 38**  
Bartender from Champaign County, Ohio  
[Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

## At least 21 have possible ties to militant groups.

More than 10 percent of those now facing federal charges have expressed allegiance to or affinity for militant groups, according to the court records or other documentation like video footage of group events. Some hold leadership roles, while others are described by prosecutors as wearing their group's paraphernalia or discussing plans to travel to the Jan. 6 protests with members.

Four members of the Proud Boys were recently charged with conspiracy. Seven other people with possible ties to the group were arrested and publicly charged in January, including one of the group's leaders, Joseph Randall Biggs.

On Wednesday, the Justice Department charged an additional Proud Boys leader, Ethan Nordean, and still others are known to have been near the Capitol during the riot. The Times based its analysis on charges made public through Jan. 31, so these people were not included.

Three people affiliated with the Oath Keepers militia have been charged with conspiracy to interfere with law enforcement officers and obstruct a proceeding of Congress. Two others who demonstrated affinity for the group are facing other federal charges. Several more people wearing insignia of the group or moving in concert

with them appear in videos of the mob but have not been charged.

Followers of other groups, such as the Three Percenters, were also present on Jan. 6, as were people who publicly aligned themselves with white supremacist organizations like Patriot Front. While the vast majority of those who stormed the Capitol may not have pledged membership in such groups, some did adopt related language and imagery, by showing a “white power” hand sign in photos or wearing clothing with battle insignia or mockery of the Holocaust.

Although organized groups may have played an important role in the attack, most people identified so far were more loosely affiliated. In part, this reflects the slower development of cases with conspiracy charges, but it is also consistent with patterns of radicalization on the far right in recent years, said Cynthia Miller-Idriss, director of the Polarization and Extremism Research and Innovation Lab at American University.

“The majority appear to be individuals who are not card-carrying members of particular groups,” she said. “There is nothing they are identifying with other than an overarching set of ideologies and misinformation.”

### At least 11 of them have possible ties to the Proud Boys.

**Nicholas DeCarlo, 30**  
Far-right media personality from Fort Worth  
Charges: [Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Nicholas R. Ochs, 34**  
Far-right media personality from Honolulu  
[Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**William Pepe, 31**  
M.T.A. worker from Beacon, N.Y.  
[Conspiracy](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Dominic Pezzola, 43**  
From Rochester, N.Y.  
[Conspiracy](#), [Assault](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Gabriel Augustin Garcia, 40**  
Construction business owner from Miami  
[Interference with law enforcement](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Joshua Pruitt, 39**  
Bartender from Silver Spring, Md.  
[Interference with law enforcement](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Andrew Ryan Bennett, 36**  
From Columbia, Md.  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Bryan Betancur**  
From Silver Spring, Md.  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Joseph Randall Biggs, 37**  
From Ormond Beach, Fla.  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Daniel Goodwyn, 32**  
Web developer from San Francisco  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Christopher M. Kelly, 44**  
From New City, N.Y.  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

### At least 5 have possible ties to the Oath Keepers.

**Thomas Edward Caldwell, 66**  
From Berryville, Va.  
Charges: [Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Donovan Ray Crowl, 50**  
From Woodstock, Ohio  
[Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Jessica Marie Watkins, 38**  
Bartender from Champaign County, Ohio  
[Conspiracy](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Larry Rendall Brock Jr., 53**  
Former pilot from Grapevine, Texas  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Jon Ryan Schaffer, 52**  
Musician from Columbus, Ind.  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

### At least 5 have possible ties to other militant groups.

**Robert Gieswein**  
Runs a paramilitary training program, from Woodland Park, Colo.  
Charges: [Assault](#), [Weapons crimes](#), [Property crimes](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

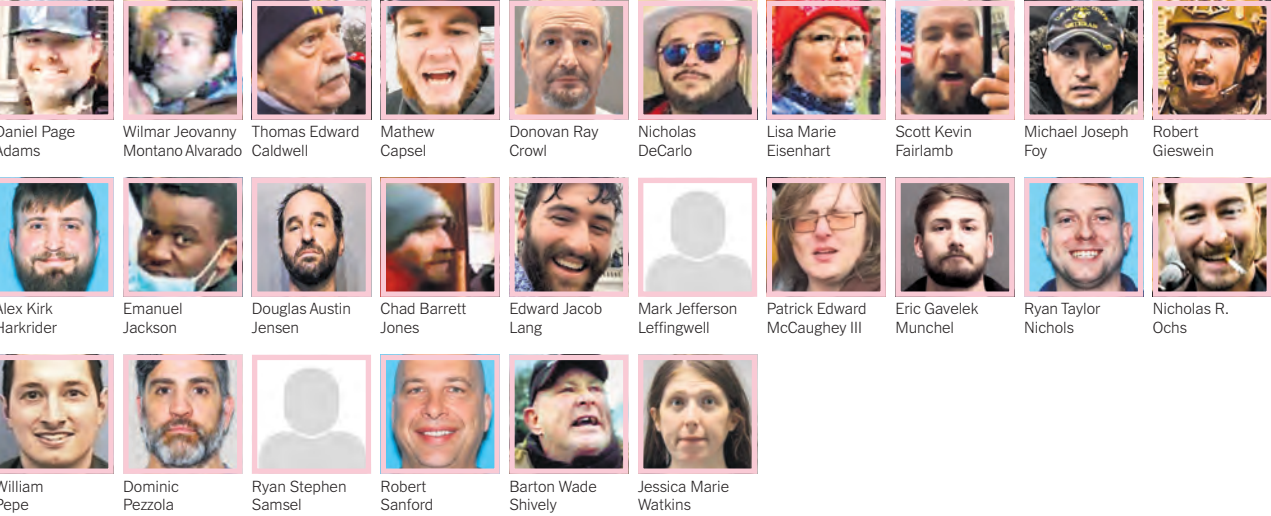
**Barton Wade Shively, 53**  
From Mechanicsburg, Pa.  
[Assault](#), [Interference with law enforcement](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Guy Wesley Reffitt, 48**  
Drilling rig worker from Wylie, Texas  
[Threats](#), [Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

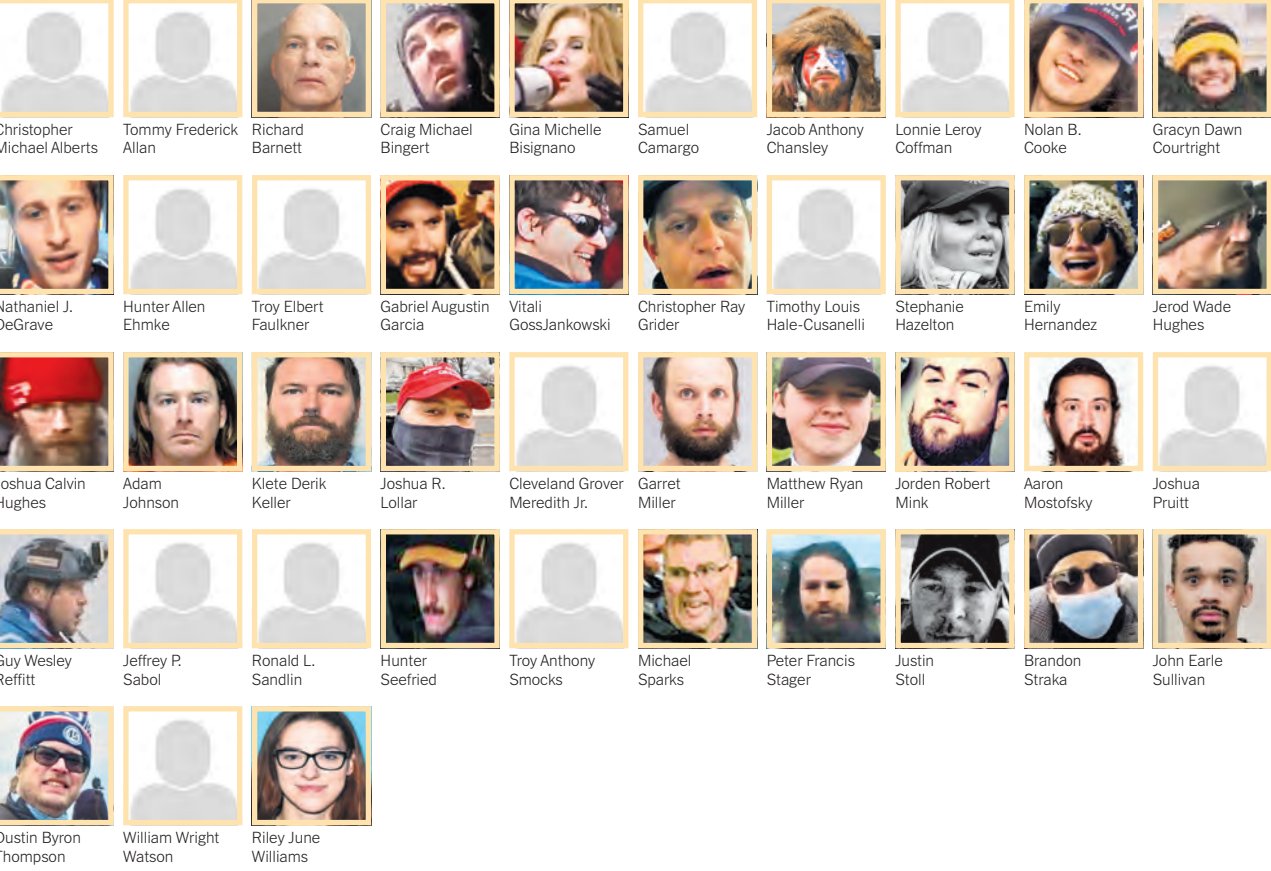
**Rasha N. Abual-Ragheb, 40**  
Licensed cosmetologist from Fairfield, N.J.  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

**Douglas Sweet, 58**  
From Hudgins, Va.  
[Trespassing or disrupting Congress](#)

## 26 are charged with conspiracy crimes or assault



## 43 are charged with interference with law enforcement, weapons crimes, threats or property crimes but not conspiracy or assault



## 107 are charged with trespassing or disrupting Congress only



Notes: The 176 people reviewed in this article had federal charges filed and unsealed as of Jan. 31. Trespassing and disrupting Congress includes illegal entry, disorderly conduct and obstructing official proceedings.

Additional reporting by Stella Cooper, Ben Decker, Cora Engelbrecht, Alan Feuer, Ben Protes, Rebecca Ruiz, Robin Stein and Christiaan Triebert.  
Photo production by Amanda Cordes, Andrew Rodriguez and Jessica White.

Sources: Court documents in federal cases identified by the U.S. Department of Justice as being related to events at the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6; Seamus Hughes, deputy director of the Program on Extremism at George Washington University; public video, images, documents and social media. | Photo sources: Court documents; Stephanie Keith/Reuters; Nashville Police, via Reuters; Toele County Sheriff's Office; Joseph Prezioso/Agence France-Presse; Pinellas County Sheriff's Office, via Agence France-Presse; Jacob Ford/Odesa American via Associated Press; Tim Fischer/Reporter-Telegram via Associated Press; Sam Thomas/Orlando Sentinel via Associated Press; Karen Warren/Houston Chronicle via Associated Press; local officials via Associated Press (Washington County Sheriff's Office, Grapevine Texas Police Department, Montgomery Jail, Polk County Iowa Jail, Dallas County Sheriff's Office, Missoula County Detention Facility, Western Tidewater Regional Jail, Cleveland Metropolitan School District, Montgomery County



# Where Every Senator Stands on Convicting Trump

**By WEIYI CAI and KENAN DAVIS**

The second impeachment trial of former President Donald J. Trump is set to begin in the Senate on Tuesday. The House impeachment managers will present their case focused on the article of impeachment charging Mr. Trump with “incitement of insurrection.”

At least 17 Republican senators would need to join all 50 Democrats to convict Mr. Trump by a two-thirds majority.

In a 55-to-45 vote on Jan. 26, the Senate

narrowly rejected a Republican effort to dismiss the proceeding as unconstitutional because Mr. Trump is no longer in office. Only five Republicans joined the Democrats in moving to go forward with the trial, suggesting that the Senate does not have enough votes to convict the former president.

If Mr. Trump is found guilty, the Senate could then vote to bar him from holding future office by a simple majority. Currently, no Republican senators openly support conviction, and no Democrats have made public statements opposing conviction.

The House impeached Mr. Trump in a bi-

Where Each Senator Stands				
	Support	Undecided	No	No response
Total	34	28	36	2
Republicans	0	13	36	1
Independents	1	1	0	0
Democrats	33	14	0	1

Note: At least 67 votes in total are needed to convict Mr. Trump.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

partisan vote on Jan. 13, saying he incited the violent mob that stormed the Capitol a week earlier.

Just over one year ago, Mr. Trump was impeached for pressuring Ukraine to incriminate Joseph R. Biden Jr., but he was acquitted in the Senate trial with only one Republican, Senator Mitt Romney of Utah, supporting the effort to remove him from office.

The New York Times began surveying senators Jan. 21 on the article of impeachment and collecting their prior public statements on the issue. Some of the statements date to when Mr. Trump was still president.

## 34 Support

**Bernie Sanders**  
Independent of Vermont  
“The Senate must now carry out its constitutional duty and convict Trump to ensure that neither he, nor any other president, can subvert our democracy again.”

**Tammy Baldwin**  
Democrat of Wisconsin  
“We need to not only hold him accountable for what he has done, but we also need to remove him from office ASAP!”

**Michael Bennet**  
Democrat of Colorado  
“The House has done its job. Now the Senate must vote to convict.”

**Richard Blumenthal**  
Democrat of Connecticut  
“The impeachment of Donald Trump is essential to protect our national security & the peaceful transition of power.”

**Cory Booker**  
Democrat of New Jersey  
“The Senate must now vote to convict him.”

**Maria Cantwell**  
Democrat of Washington  
“I do believe the president should be held accountable. When that process takes place, I’ll be voting for impeachment.”

**Thomas R. Carper**  
Democrat of Delaware  
“I now call on Republicans and Democrats in the United States Senate to immediately remove him from office.”

**Robert P. Casey Jr.**  
Democrat of Pennsylvania  
“I think if we leave this chapter of American history with no condemnation, no clear denunciation by Congress, of what the president did to incite this mob, I think we’re making a big mistake.”

**Chris Coons**  
Democrat of Delaware  
“To me, there has to be accountability, and [impeachment] is the accountability tool the Constitution gives us.”

**Tammy Duckworth**  
Democrat of Illinois  
“We must make it clear that there are consequences for inciting violence and fomenting insurrection.”

**Richard J. Durbin**  
Democrat of Illinois  
“He has repeatedly assaulted our democracy and our Constitution. He must be held accountable.”

**Dianne Feinstein**  
Democrat of California  
“I will vote to convict Donald Trump on the article of impeachment. This situation is different than the first impeachment.”

**Kirsten Gillibrand**  
Democrat of New York  
“The Senate has a duty to the Constitution and the American people to protect our democracy and provide accountability.”

**Maggie Hassan**  
Democrat of New Hampshire  
“The evidence that I have seen and understood so far indicates there’s a strong argument to convict the president.”

**Martin Heinrich**  
Democrat of New Mexico  
“He is not fit to serve as our president for one minute longer or to hold public office ever again.”

**John Hickenlooper**  
Democrat of Colorado  
“No person is above the law, and it is clear to me that the President committed impeachable offenses ...”

**Mazie Hirono**  
Democrat of Hawaii  
“I will vote to convict and bar him from ever holding elected office again.”

**Amy Klobuchar**  
Democrat of Minnesota  
“This is about making sure he doesn’t seek office again when he incited an insurrection.”

**Patrick J. Leahy**  
Democrat of Vermont  
“For the good of the country, he [Mr. McConnell] must lead his party in voting to convict President Trump and to prevent him from holding future office.”

**Ben Ray Lujan**  
Democrat of New Mexico  
“I will stand up for our republic, defend our democracy, and vote for removal.”

**Joe Manchin III**  
Democrat of West Virginia  
“A lot of us believe that if there was ever a reason for our founding fathers to have the articles of impeachment in the Constitution, this was it.”

**Edward J. Markey**  
Democrat of Massachusetts  
“We saw Trump’s betrayal of his oath of office and impeachable actions on live television.”

**Christopher S. Murphy**  
Democrat of Connecticut  
“The rule of law demands accountability, in all cases.”

**Patty Murray**  
Democrat of Washington  
“Now that the House has rightly moved to impeach him, we should act quickly in the Senate to convict President Trump, remove him from office, and bar him from holding office again.”

**Alex Padilla**  
Democrat of California  
“The case before us is clear. I will vote to convict Donald Trump and work to ensure that he and his enablers are held accountable.”

**Gary Peters**  
Democrat of Michigan  
“Donald Trump committed an impeachable offense, there must be severe consequences and he should never be eligible to hold federal office again.”

**Charles E. Schumer**  
Democrat of New York  
“For the sake of our democracy, it cannot and must not be tolerated, excused, or go unpunished.”

**Jeanne Shaheen**  
Democrat of New Hampshire  
“One year ago, I voted for impeachment because I believed President Donald Trump violated his oath of office and was unfit for the immense responsibility that is required of the United States Commander in Chief. I believed it then and I believe it now.”

**Tina Smith**  
Democrat of Minnesota  
“The Senate must convict and prevent him from holding office ever again.”

**Debbie Stabenow**  
Democrat of Michigan  
“When the article of impeachment comes before the Senate, I intend to support removing Donald Trump from office.”

**Chris Van Hollen**  
Democrat of Maryland  
“The House of Representatives has acted and now the Senate must vote to convict.”

**Elizabeth Warren**  
Democrat of Massachusetts  
“Now the Senate must fulfill its constitutional duty by convicting and barring him from ever holding office again.”

**Sheldon Whitehouse**  
Democrat of Rhode Island  
“Bring us back now, Senator McConnell, and let us cast him out.”

**Ron Wyden**  
Democrat of Oregon  
“There cannot be unity without accountability.”

## 28 Undecided

**Susan Collins\***  
Republican of Maine  
“If you announce ahead of time how you’re going to vote, I don’t see how you can render impartial justice before you’ve heard the evidence.”

**Lisa Murkowski\***  
Republican of Alaska  
“I will listen carefully and consider the arguments of both sides, and will then announce how I will vote.”

**Mitt Romney\***  
Republican of Utah  
“I believe that what is being alleged and what we saw, which is incitement to insurrection, is an impeachable offense. If not, what is?”

**Ben Sasse\***  
Republican of Nebraska  
“As a juror, I’m not announcing anything now and I’m going to be limited on what I say in advance.”

**Patrick J. Toomey\***  
Republican of Pennsylvania  
“When President Trump’s impeachment trial begins on February 9th, I will again fulfill my responsibility to consider the arguments made by his lawyers and the House managers.”

**Bill Cassidy**  
Republican of Louisiana  
“I’ll listen to the evidence and seek out as much as possible what the truth is and that will determine how I vote.”

**Michael D. Crapo**  
Republican of Idaho  
“Senator Crapo is withholding comment until after the Senate conducts due process in a trial,” a spokesperson said.

**Mitch McConnell**  
Republican of Kentucky  
“I have not made a final decision on how I will vote and I intend to listen to the legal arguments when they are presented to the Senate.”

**Rob Portman**  
Republican of Ohio  
“As the trial moves forward, I will listen to the evidence presented by both sides and then make a judgment based on the Constitution and what I believe is in the best interests of the country.”

**Jim Risch**  
Republican of Idaho  
“As a juror in the Senate trial, Sen. Risch will not commit to how he will vote before its conclusion,” a spokesperson said.

**Richard C. Shelby**  
Republican of Alabama  
“I believe we need to wait and hear the evidence. If there is a trial, which would be my third as a sitting Senator, I would sit as a juror. And as a juror, I would carefully consider the evidence presented.”

**Dan Sullivan**  
Republican of Alaska  
“When a trial is conducted, I will be a juror, and I will thoroughly examine the arguments and evidence presented, including any defense mounted by the President’s legal team.”

**Todd Young**  
Republican of Indiana  
“I’ll be looking narrowly at the article of impeachment related to incitement.”

**Angus King**  
Independent of Maine  
“Senator King supports proceeding to an impeachment trial in the Senate. Though there is an abundance of evidence that would assign guilt to the President for inciting a violent riot, he wants to hear all the competing evidence before reaching a final verdict,” a spokesperson said.

**Sherrod Brown**  
Democrat of Ohio  
“On January 6th, there was a terrorist attack on our citizens, workers, and country, and we must hold everyone involved accountable — including Donald Trump.”

**Benjamin L. Cardin**  
Democrat of Maryland  
A spokesperson said that Mr. Cardin is undecided.

**Catherine Cortez Masto**  
Democrat of Nevada  
“When the articles of impeachment come to the Senate this week, I’ll be ready to fulfill my constitutional responsibility and try the facts.”

**Tim Kaine**  
Democrat of Virginia  
“Donald Trump has disgraced the country by fomenting a rebellion against Congress to try to stop it from doing its constitutional duty. House and Senate leadership will determine the time and manner of weighing the President’s culpability and Senator Kaine will consider all arguments and evidence presented at that time,” a spokesperson said.

**Mark Kelly**  
Democrat of Arizona  
“I’m going to listen to the president’s defense, I’m going to listen to the impeachment managers and I’ll make a decision based on our democratic values and what is in the best interest for our country.”

**Bob Menendez**  
Democrat of New Jersey  
“I’m ready to sit in judgment as a member of the U.S. Senate, a solemn responsibility and one I do not take lightly.”

**Jeff Merkley**  
Democrat of Oregon  
“Every senator was a witness; every senator experienced the threat to the very foundation of our democracy. We must treat it with absolute seriousness and conduct the trial accordingly.”

**Jon Ossoff**  
Democrat of Georgia  
“Senator Ossoff is prepared to fulfill his constitutional responsibility to serve as a juror in President Trump’s impeachment trial. He will weigh the evidence presented during the trial,” a spokesperson said.

**Jack Reed**  
Democrat of Rhode Island  
“And I will do my part to uphold the law and defend the nation and the Constitution from all threats both foreign and domestic.”

**Jacky Rosen**  
Democrat of Nevada  
“During this impeachment trial, I plan to follow the facts as a juror, and will do my duty as a Senator to ensure fairness and uphold justice.”

**Brian Schatz**  
Democrat of Hawaii  
“The Senate now has an obligation to act quickly, consider these charges, and conduct a fair trial.”

**Jon Tester**  
Democrat of Montana  
“Senator Tester takes seriously his role as a juror in the Senate trial and will consider all the evidence before him before making a final decision about conviction,” a spokesperson said.

**Mark Warner**  
Democrat of Virginia  
“I’m going to reserve final judgement until I hear the case made by Mr. Trump’s lawyers.”

**Raphael Warnock**  
Democrat of Georgia  
“When the articles of impeachment make their way to the Senate, I will sit as an impartial juror and listen to the evidence.”

## 36 No

**John Barrasso**  
Republican of Wyoming  
Mr. Barrasso said that Speaker Nancy Pelosi was sending a message to President Biden that “hatred and vitriol of Donald Trump is so strong I will stop even you and your Cabinet from getting anything done.”

**Marsha Blackburn**  
Republican of Tennessee  
“It is time for our country to move forward, instead of looking backwards and fighting the same battles with each other.”

**Roy Blunt**  
Republican of Missouri  
“I believe the constitutional purpose for presidential impeachment is to remove a president from office, not to punish a person after they have left office.”

**John Boozman**  
Republican of Arkansas  
“With him already being gone, impeachment would be a significant expense and waste of time.”

**Mike Braun**  
Republican of Indiana  
“In my opinion, the Framers of the Constitution never intended for the Senate to remove a former president from an office he no longer holds and that is why I voted with forty four of my colleagues to end this divisive exercise.”

**Richard M. Burr**  
Republican of North Carolina  
“This is a civilian now. A charge like this would go to the Justice Department and be referred for prosecution. Unfortunately, that’s not what they’re doing.”

**John Cornyn**  
Republican of Texas  
“I just think it looks very petty and vindictive and I understand there are a lot of people who are mad but the process itself already looks like a railroad job.”

**Tom Cotton**  
Republican of Arkansas  
“As I’ve said since the House passed an article of impeachment against President Trump, the Senate lacks constitutional authority to conduct impeachment proceedings against a former president.”

**Kevin Cramer**  
Republican of North Dakota  
“The Senate should not be wasting its time holding another impeachment trial.”

**Ted Cruz**  
Republican of Texas  
“I’m going to vote against conviction. I don’t believe President Trump is going to be convicted.”

**Steve Daines**  
Republican of Montana  
“Trump is a departed president. He’s a private citizen. The Constitution is very clear in Article One, Section three, where it says when the President of the United States is tried, well, who’s the President of the United States? It’s actually Joe Biden, not Donald Trump.”

**Joni Ernst**  
Republican of Iowa  
“Congress would be opening itself to a dangerous standard of using impeachment as a tool for political revenge against a private citizen, and the only remedy at this point is to strip the convicted of their ability to run for future office — a move that would undoubtedly strip millions of voters of their ability to choose a candidate in the next election.”

**Lindsey Graham**  
Republican of South Carolina  
“The Senate should vote to dismiss the article of impeachment once it is received in the Senate.”

**Charles E. Grassley**  
Republican of Iowa  
“It’s one thing, according to the constitution, to impeach a president, but can you impeach a citizen? Because now it’s not President Trump, it’s citizen Trump.”

**Bill Hagerty**  
Republican of Tennessee  
“... this continued impeachment effort against a former President is an unconstitutional, political sideshow.”

**Josh Hawley**  
Republican of Missouri  
“Democrats appear intent on weaponizing every tool at their disposal — including pushing an unconstitutional impeachment process — to further divide the country.”

**John Hoeven**  
Republican of North Dakota  
“I do not believe it is constitutional to impeach a president who is no longer in office and in fact the chief justice won’t be presiding.”

**Cindy Hyde-Smith**  
Republican of Mississippi  
A spokesperson said that Ms. Hyde-Smith does not support convicting Mr. Trump.

**James M. Inhofe**  
Republican of Oklahoma  
“I agree with @RandPaul that it’s not constitutional to try a former president.”

**Ron Johnson**  
Republican of Wisconsin  
“I believe an impeachment trial of a former president is unconstitutional and would set a very dangerous precedent.”

**John Kennedy**  
Republican of Louisiana  
“Based on the information I have right now, I voted today and will vote again later in the impeachment trial to dismiss the impeachment proceedings against former President Trump.”

**James Lankford**  
Republican of Oklahoma  
“This is not a trial; this is political theater. You cannot remove someone from office who is already out of office.”

**Mike Lee**  
Republican of Utah  
“If the Senate were to adopt a broad interpretation of the impeachment power — one allowing federal officials to be convicted on impeachment charges even after leaving office — the result would not only be problematic, but also contrary to the most natural reading of the text, structure, and historical understanding of the Constitution.”

**Cynthia Lummis**  
Republican of Wyoming  
“Moving forward with impeachment at this juncture will only further divide our already hurting nation.”

**Roger Marshall**  
Republican of Kansas  
“I firmly believe an impeachment effort at this juncture will only raise already heated temperatures of the American public and further divide our country ...”

**Shelley Moore Capito**  
Republican of West Virginia  
“The Constitution does not give Congress the power to impeach a private citizen. This charge is directed at an individual who no longer holds public office.”

**Jerry Moran**  
Republican of Kansas  
“This decision will set precedent for future Congresses in regards to impeachment, and I am clearly on the side that a former president should not be subject to impeachment.”

**Rand Paul**  
Republican of Kentucky  
“I object to this unconstitutional sham of an ‘impeachment’ trial and I will force a vote on whether the Senate can hold a trial of a private citizen.”

**Mike Rounds**  
Republican of South Dakota  
“The Constitution is clear that holding an impeachment trial of a former president, former official, or — more specifically — a private citizen, is unconstitutional and that the Senate should not go down this path.”

**Marco Rubio**  
Republican of Florida  
“The first chance I get to vote to end this trial, I will do it, because I think it’s really bad for America.”

**Rick Scott**  
Republican of Florida  
“This impeachment is nothing more than political theater.”

**Tim Scott**  
Republican of South Carolina  
“I am unconvinced that the Senate has the authority to hold a trial against a private citizen.”

**John Thune**  
Republican of South Dakota  
“Our members, irrespective of what they might think about the merits, just believe that this is an exercise that really isn’t grounded constitutionally and, from a practical standpoint, just makes no sense.”

**Thom Tillis**  
Republican of North Carolina  
“On January 6, I said voting to reject the states’ electors was a dangerous precedent we should not set. Likewise, impeaching a former President who is now a private citizen would be equally unwise.”

**Tommy Tuberville**  
Republican of Alabama  
“We’re worrying about impeaching a guy that’s only going to be there seven more days. Makes no sense to me.”

**Roger Wicker**  
Republican of Mississippi  
“A second impeachment trial is sure to inflame partisan tensions and could poison the cooperative spirit we need in a 50-50 Senate.”

## 2 No response

Deb Fischer, Republican of Nebraska, and Krysten Sinema, Democrat of Arizona, did not respond.



# G.O.P. Embrace of State Militias Set Up Stark Political Shift

From Page A1

culture of militancy to pursue political goals.

Michigan has a long tradition of tolerating self-described private militias, which are unusually common in the state. But it is also a critical electoral battleground that draws close attention from top party leaders, and the Republican alliance with paramilitary groups shows how difficult it may be for the national party to extricate itself from the shadow of the former president and his appeal to this aggressive segment of its base.

“We knew there would be violence,” said Representative Elissa Slotkin, a Michigan Democrat, about the Jan. 6 assault. Endorsing tactics like militiamen with assault rifles frightening state lawmakers “normalizes violence,” she told journalists last week, “and Michigan, unfortunately, has seen quite a bit of that.”

Six Trump supporters from Michigan have been arrested in connection with the storming of the Capitol. One, a former Marine accused of beating a Capitol Police officer with a hockey stick, had previously joined armed militiamen in a protest organized by Michigan Republicans to try to disrupt ballot counting in Detroit.

The chief organizer of that protest, Meshawn Maddock, on Saturday was elected co-chair of the state Republican Party — one of four die-hard Trump loyalists who won top posts.

Ms. Maddock helped fill 19 buses to Washington for the Jan. 6 rally and defended the April armed intrusion into the Michigan Capitol. When Representative Rashida Tlaib, a Michigan Democrat, suggested at the time that Black demonstrators would never be allowed to threaten legislators like that, Ms. Maddock wrote on Twitter, “Please show us the ‘threat’?”

“Oh that’s right you think anyone armed is threatening,” she continued. “It’s a right for a reason and the reason is YOU.”

The lead organizer of the April 30 armed protest, Ryan Kelley, a local Republican official, last week announced a bid for governor. “Becoming too closely aligned with militias — is that a bad thing?” he said in an interview. Londa Gatt, a pro-Trump activist close to him, was named last month to a leadership position in a statewide Republican women’s group. She welcomed militias and Proud Boys at protests, posting on the social media site Parler: “While BLM destroy/murder people the Proud Boys are true patriots.” Prosecutors have accused members of the Proud Boys of playing a leading role in the Jan. 6 assault.

Two weeks after the Statehouse protest, Mr. Shirkey, the Republican leader, appeared at a rally by the same organizers, onstage with a militia member who would later be accused of conspiring to kidnap Gov. Gretchen Whitmer.

“Stand up and test that assertion of authority by the government,” Mr. Shirkey told the militiamen. “We need you now more than ever.”

After the riot in Washington, some argue such endorsements endanger the future of the party. “It is like the Republican Party has its own domestic army,” said Jeff Timmer, a former executive director of the Michigan party and a vocal Trump critic.

## A Long History

A quarter-century before the mob rampaged through the U.S. Capitol, a paramilitary leader from Michigan sat in the same building and delivered an early warning shot.

Norman Olson, founder of the Michigan Militia, appeared in June 1995 before a Senate committee investigating the growth of the anti-government movement after the Oklahoma City bombing that April. Dressed in military fatigues with a “Commander Olson” patch on his shirt, he spoke with contempt.

“We stand against oppression and tyranny in government,” Mr. Olson said, “and many of us are coming to the conclusion that you best represent that corruption and tyranny.”

For many Americans, it was jarring to listen to self-appointed defenders of the Constitution justifying taking up arms in a paranoid vision of government overreach. But back in Michigan they were used to it.

Roughly a dozen to 18 armed groups are scattered across Michigan in mostly rural counties, their membership fluctuating with political and economic currents. Estimates of active members statewide are generally in the hundreds. The state’s lenient gun laws — it is permissible to openly carry a firearm in public — also make it a welcoming place for other armed extremists. Members of the Proud Boys or Boogaloo movement routinely showed up at protests in Michigan last year and sometimes got into fights with Black Lives Matter activists.

For many of the more traditional militias, socializing is often as much a priority as drilling. Firearms training is mixed with camping and family outings. Last fall, members of the Southeast Michigan Volunteer Militia gathered for a picnic in a park where children tossed beanbags, mothers grilled cheeseburgers and AR-15 rifles leaned against lawn chairs. Some have websites where they sell T-shirts and carry ads for gun shops.

But woven through Michigan’s militia timeline is a persistent strand of menace. In the early 20th century, the Black Legion, a paramilitary group that included public officials in Detroit and elsewhere, began as an offshoot of the Ku Klux Klan and was linked to numerous acts of murder and terrorism.

Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols, who killed 168 people in the Oklahoma City bombing, were reported to have associated with militia members in Michigan, though Mr. Olson said they had been

turned away because of their violent rhetoric. In the aftermath, militias were largely exiled to the fringes of conspiracy politics, preparing for imagined threats from the New World Order.

But in recent years, as the Republican Party has drifted further to the right, these groups have gradually found a home there, said JoEllen Vinyard, an emeritus professor of history at Eastern Michigan University who has studied political extremism. Much of their cooperation is centered on defending gun ownership, she said.

“I think there is a fair amount of sympathy in the Republican Party for these people that wasn’t there in the past,” Dr. Vinyard said. “It’s a much closer relationship now.”

## The Covid-19 Revolt

If Michigan Republicans and militant groups had increasingly found themselves sharing the same ideological space, their common ground became literal last year, as an escalating series of events drew them together for protests and rallies. They began with objections to the governor’s lockdown orders.

Republicans have controlled both houses of the Michigan Legislature for a decade and held the governor’s mansion for the eight years before Ms. Whitmer took office in 2019. Mr. Trump’s brash nationalism had alienated moderate Republicans and independents while pushing the party to the right.

By last April 1, Covid-19 had killed more than 300 people in Michigan, primarily in Detroit, and Ms. Whitmer ordered all nonessential businesses closed. Ms. Maddock wasted no time rallying opposition, calling for a protest on April 15.

A national advisory board member of the Women for Trump wing of the president’s re-election campaign, she appeared often with Mr. Trump and his surrogates on their many visits to Michigan.

Her husband, Matt Maddock, the owner of a bail bond business who has boasted of personally apprehending bail jumpers, is a state lawmaker from a Detroit suburb.

In the first major protest in the country against stay-at-home orders, thousands of cars, trucks and even a few cement mixers jammed the streets around the Statehouse in Lansing, in what Ms. Maddock called Operation Gridlock.

About 150 demonstrators left their vehicles to chant “lock her up” from the Capitol lawn — redirecting the 2016 battle cry about Hillary Clinton against Ms. Whitmer. A few waved Confederate flags. About a dozen heavily armed members of the Michigan Liberty Militia turned up as well.

Ms. Maddock declared Michigan a “granny” that night on the Fox News Channel, though she later distanced herself from the armed men. “Of course the militia is disappointing to me, the Confederate flag — look, they’re just idiots,” she later told Bridge Michigan, a nonprofit news organization.

Mr. Trump tweeted “LIBERATE MICHIGAN” two days later, and Ms. Maddock’s protest inspired a wave of others around the country.

When local armed groups in Michigan

began discussing more demonstrations, most Republicans shunned them at first. “They were scared of the word ‘militia,’” recalled Phil Robinson, a member of the Liberty Militia.

But his group found eager promoters in Mr. Kelley, a real estate broker and Republican planning commissioner in a suburb of Grand Rapids, and Mr. Howland, a local sales consultant who had been posting online videos minimizing the pandemic. They called the stay-at-home restrictions “unconstitutional” and formed the American Patriot Council “to restore and sustain a constitutional government,” Mr. Kelley said in an interview.

As the Legislature met on April 30 to vote on extending the governor’s restrictions, Mr. Kelley and his militia allies convened hundreds of protesters, including scores of armed men, some with assault weapons. One demonstrator hung a noose from the back of his pickup. Another held a sign warning that “tyrants get the rope.” Dozens entered the Capitol, some angrily demanding entrance to

the lower chamber.

“We were harassed and intimidated so that we would not do our jobs,” said Representative Donna Lasinski, leader of the Democratic minority. Lawmakers were terrified, she added.

Mr. Maddock, the Republican legislator and Ms. Maddock’s husband, recognized some of the intruders and left the House floor to confer with them. “I like being around people with guns,” he later told The Detroit News.

Mr. Trump sided with them, too. “The Governor of Michigan should give a little — to restore and sustain a constitutional government,” Mr. Kelley said in an interview.

Other Republicans also came to accept the presence of armed activists. Ms. Gatt, who took part in protests organized by Mr. Kelley and Ms. Maddock, said she felt “intimidated by the militia when I first started getting involved,” but soon changed her mind.

“I was able to see that they are patriots that love their country like the rest of us,” she said, adding that they are “all Republicans.”

Mr. Shirkey, the Senate leader, was initially more cautious. The founder of a manufacturing company who is known for singing hymns from the podium, Mr. Shirkey issued a statement on April 30 criticizing “intimidation and the threat of physical harm” and calling the armed protesters “a bunch of jackasses.”

Yes he had mingled with them in the gallery. Surrounded by militiamen about two weeks later in Grand Rapids, at an event also organized by Mr. Howland and Mr. Kelley, the senator said in a speech that they had taken him to task for his “jackasses” comment and he effectively retracted it.

He also met privately in his office that month with a handful of militia leaders — to establish a “code of conduct,” he explained in an interview. “Do you tell your people to make sure that there’s not alive round in a chamber?” he said, recounting the conversation. “That’d be a good start.”

In May, armed men stood watch for days in May outside a barbershop in Owosso, defending the proprietor from



MATTHEW HATCHER/BLOOMBERG NEWS



MLIVE MEDIA GROUP/YIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



JEFF KOWALSKI/AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

A raucous protest last April by militia groups at the Michigan Statehouse, top, now seems a harbinger of last month’s assault on the United States Capitol. Above left, Proud Boys marched in Kalamazoo, Mich., last August, countering Black Lives Matter protests there. At right, supporters of President Donald J. Trump tried to halt ballot counting in Detroit in November, part of a two-month campaign to overturn election results.

## KEY PLAYERS



‘Becoming too closely aligned with militias — is that a bad thing?’

RYAN KELLEY, a Republican official in Michigan, was the lead organizer of an armed protest at its Statehouse in April. Last week, he announced a bid for governor.



‘We stand against oppression and tyranny in government, and many of us are coming to the conclusion that you best represent that corruption and tyranny.’

NORMAN OLSON, founder of the Michigan Militia, appeared in June 1995 before a Senate committee investigating the growth of the militia movement after the Oklahoma City bombing.



‘Oh that’s right you think anyone armed is threatening. It’s a right for a reason and the reason is YOU.’

MESHAWN MADDOCK, an organizer of the Jan. 6 rally in Washington, defended the intrusion in Michigan on Twitter. She was elected on Saturday as co-chair of the state Republican Party.



‘I like being around people with guns.’

MATT MADDOCK, Republican legislator and Ms. Maddock’s husband, recognized some of the Michigan intruders and encouraged them.



‘The optics weren’t good. Next time tell them not to bring guns.’

MIKE SHIRKEY, the Michigan Senate majority leader, initially complained privately to the organizers of the Statehouse protest.

dier in his town, Allendale. “There were children there, and militia members were pointing guns at people,” said Ali Bates, 20, an activist with the Black Lives Matter movement.

Mr. Kelley said he feared what was coming to Allendale. “Statues all over the country were getting torn down, people were lighting things on fire, there were riots everywhere,” Mr. Kelley said in an interview, echoing Mr. Trump. “You are not going to come here and destroy public property.”

He accused Democrats of encouraging violence. “The Democrats have got anti-fa; they have got BLM,” he said. “The Democrats championed all of this stuff from a leadership level.”

More prominent Michigan Republicans portrayed the Black Lives Matter movement as a looming threat, too. Ms. Maddock told the news site MLive.com that the “destruction” caused by the protests was “absolutely devastating” and “inexcusable.”

Armed militiamen responded by turning up at some protests as vigilante guards. In August, dozens of Proud Boys marched in Kalamazoo, Mich., the site of several Black Lives Matter demonstrations, saying they wanted to support the police. They took pepper spray and used it in fist fights with activists.

But Mr. Kelley’s American Patriot Council aimed its sharpest attacks at Governor Whitmer. It released public letters urging the federal authorities to arrest her for violating the Constitution by issuing a stay-at-home order. “Whitmer needs to go to prison,” Mr. Kelley declared in a video he posted on Facebook in early October that was later taken down. “She is a threat to our Republic.”

A few days later, federal agents arrested more than a dozen Michigan militiamen, charging them in a plot to kidnap the governor, put her on trial and possibly execute her.

At least two of the suspects had participated in the April 30 protest at the Capitol, as well as the gathering with Mr. Shirkey in Grand Rapids. Prosecutors said that the men had tried to recruit other conspirators at an American Patriot Council rally. (Mr. Kelley and Mr. Shirkey denied any knowledge of the plot.)

It was the culmination of months of mobilization by armed groups, accompanied by increasingly threatening language, and Mr. Trump declined to condemn the plotters. “People are entitled to say, ‘Maybe it was a problem, maybe it wasn’t,’” he declared at a rally in Michigan.

As the counting showed Mr. Trump had lost the pivotal state, Michigan Republicans began a two-month campaign to overturn the result and keep him in power, channeling the momentum of the previous year’s battles over Black Lives Matter and Covid-19.

Mr. Kelley, with Mr. Howland and their militia allies, showed up with weapons for a rowdy protest outside the ballot counting. Later that month Mr. Kelley told a rally outside the Statehouse that the coronavirus was a ruse to persuade the public to “believe Joe Biden won the election.” The Lansing State Journal reported. One woman held a sign saying “ARREST THE VOTE COUNTERS.”

When attempts to stop the counting failed, Ms. Maddock in December led 16 Republican electors trying to push into the Michigan Capitol to disrupt the casting of Democratic votes in the Electoral College. During a “Stop the Steal” news conference in Washington the next day, she vowed to “keep fighting.”

Marching toward the Capitol on Jan. 6, she tweeted that the throngs were “the most incredible crowd and sea of people I have ever walked with.”

And as the assault unfolded, she pushed back on Twitter against an observer signing Senator Mitch McConnell, the Republican leader, to take control of his party. “That’s where you’re very wrong,” she said. “It’s Trump’s party now.”

Ms. Maddock has condemned the violence and said she took no part. “When it comes to militias or the Proud Boys, I have no connection whatsoever to them,” she wrote in an email.

Mr. Kelley and Mr. Howland were filmed outside the U.S. Capitol during the riot. Both men said they did not break any laws and argued that the event was not “an insurrection” because the participants were patriots. “I was there to support the sitting president,” Mr. Kelley said.

Ms. Gatt, of Bikers for Trump, had posted a video on Facebook of herself in Washington for a rally in December and surrounded by Proud Boys.

“I hang out with the Michigan Proud Boys,” she said in the video.

During the Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol, she climbed scaffolding set up for the inauguration: “I made it to the top of the Capitol,” she bragged on Facebook.

Mr. Shirkey, the Michigan Senate leader who came around to work with the militias, declined to follow the movement behind Mr. Trump all the way to the end. Summoned to the White House in November, Mr. Shirkey refused the president’s entreaties to try to annul his Michigan defeat.

But in an interview last week, the lawmaker said he nonetheless empathized with the mob that attacked Congress. “It was people feeling oppressed, and depressed, responding to what they thought was government just stealing their lives from them,” he said. “And I’m not endorsing and supporting their actions, but I understand where they come from.”

# Departing NARAL Chief On Roe v. Wade’s Future

By LISA LERER

For Illyse Hogue, who announced on Monday that she was stepping down as the head of NARAL Pro-Choice America after eight years, abortion rights are at something of a crossroads, with Democrats facing the choice of whether to try to deliver on their promise of codifying Roe v. Wade.

When she assumed the role of president of the abortion rights group in 2013, the Democratic Party controlled the Senate and the White House and had a reliable liberal majority on the Supreme Court. Eight years later, Democrats are back in power but abortion rights face a precarious future.

During the presidency of Donald J. Trump, it became harder to get an abortion in many places across the country than it had been at any time since the Supreme Court established the legal right to an abortion nearly 50 years ago. With the court now dominated by conservatives, maintaining legal access to an abortion may face an even more precarious future.

Yet even as the abortion movement lost ground in the courts, it made major gains elsewhere, argues Ms. Hogue; the movement expanded its level of popular support and destigmatized a medical procedure traditionally seen as taboo — even among some Democrats. (Polls show that mainstream views on abortion are more moderate than those of the activists on either side, with most Americans now saying that abortions should be legal with some restrictions.)

In an interview with The New York Times, Ms. Hogue discussed the future of abortion rights in the United States, whether there was room in the Democratic Party for anti-abortion members and the ties she saw between the assault on the Capitol and the opposition to abortion rights. The interview has been lightly edited and condensed for clarity.

Let’s start with perhaps the biggest question: Is Roe v. Wade safe?

No. One of the lessons that we learned over the last eight years is that constant vigilance is required to secure all of our rights. When I came in, the whole conversation was: “Oh my God, the country is so divided. It’s all 50-50.” Everybody understands that’s not true now. Everybody understands that the majority of Americans support legal access to abortion.

We have a lot of short-term peril. And our job always has been and continues to be making sure that we minimize the pain. But the anti-choice movement and the G.O.P., which has willingly embraced them — they’re the ones who, long term, will suffer massive consequences for being out of step.

Of course, conservatives still control the most powerful weapon: the highest court in the land. I remember sitting in a conference room, Nov. 13, 2016, after Trump was elected, with my senior leadership and saying, “What is our most urgent imperative in this moment?” And it was clear to us that was building awareness of political power around the courts.

The peril to Roe, the peril to reproductive freedom comes from the courts. But the courts are powerless without legitimacy and the support of the people. And I think one of the things we’ve been so successful in doing in the last eight years is making people aware that the courts have been used for a political tool, and that they have to be held to account.

Your book and podcast, “The Lie That Binds,” tracked the history of the anti-abortion movement and your view of its ties to white supremacy. Do you see connections between the siege on the Capitol and the anti-abortion movement?

Part of, as I say, steeling the spine and building the courage for elected officials is making sure that we own the accurate history of this movement. Clinic violence during the ‘80s and into the ‘90s was the precursor for the violent extremism we’re seeing now. Why that’s been allowed to continue is because society writ large — and certainly politics — has allowed them to wrap themselves in this faux religiosity and get away with stuff we would never allow in other parts of our culture.

If you talked to any abortion provider, they know what that feels like to be under siege. So really understanding that — and that goes back to the underlying ideology of the modern-day anti-choice movement, and this is not to say every person who identifies as pro-life — but the movement is one that believes in minority control to right Christian men. So there’s just immense symmetry between these ideologies.

Now that Democrats control the White House and both chambers of Congress again, is there a danger that Democratic voters and abortion rights advocates will slip into a sense of complacency around abortion?

I mean, that’s the question, right? When I came to NARAL, the Democratic consensus toward abortion rights was mostly check the box and move on, with some amazing exceptions. And if we have to let an anti-choice member sneak through, so be it. That’s just part of the play.

That’s not happening anymore. We had every single Democratic presidential candidate release a plan on how they’re going to address the crisis in reproductive freedom. We had them outcompeting each other in debates. We saw the largest day of action ever on abortion rights against the abortion ban in 2019. I think that politically it is not a salable point anymore that you can’t be an active champion.

So is there room in the party for Democrats who do not support abortion rights?

There always has been and there always will be room in the party for individuals who have all sorts of different feelings about everything, and abortion is no exception. What there is zero room in the party for is people who would oppose the seven in 10 Americans who don’t think politicians should be governing their decisions about pregnancy and family. The opposition to abortion never, never actually mapped onto faith as much as it mapped onto hostility to social progress, gender equity, racial equity.

We cannot pretend that this is a benign difference of opinion when, in fact, you’re trading away fundamental freedoms for Americans.

President Biden has a complicated history with abortion rights and historically hasn’t always been the most comfortable discussing it. Is it acceptable to have more moderate candidates making the political calculation to not really talk about abortion at all much?

The entire country — including the president — is learning about the history of the issue and the way it’s been used as a political weapon and the damage that has caused. We’ve seen Biden evolve tremendously as he’s listened and learned. The discomfort with discussing the issue is a problem in that the G.O.P. has always depended on our silence to be able to advance an unpopular agenda. And I think that’s part of the education, and I think we’re going to see it happen in different places at different rates.

Is that part of the reason you shared your abortion story at the Democratic National Convention in 2016?

It was not something that I ever sort of had on my bucket list to share. But I felt like I had the stage, and that came with responsibility. And I couldn’t intellectually understand that breaking the silence was the foundation of shifting the politics and shifting the reality for so many women who were suffering on the ground and not practice what I preached. And so, yeah, it was very scary. You could talk to my husband sometime because I almost had a nervous breakdown. But it felt like my moment of courage, my moment of spine stiffing.

Do you think Democrats in Congress are going to codify Roe v. Wade into federal law?

I’m getting every indication that they’re going to move forward the legislation that puts us on the path to progress. But we also have the wind at our backs. The movement is stronger than it’s ever been. It’s more diverse than it’s ever been. The idea of abortion rights as a fundamental human right no longer just lives in the repro movement. We’ve seen the progressive movement writ large take it up.

The movement is stronger, but the legal environment for abortion rights is worse than it has been in a long time, right?

I think that that’s true and not true; [The state abortion bans of] 2019 taught Americans that the anti-choice movement is way more extreme than anyone understood.

And 2019 was about years and years of work to build an affirmative aspiration for more movement turning that into both political and legislative power. So the unwritten part of 2019 is proactive bills on reproductive freedom and justice moved through statehouses that we had just flipped in 2018.

We’re seeing a sea change by the right own the narrative for so long. And in that intermediary time, it’s still easy to see that they are doing a ton of damage. But right beneath the surface, you see that the pendulum is swinging the other way, and it’s not going to go back.



SENATE VOTES TO TRY TRUMP OVER CAPITOL RIOT



ALYSSA SCHUKAR FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

House impeachment managers headed to the Senate for the start of the trial on Tuesday, passing the John Trumbull painting "Declaration of Independence."

Raskin Tears Up as He Paints Picture Of 'Haunting' Sound and Siege's Fury

By MARK LEIBOVICH and NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — The speech, delivered before a rapt Senate chamber on Tuesday, will be remembered at the Capitol, probably for a long time, for its appeal to the still-raw emotions after the mob attack on the jurors' workplace and courtroom.

Representative Jamie Raskin of Maryland, the lead prosecution lawyer in the second impeachment trial of Donald J. Trump, spoke of the horror of Jan. 6: what it felt like to hear "the most haunting sound I ever heard" as members of a pro-Trump mob pounded "like a battering ram" on the doors to the House chamber.

He spoke of seeing terrified colleagues. "All around me people were calling their wives and their husbands, their loved ones, to say goodbye," Mr. Raskin said. He recounted how his daughter Tabitha and a son-in-law hid under a desk in another lawmaker's office. "They thought they were going to die," Mr. Raskin said.

And he told of how he apologized to

Tabitha for the ugly experience she had endured only a day after the family had buried her 25-year-old brother, Tommy, dead from a suicide, on "the saddest day of our lives." Mr. Raskin said he promised her the next visit to his office would be better.

"Dad, I don't want to come back to the Capitol," Tabitha replied, her father recounted, choking back tears.

Even in an era when the Capitol has become numbed to emotional appeals, this was an extraordinary speech. Although there was a parade of additional prosecution lawyers and two defense lawyers who spoke on Tuesday and who will become more familiar as the week goes on, it was Mr. Raskin, a Democrat from the Maryland suburbs, who was the emotional centerpiece of the day's proceedings.

The circumstances were of course remarkable: a second impeachment trial of a president for the first time in American history, held after he had been voted

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First Senate Trial Seemed Abstract. The Second Is a Visceral Reckoning.

By PETER BAKER

This was no phone call transcript, no dry words on a page open to interpretation. This was a horde of extremists pushing over barricades and beating police officers. This was a mob smashing windows and pounding on doors. This was a mass of marauders setting up a gallows and shouting, "Take the building!" and "Fight for Trump!"

As the United States Senate opened a second impeachment trial of former President Donald J. Trump on Tuesday amid the echoes of history, the House managers prosecuting him played powerful video images of last month's deadly assault on the Capitol that made abundantly clear how different this proceeding will be from the first.

Where the case against Mr. Trump a year ago turned on what might have seemed like an abstract or narrow argument about his behind-the-scenes interactions with a far-off country, Ukraine, the case this year turns on an

eruption of violence that Americans saw on television with their own eyes — and that the senators serving as jurors experienced personally when they fled for their lives.

Rather than a judgment of where foreign policy turns into political excess, this sequel amounts to a visceral reckoning over Mr. Trump's very presidency. At issue in the Senate chamber over the coming days will be many of the fundamental aspects that defined Mr. Trump's four years in power: his relentless assaults on truth, his deliberate efforts to foment divisions in society, his shattering of norms and his undermining of a democratic election.

Still, this trial may end up with the same verdict as the last one. On a test vote on the constitutionality of prosecuting a president after he leaves office, 44 Republicans on Tuesday stood by Mr. Trump, a measure of his enduring sway within his party and a signal

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Case Begins With a Harrowing Video of the Violence

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — A divided Senate voted on Tuesday to proceed with Donald J. Trump's second impeachment trial, narrowly rejecting constitutional objections after House prosecutors opened their case with a harrowing 13-minute video capturing the deadly Capitol riot he stands accused of inciting.

Though the presentation stunned senators who lived through the rampage into silence, only six Republicans joined Democrats in clearing the way for the case to be heard. The 56-to-44 vote was the second indication in two weeks that Mr. Trump was all but certain to be acquitted.

"The result of this trial is preordained," Senator Ted Cruz, Republican of Texas, said flatly. "President Trump will be acquitted."

Even so, the nine House Democrats prosecuting the former president aimed their opening arguments squarely at Republicans who had the power to change the outcome. They cited an array of conservative legal scholars to argue that the Senate not only had the right to try a former president for official misconduct, but an obligation. And they offered a raw appeal from the well of the Senate, where a month before lawmakers had taken shelter as the pro-Trump mob closed in.

"Senators, this cannot be our future," said Representative Jamie Raskin of Maryland, the lead manager, as he fought back tears. He described being locked inside the House chamber while colleagues called loved ones "to say goodbye" and his own daughter and son-in-law feared for their lives nearby.

"This cannot be the future of America," he continued. "We cannot have presidents inciting and mobilizing mob violence against our government and our institutions because they refuse to accept the will of the people."

It was a prelude to a case that Mr. Raskin and his team will begin prosecuting in full on Wednesday. They seek to prove that Mr. Trump spent his final months in office trying to overthrow the election, using baseless claims of widespread voter fraud to rally supporters in Washington and then encourage them to march to the Capitol to try to confront Congress as it met to formalize President-elect Joseph R. Biden Jr.'s victory.

The House managers faced off against a hastily assembled legal team for Mr. Trump that offered an at-times meandering defense, before ultimately arguing that trying the former president would violate the Constitution. It began with a circuitous presentation from Bruce L. Castor Jr., who complimented the compelling case made by the managers and then launched into a speech that appeared to confuse and bore some senators.

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A Shortage Cuts Off Oxygen to Mexico's Sickest

By NATALIE KITROEFF and OSCAR LOPEZ

MEXICO CITY — Children call him begging for oxygen for their parents. Grandparents call gasping for air in the middle of the night. People with no cash offer him their cars instead.

Juan Carlos Hernández tells them all the same thing: He has no oxygen tanks left.

After surviving his own bout with the coronavirus and then losing his job, Mr. Hernández began selling oxygen tanks out of his car. Then a second wave of the coronavirus slammed into Mexico this winter and demand for oxygen exploded, spawning a national shortage of devices that deliver the lifesaving resource.

Prices spiked. A black market metastasized. Organized criminal groups began hijacking trucks filled with oxygen tanks, or stealing them at gunpoint from hospitals, according to news media reports. And for a growing number of Mexicans, the odds of survival were suddenly in the hands of amateur oxygen sellers like Mr. Hernández.



LUIS ANTONIO POJAS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Juan Carlos Hernández adjusting the tubing connected to the oxygen concentrator he rents to a virus patient in Mexico City.

"We are in the death market," Mr. Hernández said. "If you don't have money, you could lose your family member."

The resurgence of the pandemic in Mexico left more people infected than ever — among them the country's president, Andrés Manuel López Obrador. With packed hospitals and a distrust of

the health care system pushing many to face the disease at home, the number of casualties shot up. In January, Mexico recorded more than 30,000 deaths, the highest monthly toll to date.

Mexico's total number of deaths from Covid is now the third highest worldwide, higher than in In-

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Thieves Hunt for the Treasure Buried in Your Car

By HIROKO TABUCHI

Michael Kevane, an economics professor in San Jose, Calif., didn't give a second thought to parking his 2005 Prius in his driveway one rainy evening last month. But the next morning, when his son Elliot went to start up the car, "it sounded like a jackhammer," Mr. Kevane said. "The whole block could hear the noise."

The reason for the ruckus: A thief in the night had made off with the car's catalytic converter, a critical emissions-control device that contains precious metals more valuable than gold.

Two days later, Mr. Kevane's sister, Jean, who lives in Los Angeles, had the catalytic converter stolen from her 2003 Honda Accord LX. "I thought, 'This can't be a coincidence,'" Mr. Kevane said.

It wasn't.

Stricter car emissions rules around the world — particularly in China, which has scrambled in recent years to get its dire air pollution problem under control — have sent demand for the precious metals in catalytic converters surging. That has pushed up the



JAMES TENSUAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Catalytic converters, which help scrub vehicle emissions, contain metals like rhodium, which now costs nearly \$22,000 an ounce.

asking price for some of the precious metals used in the device — like palladium and rhodium — to record highs.

From about \$500 an ounce five years ago, the price of palladium quintupled to hit a record of \$2,875 an ounce last year, and is now hovering between \$2,000 and \$2,500 an ounce, above the price of gold.

Rhodium prices have skyrocketed more than 3,000 percent from about \$640 an ounce five years ago to a record \$21,900 an ounce this year, roughly 12 times the price of gold.

The soaring prices may be accelerating the shift to electric cars, analysts said, noting that catalytic

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Resistance in Myanmar

Despite military warnings, demonstrators have remained in the streets to protest last week's coup. PAGE A10

'Imported' Ideas Upset French

Intellectuals say social theories from the United States on race and gender are a threat to French identity. PAGE A9

TRACKING AN OUTBREAK A4-8

No Spring Break for Virus

Many universities hoped to avoid the pandemic problems of the fall. Then came students and variants. PAGE A5

Help in Finding Vaccine Slots

After spending hours trying to get shot appointments for relatives, these tech whizzes built new websites. PAGE A6

NATIONAL A13-21

Shooting at Health Clinic

A suspect was taken into custody after one was killed and at least four were injured at a center outside Minneapolis, the authorities said. PAGE A20



SPORTSWEDNESDAY B7-9

U.S. Skiing Star Is Retiring

Ted Ligety, 36, is the only American man to win two Olympic gold medals in Alpine skiing. PAGE B8

New Season, New Guidelines

Major League Baseball, which hopes to play a full 162-game schedule, revamped its health protocols. PAGE B9

BUSINESS B1-6

Real Estate Power Shift

An extended lockdown in London has shaken the balance between landlords and tenants ahead of a government review of leasing legislation. PAGE B1

ARTS C1-6

Not Always So Tough

Idris Elba is best known for his work in intense dramas like "The Wire," but he has shown a gentler side in a Starz series based on his childhood. PAGE C1

EDITORIAL, OP-ED A22-23

Thomas L. Friedman

PAGE A22



OBITUARIES B10-12

A Founder of the Supremes

Mary Wilson, part of a group that had a dozen No. 1 hits and broke racial barriers, helped define the Motown sound in the 1960s. She was 76. PAGE B12





The Impeachment of Donald J. Trump

# From a Rally to a Deadly Riot

By LAUREN LEATHERBY, ANJALI SINGHVI and GUILBERT GATES

On Jan. 6, the day Congress met to certify Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s election victory, Trump supporters from across the country gathered in Washington. Some met near the Capitol, while others attended a “March to Save America” rally near the White House. In a speech there, Donald J. Trump repeated his false claims that the election had been stolen, exhorting the crowd, “You’ll never take back our country with weakness.” After the speech, the two groups converged on the Capitol. In the ensuing violence, five people died, including Officer Brian Sicknick of the Capitol Police, who was beaten by rioters.



A film is shown to Trump supporters at the “March to Save America” rally.



Pro-Trump rioters at the Capitol wrest barricades from police officers.



Jacob Chansley, the so-called QAnon shaman, inside the Senate chamber.



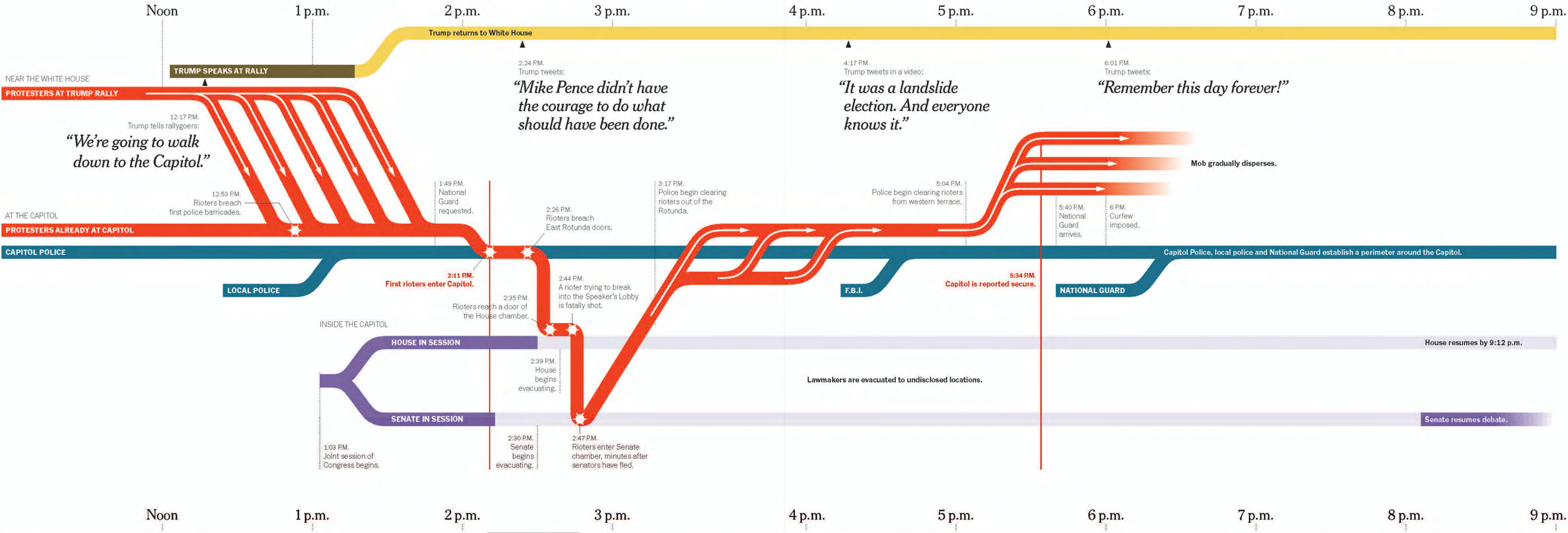
Plainclothes officers stand guard as rioters try to break into the House chamber.



Police clearing the Capitol’s western terrace of protesters around 5:30 p.m.



Members of the National Guard form a line around the Capitol after curfew.



**THE RIOTERS**

**About 8:30 a.m.**  
The “March to Save America” rally begins on the Ellipse, near the White House. Speakers include Rudolph W. Giuliani, who calls for “trial by combat.” The rally will culminate in the speech by President Trump.

**About 11:37 a.m.**  
Members of the Proud Boys, a far-right group, join protesters, who had been assembled on the Capitol lawn since 10 a.m.

**12:03 p.m.**  
Mr. Trump begins his rally speech.

**12:17 p.m.**  
Mr. Trump tells rallygoers: “We’re going walk down to the Capitol,” adding, “you’ll never take back our country with weakness.”

**12:29 p.m.**  
A video shows a large crowd walking from the rally to the Capitol.

**12:53 p.m.**  
Rioters violently overwhelm the police and breach the first barricades on the Capitol’s west side.

**1:12 p.m.**  
Trump ends his rally speech.

**1:15 p.m.**  
By the Capitol steps, rioters clash with the police. By now, reinforcements from local police have arrived to help. Both sides spray chemical agents.

**1:59 p.m.**  
Rioters make it past two barriers on the east side of the Capitol and can now approach the main doors of the building.

**2:10 p.m.**  
Another mob breaches the final barricade on the building’s west side and approaches an entrance near the Senate chamber.

**2:11 p.m.**  
The first rioters make it inside the Capitol.

**2:26 p.m.**  
Rioters breach a second entry into the building, this time the East Rotunda doors, the main entrance to the Capitol.

**2:35 p.m.**  
Rioters reach a door of the House chamber, where they smash window glass, but fail to get inside. Plainclothes officers hold them off at gunpoint.

**2:42 p.m.**  
Rioters reach the doors of the Speaker’s Lobby of the House chamber.

**2:44 p.m.**  
Ashli Babbitt is shot and killed by an officer as she attempts to break into the Speaker’s Lobby, while the last representatives are still being evacuated.

**2:47 p.m.**  
Rioters make it to the floor of the Senate chamber, where they are seen sitting at the dais and hanging from the balcony.

**THE LEGISLATORS**

**1:03 p.m.**  
Speaker Nancy Pelosi begins the joint session of Congress, where both chambers meet to certify the presidential vote.

**1:12 p.m.**  
Several House Republicans object to certification, pausing the joint session.

**1:30 p.m.**  
The Senate and House debates begin in their respective chambers.

**About 2:12 p.m.**  
As senators continue to debate, Vice President Mike Pence is ushered off the Senate floor.

**2:13 p.m.**  
The Senate is called into recess as rioters arrive near a Senate chamber door.

**About 2:15 p.m.**  
Ms. Pelosi is ushered off the floor of the House chamber.

**2:18 p.m.**  
The House goes into recess.

**2:26 p.m.**  
The House goes back into session, with rioters in the building.

**2:30 p.m.**  
The House is called into a final recess. At about the same time, senators are evacuated from their chamber.

**About 2:39 p.m.**  
Representatives begin evacuating the House chamber.

**LAW ENFORCEMENT**

**12:47 p.m.**  
Capitol Police responds to the report of a possible explosive device at the R.N.C. headquarters

**12:58 p.m.**  
Capitol Police in riot gear are seen arriving to reinforce the line of officers on the Capitol steps.

**About 1:15 p.m.**  
A second possible explosive device is found at the D.N.C.

**1:49 p.m.**  
Capitol Police requests National Guard assistance as rioters outside tear through scaffolding.

**2:14 p.m.**  
As rioters enters the Capitol, Officer Eugene Goodman diverts them away from the Senate chamber.

**3:04 p.m.**  
The D.C. National Guard is activated, but its members would not arrive at the Capitol for more than two hours.

**3:17 p.m.**  
Police officers begin clearing rioters out of the Rotunda, forcing most of them out the east doors by about 3:41.

**Around 4:26 p.m.**  
Near the west terrace doors of the Capitol, a protester, Rosanne Boyland, is trampled to death by the mob as it charges over her to attack police.

**After 7 p.m.**  
Well after a 6:00 p.m. curfew was imposed, some Trump supporters could still be seen on the streets arguing with police officers.

**8:06 p.m.**  
The Senate resumes debate over the certification of Arizona’s vote in the Senate chamber. The House would reconvene about an hour later.

**2:25 PM.** East Rotunda second-floor doors

**2:11 PM.** First-floor windows and door

**MAJOR ENTRY POINTS FOR MOB**

**OTHER BREACHES:** ● 1ST FL. ● 2ND FL.

**WOMAN FATALLY SHOT**

**About 4:14 p.m.**  
An F.B.I. SWAT team is seen at the building.

**5:04 p.m.**  
The police begin clearing rioters from the western terrace.

**5:34 p.m.**  
The sergeant-at-arms, who is responsible for the security of Congress, tells lawmakers that the Capitol is now secure.

**5:40 p.m.**  
The D.C. National Guard arrives at the Capitol and begins support operations.

**6 p.m.**  
Curfew begins in Washington, D.C. Officers arrest many who defy the order.

**6:14 p.m.**  
Capitol Police, local police and the National Guard establish a perimeter on the west side of the Capitol.



# Step-by-Step Guide to Impeachment

By WEIYI CAI

Donald J. Trump is facing an impeachment trial in the Senate that could disqualify him from future office. The House swiftly impeached Mr. Trump just one week after a violent mob stormed the Capitol, charging him with “incitement of insurrection.” Mr. Trump is the first president to be impeached and stand trial twice. Here’s how Mr. Trump’s second impeachment has unfolded so far.

A violent mob stormed the Capitol after a Trump rally on Jan. 6.

JAN. 11

### Article of Impeachment

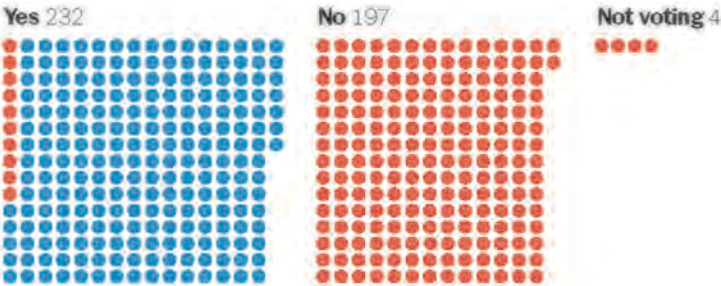
The House introduced one article of impeachment against Mr. Trump for his role in whipping up a mob that stormed the Capitol.

The House passed a resolution on Jan. 12 that called on former Vice President Mike Pence to invoke the 25th Amendment to strip Mr. Trump of his powers. Mr. Pence refused.

JAN. 13

### House Impeachment Vote

The House passed the article of impeachment, impeaching Mr. Trump for the second time.



Ten House Republicans voted for impeachment, which was more defections from the president's party than for any previous president who faced impeachment.

Mr. Trump's term ended on Jan. 20.

JAN. 25

### Delivery to the Senate

House managers delivered the article of impeachment to the Senate.

#### HOUSE MANAGERS

They are playing the role of prosecutors in the Senate trial.



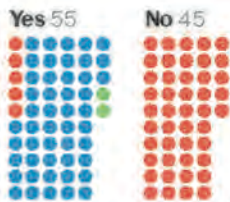
JAN. 26

### Senate Trial Preparation

Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont and the Senate president pro tempore, was sworn in to preside over the trial and all 100 senators swore an impeachment oath to “do impartial justice.”

### Motion to Dismiss the Trial

The Senate voted narrowly to table, or kill, the Republican effort to dismiss the trial as unconstitutional because Mr. Trump is no longer in office.



All but five Senate Republicans voted against moving forward with the trial, suggesting that there are not enough votes to convict Mr. Trump.

### Writ of Summons

The Senate issued a summons to the former president, asking him to respond to the article of impeachment by Feb. 2.

JAN. 31

### Mr. Trump's Defense Team

Mr. Trump announced two members of his defense team just a week before the trial, after parting ways with his initial team.



Mr. Castor is a former Pennsylvania prosecutor best known for declining to prosecute Bill Cosby.

FEB. 2

### House's Trial Brief

The House impeachment managers filed a 80-page trial brief. They argued that Mr. Trump was “singularly responsible” for the Capitol riot and cited the Constitution’s framers in urging that Mr. Trump be convicted and disqualified from ever holding office again.

### Trump's Response

Mr. Trump’s lawyers filed a 14-page response. They denied that he incited the deadly assault on the Capitol and argued that the Senate had no power to try a former president.

FEB. 4

### Call for Trump to Testify

The House impeachment managers issued a surprise request for Mr. Trump to testify under oath in his Senate trial. It was quickly rejected by his lawyers.

FEB. 9

### Trump's Trial Brief

Mr. Trump’s lawyers filed a 78-page brief, denouncing the impeachment case against him as partisan “political theater.” The House managers answered with a memo rebutting Mr. Trump’s effort to dismiss the charge.

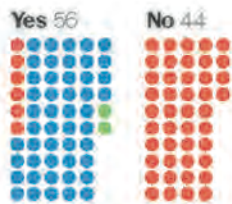
FEB. 9

### The Trial

The Senate passed a resolution on the rules and procedures governing the trial.

### Debate on Senate's Jurisdiction Over Trump

The House prosecutors and Mr. Trump’s defense team debated the constitutionality of whether a former president can be tried by the Senate. Senators then voted to proceed with the trial.



In 1876, the Senate held an impeachment trial of a former war secretary, William Belknap, who had resigned just before the House impeached him.

### Pass

A majority of the Senate voted yes.

### Oral Arguments

The House managers and Mr. Trump’s defense lawyers have up to 16 hours each to present their cases.

### Senator Questions

Senators have up to four hours to question both parties.

### Question on Witnesses and Documents

If the managers request witnesses, the Senate will debate and then vote on whether to consider motions to subpoena witnesses and documents.

### Closing Arguments

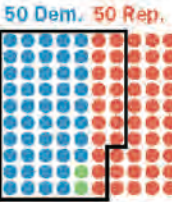
Both sides may provide closing statements for up to four hours in total.

### Deliberation

### Senate Vote

The Senate will vote on the article of impeachment. A two-thirds vote is needed for conviction.

### Current Senate



Democratic totals include two independents.

### TWO-THIRDS VOTE

#### Fail

Less than two-thirds of the Senate votes yes.

Trump is acquitted

The Senate could consider other motions such as censure. If a censure motion is brought to a vote, a majority is required.

The Senate tried to vote on a censure after President Bill Clinton’s acquittal, but it failed.

#### Pass

More than two-thirds of the Senate votes yes.

Trump is convicted

### Disqualification From Future Office

The Senate may subsequently vote on whether to bar Mr. Trump from ever holding office again.

### MAJORITY VOTE

#### Fail

Less than half of the Senate votes yes.

#### Pass

More than half of the Senate votes yes.



SENATE ACQUITS TRUMP IN CAPITOL RIOT;  
7 REPUBLICANS JOIN IN VOTE TO CONVICT



The House impeachment managers on Saturday. They documented the desecration of the Capitol and the mind-set of the rioters.

Clearest Record of the Attack, the Close Calls and the Near Misses

By PETER BAKER  
and SABRINA TAVERNISE

The pure savagery of the mob that rampaged through the Capitol that day was breathtaking, as cataloged by the injuries inflicted on those who tried to guard the nation's elected lawmakers. One police officer lost an eye, another the tip of his finger. Still another was shocked so many times with a Taser gun that he had a heart attack.

They suffered cracked ribs, two smashed spinal disks and multiple concussions. At least 81 members of the Capitol force and 65 members of the Metropolitan Police Department were injured, not even counting the officer killed

that day or two others who later died by suicide. Some officers described it as worse than when they served in combat in Iraq.

And through it all, President Donald J. Trump served as the inspiration if not the catalyst. Even as he addressed a rally beforehand, supporters could be heard on the video responding to him by shouting, "Take the Capitol!" Then they talked about calling the president at the White House to report on what they had done. And at least one of his supporters read over a bullhorn one of the president's angry tweets to charge up the crowd.

Though Mr. Trump escaped conviction, the Senate impeachment trial has served at least one purpose: It stitched together the

Trial Provides Pictures  
of Brutality for the  
History Books

most comprehensive and chilling account to date of last month's deadly assault on the Capitol, ensuring that the former president's name will be inextricably associated with a violent attempt to subvert the peaceful transfer of power, the first in American history. In the new details it revealed and the methodical, minute-by-minute assembly of known facts it presented, the trial proved revelatory for many Americans — and

even for some who lived through the events.

There were close calls and near misses as the invaders, some wearing military-style tactical gear, some carrying baseball bats or flagpoles or shields seized from the police, came just several dozen steps from the vice president and members of Congress. There was almost medieval-level physical combat captured in body-cam footage and the panicked voices of officers on police dispatch tapes

Continued on Page 18

**McCONNELL** Damning criticism after a vote to acquit. PAGE 22

**NO EXONERATION** The verdict was an escape. News Analysis. PAGE 23

POLITICAL MEMO  
G.O.P. Defines Itself  
With Act of Fealty

By ALEXANDER BURNS

During the first trial of Donald J. Trump, 13 months ago, the former president commanded near-total fealty from his party. His conservative defenders were ardent and numerous, and Republican votes to convict him — for pressuring Ukraine to help him smear Joseph R. Biden Jr. — were virtually nonexistent.

In his second trial, Mr. Trump, no longer president, received less ferocious Republican support. His apologists were sparser in number and seemed to lack enthusiasm. Far fewer conservatives defended the substance of his actions, instead dwelling on technical complaints while skirting the issue of his guilt on the charge of inciting the Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol.

And this time, seven Republican senators voted with Democrats to convict Mr. Trump — the most bipartisan rebuke ever delivered in an impeachment process. Several others, including Mitch McConnell, the minority leader, intimated that Mr. Trump might deserve to face criminal prosecution.

Mr. McConnell, speaking from the Senate floor after the vote, denounced Mr. Trump's "unconscionable behavior" and held him responsible for having given "inspiration to lawlessness and violence."

Yet Mr. McConnell had joined with the great majority of Republicans just minutes earlier to find Mr. Trump not guilty, leaving the chamber well short of the two-thirds majority needed to convict the former president.

The vote stands as a pivotal moment for the party Mr. Trump molded into a cult of personality, one likely to leave a deep blemish in the historical record. Now that Republicans have passed up an opportunity to banish him through impeachment, it is not clear when — or how — they might go about transforming their party into something other than a vessel for a semiretired demagogue who was repudiated by a majority of voters.

Defeated by President Biden, stripped of his social-media megaphone, impeached again by the House of Representatives and accused of betraying his oath by a handful of Republican dissenters, Mr. Trump nonetheless

Continued on Page 20

A 57-to-43 Tally Falls  
10 Votes Short of a  
Guilty Verdict

By NICHOLAS FANDOS

WASHINGTON — A Senate still bruised from the most violent attack on the Capitol in two centuries acquitted former President Donald J. Trump on Saturday in his second impeachment trial, as all but a few Republicans locked arms to reject a case that he incited the Jan. 6 rampage in a last-ditch attempt to cling to power.

Under the watch of National Guard troops still patrolling the building, a bipartisan majority cast votes to find Mr. Trump guilty of the House's single charge of "incitement of insurrection." They included seven Republicans, more members of a president's party than have ever returned an adverse verdict in an impeachment trial.

But with most of Mr. Trump's party coalescing around him, the 57-to-43 tally fell 10 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to convict and allow the Senate to move to disqualify him from holding future office.

Among the Republicans breaking ranks to find guilty the man who led their party for four tumultuous years, demanding absolute loyalty, were Senators Richard

Article I:  
Incitement of Insurrection

With 100 senators present, 67 votes were needed to convict.

	TOTAL	DEM.	REP.
GUILTY	57	50	7
NOT GUILTY	43	0	43

Burr of North Carolina, Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, Susan Collins of Maine, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, Mitt Romney of Utah, Ben Sasse of Nebraska and Patrick J. Toomey of Pennsylvania.

The verdict brought an abrupt end to the fourth presidential impeachment trial in American history, and the only one in which the accused had left office before being tried. But it was unlikely to be the final word for Mr. Trump, his badly divided party or the sprawling criminal and congressional investigations into the assault.

It left behind festering wounds in Washington and around the country after a 39-day stretch unlike any in the nation's history — encompassing a deadly riot at the

Continued on Page 19

Erratic Flow  
Of Aid Helps  
And Hinders

By JASON DePARLE

When the coronavirus pandemic struck last March, Kathryn Stewart was working at a gas station in rural Michigan and living in her mother's trailer with eight relatives, three dogs and a budget with no room for error. Her mother, who is disabled, soon urged her to quit to avoid bringing home the disease. Ms. Stewart reluctantly agreed, wondering how she would support herself and her 10-year-old son.

An expanded safety net caught her, after being rushed into place by Congress last spring with rare bipartisan support.

To her surprise, Ms. Stewart not only received unemployment insurance, but a weekly bonus of \$600 more than tripled her income. A stimulus check offered additional help, as did a modest food stamp increase. Despite opaque rules and confounding delays, the outpouring of government aid lifted her above the poverty line.

Six months later, after temporary aid expired and deadlock in Washington returned, Ms. Stewart's benefits fell to a trickle, and she was all but homeless after a family fight forced her from the trailer to a friend's spare room.



Kathryn Stewart of Michigan had a budget with no room for error; then she got her stimulus check.

She skipped meals to feed her son, sold possessions to conjure cash and suffered anxiety attacks so severe they sometimes kept her in bed.

Just as Ms. Stewart finally found a job, celebration turned to shock: The state demanded that she repay the jobless aid she had received, claiming she had been ineligible. That left her with an eye-popping debt of more than \$12,000.

"I spent the whole day just trying to breathe," Ms. Stewart said the day the notice arrived. "I'm re-

ally confused about the whole thing. I'm trying not to panic."

In the robust aid she received and its painful disappearance, Ms. Stewart's experience captures both sides of the gyrating federal efforts to fortify the safety net in a crisis of historic proportions.

As the virus ravaged jobs last spring, rapid federal action protected millions of people from hardship and showed that government can be a powerful force in reducing poverty.

Yet the expiration of aid a few months later also underscored

how vulnerable the needy are to partisan standoffs in an age of polarized government. Gaps in aid left families short on food and rent, uncertainty made it impossible to plan and confusion joined fear and worry.

In his first weeks in office, President Biden appears to have both lessons in mind. A benefit extension passed in December expires next month, and he is urging Congress to spend big and move fast to keep 11 million workers from losing unemployment aid. Demo-

Continued on Page A8

Despite Bumps, New York's Move  
To Open Schools Pays Dividends

By ELIZA SHAPIRO

For Julie Zuckerman, an elementary school principal in Manhattan, last summer felt like one never-ending day filled with fear and confusion about New York City's plan to resume in-person teaching. But in the months since classrooms opened in September, something has shifted.

Teachers at the school, Public School 513 in Washington Heights, appear more at ease, and some say they would like to be in their classrooms even when the building closes because of coronavirus cases. Parents, too, seem more confident: About half of the students are in the building most days, up from less than a third in September.

Ms. Zuckerman expects that even more children will return this spring.

"People have made their peace; they're not in crisis in the same way," she said. "I feel there's a huge night-and-day difference between what was going on last spring and what's happened this year."

New York's push to become the first big school district in the country to reopen classrooms last fall was a high-stakes and risky experiment. It has had its share of miscommunication, logistical stumbles and disruptions — especially when classrooms and



Some help to keep distant at a school in Washington Heights.

school buildings are frequently closed because of virus cases.

But in interviews, parents, teachers, principals and union leaders also provided reasons for optimism at the midpoint of the academic year. In-school transmission of the coronavirus been very low, and there has also been broad agreement that children have benefited from being in classrooms.

"Having the kids here is so much better for them, for everyone," Ms. Zuckerman said.

The strength of the plan will be tested again in the coming weeks, as about 62,000 middle school students are set to return to classrooms for the first time since November. New York also offers the clearest preview in the United States of what other big city districts — most prominently Chi-

Continued on Page 10

INTERNATIONAL 12-15

**The Russian Resistance**  
Even as a boy, Aleksei A. Navalny resisted authority. Now he poses a threat to the country's ultimate authority, President Vladimir V. Putin. PAGE 15

SUNDAY BUSINESS

**Silicon Valley's Disrupters**  
Slate Star Codex, a blog for a community called the Rationalists, was a window into the psyche of tech leaders building the future. Then it vanished. PAGE 1

AT HOME

**Pack Your 'Vaccine Passport'**  
Travel may soon require digital documentation showing that passengers have been vaccinated or tested for Covid. Your questions answered. PAGE 3

SPORTS 28-30

**With Fans, It Feels Like Sports**  
Before the coronavirus flared again in Melbourne, the crowds at the Australian Open showed the sports world what it has been missing. PAGE 28

SUNDAY REVIEW

**Keith Olbermann** PAGE 4





## The Impeachment of Donald J. Trump

## Senate Acquits Trump in Riot, as 7 Republicans Vote to Convict

## How They Voted

With 100 senators present,  
67 votes were needed to convict.

Impeachment Article:  
Incitement of Insurrection

	GUILTY	NOT GUILTY
Democrats	48	0
Independents	2	0
Republicans	7	43
<b>Total</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>43</b>

VOTED: ■ FOR □ AGAINST

Conviction  
Call for witnesses  
Constitutionality

<b>Democrats</b>		
■ ■ ■ Mark Kelly	ARIZ.	
■ ■ ■ Kyrsten Sinema		
■ ■ ■ Dianne Feinstein	CALIF.	
■ ■ ■ Alex Padilla		
■ ■ ■ Michael Bennet	COLOR.	
■ ■ ■ John Hickenlooper		
■ ■ ■ Richard Blumenthal	CONN.	
■ ■ ■ Christopher S. Murphy		
■ ■ ■ Thomas R. Carper	DEL.	
■ ■ ■ Chris Coons		
■ ■ ■ Jon Ossoff	GA.	
■ ■ ■ Raphael Warnock		
■ ■ ■ Mazie Hirono	HAWAII	
■ ■ ■ Brian Schatz		
■ ■ ■ Tammy Duckworth	ILL.	
■ ■ ■ Richard J. Durbin		
■ ■ ■ Benjamin L. Cardin	M.D.	
■ ■ ■ Chris Van Hollen		
■ ■ ■ Edward J. Markey	MASS.	
■ ■ ■ Elizabeth Warren		
■ ■ ■ Gary Peters	MICH.	
■ ■ ■ Debbie Stabenow		
■ ■ ■ Amy Klobuchar	MINN.	
■ ■ ■ Tina Smith		
■ ■ ■ Jon Tester	MONT.	
■ ■ ■ Catherine Cortez Masto	NEV.	
■ ■ ■ Jacky Rosen		
■ ■ ■ Maggie Hassan	N.H.	
■ ■ ■ Jeanne Shaheen		

■ ■ ■ Cory Booker	N.J.	
■ ■ ■ Bob Menendez		
■ ■ ■ Martin Heinrich	N.M.	
■ ■ ■ Ben Ray Lujan		
■ ■ ■ Kirsten Gillibrand	N.Y.	
■ ■ ■ Chuck Schumer		
■ ■ ■ Sherrod Brown	OHIO	
■ ■ ■ Jeff Merkley	ORE.	
■ ■ ■ Ron Wyden		

■ ■ ■ Bob Casey	PA.	
■ ■ ■ Jack Reed	R.I.	
■ ■ ■ Sheldon Whitehouse		
■ ■ ■ Patrick J. Leahy	VT.	
■ ■ ■ Tim Kaine	VA.	
■ ■ ■ Mark Warner		

■ ■ ■ Maria Cantwell	WASH.	
■ ■ ■ Patty Murray		
■ ■ ■ Joe Manchin III	W.VA.	
■ ■ ■ Tammy Baldwin	WIS.	

<b>Independents</b>		
■ ■ ■ Angus King	MAINE	
■ ■ ■ Bernie Sanders	VT.	

<b>Republicans</b>		
□ □ □ Richard C. Shelby	ALA.	
□ □ □ Tommy Tuberville		
■ ■ ■ Lisa Murkowski	ALASKA	
□ □ □ Dan Sullivan		
□ □ □ John Boozman	ARK.	
□ □ □ Tom Cotton		
□ □ □ Marco Rubio	FLA.	
□ □ □ Rick Scott		
□ □ □ Michael D. Crapo	IDAHO	
□ □ □ Jim Risch		
□ □ □ Mike Braun	IND.	
□ □ □ Todd Young		
□ □ □ Joni Ernst	IOWA	
□ □ □ Charles E. Grassley		
□ □ □ Roger Marshall	KAN.	
□ □ □ Jerry Moran		

□ □ □ Mitch McConnell	KY.	
□ □ □ Rand Paul		
■ ■ ■ Bill Cassidy	LA.	
□ □ □ John Kennedy		

■ ■ ■ Susan Collins	MAINE	
□ □ □ Cindy Hyde-Smith	MISS.	
□ □ □ Roger Wicker		
□ □ □ Roy Blunt	MO.	
□ □ □ Josh Hawley		
□ □ □ Steve Daines	MONT.	
□ □ □ Deb Fischer	NEB.	
■ ■ ■ Ben Sasse		

■ ■ ■ Richard M. Burr	N.C.	
□ □ □ Thom Tillis		

□ □ □ Kevin Cramer	N.D.	
□ □ □ John Hoeven		

□ □ □ Rob Portman	OHIO	
□ □ □ James M. Inhofe	OKLA.	
□ □ □ James Lankford		

■ ■ ■ Patrick J. Toomey	PA.	
■ ■ ■ Lindsey Graham	S.C.	
□ □ □ Tim Scott		

□ □ □ Mike Rounds	S.D.	
□ □ □ John Thune		

□ □ □ Marsha Blackburn	TENN.	
□ □ □ Bill Hagerty		

□ □ □ John Cornyn	TEXAS	
□ □ □ Ted Cruz		

□ □ □ Mike Lee	UTAH	
■ ■ ■ Mitt Romney		

□ □ □ Shelley Moore Capito	W.VA.	
□ □ □ Ron Johnson	WIS.	

□ □ □ John Barrasso	WYO.	
□ □ □ Cynthia Lummis		

WEIYI CAI, ANNIE DANIEL, JON HUANG,  
JASMINE C. LEE, ALICIA PARLAPANO AND  
ANDREW SONDERN/THE NEW YORK TIMES



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

House managers won a vote Saturday morning to admit witnesses, but it was ultimately shelved in a deal that allowed the proceedings to move forward.

## Ex-President Avoids Senate Ruling for Second Time as Majority Falls 10 Votes Short

From Page 1

Capitol, an impeachment of one president, the inauguration of another and a brief but rancorous trial in the Senate.

It took only five days to reach a verdict, partly because Democrats and Republicans were united in their desire to avoid a prolonged proceeding and partly because Mr. Trump's allies made clear before it even began that they were not prepared to hold him responsible. Most of the jury of senators had themselves witnessed the events that gave rise to the charge, having fled for their own lives, along with the vice president, as the mob closed in last month while they met to formalize President Biden's victory.

Party leaders and even the president's most loyal supporters in the Senate did not defend his actions — a monthslong campaign, seeded with election lies, to overturn his decisive loss to Mr. Biden that culminated when Mr. Trump told thousands of his supporters to “fight like hell” and they did. Instead, in the face of a meticulous case brought by nine House prosecutors, they found safe harbor in technical arguments that the trial itself was not valid because Mr. Trump was no longer in office.

But their overriding political calculation was clear. After party leaders briefly entertained using the process to purge Mr. Trump from their ranks, Republicans doubled down on a bet made five years ago: that it was better not to stoke another open confrontation with a man millions of their voters still singularly embrace.

Senator Mitch McConnell, Republican of Kentucky and the minority leader, embodied the tortured balancing act, denouncing Mr. Trump on Saturday, minutes after voting to acquit him, for a “disgraceful dereliction of duty.” In blistering remarks from the Senate floor, Mr. McConnell, who had openly considered voting to convict Mr. Trump, effectively argued that he was guilty as charged, while arguing that there was nothing the Senate could do about it.

“There is no question — none — that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of the day,” Mr. McConnell said. “The leader of the free world cannot spend weeks thundering that shadowy forces are stealing our country and then feign surprise when people believe him and do reckless things.”

But Mr. McConnell, who refused to call the Senate back into session to hold the trial while Mr. Trump was still in office, argued that he could not be convicted

once he no longer was. Mr. McConnell said the only way to punish him now was through the criminal justice system. Mr. Trump, he said, “didn’t get away with anything yet.”

Minutes after the verdict, Mr. Trump, barred from Twitter, broke an uncharacteristic silence he had maintained during the trial with a defiant statement issued from his post-presidential home in Florida, calling the proceeding “yet another phase of the greatest witch hunt in the history of our country.”

He expressed no remorse for his actions, and strongly suggested that he planned to continue to be a force in politics for a long time to come.

“In the months ahead, I have much to share with you, and I look forward to continuing our incredible journey together to achieve American greatness for all of our people,” Mr. Trump said.

The “not guilty” verdict left him free to run for office again, but it remained unclear whether he could recover after he became the first president to seriously threaten the peaceful transfer of power. Public polling suggests Republicans have pulled their support in droves since the events of last month, but an acquittal is likely to empower Mr. Trump with the party’s activist base and further stoke the party’s gaping divisions.

Democrats, for their part, condemned the verdict but intended to quickly turn Washington’s focus to the new president’s ambitious legislative agenda and the coronavirus pandemic passing grim new milestones each day. The outcome promised to leave Mr. Biden, who took office pledging to “end this uncivil war,” with the party’s activist base and further stoke the party’s gaping divisions.

In a statement late Saturday night, Mr. Biden acknowledged the challenges, saying: “This sad chapter in our history has reminded us that democracy is fragile. That it must always be defended. That we must be ever vigilant.” He pointed to the vote tally to suggest that “while the final vote did not lead to a conviction, the substance of the charge is not in dispute.”

But that did not mean party leaders were willing to forgo a potential political advantage. Speaker Nancy Pelosi quickly batted down the idea of a bipartisan censure resolution, saying it would let “cowardly senators” off the hook and constitute “a slap in the face of the Constitution.”

“Five years ago, Republican senators lamented what might become of their party if Donald Trump became their presidential nominee and standard-bearer,” Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York and the minority leader, said moments after the

vote. “Just look at what has happened. Look at what Republicans have been forced to defend. Look at what Republicans have chosen to forgive.”

In a Capitol still ringed by fencing and barbed wire, the presiding officer, Senator Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, set the question before senators shortly before 4 p.m.: “Senators, how say you? Is the respondent, Donald John Trump, guilty or not guilty?”

Seated at mahogany desks defiled just weeks before by insurrectionists in search of material they could use to stop Mr. Biden’s victory, senators wearing masks to guard against spreading the co-

lence that occurred.

It could scarcely have been more different than Mr. Trump’s first trial a year ago. Then, the House tried to make its case around an esoteric plot to pressure Ukraine to smear Mr. Biden, and it failed largely on party lines.

But over five days this week, the House managers put forward in harrowing detail an account of a horror that had played out in plain sight. Using graphic video and sophisticated visual aids, they made clearer than ever before how close the armed mob had come to a dangerous confrontation with then-Vice President Mike Pence and the members of the House and the Senate.

All of it, the prosecutors argued, was the doing of Mr. Trump, who spread lies that the election had been “stolen” from him, cultivated outrage among his followers, encouraged violence, tried to pressure state election officials to overturn democratically decided results and finally assembled and unleashed a mob of his supporters — who openly planned a bloody last stand — to “stop the steal.” With no signs he was remorseful, they warned he could ignite a repeat if allowed to seek office again.

“If that is not ground for conviction, if that is not a high crime and misdemeanor against the Republic and the United States of America, then nothing is,” Representative Jamie Raskin, Democrat of Maryland and the lead manager, said as he summed up his case. “President Trump must be convicted, for the safety and democracy of our people.”

After stumbling out of the gate earlier in the week with meandering presentations, Mr. Trump’s legal team delivered the president a highly combative and exceedingly brief defense on Friday. Calling the House’s charge a “preposterous and monstrous lie,” they insisted over just three hours

## The G.O.P. doubles down on its hands-off Trump strategy.

ronavirus rose in alphabetical order to cast their votes.

“It is, therefore, ordered and adjudged that the said Donald John Trump be, and he is, hereby acquitted of the charge in said article,” Mr. Leahy declared.

The vote came hours after the trial briefly dissolved into chaos when House prosecutors made, then dropped, a surprise demand for witnesses who could reveal what the former president was doing as the assault unfolded. Instead, the two legal teams agreed to admit as evidence a written statement by a Republican congresswoman who has said she was told that the former president sided with the mob as rioters were attacking the Capitol.

With the outcome a foregone conclusion, the trial itself became an illuminating act for history, clarifying the scope of the vio-



JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Former President Donald J. Trump’s defense team after Saturday’s proceedings. They staged a three-hour defense on Friday, arguing Mr. Trump could not have foreseen the Capitol riot.

that the former president was a “law and order”-loving leader who never meant for his followers to take the words “fight like hell” literally, and could not have foreseen the violence that followed.

“They were not trying a case,” Michael T. van der Veen, a member of the hastily assembled legal team, said of Democrats in his own closing remarks. “They were telling a political tale, a fable, and a patently false one at that.”

They also offered more technical arguments aimed at giving Republicans refuge for acquittal, arguing that it was not constitutional for the Senate to try a former president and that Mr. Trump’s election lies and bellicose words to his supporters could not be deemed incitement because the First Amendment protected his right to speak freely.

The seven Republicans who rejected those arguments in favor of conviction were an ideologically diverse group at various stages of their political careers. Mr. Burr and Mr. Toomey plan to retire next year. Mr. Cassidy, Ms. Collins and Mr. Sasse and were just re-elected, and Mr. Romney and Ms. Murkowski are among Mr. Trump’s most durable Republican critics.

They appeared to draw strength from one another. Shortly before the vote, Mr. Cassidy walked a note to Mr. Burr. It read, “I am a yes,” he said later. Mr. Burr nodded back at him.

Ms. Murkowski, who faces reelection next year in a state Mr. Trump won twice, said afterward she would not let her vote be “devalued by whether or not I feel that this is helpful for my political ambitions.”

“This is not about me,” she told reporters. “This is really about what we stand for, and if I can’t say what I believe, what our president should stand for, then why should I ask Alaskans to stand with me?”

After the attack and Republicans’ loss of the Senate, there had been a brief window in which it seemed as if the outcome might be different. Mr. McConnell privately told advisers that an impeachment conviction might be the only way to purge Mr. Trump from the party after four tumultuous years, and his openness to finding him guilty held out the possibility that a coalition of Republicans might follow his lead.

But by the time the proceeding began, with Mr. Biden already in office, the party’s rank and file in Congress had made clear that Mr. Trump still had far too strong a pull among their voters to engage in a head-on fight. As the former president threatened to back primary challengers to the House Republicans who voted to impeach him, state parties across the country lined up votes to censure them or call for their resignations.



# McConnell Claims the Senate’s Hands Were Tied

## Scathing Tirade After Submitting Vote of Not Guilty

WASHINGTON — Senator Mitch McConnell said he believed that Donald J. Trump was undeniably guilty of a “disgraceful dereliction of duty” on Jan. 6, when he incited and then failed to halt a deadly assault on the Capitol.

**TRUMP ON TRIAL**

**CARL HULSE and NICHOLAS FANDOS**

“There’s no question — none — that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of the day,” Mr. McConnell, the Kentucky Republican and minority leader, declared Saturday afternoon in an anti-Trump diatribe so scathing that it could have been delivered by any of the nine House prosecutors seeking a conviction.

But minutes before he spoke, when it came time for the most powerful Republican in Washington to hold Mr. Trump to account on the charge of causing the riot, Mr. McConnell said his hands were tied. It could not be done, he argued. He voted to acquit.

“We have no power to convict and disqualify a former officeholder who is now a private citizen,” Mr. McConnell, who said he reached that conclusion after “intense reflection,” said as he delivered a lawyerly explanation on the limits of Senate power.

Offering his most damning condemnation of Mr. Trump to date, Mr. McConnell accused the former president of spreading lies about a stolen election that he knew would stoke dangerous acts by his followers — though the senator said little about his own refusal for weeks to recognize President Biden’s victory, which helped create the conditions for Mr. Trump’s claims to continue to spread, unchallenged by top Republicans.

He spoke at length about the unfortunate coincidence of timing that he said deprived the Senate of jurisdiction in the trial, alluding to “scheduling decisions” by Speaker Nancy Pelosi to withhold the impeachment charge until Mr. Trump had left office. He did not dwell on his own refusal to call the Senate back to hear the case while Mr. Trump was still president, except to say that he had been right “not to entertain some light-speed sham process to try to outrun the loss of jurisdiction.”

Outraged Democrats saw the approach as a classic McConnell tactic: Create a politically expedient standard and then argue that the standard left him no choice but to do what suited him in the first place. They argued that he had tried to have his politics both ways, appeasing Mr. Trump’s supporters with his vote to acquit while trying to signal to establishment figures that he sided with them and they should continuing backing Republican candidates.

The dance around the conviction question by Mr. McConnell — a man usually eager to deploy the might of the Senate to suit his purposes — encapsulated the dilemma of Republicans, 42 of whom joined Mr. McConnell in judging Mr. Trump not guilty and delivering his second Senate impeachment acquittal in little more than a year. Only seven voted to convict.

They themselves were the victims of the attack. Violent intruders riled through their centuries-old mahogany desks and personal papers and sent them fleeing down a back stairway for their lives, as the mob loudly threatened the life of their presiding officer, Vice President Mike Pence. Most privately acknowledge Mr. Trump was to blame.

Yet most could not bring themselves to find him guilty of sparking the chaos, brutality and darkness that engulfed the Capitol, for fear of potentially offending the Trump supporters Republicans have come to rely on to win elections, and will need again in 2022 if they hope to regain the Senate — a paramount goal of Mr. McConnell’s.

They offered myriad justifications. Like Mr. McConnell, they said it was unconstitutional given that Mr. Trump was no longer president. They said Mr. Trump used the fiery, pugnacious language all politicians employ. The timeline was fuzzy. Prosecutors could not tie him explicitly to the start of the riot. Bad precedents would be set. Democrats were active out of political malice. This was a matter for criminal courts. They said he was not the only one who contributed to the toxic environment.



A staffer to the House impeachment managers kept tally as senators voted on whether to convict former President Donald J. Trump in his second impeachment trial.

“He has some responsibility, as do many of the people in that chamber today,” said Senator Thom Tillis, Republican of North Carolina.

Democrats said they were stunned that most Republicans would effectively give Mr. Trump a pass for bringing about the assault, particularly since it was aimed at the Senate itself.

“It is shocking,” said Senator Michael Bennet, Democrat of Colorado.

“As strong as the indictment of Donald Trump, it is also an indictment of Republicans,” said Senator Richard Blumenthal, Democrat of Connecticut. “Neither has been convicted in a legal sense, but in a moral and political sense they have. How they can try to walk away and look the other way is beyond me.”

In his remarks on Saturday, Mr. McConnell characterized his delay in recognizing Mr. Biden as defending “the president’s right to bring any complaints to our legal system. The legal system spoke.” But rather than ending his push to undermine the election, Mr. McConnell said, it “just really opened a new chapter of even wilder, wilder and more unfounded claims.”

“The leader of the free world cannot spend weeks thundering that shadowy forces are stealing our country and then feign surprise when people believe him and do reckless things,” he said.

Mr. McConnell has been at the center of the Republican impeachment intrigue since the assault. The seven-term senator, who considers himself a guardian of the institution, was furious over the events. He said Mr. Trump had provoked the assault, sending hints that he could vote to find him guilty and prompting



“There’s no question — none — that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of the day.”

SENATOR MITCH MCCONNELL

speculation that he could become the improbable ringleader of a coalition of Republicans large enough to secure a conviction.

But then, as it became clear that the bulk of the party was rallying behind the former president, Mr. McConnell appeared to have second thoughts, voting twice to throw out the trial as unconstitutional because Mr. Trump was no longer in office.

As speculation built that he might vote against Mr. Trump, the Republican leader conceded in an email to his colleagues Saturday morning that although he intended to vote to acquit, he considered it a “close call.”

Later, in his speech after the acquittal, Mr. McConnell said his reading of the Constitution showed impeachment to be a “narrow tool” meant to remove

officials from office, not pursue them after they had left.

It was not an assessment all Republicans shared. “This institution needs to respect itself enough to tell the executive that some lines cannot be crossed,” said Senator Ben Sasse of Nebraska, one of the Republicans who backed conviction.

Mr. McConnell has come to despise the 45th president he

aided and accommodated for four years, particularly in filling federal judgeships. He now regards Mr. Trump as a danger to his party but is being cautious in his handling of him.

Mr. McConnell had considered voting to convict the former president as a means of purging him from the party, but allies said he concluded that as his party’s leader, he could not practically side with a minority of his colleagues rather than the overwhelming number who said the trial was invalid and voted to acquit. Instead, he mustered all his rhetorical strength to try to damage Mr. Trump’s credibility at the close of the proceeding.

When the attack was underway, Mr. McConnell said, Mr. Trump abdicated his responsibility as commander in chief, and afterward, he refused to drop his baseless election lies.

“Whatever reaction he says he meant to produce by that afternoon, we know he was watching the same live television as the rest of us,” Mr. McConnell said. “A mob was assaulting the Capitol in his name. These criminals were carrying his banners, hanging his flags and screaming their loyalty to him.”

He added: “He did not do his job. He did not take steps so federal law could be faithfully executed and order restored. No, instead, according to public reports, he watched television happily — happily — as the chaos unfolded.”

Mr. McConnell also rejected one of the most explicit defenses by Mr. Trump’s lawyers: that his words had been no different than those of any other politician advocating a cause.

“That is different from what we saw,” he said.

## Some Highlights From Conclusion of the Trial

The conclusion of Donald J. Trump’s impeachment trial was briefly cast into doubt on Saturday after a last-minute request for witness testimony threatened to extend a proceeding on whether the president had incited the Jan. 6 Capitol riot. But the House impeachment managers who had raised the request quickly dropped the issue, paving the way for closing arguments and a vote that delivered Mr. Trump’s second acquittal of high crimes and misdemeanors. Here are some takeaways from the fifth day of the trial. *EILEEN SULLIVAN*

### The Senate acquits Trump on an incitement charge.

In a 57-to-43 vote, the Senate handed down an acquittal for Mr. Trump for the second time in 13 months. But it was the most bipartisan support for conviction of any of the four impeachments in American history.

Democrats needed 17 Republicans to vote with them to convict Mr. Trump of a single charge of “incitement of insurrection” for his role in the Capitol assault. In the end, only seven broke ranks, but that was one more than expected, with Senator Richard M. Burr of North Carolina crossing party lines.

Senators Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, Susan Collins of Maine, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, Mitt Romney of Utah, Ben Sasse of Nebraska and Patrick J. Toomey of Pennsylvania also voted to convict Mr. Trump.

In the closing arguments, Mr. Trump’s defense team denounced the deadly violence on Jan. 6 and maintained that the former president was maligned by a biased news media and was the victim of

a protracted “vendetta” by his political opponents.

Representative Joe Neguse of Colorado, one of the impeachment managers, raised the prospect of more politically motivated attacks in the future should Mr. Trump not be held accountable.

“Senators, this cannot be the beginning. It can’t be the new normal,” Mr. Neguse said on Saturday. “It has to be the end. That decision is in your hands.”

But even as the trial spared Mr. Trump a conviction, the criminal cases against his supporters for their roles in the riot are building. Already, more than 200 people have been charged with federal crimes related to the attack, and investigators are only getting started.

Additional evidence produced in the coming months could give a sharper picture of Mr. Trump’s role that day, leaving open the possibility that Saturday’s acquittal will not be the final word on his legacy.

### Surprises and a condemnation.

Mr. Burr, a reliably conservative vote from North Carolina, unexpectedly moved to convict Mr. Trump on Saturday.

“The president promoted unfounded conspiracy theories to cast doubt on the integrity of a free and fair election because he

did not like the results,” Mr. Burr said in a statement Saturday afternoon. “The evidence is compelling that President Trump is guilty of inciting an insurrection against a coequal branch of government and that the charge rises to the level of high crimes and misdemeanors.”

Mr. Burr, who is retiring when his term ends after the 2022 election, had, at times, a chilly relationship with Mr. Trump. As head of the Senate Intelligence Committee, Mr. Burr led a bipartisan investigation into Russia’s interference in the 2016 election.

While Mr. Burr’s vote was surprising, the vote by Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the minority leader, was more confounding.

Mr. McConnell told colleagues early Saturday that he would vote to acquit the former president, and did so. But after the trial, Mr. McConnell took to the Senate floor and said, “There is no question — none — that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of the day.”

Mr. McConnell has been a defender of the former president and even backed Mr. Trump’s refusal to concede the election for more than a month after Joseph R. Biden Jr. was declared the winner.

Mr. McConnell said that although Mr. Trump was responsible for the riot, the Senate should not try a former president. Impeachment, he said, is a “narrow tool” meant to remove officials from office, not pursue them afterward.

**Senators reached a bipartisan agreement not to extend the trial.** Despite the partisan divisions

that have defined the trial, Republican and Democratic senators agreed on Saturday that the proceedings should not be extended with testimony from witnesses.

On Saturday morning, the Senate was prepared to hear closing arguments from the prosecution and the defense, but plans for a swift end were threatened with an 11th-hour piece of evidence that House impeachment managers argued was crucial to their case: details about a phone call with Representative Kevin McCarthy of California, the House minority leader, in which Mr. Trump is said to have sided with the rioters as his supporters stormed the Capitol.

On Friday evening, Representative Jaime Herrera Beutler of Washington, one of the 10 House Republicans who had voted to impeach Mr. Trump, released a statement detailing a conversation she had with Mr. McCarthy in which he described his conversation with the president.

The prospect of allowing witness testimony incensed Republicans.

“If they want to drag this out, we’ll drag it out,” Senator Joni Ernst of Iowa, a member of Senate Republican leadership, said during a break in the proceedings. “They won’t get their noms, they won’t get anything,” she said, referring to President Biden’s nominations to fill top positions in his administration.

Democrats have been eager for a speedy trial partly so they can focus on filling Mr. Biden’s cabinet and begin working on his agenda. After behind-the-scenes negotiations, both sides agreed to enter Ms. Herrera Beutler’s statement into the record.

## Despite Verdict, No Exoneration, Just an Escape

By PETER BAKER

Once again, former President Donald J. Trump beat the rap and once again he wasted no time claiming victory. He released a statement one minute before the presiding officer in the Senate even officially declared that he had been acquitted on Saturday, denouncing his impeachment as “yet another phase of the greatest witch hunt in the history of our country.”

But this one was still different. This one will come with an asterisk in the history books if not a dark stain. This time Mr. Trump did not have the East Room of the White House to summon allies for a celebration to crow about eluding conviction. This was the most bipartisan impeachment in history and even the Republican leader castigated him. This was an escape, not an exoneration.

The president who emerged from last year’s impeachment trial feeling emboldened and used his office to take revenge against those he blamed for the charges against him emerges from this one defeated after one term and secluded behind closed doors in Florida with no government power and an uncertain political and legal future. He forced most Republican senators to stick with him in the trial, but few of them defended his actions, citing constitutional reasons for their votes.

No one condemned him in more forceful terms on Saturday than one of those who voted to acquit him, Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, the Republican leader who for four years held his tongue and worked in tandem with Mr. Trump but has since washed his hands of him. Mr. McConnell accused Mr. Trump of a “disgraceful, disgraceful dereliction of duty” in trying to overturn an election and setting a mob loose on Congress to block the formalization of his defeat and he methodically demolished the former president’s defense point by point.

“There’s no question, none, that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of the day,” Mr. McConnell said. “No question about it. The people who stormed this building believed they were acting on the wishes and instructions of their president. And having that belief was a foreseeable consequence of the growing crescendo of false statements, conspiracy theories and reckless hyperbole which the defeated president kept shouting into the largest megaphone on planet Earth.”

But the sting of his rebuke was tempered by his vote, which Mr. McConnell explained as an unavoidable consequence of his belief that a Senate cannot put a president on trial after he leaves office. Democrats excoriated him for trying to have it both ways, stiff-arming a toxic leader of his own party only when he was out of office without actually holding him accountable. But he also validated the Democrats’ case against Mr. Trump.

Nor was he the only Republican to do so. Seven Senate Republicans voted to convict Mr. Trump, the most senators of a president’s own party to turn against him in an impeachment trial in American history, following the 10 House Republicans who did so in the original vote a month ago.

And some of the other Republicans who voted for acquittal on Saturday echoed Mr. McConnell’s approval. “The actions and reactions of President Trump were disgraceful, and history will judge him harshly,” said Senator Shelley Moore Capito of West Virginia. Senator Rob Portman of Ohio added, “President Trump said and did things that were reckless and encouraged the mob.”

Representative Jamie Raskin, Democrat of Maryland and the lead House impeachment manager, pointed out that the 57 to 43 vote was the highest total for conviction of a president since Andrew Johnson was acquitted by a single vote in 1868 even if it did not reach the two-thirds required for conviction.

And Mr. Raskin argued that if only 10 of the Republican senators who voted for acquittal justified their decisions strictly on the same constitutional grounds that Mr. McConnell did, that would mean functionally two-thirds of the Senate concluded that Mr. Trump was guilty on the facts.

“The defendant, Donald John

Trump, was let off on a technicality,” declared Representative Joaquin Castro, Democrat of Texas and another manager.

But Democrats were not entirely sure whether to emphasize the result as a moral victory or condemn it as a shameful betrayal by Republicans.

Even as Mr. Raskin was citing Mr. McConnell’s comments as vindication of the managers’ case, Speaker Nancy Pelosi unexpectedly showed up at the managers’ post-trial news conference to upbraid Mr. McConnell for “a very disingenuous speech” in which he tried “to have it every which way,” presumably to assuage Republican donors.

Wary of losing Mr. McConnell, who almost certainly could have brought several votes with him and perhaps even enough to secure conviction, Mr. Trump uncharacteristically avoided antagonizing Republican senators during the trial. While he was forced to scramble to find lawyers willing to defend him and ended up putting his case in the hands of a personal injury lawyer from Philadelphia, Mr. Trump knew going in that he most likely had the votes for acquittal as long as he kept quiet.

His lawyers misstated facts and at times aggravated Republicans and Mr. Trump himself with their presentations, but they focused on rallying the party’s senators to stick with him by characterizing the trial as a hypocritical scam by Democrats out to get a political opponent — an argument that some Republicans were willing to embrace even if they did not want to defend Mr. Trump’s specific actions.

“The Democrats’ vindictive and divisive political impeachment is over,” Senator Ron Johnson, Republican of Wisconsin, wrote on Twitter afterward. “While there are still many questions that remain unanswered, I do know neither the Capitol breach nor this trial should have ever occurred. Hopefully, true healing can now begin.”

Mr. Trump, of course, has rarely if ever been in the healing business. Now that he is off the hook in the Senate, he presumably will shed his reticence to speak out. His statement on Saturday was another hint about a return to public life. “We have so much work ahead of us, and soon we will emerge with a vision for a bright, radiant and limitless American future,” he wrote.

Having failed to convict, Democrats hope that the trial nonetheless made it implausible if not impossible for Mr. Trump to ever run for president again, as he has hinted he might do, and that the images of the riot he encouraged will be seared into the pages of posterity. “He deserves to be permanently discredited — and I believe he has been discredited — in the eyes of the American people and in the judgment of history,” said Senator Chuck Schumer of New York, the Democratic majority leader.

But the final judgments on the events of Jan. 6 and this presidency have yet to be issued. Mr. Trump retains powerful support among the Republican base, as demonstrated when state party organs condemned and even censured their own representatives and senators who have broken with him in recent weeks. For many in the core Republican constituency, personal loyalty to Mr. Trump clearly matters more than party loyalty.

On the other hand, while he is free of the impeachment threat, Mr. Trump still faces possible legal jeopardy stemming from his efforts to subvert the election through false claims of fraud. Among other things, there are criminal investigations in Washington about the riot and in Georgia about Mr. Trump’s efforts to pressure state election officials to overturn the results of the state’s vote. Legal experts said the former president could likewise be exposed to civil litigation from victims of the Capitol rampage.

And there are continuing investigations of his finances in New York.

Mr. McConnell seemed to encourage the authorities to pursue Mr. Trump with criminal prosecution, which he said was the constitutionally appropriate means for holding a former president responsible for his actions. Accountability, he said, was still possible.

“He didn’t get away with anything — yet,” Mr. McConnell said. “Yet.”



1. The Officer and the Rioter

Officer Brian D. Sicknick was attacked with chemical spray as he guarded the U.S. Capitol on Jan. 6. Julian Elie Khater is one of two rioters who has been arrested and charged with assaulting Officer Sicknick.



IMAGES VIA HERE AND THERE MEDIA

VISUAL INVESTIGATION

Videos Show How Capitol Officer Was Attacked by Rioters

This article is by Evan Hill, David Botti, Dmitriy Khavin, Drew Jordan and Malachy Browne.

New videos obtained by The New York Times show publicly for the first time how the U.S. Capitol Police officer who died after facing off with rioters on Jan. 6<sup>1</sup> was attacked with chemical spray.

The officer, Brian D. Sicknick, who had been guarding the west side of the Capitol,<sup>2</sup> collapsed later that day and died the next night. Little had been known about what happened to Officer Sicknick during the assault, and the previously unpublished videos provide new details about when, where and how he was attacked, as well as about the events leading up to the encounter.

Two rioters, Julian Elie Khater and George Pierre Tanios, were arrested on March 14 and charged with assaulting Officer Sicknick and two other officers with chemical spray. The investigation is continuing, and federal prosecutors haven't ruled out pursuing murder charges.

Here's what the videos show. Mr. Khater and Mr. Tanios arrive near the police line on the west side of the Capitol at 2:09 p.m., more than an hour into the battle between rioters and police officers, according to an F.B.I.

ONLINE: GRAPHICS AND VIDEO  
A description of how the Capitol Police officer who died after facing off with a mob on Jan. 6 was first attacked.  
nytimes.com/visual-investigations

affidavit. An independent video journalist at the scene films Mr. Khater shortly after he arrives. Mr. Khater observes the fighting as tear gas and chemical spray waft through the crowd, then turns back toward where Mr. Tanios is standing.

At 2:14 p.m., he and Mr. Tanios huddle just a few yards from the police line, according to the F.B.I. Part of their conversation is captured in a separate video.

"Give me that bear shit," Mr. Khater tells Mr. Tanios, most likely referring to a canister of bear repellent spray<sup>3</sup> that prosecutors say Mr. Tanios purchased earlier that day.

He appears to retrieve something from Mr. Tanios's backpack. After Mr. Tanios tells him to wait, Mr. Khater responds, "They just sprayed me." He holds a white spray canister in his right hand.

On Monday, federal prosecutors alleged in court that Mr. Khater and Mr. Tanios were carrying Frontiersman bear spray, which is manufactured by Sabre, a company that makes self-defense products including pepper spray and stun guns. Though made from the same ingredient, bear spray can be many times more powerful than pepper sprays sold for self-defense and is not meant for use on humans.

By 2:20 p.m., six minutes later, Mr. Khater has returned to the police line, where Officer Sicknick and his colleagues are

standing behind a row of bike rack barricades. He stands just a few feet from Officer Sicknick.

For about two minutes, Mr. Khater waits in the crowd, observing the police. Then, at 2:23 p.m., rioters try to pull the bike racks away from the officers. As a lieutenant in a white uniform fires a spray into the crowd, and a rioter charges in to attack a Metropolitan Police officer, Mr. Khater raises his arm over other rioters and sprays something toward Officer Sicknick.

A thin stream of liquid is visible shooting from a canister in Mr. Khater's hand. It is unclear in the video what Mr. Khater is firing, and prosecutors have alleged that Mr. Tanios brought two smaller canisters of pepper spray to the Capitol in addition to two cans of Frontiersman bear spray.

Officer Sicknick reacts immediately to the spray, turning and raising his hand.<sup>4</sup>

In court on Monday, prosecutors played body camera footage of the incident for the first time. The grainy videos showed Mr. Khater raising his hand and discharging a chemical spray at the officers, who stumble back, cover their eyes and at times call out in pain. The Metropolitan Police Department has declined to release that footage to the public.

A series of still images shot by photographer Kenny Holston captured the same moment.<sup>4</sup>

The last time Officer Sicknick appears in the videos or the photographs, he is bent over by the scaffolding erected for President Biden's upcoming inauguration.

The attack on Officer Sicknick comes at a key moment. Within five minutes, the police line collapses, officers retreat into the Capitol, and rioters gain control over the west side of the building. Some officers regroup to guard a key doorway, where they will fight a brutal battle that lasts for more than two hours, during which a mob will drag at least four officers into the crowd and beat them.

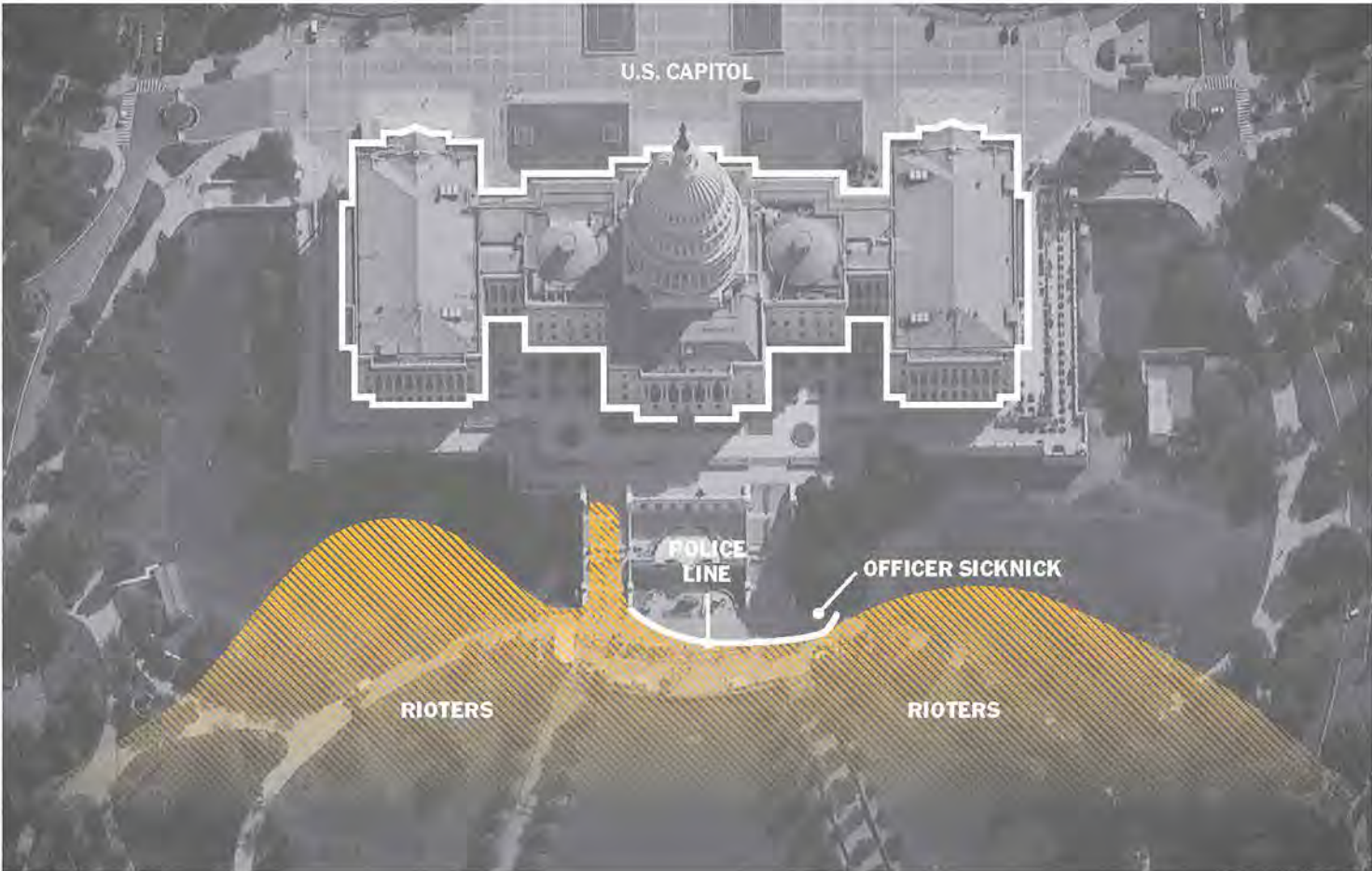
After the police have retreated, the footage shows Mr. Khater and Mr. Tanios once more, standing back from the crowd.<sup>4</sup>

That evening, Officer Sicknick texted his brother to say he had been "pepper-sprayed" but was in "good shape," his brother told ProPublica. But shortly before 10 p.m., according to the Capitol Police, he collapsed after returning to his division office and was taken to a local hospital. At some point over the next 24 hours, Officer Sicknick's condition apparently deteriorated. He was put on a ventilator and treated for a blood clot and a stroke, his brother said. He died at about 9:30 p.m. on Jan. 7.

Washington's chief medical examiner has yet to release Officer Sicknick's autopsy or cause of death. Michael R. Sherwin, who as acting U.S. attorney in Washington had been leading the Capitol riot investigations, told "60 Minutes" that if evidence connected the chemicals sprayed at Officer Sicknick with his death, "that's a murder case."

2. The Scene

Officer Sicknick was guarding the west side of the Capitol more than an hour into a battle between rioters and police officers when he was attacked. Rioters broke through the police line and first entered the Capitol building on the west side.



THE NEW YORK TIMES

3. The Spray

New videos obtained by The Times show Mr. Khater watching the police, and retrieving chemical spray from a backpack held by his friend George Pierre Tanios, who is also charged. Minutes later, Mr. Khater sprayed Officer Sicknick.



IMAGES VIA HERE AND THERE MEDIA; SABRE; THE CONVO COUCH; FBI

4. The Aftermath

Officer Sicknick reacts immediately to the spray, turning and raising his hand. He and two other officers were sprayed by Mr. Khater. The last time Officer Sicknick is seen, he is bent over washing out his eyes with water. Later, Mr. Khater and Mr. Tanios stand beside two unknown men wearing tactical vests, observing the riot.



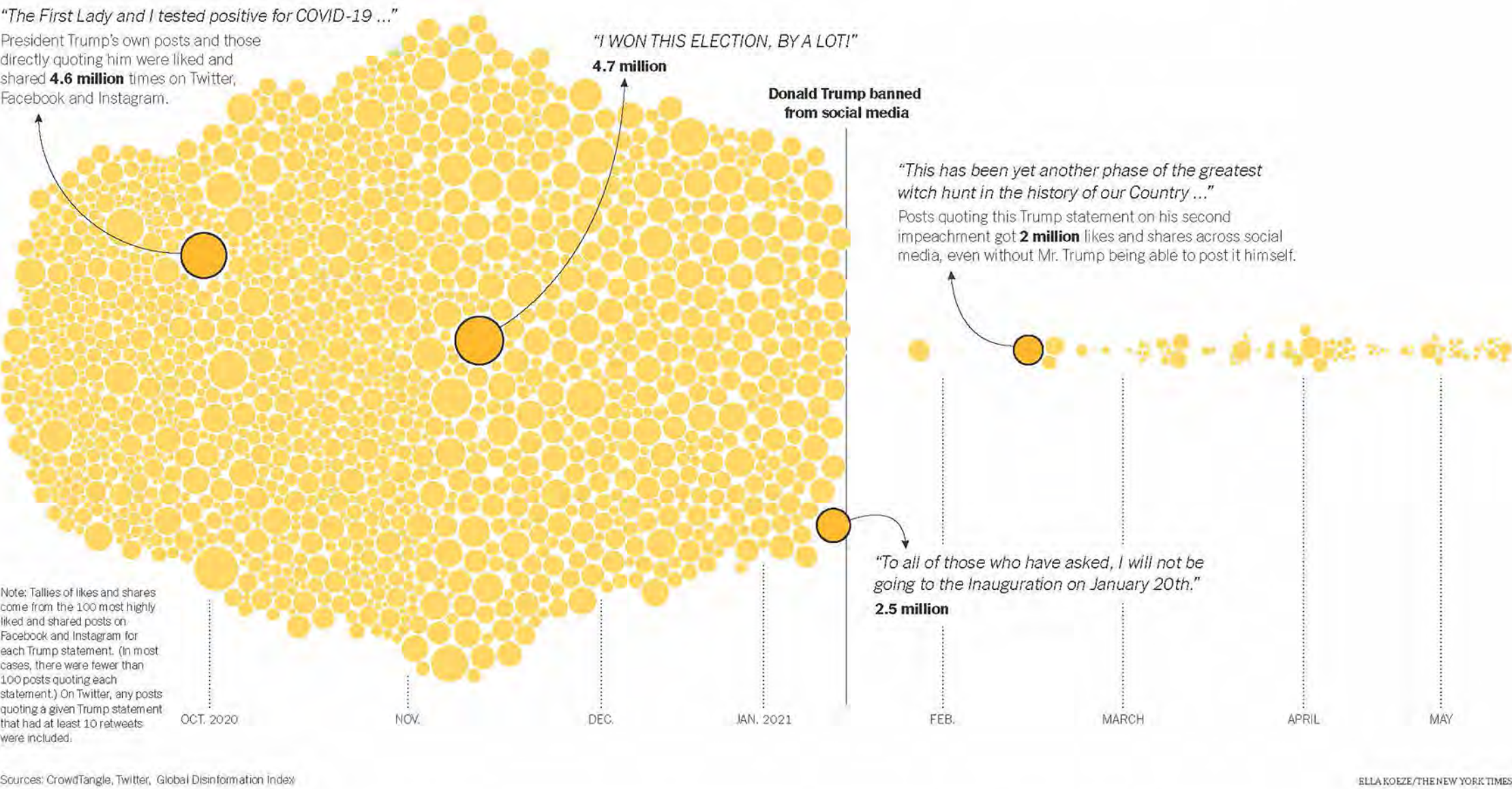
IMAGES VIA HERE AND THERE MEDIA; KENNY HOLSTEN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



# After Trump's Social Media Ban, His Supporters Stepped Up

## The Reach of Trump's Words Before and After His Ban From Social Media

Each circle represents a statement made by Donald J. Trump. The size of a circle is determined by the number of likes and shares the statement generated across Twitter, Instagram and Facebook on posts quoting it, including on Mr. Trump's own account before he was banned.



By Davey Alba, Ella Koeze and Jacob Silver

When Facebook and Twitter barred Donald J. Trump from their platforms after the Capitol riot in January, he lost direct access to his most powerful megaphones. On Friday, Facebook said the former president would not be allowed back on its service until at least January 2023, citing a risk to public safety.

Since his ban and President Biden's inauguration, he has posted statements online far less often. But some of his statements have

traveled just as far and wide on social networks.

The New York Times examined Mr. Trump's nearly 1,600 social media posts from Sept. 1 to Jan. 8, the day Mr. Trump was banned from the platforms. We then tracked the social media engagement with the dozens of written statements he made on his personal website, campaign fund-raising site and in email blasts from Jan. 9 until May 5, which was the day that the Facebook Oversight Board, which reviews some content decisions by the

company, said that the company acted appropriately in kicking him off the service.

Before the ban, the social media post with the median engagement generated 272,000 likes and shares. After the ban, that dropped to 36,000 likes and shares. Yet 11 of his 89 statements after the ban attracted as many likes or shares as the median post before the ban, if not more.

How does that happen?

Mr. Trump had long been his own best promoter on social media. The vast majority of people on

Twitter and Facebook interacted directly with Mr. Trump's posts, either liking or sharing them, The Times analysis found.

But after the ban, other popular social media accounts often picked up his messages and posted them themselves. (Last week, Mr. Trump shut down his blog, one of the places he made statements.)

On Oct. 8, Mr. Trump tweeted that the then-Democratic presidential candidate Joseph R. Biden Jr. and his running mate, Kamala

CONTINUED ON PAGE B6

## In Battling Inflation, China Decides Not to Wait

By KEITH BRADSHER

SHANGHAI — Prices are jumping in the United States and around the world, prompting growing warnings that a wave of inflation could threaten the global economy if it persists.

China isn't waiting to find out. Beijing is moving swiftly to protect its factories and workplaces from rising costs. It has discouraged steel makers and coal producers from raising prices. It

The world's largest manufacturer tries to keep prices down.

has vowed to investigate price-gouging and hoarding. And it has allowed its currency to rise in value to a level unseen in years, giving it a more valuable and powerful tool for buying up the world's grain, meat, petroleum, minerals and other essentials.

Rising prices in China, by far the world's biggest manufacturer and exporter, could be felt around the world. China's statistical

agency announced on Wednesday morning that prices charged by factories, farmers and other producers had soared 9 percent in May compared to a year earlier, when the pandemic was holding down their costs. It was the biggest increase since September 2008.

Annabelle New York, a Manhattan-based importer and distributor that sells down-filled parkas and other high-end apparel to department stores and other retailers, already raised prices 10 percent this spring. But the company's costs for merchandise from China are up 20 percent, said Bennett Model, the company's chief executive and president.

Chemicals to make the parkas' synthetic fabric shells have become costlier as world oil prices rise. Down feathers, for which China is the world's dominant producer, have become more expensive. And trans-Pacific freight costs have tripled for some shipments as air cargo companies and shipping lines have struggled to keep up with demand.

Only the fear of losing

CONTINUED ON PAGE B4



China has discouraged steel makers like this one from raising prices.

## Cyber Cash Is Traceable After All

By Nicole Perlroth, Erin Griffith and Katie Benner

When Bitcoin burst onto the scene in 2009, fans heralded the cryptocurrency as a secure, decentralized and anonymous way to conduct transactions outside the traditional financial system.

Criminals, often operating in hidden reaches of the internet, flocked to Bitcoin to do illicit business without revealing their names or locations. The digital currency quickly became as popular with drug dealers and tax evaders as it was with contrarian libertarians.

But this week's revelation that federal officials had recovered most of the Bitcoin ransom paid in the recent Colonial Pipeline ransomware attack exposed a fundamental misconception about cryptocurrencies: They are not as hard to track as cybercriminals

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

## Biden Order Overrides TikTok Ban

By KATIE ROGERS and CECILIA KANG

WASHINGTON — President Biden on Wednesday revoked a Trump-era executive order that sought to ban the popular apps TikTok and WeChat and replaced it with one that calls for a broader review of a number of foreign-controlled applications that could pose a security risk to Americans and their data.

The Trump order had not been carried out "in the soundest fashion," Biden administration officials said in a call with reporters, adding that the new directive would establish "clear intelligible criteria" to evaluate national security risks posed by software applications connected to foreign governments, particularly China.

Mr. Biden's order reflects a growing urgency among American officials, both Republican and Democrat, to aggressively

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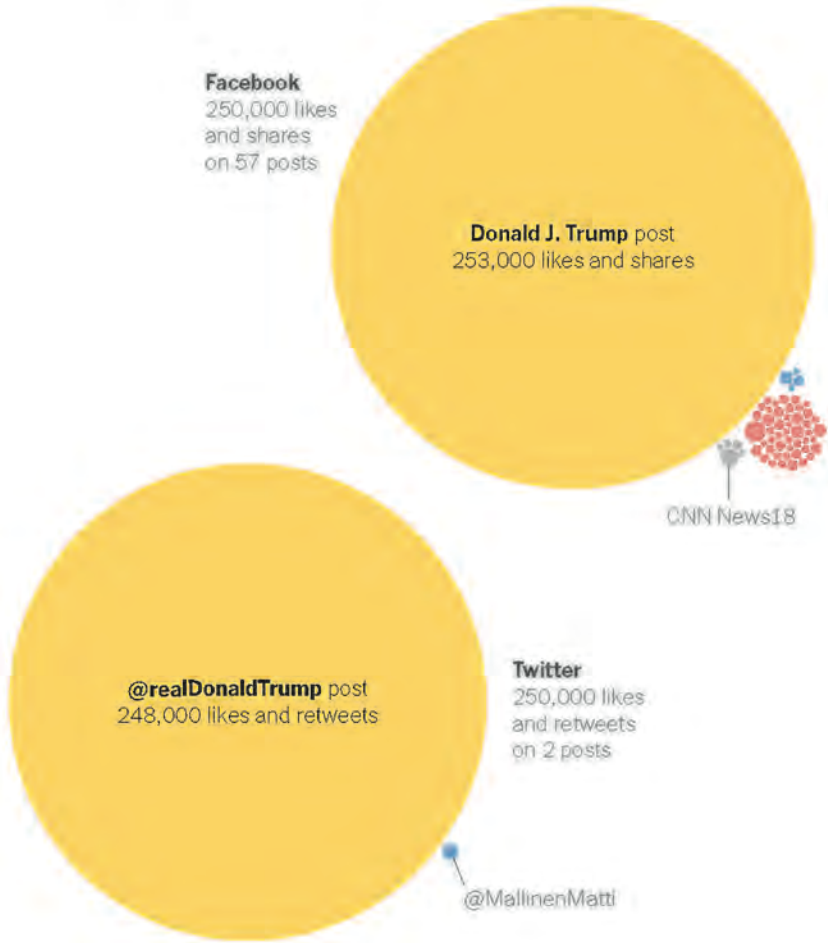
INTERNET | POLICY

Comparing How Trump’s Statements Spread, Before and After the Ban

Posts quoting or originating each Trump statement, sized by total number of likes and shares

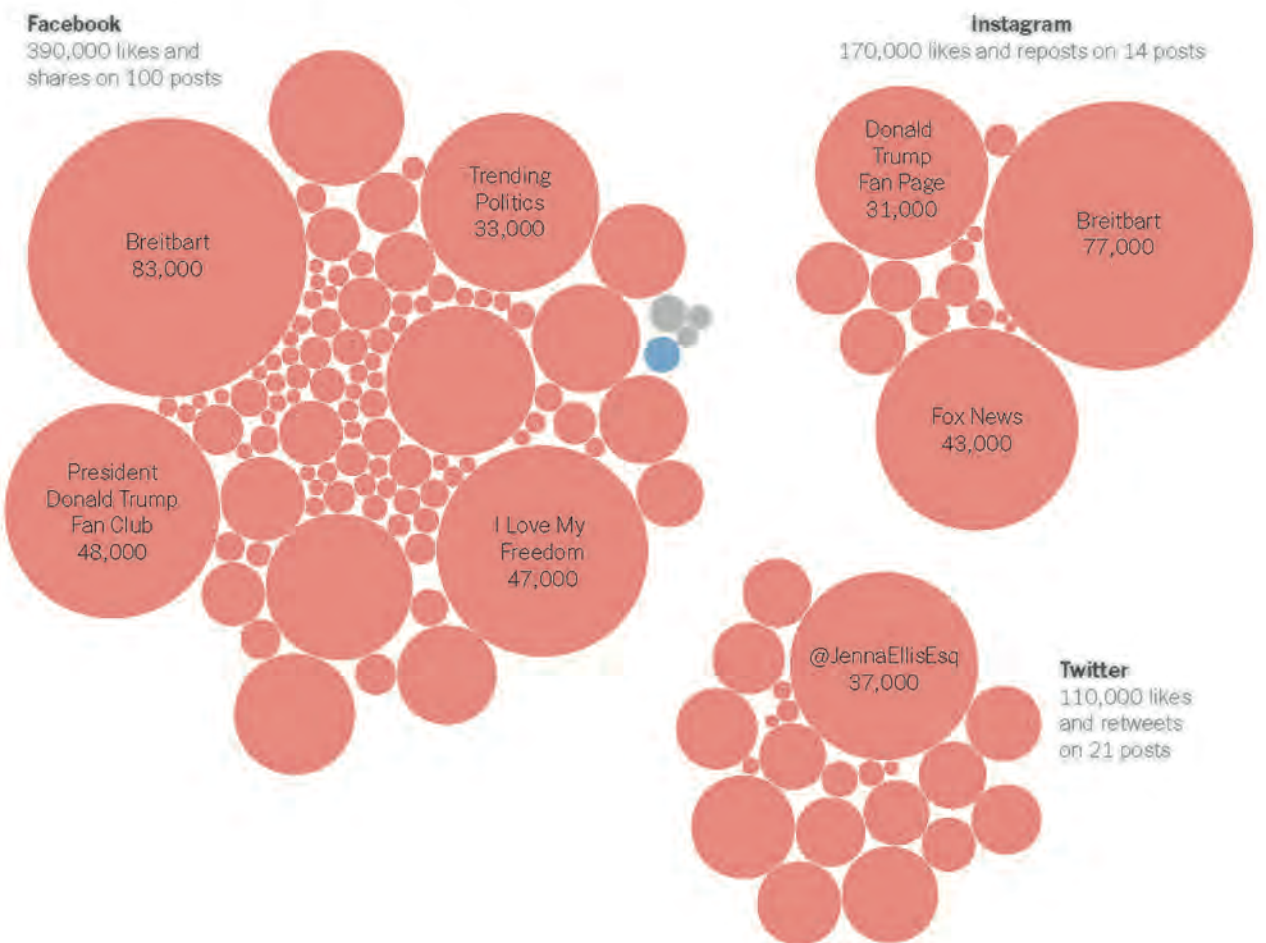
Trump’s own accounts Left-leaning accounts Mixed politics Right-leaning accounts

**BEFORE** An Oct. 8, 2020, statement with about half a million total likes and shares:  
“If a Republican LIED like Biden and Harris do, constantly, the Lamestream Media would be calling them out ...”



Note: There were no Instagram posts quoting the Oct. 2020 Trump statement.

**AFTER** A March 21, 2021, statement with about half a million total likes and shares:  
“We proudly handed the Biden Administration the most secure border in history ... Our Country is being destroyed!”



ELLA KOEZE AND GUILBERT GATES/THE NEW YORK TIMES

After Trump’s Social Media Ban, Loyalists Stepped Up

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE  
Harris, lied “constantly.” The post was liked and shared 501,000 times on Facebook and Twitter.  
On March 21, Mr. Trump published a statement on his website saying that his administration had handed over “the most secure border in history.” He went on to criticize the Biden administration’s handling of the border crisis. “Our Country is being destroyed!” Mr. Trump said. The statement was liked and shared more than 661,000 times.  
The Global Disinformation Index, a nonpartisan nonprofit that

**‘He’s not directly driving the agenda in the way he once was.’**  
Emerson Brooking, a resident fellow of the Atlantic Council’s Digital Forensic Research Lab.

studies disinformation, examined the political leanings of the top accounts sharing Mr. Trump’s statements online after he was barred from Facebook and Twitter. The group classified hundreds of accounts as either left- or right-leaning, or a mix of the two, relying on standards that it established through its work on disinformation risk ratings for news sites and other online media.  
One thing that became immediately clear: Mr. Trump’s most ardent supporters continue to spread his message — doing the work that he had been unable to do himself.  
The top sharers of the March post included the right-wing publication Breitbart News (159,500 likes and shares), a Facebook page called “President Donald Trump Fan Club” (48,200 likes), Fox News (42,000 likes), and Jenna Ellis (36,700 likes), a lawyer who made regular television appearances as Mr. Trump’s proxy to trumpet his debunked claims of a rigged election.  
But when Mr. Trump criticizes

conservatives, his remarks sometimes get picked up by both the left and right.  
On Feb. 16, for instance, Mr. Trump derided Senator Mitch McConnell, the minority leader, because of Mr. McConnell’s unwillingness to back Mr. Trump’s attempts to undermine the 2020 election.  
The top sharers on the right, according to the Global Disinformation Index analysis, included “Fox & Friends,” the cable news show, and the right-leaning publication Washington Examiner. On the left, the top sharers included the popular Facebook page Stand With Mueller and the CNN journalist Jim Acosta.  
Many on the right shared the post while agreeing with it, while partisan pages on the left made fun of the intraparty fight. In total, the statement was shared and liked more than 345,000 times on Facebook and Twitter.  
One topic from Mr. Trump that has not spread far: claims of widespread election fraud.  
The Times analysis looked at the 10 most popular posts with election misinformation — judged by likes and shares — from Mr. Trump before the ban, and compared them with his 10 most popular written statements containing election misinformation after the ban. All the posts included falsehoods about the election — that the process had been “rigged,” for instance, or that there had been extensive voter fraud.  
Before the ban, Mr. Trump’s posts got 22.1 million likes and shares; after the ban, his posts earned 1.3 million likes and shares across Twitter and Facebook.  
Disinformation researchers say the difference points to the enormous power the social media companies have in curbing political misinformation, if they choose to wield it. Facebook and Twitter curb the spread of false statements about the November election, though Twitter has loosened its enforcement since March to dedicate more resources to fact-checking in other parts of the

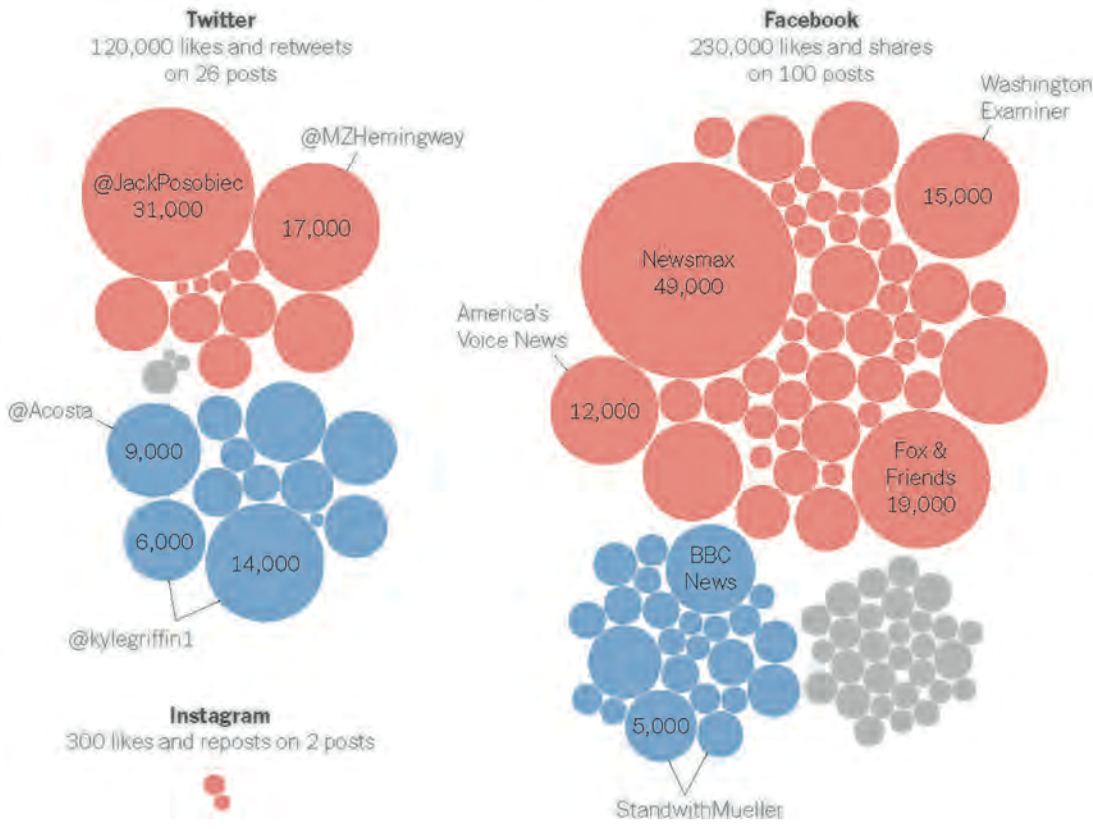
How a Post-Ban Trump Statement Critical of Republicans Spread

Sized by total number of likes and shares

Left-leaning accounts Mixed politics Right-leaning accounts

A Feb. 15, 2021, statement:

“The Republican Party can never again be respected or strong with political ‘leaders’ like Sen. Mitch McConnell at its helm ...”



ELLA KOEZE AND GUILBERT GATES/THE NEW YORK TIMES

world.  
“As the Trump case shows, deplatforming doesn’t ‘solve’ disinformation, but it does disrupt harmful networks and blunt the influence of harmful individuals,” said Emerson Brooking, a resident fellow at the Atlantic Council’s Digital Forensic Research Lab, which studies disinformation.

Mr. Trump’s statements that got the most engagement after his ban included topics like his commentary on the culture wars (as when he urged his followers to boycott baseball), praise for particular individuals (like for the radio host Rush Limbaugh, who recently died) and attacks on President Biden’s policies on issues like the border crisis and taxes.

Now that Mr. Trump has lost both the Oval Office and his Twitter account, he has become a kind of digital leader-in-exile, Mr. Brooking said.  
Mr. Trump’s supporters can refer to his statements to buttress their arguments, Mr. Brooking said, “but he’s not directly driving the agenda in the way he once was.”

Methodology

This data includes statements made by former President Donald J. Trump between Sept. 1, 2020, and May 5, 2021. Statements include social media posts from Mr. Trump’s accounts and other news releases in his own words, but they do not include social media posts of article headlines or posts reshared from other accounts. To find posts on Facebook and Instagram quoting these statements, we used CrowdTangle, a Facebook-owned social media analytics tool. We searched for posts that contained exact quotes of the first eight words or complete sentences from each statement in the post — either in text or in images.  
To measure how much Mr. Trump’s words were engaged with, we selected the posts on Facebook and Instagram with the most likes and shares for each Trump statement, up to 100 for each platform (in most cases, there were fewer than 100 such posts). On Twitter, we selected all posts that had at least 10 retweets. We then added up the total likes and shares received by these posts to determine a proxy for the total amount of interaction for each Trump statement. Mr. Trump’s own posts are included in these tallies.  
The Global Disinformation Index classified 880 social media accounts sharing Mr. Trump’s words after his ban on Jan. 8 as either left- or right-leaning, or a mix of the two. The index was able to classify the social media accounts that corresponded to 97 percent of all interaction data with Mr. Trump’s statements post-ban. The remaining 3 percent all had a small number of interactions.

U.S. and Europe Look for Cease-Fire on Tariffs as Biden Starts Overseas Trip

By ALAN RAPPEPORT

WASHINGTON — The United States and the European Union are working toward an agreement that would settle long-running disputes over aircraft subsidies and metals tariffs that set off a trade war during the Trump administration as President Biden looks to re-engage with traditional American allies.  
The two sides are hoping to reach an agreement by mid-July with a goal of lifting tariffs that both governments have placed on each other’s goods by Dec. 1, according to a joint statement that is being drafted before the U.S.-E.U. summit that Mr. Biden will attend in Brussels next week.  
Resolving trade tensions with Europe and other allies is a key goal of the Biden administration, which is trying to repair relationships that fractured under Presi-

dent Donald J. Trump, whose approach to trade policy included punishing tariffs. Mr. Biden and other administration officials have said they want to rebuild those relationships, in part so that the United States can work with allies to counter China and Russia.  
The joint statement suggested an eagerness on both sides of the Atlantic to end a trade fight that has resulted in tariffs on a wide range of goods — including American peanut butter, orange juice and whiskey as well as levies on European wine and cheese.  
“We commit to make every effort possible to find comprehensive and durable solutions to our trade disputes and to avoid further retaliatory measures burdening trans-Atlantic trade,” the document said.  
The desire to reach an agreement came as Mr. Biden departed on Wednesday for a summit meet-

ing in Britain with the leaders of the Group of 7 nations, his first international trip as president.  
As he boarded Air Force One, he indicated his priority was to mend relations with his counterparts.  
“Strengthening the alliance and make it clear to Putin and to China that Europe and the United States are tight, and the G7 is going to move,” Mr. Biden said of his goals for the trip.  
Discussions about easing tariffs come at a critical time for the global economy as countries emerge from the pandemic. Shortages of commodities because of supply chain bottlenecks and growing consumer demand have been pushing up prices and causing concern among policymakers.  
In March, the United States and European Union agreed to temporarily suspend tariffs on billions of dollars of each other’s aircraft, wine, food and other products as

both sides try to negotiate a settlement to a dispute over the two leading airplane manufacturers.  
The World Trade Organization had authorized the United States and Europe to impose tariffs on each other as part of two disputes, which began almost two decades ago, over subsidies the governments have given to Airbus and Boeing. The European Union had imposed tariffs on about \$4 billion of American products, while the United States levied tariffs on \$7.5 billion of European goods.  
The two governments are also trying to resolve a fight over the steel and aluminum tariffs that Mr. Trump imposed in 2018. The 25 percent tariffs on imports of European steel and 10 percent on aluminum spurred retaliation from Europe, which imposed similar duties on American products like bourbon, orange juice, jeans and motorcycles.

The negotiations come as the United States is broadly reviewing its trade policy with a new focus on multilateralism.  
Last week, the Biden administration suspended retaliatory tariffs on European countries in response to digital services taxes that they have imposed as negotiations over a broader tax agreement play out.  
As part of the effort to deepen ties, the United States and European Union plan to establish a trade and technology council to help expand investment and prevent new disputes from emerging. It will also focus on strengthening supply chains for critical technology such as semiconductors, which have been in short supply in the last year.  
The alliance represents another tool the administration intends to use to push back against China’s growing economic influence,

which Mr. Biden has repeatedly referred to as a threat to the United States. While the president has so far steered clear of hitting China with new tariffs, he has yet to remove the levies Mr. Trump imposed on \$360 billion worth of Chinese goods. Last week, the administration barred Americans from investing in Chinese companies linked to the country’s military or engaged in selling surveillance technology used to repress dissent or religious minorities.  
The draft document says, “We intend to closely consult and cooperate on the full range of issues in the framework of our respective similar multifaceted approaches to China.”  
The U.S.-E.U. summit will take place on Tuesday.

Matina Stevis-Gridneff contributed reporting from Brussels.



SUNDAY, AUGUST 15, 2021 • A SPECIAL SECTION

# The New York Times

For over four hours on Jan. 6, the seat of the United States government came under assault. Here are the findings of a six-month Times visual investigation.



JON CHERRY/GETTY IMAGES

Trump supporters gathered in Washington on Jan. 6 to protest the certification of the election result. Hundreds have been charged in the rampage, which was captured on thousands of hours of videos.

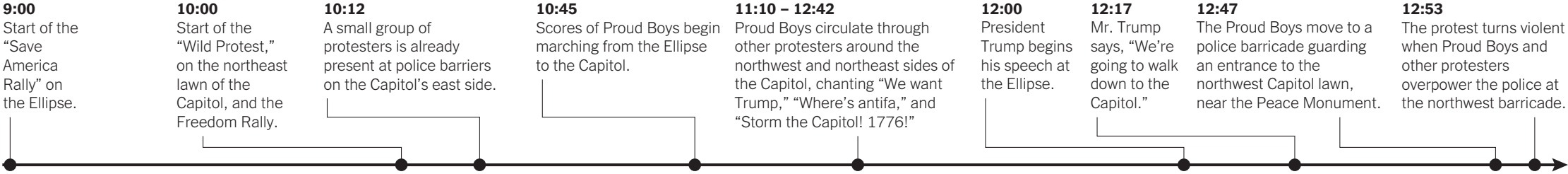
## DAY OF RAGE

How the Attack on the Capitol Unfolded, Moment by Moment



9 A.M. TO 12:53 P.M.

# Mob Primed for Attack, Incited by the President



A disinformation campaign helps draw protesters to Washington. Then Trump’s words help provoke them.

Motivated by two months of disinformation from Mr. Trump and his associates about the election outcome, many in the crowd that convenes in Washington on Jan. 6 say they are convinced that stopping the certification of Mr. Biden’s election is a patriotic duty. Mr. Trump’s own words that day will help incite them to violence.

The main attraction in the morning hours is the “Save America Rally” at the Ellipse, a park near the White House, where Mr. Trump is set to speak. But a second gathering, called the “Wild Protest,” is set for the northeast lawn of the Capitol, where Congress is set to certify the election results. And before Mr. Trump even takes the stage, his supporters are moving that way. They include scores of Proud Boys, the right-wing nationalist group known for its street fighting. During a September 2020 debate, Mr. Trump told group members to “stand back and stand by,” and they are now on the prowl for far-left counterprotesters.

But one of them suggests another motive. “Let’s take the fuckin’ Capitol,” he exclaims in a livestream filmed by a fellow member. Another Proud Boy reproaches him: “Let’s not fuckin’ yell that. All right?”

At noon, Mr. Trump begins speaking. “We will never give up. We will never concede,” he says. As he rejects the election result and declares that his supporters should fight it, the crowd’s excitement grows.

“Storm the Capitol! Invade the Capitol building!” supporters shout as he speaks. When the president tells them that everyone is going to “walk down” the 1.5 miles from the Ellipse to the Capitol, a livestreamer who is already there informs those around him that “there’s about a million people on their way now.”

At 12:51 p.m., two minutes before the assault on the Capitol Police begins, Eddie Block, a Proud Boy who is livestreaming the scene, observes the mob pressing against the police barricade and announces: “Look at this, folks. We’re storming the Capitol.”



C-SPAN



PARLER

TRUMP SPEAKING

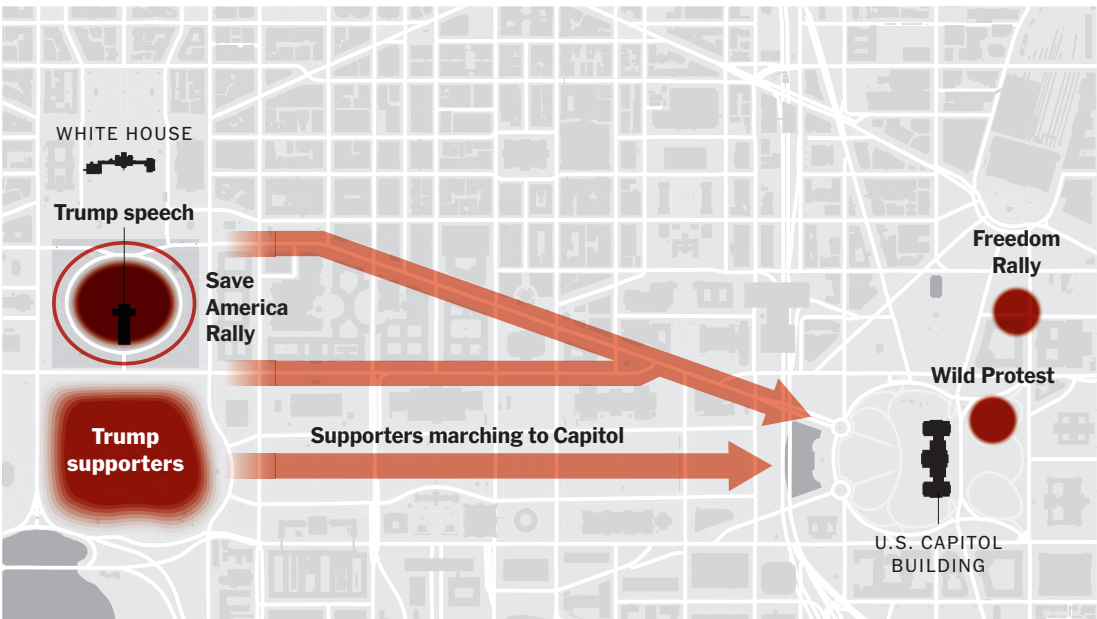
‘We’re going to walk down to the Capitol.’

CROWD RESPONDING

[Cheering]

‘You’ll never take back this country with weakness; you have to show strength and you have to be strong.’

‘Yes!’  
‘Storm the Capitol!’  
‘Invade the Capitol building!’  
‘Fight, fight, fight!’



THE NEW YORK TIMES



PARLER

10:24 A.M.

Although the “Save America Rally” is billed as a political protest, some Trump supporters begin calling for a storming of the Capitol.



DAVID PETER HANSEN

10:45 A.M.

The far-right Proud Boys head for the Capitol in search of left-wing counterprotesters more than an hour before President Trump’s speech.



ABQ RAW, VIA YOUTUBE

12:53 P.M.

Just five police officers are stationed at the barricade outside the northwest Capitol lawn. Protesters overpower them and push through.

Since Jan. 6, former President Donald J. Trump and top leaders in the Republican Party he still dominates have sought to rewrite history.

They have moved from insisting that the mob that stormed the Capitol that day did nothing wrong to blaming Democrats for failing to secure the building. Neither assertion is true. • The violent rejection of a presidential election’s outcome was unprecedented in American history, and its long-term effects on the country’s democratic experiment remain unclear. But what we can know are the facts of what occurred. • For more than four hours, the Capitol, while hosting the certification of Joseph R. Biden Jr.’s victory, came under assault. Hundreds of people in the mob filmed themselves and published the videos online. • The New York Times spent six months sifting through that evidence — thousands of hours of videos, each one verified, timed and geolocated — and published the findings in a 40-minute documentary. • The videos showed men pulling police officers into the mob and beating them with an American flag; the violent deaths of two women who stormed the Capitol; the rioters’ repeated insistence that their effort to overthrow the government came at Mr. Trump’s invitation; and how lawmakers escaped by seconds those who were calling for their deaths. • A Democratic-led House select committee to investigate the events of that day began its work on July 27 and has used these videos to begin establishing an official narrative. Republican leaders have tried to thwart such investigations. • Mr. Trump, in an interview with Fox News in July, said the crowd that smashed its way into the halls of Congress that day was “great” and “peaceful.” • “There was such love at that rally,” he said. • The facts show otherwise.

## ABOUT THIS PROJECT

Written by Evan Hill and Haley Willis. Reported by Dmitriy Khavin, Haley Willis, Evan Hill, Natalie Reneau, Drew Jordan, Cora Engelbrecht, Christiaan Triebert, Stella Cooper, Malachy Browne and David Botti.

Graphics by Guilbert Gates, Mika Gröndahl, Drew Jordan and Bill Marsh.

Designed by Carrie Mifsud. Copy edited by Sean Ernst.

Watch our video documentary, “Day of Rage,” at [nytimes.com/visual-investigations](https://www.nytimes.com/visual-investigations).

## THE LEAD-UP

The crowd that arrives in Washington on Jan. 6 has come from all 50 states, a dispersed and decentralized movement of self-styled

“patriots.” But guiding them is an influential network of Trump loyalists whose countryside road show has been spreading the lie of a stolen election.

Leading the movement is an organization called Women for America First, whose founder emerged from the Tea Party movement. It has helped create a coalition involving sitting members of Congress such as Representative Paul Gosar, Republican of Arizona; former Trump administration offi-



GETTY IMAGES

cials such as Michael T. Flynn, above, and Stephen K. Bannon; right-wing extremists and conspiracy theorists such as the Proud Boys and believers in QAnon; and lawyers and funders such as Sidney Powell and the chief executive of MyPillow, Michael Lindell.

This coalition is key in setting the stakes. They tell Trump supporters that Jan. 6, when Congress is set to certify the election result, will be the climactic day to save the country. Prominent Republicans such as Senator Lindsey Graham and the House minority leader, Kevin McCarthy, echo the sentiment. “We lose elections because they cheat us,” Mr. Graham says.

## SOCIAL MEDIA

To all the Patriots descending on Washington DC on #jan6 ...come armed...

@QanonLV, via Parler

WE WANT BLOOD!

Donger-Lord, via TheDonald.win

Who would you like to see ‘dispatched’ first?  
1) Nancy Pelosi  
2) John Roberts  
3) Pence  
4) Other (please name)

I was leaning towards Nancy, but it might have to be Pence.

@UniteToFightJanuary6th, via Parler

Bring plenty of rope

RedHawaii2020, via TheDonald.win

## POLITICAL VOICES

‘Everyone’s going to remember who actually stands in the breach and fights tomorrow, and who goes running off like a chicken.’

JASON MILLER, Trump campaign senior adviser, on “Lou Dobbs Tonight” on Fox News on Jan. 5

‘We’ll win this fight or America will step off into a thousand years of darkness.’

ROGER STONE, a Trump ally

‘All hell is going to break loose tomorrow. Just understand this. All hell is going to break loose tomorrow. It’s going to be moving. It’s going to be quick.’

STEPHEN K. BANNON, former Trump adviser, on the “Bannon’s War Room” podcast on Jan. 5

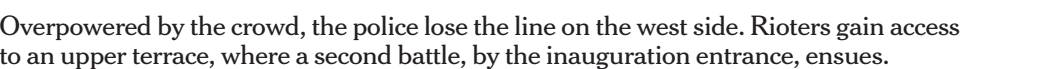
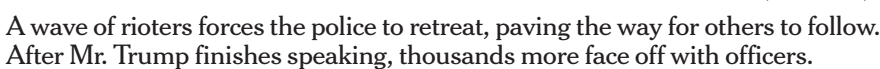
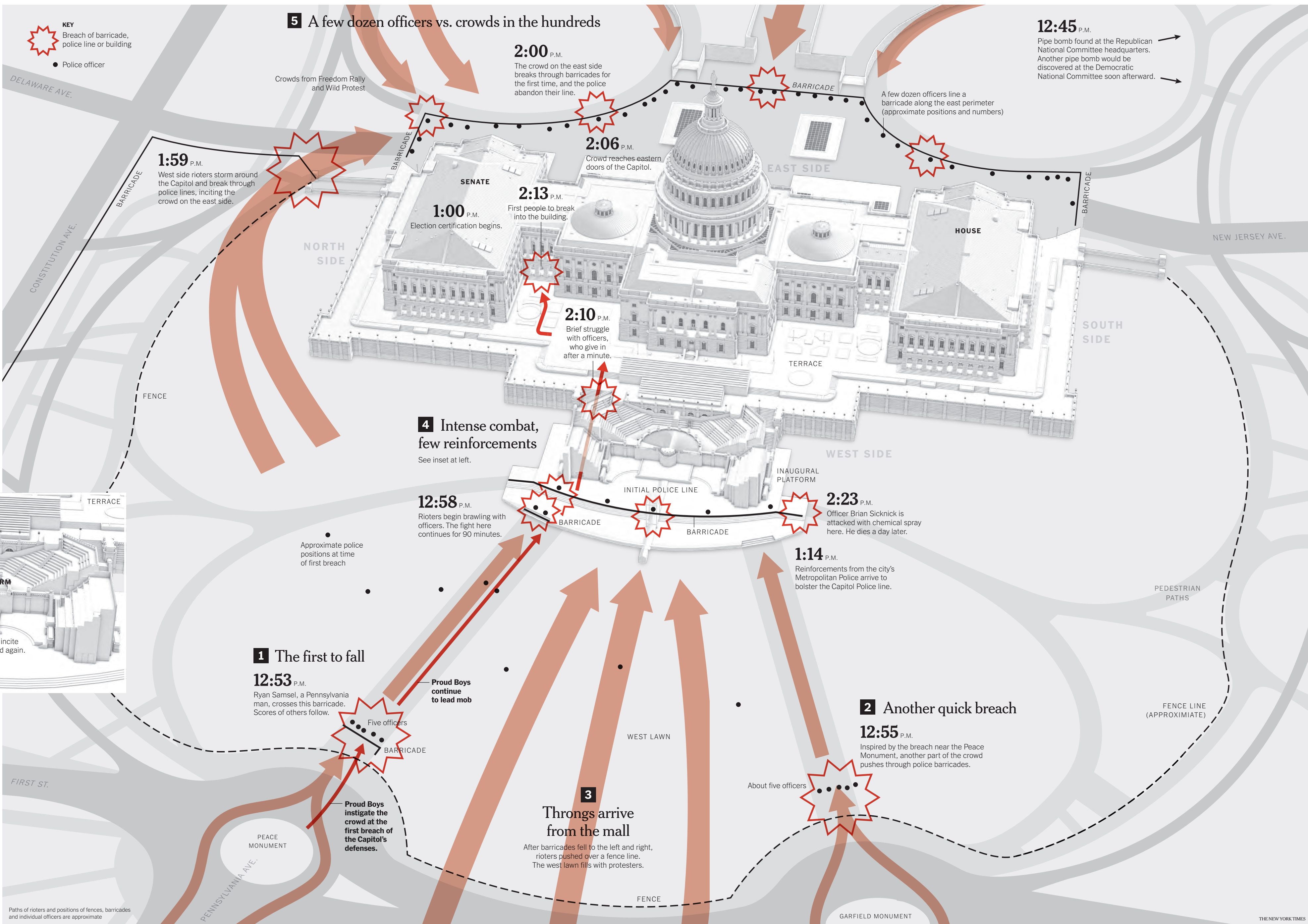
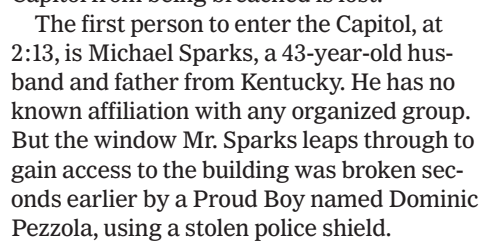


# Rioters Break Into the Capitol in 80 Minutes

The Capitol Police Board gives approval to request the National Guard.

**2:12 – 2:13** A Proud Boy, Dominic Pezzola, breaks a Capitol window, and a man named Michael Sparks vaults through.

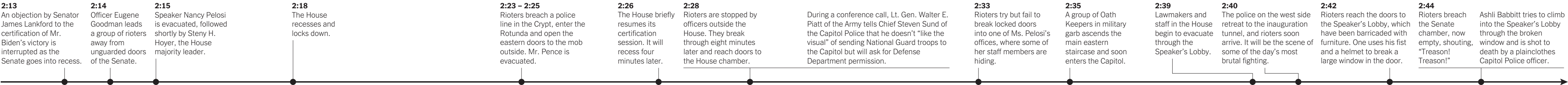
The police and the rioters battle at the west side steps for a little more than an hour. The fighting is often hand-to-hand, and rioters attack officers with chemical spray and





2:13 P.M. TO 2:44 P.M.

# Swarming the Building as Officials Hide



The Capitol's vulnerability stems from its unique status in American politics: By design, it is open to the public, and the police have never faced an attack like this.

We pinpointed at least eight locations where rioters breached and entered the Capitol — more than were previously known.

Overwhelmed police officers respond differently at various points, fighting rioters in some places and stepping aside at others to allow them through.

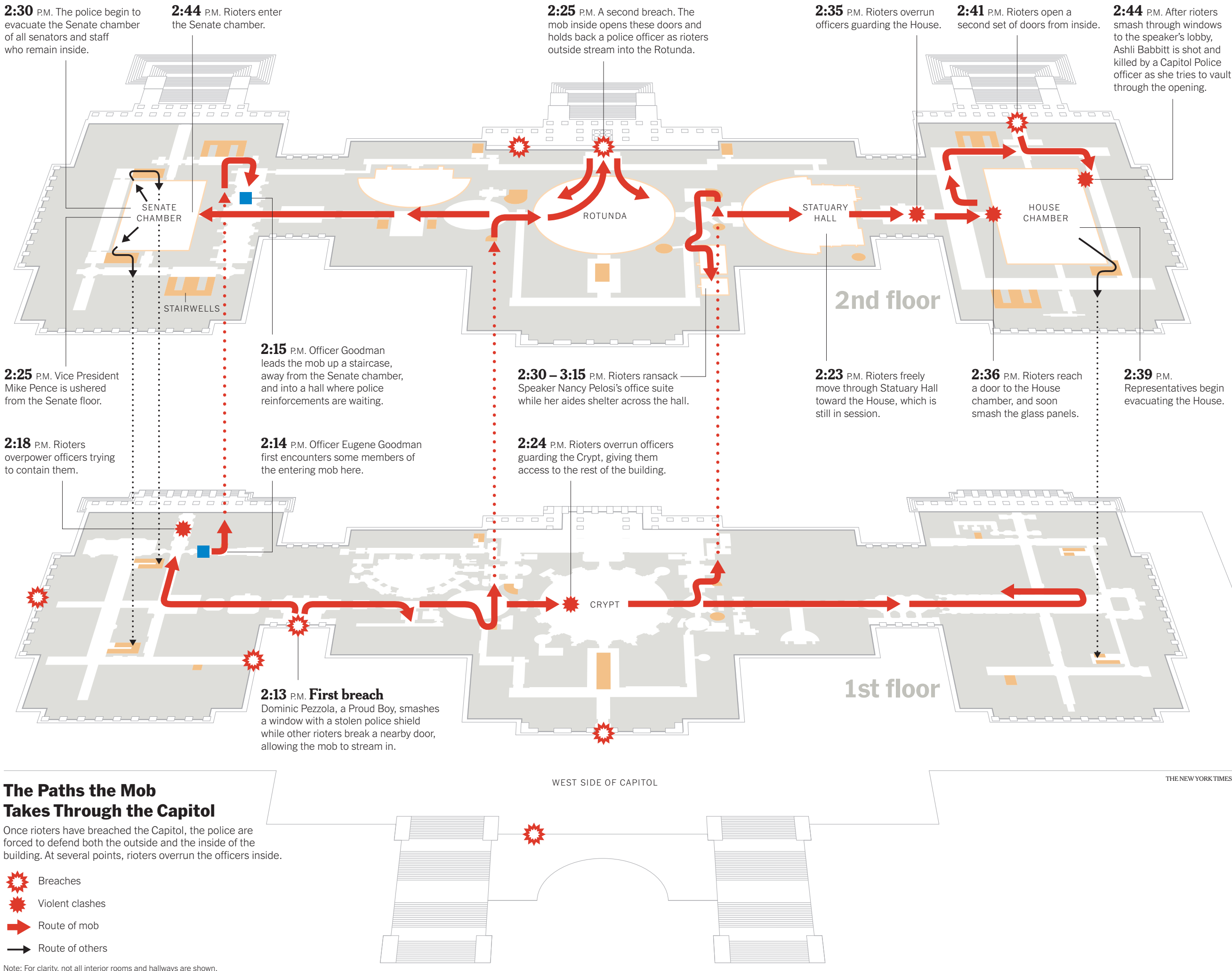
The Capitol's vulnerability stems from its unique status in American politics: By design, it is open to the public, and the police have never faced an attack like this. Despite locked doors and, in certain places, thick windows, rioters without specialized equipment easily break in.

An act of bravery by Officer Eugene Goodman of the Capitol Police leads part of the mob into a line of officers, halting their progress, but hundreds of rioters fan out inside the building. After they break through a police line in a central ground-floor room called the Crypt, they have access to the entire building. Some enter Speaker Nancy Pelosi's office suite, calling for her and banging on locked doors that some of her aides are hiding behind. Others head for the House, on the opposite side of the building from the Senate.

Unlike the Senate, the House does not evacuate immediately, and it even briefly resumes its work as rioters are overrunning the building. When representatives finally begin evacuating the chamber guided by security personnel, rioters have already arrived on the other side of a nearby door with glass windows. They include Ashli Babbitt, a Trump supporter and follower of the QAnon conspiracy theory. A Capitol Police officer in plain clothes fatally shoots her when she tries to climb through the door's broken window.

Ms. Babbitt's shooting halts the mob's progress, and three minutes later, the police begin to clear the Capitol complex. Mr. Trump and other Republicans and right-wing groups will come to refer to Ms. Babbitt as a "hero" and a "martyr" and describe her killing as an "execution."

Federal prosecutors will close their investigation into the shooting three months later, saying they found no evidence that the officer had not acted in defense of himself and members of Congress when he shot her.





2:47 P.M. TO 8 P.M.

# Order Returns After Hours of Chaos

2:47

Metropolitan Police officers in riot gear begin to push rioters off the northwest terrace.

3:04

Christopher Miller, the acting defense secretary, approves full activation of Washington's National Guard. He will not approve an operational plan for another hour and a half.

3:19

Rioters drag Michael Fanone, a Metropolitan Police officer, and a colleague into the crowd. They beat Officer Fanone before returning him to the police line.

4:19 – 4:27

During a surge into the tunnel, rioter Rosanne Boyland falls unconscious. She is pronounced dead later that day.

5:02

National Guard troops depart the capital's armory, two miles from the Capitol.

5:04

Officers use tear gas and flashbangs to clear the inauguration tunnel and terrace.

5:34

Rioters are finally pushed off the west lawn. The House sergeant-at-arms says the Capitol is secure.

5:40

The first National Guard officers arrive on Capitol grounds.

8:00

The Capitol Police declare the Capitol and surrounding areas secure.

Once the Capitol Police are reinforced by officers from other agencies, they easily drive out the rioters. In several locations, the clearance takes less than an hour.

The Metropolitan and Capitol Police begin to clear the Capitol around 2:47 p.m., just half an hour after rioters breached the building, pushing them off the terrace and away from the broken door where they first gained access. But fighting will continue in parts of the complex for hours.

The most brutal violence occurs at a tunnel entrance on the west side, above the scaffolding, which Mr. Biden will use for his inauguration two weeks later. The mob heaves in a giant scrum, trying to push through, crushing officers and fellow rioters. They drag four officers into the crowd and beat them. Rosanne Boyland, a 34-year-old Trump supporter from Georgia and a believer in the QAnon conspiracy theory, collapses inside the packed tunnel and is later pronounced dead.

One question that our investigation shed light upon was how the police managed to reclaim the building despite having been so easily overrun by rioters earlier. We found a relatively simple answer: Once the Capitol Police were reinforced by the Metropolitan Police and officers from other agencies who wore riot gear and used tear gas, they easily drove out the rioters. In several locations, the clearance took less than an hour.

The police manage to push rioters off the Capitol premises by around 5:30 p.m. Shortly afterward, the first National Guard troops arrive. A recent change in authorization protocols meant senior officials in the Pentagon had to approve their deployment. According to a Senate report, the process was delayed by concerns about the optics of sending the National Guard to the nation's capital. Pentagon officials deny this.

Though defeated, many members of the mob sound ebullient or prepared for further conflict. "I truly believe we're at war," says one man who fought police at the inauguration tunnel. "The patriots are coming back, y'all," says another.

At 6:01 p.m., President Trump tweets, "Remember this day forever!"

Suspects charged in the Jan. 6 violence at the Capitol include, clockwise from top left, Eric Gavelek Munchel, Richard Barnett, Shane Jenkins and Kevin Seefried. All four men have pleaded not guilty.



'I was invited here by the president.'

TJ JONES/NEWS2SHARE



NEWSCHANNEL 5, VIA YOUTUBE



CNBC TELEVISION, VIA YOUTUBE



NBC NEWS, VIA YOUTUBE



KPRC 2, VIA YOUTUBE

## VOICES FROM THE AFTERMATH



TIMOTHY WOLFER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Facing off with National Guard troops, who arrived to secure the perimeter of the Capitol over four hours into the riot. The president tweeted a message to his supporters at 6:01 p.m.



MATTHEW MILLER, VIA TWITTER

Very few people who broke into the Capitol were arrested at the scene. Many rioters exited the building unchallenged and emboldened. However, hundreds have been charged since then.



C-SPAN

'Some of the people who breached the Capitol today were not Trump supporters.'

REPRESENTATIVE MATT GAETZ, Republican of Florida, on Jan. 6



THE JOE PAGS SHOW, VIA ARCHIVE.ORG

'I knew those are people that love this country, that truly respect law enforcement, would never do anything to break a law.'

SENATOR RON JOHNSON, Republican of Wisconsin, on March 12



C-SPAN

'The D.O.J. is harassing peaceful patriots across the country.'

REPRESENTATIVE PAUL GOSAR, Republican of Arizona, on May 12



CNN, VIA ARCHIVE.ORG

'There was no insurrection. And to call it an insurrection, in my opinion, is a bold-faced lie.'

REPRESENTATIVE ANDREW CLYDE, Republican of Georgia (who was pictured just feet away from rioters being held behind a barricade), on May 19



# National

The New York Times

## ‘It’s Always Going to Haunt Me’

The Capitol Riot Created a National Crisis. For Those Present, It Was Also a Personal Trauma.

This article is by **Emily Cochrane**, **Luke Broadwater** and **Ellen Barry**.

WASHINGTON — Three months after supporters of President Donald J. Trump violently stormed the Capitol, Alisa La, a close aide to Speaker Nancy Pelosi, sat in the office suite where she had hid from the rioters, describing the lasting effects of her traumatic experience on Jan. 6.

Just as she finished speaking, an intercom began blaring: another lockdown.

She went through the same motions as on Jan. 6. She checked with colleagues to try to figure out what was going on. She reached out to family members to let them know she was locked in the Capitol. She complied with orders from the police to stay inside as cable news stations broadcast images of the

grim scene outside.

Soon, Ms. La would learn the reason for that day’s alarm. A knife-wielding assailant had fatally rammed a police officer with his car outside the driveway to the Capitol and wounded another officer. The carnage appeared to be unconnected to the events of Jan. 6, when the pro-Trump mob invaded the building in an attempt to stop the certification of President

Biden’s victory.

But it was another reminder of the lingering impact of that day. Before Jan. 6, the Capitol seemed almost impenetrable, its pristine dome the physical embodiment of a secure and stable democracy. For many, it is now tinged with an unshakable sense of hypervigilance, trauma, anger and sadness.

On Saturday, far-right activists

will hold a rally at the foot of Capitol Hill to demand “justice” for those arrested in connection with the Jan. 6 attack, part of an effort by Republicans to play down or deny what happened.

It remains excruciatingly real for the people who were there. These interviews with some of them, conducted over the last five months, have been edited for length and clarity.

**Lisa Murkowski** United States Senator



Senator Lisa Murkowski, Republican of Alaska, was in her “hideaway” office in the basement of the Capitol when she heard someone tumble down the stairs to the bathroom across from her office. She opened her door to see a police officer — face red and eyes swollen shut — washing his face before rushing back upstairs.

AS I’M PLANTING my stuff, I hear somebody literally tumbling down these five carpeted steps going into the bathroom, and then just this wrenching, heaving — this gut-wrenching sound. I opened up my door and the bathroom door was wide open, and I could see the frame of a police officer right in front of the sink. He was washing his face out. And I said, “Can I help you? Are you OK?” And he looks up at me, his face is red, his eyes are swollen shut. And he said, “No, I’m OK.” He raced by me, he says, “No, I got to get out there. They need my help.”

I WENT BACK to my hideaway a couple days after. It was the first time that I’d been there. There’s still glass, there were still water bottles. They cleaned up some of the mess, but it was still just kind of really eerie and very, very unsettling. The plexiglass riot shields were still out in the hallway there.

I got into my hideaway, and I could not close the door. I was unsettled being there.

I moved out of my hideaway, so I don’t go back there anymore. I really liked it, but it was just too much déjà vu. That memory is still there. That little public bathroom right across from my hideaway — I can just still hear the awful sound of the officer as he was trying to rid himself of whatever the spray was.

THIS HAS BEEN a hard spring for me. A part of it has been because of Covid. I was short-tempered. I just couldn’t get myself out of the hole. I spent more time dwelling on, just looking at my phone and news.

So the April recess, I did something that I’ve never done: “I’m taking one week. And no, you can’t schedule me.”

But you know, nobody wanted me to be by myself. There were heightened threats, apparently, that we had to be attentive to, and I respect that. But I didn’t like the feeling. I felt that my wings had been clipped.

It’s hard. But we’ve got a job to do, and we need to be focusing on what’s in front of us today. So in order to focus on that, maybe the easier thing is to try to push the reality of what we faced those months ago to the further corners of your mind.

It doesn’t make them go away. That story will always be with us.

**Carneysha Mendoza** Capitol Police Captain



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JASON ANDREW FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Capt. Carneysha Mendoza, commander of the Capitol Police’s Civil Disturbance Unit and an Army veteran, was eating lunch with her son at home when she started getting frantic calls about violence at the Capitol. She raced to the scene and fought the mob for hours, suffering chemical burns to her face.

I DROPPED EVERYTHING and came in to work. I immediately called the dispatcher so I know what I’m walking into. I could tell in her voice that it wasn’t good.

As soon as I park, I hear about the breach at the Rotunda. Once I go in, that’s when I see this group of maybe like 200, maybe more. I remember them being loud. I was so overwhelmed with like, “Wow, I can’t believe this just happened. I can’t believe all these people are in the building.”

I just pushed my way through the crowd and immediately, I see my guys, my Civil Disturbance Unit. They were on a line and they were sweating — they were working so hard. And they were holding all these people back. So I immediately jumped on line with no gear on.

My arm got caught between a railing and the crowd. One of my sergeants pulled my arm out and said he saw my arm breaking. We ended up losing the line. The demonstrators overpowered us.

THE ROTUNDA was full of people, and it was smoked out. It took us a long time, but eventually we pushed people out. I didn’t even know I was out of breath until I looked at my Fitbit. It showed me in the exercise zone for four hours.

At the moment, I didn’t feel any type of emotions; I just was focused on the job. After I reflected on things, I was angry. I was really angry. Everything that happened afterward was disappointing. The lack of support from some people, the division, everybody’s trying to blame someone for what happened. And just the fact that it happened here — you know, in the land of the free.

I WENT to the doctor later, and they diagnosed me with chemical burns.

A lot of us got chemical burns, actually. I keep hearing more and more people who got them. I know some people wouldn’t report their injuries. When I inhaled it, I knew I inhaled it, because I felt it burning in my chest.

I went home. I wash my face, wash my hair, and that’s when I kind of started feeling everything burning. My eyes were burning really bad. My face felt like it was on fire. There were nights where I couldn’t sleep because it was burning so bad. My face literally burned for two months.

MOST DAYS when I sit and actually think about it, it makes me upset. Obviously, it’s been difficult. It’s been really difficult. For me as a commander, part of my job is to lead people. Sometimes it’s hard, because you hear a lot of negativity and you want to bring people together.

We don’t like counseling. Most of us have Type A personalities. A lot of people don’t ask for help. I’ve had my ups and downs; it’s like a roller coaster. Some days, I’m fine. Some days I’m focused on making change. And some days, I’m just having a bad day. Sometimes I think we forget to focus on the fact that we were attacked.

I didn’t sleep for a long time.

AS A C.D.U. COMMANDER, I’m always constantly thinking to myself, “What could I have done differently? What could we have done differently?” It’s still a hard question to answer.

Until I get a clear answer, it’s always going to haunt me.

Continued on Following Page



# ‘It’s Always Going to Haunt Me’

Surviving the Capitol Riot, and Living With Trauma, Sadness and Anger

*From Preceding Page*

**Searing Recollections**

Traumatic memories are stronger than other memories.

Fear can function like a blinding flashbulb. During a terrifying experience, hormones like adrenaline are released, with the effect of “burning the memories of the incident into the brain,” according to Dr. Roger Pitman, a psychiatrist at Harvard Medical School who specializes in post-traumatic stress disorder.

This happens for a good biological reason. Stress hormones facilitate learning, helping us to recognize and avoid events that have put us in danger in the past.

But after trauma, the memories can be so vivid that they may cause problems, returning when they are unwanted in the form of bad dreams or intrusive thoughts.

And they may be triggered by incidental details. On Jan. 6, for example, a person inside the Capitol may have feared for her life in a certain room, near a particular statue. The statue can become

what psychologists describe as a “conditioned stimulus,” activating the memory of the whole experience, Dr. Pitman said.

Those memories can impair a person’s concentration, ensnaring him in a memory as he tries to focus on an immediate task. They can trigger fear responses, like a racing heart, sweatiness and jitters. The person may be on edge, disturbed by reminders of the incident, such as the place where it happened.

Those effects generally fade naturally in the months after a

traumatic experience; only after three months would clinicians consider a diagnosis of post-traumatic stress disorder, and even then, only 20 percent of people who live through a traumatic incident will be diagnosed.

But they can be disabling, said Lisa Najavits, a clinical psychologist and adjunct professor at the University of Massachusetts Medical School.

“It can almost be like a place within the person that when they’re reminded of the event, it comes right back,” she said.

*‘No one knows what to say. No one has the right thing to say.’*

*‘I still close my eyes and see that day again.’*

Alisa La Congressional Aide



As the mob breached the Capitol, Ms. La and her colleagues barricaded themselves in a room in House Speaker Nancy Pelosi’s office suite, hiding in the dark as rioters ransacked it. Ms. La recently left her job on Capitol Hill.

YOU’RE SITTING in the dark, and you’re just hearing these awful, haunting noises. Clearly people were throwing glass and all that stuff, but then the things that they were taunting and saying were just disgusting.

I always think about this: What if they opened the door?

THIS IS WHERE we go to work every day. You feel some sort of safety in coming here, and then you just watch it all get destroyed. You have to balance out this personal “I feel violated, my stuff feels violated, my safety feels violated,” but we have this immense responsibility to certify the election and do good for the American people.

It definitely hits you at different times — to every day see new video and all that, and then put it on top of what I walk into every day. That is a little tough. I remember sitting on the speaker’s balcony and we were having a little goodbye lunch for one of our colleagues. Even though nobody could even access that space, all I could see in my head was people running up, and my mood was totally different.

THIS IS NOT LIKE a traumatic thing would be like getting mugged, right? That’s not on the news every day. It’s not in the national conversation, like what happened to us is. It’s just so much bigger than all of us, and to relieve that trauma kind of every day.

We all came back to work Jan. 7, so there’s not really time to heal. I remember coming home and telling my husband, “Can you just make sure you announce yourself as you’re coming in?” I get spooked really easily. And then the slamming of doors was tough.

I’M IN THIS silly Facebook group about Bravo TV and “Real Housewives,” and I find a lot of stress relief in it. I felt more comfortable telling my story on that platform of 10,000 strangers than I did my own Facebook friend group.

I was like, this is my story. I want everyone to know that they came to hurt people. They didn’t come to just destroy things — they just couldn’t find anyone to hurt.

One big thing that I had to deal with is reactions of others. You can’t expect too much. No one knows what to say. No one has the right thing to say.

There’s no manual on how to deal with an insurrection.

Remmington Belford Communications Director



Remmington Belford, the communications director for Representative Yvette D. Clarke, Democrat of New York, was in the Rayburn House Office Building on Jan. 6 when rioters breached the complex.

WHILE IT SEEMS like it’s been ages, I still close my eyes and see that day again. We really saw how fragile our democracy was.

Congress is kind of getting back to normal. A lot of the outrage and disapproval of what happened is starting to go by the wayside. A lot of the members and senators who voted against certifying the election that I feel are responsible, along with former President Trump, are just getting a pass.

I don’t have any type of grace to give them. I saw one of the members of Congress who’s been pretty notorious and involved in that, and I had this overwhelming feeling of — I won’t say fear, but just concern and just, like, wanting to place distance between her and I.

There are still remnants of trauma and fear that these people are still allowed to be here. And they could be plotting another one.

I’M VERY JUMPY. I’m very skeptical. I think with the insurrection compounded with the pandemic, my interest in going into spaces with large crowds has truly almost left me. I have, like, about a 10-person maximum kind of thing. I used to love going out and being in crowds and going to concerts and things like that, but now I just truly enjoy being home.

I work closely with my therapist to identify mechanisms in my space that kind of lull me when my anxiety is heightened, when I think about things like: “What if they’re doing this again?”

I’M FROM THE SOUTH. So there’s this collection of rules that you grew up under. There’s certain places you don’t go after dark, certain exits off a freeway you don’t take because that city is notoriously racist. So being on Capitol Hill, seeing the faces of those people that own that type of disposition, the mass of people so close and so focused on doing harm, for me was one of the scariest portions of what happened that day.

I have close friends now that I did not know prior to the insurrection. Staffers who shared their stories. There’s a camaraderie there; there’s a bonding there. My therapist calls it “trauma bonding.” It has been a blessing and a curse.

It’s created lots of anxiety, but it’s connected me with some amazing people, and that truly has been transformative.

**The 9/11 Effect**

Looping. Scrolling. Poring over photographs and second-by-second digital recreations.

When you have lived through a terrifying experience that is also major news, it can be impossible to step away. The internet offers a deep, perpetually open rabbit hole, an opportunity to flood yourself with detailed, graphic imagery.

For some people, watching footage might be helpful. The brain may be looking for ways to temper the fear response, which is

generated by the amygdalae, almond-shaped clusters of gray matter in the temporal lobe. Clinicians sometimes try to help by exposing the patient to reminders of the episode in an effort to blunt its effect, a process known as “extinction.”

For others, though, ruminating over media coverage deepens their distress and sets back their ability to work and socialize normally, as demonstrated by research carried out after the Sept. 11 attacks and the Boston Marathon bombing.

“Some people really become almost obsessed by an event and keep watching it — almost not wanting to, but not being able to tear themselves away,” Dr. Najavits said.

Still more distressing for those who were in the thick of the Jan. 6 riots is a public effort to play down the seriousness by Republican lawmakers supportive of Mr. Trump.

Dr. James S. Gordon, a Washington psychiatrist who has led support groups for about 80 Capitol Police officers and numerous

members of Congress, described this as a “moral injury.”

“Officers are being accused of being wimps or being derelict in their duties, demeaned and demoralized from outside,” Dr. Gordon said. “They’re putting their bodies out there to protect the lives of these people in Congress, who are saying to them, ‘Nothing much happened. What’s your problem? Get over it.’”

Months after the event, these public denials serve as “a continuation of the betrayal they felt on Jan. 6,” he said.

*‘It was so frightening. It was so, so frightening.’*

*‘I want people to know that as bad as it looks on film, it was probably 10 times worse than that.’*

Veronica Escobar United States Representative



Representative Veronica Escobar, Democrat of Texas, was seated with other lawmakers in the upstairs gallery of the House chamber overlooking the floor, watching the electoral count, when rioters began pounding on the doors.

I REMEMBER the pounding very clearly, and it was so frightening. It was so, so frightening. I remember Jim McGovern, trying to maintain order inside of the chamber — which now, looking back, it, too, just seems so surreal, but it speaks to the fact that we didn’t understand the peril.

I remember being told to put on our gas masks and that awful sound, that awful sound. When I hear that sound, it is very triggering for me, that high-pitched sound.

I remember very clearly people saying, “Take off your pin” [indicating a member of Congress] and me thinking, “Absolutely not.” But I also was conflicted, because I thought, those insurrectionists here to do us harm will recognize the pin; they may be on the lookout for those of us wearing pins. But I also was afraid that Capitol Police would not recognize us as members without our pin.

I did and still do feel more vulnerable as a woman of color in Congress, because the vitriol is so hideous.

I DIDN’T INITIALLY want to go back, because it was so scary. But as the night wore on, I just remember thinking, “We have to finish our work. We have to.” Going back in there did feel like going back to a scene of a crime.

I have not been up in the gallery. We were invited back for the joint address, and I turned the invitation down.

I’m generally a very optimistic, happy, upbeat person, and I also feel very much that obstacles and that challenges make a person

James Blessingame Capitol Police Officer



Officer James Blessingame, a 17-year veteran of the Capitol Police, fought off the mob on Jan. 6 as some rioters shouted racist slurs at him. With another officer, he has filed a lawsuit against former President Donald J. Trump for physical and emotional injuries.

MY SQUAD, we head over to the Capitol, to the Crypt. Then I hear somebody yell, “They’re coming through a window!” I look north. I wish I could come up with a better analogy, but it’s just a horde of zombies running at us full speed. I mean, the whole length of the hall. There’s maybe like eight, 10 of us. People are yelling. They’re throwing stuff. We’re holding the line. Somebody broke a wood stanchion in half and threw it at a guy next to me; he just dropped.

I FELT LIKE I was fighting for my life. My mentality was, “I’ve got to make it home.” I can tell you, legitimately, I did not think I was going to make it home.

On that day there was no instruction on the radio, no guidance. There was no plan. The plan was to survive.

Somehow, we fight to the south side of the Capitol, where we were evacuating members. We hear a gunshot, and everybody starts running.

People were pissing on walls. People were dumping water coolers on the ground. Thinking about it, I just can’t believe that human beings acted in such a way, unprovoked.

It was mob mentality. There was no logic. There was no reason. You could see it in their eyes. I’ve heard people say before: “This person had hate in their eyes.” I thought it was hyperbolic, until I’ve actually seen it with my own eyes.

We were really at their mercy. Their numbers dwarfed us. Up until that day, I’d never

been called a [racial slur] to my face. And I can tell you, that day I was called a [racial slur] to my face more times than I can count. I was called a pig. I was called a traitor.

IT’S STILL HARD. If you have a physical situation, at some point, your body will heal. We can’t move past it. Something comes up every day, every week, where there’s a new piece of information or some film or Congress won’t have a commission or somebody’s trying to change the narrative. You can’t get past that.

We go to work every day to protect Congress, and these people won’t even have our back. We, the officers, did our job. No member of Congress was injured on that day. For them to not have our back, it’s extremely disheartening.

I think people might be getting desensitized to the footage. I want people to know that as bad as it looks on film, it was probably 10 times worse than that.

I’m lucky to be alive.



90 Seconds of Rage on the Capitol Steps

INSIDE, VIOLENCE EBBED. OUTSIDE, 7 MEN UNITED IN A MOMENT OF STUNNING BRUTALITY.



JOSEPH RUSHMORE

Inflamed by a political lie and swept up in a frenzy, rioters on Jan. 6 waged a bitter assault at the threshold of Congress.

By DAN BARRY, ALAN FEUER and MATTHEW ROSENBERG

The American flag became a blunt instrument in the bearded man's hands. Wielding the flagpole like an ax, he swung once, twice, three times, to beat a police officer being dragged down the steps of a United States Capitol under siege.

Other officers also fell under mob attack, while the rest fought to keep the hordes from storming the Capitol and upending the routine transfer of power. Sprayed chemicals choked the air, projectiles flew overhead and the unbridled roars formed a battle-cry din — all as a woman lay dying beneath the jostling scrum of the Jan. 6 riot.

Amid the hand-to-hand combat, seven men from seven different states stood out. Although strangers to

one another, they worked as if in concert while grappling with the phalanx of police officers barring entry to the Capitol.

The moment was a flicker in the chaotic panorama, a 90-second flash of unhinged violence overshadowed by the high drama inside, where rioters menaced in packs, legislators hid in fear and a protester was shot to death.

Now, nine months removed from the mayhem, Republicans bound to former President Donald J. Trump's unfounded assertion that the 2020 election was stolen from him have all but wished the day away: blocking the creation of a bipartisan investigative commission; blaming antifa, or Democrats, or the Federal Bureau of Investigation; and minimizing the overwhelming video evidence.

Even so, a reckoning is underway, as prosecutors

and congressional investigators seek to understand how a political rally devolved into an assault on the citadel of American democracy and those who guard it. They are drilling down on whether the riot was organized and what roles were played by far-right extremist groups, various Trump supporters and Mr. Trump himself.

But it may also help to slow down the video evidence, linger on those 90 seconds on the Capitol steps and trace back the roots of the violence and its perpetrators. Doing so provides a close-up view of how seemingly average citizens — duped by a political lie, goaded by their leaders and swept up in a frenzied throng — can unite in breathtaking acts of brutality.

Nearly a quarter of the more than 600 people arrested in connection with the riot have been charged

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FLOOD OF MONEY  
IN FIGHT TO TAKE  
CONGRESS'S REINS

CASH DOUBLES FROM '20

Democrats and G.O.P.  
Gained \$450 Million  
in 3rd Quarter

By SHANE GOLDMACHER

A dizzying amount of money is already pouring into the battles for the House and the Senate more than a year before the 2022 elections, as Republicans are bullish on their chances to take over both chambers in the first midterm elections under President Biden, given the narrow margins keeping Democrats in power.

The two parties' main war chests for the House total a combined \$128 million — more than double the sum at this point in the 2020 cycle and far surpassing every other previous one. Top House members are now raising \$1 million or more per quarter. And more than two dozen senators and Senate candidates topped that threshold.

Candidate after candidate, and the parties themselves, are posting record-breaking sums, even as the shapes of most House districts nationwide remain in flux because of delays in the once-a-decade redrawing of boundaries.

In Georgia, Senator Raphael Warnock, a Democrat, raised more than \$100,000 per day in the last three months for a \$9.5 million haul. But his leading Republican rival, Herschel Walker, the former football player who was urged to run by former President Donald J. Trump, raised \$3.7 million in a little more than a month, setting up a potentially bruising and expensive contest in that key state.

Politicians in both parties are furiously racing to expand their online donor bases while simultaneously courting big checks from wealthy benefactors. At a Senate

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POLICY SWAP To restore bite to their climate plan, some Democrats push a carbon tax. PAGE 27

For Instagram,  
Dread at Loss  
Of 'Teen Time'

This article is by Sheera Frenkel, Ryan Mac and Mike Isaac.

SAN FRANCISCO — When Instagram reached one billion users in 2018, Mark Zuckerberg, Facebook's chief executive, called it "an amazing success." The photo-sharing app, which Facebook owns, was widely hailed as a hit with young people and celebrated as a growth engine for the social network.

But even as Mr. Zuckerberg praised Instagram, the app was privately lamenting the loss of teenage users to other social media platforms as an "existential threat," according to a 2018 marketing presentation.

By last year, the issue had become more urgent, according to internal Instagram documents obtained by The New York Times. "If we lose the teen foothold in the U.S. we lose the pipeline," read a strategy memo, from last October, that laid out a marketing plan for this year.

In the face of that threat, Instagram left little to chance. Starting in 2018, it earmarked almost its entire global annual marketing budget — planned at \$390 million this year — to targeting teenagers, largely through digital ads, according to planning documents and people directly involved in the

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3 Strangers With One Mission:  
Rescuing a Burned Afghan Girl

By HELENE COOPER

Nabila had been fasting in the hope that God would get her family through the gates of Hamid Karzai International Airport. So when a tear-gas canister thrown by American forces trying to disperse the crowd hit her 8-year-old daughter, Asma, she was too weak to help.

Screaming in pain, with her face mask on fire, the little girl fell to the ground. As smoke spread, Nabila fell too, and was separated from her daughter in the mass of panicked people.

And in that moment, everything seemed lost for Asma, whose father had been killed by the Taliban for the crime of working for the United States military. But soon after the child was injured, a remarkable intervention involving secret American military commandos, a Central Intelligence

Agency base in Kabul and three strangers in the United States began to take shape.

In the years to come, there will be stories about the people who made it out of Afghanistan in the frenetic days before the last U.S. soldier boarded a C-17 plane at the end of the two-decade war. There will be stories about the all-girls robotics team that was flown to Qatar and the American-trained journalists who huddled outside the Abbey Gate at the airport before Marines got them through.

In the final two weeks, the United States evacuated 124,000 people, most of them Afghans. As they arrive at U.S. military bases, each brings a personal story.

Here is Asma's.

Slight and with a head full of long, black hair always pulled into

Continued on Page 14

Taking the Godfather Out of the Picture in Sicily

By JASON HOROWITZ

CATANIA, Italy — The mother had prepared everything for the baptism. She dressed her infant son Antonio in a handmade satin suit with tails and a matching cream-colored top hat glittering with rhinestones. She hired the photographers and bought the baby a gold cross. She booked a big buffet lunch for the whole clan at the Copacabana.

But as the parish priest in the Sicilian city of Catania went through the usual liturgy, calling on the family to renounce Satan and ladling holy water on the squirming baby's head, one major part of the ritual went missing.

There was no godfather.

"It's not right," said Agata Peri, 68, little Antonio's great-grandmother. "I definitely didn't make this decision."

The church did. That weekend in October, the Roman Catholic diocese of Catania enacted a three-year ban on the ancient tradition



GIANNI CIPRIANO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Samuel De Luca's baptism in Catania, Italy. Worries about secularization, and mob ties, have led to a diocese ban on godparents.

of naming godparents at baptisms and christenings. Church officials argue that the once-essential figure in a child's Catholic education has lost all spiritual significance. Instead, they say, it has become a networking opportunity for families looking to improve their fortunes, secure endowments of gold necklaces and make advantageous connections, sometimes with local power brokers who have dozens of godchildren.

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Top Ally of Maduro Extradited

A financial fixer for President Nicolás Maduro of Venezuela faces money laundering charges in the U.S. PAGE 14

Syrian Official Is Assassinated

The Syrian government accused Israel of killing a high-ranking official near the countries' shared border. PAGE 14

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The crises in Benton Harbor and Flint expose broader failures as a congressional push to address the country's troubled water system stalls. PAGE 16

Walking a Fine Line in Virginia

Republicans say what their nominee in next month's election for governor will not: It's about Donald J. Trump. PAGE 19

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The Passion of Questlove

The drummer, D.J. and producer is driven by an obsession with spreading the joys of Black music. PAGE 30



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Buyers are using sophisticated software to snap up in-demand shoes, and online retailers are battling back. PAGE 10

Stand Clear of This Stuff

SubwayCreatures, an Instagram account, delights in the weird happenings in and on New York subways. PAGE 1

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'I Wanted to Be a Good Cop'

Katrina Brownlee was abused and shot by her boyfriend, a guard at Rikers Island. Told she'd never walk again, she went on to earn her own badge. PAGE 1

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'Insecure' and Imperfection

The HBO show, which ends this season, consistently depicted its characters as authentically flawed, says its co-creator and star Issa Rae. PAGE 14

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Big Plans to Save the Earth

Andrew Forrest wants to lead heavy industry to a climate change revolution — and beat the fossil fuel industry along the way. PAGE 1





# 90 Seconds of Rage on the Capitol Steps

INSIDE THE BUILDING, THE VIOLENCE WAS WINDING DOWN. BUT OUTSIDE, AN ANGRY MOB WAS ROILING.

From Page 1

with assaulting or impeding police officers. But only a handful of that subset have any ties to extremist provocateurs like the Oath Keepers or the Proud Boys. The most violent on Jan. 6, it seems, were the most ordinary — a slice of the Trump faithful.

They largely represent a group certain to have powerful sway in the nation's tortured politics to come: whiter, slightly older and less likely than the general voting population to live in a city or be college-educated. Recent studies indicate that they come from places where people tend to fear the replacement of their ethnic and cultural dominance by immigrants, and adhere to the false belief that the 2020 election was stolen.

This description generally fits the seven men, now bound together by federal prosecutors as co-defendants in an indictment charging them with myriad felonies. To a man, they are described in superlatives by relatives and friends: perfect neighbor, devout churchgoer, attentive father, good guy. They include:

The bearded truck driver from Arkansas who weaponized Old Glory. A heavy-machine operator from Michigan who once modeled for the covers of romance novels. A fencing contractor from Georgia. A geophysicist from Colorado. A former Marine from Pennsylvania. A deputy sheriff from Tennessee.

And a self-made businessman from Kentucky named Clayton Ray Mullins, 52, described as a well-intentioned person devoted to keeping his small country church afloat. He does not drink, smoke, curse or bother with social media, and prefers old westerns to the news.

On the first Sunday of 2021, Mr. Mullins arrived at the church before anyone else, as always, and made sure everything was just so — down to placing a water glass at the pulpit for the morning's preacher. The next day, Jan. 4, he began the two-day drive with his wife and a sister to a place he'd never been: Washington.

They say they thought this might be their last chance to experience a Trump rally. They say they had no intention of rioting or trespassing to keep Mr. Trump in office.

Even if this were true, why did Mr. Mullins join the mob overrunning the Capitol grounds? Why was he standing so close to the violent standoff with the police? Why did he pull on the leg of a downed officer under attack?

Sitting recently in his empty church, so far from Washington, Mr. Mullins began to weep, as the question hung heavy over him, his family, his community, this country.

Why?

**'We Need Patriots!'**

The thing is, Mr. Mullins almost hadn't gone to Washington.

The hastily planned trip had depended on whether his wife, Nancy, could get time off from her job as a physical therapist. Once she got permission, the Mullinses and one of his sisters, Tena Mullins Sisson, rented a Honda Accord and headed out.

"I told Clayton it was something to see," Nancy Mullins said of Washington. "Plus you get to see Trump."

In his western Kentucky community, Mr. Mullins is known as a political activist or even a man of strong opinion, other than that Jesus Christ is his lord and savior.

He grew up in Wingo, a town of 800 just outside Mayfield, the Graves County seat, which features several religious-goods stores and no saloons. After high school, he roped cattle and dabbled in auctioneering before opening Mullins Machinery, a salvage business that operates from a lot cluttered with rusted heavy equipment.

He would bid on distressed machinery at auctions throughout the South, traveling in the Nissan Frontier truck that he bought, used, nearly 20 years ago. It has since clocked more than 1.4 million miles.


Mr. Mullins and his wife, whom he met in the seventh grade, live beside a lake about 30 miles north of Wingo. But he spends a lot of time in his hometown, drawn to the steeped cornerstone of his life, the Little Obion Baptist Church, which has 12 pews and a history going back 175 years.

There is no longer a permanent pastor, though, and the full-immersion baptistery has fallen out of use. Mr. Mullins is the treasurer, handyman and quiet benefactor who finds the preachers for sparsely attended Sunday services.

"He's been the burden-carrier

Kitty Bennett and Julie Tate contributed research. Malachy Browne and Dmitry Khavin contributed reporting.

LOGAN BARNHART

Heavy-machine operator, 40, from Michigan who trained as a bodybuilder and worked as a model.

MICHAEL LOPATIC

Former Marine, 57, and father of four who volunteers at his church in Pennsylvania.

RONALD MCABEE

Sheriff's deputy, 27, from Tennessee; wore an anti-government Three Percenter patch at the rally.


CLAYTON RAY MULLINS

Owner of a salvage business, 52; devoted to keeping his small Kentucky church afloat.

JEFFREY SABOL

Colorado geophysicist, 51, and father of three; said to have strong conservative beliefs.

PETER STAGER

Truck driver, 42, from Arkansas whose neighbors, Black and white, recalled him as helpful and not political.

JACK WADE WHITTON

Former fitness instructor, 31, from Georgia; said to embrace right-wing conspiracy theories.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY JOSEPH RUSINORE

In suffocating clouds of chemical irritants, Americans fought other Americans with fists and cudgels, with bear spray and hunks of broken wood, roaring in combat frenzy and spilling blood on the white steps of their country's democratic center.

during the Jan. 6 riot.

On Monday, Jan. 4, the three Trump supporters from Kentucky drove more than 400 miles before stopping in southwestern Virginia. The next day they drove 360 miles more, parking on Constitution Avenue in time to do some sightseeing and catch the end of a "Stop the Steal" rally, where a tag team of speakers warned of a country on the precipice — of a fight being waged between good and evil, the godly and the godless.

Once the evening's battle cried ended, the trio returned to Constitution Avenue to find that their rental car, with all their luggage, had been towed.

Late the next morning, Jan. 6, they made their way to the Ellipse, a sprawling park just south of the White House, for the "Save America March." The rally's purpose: to sound the alarm that in a few hours, Congress would certify what the president had proclaimed a fraudulent election — another step in the transition of government to culminate on Inauguration Day, two weeks away.

The speakers did their best to flatter, coax and enrage the gathered thousands into action. "The

greatest group of patriots ever put together," Mr. Trump's middle son, Eric, declared, while his eldest, Donald Jr., warned that Trump supporters would be "coming for" any Republican legislator who voted for certification.

It was noon by the time the president took his place before the bank of American flags arrayed onstage. Standing behind a protective shield in a dark overcoat and black gloves, Mr. Trump exhorted his loyalists to march to the Capitol and somehow stop Congress from certifying the election. He said they would never take back their country with weakness, they had to show strength — and as they marched, "I'll be there with you."

In spirit only. After dispatching his followers, Mr. Trump and his family, who had been watching the rally on television in the celebratory atmosphere of a nearby tent, vanished from view.

The Mullinses were so far from the stage during Mr. Trump's long speech that they heard more echoes than words. "I think he said we were going to march," Ms. Mullins recalled.

They joined the human river of frustration flowing the two miles

ness: the hostility and fear, the valor and violence — the shocking but ultimately failed attempt to derail the republic's democratic process in the name of Donald J. Trump, who had closed his incendiary speech at the Ellipse with: "God bless you. And God bless America."

But the startling scenes inside the Capitol tend to eclipse the medieval civil war that was waged just beyond its doors. In suffocating clouds of chemical irritants, Americans fought other Americans with fists and cudgels, with bear spray and hunks of broken wood, roaring in combat frenzy and spilling blood on the white steps of their country's democratic center.

Adding to the sense of a republic turned upside down was that many of the rioters identified with the Republican Party, which has long prided itself on being the champion of law and order. But here they were, fighting police officers, the very defenders of law and order.

The rioters kept coming, a rag-tag army in mismatched colors: the orange knit caps of the Proud Boys, the green camouflage jackets of men girding to fight antifa, the red-white-and-blue shirts and caps and flags espousing allegiance to Mr. Trump. Some walked with a jaw-jutting air, others ran, as if storming a beachfront.

Along the Capitol's west side, knots of rioters pressed against the interlocking metal barricades, while police officers pushed back to hold the line. "Push forward, patriots!" one insurgent kept screaming. "Push forward!"

Pepper balls flew, flags rippled and flash bangs detonated in failed attempts to disperse the determined mob, as police radios crackled with battlefield updates: "Multiple officers injured at the Capitol, west side."

Throughout, Clayton Ray Mullins was often in the frame, a Zelig among insurgents in black gloves and a gray winter coat, with a distinctive crop of thick brown hair.

Here he was, joining hundreds of others near the lower west terrace in singing "The Star-Spangled Banner" off key. Here he was, at the front of a tense standoff between rioters and officers separated by barricades and differing understandings of patriotism, as a man in a Trump cap beside him sprayed the officers with an irritant, used his "Stop the Steal" sign to shield the blowback and melted back into the crowd.

Mr. Mullins winced as the chemical cloud hit his face. Still, he stayed on the scene.

By 2:45, he was near the fore of a roaring mob forcing police officers to backpedal on the terrace, their riot shields raised, their backs nearly to the wall. As scuffles broke out, someone near him was shouting: "Take their helmets! Take their face masks!"

By 3, Mr. Mullins was standing high up on the Capitol's ascending stone balustrade, holding an American flag and taking in the sweeping view of the raucous gathering below. He wasn't moving or chanting or even waving his flag. He was just standing, still as a sentry.

**'Go Forth and Fight'**

Circulating in the milling crowd around Mr. Mullins were six strangers destined to become his co-defendants.

One was Peter Stager, 42, a burly truck driver whose long dark hair and full beard would distinguish him in any crowd. He had stopped to join the Trump rally on his way back from a delivery in New Jersey to take some photographs, his employer, Charlie Penrod, later testified. "And the other things, he was asked by the president to show support."

Had Mr. Stager instead kept driving, he would have returned to the small Arkansas city of Conway. Back to his one-story brick house on a working-class street where residents, Black and white, knew him as an even-keeled father of two teenagers who went out of his way to help others.

A next-door neighbor, Karmesia Odonell, recalled that when her water heater broke down, Mr. Stager installed the new unit free of charge. "It's a big job, and he just did it for us," Ms. Odonell said.

Mr. Stager tended to talk a lot, but never about politics, as far as anyone could remember. "Not even once," said his close friend Melvin Jemerson, who is not a Trump supporter.

"I'm not a politics person," Mr. Jemerson said. "It is what it is. What can we do about it? We can just go to work every day and come home and take care of our families."

"I thought Pete was like that, too."

Also trespassing on the Capitol grounds that wintry afternoon was Jack Wade Whitton, 31, carrying a military-style backpack and wearing a red-billed "Trump 2020" baseball cap over his thinning brown hair.

He had also accepted the election results. "No one man has the power," he would say. "You're not supposed to put one man up on a pedestal and think he's going to bring peace to the world."

Still, he left his wife and sister behind and joined the trespassing throng.

**Upside-Down Republic**

Glass shattered, and a dark-clothed man climbed over the shards of a broken window and leapt down like a cat burglar to the polished floor. The moment, at about 2:13 in the afternoon, marked the first sustained breach of the Capitol since a fiery attack by the British in 1814 — only this time, the attackers were Americans.

Other insurrectionists followed, including one wielding a bat and another holding a Confederate flag. A locked door was kicked open, other windows were smashed and the rioters rushed in.

What ensued in the Capitol's hallowed halls and chambers over the next two hours has been seared in the national consciousness: the hostility and fear, the valor and violence — the shocking but ultimately failed attempt to derail the republic's democratic process in the name of Donald J. Trump, who had closed his incendiary speech at the Ellipse with: "God bless you. And God bless America."

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Several friends have sent glowing reference letters to the federal judge handling Mr. Whitton's criminal case. But some of those friends were decidedly less politic when contacted by a reporter.

One of them, Alexander Shakkour, a commercial pilot, wrote that his friend was "a hard-working, charismatic and humble leader." But in a recent phone conversation, after deriding a reporter for trying to "take down a real patriot," he asked, "How'd you like to meet me in person?" — punctuating his taunt with an expletive.

When the reporter pointed out that he had tried to meet him in person by going to his front door, Mr. Shakkour called him another crude name and hung up.

A few years ago, Mr. Whitton branched out by starting his own fencing company, which was doing well by the start of 2021. When plans to visit family in Florida fell through, he and Ms. McLean instead flew to hear Mr. Trump speak for what they thought was probably their last opportunity.

"They did not go to 'stop the steal' or disrupt Congress, Ms. McLean recalled recently, as she stood outside their apartment, her arms folded, her eyes averted.

"Everything was fine," she said. "Everything was great. It was a happy experience the entire day. And then — I don't know."

There at the Capitol, too, was Jeffrey Sabol, 51, wearing a crash helmet and carrying a backpack containing a two-way radio, an earpiece and a bundle of zip ties. He had traveled from the Colorado mountain town of Kittredge, where people knew him as a ruggedly playing father of three who worked as a geophysicist, specializing in the removal of unexploded munitions at mines and other energy installations.

"His job is safety and protecting



SIMMERING UNREST  
In the late afternoon, while making false claims on Twitter about a "fraudulent" election, the president told the rioters and trespassers he'd emboldened to go home. Out on the west terrace, their fury only grew.

others," his sister wrote to the judge handling his case.

While Mr. Sabol held strong conservative beliefs, one of his friends, a self-described liberal Democrat, wrote the judge that the geophysicist was one of the few people he could "have a conversation with about politics and it doesn't get nasty." But Mr. Sabol's sister — whose name was redacted in court documents — described a troubling trajectory that began with his divorce in 2011 and worsened with the death of his older brother three years later.

"I believe at this point, Jeff lost his bearing and allowed himself to be led by others that steered him down a negative path," she wrote.

He had come to Washington for what "he thought were good rea-

*'Everything was fine. Everything was great. It was a happy experience the entire day. And then — I don't know.'*

HALEY McLEAN, the fiancée of Jack Wade Whitton, who is charged in the Jan. 6 riot

sons at the time," one of his lawyers later said. "The president of the United States of America was telling citizens, 'Something evil has happened, and you all have to go fix it.'"

Others had answered this call. Ronald McAbbee, 27, a sheriff's deputy from Williamson County, Tenn., just south of Nashville, had been in a car accident days earlier. He had injured his hip and shoulder and been granted medical leave.

Despite these injuries, Mr. McAbbee, described by those who know him as a good and upright man, had come prepared for action. He wore a red MAGA hat, reflective sunglasses and black gloves with metal knuckles, and his text messages with a friend suggested that they expected violence. Referring to the injuries from his accident, Mr. McAbbee wrote, "I'll slap a commie with this dead arm."

And when Mr. Trump tweeted about the need for a strong turnout at the Jan. 6 rally, a Michigan man named Logan Barnhart tweeted in response: "I'll be

there."

Now here he was, moving through the crowd in an American-flag hat, his extraordinary physique covered by a hooded sweatshirt bearing the logo of the Caterpillar construction equipment company. Mr. Barnhart, 40, a heavy-machine operator from a Lansing suburb, had trained as a bodybuilder and modeled bare-chested for the covers of books like "Stepbrother UnSEALed: A Bad Boy Military Romance."

Among the actual veterans trespassing on Capitol grounds was Michael Lopatic, 57, from Pennsylvania. Six foot four, well over 200 pounds and sporting a scraggly gray beard, he announced his military affiliation with his red Marines cap and his political affiliation with a "Trump 2020" T-shirt that said, "PTSD: Pretty Tired of Stupid Democrats."

Mr. Lopatic served in civil-war-torn Beirut in the early 1980s before taking part in the American invasion of Grenada, where he suffered injuries and hearing loss in a mortar explosion. He left the Marines on disability and, according to one of his lawyers, has not held a full-time job in years. But his military service has remained central to his identity, as one peculiar incident would attest.

While in line at a Chinese buffet in 2012, Mr. Lopatic helped himself to the crab legs — all of them — prompting an enraged man behind him to start a fistfight. Later, Mr. Lopatic told the doctors treating his injuries that he'd been jumped in an attempted robbery.

Confronted by this lie at his assaillant's criminal trial, Mr. Lopatic said: "Talk about a hit to your masculinity. I'm supposed to tell people I got beat up at a Chinese buffet over crab legs? I'm a former Marine. This isn't supposed to happen to me."

Mr. Lopatic and his Laotian-born wife, Chinh, have four children and live just outside downtown Lancaster. He is an active parishioner at Historic St. Mary's Catholic church, ushering at Sunday Mass, volunteering with the meals-on-wheels program and joining the parish's marriage-strengthening program, "I Still Do." Another participant in the program, John Claus, later wrote, "Violence is simply not in this man's nature that I have observed."

Still, some of Mr. Lopatic's friends said they noticed an unsettling embrace of conspiracy theories after the presidential election. "He got all twisted up," said a friend who asked not to be identified. "He just spent too much time

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# 90 Seconds of Rage on the Capitol Steps

THEY CAME FROM ACROSS THE U.S., SEEMINGLY AVERAGE CITIZENS UNITED IN A MOMENT OF BREATHTAKING BRUTALITY.



JOSEPH RUSSINOWE

From Preceding Page

listening to lies. He really, really believed.”

A day after the election, Mr. Lopatic posted a photograph on Facebook of two bloodied pheasants he had killed. “Both head shots,” he wrote. “I got a rooster and a hen. I named them Joe and Kamala.”

Two days later, he posted photographs of two other shot pheasants. “I named this one Schumer,” he wrote of one, presumably referring to Chuck Schumer, the New York Democrat who would soon become Senate majority leader; “I called this old bird Nancy,” he wrote of the other, an apparent reference to the House speaker, Nancy Pelosi.

By New Year’s Day, Mr. Lopatic had committed to rallying in Washington on Jan. 6. He wrote, “UNITED WE STAND, GO FORTH AND FIGHT!”

## War on the West Terrace

With dusk approaching, mayhem reigned. At its center was a fevered cluster of humanity on the Capitol’s west side, mustering its collective rage to batter through an arched portal that figures prominently on inauguration Day every four years.

“Heave-ho!” they shouted, like sailors set to task.

In two weeks, Mr. Biden would emerge from this door to take the oath as president, in a ceremony meant to convey stability and continuity on the terrace of Massachusetts marble, with woodwork and

scaffolding everywhere.

But rioters had been scaling that scaffolding as part of their offensive. Now they were using its metal bars, confiscated riot shields and anything else at hand to remove a blockade of officers straining to keep them from entering the building.

The insurgents managed to get just inside the archway, where a wall of sweat-stained riot shields was blocking them at the beeping metal-detector checkpoint. In the surreal half-light they kept pushing, pushing, moving like a body at war with itself.

“They’re getting tired!” some-

With dusk approaching, mayhem reigned. At its center was a fevered cluster of humanity on the Capitol’s west side, mustering its fury to batter through an arched portal that would figure prominently in the inauguration.

one shouted. “We got fresh fucking meat here! Push ‘em back!”

Amid the spasmodic violence, the unthinkable became routine: the throwing of poles like spears at the police, a vandal working unimpeded to smash a Capitol window. And at the archway’s edge, a woman sprawled on the ground, unconscious.

This was Rosanne Boyland, 34, from Kennesaw, Ga., a passionate Trump supporter whose embrace of conspiracy theories had worried her family. It was as if these outlandish beliefs — including that top Democrats belonged to a global pedophile ring — had be-

come a replacement addiction for Ms. Boyland, who had worked hard at sobriety after years of substance abuse.

She had come to Washington with a friend, Justin Winchell, who earlier in the day had taken a photograph of her in all her “Save America March” splendor: holding a large yellow “Don’t Tread on Me” flag and wearing red-white-and-blue sunglasses. But now she was on the marble terrace, out, her friend kneeling beside her, pleading for help.

Mr. Mullins stood close by. He later said he was trying to stand over Ms. Boyland to protect her,

with the undulating crush of people so strong that he temporarily lost his shoes.

Then Mr. Mullins either stepped away or was shoved, as the rolling crowd began another push. Some shouted a taunting appropriation of a Black Lives Matter chant, echoing the final words of Eric Garner, an unarmed Black man who died after being choked by a New York City police officer in 2014.

“I can’t breathe!” they yelled over the body of a woman slipping from life. “I can’t breathe!”

Metropolitan Police Department officers in protective gear

were now positioned at the threshold. Among them were members of a specially trained Civil Disturbance Unit that included Officers Blake Miller, Carter Moore and Andrew Wayne, all with less than four years on the force. They had just arrived in response to an emergency call: officers in need of assistance.

By now Mr. Trump had issued a video by tweet, falsely asserting once again that the election was “fraudulent.” He told the rioters he loved them, then said, “I know how you feel, but go home — and go home in peace.”

They did not.

In an instant, at 4:27, the fraught scene exploded. A roar went up as insurgents and police officers fought hand to hand. Someone threw a riot shield; someone swung a hockey stick; someone stumbled away with his face awash in blood. In the middle of it all stood a man dressed as a red-white-and-blue bald eagle.

“U.S.A.!” the trespassers sang again. “U.S.A.!”

From the back of the crowd, a man in a “Trump 2020” cap raised a middle finger high and rushed up like a cornerback intent on a tackle. This was Jack Wade Whitton, the fencing contractor from Georgia. He and his six future co-defendants were all within yards of one another, all about to play their roles in the 90 seconds of brutality to come, as reflected in court documents, crowdsourced video and footage from officers’ body cameras.

From the officers’ perspective, the scene as framed by the archway was like a stained-glass win-

dow brought to violent life, with the reds and blues of Trump regalia coming toward them — and the majestic Washington Monument in the far distance. Now the menacing mob was upon them.

An unidentified rioter grabbed Officer Wayne by the face and knocked him to the ground. Jeffrey Sabol — the geophysicist from Colorado, wearing a green military-style helmet — then yanked a baton from the officer’s hand with such force that Sabol fell backward down the steps.

Mr. Whitton, meanwhile, began thrusting a metal crutch at those guarding the archway, targeting Officer Miller in particular. He climbed over a railing, kicked at the fallen Officer Wayne and wrestled with Officer Miller, pulling the man by his helmet and dragging him down face first. Several rioters helped him, including Logan Barnhart, the heavy-machine operator and body builder from Michigan.

Returning to the fray, Mr. Sabol held the stolen police baton against Officer Miller’s neck, then jerked the officer into the mob while punching him in the back.

Mr. Sabol would later claim that he was merely patting the officer and saying, “We got you, man.” He would also claim that he was a “patriot warrior,” answering a call to battle.

A few steps down stood Peter Stager, the bearded truck driver and family man from Arkansas; in his hand was the American flag, attached to a pole. As Mr. Barnhart, Mr. Sabol and others dragged Officer Miller down the steps, Mr. Stager raised the flag-

pole and struck the defenseless policeman three times.

He would later be filmed pointing at the Capitol and saying, “Death’s the only remedy for what’s in that building,” and “Everybody in there is a treasonous traitor!”

A few steps above, as a Trump flag and a “Stop the Steal” sign were being weaponized against the police, Mr. Mullins joined the action. He began yanking on the booted right foot of the prostrate Officer Wayne, engaging in a tug of war with other officers trying to save their colleague.

Mr. Mullins would later say that he had been trying to rescue the officer by pulling him away from the dangerous front lines — “out of the storm.”

Ronald McAbee, the deputy from Tennessee, was now right outside the door, his intentions as confusing as the patches he wore: one saying “Sheriff,” the other featuring the emblem of the Three Percenters, the anti-government militia movement. He was bending over Officer Wayne — his lawyer would later say to provide aid — when he was hit with a baton, possibly by Officer Moore. An enraged Mr. McAbee began shoving, swinging and swearing.

At this point, a bearish, gray-bearded man in a Marines cap rushed up the steps, his T-shirt announcing a weariness with “Stupid Democrats.” This was Michael Lopatic, church volunteer and former Marine from Pennsylvania.

As Officer Moore tried to push past Mr. McAbee, Mr. Lopatic grabbed him by the head and began punching furiously. This freed up Mr. McAbee to grab Officer Wayne by the torso, drag him down the steps and pin him to the ground.

Officer Wayne was ultimately pulled into the violent sea. There, federal investigators say, rioters ripped off his helmet, stripped him of his baton, cellphone and gas mask; sprayed him with Mace; kicked him; struck him with poles; and stomped on him.

The assaults on the police were vicious and sustained. “Carter told me he thought for sure he was going to die,” Officer Moore’s mother, Stephanie Smith, later told The Seafood Star in his Delaware hometown.

When Officer Moore’s colleague, Officer Miller, who had been beaten about the head and body, tried to make his way up the steps with the help of some protesters, Mr. Mullins waved them back and pushed on the officer’s black helmet, as if to stop him.

“They wanted to turn him back to the crowd that was beating him,” Mr. Mullins said. “Why would we feed him back into what we had pulled him out of?”

Now even deeper in the mob, Officer Miller seemed dazed but still intent on returning to his post in the archway. As at least 14 protesters surrounded him, with some trying to protect him from others, Mr. Lopatic approached, his face cut and T-shirt bloodied. With one quick move, he reached over and removed the officer’s body-worn camera.

Throughout these frenetic 90 seconds, Ms. Boyland lay amid debris at the foot of the archway. Her stomach was exposed, her body jostled by rioters oblivious in their rage. In her outstretched hand were those red-white-and-blue sunglasses.

“I got my arm underneath her, and I was pulling her out, pulling her out, and then another guy fell on top of her, and then another guy was just walking,” her friend Mr. Winchell later told an Atlanta television station. “I mean, there was people crushed.”

Ms. Boyland was suffering the effects of acute amphetamine intoxication, but police officers close by were unable to reach her because of the mob’s furious offensive. Kneeling beside her, Mr. Winchell frantically called for assistance, but he could not be heard above the clattering batons and profane roars, including that of Mr. Stager, who was coming up the steps with an American flag in hand, yelling, “Traitors!”

Then came a lull. And someone screamed, “She’s fucking dead!”

## Epilogue

In the fresh wake of the deadly riot, a reeling country began to assess what just had happened, and why. This included quantifying the physical and psychological injuries to more than 140 officers, among them Officers Wayne, Moore and Miller. These officers, as well as the Metropolitan Police Department, declined to comment.

The assessment also required tracking down the many hundreds responsible, including seven particular men on the lower west terrace. If found and convicted, they would face years in prison.

Mr. Sabol, the geophysicist, returned home to Colorado. Fearing charges of sedition, federal prosecutors say, he destroyed any-



SHANNON STAPLETON/REUTERS



## INTO THE FRAY

From top: Seven defendants charged in the riot converged on the west terrace; Mr. Lopatic waded through the mob with his beard and shirt covered in blood; several of the suspects surrounded an officer wounded on the marble steps.

thing that might be taken as anti-government and tried his electronic devices in a microwave oven. He then traveled to Boston with a plan to flee to Switzerland, where he would ski to make the trip “look natural.”

But once at the airport, he believed the police were talking about his backpack, so he aborted the plan and began driving a rental car west. Along the way, he tossed his cellphone.

On Jan. 11, police spotted a car moving erratically through New York’s Rockland County. The bloodied driver, who apparently had been slashing himself with a razor, was Mr. Sabol, who soon explained that he was “done fighting.”

“I was fighting tyranny in the D.C. Capitol,” he told the police. “I am wanted by the F.B.I.”

Three days later, Mr. Stager — his identity revealed to the F.B.I. by an acquaintance who recognized the bearded man swinging the flagpole — was arrested in a lawyer’s office in Conway, his hair now short, his beard a trim goatee. As officers led him to his jail cell, he seemed almost jovial, as if not grasping the severity of the seven charges against him, including assaulting a police officer.

“Be safe!” he called out. “Have a good one.”

Mr. Lopatic, the former Marine, drove back to Pennsylvania the night of the riot, discarding along the way the body camera he had removed from a besieged Officer Miller just hours before. After a family member contacted the F.B.I., he was arrested on Feb. 3 at home, where investigators found the bloodstained T-shirt saying “Pretty Tired of Stupid Democrats.”

Mr. Whitton, the contractor, was arrested in Georgia on April 1, several weeks after a high school acquaintance tipped off the F.B.I. Investigators had been especially keen to find him in part because he had returned to the archway after the 90-second battle to threaten the officers (“You’re going to die tonight”) and because he had sent a text message bragging about

sacrificing an officer to the mob (“Yea I fed him to the people. Idk his status. Don’t care tbh”).

Mr. Whitton’s grandmother, Sandra Bivins, dismissed one officer’s injuries as “a skinned chin and some bruises,” and said, “They made the whole thing political.” Still, she added, her incarcerated grandson is deeply remorseful. “He’s saying, ‘I’ve wasted my whole life,’” she said. “I’ve thrown my life away.”

With the help of online crowdsourcing efforts, both men were finally arrested in mid-August and

combed-back brown hair.

Three weeks after the riot, the F.B.I. received a tip that ultimately led to a bank in Mayfield, where an employee who had known Mr. Mullins for decades said that he’d been in the lobby just the day before.

One evening in late February, Mr. Mullins drove his well-traveled Nissan Frontier out of his salvage yard and onto Highway 45, only to be pulled over minutes later by law enforcement officials. He spent a week in custody in Paducah before being granted house arrest.

Relatives and friends still puzzle over how a man they knew as apolitical and of deep faith wound up at the center of the Capitol riot. But they all echo Mr. Mullins’s contention that he was trying to help, not hinder, the officers he encountered. The one whose foot he had grabbed. The one whose head he had shoved.

Richard Heatherly, Mr. Mullins’s former pastor, said he was convinced the man had gone to Washington “to show support for the president, the country and law and order.” In defending his friend, the retired minister said that the Black Lives Matter movement had been “the spearhead of breaking into the building” — an assertion not based in fact.

The very real prospect of spending a long time away from Wingo looms over Mr. Mullins, who — along with his six co-defendants — has pleaded not guilty. But as he awaits his fate, he wears an ankle monitor and tries to carry on.

He salvages and repairs equipment at Mullins Machinery. He spends time at the Little Obion Baptist Church, tending to the maintenance, arranging for Sunday preachers. He watches reruns of “Gunsmoke.”

But never far from Mr. Mullins’s mind is what he thought to himself on the evening of Jan. 6, as he walked away from the profoundly damaged United States Capitol, his face wet with tears:

“We never should have come here.”



SAMUEL CORUM/GETTY IMAGES



WILLIAM DESHAZER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mr. Mullins, at the balustrade, far left, says he supported the Trump re-election bid but accepted his loss. In Kentucky, he is not known as an activist, keeps off social media and spends much of his time helping run his church, right.