

# The January 6 Hearings: Georgia

## Spotlight

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

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

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### I. EVENTS IN GEORGIA LEADING UP TO JANUARY 6 ATTACK

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

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

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

- On December 28, 2020, Jeffrey Clark, acting Assistant Attorney General for the Justice Department's Civil Division, emailed his superiors a draft proposal urging Georgia officials to convene a special legislative session to investigate the election.<sup>18</sup> His email also included "assurances that the Department of Justice would look into election fraud" but his superiors refused to pursue the proposal.<sup>19</sup>
- On January 2, 2021, Trump held the now infamous hour-long call with some of his supporters, including White House Chief of Staff Mark Meadows and attorney Cleta Mitchell, and several Georgia election officials.<sup>20</sup> During that call, Trump called on Secretary of State Raffensperger and his general counsel, Ryan Germany, to "find 11,780 votes" in his favor.<sup>21</sup> 11,780 votes "constitutes one more than the vote gap between him and Biden."<sup>22</sup>
- On January 4, 2021, U.S. Attorney for the Northern District of Georgia, Byung J. Pak, whom Trump had nominated in July 2017, abruptly resigned, reportedly disclosing to congressional investigators that his resignation was caused by a warning that Trump intended to fire him for "refusing to say that widespread voter fraud had been found in Georgia."<sup>23</sup>
- Also on January 4, 2021, Trump attended a Georgia rally where he continued to "cast doubt on the legitimacy of November's election results and the trustworthiness of Georgia's current election officials."<sup>24</sup>
- Twelve Republican Georgia state legislators (along with Republican legislators from Arizona, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Pennsylvania) signed a letter to Vice President Mike Pence, dated January 5, 2021.<sup>25</sup> The letter urged Pence to delay the counting of electoral votes for at least 10 days to allow the state legislatures time to certify or decertify the election.<sup>26</sup>
- The same lies and conspiracy theories that fueled the January 6 attack contributed to threatening and violent messages aimed at election officials, including in Georgia. These threats were launched over email, voicemails, texts, letters, social media, and in-person events including gathering outside election officials' homes. They often expressed false claims that the election was stolen.<sup>27</sup>

## II. GEORGIA ACTORS INVOLVED IN JANUARY 6 ACTIVITIES

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

- Anthony Aguero (conservative live streamer): Aguero is an associate of Representative Marjorie Taylor Greene (R-GA). He entered the Capitol during the January 6 attack.<sup>28</sup> While Greene was not at the Capitol on January 6, she has made repeated false claims about the 2020 election results and the January 6 attack.<sup>29</sup>
- Vernon Jones (former Georgia state representative): A former Democrat, Jones spoke at the "Save America March" in D.C. on January 6.<sup>30</sup> Jones is currently running in a June 2022 Republican runoff race for a Georgia congressional seat.<sup>31</sup>
- Indictments: At least 18 people with Georgia ties have been charged for their involvement in the January 6 attack<sup>32</sup> and their cases have been progressing through the courts:<sup>33</sup> Kevin Creek, Verden Andrew Nalley, Glen Mitchell Simon, Ronald Loehrke, Matthew Webler, Bruno Cua, Nolan Harold Kidd, Savannah Danielle McDonald, Benjamin Henry Torre, Lisa Eisenhart, Joseph (Jose) Padilla, Jack Whitton, William Calhoun Jr., Jonathan Laurens, Blas Santillan, Brian Ulrich, Michael Shane Daughtry, and Christopher Stanton Georgia.

## III. GEORGIA'S FRAUDULENT PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS SLATE

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

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

## **IV. POST-JANUARY 6 DEVELOPMENTS IN GEORGIA**

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

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

- Rudy Giuliani: An attorney for Trump campaigned for Republican candidates running in the 2022 midterm elections who deny the official 2020 election results.<sup>37</sup> Giuliani previously participated in a December 2020 state Senate Judiciary subcommittee hearing on election integrity following the 2020 election alongside Trump lawyers Jenna Ellis and John Eastman.<sup>38</sup>
- Donald Trump: Trump endorsed and campaigned for Republican candidates running in the 2022 midterm elections who deny the official 2020 election results, where he repeatedly attacked Kemp and Raffensperger for refusing to overturn his loss in 2020.<sup>39</sup>

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

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

- Representative Barry Loudermilk (GA-14): The January 6 Select Committee has requested a voluntary meeting with Loudermilk regarding a Capitol tour he allegedly provided on the day before the January 6 attack.<sup>41</sup>
- Amy Kremer (founder of Women for America First) and her daughter Kylie Kremer: The Kremers have been subpoenaed by the January 6 Select Committee for their role in organizing Stop the Steal rallies.<sup>42</sup>
- David Shafer (chairman of the state GOP): Shafer has been subpoenaed by the January 6 Select Committee.<sup>43</sup>
- Shawn Still (finance chair of the Georgia GOP): Still has been subpoenaed by the January 6 Select Committee.<sup>44</sup>
- Fulton County investigation: In May 2022, Fulton County District Attorney Fani Willis convened a special grand jury to investigate whether Trump and his allies illegally tried to interfere in the 2020 election in the state.<sup>45</sup> The special grand jury heard testimony from Raffensperger on June 2, 2022.<sup>46</sup> The Brookings Institute has published a [report](#) on the reported facts and applicable law regarding this special grand jury.

### **c. Partisan Election Reviews**

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

#### **d. Legislation to Change Georgia's Election Laws**

- Georgia enacted S.B. 202<sup>50</sup> in March 2021, which limits the number of ballot drop boxes, requires different forms of identification for absentee voting, and bans the provision of food and drinks to people waiting in line to vote.<sup>51</sup> The law also alters the balance of power between the executive and legislative branches. For example, the law changes the appointments power and restricts the State Election Board's ability to respond to emergencies. The new law further empowers the State Election Board—to be chaired by a legislative appointee—to investigate and replace local election officials whose competence has been called into question.
- Since the 2020 presidential election and the January 6 attack, state legislatures across the country have considered a wide range of bills that would increase the risk of election subversion—that the purported outcome of the election does not reflect the choice of the voters. State by state, legislatures had moved to seize power from professional, non-partisan election administrators and to subject the running of elections to partisan influence and disruption. For more information about Georgia's election subversion legislation, please see States United's [2021](#) and [2022](#) report, written and published in collaboration with Protect Democracy and Law Forward.

#### **e. Election Deniers are Running for Georgia State Office**

Election Deniers ran for key constitutional offices in Georgia that have a role in election administration and enforcement, but they ultimately lost their primary races in 2022.<sup>52</sup>

Election Denier Gubernatorial Candidates:

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

Election Denier Attorney General Candidates:

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

Election Denier Secretary of State Candidates:

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

**ADDITIONAL RESOURCES FROM THE STATES UNITED DEMOCRACY CENTER:**

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

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

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

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- <sup>4</sup> See note 2. See also Kessler, G. and Rizzo, S. (2020, Nov. 5). President Trump's false claims of vote fraud: A chronology. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/11/05/president-trumps-false-claims-vote-fraud-chronology/>.
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- <sup>6</sup> See note 5.
- <sup>7</sup> Historic First Statewide Audit of Paper Ballots Upholds Result of Presidential Race. (2020, November 19). *Georgia Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger*. <https://sos.ga.gov/news/historic-first-statewide-audit-paper-ballots-upholds-result-presidential-race>.
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- <sup>9</sup> Holmes, K. and Stracqualursi, V. (2020, December 5). Trump Pressured Georgia Governor in Call to Help Overturn Biden's Win in State. *CNN*. <https://www.cnn.com/2020/12/05/politics/trump-georgia-brian-kemp-phone-call/index.html>; Bluestein, G. and Murphy, P. (2020, December 5). UPDATE: Kemp again refuses Trump's demand to overturn election. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/why-kemp-wont-attend-trumps-georgia-rally-on-saturday/4ZGHTTK5YJDIDJ7YVUMTPEIMGY/>.
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- <sup>11</sup> Wootson, C.R., et al. (2020, December 5). At Georgia rally, Trump spouts election falsehoods, amplifies old grievances. *The Washington Post*. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/12/05/trump-obama-events-heat-up-georgia-senate-races-before-voter-registration-deadline/>; Bluestein, G. and Murphy, P. (2020, December 5). UPDATE: Kemp again refuses Trump's demand to overturn election. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/politics-blog/why-kemp-wont-attend-trumps-georgia-rally-on-saturday/4ZGHTTK5YJDIDJ7YVUMTPEIMGY/>.

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

<sup>14</sup> See note 13.

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

<sup>16</sup> Gardner, A. (2021, March 11). Recording Reveals Details of Trump Call to Georgia's Chief Elections Investigator. *The Washington Post*. [https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-call-georgia-investigator/2021/03/11/c532ea2e-827a-11eb-ac37-4383f7709abe\\_story.html](https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/trump-call-georgia-investigator/2021/03/11/c532ea2e-827a-11eb-ac37-4383f7709abe_story.html); Bluestein, G. (2021, March 16). Georgia official clarifies earlier report on Trump call to a Georgia investigator. *The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*. <https://www.ajc.com/politics/georgia-official-clarifies-earlier-report-on-trump-call-to-a-georgia-investigator/WQPJG3F7MJEJ7EQJHLNVUEGYLY/>.

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

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

<sup>19</sup> See note 18.

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

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

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

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

- <sup>25</sup> The Georgia legislators who signed the letter are: Rep. Timothy Barr, Senator Brandon Beach, Rep. David Clark, Senator Burt Jones, Rep. Jeff Jones, Rep. Emory Dunahoo, Rep. Sheri Gilligan, Rep. Matt Gurtler, Senator William Ligon, Rep. Ken Pullin, Rep. Philip Singleton, and Senator Bruce Thompson. See Letter to Vice President Michael R. Pence. (2021, January 5). *The Wisconsin Examiner*. <https://wisconsinexaminer.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Letter-to-Pence-1.pdf>.
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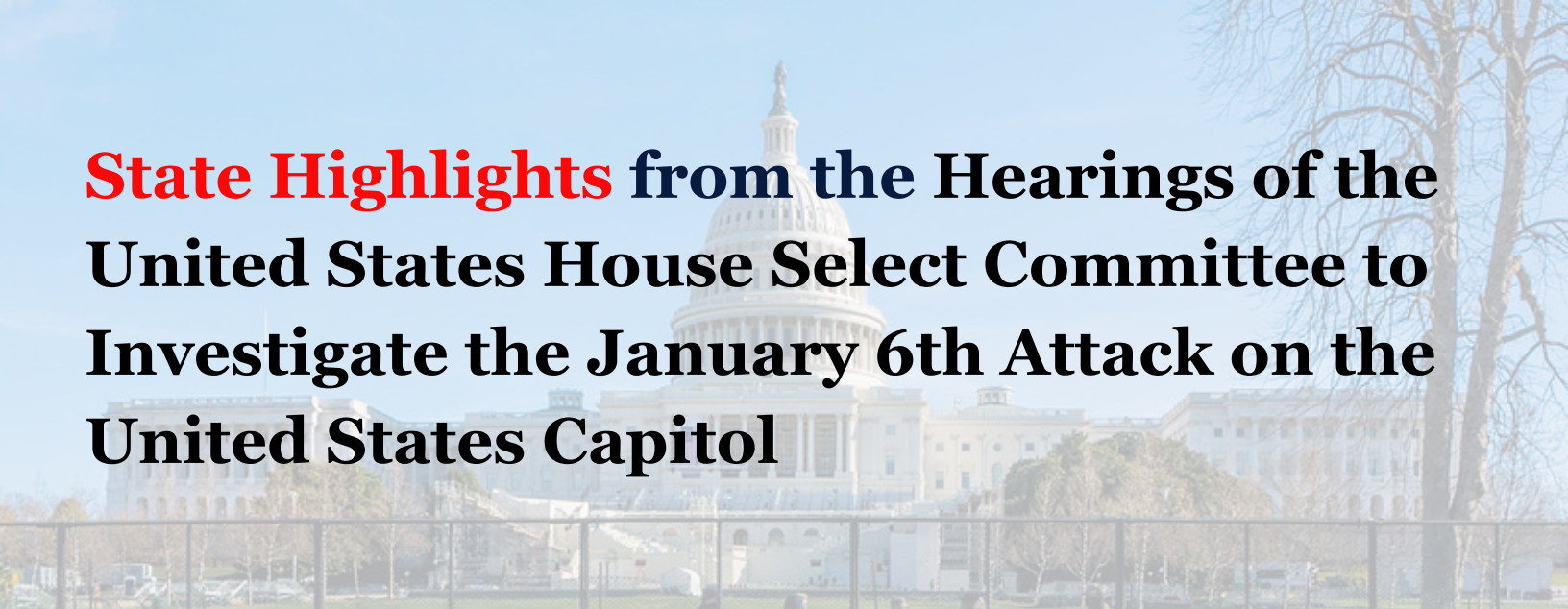
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# **State Highlights** from the Hearings of the United States House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol

## **Background:**

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

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

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

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

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## II. GEORGIA

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

- **Promoting election fraud claims:**

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

- Gabriel Sterling, Chief Operating Officer for the Georgia Secretary of State, also testified that his aides reviewed approximately 48 hours of surveillance tape from the time when the alleged suitcase was brought in and found no evidence of fraud.<sup>45</sup> Sterling also testified that their hand recount of the ballots reached the same election outcome as the original vote count tabulation.<sup>46</sup>
- Acting Deputy Attorney General Richard Donoghue testified at the January 6 Select Committee hearings that he “told the president [himself] . . . several times in several conversations, that the allegations about ballots being smuggled in in a suitcase and run through the machine several times . . . w[ere] not true.”<sup>47</sup>
- The January 6 Select Committee showed a clip from Trump’s January 6 speech where he continued to claim that “totally fraudulent” ballots were brought in suitcases to the counting center in Atlanta and counted for President Biden.<sup>48</sup>
- Separately, Trump claimed that votes in Georgia were cast by deceased people, underage voters, voters with criminal convictions, and unregistered voters.<sup>49</sup> Secretary of State Brad Raffensperger testified that his investigation into these allegations of election fraud found a lack of evidence to support these claims.<sup>50</sup> When Raffensperger told Trump that the numbers from his investigation “don’t lie” on their now infamous hour-long call on January 2, 2021,<sup>51</sup> Trump responded that the investigators were either “dishonest” or “incompetent,” and suggested that Raffensperger could be criminally liable for his actions in investigating Trump’s claims of fraud.<sup>52</sup>
- **Pressure campaign to overturn Georgia’s presidential election results:**
  - The January 6 Select Committee played portions of Trump’s call to Raffensperger in which Trump said, “I just want to find 11,780 votes, which is one more than we have because we won the state.”<sup>53</sup> The Committee also played portions of Trump’s call to Raffensperger’s lead investigator Frances Watson, where Trump prodded her to find the “right answer” and told her that she would “be praised” when that answer came out.<sup>54</sup>
  - The January 6 Select Committee played videotape of Trump at a January 4, 2021, rally in Georgia about the Senate runoffs where he exhorted then-Vice President Mike Pence to overturn the presidential election results.<sup>55</sup> Trump told the crowd, “I hope that our great Vice President . . . comes through for us. He’s a great guy. Plus if he doesn’t come through, I won’t like him quite as much.”<sup>56</sup>



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

- Clark sent the draft to Donoghue and Rosen, who both testified that they refused to sign and send the letter.<sup>66</sup>
- The January 6 Select Committee detailed how Clark and Trump were in frequent communication, as well as the progress of efforts to elevate Clark's stature within the Justice Department, as documented by the fact that by the afternoon of January 3, 2021, White House call logs were already referring to Clark as the "acting attorney general."<sup>67</sup>

- **Protests and threats towards state and local election officials:**

- Raffensperger testified that his personal information was doxxed and how the resulting flood of phone calls included threats of sexualized violence targeting his wife.<sup>68</sup> He also testified about a break-in at the home of his widowed daughter-in-law.<sup>69</sup>
- As part of the effort to promote unsubstantiated fraud claims of ballots hidden in suitcases, Trump and Giuliani publicized a video of two election workers counting ballots in Fulton County—Wandrea "Shaye" Moss and her mother, Ruby Freeman—and claimed that they were "involved in a plot to kick out observers, bring suitcases of false ballots for President Biden into the arena, and then run them through the machines multiple times."<sup>70</sup> Trump called Freeman "a professional vote scammer and hustler."<sup>71</sup>
- Moss appeared at the January 6 Select Committee hearings, alongside her mother, where she testified that none of Trump's allegations against her were true.<sup>72</sup> Moss explained how she and her mother received death threats—many of which were racially charged—because of Trump and his allies claiming that she committed election fraud.<sup>73</sup>
- The January 6 Select Committee showed portions of Freeman's deposition testimony highlighting how she was forced into hiding for two months leading up to, and after, January 6.<sup>74</sup> Moss testified how Trump supporters invaded her grandmother's home and attempted to make a citizen's arrest of Moss and Freeman.<sup>75</sup> Moss testified that she ultimately quit her job because of the harassment she experienced.<sup>76</sup>

- 38 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff [Video played during statement]), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.
- 39 See note 8.
- 40 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Video of Rudy Giuliani), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.
- 41 See note 8.
- 42 June 13, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of BJay Pak), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/13/1104690690/heres-every-word-of-the-second-jan-6-committee-hearing-on-its-investigation>.
- 43 See note 42.
- 44 See note 42.
- 45 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Gabriel Sterling), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.
- 46 See note 45.
- 47 June 13, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Richard Donoghue), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/13/1104690690/heres-every-word-of-the-second-jan-6-committee-hearing-on-its-investigation>.
- 48 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff [Video played during statement]), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.
- 49 See note 48.
- 50 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Brad Raffensperger), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.
- 51 Treisman, R. (2022, June 21.) Georgia officials fact-check an infamous Trump phone call in real time. *National Public Radio*. <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1106472863/georgia-officials-fact-check-infamous-trump-phone-call-in-real-time>.
- 52 June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff [Video played during statement]), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.
- 53 See note 52.
- 54 See note 52.
- 55 June 16, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Pete Aguilar), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/16/1105683634/transcript-jan-6-committee>.

<sup>56</sup> June 16, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Pete Aguilar [Video played during statement]),

<https://www.npr.org/2022/06/16/1105683634/transcript-jan-6-committee>.

<sup>57</sup> June 23, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Kinzinger), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/23/1106700800/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.

<sup>58</sup> June 23, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Kinzinger), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/23/1106700800/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.

<sup>59</sup> June 23, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Bennie Thompson), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/23/1106700800/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.

<sup>60</sup> See note 59.

<sup>61</sup> June 23, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Jeffrey Rosen and Richard Donoghue),

<https://www.npr.org/2022/06/23/1106700800/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.

<sup>62</sup> See note 47.

<sup>63</sup> June 16, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Pete Aguilar [Video played during statement]),

<https://www.npr.org/2022/06/16/1105683634/transcript-jan-6-committee>.

<sup>64</sup> June 23, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Elizabeth Cheney), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/23/1106700800/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.

<sup>65</sup> See note 64.

<sup>66</sup> See note 47.

<sup>67</sup> June 16, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Elizabeth Cheney),

<https://www.npr.org/2022/06/16/1105683634/transcript-jan-6-committee>.

<sup>68</sup> See note 50.

<sup>69</sup> See note 50.

<sup>70</sup> June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.

<sup>71</sup> June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Statement of Adam Schiff [Video played during statement]),

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

<sup>72</sup> June 21, 2022 Hearing: U.S. House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, 117th Cong. (2022) (Testimony of Shaye Moss), <https://www.npr.org/2022/06/21/1105848096/jan-6-committee-hearing-transcript>.

<sup>73</sup> See note 72.

<sup>74</sup> See note 72.

<sup>75</sup> See note 72.

<sup>76</sup> See note 72.