

DC NATIONAL GUARD PREPARATION FOR AND RESPONSE TO JANUARY 6TH

INTRODUCTION

H. Res. 503 Section 4(a) directs the Select Committee to examine the “facts, circumstances, and causes relating to the domestic terrorist attack on the Capitol,” including the “activities of intelligence agencies, law enforcement agencies, and the Armed Forces, including with respect to intelligence collection, analysis, and dissemination and information sharing among the branches and other instrumentalities of government.” This appendix focuses on the activities of the DC National Guard in the days leading up to and on January 6, 2021.

In contrast to the National Guard units in 50 States and three territories, where deployment authority lies with the governor of those respective jurisdictions, the DC Guard falls directly under the command of the United States President. In the discussion section below, this appendix provides a narrative of the preparations for and eventual deployment of the DC Guard on January 6th, and the interaction between then-President Trump and the DC Guard in the relevant time period. It is based on the Select Committee’s interviews of 24 witnesses and review of over 37,000 pages of documents.

DISCUSSION

A “GUT-WRENCHING” SUMMER

The approval process for the deployment of the DC National Guard is unique, unlike any of the 50 States or three territories across the country where ultimate authority rests in the hands of the governor.¹ In the nation’s capital, where no governorship exists, the Guard is ultimately under the command of the President of the United States when acting in its militia capacity to support civil authorities.² By executive order, however, President Richard Nixon delegated the President’s day-to-day control of the DC Guard to the Secretary of Defense and specified that its Commanding General should report to the Secretary of Defense or the Secretary’s designee.³ By memorandum, the Secretary of Defense, in turn, delegated day-to-day control of the DC Guard to the Secretary of the Army.⁴ The commander of the DC Guard reported directly to the Secretary of the Army on January 6, 2021.⁵

During the 2020 summer protests in response to the murder of George Floyd,⁶ the approval process for Guard deployment ran smoothly. “Very, very proactive,” then-Commanding General of the DC Guard William

Walker said.⁷ Secretary of the Army Ryan McCarthy “really wanted us out there.”⁸ Secretary McCarthy, with all his authorities, was physically beside Major General Walker throughout that summer. “[H]e was with me for all of it,” Major General Walker said.⁹ “He came to the [A]rmory every day. He brought his staff with him.”¹⁰ As has been widely reported, a number of President Trump’s senior advisors, including Attorney General Bill Barr, resisted President Trump’s requests to deploy the Guard or other troops in various states and cities where violence had occurred or was underway.¹¹

In the summer of 2020, nothing was being written down; it “was just all verbal back and forth.”¹² That approach sped up response times. But as the DC Guard footprint grew and controversies began plaguing the operation, Secretary McCarthy came away with the lesson that deliberative and by written order beat fast and by oral command.¹³

“What we learned in the process was we were not capturing a lot of the information in writing in the orders process, which is fundamental, foundational because of the stress of the situation and the speed of the situation,” Secretary McCarthy said.¹⁴

While a concept of operations (“con-op”) was developed at the lower level during the summer 2020 operations, it did not require approval or input at the secretary level.¹⁵ That approach came to be seen as a mistake that should not be replicated the next time there was a civil disturbance crisis in the nation’s capital. General Walter Piatt, director of the Army staff, explained: “That’s where Secretary McCarthy put that restriction to say, I want a concept of the operation before we just send a force to do something.”¹⁶

One of the most visible and highly criticized of the summer 2020 operations was the use of low-flying helicopters that appeared to be bearing down on protesters with the aim of dispersing them. On June 1st, as Guard presence tripled overnight, the use of helicopters meant for aerial surveillance¹⁷ “somehow got translated to a very competent Army officer that ‘I am to fly low and loud to deter looters,’ ” General Piatt said.¹⁸ “[W]hat the investigation revealed was that we did not have good procedures in place to provide military support to a very serious civil disturbance ongoing. The—because—the pilot of that aircraft believed that was his mission.”¹⁹

The “embarrass[ment]”²⁰ of the low-flying helicopter affected Secretary McCarthy. General Charles Flynn, then-deputy chief of staff for operations, plans, and training, told the Select Committee, “I know the Secretary was concerned.”²¹ He further explained: “I’m sure that affected his thinking.”²²

Secretary McCarthy became convinced that a concept of operations needed to be “explicit, tailored”²³ and—most importantly—that it needed to “come from [the] top down.”²⁴ Secretary McCarthy told his staff,

“[W]hen we get a request next time, we have to be absolutely certain that we understand the mission clearly,”²⁵ and that “no other civil authority could re-mission off that support without the approval of either the Secretary of the Army or, in certain circumstances, the Secretary of Defense.”²⁶

In mid-June 2020, then-Secretary of Defense Mark Esper, Secretary McCarthy, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff General Mark Milley, and Major General Walker huddled to talk about what went wrong in the preceding weeks. Senior defense officials then decided they would take a “more active” role in directing the force.²⁷ “[A]s a result, we all took a more active interest in what was happening down to the tactical level to make sure that we were, again, abiding by kind of the core principles of civil-military relations,” former Secretary Esper said.²⁸

Major General Walker said he was not told about that shift in perspective: “[I]f the Army thought different of how we respond to civil unrest, civil disturbance, I would hope . . . they would communicate that with the guy—with the person who is going to execute that change.”²⁹

In the words of General Milley, the summer of 2020 had been “a pretty gut-wrenching experience.”³⁰ The Department of Defense was still recovering when it was faced with the decision of the manner and degree to which the DC Guard should provide assistance to law enforcement authorities planning, just seven months later, for the events anticipated in connection with Congressional certification of the electoral votes on January 6, 2021.

A “Tailored” Request for Guard Resources. On December 19, 2020, President Trump tweeted, “Big protest in DC on January 6th. Be there! Will be wild!” From that day forward, a rookie DC intelligence analyst saw a tenfold uptick in violent rhetoric targeting Congress and law enforcement.³¹ Right-wing groups were sharing histories of violence and some not traditionally aligned had begun coordinating their efforts.³² The analyst’s report reached more senior DC leadership, including, eleven days later, Mayor Bowser.³³ In the course of the Committee’s investigation, it received and reviewed a significant number of documents indicating that certain intelligence and law enforcement agencies understood that violence was possible or even likely on January 6th. The Committee received many of those materials from the U.S. Secret Service, but also from other agencies as well.

On Thursday, December 31, 2020, the day after the briefing, Mayor Bowser sent a letter to Major General Walker requesting Guard assistance for January 5 and 6, 2021.³⁴ A second letter specified the District’s request as limited to two forms of assistance: crowd management at Metro stations and blocking vehicles at traffic posts. It did not request help with potential civil disturbance.³⁵

General Piatt viewed the “limited request”³⁶ as a “pretty good, tailored mission,” that was “not vague.”³⁷ General James McConville, chief of staff of the Army, called the request appropriately “restricted”³⁸ with “a very low military signature.”³⁹

According to testimony by Defense Department witnesses, after a summer of perceived overreach, military leadership was grateful for the delineated parameters set by the city itself.

The substance of the request—limited to traffic and crowd control “so they could have more police officers to do police functions”⁴⁰—was not seen as narrow by District officials. “I would say it’s a specific request,” Chief of DC Police (Metropolitan Police Department (“MPD”)) Robert Contee said.⁴¹ “[L]eave the unlawful stuff, leave that to the police to deal with.”⁴² Mayor Bowser said: “I don’t know any law enforcement person who would suggest that urban disturbances aren’t best handled by the police.”⁴³

“Civil disturbance was not something we requested at that time. Mostly also because the vast majority of the, if not all, of the permitted protests were taking place on Federal lands,” said Director of the DC Homeland Security and Emergency Management Agency Christopher Rodriguez.⁴⁴ The District had no jurisdiction. “Mayor Bowser cannot make a request on behalf of the White House or on behalf of the Capitol for U.S. Capitol—for . . . DC National Guardsmen to deploy to those two entities. She can’t,” Chief Contee said.⁴⁵ At this time, it was well known that President Trump had planned a speech and rally on “Federal lands”—on the Ellipse south of the White House. It was not widely known that President Trump intended to “spontaneously” instruct the tens of thousands of supporters at that Ellipse rally to march down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol.⁴⁶

Five Days of “Tremendous Resistance”. At first, Secretary McCarthy was not sold on involving the Guard at all. Major General Walker called Secretary McCarthy “instantly when I got the letters” from the District on Thursday, December 31st, and “initially I felt I must have caught him at a bad time.”⁴⁷ Secretary McCarthy recalls it being a short conversation. “I said, ‘okay, got it. Thank you.’ You want to immediately flip it so that Secretary of Defense knows that we alerted his office,” he said.⁴⁸

According to Major General Walker’s account of this call, the Secretary initially stated “‘We’re not doing it,’”⁴⁹ and then left the door open for further discussion. Major General Walker explained: “‘I said, ‘Well, sir, I think you should look at it.’ And then he told me, ‘Well, we’ll talk about it, but we don’t really want to do this, because the look it would give, the military out there interfering.’ . . . He says, ‘Well, we’ll discuss it on Monday.’”⁵⁰

On Sunday, January 3rd, Secretary McCarthy called Chief Contee, who had formally assumed the role of acting head of MPD just the day before.⁵¹

“I thought initially that . . . he is just calling me basically as a rubber stamp to say, . . . ‘You asked for it, you got it.’ . . . It didn’t go that way,” Chief Contee said.⁵² “[H]e had concerns about deploying National Guard for this event. He talked about the optics of the event, having boots on the ground. . . . And I pushed back on that.”⁵³

In his interview with the Select Committee, Secretary McCarthy described evaluating the request on the evening of January 3rd. “I sat at home. I chewed on it,” he said.⁵⁴ “You know, I’m not particularly inclined to support it, because my concern was really we didn’t have a command-and-control architecture in place. We didn’t really have all of the mechanisms to be successful, you know. . . . So it was a very tough decision for me.”⁵⁵

Over five days, from December 31st to January 4th, District officials faced what Major General Walker called “tremendous resistance.”⁵⁶

Both Chief Contee and Director Rodriguez recalled that five-day period on January 6th, when Chief Steven Sund, of the U.S. Capitol Police, was pleading for reinforcements.⁵⁷ Acting Defense Secretary Christopher Miller, “heard through the grapevine that [Secretary McCarthy] was inclined—I don’t want to say inclined to disapprove, but, you know, looking at it carefully or whatever. So—but that’s fine. He can do whatever he wants. I knew that I was going to honor [the mayor’s] request”⁵⁸

How close those Guard assets could go to the Capitol became a sticking point. Colonel Craig Hunter, the highest-ranking commander on the ground on January 6th, said the Army “really want[ed] to go through the concept of operations to see, okay, exactly—basically Metro stop by Metro stop, intersection by intersection, to see where will Guardsmen be exactly, you know, how close are you to the Capitol”⁵⁹ He said an initial request by MPD to post Guard troops at the South Capitol Metro station—like all other Metro stations—was denied.⁶⁰ In conference calls that “went back and forth,”⁶¹ Major General Walker was told, “There was a concern about being too close, military uniforms too close to the Capitol.”⁶²

Major General Walker had a different perspective. He saw his people as “citizen soldiers,” “your neighbors that are going to come to your aid and rescue when you need us,”⁶³—not traditional boots on the ground. “[T]hat’s where, to me, the vest came in. This was the National Guard, not the Army,” he said.⁶⁴

Military authorities determined that a geographical boundary would have to be established as a condition of approving the Guard’s deployment to assist MPD. No servicemember could go east of Ninth Street. It wasn’t made explicit to District officials, but they all knew what lay east. “[T]he

Capitol is east,” Chief Contee said.⁶⁵ “[I]f you move them anywhere east of Ninth Street, they will be close to the Capitol. That was certainly the way I understood it.”⁶⁶

Director Rodriguez worried “that it constrained our ability to react quickly if the situation got out of hand.”⁶⁷ Without the limitation, the District fully intended to post its resources farther east: “[W]e couldn't get as close to the Capitol as could have been helpful,” Mayor Bowser said.⁶⁸ “[W]e would have had a broader traffic box.”⁶⁹

Fears of Politicizing the Military in an Antidemocratic Manner. Both Acting Secretary Miller and Secretary McCarthy were sensitive to the sight of troops near the site of the Congressional certification of electoral votes, because of President Trump’s previous expression of interest in using Federal troops in civilian situations. Again, Attorney General Barr and other members of the Trump Administration had resisted President Trump’s desire to deploy such troops. Secretary Esper said it “tended to be the case . . . that the President was inclined to use the military,” contrary to longstanding principles of reserving the armed forces as a last resort.⁷⁰

According to his testimony, Acting Secretary Miller’s express first priority—after being installed with just two months left in the Trump administration—was “to make every effort to return the Department of Defense to a nonpoliticized entity,” because previously, “the Department was being showcased too much.”⁷¹ In testimony to the U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Reform on May 12, 2021, he cited “fears that the President would invoke the Insurrection Act to politicize the military in an antidemocratic manner” as shaping his thinking.⁷² “No such thing was going to occur on my watch,” he wrote,⁷³ later adding that “if I would have put troops on Capitol Hill” before the attack and without a request from civil authorities, “that would have been seen as extremely provocative, if not supporting this crazy narrative that the military was going to try to overturn the election.”⁷⁴

Secretary McCarthy felt similar pressure. He had been taken aback when—as he was walking down the Pentagon’s hallways—“one of the most seasoned reporters” asked him whether the Army was planning to seize ballot boxes.⁷⁵ It was “an incredibly tense period,” according to Secretary McCarthy.⁷⁶ As our investigation has demonstrated, President Trump had considered proposals from Lt. General (ret.) Michael Flynn, Sidney Powell, and others that troops be utilized to seize ballot boxes in certain parts of the country.

On December 18, 2020—the same day as the contentious White House meeting with Flynn and others,—Secretary McCarthy issued a statement, “mirror[ing] what General Milley said about a month before,”⁷⁷ reiterating that “There is no role for the U.S. military in determining the outcome of an

American election.”⁷⁸ Given the heat of the rhetoric, he thought, “[I]f we don't say anything, it's going to scare people.”⁷⁹ Secretary McCarthy told the Select Committee he thought he would be fired after publicly stating that the military would not assist in a coup.⁸⁰ General McConville, who signed the statement alongside Secretary McCarthy's signature,⁸¹ linked their words directly to the Ninth Street limitation: “[T]here was no plan to put any military anywhere near the Capitol because of what we had said, the military has no role in determining the outcome of elections.”⁸²

On January 1st, Executive Officer to Secretary McCarthy Colonel John Lubas wrote in an internal email that the Secretary “wants to clearly communicate that this request is NOT from the White House.”⁸³ The email noted that the Secretary wanted to “aggressively message” that the request had come from District officials, not the President.⁸⁴

“We wanted everybody to know that, because it would create confusion and even more tension of having soldiers on the street without a request and that they be near the Capitol with certification of an election, a contested election,” Secretary McCarthy said.⁸⁵

On January 3, 2021, 10 former Secretaries of Defense, including the recently fired, former Secretary Esper, published a joint op-ed warning that “[i]nvolving the military in election disputes would cross into dangerous territory.”⁸⁶ Secretary McCarthy had himself worked for five of the 10 secretaries.⁸⁷ “I know all these [men],” he said.⁸⁸ “[T]hey were—everyone was telling us, be very conscious of your actions and how you—you know, what you're going to do that day. So we wanted to know where every soldier was by street corner.”⁸⁹

Was Secretary McCarthy concerned that President Trump might use the military to cling to power? “There was a lot of talk in the lead-up about martial law . . . and the employment of forces, and you know, that was something that we were all, you know, conscious of.”⁹⁰ Our investigation suggests that those civilian and military officials who had considerable experience working directly with President Trump had genuine concerns about whether he would attempt to use the military to change the election results. Again, at this time, there is no evidence the Department of Defense understood exactly what President Trump and his associates planned for January 6th.

“Very Strict on the Use of the Military” on January 6th. By Monday, January 4th, with Secretary McCarthy now backing the operation, Acting Secretary Miller was briefed. He told the Select Committee that he “made the decision right there to honor the request.”⁹¹ That approval came with strings attached. The role of the DC Guard would be spelled out and tightly circumscribed in a memorandum that, as characterized by General Milley, was “very strict on the use of the military.”⁹² It decreed that without the Acting Secretary's

“subsequent, personal authorization,” the Guard would not be issued batons, helmets, or body armor; could not interact physically with protestors, except in self-defense; and that the Quick Reaction Force (QRF)—40 servicemembers staged in case of an emergency at Joint Base Andrews in Prince George’s County, Maryland—could be deployed only as a last resort.⁹³

Above the tactical level, changes in the mission of the Guard had to be approved by the Secretary of the Army and, in some cases—in order to “interact physically with protestors” or be issued batons—required running further up the chain to the Secretary of Defense.⁹⁴

To District officials, that seemed new—and unnecessary. “[The Secretary told us,] if you send them to any other kind of mission, that has to get approval from me. And I just think that those were unnecessary restrictions . . .” Chief Contee said.⁹⁵

What the QRF would be called upon to do, even in the case of an emergency, is a matter of debate. The letter and memorandum do not expressly note whether the QRF could be used to support the original mission of the Guard—traffic and crowd control—or a new mission helping contain sudden and out-of-hand civil disturbance.⁹⁶ The DC Guard official put in charge of the QRF for January 5th and 6th, Lieutenant Colonel David Reinke, said he had not been given much guidance as to their role.⁹⁷

The Army and the DC Guard appear to have had different understandings. “[T]he intent of the quick reaction force was really to send these troops over to help if they had a problem at one of the traffic command posts,” General McConville said.⁹⁸ “There never was an intent for a quick reaction force to go to the Capitol . . .”⁹⁹ According to Army officials, without a con-op and a formal change in mission, the QRF could do traffic control and no more.

That was not how others imagined an emergency unit would or should operate. According to Major General Walker, “a quick reaction force, something’s happening; do I have time to find you and call you and ask you?”¹⁰⁰ He called the preapproval language “highly unusual,”¹⁰¹ particularly as their name “already implied that it’s a last resort,”¹⁰² their intended purpose was if “[u]nexpectedly, you have a spontaneous unrest,”¹⁰³ and if “I need to write a concept of operations for a quick reaction force? They’re no longer quick. It’s just a reaction force.”¹⁰⁴

Capitol Police Board “Prepared” without Guard Help. It wasn’t clear to everyone involved in planning for the events anticipated on January 6th that all agencies, including the Capitol Police, were deploying all their resources ahead of that day. “We had had issues understanding, getting the full picture of U.S. Capitol Police’s operational posture and what their planning was,” Director Rodriguez said.¹⁰⁵

Mayor Bowser was struck when—right before the press briefing that Monday, January 4th—the mayor asked the Capitol Police representative, “[W]here does your perimeter start? [And h]e gets up out of the room, calls somebody. And the next thing I know he can’t participate in the conference.”¹⁰⁶ She elaborated: “[T]hat should have been like a trigger to me. Like these people, they don’t want to answer questions about their preparation.”¹⁰⁷

On the morning of January 3rd, Capitol Police Chief Steven Sund approached two of the members of the Capitol Police Board and purportedly requested—but concededly did not push for—Guard resources for the Capitol.¹⁰⁸ According to Chief Sund, in a minutes long meeting in the office of House Sergeant at Arms Paul Irving, Irving told Chief Sund he did not like the optics of asking for the Guard in advance and that the intelligence did not support it.¹⁰⁹ Chief Sund said he did not push back on either point.¹¹⁰ In fact, he agreed that his reading of the intelligence—despite a forewarning put out by his own intelligence unit that “Congress was itself the target” on January 6th¹¹¹—did not call for Guard support,¹¹² only that having more personnel on his perimeter would make him “more comfortable.”¹¹³ Irving suggested he talk to the Senate Sergeant at Arms, and then-chairman of the Capitol Police Board, Michael Stenger.¹¹⁴ According to Irving, Stenger, in a meeting in his office, asked Chief Sund to reach out to the Guard and find out, if an emergency called for it, “how many people can [the commanding general] give us and how quickly can he give us those people?”¹¹⁵ Chief Sund said he took their responses to mean “no,” despite conceding that he was never told “you cannot have the National Guard” or anything to that effect.¹¹⁶ “It was 100 percent a denial,” he maintained.¹¹⁷

Irving recalled the matter coming up on a three-way phone conference during which “the consensus was that we didn’t need” the Guard.¹¹⁸ He did not consider it a request.¹¹⁹ On the call, Chief Sund noted that the District planned to use the servicemembers to staff intersections, but the Capitol grounds had few of those, and it would not relieve many officers if they were used in a similar fashion.¹²⁰ “It was a combination of operationally the chief didn’t feel that they would add much to his plan, and the intelligence really didn’t speak for anything that we felt would justify the need for them,” Irving said.¹²¹ Irving doesn’t recall taking the “optics” into consideration.¹²² According to Irving, the conversation ended the same way Chief Sund said it had: “Why don’t you just tell them to be on standby?” Stenger suggested.¹²³ It was never brought up again.¹²⁴

The discussion about the use of the Guard remained within the Capitol Police Board and did not reach congressional leadership, including the Speaker of the House. That was normal. “[F]rom a tactical perspective, we would make decisions without the input from congressional leadership,”

Irving said.¹²⁵ “I always felt that I had full authority to implement security decisions as I deemed appropriate.”¹²⁶ In fact, when the three men briefed congressional leaders on January 5th, Chief Sund conveyed the same optimistic outlook as he had with Major General Walker: “[We told them] we felt we were prepared based on the information we had, yes,” he said.¹²⁷

To keep these exchanges in perspective, we note again that we are aware of no evidence that these individuals were privy to President Trump’s plans to instruct tens of thousands of his supporters to walk down Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol to help “take back” their country. Nor were they aware of how President Trump would suggest to his followers that Vice President Pence had the authority to change the outcome of the election, or how President Trump would behave in the hours that followed. Certain members of Congress, including those who met at the White House on December 21, 2020, may have had considerably more insight into President Trump’s planning, but the Committee has no information suggesting that any of those members alerted the Capitol Police or other authorities of President Trump’s plans.

Soldiers Prepare for the Worst in Secret. Guard reinforcements could draw from a pool of three groups already activated for the day: (1) the 40 members making up the QRF, staged in Maryland;¹²⁸ (2) the 90 members at the traffic control points, 24 at the Metro stations, and four as part of the command staff distributed throughout the city—but no farther east than Ninth Street—for a total of 118 representing the first shift;¹²⁹ and (3) the second shift of another 118 members,¹³⁰ preparing at the Armory in Southeast Washington, D.C, for a 3:00 p.m. shift takeover.¹³¹ The Armory also housed a command-and-control squad that handled logistics at about 52 members strong, in addition to a Civil Support Team of about 20 members.¹³² That gave Colonel Hunter a maximum limit of 348 activated servicemembers, eight more than the allotted 340—nearly all of whom reported directly to him on January 6th.¹³³

The QRF was most prepared for responding to sudden and escalating civil unrest. At Joint Base Andrews, they were provisioned with full riot-control kits,¹³⁴ including a helmet with a face shield already attached, protective vest, shin guards, knee guards, shield, and baton.¹³⁵ The head of the QRF—himself provided little guidance on the contours of his mission—had his squad train for civil disturbance on January 5th and the morning of the 6th as they waited.¹³⁶ Not only had they trained, but they trained *together*, as a unit—a benefit military officials all agreed is ideal. Army leadership, all the way up to Secretary McCarthy,¹³⁷ had no idea that Lt. Col. Reinke had taken these initiatives. Secretary McCarthy agreed that had he known of their civil disturbance preparation, “it could have” affected the speed with which approval was ultimately given for their deployment.¹³⁸

As to the second group of available resources—the servicemembers stationed at traffic control points since the early morning of January 6th—Army leadership held misconceptions about what equipment was available to them. Secretary McCarthy had agreed that some gear—expressly not batons—could remain stowed away in vehicle trunks.¹³⁹ Colonel Hunter had his troops put the gear into a white box truck instead and designated a rally point for the truck that would be central to all traffic control points.¹⁴⁰ On the night of January 5th, in anticipation of January 6th, Colonel Hunter had his troops move the civil disturbance gear—including the prohibited batons—into the individual vehicles themselves.¹⁴¹ Captain Tarp, the head of the second shift, agreed that they were told to load the equipment into their vehicles “on the down low. Done so it wasn’t visible, so it wouldn’t look like we were escalating [our] role.”¹⁴²

The commanding general of the DC Guard was aware that the troops had all they needed in their trunks and—in the case of an emergency—would not need to return to the Armory to get it: “They already had it,” Major General Walker said.¹⁴³

But Army leadership did not know that. Although General Piatt said “We never asked, like, what was actually—I have no knowledge of what they [actually] had in” the vehicles,¹⁴⁴ the guidance from Secretary McCarthy’s letter led him to believe that “weapons, ammunition, batons, shields, kneepads, other protection that we may be asked to do for civil disturbance, that was not [there]—because they were specifically told they would not participate in that mission . . .”¹⁴⁵ Secretary McCarthy said, “The only thing I authorized General Walker to do was their ballistic helmets and body armor in the vehicle, not their shields or their riot batons.”¹⁴⁶ He figured his orders had been followed.¹⁴⁷ When asked why he was not aware of the moves the Guard had made, Secretary McCarthy said, “I mean, I made a mistake. I think a local unit commander was anticipating more than what potentially we were prepared for.”¹⁴⁸

DC Guard leadership understood that loading this equipment flouted direct orders. “I wasn’t going to have my soldiers unprepared,” Major General Walker said.¹⁴⁹ The prohibition on batons, in particular, had been sent 54 minutes after the Guard had already begun their traffic control shifts on the morning of January 5th.¹⁵⁰

The third group of available resources—the servicemembers awaiting at the Armory to take over as the second shift at the traffic control points—had equipment accessible to them at headquarters. Captain Tarp did note that it took time to ensure that the Armory equipment was in working order: repairing straps that were broken, wiping off dirt on the shields because “they were the same from the George Floyd protests,” and affixing the helmet to the shields, which took upwards of 20 to 30 minutes.¹⁵¹ In the

three different locations where the Guard was stationed as the Capitol was being breached, all servicemembers had access to full civil disturbance gear right there with them.

Outside of the QRF, which had recently returned from two days of training together, there is debate as to how ready the rest of the Guard was to engage in civil disturbance response on January 6th. The notion that the military is not primed or naturally skilled to deal with civil disturbance appears to stand in tension with National Guard traditions, training, and doctrine. “They were not missioned, tasked, organized, equipped to do civil disturbance operations,” General Flynn said.¹⁵² Although General Piatt conceded that “[a]ll soldiers are trained in civil disturbance,” he maintained that on “that day we were not postured to do civil disturbance operations.”¹⁵³

Major General Walker—who pointed out that the DC Guard shield, on Guard troop uniforms, features the Capitol building itself: “Protect the Capitol. That’s why Thomas Jefferson created it”¹⁵⁴—called civil disturbance “foundational” to what they do.¹⁵⁵

DC Ground Commander Takes Initiative. On January 5th, as he led his forces in traffic control, Colonel Hunter did not observe activity that raised concerns.¹⁵⁶ But by the next morning—as thousands of out-of-towners invited by President Trump descended on the nation’s capital—that all changed. “I could see like the Proud Boys,” he said.¹⁵⁷ “I could see different people with Kevlars on, with bulletproof vests on. You know, they’re all kitted up and they’re wearing different patches and colors. And I said, ‘Well, this crowd is definitely different’”¹⁵⁸ This, of course, was an indication of the potential for violence in the hours that followed.

Colonel Hunter, sitting at the intersection of 15th Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, saw crowds flowing past him and his soldiers toward the Capitol—walking as one, chanting as one. “Hey, is it that way to the Capitol? Where’s the Capitol?” some asked.¹⁵⁹ Colonel Hunter got in his car and began writing an update report.¹⁶⁰

He was interrupted by a soldier who had been watching CNN on his phone: “Hey, sir, I think there’s been shots fired at the Capitol.”¹⁶¹ It was then that Colonel Hunter began to put a plan in place for the redeployment of the Guard. “So at that point in my mind I said, ‘Okay, then they will be requesting the DC National Guard now, so we have to move.’”¹⁶² The time was 2:12 p.m.¹⁶³

The first thing he did was designate a rally point for DC Guard reinforcements.¹⁶⁴ Over the radio, he relayed the rally point to all 118 members currently spread across the city doing traffic control, and one by one, in order by their points, they called in to acknowledge where they would go once approval came down.¹⁶⁵ At 2:17 p.m., he called Lt. Col. Reinke, the head

of the 40-strong QRF, and ordered his subordinate to “have all of your guys put their gear on and get on the bus.”¹⁶⁶ “In my mind, this is about to happen really fast,” he said.¹⁶⁷ “As soon as I make one call, I will get clearance to go and support. The United States Capitol was breached. I mean, this is unheard of.”¹⁶⁸ Accordingly, he advised Lt. Col. Reinke that, “[W]e will be getting a call soon.”¹⁶⁹

He next tried to find the incident command post. He ran into the Assistant MPD Chief Jeffery Carroll, piled into a car and, sirens flipped on, sped off to U.S. Capitol Police headquarters.¹⁷⁰

Once there, they got into the elevator, and “before the doors even closed,” Assistant Chief Carroll asked him, “How many do you have coming right now?”¹⁷¹ Colonel Hunter said, “I’m working on it. I need to make some calls, but we are—we’re coming . . . And I said, as soon as I start making these calls, I’m going to have so many National Guardsmen just flooding this way. I just need to have the location, have the plan set, be ready to receive them.”¹⁷²

No later than 2:50 p.m., Colonel Hunter had confirmed with Lt. Col. Reinke that the QRF was on the bus and ready.¹⁷³ The highest-ranking Guard official on the ground had sorted out all of the details and linked up with the law enforcement agencies that would lead them in support. At least 135 National Guard servicemembers—the 40 QRF members already in gear and on the bus and the 90 at traffic control posts awaiting word, with gear in their trunks to be donned at the rally point, along with four command staff plus Colonel Hunter himself—were ready to go. At 3:10 p.m., Colonel Hunter felt it was time to tell his superiors all that he had done and hopefully get fast approval.¹⁷⁴

3 Hours and 19 Minutes At the Capitol, MPD Chief Contee was on the West Front, himself inhaling chemical agents—“you can smell it before you see it, felt it in my throat”¹⁷⁵—as officers tried to resist rioters beating back the perimeter, having reached the stage built for the Inauguration set for two weeks later. “[T]he gas stuff and the spray, the mist that’s in the air, I mean, it’s real,” he said.¹⁷⁶ “I’m trying to talk to the Mayor to give her a situational update, and the city administrator—I’ve got them both on the line. I’m coughing, trying to explain what’s going on.”¹⁷⁷ Chief Contee cut through the crowds of people around the Capitol to meet the mayor at MPD headquarters.¹⁷⁸

Chief Sund said he reached out to House Sergeant at Arms Irving at 12:57 or 12:58 p.m., and told him, “We are getting overrun on the West Front by thousands. We need the National Guard now.”¹⁷⁹ Irving recalled the call coming before a break in the electoral certification session just short of 1:30 p.m. and that the Chief said “that conditions were deteriorating outside and he *might* be making a request for the National Guard.”¹⁸⁰

Although Irving was firm in his stance that only the Capitol Police Board had the authority to request National Guard assistance, he nonetheless sought out the chief of staff to the Speaker to inform her of the impending request.¹⁸¹ He did not need her to sign off, but “[a]ny change in security posture, given the time, I would give them a heads-up.”¹⁸²

The Speaker’s chief of staff “immediately scribbled down a note” and went over to inform the Speaker—who was in the chair presiding over the floor debate on the Arizona objections—about the request for the National Guard.¹⁸³ “Absolutely. Go,” Speaker Nancy Pelosi said.¹⁸⁴ Later, as they were evacuating the floor to an undisclosed location, the Speaker asked her, “Is the National Guard coming?”¹⁸⁵ The Speaker’s chief of staff said, “Yes, we asked them.”¹⁸⁶

Irving said the formal request for Guard assistance came in a call after 2 p.m. from Chief Sund “and, of course, we said absolutely.”¹⁸⁷ Chief Sund said he had made the request in that earlier 12:57 or 12:58 call and had been waiting for 71 minutes.¹⁸⁸ “I hung up the phone. I yelled across the command center, [‘M]ark the time, 2:10, I finally got approval from the Capitol Police Board for the use of the National Guard,” Chief Sund said.¹⁸⁹

At around 2:30 p.m., Director Rodriguez patched Chief Contee—and a largely silent Mayor Bowser listening in¹⁹⁰—into the conference call with Chief Sund and Major General Walker, who brought in General Piatt.¹⁹¹ Major General Walker ordered his aide-de-camp on his second day on the job, Lt. Timothy Nick, to take handwritten notes of the call and the rest of the day.¹⁹²

On the line at the Pentagon—gathered around the speaker of the Secretary of the Army’s desk phone—were General Piatt, General McConville, and Secretary McCarthy.¹⁹³ According to Secretary McCarthy, it was during the call that he learned the Capitol had been breached,¹⁹⁴ watching it unfold in real time on television.¹⁹⁵ He didn’t recall hearing Chief Sund’s voice on the call, but said “we were trying to get . . . what we call the operational sight picture. What is going on? How big is the crowd? How violent is the crowd? . . . They started laying out really the—just how bad it was.”¹⁹⁶ Secretary McCarthy resolved to run to the office of Acting Secretary of Defense Miller, leaving behind instructions to General Piatt to “find out the requirements,” as he was “going to get the authority.”¹⁹⁷ “[W]e go zipping down there,” General McConville said.¹⁹⁸ As they were leaving, General Flynn showed up.¹⁹⁹

General Flynn said, “when I came by the phone,” he “heard voices screaming on the end.”²⁰⁰ He called the tones of their voices as “chaotic”²⁰¹ and that “[y]ou couldn’t tell who was talking sometimes.”²⁰² Chief Sund was pleading for help. “I want to say he even used the word, like, ‘I

am pleading,'" Chief Contee said.²⁰³ Col. Matthews, listening in beside Major General Walker, said of Chief Sund: "His voice was cracking. He was almost crying."²⁰⁴

According to Chief Contee, the reaction to his pleas was "tepid."²⁰⁵ "It was a very sluggish response," Chief Contee said.²⁰⁶ "I remember just, you know, with all that was going on, not hearing a 'yes,' you know, just . . . what I would in my mind qualify as, like, excuses and not decisive action . . . I was hearing, like, all the reasons, you know, why we shouldn't be doing this."²⁰⁷ Director Rodriguez called it a "kind of bureaucratic" response in the midst of "a rapidly evolving situation where literally the Capitol was being overrun."²⁰⁸ He added: "I don't want to use the word disinterested, but more just, 'let's just hold on. Let's just wait. Let's just kind of calm down for a second while literally Rome is burning.'" ²⁰⁹

For his part, General Flynn depicted General Piatt—the main interlocutor—as "the calming voice in an otherwise chaotic situation."²¹⁰ General McConville agreed: "I talked to some of my staff, and they said that General Piatt did an incredible job. He was like the—you know, in a very calm [voice], just saying, 'let's just settle . . .'" ²¹¹

But Major General Walker said he "just couldn't believe nobody was saying: 'Hey, go.'" ²¹² He asked the generals on the other line, "'Aren't you watching the news? Can't you see what's going on? We need to get there.' And [I was] cognizant of the fact that I'm talking to senior . . . people, but I could see what was happening . . .'" ²¹³ Chief Sund was "perplexed" and "dumbfounded."²¹⁴ "It wasn't what I expected of, yeah, the cavalry's coming. It was a bunch of, round-the-house, oh, hey, let's do this, let's do that," he said.²¹⁵ "I was borderline getting pretty pissed off."²¹⁶

Many participants on the call say General Piatt's stated concern was the optics of sending troops to the site of a democratic process.

"[T]he infamous talk about optics. That came up again. There was talk about boots on the ground again. You know, that's not good optics, having boots on the ground," Chief Contee said.²¹⁷ He recalled how Secretary McCarthy had vocalized the same hesitance during the five-day deliberation preceding January 6th.²¹⁸

Director Rodriguez believed General Piatt replied to the request by saying, "[W]e don't like the optics of having military personnel at the Capitol against peaceful protesters."²¹⁹

He recalls Chief Contee replying bluntly, "[W]ell, they're not peaceful anymore."²²⁰

Major General Walker heard one of the Army generals say it "wouldn't be their best military advice or guidance to suggest to the Secretary that we

have uniformed presence at the Capitol.”²²¹ He added: “They were concerned about how it would look, the optics.”²²² Chief Sund heard the general use the word twice.²²³ “General Piatt said—and I will never forget this—‘Yeah, I don’t know. I’m concerned about the optics of the National Guard standing a line with the Capitol in the background,’” Chief Sund said.²²⁴ “[M]y officers are getting beaten, and they’re worried about the optics of the National Guard.”²²⁵

Although General Piatt denies explicitly using the word “optics”—“I don’t recall ever saying that word on that phone call, because at the time it just wasn’t important”²²⁶—he agreed that he said use of the Guard was “not my best military judgment or my best military advice.”²²⁷ He said he “made a couple of suggestions that were not well-received,”²²⁸ including “if there was any other facility where we could go and relieve police . . . I think they took that as I was saying no, because they immediately came back and said, you’re denying our request.”²²⁹

General McConville—who wasn’t present at the time—said he talked to people in the room about the use of the word “optics,” and “some people said, ‘No, it wasn’t said.’ And then some people said it was said.”²³⁰ Nonetheless, the sentiment behind it should not be a particularly controversial one, according to General McConville. “People like to use optics—I’m going to stay away because that’s a political term in my eyes. But what type of signature do you want on the streets in Washington, DC? Do you want a police signature? Do you want a military signature? Do you want a Federal signature?” he said.²³¹ “[T]hat creates a reaction from the American people, and we need to think our way through that . . .”²³²

On the call, talk of needing a plan—the so-called con-op that had been a lesson learned from the summer—emerged. “[A]fter the optics, . . . then it was, you know, they wanted, like, specific information. There was something they were talking about, like, mission and . . . what exactly they’re going to be doing when they get there,” Chief Contee said.²³³ Before running off, Secretary McCarthy had instructed General McConville to put together a plan: “My charter, my direction from him is to get a plan. We’re gonna support; I just wanted to get something to support with.”²³⁴ But he acknowledged the impression nonetheless remained that he was “denying or pushing back.”²³⁵

That impression was made explicit: “They said three times to me clearly, ‘You’re denying my request,’” General Piatt said.²³⁶

Chief Contee interrupted “Chief Sund mid-sentence” and said, “Wait a minute. Hold up. Let me make sure that I understand this correctly . . . [A]re you asking for support from the National Guard at the U.S. Capitol?”²³⁷

Chief Sund said, “Yes.”²³⁸

Chief Contee then addressed the Army generals: “‘Are you guys honoring his request?’ I asked them that. And they didn't say ‘no,’ but they also didn't say ‘yes.’”²³⁹ Chief Sund recalled it the same way.²⁴⁰

General Piatt said he was “clear in my response, ‘I don't have any authority to deny or approve. The Secretary is getting approval.’”²⁴¹

“[T]he third time when they said, ‘You're denying our request,’ they also said, ‘And we're going to go to the media,’” General Piatt said.²⁴²

“[W]e were desperate. Everyone was desperate. So I'm not angry at that, but I just knew it wasn't helpful, so we told that to Secretary McCarthy.”²⁴³

As for the threat to go public, Major General Walker said, “I remember that very clearly.”²⁴⁴ According to him, after the generals would not say yes or no, “Chief Contee says: ‘I'm going to call the mayor and ask her to have a press conference saying that the Army is not going to allow the DC Guard to come and support.’”²⁴⁵ General Piatt reportedly replied, “Please don't do that. I don't have the authority to authorize the National Guard to go. So please don't do that. Please don't hold the press conference.”²⁴⁶ Chief Contee doesn't recall saying that.²⁴⁷ Mayor Bowser doesn't know if she was still on the line when the remark was made, but “it was certainly going to be something that I would do.”²⁴⁸

In the end, “the call sort of ended very abruptly, . . .”²⁴⁹ The DC head of homeland security and emergency management left the call thinking “that help was not coming, and—at least [not] from the National Guard.”²⁵⁰ That was Chief Sund's belief, too. “[I]f a general says his troops are not coming, his troops aren't coming,” he said.²⁵¹

Before the call ended, General Flynn set up a video-conferencing bridge. General Piatt explained to the Select Committee that this was meant “to get the principals and the team together to start making a plan.”²⁵² But Major General Walker—under whom “it was actually written . . . would maintain control of National Guard forces”²⁵³—said he was not privy to any planning while on the call.

“We were just told to hold,” he said.²⁵⁴

How long did Major General Walker hold?

“Three hours and 19 minutes,” he said.²⁵⁵

Major General Walker told the Select Committee regarding what occurred during this time. “[W]e all thought, it's in a minute, we're going to be told to go, in a minute. Then 5 minutes, then 10 minutes, then 15 minutes. We kept thinking, any minute now, somebody is going to say ‘go,’” he said.²⁵⁶ “And then an hour went by, then more time went by But we never thought it would take that long.”²⁵⁷ Col. Matthews confirmed that there were periods on the call when no one was talking.²⁵⁸ At times, there was talk of securing buildings other than the Capitol.²⁵⁹ He called the open channel essentially “a general officer chat line.”²⁶⁰

What did Major General Walker think was happening in those 3 hours and 19 minutes?

“Delay.”²⁶¹

An Absent Commander-in-Chief. Vice President Mike Pence called several times to check in on the delayed response of the Guard. President Trump did not.

Vice President Pence called Acting Secretary Miller at least two times.²⁶² “He was very animated, and he issued very explicit, very direct, unambiguous orders. There was no question about that,” General Milley said.²⁶³ “And he said, ‘Get the National Guard down here. Get them down here now, and clear the Capitol.’ You know, and this is the Vice President of the United States. And there was other forceful language.”²⁶⁴

Acting Secretary Miller clarified that “he did not order me,” as “he’s not in the chain of command,” but he considered the talk with the Vice President “[h]yper professional” and “[v]ery focused,” in which the secretary “highlighted that District of Columbia National Guard . . . was activated, and we were throwing every asset we could marshal to support law enforcement.”²⁶⁵

In contrast, according to General Milley, Chief of Staff Meadows called and said, “‘We have to kill the narrative that the Vice President is making all the decisions. We need to establish the narrative, you know, that the President is still in charge and that things are steady or stable,’ or words to that effect. I immediately interpreted that as politics, politics, politics.”²⁶⁶

President Trump himself did not call. As reports of Departments of Defense denials and delay were echoing in the media, no high-level Defense official—including Secretaries Miller²⁶⁷ and McCarthy²⁶⁸—received a call from him that day.²⁶⁹ At the time, General Milley thought that was “absolutely . . . highly unusual.”²⁷⁰

“[Y]ou’re the Commander in Chief. You’ve got an assault going on on the Capitol of the United States of America, and there’s nothing? No call? Nothing? Zero?” he said.²⁷¹ “I grew up in an organization where commanders are responsible and take charge and they see situations unfolding and they issue orders and take charge.”²⁷²

On January 3rd, at the end of a national security meeting concerning a foreign threat, the President asked “in passing” about January 6th preparations.²⁷³ Acting Secretary Miller informed him they would be fulfilling Mayor Bowser’s request for DC Guard support.²⁷⁴ From then on, if not earlier, the secretary “felt like I had all the authorities I needed and did not need to discuss anything with the President regarding authorities.”²⁷⁵ The conversation lasted all of 30 seconds to a minute.²⁷⁶ Secretary Miller testified that he never received any order at any time from President Trump to

deploy the National Guard on January 6th. “There was no direct—there was no order from the President,” he said.²⁷⁷

On January 5th, as demonstrators rallied in support of the President, Acting Secretary Miller received a call from the commander-in-chief.²⁷⁸ The President asked him if he was watching the events on television.²⁷⁹ The secretary told him he had caught some of the coverage.²⁸⁰

Unprompted, President Trump then said, “You’re going to need 10,000 people” the following day, as in troops.²⁸¹ An email sent by Chief of Staff Meadows on January 5th explicitly noted that the DC Guard would be on hand to “protect pro Trump people.”²⁸² The President and his staff appeared to be aware of the likelihood of violence on the day the election certification of his loss was slated to transpire. This communication from President Trump contemplated that the Guard could support and secure the safety of Trump supporters, not protect the Capitol. At that time, Secretary Miller apparently had no information on what President Trump planned for January 6th.

Acting Secretary Miller thought the 10,000 number was astronomical—“we expected 35,000 protesters . . . [and] even if there were more protesters than expected, [we thought] that local law enforcement could handle it”²⁸³—but, again, this was “no order from the President,” just “President Trump banter that you all are familiar with.”²⁸⁴

Parallel Plans in the Midst of Crisis. While the Army and the District engaged in the “heated”²⁸⁵ 2:30 p.m. phone call, Secretary McCarthy was hurrying down the Pentagon hallways to Acting Secretary Miller’s office. General Milley had been summoned there before Secretary McCarthy arrived with General McConville in tow,²⁸⁶ “running down the hall, and he was actually winded when he showed up . . .”²⁸⁷

The next half hour was spent in “a quick, rapid fire meeting, [with] lots of quick questions.”²⁸⁸ Secretary McCarthy—out of breath—said he started by saying, “We’ve got to go. We’ve got to get something—we’ve got to put every capability we can up there.”²⁸⁹ The response he received was, “They were all kind of, like, ‘Slow down. What’s going on?’ They wanted to get a sense of the situation.”²⁹⁰ Secretary McCarthy said it took about 15 to 20 minutes to “relay this,” “laying out what I thought we needed to do.”²⁹¹

By 3:04 p.m., Acting Secretary Miller said he approved deployment of the DC Guard to assist law enforcement at the Capitol at that time.²⁹² Acting Secretary Miller did not understand why Major General Walker—if he felt the exigency demanded it—did not deploy troops as soon as his 3 p.m. order allowed it. “Why didn’t he launch them? I’d love to know,” he said.²⁹³

Secretary McCarthy agreed “*that’s where we may have talked past each other in his office,*” because Secretary McCarthy thought he “had the

authority as the Secretary of the Army” to conduct a mission analysis and send troops at *his* discretion, not that of Major General Walker.²⁹⁴

Major General Walker himself understood he had to wait for approval from Secretary McCarthy to deploy his forces. *But as he waited on that video call for hours, he did strongly consider sending them anyway.* He turned to his lawyer and said, “Hey, you know what? You know, we’re going to go, and I’m just going to shoulder the responsibility.”²⁹⁵ According to Major General Walker, his lawyer responded, “What if you get sued?”²⁹⁶ Colonel Mathews, that lawyer, “told him not to do that. Just hold on.”²⁹⁷ The Guard officials located with Major General Walker at the Armory all say he seriously contemplated aloud the possibility of breaking with the chain of command.

“Should we just deploy now and resign tomorrow?” was how Lieutenant Nick recalled Major General Walker bluntly putting it.²⁹⁸

“I would have done just that,” Major General Walker said, “but not for those two letters”²⁹⁹ from his superiors curtailing Guard redeployment.³⁰⁰

The man who signed one of the letters, however—himself a former member of the DC Guard³⁰¹—now says Major General Walker should have moved forward regardless of whether he had proper authorization.

“I’ve launched QRF without approval more than once,” Acting Secretary Miller said.³⁰² “If you’re the person on the ground in the Army, and you realize that there’s something that is unpredictable or unexpected and you have the ability to influence it, the culture, the training, the education, the expectation of you, the American people, is that you will execute and do what you can, even if it costs you your job.”³⁰³

After authorization at 3:04 p.m., Secretary McCarthy said he gave Major General Walker a call. He told him to “[m]obilize the entire Guard, bring everybody in. . . . And I said, you know, move the QRF to the armory and get as many people as you can to the armory and configure them in a minimum of riot gear and batons. And then we’re going to do a mission analysis of what we need to do with the police”³⁰⁴ Major General Walker “categorically denies” that any such call took place.³⁰⁵ In fact, Major General Walker said the two men did not talk at all until much later that night.³⁰⁶ “Here’s the bottom line. The Secretary was unavailable to me, and he never called me,” Major General Walker said.³⁰⁷

Beginning around 3:00 p.m., 25 minutes of Secretary McCarthy’s time was spent reassuring members of Congress that the Guard was indeed coming,³⁰⁸ although he had not yet conveyed the order. That was time unspent on facilitating their actual coming. In addition to the alleged threat on the 2:30 p.m. call, a media tweet had gone out at 2:55 p.m. declaring that the Department of Defense had denied requests for Guard support.³⁰⁹

By 3:45 p.m., Secretary McCarthy was done with his calls and—after picking up some things from his office—headed down to the MPD headquarters to draft a con-op beside law enforcement.³¹⁰ Acting Secretary Miller arrived at 4:10 p.m.³¹¹

While he was waiting, Colonel Hunter decided he would keep the first shift handling traffic control out at their posts in case they were needed for re-mission by the MPD, relying instead only on the QRF and the second shift at the Armory to respond to the Capitol.³¹² Those servicemembers ended up manning their traffic control posts up to 20 hours straight.³¹³ Army leadership never found out that the servicemembers at the traffic control posts didn't end up responding to the Capitol that night, incorrectly crediting some of the Guard's delay that day to their travel time.³¹⁴

By 3:50 p.m., the QRF had arrived at the Armory, bringing their own equipment, given no new information upon making the extra pit stop there instead of the Capitol.³¹⁵ They were ready to go, steeped in “a lot of nerves.”³¹⁶ The second shift of servicemembers originally missioned for traffic control had been told as early as 2:30 p.m. to expect a switch in mission to handling civil disturbance.³¹⁷ They rushed to gear up and prepare, but it was a lot of “hurry up and wait.”³¹⁸ Not long afterward, “we're all ready. Now we're all donned. So go sit on the bleachers and wait . . . We were in a tight holding pattern until the time to deploy.”³¹⁹

At around the same time, at 3:49 p.m., Speaker Pelosi is heard in video footage from that day urging Acting Secretary Miller to hurry.

“Just pretend for a moment this was the Pentagon or the White House or some other entity that was under siege,” she told him over the phone while she—and the rest of the Congressional leadership—were huddled in a secure location.³²⁰ “Just get them there!”³²¹

When Secretary McCarthy arrived at MPD headquarters, he joined Chief Contee, his Army Operations Director Brigadier General Chris LaNeve, and Assistant Chief Carroll by phone.³²²

In the next 20 minutes, Secretary McCarthy developed a con-op.

As Secretary McCarthy had decided after the summer, crafting a strategy was his job—“I was doing it with the Mayor, the police chief, and the deputy director of the FBI, my counterparts, and then ultimately wanted to understand what our role would be, the conditions”—and afterward, “we turned to [Major General Walker] to work the tactical details for that.”³²³

But Major General Walker said, “If I need you to tell me how to execute a civil disturbance mission,” he “[s]hould relieve me. Should fire me.”³²⁴

It wasn't until later, post-January 6th, that Major General Walker said he found out that Secretary McCarthy, his boss, had been putting together a con-op—without him. “Then later they said they had to put together a plan

for me to execute . . . which I found kind of disturbing,” Major General Walker said.³²⁵ “You're coming up with a plan without me being involved in the plan?”³²⁶

General McConville agreed that “usually[,] the Secretary of Army is not developing concepts for the employment, but because of the situation that wasn't done,” so the secretary had to fill in the gap.³²⁷ That, of course—given the preparations Colonel Hunter had laid out hours earlier—was not true. But Secretary McCarthy did not know that.³²⁸

He said Major General Walker never told him about how Colonel Hunter had prepared and that it was his responsibility to tell him.³²⁹ “I don't talk to troop lead commanders, no,” he said.³³⁰

Ultimately, no plan from Army leaders—strategic or tactical—made it to the troops.

“[I]f they came up with a plan, they never shared it with us,” Major General Walker said.³³¹ “*They claim they were putting a plan together. That's what took so long.* I never saw a plan from the Department of Defense or the Department of the Army.”³³²

Colonel Hunter agreed that “[n]o one ever told me, because I already had the plan there, and no one ever informed me that there was a different plan or a different [con-op].”³³³ He said to the extent a “hasty plan” was put into action on January 6th, it was his: “I created the concept of operation.”³³⁴ He added: “The [plan] that was actually used as far as which lot they would come into, who would meet them at the lot, and then who would lead them over to the Capitol. That was between myself and MPD and Capitol Police.”³³⁵

After hours of wait, Major General Walker said, “The plan was executed just like we said it would be [from the start], get to the Capitol, take direction from the ranking police officers there . . . to help restore order.”³³⁶ Colonel Hunter passed the details of his hasty plan onto Lt. Col. Reinke—the highest ranking officer at the rally point—letting him know, “Hey, when you pull into this lot, they will meet you there. This is who is—you know, you're going with these personnel,” exactly what Secretary McCarthy had just spent 20 minutes putting together.³³⁷

Although Lt. Col. Reinke said his QRF servicemembers were given rules of engagement before arriving at the rally point, he was not told more than report to Capitol Police and supplement and assist them.³³⁸

Captain Tarp, outranked by Lt. Col. Reinke but in charge of the second shift, was merely told by Brigadier General Ryan: “‘You need to act like there's a fire now. You're going to [the] Capitol.’ Those were his directions.”³³⁹

After an hour and a half spent in calls, travel, and making plans, Secretary McCarthy was prepared to green light the deployment of the Guard at 4:35 p.m. But miscommunication led to another half-hour delay.

Secretary McCarthy relayed the “go” order to Major General Walker—with his subordinate Brigadier General LaNeve serving as the intermediary—in a conversation Major General Walker said never happened.

According to Secretary McCarthy, Brigadier General LaNeve “wasn’t a junior aide.”³⁴⁰ In his role, “he can speak, once given the authority, delegated authority to speak as the Sec Army . . .”³⁴¹ He said that the first-star officer “was standing next to me,”³⁴² and General Piatt said that it was generally “not uncommon” for him to ask his staff to “transmit [the] communication from the Secretary to General Walker.”³⁴³

For his part, Brigadier General LaNeve denies that he himself conveyed the “go” order.³⁴⁴ He said he spoke with Major General Walker first at 4:25 p.m. to tell him that his forces should, “Get on the bus, do not leave.”³⁴⁵ On a second call at 4:35 p.m., Brigadier General LaNeve said he overheard Secretary McCarthy himself convey the “go” order to Major General Walker: He said something “to the effect of ‘You’re approved to provide support.’”³⁴⁶ Secretary McCarthy, on his part, said he never spoke a word.³⁴⁷

Brigadier General LaNeve said the secretary then again handed him the phone to convey the details of “where to go and what officer to meet up with.”³⁴⁸ Those two details would be the full extent of the “con-op” allegedly communicated to Major General Walker.³⁴⁹ He even recalled Major General Walker saying, “Roger,” to acknowledge the plan.³⁵⁰ But, Brigadier General LaNeve said, there was “mass confusion in that room,” and he agreed that “[t]here were huge communications problems.”³⁵¹

Major General Walker said there was no such call, nor any like it.³⁵² He said he remained on the video conference line the whole time “with everybody else,” he said.³⁵³ He said he would not have taken an order from Brigadier General LaNeve anyhow. “[W]hy would I ever take directions from General LaNeve? Anybody? Brigadier General LaNeve, one-star,” Major General Walker said.³⁵⁴ “I mean, he’s not a peer, it wouldn’t be somebody that would convey that type of message to me. . . So my thinking wouldn’t have been that he would have been speaking on behalf of the Secretary.”³⁵⁵

Although his staff confirms they didn’t see him field a call from Secretary McCarthy or Brigadier General LaNeve,³⁵⁶ including never seeing him leave their conference room,³⁵⁷ Major General Walker’s own note taker appears to have jotted down at 4:37 p.m. the following: “advised to sent [sic] 150 to establish D st / 1st outer perimeter, General LaNeve,” beside what appears to be his phone number.³⁵⁸ That address is the rally point

Secretary McCarthy had asked General LaNeve to convey, the same one Colonel Hunter and law enforcement had already chosen earlier. Major General Walker said, “the only way [Lt. Nick] could have got it was listening to the VTC, which I was on.”³⁵⁹ He further said, “I never saw General LaNeve on the [video teleconference] . . . I didn’t hear General LaNeve’s voice.”³⁶⁰ Lt. Nick said he had it penned at much later—at 5:09 p.m.—“as the time they received the orders” to deploy.³⁶¹

Major General Walker certainly did not *act* as if he had been given authority until, fortuitously, General McConville—who had heard about the 4:35 p.m. call—walked by the teleconference screen and was “surprised” to see the commanding general sitting idly at 5:09 p.m.³⁶²

Major General Walker agreed the first time he heard he had the authority was from the lips of the general: “General McConville came back into the call and said, Hey, you’re a go.”³⁶³

Lt. Col. Reinke’s QRF and Captain Tarp’s second shift got on the bus at 5:10 p.m.³⁶⁴ They left at 5:15 p.m.³⁶⁵ Lt. Col. Reinke said they didn’t arrive at the Capitol Police parking lot until 5:55 p.m.,³⁶⁶ although official timing from the Army and Department of Defense put their arrival time at 5:40 p.m. and from the DC Guard at 5:20 p.m.³⁶⁷ At the earliest, the troops arrived in the vicinity of the Capitol grounds at 5:29 p.m., when Lt. Col. Reinke texted Colonel Hunter: “Apparently we pulled into the wrong lot, trying to reroute to LOT 16 now.”³⁶⁸ He said they sat around for 20 minutes once they arrived, and then were sworn in, before relieving an entire line of officers.³⁶⁹ Captain Tarp said they remained idle for 45 minutes waiting for Capitol Police to come “bus by bus to swear-in the officers. It was a long wait. Frustrating—we’re sitting a mile from where we’re] going.”³⁷⁰

Captain Tarp said, “By the time we got there, we were just holding back the people who remained past the curfew.”³⁷¹ The height of the riot had passed.

Colonel Hunter estimated that—had his preparations been approved—the DC Guard could have arrived as early as an hour and a half earlier than they did.

“Within one hour, I’d say I could’ve had 135. So the [about 40] coming from Joint Base Andrews, if they would’ve headed directly to me at the Capitol, and then the 90 I had on the street and the 4 that were—including myself,” he said.³⁷² “[S]o I arrived at the Capitol at 3:10. So, if I would’ve recalled everyone by 3:30, 3:40, we could’ve been—had gear on and walking towards the Capitol.”³⁷³

He further stated: “I would give them another hour. So by 4:40 I should’ve had at least 250 coming from the Armory . . . That includes the second shift as well as full-timers.”³⁷⁴

Presented with the plans Colonel Hunter had set in motion and the easy accessibility of their equipment, neither of which he had known about at the time, Secretary McCarthy conceded “you could have shaved minutes,”³⁷⁵ and the speed of deployment “could have” been pushed up, but “[i]t depends.”³⁷⁶

When the Guard finally arrived at the Capitol, “pretty much all the other fighting, per se, had stopped on the Capitol complex,” according to Robert Glover, head of the MPD Special Operations Division.³⁷⁷ Then-Inspector Glover received the Guard troops when they arrived.³⁷⁸ “[T]he bus just kind of showed up. It was my decision at that point, looking at their numbers and their capabilities at that moment in time and what was the most pressing activity—and that was to make the arrests,” he said.³⁷⁹ He had them create a secure “prisoner cordon” where they could stand guard as arrested individuals waited transport to jail.³⁸⁰ “They were the freshest personnel that we had at that moment in time. And, again, they didn't have any significant numbers to really do much else at that moment in time either,” he said.³⁸¹ “[T]heir orders were basically, support us in whatever we told them to do . . .”³⁸²

Secretary McCarthy said that it was possible that DOD and DC National Guard leaders had simply not been coordinating their planning.³⁸³ He acknowledged that “a lot of things were probably missed. It was tremendously confusing,”³⁸⁴ and “that makes for a messy response.”³⁸⁵

No one within the Department of Defense, Army, or Guard leveled accusations of an intentional delay. “I didn't see anybody trying to throw sand in the gearbox and slow things down,” General Milley said.³⁸⁶

Major General Walker said the Army's reluctance to approve National Guard assistance to the Mayor during the planning for the anticipated January 6th events continued through January 6th itself.³⁸⁷ “I don't know where the decision paralysis came from, but it was clearly there. The decision paralysis, decision avoidance,” he said.³⁸⁸

CONCLUSION

Former President Trump's eagerness to engage the U.S. military to play a visible role in addressing domestic unrest during the late spring and summer of 2020 does appear to have prompted senior military leadership to take precautions, in preparing for the joint session, against the possibility that the DC Guard might be ordered to deploy for an improper purpose. Those precautions seem to have been prudential as much as legal in nature.

What that entailed in the unprecedented circumstances of the January 6th attack on the Capitol is, however, harder to accept: a 3 hour and 19

minute lag-time in making a relatively small, but riot-trained and highly capable military unit available to conduct one of its statutory support missions.

While the delay seems unnecessary and unacceptable, it was the byproduct of military processes, institutional caution, and a revised deployment approval process. We have no evidence that the delay was intentional. Likewise, it appears that none of the individuals involved understood what President Trump planned for January 6th, and how he would behave during the violence. Imperfect inter-government and intra-military communications as the January 6th rally morphed, with President Trump's active encouragement, into a full-blown riot at the Capitol also help explain the time it took to deploy Guard troops to the Capitol after their assistance there was requested and approved. Post-hoc evaluation of real-time communications during an unprecedented and evolving crisis and limited tactical intelligence, nevertheless, carries the risk of a precision that was unrealistic at the time. It is also clear from testimony provided to the Select Committee that DoD and DC National Guard leaders have differing perspectives that are not reconcilable regarding the timing of deployment authorization.

Where the DC Guard's deployment on January 6th is concerned, then, the "lessons learned" at this juncture include: careful evaluation on the basis of limited information may take time; statutorily constrained inter-governmental requests for assistance and multi-level approval processes are complex and may be time-consuming; any visible military presence in the domestic setting is circumscribed by law and triggers considerable, constitutionally-driven sensitivities; and crisis communications are often imperfect, especially in unforeseen and rapidly evolving situations.

ENDNOTES

1. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 8.
2. DC Code § 49-409, ("The President of the United States shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the militia of the District of Columbia."), available at <https://code.dccouncil.gov/us/dc/council/code/sections/49-409> (The DC National Guard is the "organized militia" of the District of Columbia. DC Code § 49-406, available at <https://code.dccouncil.gov/us/dc/council/code/sections/49-406>). Subject to that top-level command distinction, the DC National Guard is, when acting in its civil support or militia capacity, comparable to the National Guard of the various States, which act as those States' militias. 32 U.S.C. §101(4) ("Army National Guard" statutorily defined as "that part of the organized militia of the several States . . . and the District of Columbia . . ."). The Department of Justice's Office of Legal Counsel has interpreted the DC Code provisions authorizing the DC National Guard's use as a militia in support of DC law enforcement activities as within the exemptions from the Posse Comitatus Act's prohibitions on use of the military for domestic law enforcement (18 U.S.C. § 1385 ("Whoever, except in cases and under conditions expressly authorized by the Constitution or Act of Congress, willfully uses any part of the Army or the Air

Force as a posse comitatus or otherwise to execute the laws shall be fined . . . or imprisoned . . .”). See Memorandum Opinion, “Use of the National Guard to Support Drug Interdiction Efforts in the District of Columbia,” 13 Op. O.L.C. 91, 92, 93, 97 (Apr. 4, 1989), available at <https://www.justice.gov/olc/opinions-volume> (Posse Comitatus Act, 18 U.S.C. § 1385, does not prohibit use of DC National Guard as a militia in support of DC Metropolitan Police Department). The President also has authority to mobilize the National Guard, which is a reserve component of the U.S. armed forces, to active duty (10 U.S.C. §12301 et seq.), and may “federalize” any National Guard unit to assist in addressing insurrection (10 U.S.C. §§251-253), invasion, or rebellion and to give effect to Federal law (10 U.S.C. §12406). The President did not exercise those authorities on January 6, 2021. The DC National Guard operated that day as the DC militia, in its civil support and law enforcement assistance capacity under the separate authorities noted above. See also, Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 8.

3. Executive Order 11485, 34 F.R. 15411, § 1, (Oct. 1, 1969), available at <https://www.federalregister.gov/documents/search?conditions%5Bterm%5D=34+f.r.15411#> (“The Commanding General of the [DC] National Guard shall report to the Secretary of Defense or to an official of the Department of Defense designated by the Secretary . . .”). The Secretary of Defense exercises command authority over the “military operations, including training, parades and other duty” of the DC National Guard while in its non-federalized militia status, through the Commanding General of the DC National Guard. *Id.* Executive Order 11485 reserves appointment of the Commanding General of the DC National Guard to the President (*i.e.*, does not delegate that authority to the Secretary of Defense or the Secretary’s designee). *Id.*, at §§ 1, 3. That Executive Order also specifies that, “[s]ubject to the direction of the President as Commander-in-Chief, the Secretary [of Defense] may order out the [DC] National Guard . . . to aid the civil authorities . . . of the District of Columbia.” *Id.*, at § 1. Under a longstanding Congressional authorization, the Mayor of the District of Columbia may request that the Commander-in-Chief (now, by the President’s delegation, the Secretary of Defense), direct the National Guard to assist in suppressing “violence to persons or property” or “force or violence to break and resist the laws,” including when “tumult, riot or mob is threatened.” DC Code §49-103 (“Suppression of riots”), available at <https://code.dccouncil.gov/us/dc/council/code/sections/49-103>. See also, Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 104.
4. Memorandum, Secretary of Defense to Secretary of the Army and Secretary of the Air Force, “Supervision and Control of the National Guard of the District of Columbia,” (Oct. 10, 1969), ¶ 3. That memorandum is available as an attachment to the Secretary of Defense Lloyd Austin’s December 30, 2021 memorandum modifying that 1969 delegation: “Effective immediately, the Secretary of Defense is the approval authority for DC Government requests for the DCNG to provide law enforcement support” to the District of Columbia if the support is to be provided within 48 hours of the request or if acceding to the request would require the DC National Guard to engage directly in civilian law enforcement activities, including “crowd control, traffic control, search, seizure, arrest, or temporary detention.” Memorandum, Secretary of Defense for Secretary of the Army, “Authority to Approve District of Columbia Government Requests for District of Columbia National Guard Support Assistance,” (Dec. 30, 2021), available at <https://www.airandspaceforces.com/austin-streamlines-authority-to-deploy-dc-national-guard>. See also, Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 104.
5. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 10.
6. George Floyd was murdered on Monday, May 25, 2020. See Catherine Thorbecke, “Derek Chauvin Had His Knee on George Floyd’s Neck for Nearly 9 Minutes, Complaint Says,” ABC News, (May 29, 2020), available at <https://abcnews.go.com/US/derek-chauvin-knee-george-floyds-neck-minutes-complaint/story?id=70961042>. Over the ensuing days, weeks, and months, Americans demonstrated in cities across the country. See Major Cities Chiefs

Association Intelligence Commanders Group, Report on the 2020 Protests & Civil Unrest (Oct. 2020) at p. 8, Fig. 6, <https://majorcitieschiefs.com/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/MCCA-Report-on-the-2020-Protest-and-Civil-Unrest.pdf>.

7. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 5.
8. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 8.
9. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 66.
10. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 66.
11. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Barr, (June 2, 2021), pp. 67-68 (“[Trump] was very upset at the news that had come out that he had been taken down to the bunker in the preceding days, you know, when some of the rioting right by the White House was at its worst. He was very upset by this, and, as I recall, he bellowed at everyone sitting in front of him in a semicircle and he waved his finger around the semicircle saying we were losers, we were losers, we were all fucking losers,” Barr said. “[H]e then raised—you know, he talked about whether he should invoke the Insurrection Act . . . And, you know, my position was that the Insurrection Act should only be invoked when you really need to invoke it as a last resort, when you don’t really have other assets that can deal with civil unrest.”).
12. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 86.
13. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 20.
14. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 20.
15. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), pp. 47-48.
16. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 47.
17. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 38.
18. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 18.
19. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), pp. 17-18. “Brigadier General Robert Kenneth Ryan was the joint task force commander [who] authorized the—the helicopters to fly over the crowd to observe and report, and the Secretary of the Army approved that,” Major General Walker said. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 55. “Now, the pilots came a little too close to the civilians on the ground.” *Id.*, at 57.
20. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 27.
21. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2022), p. 14.
22. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2022), p. 14.
23. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 19.

24. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 18.
25. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 19.
26. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 19.
27. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Mark Esper, (Apr. 1, 2022), pp. 47-48.
28. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Mark Esper, (Apr. 1, 2022), pp. 47-48.
29. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Apr. 1, 2022), p. 25.
30. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), pp. 242-43.
31. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Donell Harvin, (Jan. 24, 2022), p. 14; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Donell Harvin, (Nov. 12, 2021).
32. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Donell Harvin, (Jan. 24, 2022), pp. 22-23.
33. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 24; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Donell Harvin, (Jan. 24, 2022), p. 24.
34. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00001680 (December 31, 2020, Letter from Mayor Bowser to Major General Walker re: DCNG).
35. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00001679 (December 31, 2020, Letter from Dr. Christopher Rodriguez to Major General Walker re: DCNG).
36. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 20.
37. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 26.
38. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 14.
39. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 38.
40. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 75.
41. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 47.
42. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 44.
43. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 50.
44. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 47.

45. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 49.
46. See Chapter 7.
47. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), pp. 79, 85.
48. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 56.
49. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), pp. 78-79, 80.
50. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), pp. 78-79, 80.
51. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 6.
52. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 53-54.
53. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 54.
54. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 75.
55. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 75-76.
56. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 10.
57. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 63; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), pp. 32-33.
58. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Charles Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 84.
59. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 11.
60. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 11-12.
61. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 98.
62. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 97.
63. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 103.
64. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 99.
65. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 57.
66. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 57.
67. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 49.

68. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 27.
69. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 27.
70. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Mark Esper, (Apr. 14, 2022), pp. 22-23.
71. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), pp. 12-13, 15.
72. U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Reform, *Hearing on Unexplained Delays and Unanswered Questions*, 117th Cong., 1st sess., (May 12, 2021), Statement of Christopher C. Miller, p. 4.
73. U.S. House Committee on Oversight and Reform, *Hearing on Unexplained Delays and Unanswered Questions*, 117th Cong., 1st sess., (May 12, 2021), Statement of Christopher C. Miller, p. 4.
74. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 133.
75. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 73.
76. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 73.
77. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 51.
78. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00005855–DoD 00005886 (December 18, 2021, email from General James C. McConville to Curtis Kellogg re: HOT MEDIA FOX NEWS & POLITICO MEDIA QUERY: Response to MG (R) Flynn's remarks.).
79. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 51.
80. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 54-55 (“Q: Were you ever told you would be fired if you ever made such a statement again? A: It was implied. It was implied that I was, you know, not to do that again, . . .”).
81. Lara Seligman (@laraseligman), Twitter, Dec. 18, 2021 11:27 a.m. ET, available at <https://twitter.com/laraseligman/status/1339985580785086466>.
82. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 68.
83. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00003488.
84. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00003488.
85. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 73.
86. Ashton Carter, Dick Cheney, William Cohen, Mark Esper, Robert Gates, Chuck Hagel, James Mattis, Leon Panetta, William Perry, and Donald Rumsfeld, “All 10 living former defense secretaries: Involving the military in election disputes would cross into dangerous territory,” *Washington Post*, (Jan. 3, 2021), available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/10-former-defense-secretaries-military-peaceful-transfer-of-power/2021/01/03/2a23d52e-4c4d-11eb-a9f4-0e668b9772ba_story.html.
87. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 71.

88. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 71.
89. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 71.
90. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 148.
91. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 84.
92. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 247.
93. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00000006 (January 4, 2021, Memorandum from the Secretary of Defense Christopher Miller to the Secretary of the Army Ryan McCarthy).
94. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00000006 (January 4, 2021, Memorandum from the Secretary of Defense Christopher Miller to the Secretary of the Army Ryan McCarthy); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 56.
95. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 56.
96. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00000006 (January 4, 2021, Memorandum from the Secretary of Defense Christopher Miller to the Secretary of the Army Ryan McCarthy); Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD #2/000633, (January 5, 2021, Colonel John Lubas email to Major General William Walker with the subject, "Final Signed Memo to DCNG," at 7:54 a.m. ET).
97. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Lt. Col. David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
98. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 68.
99. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 68.
100. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 89.
101. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 92.
102. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 93.
103. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 90.
104. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), pp. 93–94.
105. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 42.
106. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 50.
107. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 50.

108. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 133 (“Q: It doesn’t sound to me, like, really, you’re pushing for it when you raised the National Guard with Sergeant At Arms Irving or Stenger? It would have been nice, but not essential for you to be ready. Is that a fair characterization of your personal position on that? A: Yes.”).
109. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), pp. 116-17.
110. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 124.
111. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Capitol Police Production), CTRL0000001766, CTRL0000001766.0001 (Document from January 3, 2021, titled: “Special Event Assessment: Joint Session of Congress—Electoral College Vote Certification”); see also, Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Julie Farnam, (Dec. 15, 2021), pp. 51-52.
112. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 125.
113. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 114.
114. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 116.
115. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 119.
116. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 128.
117. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 128.
118. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), pp. 9-10.
119. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 35.
120. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 10.
121. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 12.
122. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 35.
123. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 10.
124. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 41.
125. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), pp. 7-8, 45.
126. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), pp. 52-53.
127. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), pp. 131-32.
128. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 19, 26.

129. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 19, 26.
130. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 19, 26.
131. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
132. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 26.
133. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 26.
134. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Robert Ryan, (Dec. 9, 2022).
135. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Dec. 9, 2022).
136. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Dec. 9, 2022).
137. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 116.
138. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 117.
139. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2022), p. 31.
140. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 23.
141. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 25, 27-28.
142. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
143. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 130.
144. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 26.
145. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 45.
146. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 107.
147. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 107.
148. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 109.
149. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 29.
150. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00003050 (January 5, 2021, email from John Lubas to William Walker and Earl Matthews re: Final Signed Memo to DCNG).
151. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).

152. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2022), p. 33.
153. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 49.
154. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 65.
155. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 22.
156. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 26.
157. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 31.
158. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 31.
159. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 31-32.
160. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 31-32.
161. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 32.
162. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 32.
163. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 34.
164. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 32.
165. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 35.
166. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 34.
167. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 34.
168. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 37.
169. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 34.
170. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 41.
171. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 41.
172. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 41-42.
173. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 38-39. Text messages show that Lieutenant Colonel Reinke texted Colonel Hunter, "Loading buses now. Meeting police escort. Do you have destination. Contact info?" at 2:43 PM. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Davie Reinke Production), CTRL0000930918 (January 6, 2021, text messages).

174. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 44-45. (He called his direct supervisor, Brigadier General Robert Ryan: “The first conversation with him, I first informed him, hey, sir, this is where I am, this is who I've talked to, and they both asked for assistance. And I asked for release of the QRF now. And I asked for, basically send all the additional forces, you know, that you have now. And his response to me was, we are working on it. So he said he was going to coordinate with General Dean and Major General Walker, but they were working on it.”).
175. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Dec. 16, 2021).
176. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 78.
177. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 78.
178. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), pp. 75-76.
179. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 148.
180. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 18.
181. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), pp. 7-8, 19.
182. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), pp. 19, 53 (“[Q: T]he Speaker's office isn't part of that process in terms of requesting the National Guard, correct? A[:] Correct. It would just be on the notification side.”).
183. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Terri McCullough, (Apr. 18, 2022).
184. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Terri McCullough, (Apr. 18, 2022).
185. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Terri McCullough, (Apr. 18, 2022).
186. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Terri McCullough, (Apr. 18, 2022).
187. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Paul Irving, (Mar. 4, 2022), p. 21.
188. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), pp. 148-50.
189. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 152.
190. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 57 (“I wasn't speaking, but I was there.”).
191. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 64.
192. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Timothy Nick, (Dec. 8, 2021).
193. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 99.

194. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 98–99.
195. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2022), p. 54.
196. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 99.
197. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 99; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2022), p. 56 (“And he immediately says, ‘I’m going to get approval. Get me a plan,’ is what he tells me”).
198. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 84.
199. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 99. The Army at first denied that General Flynn was present for the call at all. *See* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 98 (“I think there was just confusion—I know some people are trying, you know, to make it something else, but I think there was just confusion. There were a whole bunch of meetings going on because, you know, I didn’t think he was there, because when I was there, he wasn’t there.”). General McConville said: “And there was no intent to deceive anybody, or there’s no conspiracy because of who Charlie Flynn’s brother is,” General Michael Flynn. *Id.*, at 99. General Flynn said he did not speak on the call. *See* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2021), p. 41 (“A [:] I did not speak on that call. Q [:] Did you identify yourself as being on the call? A [:] I did not. Now, if I said anything, if I—my recollection, if I said anything, I may have tugged on General Piatt’s sleeve and asked and said, ‘What’s going on here?’ like, ‘What’s the situation?’ you know.” But others, like Colonel Matthews listening in from the National Guard end of the call, said both Generals Piatt and Flynn were the main interlocutors. *See* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Earl Matthews, (Dec. 20, 2021). On Lt. Nick’s notes, at 2:35 p.m., General Flynn’s title is written down. *See* Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), CTRL0000930917 (January 6, 2021, handwritten notes taken by Lt. Timothy Nick). Lt. Nick said, “I was just trying to jot down who was on the call.” *See* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Timothy Nick, (Dec. 8, 2021). General Flynn ultimately said he was there for a short time. *See* Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2021), pp. 40, 42 (“It was—I was literally there—the total time that I’m talking about was about 4 to 5 minutes. I was really around that phone call, rough order of magnitude, for maybe a minute of that;” “it became clear to me that I was in the wrong place. And so I made the decision to leave because General Piatt had a handle on the situation.”).
200. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2021), p. 37.
201. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2021), p. 37.
202. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2021), p. 39.
203. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), pp. 79–80.
204. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Earl Matthews, (Dec. 20, 2021).

205. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 83.
206. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 81.
207. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 85.
208. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 70.
209. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 70.
210. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Charles Anthony Flynn, (Oct. 28, 2021), p. 40.
211. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), pp. 81-82.
212. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 113.
213. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 115.
214. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 162.
215. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 161.
216. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 160.
217. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 80.
218. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 80.
219. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 65.
220. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 65.
221. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 116.
222. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 116.
223. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), pp. 156-57.
224. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 156.
225. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 156.
226. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 61.
227. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 59.
228. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 57.

229. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 58.
230. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 99.
231. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 105.
232. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 105.
233. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), pp. 81-82.
234. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 59.
235. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 61.
236. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 59.
237. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 82.
238. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 82.
239. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 82.
240. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 157.
241. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 59.
242. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 63.
243. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 63.
244. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 116.
245. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 116.
246. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), pp. 116-17.
247. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee, III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 85.
248. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 59.
249. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 65.
250. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Rodriguez, (Jan. 25, 2022), p. 65.
251. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Steven Andrew Sund, (Apr. 20, 2022), p. 160.
252. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 60.

253. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 39.
254. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 118.
255. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 118.
256. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 141.
257. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), pp. 141-42.
258. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Earl Matthews, (Dec. 20, 2021).
259. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Earl Matthews, (Dec. 20, 2021).
260. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Earl Matthews, (Dec. 20, 2021).
261. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 141.
262. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 83.
263. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 83.
264. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 288.
265. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 125.
266. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 296.
267. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 124.
268. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 143.
269. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 82 (“So at no time did I and I am not aware of anyone in the Pentagon having a conversation with President Trump on the day of the 6th.”).
270. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 285.
271. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 268.
272. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 285.
273. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), pp. 95-96.
274. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 96.
275. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 96.

276. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), pp. 97-98.
277. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), pp. 100-01.
278. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 98.
279. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 98.
280. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 98.
281. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 102.
282. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Mark Meadows Production), MM000789 (January 5, 2021, emails between Mark Meadows and John Aycoth, "Re: DC mayor activates National Guard ahead of pro-Trump demonstrations, The Hill").
283. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), pp. 99-100.
284. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), pp. 99-101. (Q: "[D]id you take that as a request for you or an order to you to deploy 10,000 troops? A[:] No, absolutely not. I interpreted it as a bit of presidential banter or President Trump banter that you all are familiar with, and in no way, shape, or form did I interpret that as an order or direction."); ("Q[:] So I want to be clear here that—since then, in February 2021, Mark Meadows said on Fox News that, quote: Even in January, that was a given as many as 10,000 National Guard troops were told to be on the ready by the Secretary of Defense. Is there any accuracy to that statement? A[:] I'm not—not from my perspective. I was never given any direction or order or knew of any plans of that nature."); (Q: "To be crystal clear, there was no direct order from President Trump to put 10,000 troops to be on the ready for January 6th, correct? A[:] No. Yeah. That's correct. There was no direct—there was no order from the President.").
285. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Muriel Bowser, (Jan. 12, 2022), p. 13.
286. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), pp. 78-79.
287. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), pp. 252-53.
288. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 253.
289. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 102.
290. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 102.
291. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 102.
292. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 113 ("So, at 3 o'clock, I gave the order to mobilize the entire District of Columbia National Guard, however, big they are . . . everybody show up at the [Armory and], . . . move them to the Capitol immediately to support local law enforcement.").
293. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 122.

294. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 124 (emphasis added).
295. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 120.
296. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 120.
297. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Earl Matthews, (Dec. 20, 2021).
298. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Timothy Nick, (Dec. 8, 2021).
299. The two letters referenced include Secretary Miller's January 4 memorandum setting restrictions on the Guard and a follow-up letter from Secretary McCarthy on January 5 expounding on those limitations. See Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00000006 (January 4, 2021, memorandum), DoD Production DoD 00003493 (January 5, 2021 follow-up letter).
300. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 45.
301. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 104.
302. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 122.
303. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Christopher Miller, (Jan. 14, 2022), p. 123.
304. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 104.
305. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 47; Earl Matthews, "The Harder Right: An Analysis of a Recent DoD Inspector General Investigation and Other Matters," (Dec. 1, 2021), available at <https://www.justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/january-6-clearinghouse-Colonel-Earl-G.-Matthews-An-Analysis-of-a-Recent-DoD-Inspector-General-Investigation-and-Other-Matters-December-1-2021.pdf>.
306. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 55.
307. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 52.
308. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 125.
309. Aaron C. Davis (@byaarondavis), Twitter, Jan. 6, 2021 2:55 p.m. ET, available at <https://twitter.com/byaarondavis/status/1346908166030766080>.
310. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4 2022), p. 109, 127, 129.
311. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4 2022), p. 130.
312. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 49. ("I mentioned that to Chief Carroll. I said, hey, Chief, you know, I may just pull everyone back. And he told me, he said, well, right now I may need your Guardsmen who are on the traffic control points, because all of my officers are here at the Capitol, so I don't have officers out there in the city right now, so I may need to re-mission those guys for other things. Can you just send me the personnel from the Armory here? You know, so it was almost like we were talking about splitting.

We'll use that 90 to support MPD on anything they needed in the city, but I can still get, you know, another 200, 250 from the Armory to come to the Capitol now.”). But Assistant Chief Carroll didn't recall such a conversation. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Jeffrey Carroll, (Nov. 18, 2022) (“I don't think it happened. It doesn't sound like something that would've happened.”) Sergeant Major Brooks said it was him who made the recommendation to hold the first shift at their posts. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Michael F. Brooks, (Dec. 13, 2021).

313. See Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
314. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Ken Ryan, (Dec. 9, 2021) (“Those that were on the TCPs on the 6th did not go to the Capitol on the night of the 6th.”); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 81; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), pp.88-89 (“Well, what I would think was happening during that hour and a half is they're . . . leaving their check points, the traffic control points, the 30 traffic control points so that all of those vehicles, they're hopping in their cars and they're driving back in traffic through the [A]rmory and getting set.”); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 50 (“They were out on traffic control points. They were doing another job. The QRF was across the river. We brought them over to the Armory. But they had to reconfigure, reorganize now to go into a civil disturbance operation.”).
315. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
316. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
317. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
318. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
319. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
320. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, *Business Meeting on the January 6th Investigation*, 117th Cong., 2d sess., (Oct. 13, 2022), available at <https://www.govinfo.gov/committee/house-january6th>.
321. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, *Business Meeting on the January 6th Investigation*, 117th Cong., 2d sess., (Oct. 13, 2022), available at <https://www.govinfo.gov/committee/house-january6th>.
322. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 109; Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert J. Contee III, (Jan. 11, 2022), p. 86.
323. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 129.
324. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), pp. 121-22.
325. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 108.
326. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 108.

327. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), pp. 91-92.
328. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 107.
329. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 123.
330. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 141.
331. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 121.
332. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 122 (emphasis added).
333. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 67.
334. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 65, 70.
335. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 65.
336. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 121.
337. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 66.
338. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
339. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
340. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 134.
341. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 131.
342. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 131.
343. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Walter Piatt, (Nov. 3, 2021), p. 15.
344. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Chris LaNeve, (Feb. 25, 2022).
345. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Chris LaNeve, (Feb. 25, 2022).
346. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Chris LaNeve, (Feb. 25, 2022).
347. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 133.
348. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Chris LaNeve, (Feb. 25, 2022).
349. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Chris LaNeve, (Feb. 25, 2022); Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), p. 91 ("General LaNeve provided the link up location and the lead.").

350. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Chris LaNeve, (Feb. 25, 2022).
351. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Chris LaNeve, (Feb. 25, 2022).
352. Earl Matthews, "The Harder Right: An Analysis of a Recent DoD Inspector General Investigation and Other Matters," (Dec. 1, 2021), available at <https://www.justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/12/january-6-clearinghouse-Colonel-Earl-G.-Matthews-An-Analysis-of-a-Recent-DoD-Inspector-General-Investigation-and-Other-Matters-December-1-2021.pdf> ("MG Walker denies that LaNeve called him at 4:25PM, or that he spoke to LaNeve at any time between the phone call from Chief Sund at 1:49PM and the eventual DCNG deployment to the Capitol at 5:08PM.").
353. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 139.
354. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 60.
355. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 65-66.
356. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Earl Matthews, (Dec. 20, 2021) ("One reason I know that there is no 4:30 call—is that I was sitting next to Gen. Walker").
357. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Michael F. Brooks, (Dec. 13, 2021).
358. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), CTRL0000930917 (January 6, 2021, handwritten notes taken by Lt. Timothy Nick).
359. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 60.
360. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), pp. 60-61.
361. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Timothy Nick, (Dec. 8, 2021).
362. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of James Charles McConville, (Nov. 4, 2021), pp. 90-92.
363. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of William Walker, (Dec. 13, 2021), p. 140.
364. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
365. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
366. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
367. Documents on file with the Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol (Department of Defense Production), DoD 00001196 (January 8, 2021, Memorandum for Record from Office of the Secretary of Defense re: Timeline for December 31, 2020–January 6, 2021), DoD 00001090 (January 7, 2021, Memorandum for Record from the Secretary of the Army re: Timeline For 31 December–7 January 2021), 00000490 (January 7, 2021, Memorandum for Record from Joint Force Headquarters re: Timeline for Request for Assistance during Civil Unrest on 6 January 2021 and DC National Guard Authorization to Respond).
368. Text message from David Reinke to Colonel Hunter on January 6, 2021.

369. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of David Reinke, (Jan. 6, 2022).
370. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
371. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Informal Interview of Stewart Tarp, (Jan. 6, 2022).
372. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), pp. 50-51.
373. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 51.
374. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Craig Hunter, (Jan. 20, 2022), p. 53.
375. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 120.
376. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), pp. 111-12.
377. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 72.
378. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 72.
379. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 72.
380. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), pp. 67-68.
381. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 72.
382. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Robert Glover, (May 2, 2022), p. 73.
383. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 144.
384. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 111.
385. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of Ryan McCarthy, (Feb. 4, 2022), p. 130.
386. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Transcribed Interview of General Mark Milley, (Nov. 17, 2021), p. 83.
387. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p.71.
388. Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol, Continued Interview of William Walker, (Apr. 21, 2022), p. 72.