

Notes

Transparency serves us all, as well as future historians, so a guide to these notes might be helpful. We opted for clarity and useful information, avoiding duplication of attribution already in the text.

The voluminous public record of the two Trump impeachments and trials, unlike previous ones, includes social media posts. In many cases, public figures provided their first reactions to events on that platform. Where a tweet is quoted extensively and its date cited in the narrative, such as many of President Trump's, we have not provided a note. Where a tweet is mentioned without such detail, our notes provide the Twitter name (@realDonaldTrump), date, and time in the U.S. eastern time zone.

During the first impeachment inquiry, seventeen witnesses from government agencies gave testimony in closed-door sessions. Some were interviews; some were depositions. In the notes, we have used the inquiry's designations. Twelve then testified in public hearings. Transcripts were released from both the closed-door and public sessions. The dozen who testified twice, with the dates of their appearances, all in 2019, were: Kurt Volker, October 3/November 19; Marie Yovanovitch, October 11/November 15; Fiona Hill, October 14/November 21; George Kent, October 15/November 13; Gordon Sondland, October 17 (supplemental statement November 5)/November 20; William Taylor, October 22/November 13; Laura Cooper, October 23/November 20; Alexander Vindman, October 29/November 19; Tim Morrison, October 31/November 19; David Hale, November 6/November 20; Jennifer Williams, November 7/November 19; David Holmes, November 15/November 21.

Five others testified only in the closed-door sessions: Michael McKinley, October 16; Philip Reeker, October 26; Christopher Anderson, October 30; Catherine Croft, October 30; Mark Sandy, November 16.

At the end of the House inquiry, in December 2019, the House Intelligence Committee published a final report, "The Trump-Ukraine Impeachment Inquiry Report." We cite the House report for its conclusions, but we generally relied on the witness transcripts in our quest to understand the thoughts and actions of principal figures.

The House inquiry also made public two sets of documents that were helpful in reconstructing the narrative of events surrounding Ukraine: Kurt Volker's text

and WhatsApp messages, released October 3 and November 5, 2019, and texts, WhatsApp messages and other documents provided by Lev Parnas, released January 14 and 17, 2020.

Other vital sources came to light as the result of Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests by two watchdog groups. American Oversight obtained documents from the State Department, published November 22, 2019; the Office of Management and Budget, published January 22, 2020; and the Department of Energy, published January 28, 2020. The Center for Public Integrity obtained two sets of Department of Defense documents, published December 12 and December 20, 2019.

There was no inquiry phase for the second impeachment in January 2021. Our account of the trial's four days was drawn from firsthand *Washington Post* reporting, the briefs filed by both sides, trial transcripts, trial videos and our own observations while watching the proceedings.

Prologue

- xvii **"Father just came at me with a vengeance"** Nancy Pelosi, interview with Joe Heim, March 6, 2019. This account of the interview is based on the Q&A feature subsequently published in *The Washington Post Magazine*, as well as Heim's observations and parts of his exchange that were not published at the time. The Q&A was posted online on March 11, 2019; it was published in the magazine on March 31, 2019, with the same headline, "Nancy Pelosi on Impeaching Trump: 'He's Just Not Worth It'"
- xix **She had been caught in crossfire** Marie Yovanovitch, public testimony, House impeachment inquiry, November 15, 2019, opening statement [hereafter Yovanovitch public testimony].
- xx **She called for the removal** "Remarks by Ambassador Yovanovitch on the Occasion of the 5th Anniversary of the Ukraine Crisis Media Center's Founding," published online by the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, March 5, 2019.
- xx **The ambassador's openly calling** Yuri Lutsenko, text to Lev Parnas, March 5, 2019. Lev Parnas documents released by the House Intelligence Committee, PDF file, "WhatsApp messages" [hereafter Parnas WhatsApp messages], pages 89–90. Translation provided by the committee, unless otherwise noted.
- xx **Putin had pushed the idea** On February 2, 2019, Putin said: "As we know, during the election campaign in the U.S., the current Ukrainian authorities took a unilateral position in support of one of the candidates." Putin went on to say "female candidate." Quoted in Shane Harris, Josh Dawsey and Carol D. Leonnig, "Former White House Officials Say They Feared Putin Influenced the President's Views on Ukraine and 2016 Campaign," *Washington Post*, December 19, 2019.
- xxi **Giuliani and his team had picked up a new scent** The Trump-Ukraine House Impeachment Inquiry report [hereafter House Impeachment Report] documented the efforts of Giuliani-led efforts in Ukraine. The report said Giuliani had discussions with his Ukrainian contacts about Joe and Hunter Biden in January 2019. House Impeachment Report, page 43.
- xxi **"Now the Ambassador points"** Yuri Lutsenko, text to Lev Parnas, March 6, 2019, Parnas WhatsApp messages, page 90.
- xxii **"impeach the motherfucker"** Amy B Wang, "Rep. Rashida Tlaib Profanely Promised to Impeach Trump. She's Not Sorry," *Washington Post*, January 4, 2019.
- xxii **grinding her teeth** Mary Jordan interview with sources close to Pelosi. Also reported by

- Molly Ball in “‘We’ve Upped the Ante.’ Why Nancy Pelosi Is Going All in Against Trump,” *Time*, January 9, 2020.
- xxii **“until you have the facts”** Nancy Pelosi, weekly press conference, May 18, 2017. Pelosi’s office publishes transcripts of nearly all of her public remarks, as well as statements and “Dear Colleague” letters. All citations of her remarks are based on the transcripts released by her office, unless otherwise noted.
 - xxiii **the president “doesn’t know right from wrong”** Mike DeBonis, “House Democrats Push GOP to Do More than Talk Tough on Trump,” *Washington Post*, August 16, 2017.
 - xxiii **“An embarrassment and a grave threat”** “Pelosi Statement on President Trump’s Invitation to Putin to Visit Washington,” July 20, 2018.
 - xxiii **“Not only unconstitutional but immoral”** Nancy Pelosi, “Dear Colleague on President Trump’s Muslim Ban and Press Event Tomorrow,” January 29, 2017.
 - xxiii **“Petulance and obstinance”** Nancy Pelosi, weekly press conference, January 10, 2019.
 - xxiii **“Disgusting behavior”** Nancy Pelosi (@TeamPelosi), Twitter post, October 12, 2016, 7:15 p.m.
 - xxiv **“Have no choice, sorry, sorry, sorry”** Quoted in Jesse Byrnes, “Trump: Republicans ‘Have No Choice’ but to Vote for Me,” *The Hill*, July 28, 2016.

Part One: Threats

Chapter One: Watch Your Back

- 3 **On Tuesday, March 19** This account of Uglava’s discussion of his conversation with Lutsenko is based on the depositions of George Kent and David Holmes. Kent recalls the U.S. Embassy reporting that Uglava “described his conversation the night before with a completely inebriated, drunk Yuriy Lutsenko, and Lutsenko was angry.” Holmes says that an embassy colleague spoke with an unnamed contact who “was drinking with Lutsenko for three hours the night before.” Deposition of George Kent, October 15, 2019 [hereafter Kent deposition], page 61; Deposition of David Holmes, November 15, 2019 [hereafter Holmes deposition], pages 15–16, 187.
- 3 **Yovanovitch “would face serious problems”** Holmes deposition, page 15.
- 3 **Lutsenko was collecting Ukrainian “mud”** Kent deposition, pages 50–51.
- 3 **You need to watch your back** Deposition of Marie Yovanovitch, October 11, 2019 [hereafter Yovanovitch deposition], page 41.
- 4 **Lutsenko had made an alliance** Yovanovitch deposition, October 11, 2019, page 41; House Impeachment Report, pages 40–41.
- 5 **If Yuri Lutsenko had learned anything** This account of Lutsenko’s situation is based on the House Impeachment Report, pages 40–43; House Impeachment Inquiry interview of Kurt Volker, October 3, 2019 [hereafter Volker impeachment interview], page 34; Kent deposition, page 55; and supplemented by reporting from *The Washington Post*’s Paul Sonne.
- 6 **Yovanovitch had given him a “do-not-prosecute”** John Solomon, “Top Ukrainian Justice Official Says US Ambassador Gave Him a Do Not Prosecute List,” *Hill.TV (The Hill)*, March 20, 2019.
- 6 **The Hill’s website had posted two articles** The second article focused on Lutsenko’s claims that Ukraine’s 2016 investigation of Paul Manafort’s political and business activities in the country had been intended to aid Hillary Clinton’s campaign. John Solomon, “Senior Ukrainian Official Says He’s Opened Probe into US Election Interference,” *Hill.TV (The Hill)*, March 20, 2019.
- 6 **A couple of hours later came a tweet** Sean Hannity deleted this Twitter post. Parnas texted a link to the tweet to Joseph Ahearn on March 20, 2019, and the tweet is included in his documents released by the House Intelligence Committee on January 15, 2020. Lev Parnas, message to Joseph Ahearn, Parnas WhatsApp messages, page 3.

- 6 **"I just happen to have"** Sean Hannity, "Don't Forget About the Ukraine," "The Sean Hannity Show" (radio), March 20, 2019.
- 6 **"Tomorrow's the big day"** Lev Parnas, message to Thomas Hicks Jr., March 19, 2019, 8:52 p.m. Parnas WhatsApp messages, page 55.
- 6 **"Wait Tomorrow good stuff"** Lev Parnas, message to Joseph Ahearn, March 19, 2019, 9:35 p.m. Parnas WhatsApp messages, page 2.
- 6 **Parnas was pleased** In January 2020, Parnas gave lengthy interviews to MSNBC's Rachel Maddow and CNN's Anderson Cooper. Maddow's interview aired in two parts on "The Rachel Maddow Show," MSNBC, January 15 and 16, 2020. Cooper's interview aired on "Anderson Cooper 360," CNN, January 16, 2020.
- 6 **The campaign to discredit Yovanovitch** The House Impeachment Report used the words "campaign" and "smear campaign" to describe the efforts of Giuliani and allies in Ukraine. "The attacks against Ambassador Yovanovitch were amplified by prominent, close allies of President Trump, including Mr. Giuliani and his associates," the report concluded. See, in particular, the section titled "Rudy Giuliani, on Behalf of President Trump, Led a Smear Campaign to Oust Ambassador Yovanovitch." House Impeachment Report, pages 15–16, 38–48.
- 7 **colleagues complained of bias** Jake Pearson, Mike Spies and J. David McSwane, "How a Veteran Reporter Worked with Giuliani's Associates to Launch the Ukraine Conspiracy," *ProPublica*, October 25, 2019.
- 7 **"Just got word"** Cited in the *ProPublica* article, October 25, 2019.
- 7 **watched the taping** Described in the same *ProPublica* article, above.
- 7 **"Have jr. retweet it"** Lev Parnas, message to Joseph Ahearn, March 20, 2019, 12:36 p.m. Parnas WhatsApp messages, page 3.
- 7 **"You should retweet it"** Lev Parnas, message to Thomas Hicks Jr., March 20, 2019, 12:37 p.m. Parnas WhatsApp messages, page 57.
- 7 **an outright fabrication** John Solomon, "As Russia Collusion Fades, Ukrainian Plot to Help Clinton Emerges," *The Hill*, March 20, 2019.
- 8 **"Watch Hannity"** Lev Parnas, message to Thomas Hicks Jr., March 20, 2019, 9:02 p.m.; Lev Parnas, message to Joseph Ahearn, March 20, 2019, 9:02 p.m. WhatsApp messages, pages 5 and 57.
- 8 **"Breaking tonight"** Sean Hannity, "John Solomon: As Russia Collusion Fades, Ukrainian Plot to Help Clinton Emerges," "Hannity," Fox News, March 20, 2019.
- 8 **"Sounds like our Ambassador"** Laura Ingraham (@IngrahamAngle), Twitter post, March 20, 2019, 9:21 p.m.
- 9 **"bad mouthing us like crazy"** John Bolton's account of this conversation with Trump from page 454 of his book *The Room Where It Happened: A White House Memoir*, published June 23, 2020. As the book was being shipped, the White House went to court, asking for a restraining order to prevent its distribution. A federal judge rejected the request. The judge, Royce C. Lamberth, did not rule on the White House's contentions that, among other things, Bolton had violated a nondisclosure agreement and executive privilege restrictions. But the judge wrote, after reviewing portions of the book, that Bolton "has exposed himself to civil (and potentially criminal) liability." Lamberth also said Bolton may have failed to wait for the completion of a required prepublication review to ensure that the book did not contain any classified information.
- 9 **"we gotta get rid of the ambassador"** Rosalind S. Helderman, Tom Hamburger and Josh Dawsey, "Listen: Trump Tells Associates to 'Get Rid of' U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine," *Washington Post*, January 25, 2020.
- 9 **"concrete evidence from close companions"** Pete Sessions, letter to Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, May 9, 2018. Cited by John Solomon, "As Russia Collusion Fades, Ukrainian Plot to Help Clinton Emerges," *The Hill*, March 20, 2019.
- 9 **Another \$5,400 Indictment in *United States of America v. Lev Parnas, Igor Fruman, David Correia, and Andrey Kukushkin***, United States District Court, Southern District of New

- York, October 10, 2019, pages 8–9. See also Federal Election Commission campaign reports, Pete Sessions for Congress.
- 10 **“Obama holdover”** Laura Ingraham, “Analysts Examine Joe Biden And Son Hunter Biden’s Ties to Ukrainian Politicians,” *Ingraham Angle*, Fox News, March 22, 2019.
 - 10 **still not disclosing his complicated relationship** For a description of the various connections between Joe diGenova, Victoria Toensing, their law firm, Parnas, Lutsenko and Solomon, see the extensive footnotes in the House Impeachment Report, pages 155–158.
 - 10 **“pay attention”** Rudy Giuliani (@RudyGiuliani), Twitter post, March 22, 2019, 11:38 a.m.
 - 10 **“the most important piece”** Dan Bongino (@dbongino), Twitter post, March 23, 2019, 10:33 a.m.
 - 11 **“A source close to the White House”** Ryan Saavedra, “Calls Grow to Remove Obama’s U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine,” *Daily Wire*, March 24, 2019.
 - 11 **extend her tour** Yovanovitch deposition, page 121.
 - 11 **“come out strong”** Yovanovitch deposition, page 62.
 - 12 **Barr was releasing a “summary”** William Barr, letter to Lindsey Graham and Dianne Feinstein, ranking members of the Senate Judiciary Committee; and Jerrold Nadler and Doug Collins, ranking members of the House Judiciary Committee, March 24, 2019.
 - 12 **Yovanovitch wanted a Pompeo statement** Deposition of David Hale, November 6, 2019 [hereafter Hale deposition], pages 22–23.
 - 12 **His assistant messaged “no statement”** Deposition of Philip Reeker, October 26, 2019 [hereafter Reeker deposition], pages 46–47.
 - 12 **the source of Trump’s ill feelings** Bolton, *The Room Where It Happened*, pages 454–455.
 - 12 **Yovanovitch called Gordon Sondland** Yovanovitch deposition, pages 267–268.
 - 13 **“Lutsenko used Solomon”** Melinda Haring, “Ukraine Just Showed Us How a Foreign Power Can Play Trump to Its Own Ends,” *Washington Post*, op-ed, March 26, 2019.
 - 13 **“Ambassador Yovanovitch represents”** Quoted in John Solomon, “US Embassy Pressed Ukraine to Drop Probe of George Soros Group During 2016 Election,” *The Hill*, March 26, 2019.
 - 13 **“Hate to bother you”** JoAnn Zafonte, email exchange with Madeleine Westerhout, March 27, 2019, American Oversight State Department documents, November 22, 2019, page 55. All emails cited in this section, as well as material from the packet Giuliani sent to Pompeo (PDF pages 59–100), are part of that FOIA release [hereafter American Oversight State Department FOIA release].
 - 14 **Hallelujah** Glenn Beck interview, “EXCLUSIVE: Rudy Giuliani Responds to Dems’ ‘Quid Pro Quo’ Claims Amid Impeachment Hearings,” “BlazeTV,” November 20, 2019, available on YouTube.

Chapter Two: “Ready to Rumble”

- 15 **“This is the end of my presidency”** Robert S. Mueller III, “Report on the Investigation into Russian Interference in the 2016 Presidential Election,” [hereafter Mueller Report], U.S. Department of Justice, March 2019, Volume II, page 89.
- 16 **Barr had made his claim** William Barr letter to Graham, Nadler, Feinstein and Collins, March 24, 2019, cited earlier.
- 16 **one tweet included a 54-second Trump tweet**, April 18, 2019, 8:54 a.m.
- 16 **Trump loved Twitter’s immediacy** This account of Trump’s Twitter use is based on accumulated *Washington Post* reporting by Josh Dawsey and the White House team.
- 16 **“modern day presidential”** Trump tweet, July 1, 2017, 6:41 p.m. Trump wrote: “My use of social media is not Presidential - it’s MODERN DAY PRESIDENTIAL. Make America Great Again!”
- 17 **Only about one-fifth** Stefan Wojick and Adam Hughes, “Sizing Up Twitter Users,” Pew Research Center, April 24, 2019.

- 17 **tone it down** During a CNN interview on February 29, 2016, early in Trump's presidential campaign, Melania Trump said that she disagreed with her husband on "many things—some language, of course." Quoted in Mary Jordan, *The Art of Her Deal: The Untold Story of Melania Trump*, page 228. Jordan, based on the extensive reporting she did for her 2020 book, summarized Melania Trump's view this way: "She has not liked everything her husband has said, and definitely has not liked everything he has done," *Art of Her Deal*, page 6.
- 17 **"Ready to rumble"** Jacqueline Alemany, "Power Up: 'Ready to Rumble': Washington Waits for the Mueller Report," *Washington Post*, April 18, 2019. Other details provided by Alemany, email, April 7, 2020.
- 18 **Flanked by his two deputies** Barr, "News Conference on Mueller Report Release," April 18, 2019, C-SPAN video.
- 18 **"The investigation did not establish"** Mueller Report, Volume I, page 2.
- 19 **"If we had confidence"** Mueller Report, Volume II, page 2.
- 19 **"total victory"** Press statement by Rudy Giuliani, Jay A. Sekulow, Jane Serene Raskin and Martin R. Raskin, April 18, 2019.
- 19 **"we're very, very happy"** Bill Hemmer, interviewing Rudy Giuliani on "America's Newsroom," Fox News, April 18, 2019.
- 20 **"regrettably partisan handling"** "Pelosi, Schumer Call for Special Counsel Mueller to Provide Public Testimony in House and Senate," statement released by the offices of Nancy Pelosi and Chuck Schumer, April 18, 2019.
- 20 **"disturbing evidence that President Trump"** Nadler news conference on redacted Mueller report release, April 18, 2019, video at C-SPAN.org.
- 21 **"impeachment is not worthwhile at this point"** Dana Bash, interview with Steny Hoyer, "CNN Newsroom," April 18, 2019.
- 21 **her 4 million followers** The Internet Archive's WayBack Machine captured a screengrab of Ocasio-Cortez's Twitter account on April 18, 2019, showing she had 3.95 million followers. As of June 2020, that figure had risen to 7.3 million.
- 22 **"to discuss this grave matter"** Nancy Pelosi, "Dear Colleague on Democratic Response to the Release of Special Counsel Mueller's Report," April 18, 2019.
- 22 **"I would just say this"** Nancy Pelosi, "Speaker Pelosi Issues Remarks at Press Availability in Northern Ireland," transcript published by Targeted News Service, April 19, 2019.
- 22 **"I can say as a Ukrainian citizen"** Quoted in Anton Troianovski, "Comedian Volodymyr Zelensky Unseats Incumbent in Ukraine's Presidential Election, Exit Poll Shows," *Washington Post*, April 21, 2019. Other details drawn from a video clip of Zelensky's election celebration created by Reuters and published with the *Post* story online.
- 23 **"We had you as a great example"** Memorandum of telephone conversation, Donald J. Trump and Volodymyr Zelenskyy [White House spelling], April 21, 2019, released by the White House, November 15, 2019.
- 23 **Vindman had prepared talking points** Alexander Vindman, public testimony, House Intelligence Committee, November 19, 2019 [hereafter Vindman public testimony].
- 24 **"look into it"** Trump-Zelensky call memo, April 21, 2019, cited earlier.

Chapter Three: Walking the Fine Line

- 25 **"While our views range"** Nancy Pelosi, "Dear Colleague: Duty & Democracy," April 22, 2019.
- 26 **"This isn't about Democrats or Republicans"** Quoted in Rachael Bade, Karoun Demirjian and Jacqueline Alemany, "House Democratic Leaders Say No Immediate Plans to Open Impeachment Proceedings Against Trump," *Washington Post*, April 22, 2019.
- 26 **There's also a political implication for not acting** Huffman's comment from Nicholas Fandos, "Pelosi Urges Caution on Impeachment as Some Democrats Push to Begin," *New York Times*, April 22, 2019.

- 27 **“This is not about politics”** This account of the Democratic caucus conference call on April 22 is based on press accounts as well as Mary Jordan’s background interviews with Democratic sources.
- 27 **“the GOP should be ashamed”** Nancy Pelosi, “Dear Colleague: Duty & Democracy,” April 22, 2019.
- 27 **“Well, look, I think”** McConnell quoted in “House Democratic Leaders Say No Immediate Plans to Open Impeachment Proceedings Against Trump,” cited above.
- 28 **Now Delgado stood** This account of Paul Kane’s district tour with Antonio Delgado was drawn from work originally published in *The Washington Post*. Paul Kane, “In a Trump District, a Freshman House Democrat Works on Repeating His Success,” *Washington Post*, April 27, 2019. Kane provided additional details, not published in his original work.
- 29 **He wanted it done, now** Bolton, *The Room Where It Happened*, pages 456–457.

Chapter Four: “Courage Is Contagious”

- 30 **“She refused to be silenced”** Michael Pompeo, remarks at the International Women of Courage (IWOC) Awards Ceremony, March 7, 2019, transcript published by the State Department’s Bureau of Global Public Affairs.
- 30 **“paid the ultimate price”** Marie Yovanovitch, remarks at the Women of Courage Reception in Honor of Kateryna Handziuk, April 24, 2019, transcript published online by the U.S. Embassy in Kyiv.
- 30 **Some said Pompeo feared** Yovanovitch deposition, pages 63–64.
- 31 **telling her that was impossible** Yovanovitch deposition, page 130.
- 31 **Yovanovitch had been cut out** Yovanovitch deposition, pages 65–66.
- 31 **an urgent call from Washington** Yovanovitch deposition, page 112.
- 32 **There’s “a lot of concern”** Yovanovitch deposition, page 126.
- 32 **why couldn’t she stay** Yovanovitch deposition, page 127.
- 32 **if Taylor might “hypothetically”** Deposition of William Taylor [hereafter Taylor deposition], October 22, 2019, pages 50–51. In his testimony, and in interviews with *Washington Post* reporter Greg Jaffe, Taylor was uncertain of the date of Kent’s call. Kent did not provide the date in his deposition and public testimony. Based on other information, we concluded the call took place Thursday or Friday, April 26–27, but it also could have occurred on Monday, April 29.
- 32 **Taylor knew that his good friend** Taylor deposition, page 50.
- 33 **“simply wrong”** Roman Popadiuk, John Herbst, Steven Pifer, William Taylor, Carlos Pascual and John Tefft, letter to David Hale, April 5, 2019, American Oversight State Department FOIA release.
- 33 **President Trump has “lost confidence”** Hale deposition, pages 43–44.
- 34 **a unique dilemma for Taylor** This account of Taylor’s decision-making, here and later in this chapter, is drawn from Jaffe’s multiple interviews with Taylor and Jaffe’s previously published work, including “William Taylor Jr., a Key Impeachment Witness, Quietly Returns Home to Trump’s Washington,” *Washington Post*, February 14, 2020. It is also based on Taylor’s deposition and public testimony.
- 35 **After a long flight** This account of Yovanovitch’s dismissal is based on her deposition, pages 128–132, as well as on Karen DeYoung’s interviews with State Department officials and others close to Yovanovitch.
- 35 **“George has asked me to go to Kyiv”** Taylor and Volker, WhatsApp exchange, April 29, 2019, PDF released by the three investigating House committees on November 5, 2019, page 26 [hereafter Volker messages].
- 36 **“concluding her three-year diplomatic assignment”** Christopher Miller, “U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine, Openly Criticized by Top Ukrainian Prosecutor, Departing Early,” *Radio Free Europe*, May 6, 2019. Miller’s story was the first to report that Yovanovitch was leaving early.

- 36 **David Hale wasn't happy** Hale deposition, pages 51–52.
- 36 **Several press accounts the next day** For example: Robbie Gramer, Amy Mackinnon, "U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Recalled in 'Political Hit Job,' Lawmakers Say," *Foreign Policy*, May 7, 2019.
- 36 **after "political attacks"** Josh Rogin, "U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Is Recalled After Becoming a Political Target," *Washington Post*, May 7, 2019.
- 36 **two top House Democrats made public** Eliot Engel and Steny Hoyer, "Statement on U.S. Ambassador to Ukraine Masha Yovanovitch," published on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs website, May 7, 2019.
- 36 **Bolton saw the two matters** Bolton, *The Room Where It Happened*, page 459.
- 37 **telling the New York Times explicitly** Kenneth P. Vogel, "Rudy Giuliani Plans Ukraine Trip to Push for Inquiries That Could Help Trump," *New York Times*, May 9, 2019.
- 37 **"This is definitely not our war"** Anton Troianovski, Josh Dawsey and Paul Sonne, "Trump's Interest in Stirring Ukraine Investigations Sows Confusion in Kiev," *Washington Post*, May 11, 2019. *The Post* adopted Kyiv as the transliterated spelling for Ukraine's capital city in October 2019.
- 37 **he was scrapping the trip** Shannon Bream interview with Rudy Giuliani, "Giuliani to Urge Ukraine Officials to Investigate Biden," "Fox News at Night," Fox News, May 10, 2019.
- 37 **United States had given Ukraine about** "U.S. Foreign Aid by Country," Ukraine, published by USAID.
- 38 **"What I'm pushing for"** Anton Troianovski, Josh Dawsey and Paul Sonne, "Trump's Interest in Stirring Ukraine Investigations Sows Confusion."
- 38 **the U.S.-Ukraine relationship "would be sour"** Rachel Maddow interview with Lev Parnas, "The Rachel Maddow Show," MSNBC, January 15, 2020.
- 38 **Parnas messaged Shaffer** Parnas WhatsApp messages, May 12, 2019.
- 38 **When Taylor arrived at the Old Executive Office Building** Taylor interviews with Greg Jaffe.
- 39 **Vindman had drafted the letter** Deposition of Alexander Vindman, October 29, 2019 [hereafter Vindman deposition], pages 270–271.
- 40 **"I'm still trying to navigate"** Volker-Taylor exchange, Volker messages, also cited in Greg Miller and Greg Jaffe, "Alarming Circumstances': A Distressed Diplomat Tells a Tale of Venal Intrigue," *Washington Post*, October 23, 2019.

Chapter Five: High Fives

- 41 **Volodymyr Zelensky high-fived** David L. Stern and Anton Troianovski, "He Played Ukraine's President on TV. Now He Has Taken Office as the Real One," *Washington Post*, May 20, 2019. A video of the ceremony, created by Sarah Parnas of *The Washington Post* and published with the story, was also used to describe the event.
- 41 **In his first act as head of state** Volodymyr Zelensky, inaugural address, official website of the President of Ukraine, May 20, 2019.
- 42 **She was in Kyiv, packing** Yovanovitch deposition, page 308.
- 42 **At first, Vice President Pence was going** Vindman deposition, page 128.
- 42 **A White House aide had called** Deposition of Jennifer Williams, November 7, 2019 [hereafter Williams deposition], page 37.
- 42 **had a theory about Pence's pullout** Holmes deposition, pages 37–38.
- 43 **cybersecurity adviser Abby Phillip**, "Trump Names Giuliani as Cybersecurity Adviser," *Washington Post*, January 12, 2017; Josh Dawsey, Rosalind S. Helderman, Tom Hamburger and Devlin Barrett, "Inside Giuliani's Two Roles: Power-Broker-for-Hire and Shadow Foreign Policy Adviser," *Washington Post*, December 8, 2019.
- 43 **help the Ukrainian city of Kharkiv** Rosalind S. Helderman, Tom Hamburger, Paul Sonne and Josh Dawsey, "Impeachment Inquiry Puts New Focus on Giuliani's Work for Prominent Figures in Ukraine," *Washington Post*, October 2, 2019.

- 43 **When Sondland's name showed up** Vindman deposition, pages 127–128.
- 43 **Vindman had drafted a congratulatory letter** Vindman deposition, pages 174–178.
- 44 **the delegation met with U.S. Embassy officials** “DOE [Department of Energy] Records Regarding U.S. Delegation to Ukraine Led by Former Secretary Perry,” FOIA release to American Oversight, page 13. Perry's briefing materials for the trip, including the schedule for May 20, 2019, were part of the release.
- 44 **“Dammit. Rudy,” Sondland said** Holmes deposition, page 18.
- 44 **Putin's spokesman pointedly asserted** “Kremlin Says Won't Congratulate Ukraine's Zelensky on Inauguration,” *BBC Monitoring*, May 20, 2019.
- 44 **“The United States will stand with”** Rick Perry, “Comments to the Press by U.S. Secretary of Energy Rick Perry Following President Zelenskyy's Inauguration,” published by the U.S. Embassy in Ukraine, May 20, 2019.
- 45 **Perry came with a list of people** Desmond Butler, Michael Biesecker, Stephen Braun and Richard Lardner, “After Boost from Perry, Backers Got Huge Gas Deal in Ukraine,” *Associated Press*, November 11, 2019.
- 45 **Beware of Russia, he said** Vindman deposition, page 131.
- 45 **Sondland found him articulate** Deposition of Gordon Sondland, October 17, 2019 [hereafter Sondland deposition], page 126.

Chapter Six: The I-Word

- 46 **a full-court press** Rachael Bade and Mike DeBonis, “Some in Pelosi's Leadership Team Rebel on Impeachment, Press Her to Begin an Inquiry,” *Washington Post*, May 20, 2019.
- 46 **upholding a subpoena** Devlin Barrett, Spencer S. Hsu, Rachael Bade and Josh Dawsey, “Judge Rules Against Trump in Fight over President's Financial Records,” *Washington Post*, May 20, 2019.
- 47 **row after row of 20 seats** Description of room HC5 is drawn from a photograph provided by *The Washington Post's* Paul Kane and Kane's observations.
- 47 **Pelosi's message: Keep investigating** Mike DeBonis, Rachael Bade, Josh Dawsey and John Wagner, “Trump Angrily Walks Out of Meeting with Democrats After Pelosi Says He Is ‘Engaged in a Coverup,’” *Washington Post*, May 22, 2019.
- 47 **“It tore the country apart”** Paul Kane, “Democrats Who Stood with Clinton Through Impeachment Urge Caution in Pursuit of Trump,” *Washington Post*, May 22, 2019. This account of the May 22 caucus meeting is based on reporting by Kane, Mike DeBonis and their published work. They provided additional details from their notebooks.
- 48 **“It is just as politicized”** Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Twitter post, May 21, 2019, 11:16 a.m.
- 48 **“only thing” that gave her pause** Quoted in Glenn Thrush, “Pelosi Pushes Go-Slow Strategy on Impeachment as She Goads Trump,” *New York Times*, May 22, 2019.
- 49 **“Are you satisfied”** “Fierce Showdown at the White House Between President Trump and Nancy Pelosi,” “NBC Nightly News,” NBC News, May 22, 2019.
- 49 **“It was a very positive meeting”** “Pelosi Remarks Following Meeting on Democrats' Progress in Oversight Efforts to Hold President Trump and Administration Accountable,” May 22, 2019.
- 50 **Today's agenda was to discuss** Mary Jordan background interviews with House Democrats.
- 50 **“I want to do infrastructure”** “Statement by President Trump,” White House transcript, May 22, 2019.
- 51 **“very, very, very strange”** Nancy Pelosi in conversation with Neera Tanden at the 2019 Center for American Progress Ideas Conference, May 22, 2019, video on YouTube.
- 51 **A popular version included an image** Rachel Frazin, “George Conway Contrasts Trump Denying ‘Cover-ups’ with Check to Michael Cohen,” *The Hill*, May 23, 2019. Frazin's article included a screengrab of Conway's tweet, with an image of the check.
- 51 **“threw gas on the fire”** Andy Biggs, interviewed by Neil Cavuto, “President Trump Can-

cels Infrastructure Talks After Pelosi Levels Cover-up Charges,” “Your World with Neil Cavuto,” Fox News, May 22, 2019.

- 51 “The Dimms are no longer borderline evil” Lou Dobbs, “Radical Dem Leader Pelosi Accuses Trump of Cover-up,” “Lou Dobbs Tonight,” Fox News, May 22, 2019.

Chapter Seven: “They Tried to Take Me Down!”

- 53 **sifting through his overnight emails** This account of Harwell’s reporting is based on Steve Luxenberg’s interview with Drew Harwell, March 12, 2020.
- 54 **Sarah Sanders had shared a video** Sarah Huckabee Sanders (@PressSec), Twitter post, November 7, 2018, 10:33 p.m.
- 54 **to make Acosta seem more aggressive** Drew Harwell, “White House Shares Doctored Video to Support Punishment of Journalist Jim Acosta,” *Washington Post*, November 8, 2018.
- 55 **using the word “cover-up” again** Nancy Pelosi, weekly press conference, May 23, 2019.
- 56 **“a nasty-type statement”** “Remarks by President Trump on Supporting America’s Farmers and Ranchers,” White House transcript, May 23, 2019.
- 57 **Sondland could hear White House aides** Sondland deposition, pages 88–89. This account of the May 23 meeting is drawn from three of the four participants (Sondland, Volker and Senator Ron Johnson). Specific citations follow.
- 57 **they had barely sat down** Sondland deposition, page 75.
- 57 **“They were out to get me”** Sondland deposition, page 126; Volker impeachment interview, page 305.
- 57 **Trump doesn’t want anything to do** Sondland deposition, page 91.
- 57 **“Talk to Rudy”** Sondland deposition, page 61.
- 57 **“Rudy knows”** Sondland deposition, page 70.
- 58 **“They tried to take me down”** Volker impeachment interview, page 279.
- 58 **Instead of arguing, he told Trump** Volker impeachment interview, pages 280, 304.
- 58 **he should expect about 45 seconds** Greg Jaffe and Josh Dawsey, “A Presidential Loathing for Ukraine Is at the Heart of the Impeachment Inquiry,” *Washington Post*, November 2, 2019.
- 59 **“This is a new crowd”** Volker impeachment interview, pages 30, 304.
- 59 **“That’s not what I hear”** Volker impeachment interview, page 305.
- 59 **Sondland told Trump he was excited** Sondland deposition, page 74.
- 59 **Senator Johnson felt he was in the strongest position** Johnson, letter to Jim Jordan and Devin Nunes, Republican members of the House Intelligence Committee, November 18, 2019, page 5. Johnson’s letter, written in response to a request from Jordan and Nunes for “any firsthand information you have about President Trump’s actions toward Ukraine between April and September 2019,” gives a detailed account of Johnson’s perspective on the May 23 Oval Office meeting.
- 59 **Sondland resigned himself** Sondland deposition, pages 25–26.
- 60 **Trump megadonor** Aaron C. Davis, Josh Dawsey, Michelle Ye Hee Lee, Michael Birnbaum, “‘Disruptive Diplomat’ Gordon Sondland, a Key Figure in Trump Impeachment Furor, Long Coveted Ambassadorship,” *Washington Post*, October 14, 2019.
- 60 **YouTube immediately removed the videos** Drew Harwell, “Facebook Acknowledges Pelosi Video Is Faked but Declines to Delete It,” *Washington Post*, May 24, 2019.
- 61 **The Politics WatchDog page hosted** Harwell, “Facebook Acknowledges Pelosi Video Is Faked but Declines to Delete It.” Harwell did not report on the identity of the altered video’s creator. Kevin Poulsen, senior national security correspondent for the *Daily Beast*, identified him as Shawn Brooks, a 34-year-old day laborer and “Donald Trump super-fan” who ran Politics WatchDog and was trying to drive traffic to his page. Brooks denied altering the video. He blamed another administrator of the page. But he expressed concern at how easily prominent figures like Giuliani were fooled. Giuliani had tweeted a link. “I couldn’t believe it,” Brooks told Poulsen. “I was reading an article and it said, the

president's lawyer, and I was like, what the hell? If he believed that she was really drunk, and he shared it, that's kind of bad. Somebody that high up."

Chapter Eight: "I Think Your Boss Doesn't Like Ukraine"

- 62 **On May 28, Bill Taylor** This account of Taylor's meeting with Pompeo is drawn from his deposition and his interview with Greg Jaffe.
- 63 **He asked about the congratulatory letter** Taylor deposition, page 57.
- 63 **Pompeo had prevailed on Trump** Taylor deposition, page 57.
- 63 **The May 29 letter** Donald Trump, letter to Volodymyr Zelensky, May 29, 2019. The letter was first published by the *Daily Beast*: Betsy Swan and Erin Banco, "Exclusive: Trump Letter Promised Zelensky 'Unwavering' Support," November 5, 2019.
- 64 **For weeks, she had been scouring** This account of Pilipenko's research and memo-writing is based on Mary Jordan and Ellen Nakashima's interviews in March/April 2020 with people directly familiar with the Intelligence Committee's work on Ukraine.
- 65 **Vogel had published an in-depth story** Kenneth P. Vogel, "Biden Faces Conflict of Interest Questions That Are Being Promoted by Trump and Allies," *New York Times*, May 1, 2019.
- 65 **He liked working on these puzzles** Mary Jordan's background interviews with people who have worked directly with Schiff.
- 66 **On June 4, he joined a gala** U.S. Mission to the European Union, "Ambassador Sondland Brings Together U.S. and European Leaders to Advance Transatlantic Relations," published on the mission's website, June 5, 2019.
- 66 **The food stations featured** This account of the June 4 gala is based in part on photographs posted on Flickr by the U.S. Mission to the European Union: "USEU Independence Day 2019."
- 66 **The event was underwritten** U.S. Mission, "Ambassador Sondland Brings Together U.S. and European Leaders to Advance Transatlantic Relations," cited earlier. The post includes a video listing the event's sponsors.
- 66 **Sondland wasn't quite sure why** Sondland deposition, page 86.
- 67 **"my old friend Jay Leno"** U.S. Mission to the European Union, "Ambassador Gordon Sondland's Opening Remarks at the 2019 Independence Day Celebration," June 4, 2019.
- 67 **He was the son of immigrants** Davis, Dawsey, Lee and Birnbaum, "'Disruptive Diplomat' Gordon Sondland, a Key Figure in Trump Impeachment Furor, Long Coveted Ambassadorship," cited earlier.
- 67 **Sondland had put in the "\$5 million to \$25 million"** Gordon D. Sondland, Executive Branch Personnel Public Financial Disclosure Report, submitted to the U.S. Office of Government Ethics, 2019, page 29.
- 67 **supporting Jeb Bush** Davis, Dawsey, Lee and Birnbaum, "'Disruptive Diplomat' Gordon Sondland, a Key Figure in Trump Impeachment Furor, Long Coveted Ambassadorship," cited earlier.
- 67 **Trump's "constantly evolving positions"** Aaron Mesh, "Two Portland Hotel Executives Disavow Donald Trump After Being Listed Among His Event Sponsors," *Willamette Week*, August 7, 2016.
- 67 **he routed \$1 million to the president-elect's inaugural fund** Ashley Balcerzak, "250 Donors Shelled Out \$100k or More for Trump's Inauguration, Providing 91% of Funds," OpenSecrets.org/Center for Responsive Politics, April 19, 2017.
- 68 **He carried a wireless buzzer** Greg Miller, Paul Sonne, Greg Jaffe and Michael Birnbaum, "Holding Ukraine Hostage: How the President and His Allies, Chasing 2020 Ammunition, Fanned a Political Storm," *Washington Post*, October 4, 2019.
- 68 **"18th century Jefferson-in-Paris behavior"** Davis, Dawsey, Lee and Birnbaum, "'Disruptive Diplomat' Gordon Sondland, a Key Figure in Trump Impeachment Furor, Long Coveted Ambassadorship," cited earlier.
- 68 **He traveled for meetings to Israel** Miller, Sonne, Jaffe and Birnbaum, "Holding Ukraine

Hostage: How the President and His Allies, Chasing 2020 Ammunition, Fanned a Political Storm,” cited earlier.

- 68 **Some at the NSC thought Sondland exaggerated** Deposition of Fiona Hill, October 14, 2019 [hereafter Hill deposition], pages 66–67.
- 68 **private dinner for 24 U.S. Mission to the European Union**, “Ambassador Sondland Brings Together U.S. and European Leaders to Advance Transatlantic Relations.” The description of the seating arrangements is based on another album of photographs online: “Independence Day Dinner,” uploaded to Flickr by the U.S. Mission to the E.U.

Chapter Nine: “Who Put You in Charge?”

- 69 **On June 18, Fiona Hill** This account of Hill’s meeting with Sondland and other colleagues is based on her testimony, with additional details from Greg Miller’s interviews in early 2020 with a person familiar with the day’s events.
- 69 **Some of the NSC staff had taken to joking Hill** deposition, pages 203–204.
- 69 **ambassador to the European Union and its 28 members** The United Kingdom formally left the E.U. on January 31, 2020, leaving the E.U. with 27 members. When Sondland and Hill met in June 2019, there were still 28.
- 69 **Sondland’s official role** Sondland deposition, page 20.
- 69 **He’s driving off-road** Hill deposition, pages 62 and 116.
- 69 **From Hill’s perspective, there were now two distinct fronts** Hill deposition, pages 38–43.
- 70 **Nothing had “officially” changed** Hill deposition, page 59.
- 70 **The E.U. ambassador was genial** Hill deposition, page 116.
- 70 **ambassadors in Europe complained** Hill deposition, page 115.
- 70 **He told her: Steer clear** Hill deposition, page 45.
- 71 **“Gordon, you’re in over your head”** Hill deposition, pages 113–118.
- 71 **She had taken the NSC job** This account of Hill’s experiences at the White House is based on Greg Miller’s interviews with a source directly familiar with the events, and also draws from stories originally published in *The Post* by Miller and Greg Jaffe.
- 72 **At work, she arrived on many days** Greg Miller and Greg Jaffe, “In Aftermath of Ukraine Crisis, a Climate of Mistrust and Threats,” *Washington Post*, December 25, 2019.

Chapter Ten: “Where Exactly Is the Line for You?”

- 74 **A waiter at the St. Regis Hotel** This account of Pelosi’s appearance at the Monitor Breakfast is based on C-SPAN’s video recording: “Speaker Pelosi at Christian Science Monitor Breakfast Series,” June 19, 2019. A transcript of the event was also used: “House Speaker Pelosi Interviewed at Christian Science Monitor Breakfast,” *CQ Transcriptions*, June 19, 2019.
- 75 **James Clyburn, a close ally, had suggested** Jake Tapper, interview with Clyburn, “State of the Union,” CNN, June 2, 2019.
- 75 **Pelosi had deployed her staff** Rachael Bade, “Push to Impeach Trump Stalls amid Democrats’ Deference to—and Fear of—Pelosi,” *Washington Post*, June 16, 2019.
- 75 **impeachment gaining ground among Democratic voters** Joshua Jamerson, “Nearly Half of Democrats Back Impeachment Hearings Against Trump,” *Wall Street Journal*, June 16, 2019.
- 75 **even saying Trump should be “in prison”** Rachael Bade and John Wagner, “Pelosi Tells Colleagues She Wants to See Trump ‘In Prison,’ Not Impeached,” *Washington Post*, June 6, 2019.
- 75 **She was “holding it together”** Rachael Bade, “Push to Impeach Trump Stalls amid Democrats’ Deference to—and Fear of—Pelosi,” cited above.
- 75 **Just the day before, Higgins had joined** Jerry Zremski, “Higgins Calls for Trump Impeachment Inquiry,” *Buffalo News*, June 19, 2019.

- 78 **Washington Examiner published a short story** Russ Read, “Pentagon to Send \$250M in Weapons to Ukraine,” *Washington Examiner*, June 19, 2019.
- 78 **A phone call from Mick Mulvaney’s office** Eric Lipton, Maggie Haberman and Mark Mazzetti, “Behind the Ukraine Aid Freeze: 84 Days of Conflict and Confusion,” *New York Times*, December 29, 2019.
- 78 **“Russ—here is a story”** Michael Duffey, email to Russell Vought, June 19, 2019. The email was among those released by OMB in response to American Oversight’s FOIA request, published on its website, January 22, 2020; Duffey’s email to Vought, page 2 of the PDF.
- 78 **he emailed Elaine McCusker** Michael Duffey, email to Elaine McCusker, June 19, 2019, Center for Public Integrity DoD FOIA release. The CPI published the emails as a PDF on their website, December 20, 2019; Duffey’s email to McCusker, pages 44–45 of the PDF.
- 79 **McCusker replied, “Copy”** McCusker, email to Duffey, June 19, 2019; Center for Public Integrity’s PDF, page 44.
- 80 **In late June, Volker huddled with Pompeo** This account of Volker’s meeting with Pompeo is based on Greg Jaffe’s interviews in early 2020 with a source directly familiar with the event.
- 80 **Volker had scheduled a sit-down** Volker impeachment interview, page 262.
- 81 **“Please don’t publish this letter”** Quoted in Annie Karni, “Kurt Volker, Ukraine and a Turbulent End in the Trump Administration,” *New York Times*, October 5, 2019.

Chapter Eleven: Flyover

- 82 **people streamed to the National Mall** Toluse Olorunnipa and Anne Gearan, “Trump Extols U.S. Military Might in Fourth of July Speech as Jets Fly Over Washington,” *Washington Post*, July 4, 2019.
- 82 **Some wore “Make America Great Again” hats** Peter Jamison, Samantha Schmidt, Hannah Natanson and Steve Hendrix, “Trump’s Fourth of July Celebration Thrills Supporters, Angers Opponents,” *Washington Post*, July 4, 2019.
- 82 **banned by federal officials from flying** Marissa J. Lang and Peter Hermann, “‘We’ll Be Ready for It’: Officials on Alert as Activists Plan Two Days of Washington Protests,” *Washington Post*, July 2, 2019.
- 82 **Holding hands with his wife** “President Trump Speaks at 4th of July Celebration,” video, C-SPAN, July 4, 2019.
- 82 **delivered from the teleprompters** Dan Zak, “Evening in America: What It Felt Like on Trump’s Fourth of July,” *Washington Post*, July 5, 2019.
- 83 **“Gene, I want you to know”** “President Trump Speaks at 4th of July Celebration,” C-SPAN.
- 83 **“Epic”** Andrew Clark (@AndrewHClark), Twitter post, July 4, 2019, 8:17 p.m.
- 83 **“#SalutetoAmerica was awesome”** Deron Rossi (@deronrossi), Twitter post, July 4, 2019, 8:17 p.m.
- 83 **“Biden faces his Waterloo”** Trump retweet of *Washington Examiner* (@dcexaminer) Twitter post, July 4, 2019.
- 83 **“That’s why frankly, we have been spending so much time”** Sean Hannity opening monologue, “Hannity,” Fox News, July 4, 2019.
- 83 **“Reducing our nation to tanks”** Quoted in Olorunnipa and Gearan, “Trump Extols U.S. Military Might in Fourth of July Speech as Jets Fly Over Washington,” cited earlier.
- 84 **Nancy Pelosi was with her family** Maureen Dowd, “It’s Nancy Pelosi’s Parade,” *New York Times*, July 6, 2019.
- 84 **quitting the Republican party** Justin Amash, “Justin Amash: Our Politics Is in a Partisan Death Spiral. That’s Why I’m Leaving the GOP,” *Washington Post*, July 4, 2019.

- 84 “describes a consistent effort” Justin Amash (@justinamash), Twitter post, May 23, 2019, 1 p.m.

Chapter Twelve: “Drug Deal”

- 85 **They had dressed in dark suits** Group photograph tweeted by Rick Perry (@SecretaryPerry), July 10, 2019, 7:15 p.m.
- 86 **In a political career that started** Karen DeYoung, “John Bolton, Famously Abrasive, Is an Experienced Operator in the ‘Swamp,’” *Washington Post*, March 23, 2018.
- 86 **Bolton’s fists-flying tough talk** David Nakamura, “Trump Once Loved John Bolton’s Pug-nacious Views on Fox News. Now Bolton Is Turning His Sights on the President.” *Washington Post*, September 30, 2019.
- 86 **Bolton opened the discussion** This account of the July 10 meeting is primarily based on the testimony of Hill, Sondland, Volker and Vindman, with additional details from Bolton’s book, *The Room Where It Happened*, reporting by *The Washington Post*’s Tom Hamburger and previously published *Post* stories.
- 86 **Bolton and Perry then talked about** Hill deposition, pages 66–67.
- 86 **Volker worried that the Ukrainians** Volker impeachment interview, page 66.
- 87 **Danyliuk had been coached by Sondland** Greg Miller, Greg Jaffe and Paul Sonne, “How a CIA Analyst, Alarmed by Trump’s Shadow Foreign Policy, Triggered an Impeachment Inquiry,” *Washington Post*, November 16, 2019.
- 87 **“Giuliani’s a hand grenade”** Hill deposition, page 45.
- 87 **Hill had watched Bolton turn up the volume** Hill deposition, pages 131–132.
- 87 **“Well,” Sondland said, “we have an agreement”** Hill deposition, page 67.
- 87 **Hill could see Bolton stiffen** Hill deposition, page 145.
- 87 **NSC team had warned Volker** Hill deposition, pages 54, 113–114.
- 88 **Bolton, with a glance at the clock** Hill deposition, pages 67–68.
- 88 **Sondland thought everything** Testimony of Gordon Sondland before the House Intelligence Committee [hereafter Sondland public testimony], November 20, 2019.
- 88 **He invited Yermak and Danyliuk** Hill deposition, page 68.
- 88 **Go with them, he told her** Hill deposition, page 68.
- 88 **Sondland emphasized the importance** Vindman deposition, pages 64–65.
- 88 **Sondland then explained his view** Vindman deposition, pages 29, 64.
- 88 **“We can’t make any commitments”** Hill deposition, page 69. Hill did not explicitly say in her deposition that this was a direct quote, but she was sufficiently clear and specific about what she said and what Sondland said in response that we determined that the use of quotation marks was justified.
- 88 **He didn’t view the exchange as heated** Sondland deposition, page 112.
- 88 **Hill said that she didn’t want to continue** Hill deposition, pages 69–70.
- 89 **he and Hill had a quick conversation** Vindman deposition, page 34.
- 89 **unacceptable as presidential behavior** Bolton, *The Room Where It Happened*, page 464.
- 89 **“You go and tell Eisenberg”** Hill deposition, page 126.
- 89 **Perry tweeted the group photo** Rick Perry (@SecretaryPerry), Twitter post, July 10, 2019, 7:15 p.m.
- 89 **Bolton retweeted it** John Bolton (@AmbJohnBolton), Twitter post, July 10, 2019, 7:39 p.m.
- 89 **He had sent them a message** Taylor deposition, page 27.
- 90 **They were “very concerned”** Taylor and Volker message exchange in thread with Sondland on July 10, 2019. Volker messages, page 36.
- 90 **He briefed Pompeo’s chief aide** Taylor deposition, page 27.
- 90 **he texted Volker, saying he was eager** Taylor and Volker message exchange. Volker messages, page 36.

Chapter Thirteen: “Stray Voltage”

- 91 On July 18, Ambassador Bill Taylor sat Taylor deposition, pages 192–194. This account of the interagency Ukraine policy group is drawn primarily from Taylor’s testimony, but also the Kent and Vindman depositions.
- 91 he was cautiously optimistic Taylor deposition, pages 22–23.
- 91 he could see no progress Taylor deposition, page 25.
- 91 he didn’t want it transcribed Taylor deposition, page 128.
- 92 the call itself had stayed on the talking points Taylor deposition, page 26.
- 92 he had come to believe that all of them Taylor deposition, pages 23–24.
- 92 Taylor was joined by his colleague David Holmes Holmes deposition, page 20.
- 92 Taylor couldn’t see who it was, but he heard a woman say Taylor deposition, page 194. Taylor recalled that the speaker was a woman, but other participants, including George Kent, testified that the OMB representative who announced the aid freeze was a man. Since the OMB representative has not been publicly identified, we chose to defer to Taylor’s recollection in writing this scene from his perspective.
- 92 Taylor was astonished Taylor deposition, page 27.
- 92 As representatives of every agency Kent deposition, pages 303–304.
- 92 All she knew was that Mick Mulvaney Taylor deposition, page 28.
- 93 “OMB . . . just now said” Taylor, message in thread with Volker and Sondland, July 18, 2019. Volker messages, page 37.
- 93 Vindman left the meeting concerned Vindman deposition, page 182.
- 93 Taylor called Vindman and Fiona Hill Taylor deposition, pages 28–29.
- 93 July 19, Volker met with Giuliani This account of Volker and Giuliani’s July 19 meeting is based on Volker’s testimony, with additional details of the conversation from Greg Jaffe’s reporting.
- 94 His message was that Lutsenko wasn’t trustworthy Volker impeachment interview, page 232.
- 94 He bluntly told Giuliani that Biden would never Volker impeachment interview, page 203.
- 95 “I talked to Zelensky just now” Sondland public testimony, November 20, 2019. Sondland read the email aloud during the hearing.
- 95 “I spike directly to Zelensky” Sondland, message to Volker and Taylor, July 19, 2019. Volker messages, page 37. The misspelling of “spoke” didn’t appear to cause any confusion.
- 95 “Had breakfast with Rudy” Volker, message to Sondland and Taylor, July 19, 2019. Volker messages, page 37.
- 95 Taylor dialed in to a secure Taylor deposition, page 195.
- 95 One by one, attendees presented their case Taylor deposition, page 195.
- 95 equipment like counter-artillery radar Sergey Morgunov, Will Englund and Michael Birnbaum, “U.S. Military Aid Bolsters Ukraine’s Front Lines, but the Trump Drama Makes Kyiv Nervous,” *Washington Post*, November 19, 2019.
- 96 Every day, the Ministry of Defense held a half-hour ceremony Taylor deposition, pages 152–153.
- 96 “Glory to the Heroes” “Representatives of German Delegation Honored Fallen Ukrainian Heroes,” the Ministry of Defence of Ukraine website, September 12, 2019.
- 96 Taylor believed American money lessened Taylor deposition, page 153.
- 96 all but two representatives from OMB Deposition of Tim Morrison, October 31, 2019 [hereafter Morrison deposition], pages 162–164.
- 97 “We do need to be realistic” Alisyn Camerota and John Berman, “Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA) Is Interviewed About Mueller’s Testimony, on Impeachment, on Russia’s Election Threat,” “New Day,” CNN, July 25, 2019.
- 97 He tweeted a rotating series of slides Trump tweet, July 24, 2019, 5:52 p.m.
- 98 That was followed by a clip Trump tweet, July 24, 2019, 6:22 p.m.

- 98 **"Fox News Alert. The Witch Hunt is dead"** Sean Hannity, "Mueller Delivers Disaster for Democrats," "Hannity," Fox News, July 24, 2019.
- 98 **he had again drafted Vindman deposition**, pages 42–43.
- 99 **"stray voltage"** Vindman deposition, pages 46–47.

Part Two: Risk

Chapter Fourteen: "Do Us a Favor"

- 103 **Oleksandr Danyliuk stood** This account of the Ukrainian side's preparation for the call is based on David Stern's reporting, including interviews in March 2020 with Oleksandr Danyliuk and another official with direct knowledge of the events.
- 103 **"Heard from White House"** Volker, message to Yermak, July 25, 2019. Volker messages, page 19.
- 104 **Danyliuk had told Bill Taylor a few days earlier** Taylor, message to Volker and Sondland, July 21, 2019. Volker messages, page 37.
- 104 **Bolton had talked of his fear** Taylor deposition, page 29; Vindman deposition, pages 46–47.
- 104 **Born in Kyiv** Marc Fisher, "Alexander Vindman: Soviet Emigre and Decorated U.S. Army Officer Wanted to Be as American as Can Be. Now the President Questions His Motives," *Washington Post*, November 8, 2019. This account of Vindman's childhood incorporates portions of Fisher's article.
- 105 **Vindman's talking points** Vindman deposition, pages 109, 309.
- 105 **"Congratulations on a great victory"** "Memorandum of Telephone Conversation Between President Donald Trump and President Zelenskyy of Ukraine, July 25, 2019," declassified and released by the White House, September 25. As the call was not recorded, the transcript has been called partial or rough. For simplicity's sake in the Notes, it's called the "July 25 call transcript."
- 109 **Vindman felt the call was getting worse** Vindman deposition, pages 56–57.
- 109 **he saw concern in Morrison's eyes** Vindman deposition, page 95.
- 112 **Trump was projecting a different tone** Vindman deposition, page 116.
- 112 **Zelensky could only interpret it as a demand** Vindman deposition, page 228.
- 112 **In his view, the call had undermined** Vindman deposition, page 19.
- 112 **Morrison had a different take** Morrison deposition, pages 60–61.
- 112 **The call was merely proof** Morrison deposition, page 41.
- 113 **He was confident that Pompeo** Morrison deposition, pages 16–17.
- 113 **too busy taking notes** Williams deposition, pages 130–131, 149.
- 113 **it caught her by surprise** Williams deposition, page 129.
- 113 **Inappropriate, she thought** Williams deposition, page 149.
- 113 **If that memo leaked** Morrison deposition, page 43.
- 113 **Vindman and Morrison turned to the press release** This account of Vindman and Morrison's work on the press release is based on Vindman's deposition and Tom Hamburger's additional reporting.
- 113 **they crossed out sentence after sentence** Vindman deposition, page 309.
- 113 **"discussed ways to strengthen"** Statement emailed by deputy press secretary Judd Deere to White House pool reporter Cheryl Bolen, published by White House Public Pool at Kinja.com, July 25, 2019.
- 114 **Vindman, still upset** This account of Vindman's activities after the call is based on Vindman's deposition, page 96, with additional details from Tom Hamburger's reporting.
- 115 **Morrison also went to see Eisenberg and Ellis** Morrison deposition, pages 43–44.
- 115 **"Mike, here's the OGC"** The email was among those released by OMB in response American Oversight's FOIA request [hereafter American Oversight OMB FOIA release]; the July 25 email from Sandy to Duffey is on page 12.

- 115 **A week earlier, Sandy had returned to work** Deposition of Mark Sandy, November 16, 2019 [hereafter Sandy deposition], page 24.
- 115 **Duffey had pulled him aside** Sandy deposition, pages 31–32.
- 115 **Why? Sandy asked** Sandy deposition, page 41.
- 115 **he had seen Duffey’s emails** Sandy deposition, pages 25–26.
- 115 **Duffey proposed a novel solution** Sandy deposition, page 33.
- 116 **He had never seen** Sandy deposition, page 87.
- 116 **He warned Duffey** Sandy deposition, page 34.
- 116 **They needed to consult** Sandy deposition, pages 40–41.
- 116 **He also checked in with Elaine McCusker** Sandy deposition, pages 51–52.
- 116 **the Pentagon could “continue its planning”** Quoted in “Decision, Matter of: Office of Management and Budget—Withholding of Ukraine Security Assistance,” U.S. Government Accountability Office, January 16, 2020. The GAO decision, finding that OMB had violated the Impoundment Control Act, included the full text of the July 25 footnote.
- 116 **the lawyer-approved footnote** Sandy, email to Duffey, July 25, 2019. American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 12.
- 116 **“Given the sensitive nature of the request”** Duffey, email to David Norquist, Elaine McCusker, Eric Chewning and redacted recipients, July 25, 2019. Center for Public Integrity, December 20 FOIA release, page 40 [hereafter CPI FOIA release].
- 116 **She sent Sandy a short message** McCusker, email to Sandy, July 25, 2019. The email was turned over with significant redaction in the CPI FOIA release, page 78. An unredacted version was published later by *Just Security*, an online forum that reports and analyzes national security issues. See Kate Brannen, “Exclusive: Unredacted Ukraine Documents Reveal Extent of Pentagon’s Legal Concerns,” *Just Security*, January 2, 2020.
- 116 **“I think we are good”** McCusker, email to Sandy, July 25, 2019, cited earlier.
- 116 **What’s going on with the security assistance?** Laura Cooper, public testimony, November 20, 2019 [hereafter Cooper public testimony]. Cooper testified that members of her Pentagon staff received inquiries from the Ukrainian Embassy on July 25.
- 116 **State Department officials also received** Cooper public testimony. Cooper also testified that her staff received emails from colleagues at the State Department on July 25, saying that “the Ukrainian embassy and House Foreign Affairs Committee are asking about security assistance.”
- 116 **the Ukrainians’ “diplomatic tradecraft”** Deposition of Catherine Croft, October 30, 2019 [hereafter Croft deposition], page 101.
- 117 **After work that evening** This account of the Vindman brothers’ evening is based on Tom Hamburger’s reporting.

Chapter Fifteen: The “Big Stuff”

- 118 **no one in the embassy had** Taylor deposition, page 31; Holmes deposition page 22.
- 118 **when Holmes arrived at Yermak’s office** Holmes deposition, page 23.
- 119 **Holmes wanted to ask Sondland** Holmes deposition, page 109.
- 119 **Sondland told the group** This account of the Sondland lunch, and his phone call with Trump, is drawn almost entirely from the Holmes deposition, pages 21–25, and Holmes public testimony. Other details as noted.
- 119 **“Give ASAP Rocky his FREEDOM”** Trump tweet, July 25, 2019, 5:24 p.m.
- 120 **Sondland said he meant “big stuff”** During Sondland’s public testimony, he was asked about Holmes’s account of the lunch. “The only part of Mr. Holmes’s recounting that I take exception with is I do not recall mentioning the Bidens,” Sondland said. “That did not enter my mind. It was Burisma and 2016 elections.” Otherwise, Sondland said, he had no reason to doubt or dispute Holmes’s recollection.

- 120 **"A vote for Mitch McConnell's"** Ilhan Omar (@IlhanMN), Twitter post, June 27, 2019, 3:33 p.m.
- 120 **"If you see the Senate bill"** Rashida Tlaib (@RashidaTlaib), Twitter post, June 27, 2019, 3:57 p.m.
- 120 **"All these people have their public whatever"** Maureen Dowd, "It's Nancy Pelosi's Parade," *New York Times*, July 6, 2019.
- 120 **"That public 'whatever'"** Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez (@AOC), Twitter post, July 6, 2019, 8:49 p.m.
- 121 **"You got a complaint?"** Mike DeBonis and Rachael Bade, "'Regrets Is Not What I Do': Pelosi Defends Her Comment About Four House Women," *Washington Post*, July 10, 2019.
- 121 **"When these comments first started"** Rachael Bade and Mike DeBonis, "'Outright Disrespectful': Four House Women Struggle as Pelosi Isolates Them," *Washington Post*, July 10, 2019.
- 121 **Pelosi tweeted out a smiling photo** Nancy Pelosi (@SpeakerPelosi), Twitter post, July 26, 2019, 10:09 a.m.
- 121 **"I don't think there ever was any hatchet"** Nancy Pelosi, weekly press conference, July 26, 2019.
- 122 **it fell to him to review the call's rough transcript** Vindman deposition, page 48.
- 122 **He noticed that the transcript** Vindman deposition, page 54.
- 122 **He phoned George Kent** Vindman deposition, pages 140–141.
- 122 **After his talk with Vindman** This account of the whistleblower's actions after his conversation with Vindman is drawn from previously published *Post* stories and additional reporting by Carol D. Leonnig, including interviews with multiple people with direct knowledge of the events.
- 123 **"run out the clock . . . Are you?"** "House Speaker Weekly Briefing," C-SPAN video, July 26, 2019; Nancy Pelosi, weekly press conference transcript, July 26, 2019.
- 124 **Privately, lawmakers and senior staff members** John Wagner, Kayla Epstein and Rachael Bade, "House Panel Asks Court to Enforce Mueller-Related Subpoenas, a Step Toward Possible Impeachment," *Washington Post*, July 26, 2019.
- 124 **"We are considering the malfeasances"** "House Judiciary Chair Nadler Speaks to Reporters," C-SPAN video, July 26, 2019.
- 124 **"Because Department of Justice policies"** "Application of the Committee on the Judiciary, House of Representatives, for an Order Authorizing the Release of Certain Grand Jury Materials," U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, Judge Beryl A. Howell, July 26, 2019, page 11.
- 124 **"Democrats want to convince their base"** "Collins Statement on Democrat Petition for Grand Jury Material," July 26, 2019.
- 125 **Michael Duffey was preparing himself** Sandy deposition, page 54.
- 125 **This high-level group almost never** Laura Cooper deposition, October 23, 2019 [hereafter Cooper deposition], page 50. This account of the Deputies Small Group meeting on July 26, 2019, is drawn primarily from the testimony of four participants: Cooper, Vindman, David Hale and Tim Morrison,
- 125 **From David Hale** Hale deposition, page 81.
- 125 **So did Lt. Gen. Keith Kellogg** Williams deposition, page 117.
- 125 **participants argued that the stakes were high** Vindman deposition, pages 184–186.
- 125 **OMB was an outlier** Hale deposition, page 106.
- 125 **Duffey's stance was seconded** Morrison deposition, page 165.
- 125 **That brought a chorus of objections** Cooper deposition, page 49.
- 126 **the same consensus** Morrison deposition, page 164.
- 126 **Holmes returned to the embassy** Holmes deposition, pages 68–69.
- 126 **Holmes went to see his supervisor** Holmes deposition, page 159.
- 126 **He couldn't stop talking about what** Holmes deposition, page 68.

Chapter Sixteen: Plan B

- 128 **the analyst wanted advice** This account of the whistleblower's search for guidance and the preparation of his complaint is based on previously published *Post* stories and Leonnig's interviews with multiple people with direct knowledge.
- 129 **fuse all the arguments** Vindman deposition, page 186.
- 129 **Vindman had never met with Trump** Vindman deposition, page 3.
- 129 **He drafted a background section** Vindman deposition, pages 186–188.
- 130 **As McCusker understood it, the aid freeze** Brannen, "Exclusive: Unredacted Ukraine Documents Reveal Extent of Pentagon's Legal Concerns," cited earlier.
- 130 **OMB had extended it with a second footnote** Duffey, email to McCusker, August 6, 2019, from CPI December 20 FOIA release, page 19.
- 130 **"Amazing teammates have allowed me"** Elaine McCusker opening statement, Senate Committee on Armed Services hearing on her nomination, May 10, 2017.
- 130 **she objected to saying flatly** McCusker, email to Duffey, Sandy, and redacted recipient, August 9, 2019, from CPI December 20 FOIA release, page 37. The email was almost entirely redacted when released by the Defense Department; *Just Security* reported that the unredacted email showed McCusker saying, "As of 12 AUG I don't think we can agree that the pause 'will not preclude timely execution.'" Brannen, "Exclusive: Unredacted Ukraine Documents Reveal Extent of Pentagon's Legal Concerns."
- 130 **There were press reports saying** Steve Holland and Jonathan Landay, "Trump Gets Update from Aides on Afghan Peace Plan with Troop Pullout Possible" Reuters, August 16, 2019.
- 131 **"Any news?"** McCusker, email to Duffey, August 17, 2019, from CPI FOIA release, pages 32–33.
- 131 **Vindman also was trying to find out** Vindman deposition, pages 187–188.
- 131 **fielding questions** McCusker, email to Duffey, August 26, 2019, from CPI FOIA release, page 66; McCusker, email to John Rood and Paul Ney, August 21, 2019, from CPI FOIA release, page 17.
- 131 **Senator Rob Portman of Ohio** Wayne Jones, email to Duffey, August 23, 2019, from American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 82.
- 131 **Senator Jim Inhofe of Oklahoma** Virginia Boney, email to Jason Yaworske, August 23, 2019, from American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 79.
- 131 **Representative Mac Thornberry of Texas** Josh Martin, email to Jason Yaworske, August 22, 2019, from American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 80.
- 131 **Representative Paul Cook of California** Cook, letter to Mick Mulvaney, August 23, 2019, from American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 81.
- 131 **"The impact of holding this case"** Tania Hanna, email to Eric Chewning, August 26, 2019, from CPI FOIA release, pages 111–112.
- 132 **"would be crucial to cementing"** Quoted in Holmes deposition, page 27.
- 132 **Bolton complained to Morrison and Bill Taylor** Holmes deposition, pages 27–28.
- 132 **Bolton pressed Zelensky to block Pavel Polityuk, Vladimir Soldatkin and Tom Balmforth,** "Trump Adviser Bolton Tells Ukraine: Beware Chinese Influence," Reuters, August 28, 2019.
- 133 **"Can I get five minutes with him?"** This account of Taylor's thoughts and actions in late August is based on his testimony, with new details from Jaffe's interviews with him.
- 133 **Taylor had never written a first-person cable** Taylor, public testimony, House Intelligence Committee, November 13, 2019.
- 134 **"Can you shed any light"** Caitlin Emma, email to Rachel Semmel, August 28, 2019, from American Oversight OMB FOIA release, pages 96–97.

Chapter Seventeen: Ukraine in a Box

- 135 **"Need to talk to you"** Yermak, message to Volker, August 29, 2019. Volker messages, page 20.

- 135 **Taylor thought they sounded desperate** Taylor deposition, page 138.
- 135 **He shared the draft** Taylor, interviews with Greg Jaffe.
- 135 **“Meeting on for 2:40”** Taylor exchange with Volker and Sondland, August 29, 2019. Volker messages, page 38.
- 136 **“President Trump should stop worrying”** “Menendez Demands That the Trump Administration Release Security Assistance Funding for Ukraine,” Senate Committee on Foreign Relations statement, August 29, 2019.
- 136 **“Sensational!”** Quoted by Julia Davis (@JuliaDavisNews), Twitter post, August 29, 2019, 9:45 a.m.
- 136 **“Terrible news”** Quoted by Julia Davis (@JuliaDavisNews), Twitter post, August 29, 2019, 2:20 p.m.
- 136 **“No action has been taken by OMB”** Mark Paoletta, email to Edwin Castle and Paul Ney, August 29, 2019, published with redactions in American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 166. *Just Security* reported the text of the final redacted footnote. Brannen, “Exclusive: Unredacted Ukraine Documents Reveal Extent of Pentagon’s Legal Concerns.”
- 136 **“I don’t agree to the revised TPs”** McCusker, email to Duffey, August 29, 2019, from American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 165, and *Just Security*, without redactions.
- 136 **“Trump not going to Warsaw now”** Volker message to Vadym Prystaiko, August 29, 2019. Volker messages, page 56.
- 137 **Danyliuk and Taylor were exchanging** Taylor deposition, page 190.
- 137 **Zelensky opened with a question** Taylor deposition, page 35.
- 137 **wasn’t about the money** Greg Jaffe, Greg Miller and Paul Sonne, “John Bolton Expressed Alarm About Shadow Ukraine Policy, but at Key Moments, It’s Unclear What He Did to Stop It,” *Washington Post*, November 6, 2019. Additional details, including the Ukrainian side’s preparation and comments during the meeting, were reported by Sonne.
- 137 **Pence was taking notes** Williams deposition, page 83.
- 138 **Biden did not come up** “Remarks by Vice President Pence and President Duda of Poland in Joint Press Conference, Warsaw, Poland,” White House transcript, September 2, 2019.
- 138 **he had allowed himself to think** Taylor deposition, page 35.
- 138 **Morrison had watched from across** Morrison deposition, pages 180–181.
- 138 **Sondland said he had told Yermak** Morrison deposition, page 134.
- 138 **Morrison was startled** Morrison deposition, page 182.
- 139 **Taylor shared Morrison’s dismay** Taylor deposition, page 36.
- 139 **“Are we now saying”** Taylor, message to Sondland and Volker, September 1, 2019. Volker messages, page 39.
- 139 **there had to be a public announcement** Taylor deposition, page 36.
- 139 **Zelensky had to be the one to make it** Morrison deposition, page 188. There is a slight discrepancy between the depositions of Morrison and Taylor on the question of what Sondland said his “mistake” was during this September 1 phone call. Taylor says that Sondland informed him that “he had made a mistake by earlier telling Ukrainian officials . . . that a White House meeting with President Zelensky was dependent on a public announcement of investigations. In fact, Ambassador Sondland said, everything was dependent on such an announcement, including security assistance.” Taylor also said that on this phone call, he and Sondland “discussed the possibility that the Ukrainian prosecutor general, rather than President Zelensky, would make a statement about investigations.” Morrison says that Taylor told him the next day that Sondland had said the statement had to come from Zelensky, not the prosecutor general. Since there is no dispute Sondland had told Morrison the statement could come from the prosecutor general, we infer that Sondland had indeed been mistaken about who could deliver the statement, and that his misconception was cleared up before he spoke with Taylor.
- 139 **Trump wanted him in a box** Taylor deposition, page 36.
- 139 **Trump should have more respect** Taylor deposition, page 37.

- 139 **shelling had killed a Ukrainian soldier** “Ukraine Reports One KIA, One WIA amid 21 Enemy Attacks in Donbas on Sept 5,” UNIAN, September 6, 2019.
- 140 **Did they know anything** Chris Murphy, “An Inside Look at My Trip to Germany, Ukraine, Serbia, and Kosovo,” Medium, September 16, 2019.
- 140 **Johnson, who had called Trump to talk** Johnson, letter to Jordan and Nunes, cited earlier.
- 140 **On September 8, Taylor and Sondland** Taylor deposition, page 39. At his deposition, Sondland initially said he thought his “no quid pro quo” call with Trump took place on September 9. The White House said it couldn’t find any record of a September 9 call. At his public testimony, Sondland said he had no reason to challenge Morrison’s and Taylor’s recollections that it took place earlier. “To the extent that the recollections of various witnesses differ in some respects, we leave to the committee the task of reconciling those differences,” his attorney told *The Post* in November. Aaron C. Davis, Elise Viebeck and Josh Dawsey, “Witness Testimony and Records Raise Questions About Account of Trump’s ‘No Quid Pro Quo’ Call,” *Washington Post*, November 27, 2019.
- 140 **What do you want from Ukraine?** Sondland public testimony, cited in House Impeachment Report, page 24.
- 140 **he had already passed the word** Taylor deposition, page 39.
- 140 **“When a businessman is about to sign”** Taylor quoting Sondland, Taylor deposition, page 40.
- 141 **“The nightmare is that they”** Taylor, message exchange with Volker and Sondland, September 9, 2019. Volker messages, page 53.
- 141 **“no quid pro quo’s of any kind”** Sondland to Taylor, same message exchange.
- 141 **“I suggest we stop the back and forth”** Sondland, same message exchange.

Chapter Eighteen: “Credible Urgent Concern”

- 142 **Schiff had read the staff’s six-page memo** This description of the committee’s investigative work, here and later, is based on Mary Jordan and Ellen Nakashima’s background interviews in March, April and May 2020.
- 142 **“just investigate the darn things”** Giuliani quoted in Kenneth P. Vogel and Andrew E. Kramer, “Giuliani Renews Push for Ukraine to Investigate Trump’s Political Opponents,” *New York Times*, August 21, 2019.
- 142 **the editorial connected the disparate dots** The Editorial Board, “Trump Tries to Force Ukraine to Meddle in the 2020 election,” *Washington Post*, September 5, 2019.
- 143 **a “read-out” of a July 25 phone call** Adam Schiff, Elliot Engel and Elijah E. Cummings, letters to Michael Pompeo and Pat Cipollone, September 9, 2019. The letters describe the read-out from the Ukrainian government.
- 143 **the committee released a statement** “Three House Committees Launch Wide-Ranging Investigation into Trump-Giuliani Ukraine Scheme,” House Intelligence Committee, September 9, 2019.
- 143 **“coerce the Ukrainian government into pursuing”** Schiff, Engel and Cummings, letters to Pompeo and Cipollone, September 9, 2019, cited earlier.
- 144 **Atkinson’s office had received a complaint** Described in Michael Atkinson’s letter to Schiff and Nunes, September 9, 2019, released by House Intelligence Committee.
- 144 **Will Hurd’s ears perked up** This account of Hurd’s reaction from an interview with *Post* contributing reporter Robert Moore, April 1, 2020, and follow-up conversations [hereafter Hurd interview with Moore].
- 145 **On August 1, he told** Robert Moore, “Texas Rep. Hurd, Lone Black Republican in House, Won’t Seek Reelection,” *Washington Post*, August 1, 2019.
- 145 **used Hurd’s announcement to warn** Robert Costa and Robert Moore, “‘Take Texas Seriously’: GOP Anxiety Spikes After Retirements, Democratic Gains,” *Washington Post*, August 2, 2019.
- 146 **Police said the shooter told them** Rachel Hatzipanagos, “Even Before the El Paso Mass

- Shooting, Latinos Said Trump's Anti-Immigrant Rhetoric Made Them Feel Unsafe," *Washington Post*, August 16, 2019.
- 146 **"This is a party that is shrinking"** Hurd quoted in Lou Chibarro Jr., "GOP Congressman Urges: 'Don't Be an Asshole, Don't Be a Homophobe,'" *Washington Blade*, June 26, 2019.
- 147 **Senator Rob Portman of Ohio was also frustrated** This account of Portman's calls about the aid is based on Isabelle Taft's interview in April 2020 with a Republican staffer familiar with the calls.
- 148 **McCusker received an unexpected email** Duffey, email to McCusker, Subject: RE: Footnote, September 11, 2019. CPI FOIA release, page 22.
- 148 **she had shared with Duffey McCusker**, email to Duffey, Subject: USAI Status and Update Plan, September 9, 2019, published with redactions by American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 120. *Just Security* reported on the text of the redacted line: Brannen, "Exclusive: Unredacted Ukraine Documents Reveal Extent of Pentagon's Legal Concerns."
- 148 **OMB had drafted its footnote** Duffey, email to McCusker, Subject: RE: USAI Status and Update Plan, September 10, 2019, published with redactions by American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 124. *Just Security* reported part of the content of the unredacted email.
- 149 **"You can't be serious"** McCusker, email to Duffey, Subject: RE: USAI Status and Update Plan, September 10, 2019, published with redactions by American Oversight OMB FOIA release, page 124. *Just Security* reported the entirety of the redacted line.
- 149 **"Copy," she said** McCusker, email to Duffey, Subject: RE: Footnote, September 11, 2019. CPI FOIA release, page 22.
- 149 **"Not exactly clear but president made the decision"** Duffey, email to McCusker, Subject: RE: Footnote, September 11, 2019, published with redactions in CPI FOIA release, page 22. *Just Security* reported a portion of the redacted text.
- 149 **"Agree!"** McCusker, email to Duffey, September 11, 2019. CPI FOIA release, page 53.
- 149 **Vindman learned only the most basic information** Vindman deposition, page 306.
- 149 **Mark Sandy at OMB got an email** Sandy deposition, page 139.
- 149 **"Hi—got an email overnight"** Volker, message exchange with Sondland and Taylor, September 12, 2019. Volker messages, page 39.
- 149 **"I strongly support the president's position"** "Portman Welcomes President Trump Decision on Security Assistance & Urges Other NATO Countries to Do More to Help Ukraine," office of Senator Rob Portman, September 12, 2019.
- 150 **"It's beyond a coincidence"** Quoted in Caitlin Emma, Jacqueline Feldscher, Wesley Morgan and Connor O'Brien, "Trump Administration Backs Off Hold on Ukraine Military Aid," *Politico*, September 12, 2019.
- 150 **"So why was it released?"** Lindsey Graham, remarks during Senate Appropriations Committee Markup of Fiscal 2020 Defense and Energy and Water Development Appropriations, *CQ Transcriptions*, September 12, 2019.
- 150 **"It's a very important decision"** Embassy of Ukraine in the USA, Facebook post, September 12, 2019.
- 150 **Taylor personally conveyed** Taylor deposition, page 40.
- 150 **Schiff and his top investigator, Daniel Goldman** This account of Schiff's phone call with Maguire is based on Mary Jordan and Ellen Nakashima's interviews with sources familiar with the call.
- 151 **"I told Nancy"** "Remarks by President Trump at the 2019 House Republican Conference Member Retreat Dinner, Baltimore, MD," September 12, 2019.
- 151 **Taylor had a series of discussions with Zelensky** Taylor deposition, page 217.
- 151 **he expected a Trump-Zelensky meeting** Quoted in "Zelensky, Trump Could Meet in New York Between Sept 23–Sept 26, Date Being Selected—Taylor," *Ukraine General Newswire*, September 12, 2019.

- 152 **Taylor checked with Danyliuk** Taylor deposition, pages 41 and 217.
- 152 **"Don't jeopardize it"** Taylor deposition, pages 217–218.
- 152 **Taylor thought Yermak looked uncomfortable** Taylor deposition, page 41.
- 152 **"Grateful to the USA"** Volodymyr Zelensky (@ZelenskyyUa), Twitter post, September 13, 2019, 3:17 p.m. Kyiv time.
- 152 **offering a legal rationale** Jason Klitenic, letter to House Intelligence Committee ranking members, Schiff and Nunes, and Senate Intelligence Committee ranking members, Richard Burr and Mark Warner, September 13, 2019.
- 153 **"The Committee can only conclude"** Schiff, letter to Maguire, September 13, 2019.
- 153 **put out a press release** "Chairman Schiff Issues Subpoena for Whistleblower Complaint Being Unlawfully Withheld by Acting DNI from Intelligence Committees," press release, House Intelligence Committee, September 13, 2019.

Chapter Nineteen: "Dig Very Hard, and Very Fast"

- 154 **The trio had years of experience** This account of Ellen Nakashima, Greg Miller and Shane Harris's reporting on the whistleblower complaint is based on notes, email and text records and recollections of events.
- 155 **"We have breaking news right now"** Chris Cuomo, "Rep. Jerrold Nadler, D-NY, Interviewed; House Intel Chair: Acting DNI Illegally Withholding Whistleblower Complaint, Possibly to Protect Trump," "Cuomo Prime Time," CNN, September 13, 2019.
- 158 **He wouldn't discuss specifics** Margaret Brennan, "Interview with Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA)," "Face the Nation," CBS, September 15, 2019.
- 158 **adding new detail** Ellen Nakashima, "Trump's Acting Intelligence Chief Told to Turn Over Whistleblower Complaint or Face Public Questioning by Congress," *Washington Post*, September 16, 2019.

Chapter Twenty: Nadler's Audition

- 160 **"Personally, I think the president"** Nadler quote from "Jerry Nadler Talks Investigations, Impeachment Rules," "The Brian Lehrer Show," WNYC, September 16, 2019.
- 161 **"was uncomfortable with the task"** For the Mueller Report's description of Trump's directive to Lewandowski, see Volume II, page 5.
- 161 **He and Trump had a long history** This account about the long-standing bad blood between Trump and Nadler incorporates and relies on Rachael Bade and Josh Dawsey, "Trump's Feud with Jerry Nadler Rooted in Decades-Old New York Real Estate Project," *Washington Post*, April 8, 2019.
- 163 **He summarized the Mueller report's finding** House Judiciary Committee hearing on Executive Branch Oversight with witness Corey Lewandowski, C-SPAN video and *CQ Transcriptions*, September 17, 2019.

Chapter Twenty-One: "Not Waving You Off"

- 167 **The whistleblower complaint that has triggered** Greg Miller, Ellen Nakashima and Shane Harris, "Trump's Communications with Foreign Leader Are Part of Whistleblower Complaint That Spurred Standoff Between Spy Chief and Congress, Former Officials Say," *Washington Post*, September 18, 2019.
- 168 **read closely by investigators** Mary Jordan interviews with House Intelligence Committee staffers.
- 169 **A second source confirmed** Ellen Nakashima, Shane Harris, Greg Miller and Carol Leonnig, "Whistleblower Complaint About President Trump Involves Ukraine, According to Two People Familiar with the Matter," *Washington Post*, September 19, 2019.
- 169 **the New York Times posted its account** Julian E. Barnes, Nicholas Fandos, Michael S.

- Schmidt and Matthew Rosenberg, “Whistle-Blower Complaint Is Said to Involve Trump and Ukraine,” *New York Times*, September 19, 2019. The time stamps on the *Post* and *Times* stories from Anna Palmer and Jake Sherman, “*Politico* Playbook: How Trump Has Handcuffed Washington,” *Politico*, September 20, 2019.
- 169 **the *Wall Street Journal* added to the emerging mosaic** Alan Cullison, Rebecca Ballhaus and Dustin Volz, “Trump Repeatedly Pressed Ukraine President to Investigate Biden’s Son,” *Wall Street Journal*, September 20, 2019.
- 170 **“It’s another media disaster”** “Remarks by President Trump and Prime Minister Morrison of Australia Before Bilateral Meeting,” White House transcript, September 20, 2019.
- 170 **Pelosi was taking careful note** This account of Pelosi’s thinking in the days leading up to the announcement of the impeachment inquiry is based on Mary Jordan’s interviews throughout early 2020 with sources with direct knowledge of the events, and previous *Post* reporting.

Chapter Twenty-Two: “The Women Who Kill”

- 172 **“‘Darlin,’ know your power”** “Pelosi Remarks at Memorial Service of Cokie Roberts,” September 21, 2019.
- 172 **“We need to start thinking about an announcement”** Mary Jordan interview with Drew Hammill, Pelosi’s deputy chief of staff, May 2020.
- 173 **“The conversation I had was largely congratulatory”** “Remarks by President Trump Before Marine One Departure,” White House transcript, September 22, 2019.
- 173 **“I have been very reluctant to go down the path”** Jake Tapper, “Interview with Rep. Adam Schiff (D-CA),” “State of the Union,” CNN, September 22, 2019.
- 174 **“a grave new chapter”** Nancy Pelosi, “Dear Colleague to All Members on Whistleblower Complaint,” September 22, 2019.
- 174 **“Democrats’ frustration”** Rachael Bade and Josh Dawsey, “‘We’ve Been Very Weak’: House Democrats Decry Their Oversight of Trump, Push Pelosi on Impeachment,” *Washington Post*, September 22, 2019.
- 174 **“No one has seen the complaint”** Jeanine Pirro, “Rep. Kevin McCarthy (R-CA) Weighs In on the Whistleblower Scandal Involving the President and Joe Biden,” “Justice with Judge Pirro,” Fox News, September 21, 2019.
- 175 **“I think this is a clear example”** Martha MacCallum, “Trump’s Communications with Foreign Leader Part of Whistleblower Complaint,” “The Story with Martha MacCallum,” Fox News, September 19, 2019.
- 175 **He picked up the assertion from an op-ed** Trump tweet, September 21, 2019, 5:47 p.m.
- 175 **“It appears that an American spy”** Greg Jarrett, “The Trump Whistleblower May Not Be a Whistleblower at All,” FoxNews.com, September 20, 2019.
- 175 **“Would you have any availability today”** This account of the writing and editing of the op-ed is based on Michael Duffy’s notes and email records, as well as Steve Luxenberg’s interview of Duffy in December 2019.
- 177 **“Is anyone starting to think differently?”** Slotkin, interview with Griff Witte, April 2020.
- 177 **“Don’t get in a knife fight with Elissa”** Quoted in Phoebe Wall Howard, “Why Elissa Slotkin Took Heat from Angry Democrats During Her Campaign,” *Detroit Free Press*, November 9, 2018.
- 179 **“These allegations are stunning”** Gil Cisneros, Jason Crow, Chrissy Houlahan, Elaine Luria, Mikie Sherrill, Elissa Slotkin and Abigail Spanberger, “Seven Freshman Democrats: These Allegations Are a Threat to All We Have Sworn to Protect,” *Washington Post*, op-ed, September 23, 2019.
- 179 **the op-ed writers had one more important call** This account of the phone call is based on Mary Jordan’s interviews, as well as Griff Witte’s interview with Elissa Slotkin.

Chapter Twenty-Three: “You Don’t Really Want to Do This”

- 181 **Hold for the president** This account of Pelosi’s phone call with Trump on the morning of September 24 is based on Mary Jordan’s interview with a source familiar with the call.
- 182 **she flashed the rookie lawmaker** Slotkin, interview with Witte, April 2020.
- 183 **“People approach me everywhere I go”** John Lewis’s speech from House proceedings, C-SPAN video, September 24, 2019.
- 183 **“I’ll be making an announcement”** “Speaker Pelosi Interview at the *Atlantic* Festival,” C-SPAN video, September 24, 2019.
- 184 **announcing that he would “fully declassify”** Trump tweet, September 24, 2019, 2:12 p.m.
- 184 **Trump had overruled his communications staff** Manuel Roig-Franzia and Josh Dawsey, “Trump Lawyer Pat Cipollone Was a Camera-Shy Washington Everyman—Until Impeachment Made Him a Star,” *Washington Post*, January 30, 2020. Also, Ashley Parker, Josh Dawsey and Philip Rucker, “Seven Days: Inside Trump’s Frenetic Response to the Whistleblower Complaint and the Battle Over Impeachment,” *Washington Post*, September 25, 2019.
- 184 **Pelosi strode in** This account of the September 24 Democratic caucus meeting is based on Mary Jordan’s background interviews.
- 185 **arm-twisting mission** The Lewis-Tlaib conversation, and Tlaib’s quip to Hoyer, from Mary Jordan’s background interviews with House Democrats.
- 185 **“He is a dangerous person to our country”** Griffin Connolly, “Rep. Rashida Tlaib Selling ‘Impeach the MF’ Shirts for Reelection Campaign,” *Roll Call*, September 27, 2019.
- 185 **They wanted a surgical strike** This account of the Democratic caucus meeting after Pelosi left is based primarily on Griff Witte’s reporting, including an interview with Slotkin in April 2020. At the time, the meeting was well covered by many media outlets. One notable account appeared later in the *New York Times Magazine*: Susan Dominus, “Hope and High Drama: A Year with Two New Democratic Congresswomen,” November 18, 2019.
- 186 **Slotkin looked at her phone** Also reported in Dominus’s *New York Times Magazine* article. Dominus has other details that Witte confirmed.
- 186 **instantly turning up on Politico reporter** Heather Caygle (@heatherscope), Twitter post, September 24, 2019, 5:04 p.m.
- 187 **Schiff left the room** Mary Jordan interview with Patrick Boland, House Intelligence Committee communications director, April 2020.
- 187 **six American flags behind her** “Speaker Pelosi Announcement of Impeachment Inquiry,” C-SPAN video, September 24, 2019, and *Post* reporting.
- 187 **saying Democrats “have been trying”** Rachael Bade, Mike DeBonis and Karoun Demirjian, “Pelosi Announces Impeachment Inquiry, Says Trump’s Courting of Foreign Political Help Is a ‘Betrayal of National Security,’” *Washington Post*, September 24, 2019.

Part Three: Impeachment

Chapter Twenty-Four: “Isn’t It a Perfect Call?”

- 191 **a pep talk from Trump** This account is drawn from Ashley Parker, Josh Dawsey and Philip Rucker, “Seven Days: Inside Trump’s Frenetic Response to the Whistleblower Complaint and the Battle Over Impeachment,” *Washington Post*, September 25, 2019.
- 192 **The document “records the notes and recollections”** July 25 call transcript.
- 193 **Justice officials told Barrett that the exchange** Matt Zapotosky and Devlin Barrett, “Justice Dept. Rejected Investigation of Trump Phone Call Just Weeks After It Began Examining the Matter,” *Washington Post*, September 25, 2019. Zapotosky and Barrett provided us with additional details.
- 194 **a meeting of her leadership team** Mike DeBonis and Rachael Bade, “Pelosi, Top Demo-

- crats Favor Quick, Narrow Trump Impeachment Probe Focused on Ukraine,” *Washington Post*, September 25, 2019.
- 194 **this chest of pure gold** Mary Jordan background interviews.
- 194 **“That is textbook abuse of power”** “House Democratic News Conference,” C-SPAN video and transcript, September 25, 2019.
- 195 **He had passed out a “Mad Libs impeachment” form** Reported in Philip Rucker, Rachael Bade and Robert Costa, “Trump Deflects and Defies as Democrats Speed Up Impeachment Strategy,” *Washington Post*, September 25, 2019.
- 196 **“Ever since President Trump was elected”** “Minority Leader McCarthy News Conference,” C-SPAN video, September 25, 2019.
- 196 **“Wow. Impeachment over this?”** Lindsey Graham (@LindseyGrahamSC), Twitter post, September 25, 2019, 10:37 a.m.
- 196 **Schiff and his team gathered** Mary Jordan and Ellen Nakashima’s interviews with House Intelligence Committee staffers.
- 196 **Will Hurd of Texas read the transcript** Hurd interview with Moore, April 2020.
- 197 **upset enough to write a blistering op-ed** Will Hurd, “Trump Is Being Manipulated by Putin. What Should We Do?” *New York Times*, July 19, 2018.
- 198 **“What those notes reflect”** Adam Schiff, remarks to reporters, *CQ Transcriptions*, September 25, 2019.
- 198 **it lit up with bazillions of texts** Greg Miller’s interviews with a person familiar with the events.
- 199 **“It remains troubling in the extreme”** Mitt Romney quoted in Robert Costa, “Cracks Emerge Among Senate Republicans Over Trump Urging Ukrainian Leader to Investigate Biden,” *Washington Post*, September 25, 2019.
- 199 **“There are a number of Republicans”** Parker, Dawsey and Rucker, “Seven Days: Inside Trump’s Frenetic Response to the Whistleblower Complaint and the Battle Over Impeachment,” cited earlier.
- 200 **The two men sat in black leather armchairs** “President Trump Meeting with Ukrainian President,” C-SPAN video, September 25, 2019. This account is based largely on the video.
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- 226 **Rosalind Helderman, Paul Sonne and Tom Hamburger were working** This account of Helderman’s, Sonne’s and Hamburger’s reporting on Parnas is based on each reporter’s records and recollections, as well as some of their previously published stories.
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- 230 **a more aggressive defense of the president** Matt Gaetz interview with Dave Weigel, April 2020.
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- 235 **“I’m Congresswoman Debbie Lesko”** “Representative Debbie Lesko in Impeachment Inquiry Testimony,” C-SPAN video, October 16, 2019.
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Chapter Thirty-Four: Live, from Washington

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Chapter Thirty-Six: "I Will Be Fine for Telling the Truth"

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Chapter Thirty-Seven: Smiles All Around

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- 306 **"To a certain degree, he took out the bus"** Julia Musto, "Chris Wallace: Gordon Sondland 'Took Out the Bus' and Ran Over Trump, Pence, Others," FoxNews.com, November 20, 2019.
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- 313 **"Gordo, you got this!"** Doug Landry (@doughlandry), Twitter post, November 20, 2019, 3:52 p.m.
- 313 **"My whole day has been like this"** "Sondland Put His Luggage in the Wrong Overhead Bin, and Said 'My Whole Day Has Been Like This,'" CNN.com, November 20, 2019.

- 313 **"So where do you think this goes?"** Neil Cavuto interview with Rick Crawford, "Your World with Neil Cavuto," Fox News, November 20, 2019.

Chapter Thirty-Eight: "These Fictions Are Harmful"

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- 320 **Cruz believed that calling witnesses** Cruz, interview with Mary Jordan, April 2020.
- 321 **"Fiona Hill with that Prince Andrew accent"** Emerald Robinson (@EmeraldRobinson), Twitter post, November 21, 2019. Robinson later deleted her tweet, but it was captured via screenshot and appeared in an article by James Crowley, "OANN White House Correspondent Implies in Tweet That Hill and Vindman Aren't Americans, Despite the Fact They Are," *Newsweek*, November 21, 2019.
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- 322 **None of the witnesses had** Hurd interview with Robert Moore, April 2020.
- 325 **"How dare Fiona Hill question"** John Solomon (@jsolomonReports), Twitter post, November 21, 2019, 6:18 p.m.
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Chapter Thirty-Nine: "Potomac River Fever"

- 327 **"Too many"** Matt Gaetz interview with Ben Terris, December 2019. Parts of the interview were published in *The Post*. Dan Zak and Ben Terris, "Impeachment Goes to College," *Washington Post*, December 4, 2019.
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- 331 **"let their MAGA freak flag fly"** Gaetz, interview with Dave Weigel, April 2020.
- 333 **"A minor child deserves privacy"** Melania Trump (@FLOTUS), Twitter post, December 4, 2019, 4:50 p.m.
- 333 **"You didn't try to dismantle their argument"** Martha MacCallum interview with Gaetz, "The Story with Martha MacCallum," Fox News, December 4, 2019.

Chapter Forty: "I Don't Hate Anybody"

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Part Four: Trump on Trial

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- 437 **“shouldn’t you be in the impeachment hearing right now?”** “Senator Rand Paul News Conference,” C-SPAN, January 30, 2020.
- 437 **“Democrat partisans conspired with Schiff staffers to plot”** Rand Paul (@RandPaul), Twitter post, January 30, 2020, 1:19 p.m.
- 437 **“does the fact that the chief justice is presiding”** Elizabeth Warren, question during Trump impeachment trial, *Congressional Record* 166:20 (January 30, 2020), page S717. All other questions and responses from the trial in this chapter are also drawn from this edition of the *Congressional Record*, unless otherwise noted.
- 438 **“I can’t tell you how happy I am to be in Austin”** Jeremy Wallace and Taylor Goldenstein, “John Bolton Happy to Be in Texas on Thursday—1,500 Miles from D.C.,” *Houston Chronicle*, January 30, 2020.
- 438 **“All of them acted in the best interest of the country”** Bolton quoted by Austin TV station KXAN, cited by Veronica Stracqualarsi and Kevin Liptak, “John Bolton Defends Trump Administration Officials Who Testified in House Impeachment Inquiry,” CNN, January 31, 2020.
- 439 **“the best years that we’ve ever had in the history of our country”** “Donald Trump Iowa Rally Transcript: Trump Holds Rally in Des Moines, Iowa,” Rev.com, January 30, 2020.
- 440 **a chance to “more fully and fairly make their case”** “Senator Collins’ Statement on Vote on Witnesses and Documents,” released by Susan Collins’s office, January 30, 2020.
- 440 **“Susan’s gonna get a free pass on everything”** These quotes are from a senior Republican senator interviewed by Seung Min Kim in January 2020.
- 440 **That’s it, Cruz had thought** Cruz, interview with Mary Jordan, April 2020.
- 441 **“it was like the air went out of the room”** Laura Litvan (@LauraLitvan), Twitter post, January 30, 2020, 10:26 p.m.
- 442 **“the Constitution does not give the Senate the power to remove the president”** “Alexander Statement on Impeachment Witness Vote,” statement released by his office, January 30, 2020.
- 443 **“If you’ve got nine witnesses who say he left the scene of an accident, you don’t need the tenth”** Paul Kane interview with Lamar Alexander, January 31, 2020.
- 444 **He had read two books to prepare for the trial** Paul Kane, “Sen. Alexander’s Rejection of

Witnesses in Trump Trial Leaves Democrats Disappointed but Hardly Surprised,” *Washington Post*, January 31, 2020.

Chapter Fifty-Five: “This Country Is Our Masterpiece”

- 446 **“Today I’m here with a clear message”** John Hudson, “Pompeo Visits Zelensky in Kyiv, Vows U.S. Support for Ukraine ‘Will Not Waver,’” *Washington Post*, January 31, 2020.
- 446 **Kelly was escorted** After airing her Pompeo interview, Kelly described the aftermath with “All Things Considered” co-host Ari Shapiro. “Pompeo Won’t Say Whether He Owes Yovanovitch An Apology. I’ve Done What’s Right,” NPR, January 24, 2020.
- 447 **“nothing short of a coup d’état”** Marco Rubio, “My Statement on the President’s Impeachment Trial,” *Medium*, January 31, 2020.
- 447 **“there will be no fair trial in the Senate”** “Murkowski’s Statement on Senate Impeachment Process Vote,” statement released by Murkowski’s office, January 31, 2020.
- 447 **Trump signed an order declaring the coronavirus a “public health emergency”** Allison Aubrey, “Trump Declares Coronavirus a Public Health Emergency and Restricts Travel from China,” NPR, January 31, 2020.
- 448 **“We are putting the Democrats on notice”** Quoted in Annie Karni and Maggie Haberman, “On the Day Democrats Vote in Iowa, Trump Plans to Flood the Zone,” *New York Times*, January 28, 2020.
- 448 **a personal best approval rating** Jeffrey M. Jones, “Trump Job Approval at Personal Best 49%,” Gallup, February 4, 2020.
- 449 **“Or was success beside the point?”** Mitch McConnell, “Impeachment,” *Congressional Record* 166:23 (February 4, 2020), page S814.
- 449 **“Absolutely, a hundred percent”** Steve Inskeep, “Giuliani Says Trump Should ‘100%’ Investigate Biden After Expected Senate Acquittal,” “All Things Considered,” NPR, February 4, 2020.
- 450 **She simply said** Sheryl Gay Stolberg, “Trump and Pelosi Exchange Snubs at the State of the Union Address,” *New York Times*, February 4, 2020.
- 450 **“The years of economic decay”** “Remarks by President Trump in State of the Union Address,” White House transcript, February 4, 2020.
- 451 **Cruz was disgusted** Cruz interview with Mary Jordan, April 2020.
- 451 **Himes watched with competing instincts** Himes interview with Mary Jordan, February 2020.

Chapter Fifty-Six: Never Over

- 453 **they aren’t taking this seriously enough** Chris Murphy (@ChrisMurphyCT), Twitter post, February 5, 2020, 10:09.
- 453 **administration’s handling of the virus as “Keystone Cops”** Erica Werner and Yasmeen Abutaleb, “Some Lawmakers Confront Trump Administration over Coronavirus Response,” *Washington Post*, February 5, 2020.
- 454 **“We’re on the same team here”** “House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Asia, the Pacific and Nonproliferation Holds Hearing on Coronavirus,” *CQ Transcriptions*, February 5, 2020.
- 455 **his “heart sank in dread”** Dan Balz and Robert Costa, “Romney Votes to Convict Trump on Charge of Abuse of Power, Becoming the Lone Republican to Break Ranks,” *Washington Post*, February 5, 2020.
- 456 **the two embraced** Paul Kane, “Inside the Senate Chamber for Wednesday’s Acquittal Vote,” *Washington Post*, February 5, 2020.
- 458 **They wanted records of travel** Charles Grassley and Ron Johnson, letter to James Murray, published on Grassley’s website, February 5, 2020.

Chapter Fifty-Seven: Payback

- 459 **held it aloft** National Prayer Breakfast, February 6, 2020, C-SPAN video and transcript.
- 460 **“Contempt is ripping our country apart”** Arthur C. Brooks, “America’s crisis of contempt,” remarks at the National Prayer Breakfast, transcript published in *The Washington Post*, February 7, 2020.
- 460 **“Arthur, I don’t know if I agree with you”** “Remarks by President Trump at the 68th Annual National Prayer Breakfast,” White House transcript, February 6, 2020.
- 461 **“It was all bullshit”** “Remarks by President Trump to the Nation,” White House transcript, February 6, 2020.
- 463 **He fired Sondland** Toluse Olorunnipa, Tom Hamburger, Josh Dawsey and Greg Miller, “Trump Ousts Vindman and Sondland, Punishing Key Impeachment Witnesses in Post-Acquittal Campaign of Retribution,” *Washington Post*, February 7, 2020.
- 463 **“That’s going to be up to the military”** “Remarks by President Trump at Signing Ceremony for S. 153, the Supporting Veterans in STEM Careers Act,” White House transcript, February 12, 2020.
- 463 **Vindman had lost “his job, his career, and his privacy”** Paul Sonne, “U.S. Military Isn’t Investigating Vindman, Top Army Official Says,” *Washington Post*, February 14, 2020.
- 464 **“make a difference every day”** Marie Yovanovitch, “Transcript: Marie Yovanovitch Speaks at Georgetown, Gives Warning About State Department,” published by Rev.com, February 12, 2020. Other details drawn from Karen DeYoung’s interviews with sources familiar with Yovanovitch’s thinking.
- 464 **Solomon’s work on Ukraine** “The Hill’s Review of John Solomon’s Columns on Ukraine,” *The Hill*, February 19, 2020.
- 465 **“That is no longer the case”** Quoted in Ellen Nakashima, Josh Dawsey and Shane Harris, “Trump Says He Will Fire Intelligence Watchdog at Center of Ukraine Allegations That Led to Impeachment,” *Washington Post*, April 3, 2020.
- 465 **“That man is a disgrace to IGs”** “Remarks by President Trump, Vice President Pence, and Members of the Coronavirus Task Force in Press Briefing,” White House transcript, April 5, 2020.
- 466 **“my having faithfully discharged my legal obligations”** Ellen Nakashima, “Inspector General Who Handled Ukraine Whistleblower Complaint Says ‘It Is Hard Not to Think’ Trump Fired Him for Doing His Job,” *Washington Post*, April 6, 2020.
- 467 **“Stand Your Ground,” etched in Russian** Greg Jaffe interview with Bill Taylor in early 2020. Parts of this section were previously published in Jaffe’s article, “William Taylor Jr., a Key Impeachment Witness, Quietly Returns Home to Trump’s Washington,” *Washington Post*, February 14, 2020.

Chapter Fifty-Eight: “Stand Back and Stand By”

- 469 **“Tyrants Get the Rope”** Among the many news accounts of the April 30 storming of the Michigan state capitol in Lansing, several included photos of the scene from tweets by firsthand observers. See, for example, Lois Beckett’s story in *The Guardian*, “Armed Protesters Demonstrate Against Covid-19 Lockdown at Michigan Capitol,” April 30, 2020, for images of the protest sign “Tyrants Get the Rope” and armed members of a militia group outside Governor Gretchen Whitmer’s office, outfitted in camouflage and military-style vests.
- 469 **“LIBERATE MINNESOTA” and “LIBERATE VIRGINIA”** Trump tweets, April 17, 2020, 11:21 a.m. and 11:25 a.m. Between those two posts, at 11:22 a.m., he tweeted “LIBERATE MICHIGAN.”
- 470 **“men with rifles yelling at us”** Michigan state senator Dayna Polehanki tweeted her photo of armed protesters in the Senate gallery at 12:38 p.m. on April 30, 2020.

- 470 **Trump was stewing about his reelection chances** This account of Trump's mindset during this period is drawn from *Washington Post* interviews and published reporting, including an account by Robert Costa, Philip Rucker, Yasmeen Abutaleb and Josh Dawsey in "Trump's May Days: A Month of Distractions and Grievances as Nation Marks Bleak Coronavirus Milestone," May 31, 2020.
- 471 **a white officer, Derek Chauvin, pressed his knee** On April 20, 2021, a Minneapolis jury convicted Chauvin on three criminal charges arising from Floyd's death: second-degree unintentional murder, third-degree murder and second-degree manslaughter.
- 471 **he labeled protesters as "THUGS"** Trump tweet, May 29, 2020, 12:53 a.m. Twitter labeled this tweet with a note that it "violated Twitter Rules about glorifying violence," but left the post up because it may "be in the public's interest." Earlier in the week, it had added a note to a Trump tweet about mail-in ballots leading to fraud that said, "Get the facts about mail-in ballots."
- 471 **Trump claimed his tweet had been misconstrued** From "President Trump Hosts Industry Executives on Coronavirus Pandemic," C-SPAN video and transcript, May 29, 2020.
- 471 **they would look like "jerks"** Quoted in Robert Costa, Seung Min Kim and Josh Dawsey, "Trump Calls Governors 'Weak,' Urges Them to Use Force Against Unruly Protests," *Washington Post*, June 1, 2020.
- 472 **"SCANDAL OF OUR TIMES"** Trump tweet, June 22, 2020, 7:16 a.m.
- 473 **calling their effort the Transition Integrity Project** One of the group's participants wrote an opinion essay for *The Washington Post* Outlook section, describing the project's concerns about what Trump might do if he lost. See Rosa Brooks, "The Election Will Likely Spark Violence—and a Constitutional Crisis," September 3, 2020.
- 473 **an internal FBI report had classified QAnon** The rising threat of conspiracy theories in American politics, including QAnon, was the focus of an FBI "Intelligence Bulletin" internal report from the agency's Phoenix field office, dated May 30, 2019. A copy of the document was published by *Yahoo News's* Jana Winter, "Exclusive: FBI Document Warns Conspiracy Theories Are a New Domestic Terrorism Threat," August 1, 2019. The report does not use the phrase "domestic terrorism," opting instead for "domestic extremism" and "extremist violence."
- 474 **"future Republican Star" and "a real WINNER!"** Trump tweet, August 12, 2020, 8:29 a.m.
- 475 **"Standing by sir"** Enrique Tarrio, posting on Parler, September 29, 2020. Tarrio followed that post with "ProudBoys!!!!!! I will stand down sir!!!"
- 476 **Washington Post reporters looking into the case** See Aaron C. Davis, Dalton Bennett, Sarah Cahlan and Meg Kelly, "Alleged Michigan Plotters Attended Multiple Anti-Lockdown Protests, Photos and Videos Show," *Washington Post*, November 1, 2020. For details on the FBI investigation and charges, see Matt Zapotosky, Devlin Barrett and Abigail Hauslohner, "FBI Charges Six Who It Says Plotted to Kidnap Michigan Gov. Gretchen Whitmer," *Washington Post*, October 8, 2020. Also see M. L. Elrick, "Family Reveals Inside Life of Adam Fox, Alleged Mastermind in Whitmer Kidnapping Plot," *Detroit Free Press*, January 13, 2021.
- 477 **Whitmer had "done a terrible job"** Trump tweet, October 8, 2020, 9:30 p.m.
- 478 **new Facebook group appeared with the name "STOP THE STEAL"** The details on the group's postings, and Facebook's decision to take the page down, from Tony Romm, Isaac Stanley-Becker and Elizabeth Dwoskin, "Facebook Bans 'STOP THE STEAL' Group Trump Allies Were Using to Organize Protests Against Vote Counting," *Washington Post*, November 5, 2020.
- 478 **"This is our Alamo"** Details on the November rally outside the Maricopa County Elections Department from Jerod MacDonald-Evoy, "Far-Right Protesters Demand Ballots Be Counted, Spread Misinformation," *Arizona Mirror*, November 5, 2020.
- 479 **Law enforcement officers in multiple states, fearing Trump supporters** See Mark Berman, "Police Brace for Potential Election Day Unrest in a Year When 'Everything Is Uncer-

- tain,’” *Washington Post*, October 24, 2020. Also, Tom Bowman and Martin Kaste, “How Police, National Guard and Military Are Preparing for Election Day Tensions,” National Public Radio, October 26, 2020, and Neil MacFarquhar and Shaila Dewan, “Ahead of Election, Police Prepare for Violence and Disruption,” *New York Times*, November 1, 2020.
- 479 **gathered on the steps of the Pennsylvania state capitol in Harrisburg** Trump supporters tweeted photos and live video of the rally. Also see Lawrance Binda, “Dueling Rallies, Tense Moments as Trump, Biden Supporters Face Each Other Down at PA Capitol,” *TheBurg*, November 7, 2020.
- 479 **the PAC allowed Trump great leeway** Josh Dawsey and Michelle Ye Hee Lee, “Trump Raises More Than \$170 Million Appealing on False Election Claims,” *Washington Post*, December 1, 2020.
- 482 **Benson was getting ready to watch** Miriam Marini, “Protesters Descend on Secretary of State Jocelyn Benson’s Home After Dark,” *Detroit Free Press*, December 6, 2020.
- 482 **Protesters and counterprotesters clashed** Peter Hermann, Marissa J. Lang and Clarence Williams, “Pro-Trump Rally Descends Into Chaos as Proud Boys Roam D.C. Looking to Fight,” *Washington Post*, December 13, 2020.
- 482 **supported by more than 125 Republican members of Congress** In early December, *The Washington Post* surveyed all Republican senators and House members (249 at that moment), asking three questions about the election results, including “Do you support Donald Trump’s continuing efforts to claim victory?” See “Where Republicans in Congress Stand on Trump’s False Claim of Winning the Election,” December 15, 2020.
- 482 **82 percent of Trump supporters said they did not consider Biden’s win legitimate** For the CBS News/YouGov poll results, see “Most Feel Election Is ‘Settled’ but Trump Voters Disagree,” CBSNews.com, December 13, 2020.
- 483 **a deluge of promises** The details for this paragraph came from the various documents—Statements of Facts, Affidavits, Complaints and Indictments—filed by federal prosecutors to support charges arising from the January 6 riot. A database of the documents and pending cases, totaling more than 480 as of June 2021, can be found at the Justice Department website, justice.gov, collected as the “Capitol Breach Cases,” prosecuted by the U.S. Attorney’s Office for the District of Columbia. The charging documents offered a wealth of information on how the riot unfolded, a great help in writing the larger narrative of what happened.
- 484 **tapping out emails to Jeff Rosen** This account is drawn primarily from “Selected Documents, President Trump Pressure Campaign on Department of Justice,” released by the House Committee on Oversight and Reform, June 15, 2021. Other details from Katie Benner, “Trump Pressed Official to Wield Justice Dept. to Back Election Claims,” *New York Times*, June 15, 2021, and Matt Zapotosky, Rosalind S. Helderman, Amy Gardner and Karoun Demirjian, “‘Pure Insanity’: How Trump and His Allies Pressured the Justice Department to Help Overturn the Election,” *Washington Post*, June 16, 2021.

Chapter Fifty-Nine: “Be There, Will Be Wild!”

- 485 **The call was being recorded by Raffensperger’s office** Amy Gardner, a *Washington Post* reporter, obtained the recording soon after the Trump-Raffensperger call. Our account is based primarily on the recording and Gardner’s January 3, 2021, story, published as “‘I Just Want to Find 11,780 Votes’: In Extraordinary Hour-Long Call, Trump Pressures Georgia Secretary of State to Recalculate the Vote in His Favor.”
- 486 **U.S. Capitol Police had an internal report** *Washington Post* reporter Carol D. Leonnig obtained a copy of the report. Leonnig, “Capitol Police Intelligence Report Warned Three Days Before the Attack that ‘Congress Itself’ Could Be Targeted,” January 15, 2021.
- 487 **giving the medal the following week to Jim Jordan** The ceremony for Jordan, held January 11, 2021, had no media present. The White House released a statement praising

- Jordan as “an inspiration to freedom-loving Americans” and for saying he had “led the effort to confront the impeachment witch hunt.”
- 488 **operated on Reddit until June 2020, when the company banned it** Reddit announced the ban on r/The_Donald in an “Update of Our Content Policy.” Promising more rigorous enforcement of Reddit’s standards, the company said it was closing about 2,000 “subreddits,” many inactive. Of the active ones, the Update mentioned only two, including r/The_Donald. That forum was banned, Reddit said, because it had “consistently” violated three of Reddit’s rules, “antagonized us and other [Reddit] communities,” and its moderators had “refused to meet our most basic expectations.”
- 488 **Researchers studying r/The_Donald** The research was done by Advance Democracy, a group headed by former Senate investigator and FBI analyst Daniel J. Jones. See Craig Timberg and Drew Harwell, “Pro-Trump Forums Erupt With Violent Threats Ahead of Wednesday’s Rally Against the 2020 Election,” *Washington Post*, January 5, 2021. Also, Timberg’s follow-up story that goes into more detail on the report, “Gallows or Guillotines? The Chilling Debate on TheDonald.win Before the Capitol Siege,” April 15, 2021.
- 489 **The FBI report was cautious** Devlin Barrett and Matt Zapotosky, “FBI Report Warned of ‘War’ at Capitol, Contradicting Claims There Was No Indication of Looming Violence,” *Washington Post*, January 12, 2021.
- 489 **shared, an FBI official said later, with “all our law enforcement partners”** Steven D’Antuono, head of the FBI Washington Field Office, quoted in Barrett and Zapotosky’s January 12 story, cited above. D’Antuono also said that it was difficult for law enforcement officials to act on the report because the threats were not “attributable to an individual person.”
- 489 **A portion of their conversation was reported by the *New York Times*** See Peter Baker, Maggie Haberman and Annie Karni, “Pence Reached His Limit with Trump. It Wasn’t Pretty,” January 12, 2021.
- 490 **A crowd was already gathered on the Ellipse** For our account of the January 6 rally, riot and aftermath, we made considerable use of several published timelines and reconstructions, some going back months. Each can be found online. *The Washington Post* combined video, photos and text into two separate timelines for the events of January 6: “How One of America’s Ugliest Days Unraveled Inside and Outside the Capitol” and “How Pro-Trump Insurrectionists Broke Into the U.S. Capitol.” (*The Post*’s daily podcast, *Post Reports*, did a nearly minute-by-minute reconstruction for its January 15, 2021, episode.) Also of enormous help: Just Security’s “Incitement Timeline: Year of Trump’s Actions Leading to the Attack on the Capitol,” and *New York Times*, “77 Days: Trump’s Campaign to Subvert the Election.”
- 491 **thrust his left fist over his head in defiant solidarity** Photojournalist Francis Chung’s shot of Hawley became one of the riot’s iconic images. On social media, it triggered an avalanche of reactions, especially in Hawley’s home state of Missouri. See Katie Bernard, “A Photographer and a Fist Pump. The Story Behind the Image That Will Haunt Josh Hawley,” *Kansas City Star*, January 7, 2021.
- 493 **declaring a riot in progress** Robert Glover, the D.C. police commander who made the decision to declare a riot, had arrived with a squadron of officers, answering a call for help at about 1 p.m. from the besieged Capitol Police. See Peter Hermann, “‘We Got to Hold This Door’: How Battered D.C. Police Made a Stand Against the Capitol Mob,” *Washington Post*, January 14, 2021.
- 493 **bear spray, an irritant used by hunters** The rioters brought a variety of chemical sprays. “If you didn’t have a gas mask,” D.C. police commander Ramey Kyle told the *Post*’s Hermann, “it was almost impossible to breathe.”
- 493 **a “medieval battle scene”** Quoted in Hermann, “‘We Got to Hold This Door,’” cited earlier.
- 494 **“A new 1776 has just begun!”** This shout from the mob at the Capitol was quoted in Marc Fisher, Meagan Flynn, Jessica Contrera and Carol D. Leonnig, “The Four-Hour

- Insurrection: How a Trump Mob Halted American Democracy,” *Washington Post*, January 7, 2021. The FBI identified the man wearing the “Camp Auschwitz” T-shirt, Robert K. Packer, from riot photographs.
- 495 **“If it’s live TV, he watches”** Quoted in Ashley Parker, Josh Dawsey and Philip Rucker, “Six Hours of Paralysis: Inside Trump’s Failure to Act After a Mob Stormed the Capitol,” *Washington Post*, January 11, 2021. Weeks after the *Post* story, Trump called the account “incorrect.” He wasn’t “watching” live coverage, he told Steve Hilton of Fox News during a phone interview. “I turned it on later when I heard about it and did a lot of moves.” See “The Next Revolution with Steve Hilton,” transcript, Fox News, February 28, 2021.
- 495 **Melania Trump wasn’t watching TV** From Mary Jordan’s reporting and Jordan’s story, “Melania Trump Spends Her Last Days in the White House Focused on Her Future,” *Washington Post*, January 18, 2021.
- 495 **Those around him that day described him as passive** Description of Trump’s behavior from Parker, Dawsey and Rucker, “Six Hours of Paralysis,” cited earlier.
- 498 **the *Washington Times* had corrected its account** See Rowan Scarborough, “CORRECTED: Facial Recognition Identifies Extremists Storming the Capitol,” January 6, 2021.
- 499 **Zuckerberg was cautious in announcing the action** Zuckerberg post, Facebook, January 7, 2021, 3:47 p.m.
- 499 **that account was swiftly shut down, too** Before the POTUS Twitter account was cut off, journalists captured screenshots of Trump’s tweet. He wrote: “We will not be SILENCED! Twitter is not about free speech. They are all about promoting a Radical Left platform where some of the most vicious people in the world are allowed to speak freely.”
- 500 **all eyes were on Pelosi** This account of Pelosi’s actions following the riot, and the internal discussions among the House Democratic leadership, was drawn from *Washington Post* reporting, including two published stories: Dan Lamothe, John Wagner and Paul Sonne, “Pelosi Said She Spoke to Top General About Ensuring Trump Doesn’t Launch Nuclear Attack,” January 8, 2021, and a later reconstruction of post-riot events by Mike DeBonis, Tom Hamburger, Matt Viser and Amy Gardner, “‘We Have to Move On’: Why Democrats Decided to Fast-Track Trump’s Second Impeachment Trial,” February 11, 2021.
- 504 **felt his actions were too odious to defend** Philip Rucker, Josh Dawsey and Ashley Parker, “Trump Is Isolated and Angry at Aides for Failing to Defend Him as He Is Impeached Again,” *Washington Post*, January 13, 2021.
- 505 **persuaded Trump to film the video** Rucker, Dawsey and Parker, in “Trump Is Isolated,” cited a “senior administration official” as their source for how Trump had been persuaded to make the video, finally condemning the attack on the Capitol and staying away from any mention of his second impeachment.
- 505 **news reports that McConnell was hoping for an impeachment** A *New York Times* story, based on “people familiar with McConnell’s thinking,” said the Republican leader had “concluded that President Trump committed impeachable offenses and believes” that impeachment “will make it easier to purge Mr. Trump from the party.” See Jonathan Martin, Maggie Haberman and Nicholas Fandos, “McConnell Privately Backs Impeachment as House Moves to Charge Trump,” January 12, 2021.
- 506 **The FBI plastered “wanted” signs** On January 26, 2021, during a press briefing on the status of the riot investigation, FBI Washington Field Office director Steven D’Antuono described the agency’s efforts to track down suspects. See “FBI Assistant Director in Charge Steven M. D’Antuono’s Remarks on Press Call Regarding Violence at U.S. Capitol,” FBI Office of Public Affairs.
- 508 **scouring the media landscape, accumulating evidence** From Seung Min Kim, Tom Hamburger, Josh Dawsey and Karoun Demirjian, “House Democrats Plan to Focus Impeachment Trial on How Rioters Reacted to Trump’s Remarks,” *Washington Post*, January 25, 2021.

Chapter Sixty: Not Going Away

- 509 **an apparent accommodation to Roberts** Neither Roberts nor Senate Democrats sought to clarify how Leahy came to replace Roberts as presiding judge. The news coverage suggested that it served both parties to leave it murky. NPR's Susan Davis and Nina Totenberg reported "the chief justice let it be known he did not want to preside now that Trump is no longer president. . . . A Supreme Court spokeswoman said Roberts would have no comment." See "Sen. Patrick Leahy to Preside Over Trump's Impeachment Trial," NPR, January 25, 2021.
- 509 **most constitutional scholars said yes, a former president could be tried** More than 150 legal scholars, identifying themselves as a bipartisan group, signed a letter saying that a trial was constitutional. See Natasha Bertrand, "Legal Scholars, Including at the Federalist Society, Say Trump Can Be Convicted," *Politico*, January 21, 2021. Two constitutional experts, with opposing views, debated the issue on *Lawfare's* website. See Frank O. Bowman III, "The Constitutionality of Trying a Former President Impeached While in Office," February 3, 2021, and Philip Bobbitt, "The Constitutionality of Trying a Former President for Impeachment—a Reply to Frank Bowman," February 12, 2021.
- 510 **Many senators watched with rapt attention** Our account of the trial's four days was drawn from firsthand *Washington Post* reporting, the briefs filed by both sides, trial transcripts, trial videos and our own observations while watching the proceedings. Subsequent notes cite specific news accounts, if we relied on them.
- 511 **He was on the sidelines** Ashley Parker and Josh Dawsey, "In Self-Imposed Exile, Trump Watches with Unhappiness as Second Impeachment Trial Unfolds," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2021. Parker and Dawsey reported on the talking points Trump aides sent to senators.
- 511 **He hadn't had much time to prepare for this big moment** See Karen Heller, "Bruce Castor Is a Magnet for Controversy. Naturally, He's Trump Impeachment Attorney," *Washington Post*, February 8, 2021.
- 512 **Senator Bill Cassidy of Louisiana was so bewildered** From Amy B Wang and Felicia Sonmez, "'Disorganized, Random': Several GOP Senators Criticize Performance of Trump's Lawyers," *Washington Post*, February 9, 2021.
- 515 **an average of 12 million watching** Brian Stelter, "How Many People Are Watching the Impeachment Trial? Here Are the Numbers . . ." CNN, February 12, 2021.
- 517 **left their Senate desks for a strategy session** Colby Itkowitz, "Trump's Senate Allies Graham, Lee and Cruz Huddle with Defense Team," *Washington Post*, February 11, 2021.
- 520 **a January 17 interview with the *Daily News* of Longview** See Barry Holtzclaw, "Herrera Beutler Works Hard to Spread Facts About Jan. 6, Says Her Decision Was Personal Not Political," *Daily News*, January 17, 2021.
- 520 **"One way to clear it up"** Senator Sheldon Whitehouse tweet, February 12, 2021, 11:06 p.m.
- 521 **"Whatever they decide, we should support them"** Schumer quoted in John Wagner, Amy B Wang and Felicia Sonmez, "Trump Acquitted by Minority of Senate on Charge of Inciting Jan. 6 Riot at Capitol," *Washington Post*, February 13, 2021.
- 522 **"People want to get home for Valentine's Day"** From Senator Chris Coons's closed-door discussions with House impeachment managers, described in Mike DeBonis and Tom Hamburger, "Late-Night Talks and a Moment of Chaos: Inside the Democrats' Eleventh-Hour Decision to Forgo Impeachment Witnesses," *Washington Post*, February 13, 2021.
- 523 **"We're going to Disney World!"** Quoted by *USA Today* reporter Christal Hayes in a tweet after she watched the Trump legal team celebrating at the Capitol. Hayes tweet, February 13, 2021, 4:28 p.m.

Epilogue

- 525 **calling him a “dumb son of a bitch”** Trump quoted in Josh Dawsey, “Trump Slashes at McConnell as He Reiterates Election Falsehoods at Republican Event,” *Washington Post*, April 11, 2021.
- 526 **went on TV to offer revisionist history** On April 25, 2021, during an interview with Chris Wallace on “Fox News Sunday,” McCarthy skirted questions about his phone call with Trump during the riot, defending Trump as unaware of what was happening at the Capitol. “I was the first person to contact him when the riots were going on,” McCarthy told Wallace. “He ended the call . . . telling me he’ll put something out later to make sure to stop this. And that’s what he did. He put out a video later.” Wallace pointed out that the video was “quite a lot later,” and “it was a pretty weak video.”
- 526 **The number would grow to more than 480 by mid June** From “Attorney General Merrick Garland Remarks: Domestic Terrorism Policy Address,” delivered June 15, 2021, at the Justice Department.