

Daly City Library & Recreation Services  
Active Adult/Senior Services  
presents



### Current Events with Frank Damon

Doelger Senior Center has been fortunate to have Frank Damon leading both our Current Events and History discussion groups for the last 6 years. During this time of physical distancing due to the COVID-19 pandemic, Frank is sharing his current events discussion topics online. Starting on Monday, January 4, 2021 at 1:30 pm Frank will offer Current Events discussion groups each Monday on ZOOM.

**Daly City Active Adult/Senior Services invites you to a scheduled Zoom meeting.**

**Topic:** Current Events with Frank Damon

**Time:** 1:30 pm – 2:30 pm every Monday

Join Zoom meeting with following link:

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/87222786510?pwd=d0VucFhGYzhMMXVhSUNJTmdFWDNwdz09>

Meeting ID: 872 2278 6510

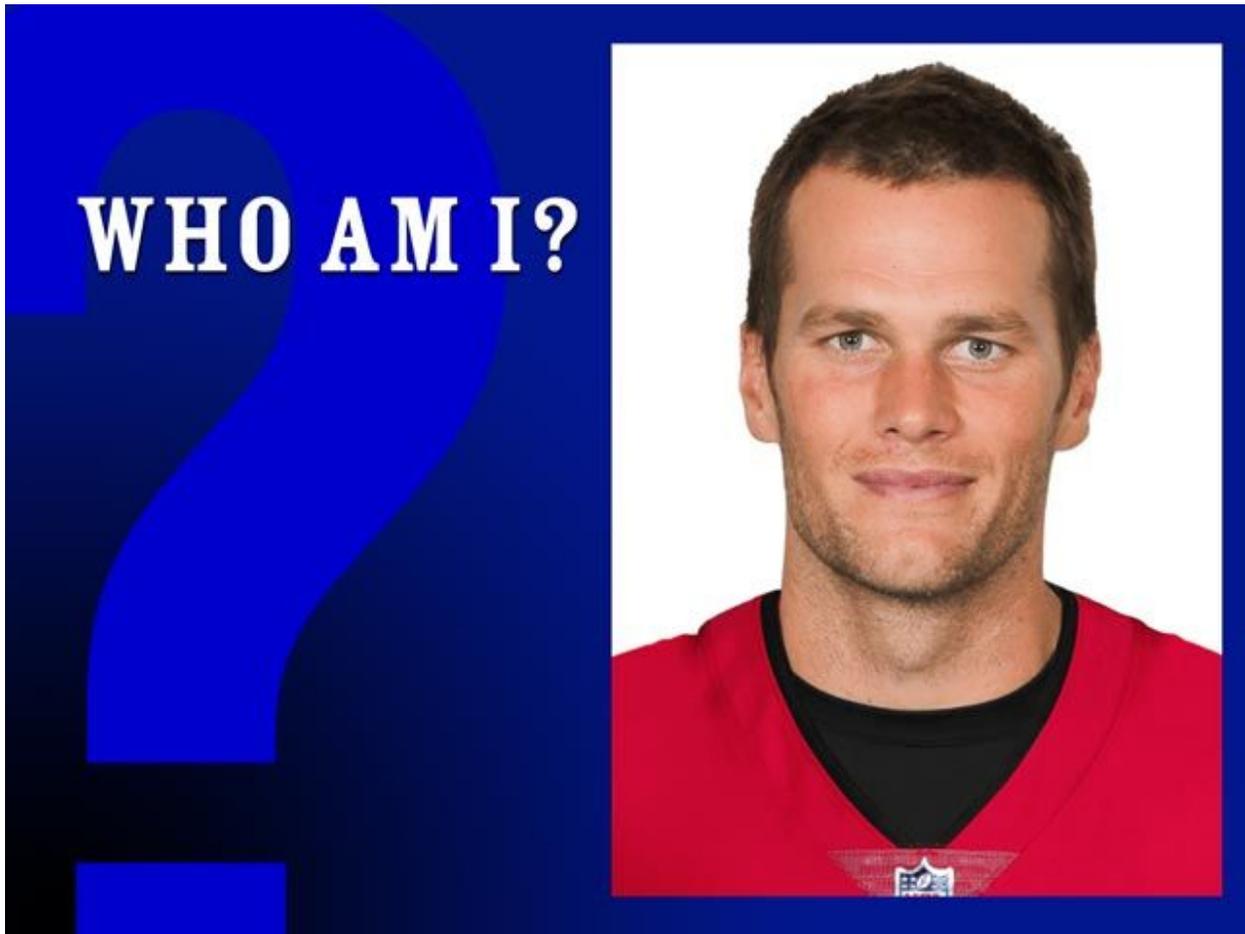
Passcode: 724368

Frank received his BA degree from the University of San Francisco with a dual major in Political Science and American History. He also earned his MA in Political Science and teaching credentials at USF. Over the course of his career, Frank taught in the San Mateo Union High School District and at Marin Catholic High School, Terra Nova High School, Golden Gate University, College of San Mateo, Skyline College and Canada College.

If you are interested in joining *Current Events with Frank Damon*, please go to [www.dalycityseniors.org/current-events](http://www.dalycityseniors.org/current-events) or contact Frank directly at [frankdamon@my.smccd.edu](mailto:frankdamon@my.smccd.edu).

### Man in the News

He is a 43-year-old quarterback in the National Football League. After a successful college career at the University of Michigan, the New England Patriots selected him with the 199th pick of the 2000 NFL Draft. He took over when the Patriots' starting QB was injured in the second game of the 2001 season. Since then, he has won more regular season and playoff games than any other quarterback in history. He led the Patriots to nine Super Bowls, winning six of them — both of which are all-time NFL records. He was selected as the NFL's Most Valuable Player in 2007, 2010, and 2017. In April of last year, he left New England to play for the Tampa Bay Buccaneers. He led the team to a 31-9 victory over Kansas City in Super Bowl LV; He was also named the game's MVP. He has won more Super Bowl rings than any player in history.



(Tom Brady)

# OLD MAN WINNER



Tom Brady holds the Lombardi Trophy, the award he has helped a team win, after Tampa Bay beat Kansas City. He was the Super Bowl MVP for the fifth time.

## Simply Super

A look at Tom Brady's Super Bowl performances

Date	Team	Week	Wk	TD	P/R	MVP
Feb. 2, 2002	Packers	San. Storm, 20-17	145	1	0	Brady
Feb. 1, 2004	Patriots	Del. Panthers, 32-29	304	3	1	Brady
Feb. 6, 2005	Patriots	Del. Eagles, 24-21	230	2	0	Dwain Green
Feb. 3, 2006	Packers	Atlanta, 37-14	265	1	0	DeMarino
Feb. 5, 2007	Patriots	Atlanta, 21-17	276	2	1	DeMarino
Feb. 7, 2010	Patriots	Del. Seahawks, 31-24	328	4	2	Brady
Feb. 6, 2011	Patriots	San. Texans, 34-28	405	2	1	Brady
Feb. 4, 2013	Packers	Atlanta, 47-37	365	2	0	Scott Peterson
Feb. 5, 2019	Patriots	Del. Rams, 15-3	282	0	1	Julian Edelman
Sunday	Buccaners	Del. Chiefs, 31-9	401	3	0	Brady

## Honduran Immigrants Hope for Asylum in U.S.

During President Trump's single term in office, groups of Central Americans traveled together by the thousands on foot hoping to get to the U.S. border. What are groups like this called? (Migrant caravans.) These caravans were stopped in Mexico or at the U.S. border, and sent back to their original countries. But a new caravan, driven by hope for a change in immigration policies under the new administration, recently formed in the country of Honduras.

As many as 9,000 Hondurans traveled north in January, hoping the Biden administration would grant them asylum and allow them to enter the U.S. Can you define asylum? (Protection granted by a country to refugees who are facing threats in their own countries.) How do you think the Biden administration will deal with these refugees? The Honduran caravan met with resistance almost as soon as they entered Guatemala. There, they ran up against a border patrol with strict orders not to let them cross through. The U.S. has helped to fund border control efforts in Guatemala and Mexico, hoping to stop caravans like this one. Although there were some clashes between refugees and soldiers, most were sent back to Honduras without incident. How do you feel about this?

Many caravan members say they are not discouraged, and that they plan to make the same journey as soon as they can. For these people, anything is better than staying in a country where they have no hope and where many even fear for their lives.

# Honduran immigrants hope for asylum in U.S.



Migrants joining the caravan

Photo: Martin Leveueur, CCA-SA-Lic. 2.0

Arrested in Guatemala

Gulf of Mexico  
Caribbean Sea  
Mexico  
Honduras  
Guatemala  
El Salvador  
Pacific Ocean

"I want to get through because it's horrible in our country. There's nothing in Honduras."  
—Joaquin Ortiz, member of the caravan

Honduras has had a lot of political instability in the last decade. In 2009, a military coup removed the democratically-elected President Manuel Zelaya. In the two years of his presidency, Zelaya instituted free education for every child in the country, nearly doubled the minimum wage, and lowered interest rates. Altogether, Zelaya's programs decreased poverty by 10 percent. When Zelaya proposed a referendum changing the country's one-term limit for presidents, the Honduran supreme court ordered military leaders to remove the president from office. Mass street protests were quickly put down by armed soldiers, and many of Zelaya's policies were neglected or reversed. Why do you think his ideas were so threatening to the country's power structure?

Many countries condemned the coup, but the U.S. accepted the results. In 2013, Hondurans elected Juan Orlando Hernández to the presidency. Soon, journalists found evidence of illegal campaign contributions. Hernández and his brother were also both accused of involvement in international drug trafficking. After the supreme court changed the law about term limits, Hernández ran for re-election in 2017. National counts showed him losing to challenger Salvador Nasralla, but the government suddenly announced Hernández as the winner — by just a half of a percentage point. Thousands protested this result, but the military cracked down on these rallies, killing 38 people and arresting more than 800 others.

## A decade of unrest in Honduras



Photo: José Cruz/AB, CCA-SA-Lic. 3.0

**2009:** President Manuel Zelaya is ousted in a military coup.



Photo: Presidencia de la Republica, CCA-SA-Lic. 2.0

**2013:** Juan Orlando Hernández wins his first presidential term.



Photo: Sean Harekey, waronwant.org

**2017:** Hernández re-elected amid controversy and protests.



Two-thirds of the population in Honduras, or more than six million people, is living in

poverty. At the same time, Hernández's government has decreased the budgets for schools and health services. Why do you think the government has done this?

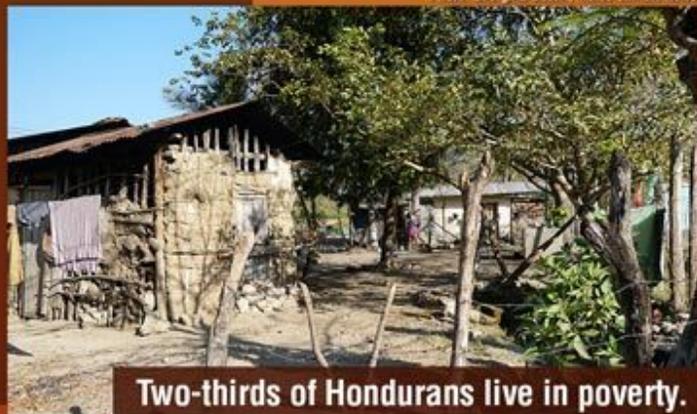
Hondurans are also angry about corruption and reports linking officials to the country's thriving trade in illegal drugs. Why would Honduras be a center for drug smuggling? (Many reasons, including its location and its governmental dysfunction.) Brutal Honduran drug gangs, centered in cities such as the capital, Tegucigalpa, and San Pedro Sula, often try to force young people into working for them, often threatening their lives. Would you want your children growing up in this environment?

Honduras has one of the world's highest murder rates. In addition to drug gang violence, a number of environmental activists have been murdered. In 2016, the famous environmental activist Berta Cáceres was killed for trying to protect small farmers and indigenous groups from companies who want to take their land. Honduras is also facing huge environmental problems. Honduras and other Central American countries have been experiencing a devastating drought for several years. The drought has caused crops to dry up and cattle to die of thirst. And last November, Honduras was hit by Hurricanes Eta and Iota, causing mudslides and flash flooding.

## Hondurans want to escape:

- poverty
- governmental corruption
- violence
- environmental disasters

Photo: Georgina Gustin, Inside Climate News



**Two-thirds of Hondurans live in poverty.**



**Central America's drought has lasted many years.**

## The Talent and Courage of Cicely Tyson

The beloved actress and activist Cicely Tyson died on January 28th, 2021, at the age of 96. Tyson was known at first for her striking good looks. But as time went on, she became recognized for her acting talent and hard work. She was also known for her moral courage, which led her to reject stereotypical roles — in her life as well as in her career.

Cicely Tyson was born in Harlem, New York, in 1924. Her parents had both emigrated to the U.S. from the Caribbean island of Nevis. What tiny country is this island part of? (St. Kitts and Nevis.) As a teenager, Tyson began working as a fashion model. This led to small roles on television and in movies, and bigger ones onstage. In 1963, she became the first Black actress to play a regular series character with her role on “East Side/West Side.” The short Afro hairstyle she wore in this show, and in some of her modeling campaigns, was hugely influential in the world of fashion as well.

As the 1960s went on, Cicely Tyson got steady roles on TV shows and in movies. But her first true star vehicle came in 1972 with the film “Sounder.” This movie focused on a sharecropping family in the 1930s. What is “sharecropping”? (An agricultural arrangement in which people farmed land they didn’t own, and gave their landlord a share of their crops as rent.) Tyson and co-star Paul Winfield played a married couple who bravely faced racism, poverty, and the prison system. Did you ever see this movie? Tyson and Winfield were both nominated for Academy Awards for “Sounder.”

**The talent and courage of Cicely Tyson**

The collage features a map of the Caribbean Sea highlighting the islands of St. Kitts and Nevis. To the right is a photograph of Cicely Tyson in a red gown, with a caption: **Cicely Tyson (1924-2021)**. Below the map are two movie stills: one of her as Jane Foster in "East Side/West Side" (1963) and another of her as Rebecca Morgan in "Sounder" (1972).

Early in her career, Cicely Tyson got sick of all the stereotypical roles she was being offered. What is a stereotype? (An oversimplified view of an entire group of people.) She decided to only accept roles showing strong Black women. For this reason, she jumped at the chance to star as the title character in “The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman.” This TV movie followed the same character for 110 years, from slavery to the civil rights movement. What do you think is happening in this picture? (She is drinking from a “whites-only” public fountain to protest discrimination.)

Tyson also played the famous Chicago educator Marva Collins, who opened a school for poor children in 1975. That movie came out in 1981, the same year she married jazz musician Miles Davis. They divorced eight years later, but Davis credited Tyson with helping him recover from drug addiction. Tyson kept up an impressive run of work over the years, alternating between television, theatrical films, and live theater. In 2013, at the age of 88, she became the oldest winner of the Best Actress Tony Award for her work in “A Trip to Bountiful.” More recently, she won four Emmy nominations for her role as the main character’s mother on the hit TV show “How to Get Away With Murder.” And she had a role in the 2020 Netflix thriller “A Fall From Grace.” Two days before she died, Tyson was giving TV interviews about her newly-released memoir, called “Just as I Am.”

**“The Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman,” 1974**

**Tyson in 2012 at age 88**

**“The Trip to Bountiful,” 2013**

**“Age is just a number. Life and aging are the greatest gifts we could possibly have.”**  
—Cicely Tyson

## Company Hires Ex-Convicts to Build Recycled Furniture

The piece of furniture shown below on the right has a fascinating backstory. It was created by a San Francisco start-up company called Formr. Founded by Sasha Plotitsa, shown here, Formr makes specialty furniture. But what makes Formr different are its two major missions.

Plotitsa decided to hire formerly incarcerated people to help build the company's furniture. While the company has existed for less than a year, Plotitsa has so far hired 6 former prisoners. Because many employers require applicants to disclose their criminal records, finding work can be difficult for the recently incarcerated. Plotitsa says he has tried to find former prisoners who gained woodworking experience while in prison. Additionally, Formr hopes to reduce industrial waste while producing furniture. Experts say the construction industry creates nearly 600 million tons of waste every year. Plotitsa hoped to do his part to reduce this number by using leftover industrial materials from other construction projects. He works with contractors to find salvageable materials in their waste. This waste is then used to create tables, chairs, shelves, and other pieces of beautiful, modern furniture. What do you think of the chair on the right? Plotitsa says he's already found success with customers that share his values and want to help contribute to the company's mission.

## Company hires ex-convicts to build recycled furniture



A piece of Formr furniture.



"When someone comes out of prison, they have to check the box on a job application that says they have a record. That makes it very hard for them to get their life back on track."

— Sasha Plotitsa, Formr Founder.

## Country of the Week: Norway

Norway is a northern European nation bordered by Sweden, Finland, and Russia with a long coastline on the Atlantic Ocean. About 5 million people live in Norway. More than 30 percent of the country's land area is above the treeline, meaning almost nothing can grow there. Norway's geography is notable for its fjords. What is a fjord? (A landform characterized by a watery inlet in between two sheer cliff faces.) The largest fjord in Norway, Sognefjord —SON-ya-fjord— is one of the largest in the world and a main tourist attraction. It is more than 127 miles long, and is known for its natural and untouched beauty.

Oslo is the largest city and the capital of the country. About 1.7 million people live in and around Oslo, and it is one of the fastest growing cities in Europe. This population growth is fueled by increased immigration. Today about one-third of Oslo's population is immigrants or the children of immigrants. Oslo is the political and economic hub of Norway.

Norway has a large shipping industry and it is one of the most oil-rich countries in Europe. These sectors generate a lot of wealth, and the country has a strong economy. Some Norwegian companies are owned by private citizens while others are owned by the state. What is this economic system called? (A mixed economy.) This model limits the country's free market, but it allows the Norwegian government to give all its citizens free healthcare and education. Do you think this is a good system? Erna Solberg is the prime minister of Norway, and she has been in office since 2013.



Norway's culture and history is complex. For thousands of years, the indigenous Sámi people have resided in countries like Norway, Finland, Sweden, and Russia, with the largest population living in Norway. The Sámi people have their own languages, music, and clothing, as well as their own religious traditions. For a long time, the Sámi people were mostly nomads. What is a nomad? (A member of a community that regularly moves from one place to another without having one permanent territory.) Today, however, most Sámi people live in urban areas.

Norway's history and culture are also evident in buildings such as stave churches. These churches represent a combination of early Christian culture with pagan, Viking-era architecture. Some of these churches were built more than 800 years ago. The Urnes Stave Church, for example, was built around the year 1132 CE, and it still stands today in the innermost branch of the Sognefjord.

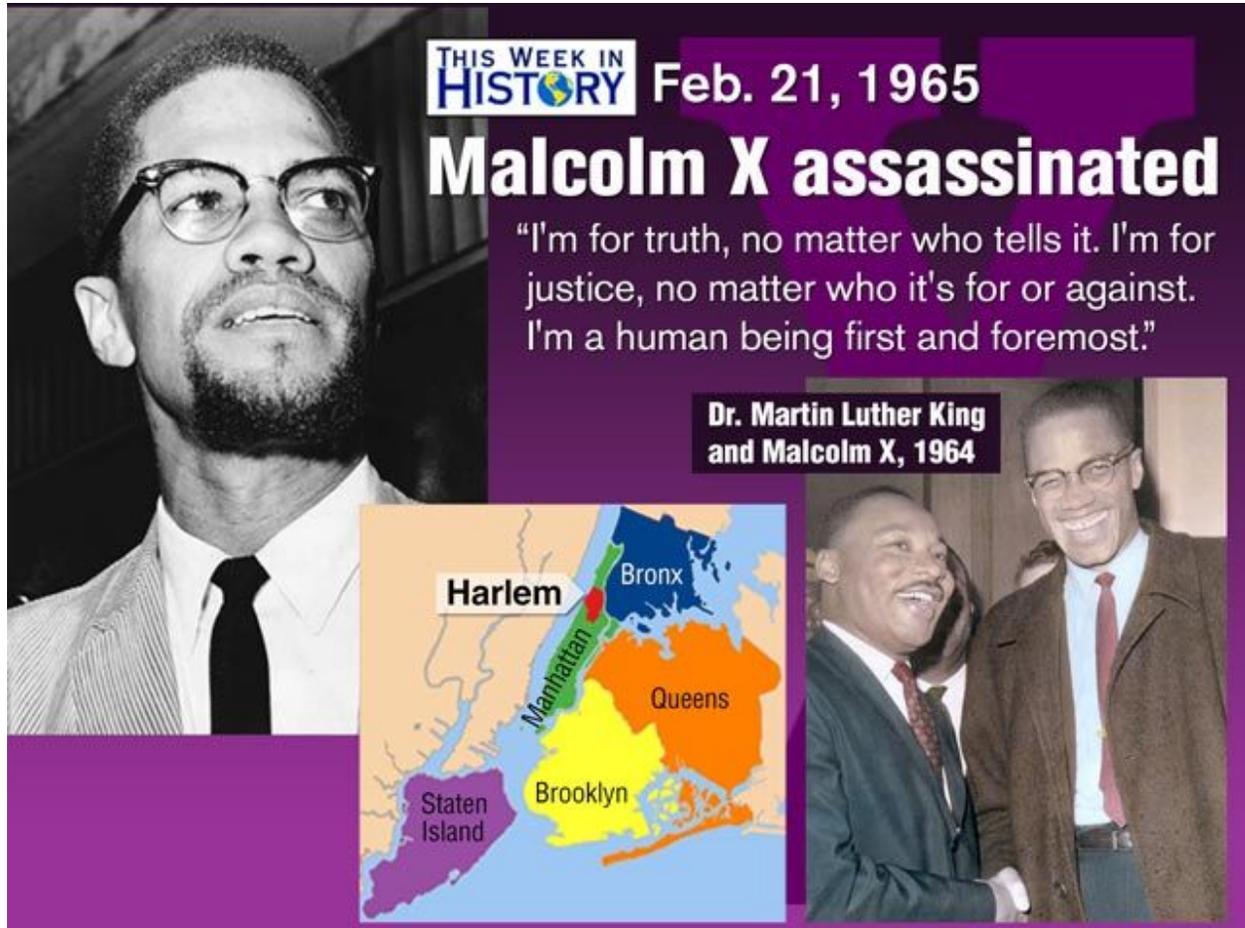
Norway has also produced many famous artists, such as the playwright Henrik Ibsen and the composer Edvard Greig. The Norwegian artist Edvard Munch painted "The Scream" in 1893. "The Scream" is one of the most famous paintings in history. It is currently hanging in Norway's National Gallery and Munch Museum. How would you interpret this painting?

The prestigious Nobel Peace Prize is awarded in Oslo every year. But Norway has been criticized for being one of the few countries that still kills whales. It kills more whales than any other country including Japan.



## **This Week in History: Malcolm X is Assassinated**

The man you see below was a very controversial and important figure in the movement for equal rights for Black Americans. This man was called Malcolm X. He was assassinated this week in 1965. What is “assassination?” (The killing of a political figure.)



Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little on May 19th, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska. He was the fourth of eight children. His family settled in Lansing, Michigan. In 1931, Malcolm’s father was found dead on the railroad tracks. Although it was ruled an accident, Malcolm and his family thought his father was murdered by white supremacists. These are very racist people who preach hate against Blacks and sometimes use violence. After his father’s death, Malcolm’s mother suffered a mental breakdown and Malcolm and his brothers and sisters were sent to live in a series of foster homes. Malcolm was very smart and he did well in school. But when he told one of his teachers that he wanted to be a lawyer, his teacher told him this would never happen because of the color of his skin. How do you think this affected him? Malcolm dropped out of school after 8th grade and ended up in New York City. In 1946, he went to prison for burglary.

While he was in prison, Malcolm became a member of a group called the Nation of Islam. This group strictly follows the Muslim religion. He later said that this group helped him find the self-discipline he needed to stop living a life of crime. He believed his old last name, Little, was a “slave name” given to his ancestors by white slave owners, so he decided to change

his name to Malcolm X. What do you think the “X” stood for? (He used “X” to symbolize his lost African heritage.) When he got out of prison, Malcolm X became a minister in the Nation of Islam. He was a close associate of the group’s leader, Elijah Muhammad. Malcolm X was a great speaker, and he is largely credited with increasing the group’s membership from 500 people in 1952 to 300,000 in 1963. He was also controversial. Unlike many other Black leaders of that time, he did not preach “nonviolence.” Who is the Black leader shown here with Malcolm X who favored this approach? (Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.) Instead, Malcolm X argued that Black Americans should fight back when they were attacked. He also thought Blacks and whites should live separately. Why do you think he took this position?

Over the course of Malcolm X’s life, however, his views changed. In 1964, he made a spiritual journey, or pilgrimage, to Mecca, a city in Saudi Arabia. Why is it important to Muslims? (It is the most holy city in Islam. All Muslims are required to journey there if they are able.) In Mecca, Malcolm X met white people who were Muslims, and it made him rethink his views about whites. This realization and other differences with Elijah Muhammad led him to leave the Nation of Islam and start his own group. In taking this step, he gained some dangerous enemies. On February 14th, 1965, his house was firebombed, but he and his family were unhurt. One week later, on February 21st, he began a speech at the Audubon Ballroom in Harlem, New York. As he spoke, three gunmen rushed the stage and shot him multiple times, killing him. He was only 39 years old. The men who were convicted of killing him were members of the Nation of Islam. Although his life was cut short, Malcolm X’s influence lives on. Some interviews he did with writer Alex Haley became a bestselling book, called “The Autobiography of Malcolm X.” The book was later made into a movie called “Malcolm X,” starring Denzel Washington. Today, many people continue to be inspired by Malcolm X’s words, and his struggle to gain equal treatment for Black Americans.

## Remembering When...

Tony Bennett is one of America's most beloved entertainers. What does he do? (He is a jazz singer.) Bennett's family recently announced that he has been living with Alzheimer's disease for the last four years. But that has not stopped the 94-year-old from recording a new album of duets with the pop singer known as Lady Gaga! Have you heard him sing in recent years?

Anthony Benedetto was born in Queens, New York, in 1926. His father was an Italian immigrant who became a grocer and his mother was a seamstress. His father, John, helped instill a love of art and literature in his children. Tony was an artistic child, singing and painting every chance he could get. He learned a bit about show business because one of his uncles was a tap dancer. In fact, Tony got to sing for the mayor of New York at the age of ten. Can you guess which mayor this was? (Fiorello La Guardia.) Unfortunately, his father died in the same year, and the family was quite poor. By age 13, he was working as a singing waiter in Italian restaurants in his Queens neighborhood. Although he loved studying music and painting in high school, Tony had to drop out at the age of 16 to help support the family. But he kept working toward his goal, landing singing engagements in New York and New Jersey.

In 1944, he was drafted into the Army to fight in World War Two. He was on the front lines during intense firefights, and his unit helped to liberate a concentration camp in Germany. These experiences led him to become a pacifist for the rest of his life.

Remember When . . .  
**Tony Bennett:**  
Still singing at 94

Performing in  
Amsterdam, 1966  
Photo: Dutch Nationaal Archief,  
CCA-SA-Lic. 1.0

Duetting with  
Lady Gaga in 2002  
Photo: Marcen27, CCA-SA-Lic. 2.0

"I've been very fortunate. I'm doing  
what I love, and I'm getting away  
with it, you know?"

Photo: Dwight McCann  
/Chumash Casino,  
CCA-SA-Lic. 2.5

After the war, Anthony returned to the U.S. to study singing and acting. When he was 23, he met the great Pearl Bailey, and impressed her with his smooth voice. He opened for her in Greenwich Village, leading to a record contract with his new shortened name, Tony Bennett. By 1951, he was regularly hitting the top of the charts with such songs as “Because of You,” “Rags to Riches,” and “Stranger in Paradise.” Do you remember these hits? Tony Bennett was soon appearing on TV shows, gaining a legion of fans who loved his voice and his charming, down-to-earth manner. But he continued to push his own boundaries, working with ambitious jazz musicians during the late 1950s. In 1962, he hit gold with his Grammy Winning signature song. What is this song? (“I Left My Heart in San Francisco.”)

Around this time, Bennett was thrilled with this quote from Frank Sinatra: “For my money, Tony Bennett is the best singer in the business.” He was also very active in the civil rights movement; he participated in the march from Selma to Montgomery. And his paintings — done under the name of Anthony Benedetto — sold for thousands of dollars each. But the late 1960s and 1970s were difficult for pop singers in general, and for Tony Bennett in particular. He went into treatment for drug addiction, and almost lost his home to the IRS. As time went on, however, people became nostalgic for older forms of music. By the mid-1980s, Bennett was back, appearing on talk shows and crooning classic songs to people who had never heard them. His old-school charm was welcomed by young people, who realized his timeless cool.

In 1994, his album “MTV Unplugged” won the Grammy for Album of the Year! He has never looked back since then, recording a number of hugely popular records by himself and with others. He found a great duet partner in Lady Gaga, who also grew up Italian in New York as Stefani Germanotta. Do you think their similar backgrounds helped them to bond? They recorded a record of classics called “Cheek to Cheek” in 2014 that went to number one on the charts, thus helping Tony Bennett break his own record as the oldest artist with a #1 record. Although the last four years have been difficult for Tony, he recently finished a second duet album with Lady Gaga which will be out later this year.

# Who dunit?

What the impeachment trial has shown about Trump's role in the insurrection



# Step-by-Step Guide to Impeachment

By WEIYI CAI

Donald J. Trump is facing an impeachment trial in the Senate that could disqualify him from future office. The House swiftly impeached Mr. Trump just one week after a violent mob stormed the Capitol, charging him with "incitement of insurrection." Mr. Trump is the first president to be impeached and stand trial twice. Here's how Mr. Trump's second impeachment has unfolded so far.

A violent mob stormed the Capitol after a Trump rally on Jan. 6.

JAN. 11

## Article of Impeachment

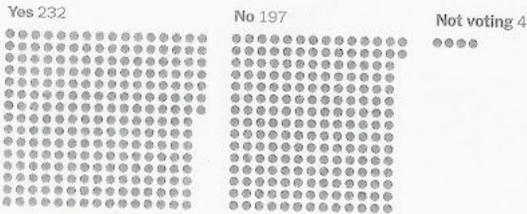
The House introduced one article of impeachment against Mr. Trump for his role in whipping up a mob that stormed the Capitol.

The House passed a resolution on Jan. 12 that called on former Vice President Mike Pence to invoke the 25th Amendment to strip Mr. Trump of his powers. Mr. Pence refused.

JAN. 13

## House Impeachment Vote

The House passed the article of impeachment, impeaching Mr. Trump for the second time.



Ten House Republicans voted for impeachment, which was more defections from the president's party than for any previous president who faced impeachment.

Mr. Trump's term ended on Jan. 20.

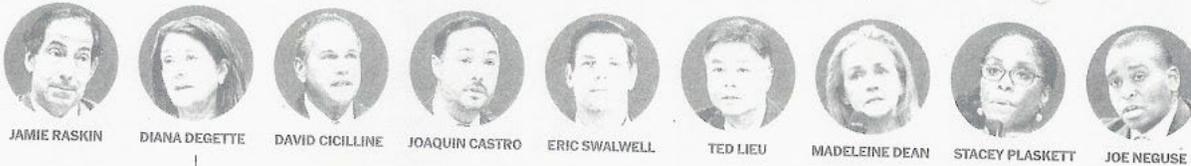
JAN. 25

## Delivery to the Senate

House managers delivered the article of impeachment to the Senate.

### HOUSE MANAGERS

They are playing the role of prosecutors in the Senate trial.



JAN. 26

### Senate Trial Preparation

Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont and the Senate president pro tempore, was sworn in to preside over the trial and all 100 senators swore an impeachment oath to "do impartial justice."



### Motion to Dismiss the Trial

The Senate voted narrowly to table, or kill, the Republican effort to dismiss the trial as unconstitutional because Mr. Trump is no longer in office.

Yes 55



No 45



All but five Senate Republicans voted against moving forward with the trial, suggesting that there are not enough votes to convict Mr. Trump.



### Writ of Summons

The Senate issued a summons to the former president, asking him to respond to the article of impeachment by Feb. 2.



JAN. 31

### Mr. Trump's defense team

Mr. Trump announced two members of his defense team just a week before the trial, after parting ways with his initial team.



DAVID SCHOEN



BRUCE L. CASTOR JR.

Mr. Castor is a former Pennsylvania prosecutor best known for declining to prosecute Bill Cosby.



FEB. 2

### House's Trial Brief

The House impeachment managers filed a 80-page trial brief. They argued that Mr. Trump was "singularly responsible" for the Capitol riot and cited the Constitution's framers in urging that Mr. Trump be convicted and disqualified from ever holding office again.



### Trump's Response

Mr. Trump's lawyers filed a 14-page response. They denied that he incited the deadly assault on the Capitol and argued that the Senate had no power to try a former president.



FEB. 4

### Call for Trump to Testify

The House impeachment managers issued a surprise request for Mr. Trump to testify under oath in his Senate trial. It was quickly rejected by his lawyers.



FEB. 8

### Trump's Trial Brief

Mr. Trump's lawyers filed a 78-page brief, denouncing the impeachment case against him as partisan "political theater." The House managers answered with a memo rebutting Mr. Trump's effort to dismiss the charge.

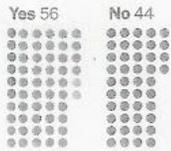
FEB. 9

### The Trial

The Senate passed a resolution on the rules and procedures governing the trial.

### Debate on Senate's jurisdiction over Trump

The House prosecutors and Mr. Trump's defense team debated the constitutionality of whether a former president can be tried by the Senate. Senators then voted to proceed with the trial.



In 1876, the Senate held an impeachment trial of a former war secretary, William Belknap, who had resigned just before the House impeached him.

### Pass

A majority of the Senate voted yes.

**WE ARE HERE**

### Oral arguments

The House managers and Mr. Trump's defense lawyers have up to 16 hours each to present their cases.

### Senator questions

Senators have up to four hours to question both parties.

### Question on witnesses and documents

If the managers request witnesses, the Senate will debate and then vote on whether to consider motions to subpoena witnesses and documents.

### Closing arguments

Both sides may provide closing statements for up to four hours in total.

### Deliberation

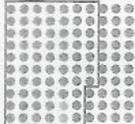
### Senate Vote

The Senate will vote on the article of impeachment. A two-thirds vote is needed for conviction.

### Current Senate

50 Dem, 50 Rep.

Minimum votes needed to convict



Democratic totals include two independents.

### TWO-THIRDS VOTE

#### Fail

Less than two-thirds of the Senate votes yes.

**Trump is acquitted**

The Senate could consider other motions such as censure. If a censure motion is brought to a vote, a majority is required.

The Senate tried to vote on a censure after President Bill Clinton's acquittal, but it failed.

#### Pass

More than two-thirds of the Senate votes yes.

**Trump is convicted**

### Disqualification From Future Office

The Senate may subsequently vote on whether to bar Mr. Trump from ever holding office again.

### MAJORITY VOTE

#### Fail

Less than half of the Senate votes yes.

#### Pass

More than half of the Senate votes yes.

# For Pelosi's staff, terror of riot still strikes deep

By Tal Kopan

WASHINGTON — Watching the surveillance footage of themselves taking cover in a conference room Jan. 6 minutes before pro-Donald Trump rioters flooded a hallway in the U.S. Capitol, what struck staffers for House Speaker Nancy Pelosi was the weirdness of the silence.

For those who had experienced the events in real time, barricading themselves with colleagues in a small room as insurrectionists ransacked offices looking for their boss, the din had been indelible.

"The thing that amazed me and sticks with me is the sound," said Henry Connelly, communications director for the San Francisco Democrat, who fled his office to join colleagues in that conference room as the insurrectionists approached. "Hearing the sound of the mob and how loud it was ... it felt like they were much, much closer than I had appreciated."

Connelly, 33, is one of hundreds of congressional staffers who were in the Capitol complex Jan. 6. Their accounts of

the day have gotten less attention than those of lawmakers who were evacuated from the Senate and House chambers, in part because their job is making their bosses, not themselves, the focus of attention.

But the plight of staffers, especially Pelosi's aides, was thrust into the spotlight this week during the Senate impeachment trial of Trump, when House Democratic prosecutors rolled security footage showing staffers running down a hallway and closing themselves inside the conference room less than 10 minutes before rioters filled that same hallway.

The fleeing aides were quickly replaced on screen by insurrectionists banging on doors, including one who broke through the outer door of the conference room but gave up at an inner door, behind which eight Pelosi staffers were hiding.

The staffers sheltered with the lights off, texting with the outside world and scrolling Twitter to find out what was happening around them. One whispered into a phone about needing Capitol Police in the hallway, a message that was played during the trial. And they listened to the din around them.

"You could hear everything," Connelly said. "We could hear them going down that hallway, screaming for the speaker, knocking down doors. At some point there was breaking glass, and we could also hear some from the rotunda, too."

House prosecutors said some of the insurrectionists would have tried to kill Pelosi, who had been taken out of the Capitol as the building was breached. Videos shown during the trial captured them tauntingly calling her name as they searched for her.

A 23-year-old Pelosi staffer, who requested anonymity because she continues to fear for her safety, likened her experience that day to training she underwent in high school and college for active-shooter situations.

"Once we were settled in the dark, what was running



Erin Schaff / New York Times

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's staffers watch in renewed horror as footage shows insurrectionists trying to break down the door they were hiding behind in the Capitol on Jan. 6.



A supporter of Donald Trump makes himself at home in Pelosi's office at the Capitol on Jan. 6. House prosecutors said some of the rioters would have tried to kill Pelosi.

Saul Loeb / AFP / TNS

through my mind was to be ready to run and fight," she said. "Thank goodness that didn't have to happen."

Connelly began the day alone in his office on a different floor of Pelosi's office suite. Staffers began getting alerts about security concerns as the crowd from a rally Trump held outside the White House streamed to the Capitol. Soon, Connelly saw an officer run past his window with a long gun.

He used secluded hallways and a back elevator to join colleagues in the main offices, and soon was hiding in the conference room with them.

They huddled there for upward of two hours, listening as waves of rioters came and went, before the hallway was fully cleared and they were evacuated to a safe room with other staffers and lawmakers.

"One of the incredible things looking back on it is that it feels like we spent several lifetimes

in that room, and then you add up the time and it's not that long," Connelly said. "On any given day, that amount of time would just fly by, but it felt like forever."

Being reunited with colleagues in the safe room didn't mean the trauma was over for the staff — far from it.

In the days and weeks since then, as more information and images have come out about the rioters, their level of planning and their intentions, fresh

of emotion have over those who were in. Even during his interview in *The Chronicle*, there were pieces of the day and the psychological experience that Connelly was not ready to discuss.

Pelosi herself told *The Washington Post* that it was on her staffers' faces that she saw the horror on Jan. 6.

"The trauma that I see in their eyes," Pelosi said, what *The Post* described as a three-second pause. "It's just overwhelming, just overwhelming. You know, we are largely young. They're here with the sense of civic duty and just love that they're in the Capitol."

Connelly and other Pelosi staffers are helping to manage House Democrats' press in the impeachment trial. They're also watching pressings as witnesses and rehashing their own experiences of the day.

"It's hard," Connelly said. "It's painful."

Although they've largely been watching separately, staffers gathered to view the trial when they were on security footage, to be together as they took it in. A 32-year-old staffer who requested anonymity called the experience surreal.

"It was like reliving that all over again," she said. "I finally gave me an image with the yelling, taunting, banging I can still hear in my mind. I knew how close we were to being face to face with the insurrectionists, see it for the first time is a liberality I can't find the words to describe."

Connelly said the event has also been unifying in its own way.

"The work that we try to do to help people at this most extraordinary time that has so much tragedy and so much suffering baked into it ... it's why we're here," he said.

"That's why we keep showing up."

# Leahy Juggles His Responsibilities as Judge, Juror and Witness

WASHINGTON — As senators barreled down a basement tunnel fleeing the pro-Trump mob storming the Capitol on Jan. 6, Patrick J. Leahy, the chamber's

## TRUMP ON TRIAL

EMILY COCHRANE

longest-serving senator, glanced at the Vermont flag hanging overhead and offered a promise.

"Don't worry, Vermont's going to be represented," Mr. Leahy vowed. Shortly after, a law enforcement officer offered another reassurance, invoking an old call sign from the senator's previous turn as president pro tempore: "Don't worry, Shamrock. We're going to keep you all safe."

Mr. Leahy, 80, survived the deadly assault, and has now been thrust into an unprecedented trifecta of roles in the impeachment trial of Donald J. Trump, who is charged with inciting it. Mr. Leahy is simultaneously a witness to the alleged high crime, a juror weighing the former president's fate and the judge presiding over the proceeding.

The senator was inside the Senate chamber last month when it was locked down as rioters breached the Capitol. He is one of 100 senators now tasked with deciding whether to convict Mr. Trump on the charge of "incitement of insurrection" for his role in stirring up the rampage. And, barely a month into reclaiming his role as president pro tempore of the Senate — a post reserved for the senior-most member of the majority party that places him third in line to the presidency — it has fallen to him to oversee the trial.

For Mr. Leahy, the role is the latest challenging chapter in a senatorial career that has spanned more than four decades and is older than some of his current colleagues. It will also present a test for the senator, now the chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, of his ambition to help steer the chamber back toward the bipartisan comity of the past, which had withered long before the Capitol attack.

"This is not something I requested," Mr. Leahy said in an interview. "I want to make sure I do the best job possible, when people look back at it."

To prepare for the first trial of a former president in American history, Mr. Leahy has been reviewing hundreds of pages of constitutional law and procedure. He tapped Michael J. Gerhardt, an impeachment expert and professor at the University of North Carolina, to serve as his special counsel. But Mr. Leahy said he hoped his many decades of sitting on the Senate dais and wielding the ivory gavel had prepared him for the task.

"I've presided hundreds of hours — I don't know how many rulings I've made," he said. "I've never had anyone, Republican or Democrat, say my rulings were not fair. That is what the presiding officer is supposed to do."



ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

"This is not something I requested," said Senator Patrick J. Leahy of Vermont, who is the presiding officer at the impeachment trial.

Still, Mr. Trump's lawyers have pointed to Mr. Leahy's participation in the trial as evidence for their contention — rejected by many scholars and prominent lawyers — that the entire proceeding is unconstitutional.

"Now, instead of the chief justice, the trial will be overseen by a biased and partisan senator who will purportedly also act as a juror while ruling on issues that arise during the trial," they wrote in their trial memorandum submitted on Monday.

The role of presiding officer in an impeachment trial has traditionally been a murky and limited one. The Constitution provides little guidance, other than to specify that the chief justice of the Supreme Court should preside over the impeachment trial of a president.

But Mr. Trump is a former president, and Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr., who took great pains to curtail his opinion in Mr. Trump's first impeachment trial in 2020, signaled that he was not interested in reprising the role this time. As president of the Senate, Vice President Kamala Harris was the next logical choice, but she had little appetite for inserting herself into what promised to be a highly politicized trial, in which Mr. Trump's false claims that she and President Biden had stolen the election were likely to be a topic of debate.

So the job landed in Mr. Leahy's lap.

Senators have previously overseen impeachment trials of lower officials: Senator Daniel Inouye of Hawaii, a former president pro tempore who died in 2012, presided in 2010 when the

taking an oath to "do impartial justice" before administering it to his colleagues. He oversaw the vote last month in which Democrats banded together with five Republicans to kill a Republican effort to dismiss the proceedings as unconstitutional.

Mr. Leahy is responsible for ruling on any questions of trial procedure that arise. He will also

## The longest-serving senator takes on a trifecta of roles.

have the job of reading aloud written questions that senators submit to the House impeachment prosecutors and Mr. Trump's defense team.

In a letter to his colleagues before the trial, Mr. Leahy vowed to "conduct this trial with fairness to all" and said he would put any constitutional question before the Senate for a full vote.

Some Republicans have objected to Mr. Leahy's participation, saying he has a clear conflict of interest.

"I respect Senator Leahy, but the fact of the matter is, he cannot be an impartial arbiter," Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas, said on Monday, noting that Mr. Leahy had harshly criticized Mr. Trump after the Capitol riot and voted to convict him during his first impeachment trial.

"No American, let alone a former president, should be tried before a jury who has already

of Alabama, who has led the appropriations panel with Mr. Leahy since 2016, said in an interview that his longtime friend would "be honest and fair and senatorial."

"At the end of the day, he will lean over to be fair because he does have a vote," Mr. Shelby said. "Everybody's watching him. He knows that. It's an unusual role."

The last of the so-called Watergate babies — the term coined for Democrats elected amid a wave of anger after Richard M. Nixon resigned to head off his own impeachment — Mr. Leahy is the only sitting senator who served during President Gerald Ford's term. First elected in 1974 at age 34 after serving as a prosecutor, he is also the first and only registered Democrat to be elected to represent Vermont in the Senate.

More than four decades later, he enjoys the power and responsibilities of having the highest seniority in the Senate — in addition to its perks. He is fond of showing off the prime real estate of his hideaway in the Capitol, which overlooks the Washington Monument and the National Mall.

He has not decided whether to seek a ninth term in 2022, an issue that came under scrutiny after a brief health scare in late January that sent him on a precautionary trip to the hospital. It also underscored the fragility of Democratic power in an evenly divided Senate, where many of the most senior members are of advanced age.

"I'm a U.S. senator — nobody forced me to be here," Mr. Leahy said. "I just want to uphold the Senate and do my best."

including when he snarled, "We're not intimidated by thugs," at Heath Ledger's Joker in "The Dark Knight."

An array of legislation bearing his name reflects Mr. Leahy's knack for maneuvering in an institution where seniority and compromise are paramount. A longtime member of the Judiciary Committee before becoming its chairman, he has voted on the confirmation of every sitting member of the current Supreme Court. He fought to rein in domestic surveillance in the weeks after the Sept. 11, 2001, attacks, a push that led to him being targeted in the anthrax attacks on Capitol Hill.

Serving as the top Democrat on the Appropriations Committee during the Trump administration, he helped steer a number of critical funding deals that kept the government funded and formed the core of more than \$4 trillion in coronavirus aid passed in 2020. He has also worked to establish a number of programs that provided relief to victims of war, including a war fund for victims of the Afghanistan and Iraq wars and undoing the damage left by Agent Orange in Vietnam.

Mr. Leahy frequently regales his younger colleagues with stories about the years when the Senate was not gripped by partisan gridlock, and is planning to start hosting bipartisan gatherings to help the next generation of senators build relationships across the political divide.

"Patrick has seen the best and the worst of the Senate," said Representative Peter Welch, the lone Vermont Democrat in the

# Democrats press their incitement case against Trump

At Donald Trump's impeachment trial in the Senate, Democratic House managers this week offered vivid evidence to prove their charge that the former president "deliberately encouraged" a violent insurrection at the Capitol on Jan. 6. Impeachment managers screened a wrenching 13-minute video that showed violent scenes from the uprising—including a bleeding Capitol Police officer screaming as he was crushed in a doorway and rioters taunting and punching overwhelmed police—interspersed with Trump's admonitions at a rally that day to "fight like hell" and "stop the steal" or "our country will be destroyed." After Trump told supporters, "You'll never take back our country with weakness," the video showed, the crowd began chanting, "Invade the Capitol!"



*Raskin: 'Senators, this cannot be our future.'*

The assault that followed was "the Framers' worst nightmare come to life," said Rep. Joe Neguse of Colorado. Rep. Jamie Raskin of Maryland, who'd buried his 25-year-old son the day before the uprising and was with his daughter during the siege, broke down as he described hearing rioters "pounding on the door like a battering ram" as petrified lawmakers called their loved ones to say goodbye. "Senators, this cannot be our future," he told a riveted gallery. Trump, Raskin later said, "watched the insurrection on TV like a reality show. He reveled in it," while ignoring pleas to call in the National Guard.

Trump attorney David Schoen argued that the trial was driven by "pure, raw, misguided partisanship." He and co-counsel Bruce Castor contended that Trump's use of the word "fight" was not literal and that it was unconstitutional to convict him now that he's out of office. Their meandering, convoluted presentation was widely panned—and reportedly had Trump yelling at his TV at Mar-a-Lago. "I ain't no lawyer, but I know enough to know that was some bad stuff," said Sen. Richard Burr (R-N.C.). After the opening arguments, six Republicans joined Democrats in a 56-44 vote affirming the constitutionality of the trial. Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell reportedly told his members to go with their consciences in the final verdict, and said he was undecided. Still, with 17 Republican votes needed, a conviction remained highly unlikely. "President Trump will be acquitted," said Sen. Ted Cruz (R-Texas).

# Senate Trial Begins With a Green Light, Video and Some Puzzlement

By EILEEN SULLIVAN

Former President Donald J. Trump's second impeachment trial began on Tuesday, 370 days after he was acquitted of high crimes and misdemeanors in his first trial. He is accused of "incitement of insurrection" for his part in kindling the violence on Jan. 6 at the U.S. Capitol. House impeachment managers and Mr. Trump's defense team clashed over whether the Constitution allowed the Senate to hold a trial of a former president, ultimately deciding it could move forward.

Here are some takeaways from the first day.

**Senators ruled that a former president can, indeed, stand trial for impeachment.** In a 56-to-44 vote, the Senate rejected the argument from Mr. Trump's defense team, and decided along mostly party lines that it had the jurisdiction to try an impeached former president. This paved the way for the trial to proceed on Wednesday.

The impeachment managers, led by Representative Jamie Raskin of Maryland, argued that dismissing this impeachment trial would create a "January exception," setting the precedent for a lame-duck president to act without consequence in the final weeks of his administration.

The defense team characterized the prosecution's case as a

Glenn Thrush contributed reporting.

"snap impeachment" and argued that a former president should not have to stand trial because it would establish the precedent for any former official to be punished after leaving office at the whim of the party in power.

On the question of jurisdiction, only a simple majority was required, unlike the two-thirds majority needed for a conviction. Six Republicans joined all 50 Democrats in deciding that the Senate could proceed with the trial.

**Democrats, led by Raskin, promised compelling video footage of the events of Jan. 6, and they delivered.**

In a 13-minute video of scenes from the Jan. 6 assault on the Capitol, the lead House impeachment manager, Mr. Raskin, showed a graphic visual record of the attack, including rioters' explicit language and rally cries, as well as clips of Mr. Trump's comments during the day — like his speech to supporters before some of them stormed the Capitol and a Twitter post, hours after the attacks, in which he wrote, "Remember this day forever."

The scenes of chaos in the video showed a mob of protesters violently pushing past security barricades and lines of police officers. Footage from inside the building included an officer screaming as he was being crushed by a door as well as the gunshot fired by another officer, which killed one of the rioters, Ashli Babbitt.

For many of the senators on

Tuesday, the footage delivered different vantage points than what they experienced firsthand, as they were rushed out of the very same Senate chamber in shock and fear.

"You ask what a high crime and misdemeanor is under our Constitution," Mr. Raskin told the senators at the conclusion of the video. "That's a high crime and misdemeanor. If that's not an impeachable offense, then there's no such thing."

One of Mr. Trump's defense lawyers, David I. Schoen, accused the House managers of hiring a "movie company" to string together the most disturbing footage from that day. Mr. Schoen also offered a video account featuring a collection of calls by Democrats for Mr. Trump's impeachment over the past four years, a false equivalence as none of those comments led to violence.

**The expected outcome of this trial is the same as Mr. Trump's first.**

Even though it is a new Senate — with Democrats in the majority — and the nature of what Mr. Trump is accused of is different than the allegations he faced in his first impeachment trial, there is little question that Mr. Trump will ultimately be acquitted, the same as he was a year ago.

The Democrats would need 17 Republicans to break with the former president and vote with them to have the two-thirds necessary to convict Mr. Trump. If the six Republican senators who voted with

Democrats on Tuesday on the Senate's right to hold the trial also vote to convict Mr. Trump, Democrats would still need 11 more Republican defectors to secure a conviction.

For Democrats, a guilty verdict would be a formal, permanent renunciation of Mr. Trump's behavior. If Mr. Trump were to be convicted, the Senate could hold a vote on whether to bar him from running for office again — something Democrats have argued is in the country's best interest.

An acquittal would give Republicans a stay of condemnation of the most popular member of their party. But it would only delay the inevitable reckoning their party faces between the more moderate members and the far-right wing that not only defends Mr. Trump but also seeks to punish fellow Republicans for betraying him.

For Democrats, an acquittal could still be a political victory of sorts because the trial was an opportunity to publicly condemn Mr. Trump's actions in his last days as president and delivered a formal record of Republican senators refusing to punish him.

Already, Senator Mike Lee, Republican of Utah, has faced criticism for suggesting that Mr. Trump be given a pass for the events of Jan. 6.

"Look, everyone makes mistakes, everyone is entitled to a mulligan once in a while," Mr. Lee said on Fox News after the House managers' arguments, using a golf term for a do-over.

**Senator Patrick Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, has three roles in these proceedings.**

As the longest serving Democrat in the Senate, Mr. Leahy, 80, is the presiding officer in the Senate's trial of Mr. Trump.

Last year, Chief Justice John G. Roberts Jr. served in this role, an appointment stated in the Constitution. This time, however, Chief Justice Roberts was not interested in the job. And because the Constitution does not stipulate who should oversee the trial of a former president, it fell to Mr. Leahy, giving him the authority to rule on key questions like what evidence is admissible.

On Jan. 6, Mr. Leahy was among lawmakers who had to rush away from the violent mob, making him one of hundreds of witnesses who were in the Capitol that day. And as one of 100 senators, he will also vote on whether to convict Mr. Trump of inciting violence against the United States.

Mr. Leahy's three hats were among several reminders that these proceedings in the Senate, while called a trial, are not analogous to those held in courtrooms across the country.

Mr. Trump's defense team argued unsuccessfully that Mr. Leahy's conflict of interest is one reason the trial is unconstitutional.

**The first lawyer to speak for Mr. Trump left senators a bit confused about his team's strategy.**

Bruce L. Castor Jr., the lawyer who began the Trump defense team's arguments on Tuesday, took senators down a winding path of generalizations about the Senate, Mr. Trump's right to free speech and the difference between murder and manslaughter in the criminal justice system.

"I have no idea what he's doing," Alan M. Dershowitz, who served on Mr. Trump's defense team during his first impeachment trial last year, said on the conservative television station Newsmax. "Maybe he'll bring it home, but right now, it does not appear to me to be effective advocacy."

As Mr. Castor spoke, other senators appeared restless and started talking among themselves.

"The president's lawyer just rambled on and on," Senator John Cornyn, Republican of Texas, told reporters after the proceedings ended. "I've seen a lot of lawyers and a lot of arguments, and that was not one of the finest I've seen."

Mr. Schoen, another of Mr. Trump's lawyers, appeared to regain the attention in the room as he argued that the Constitution did not allow for the impeachment of a former president.

"This trial will tear this country apart, perhaps like we've only seen once before in our history," Mr. Schoen said, an apparent reference to the Civil War. "As a matter of policy," he added, "it is wrong, as wrong can be for all of us as a nation."

# Echoing Trump, Playing Offense and Fighting Words: Day 4 Takeaways

By EILEEN SULLIVAN

Former President Donald J. Trump's lawyers opened and closed their impeachment defense in a span of three hours on Friday, drawing praise from Republicans. Senators then submitted questions to each side. They are expected to vote to convict or acquit Mr. Trump on Saturday.

Here are takeaways from the fourth day of Mr. Trump's trial.

**The Trump defense sounded a lot like Trump himself.**

Republican senators praised Mr. Trump's three-hour defense, during which, his lawyers accused House impeachment managers of taking the former president's words and actions out of context, complained about what they saw as the news media's unfair coverage of their client and presented many of Mr. Trump's own talking points and narratives.

It was almost as though Mr. Trump was delivering his defense himself. And lawmakers praised it

as a huge improvement over the rambling and disorganized argument delivered on Tuesday by one of his lawyers, Bruce L. Castor Jr., a performance that was widely panned and infuriated Mr. Trump.

The defense lawyers said the House managers manipulated their client's words and pointed to Mr. Trump's call to his supporters in his Jan. 6 speech to "peacefully and patriotically make your voices heard."

Mr. Castor said, "The House managers took from that: 'Go down to the Capitol and riot.'"

But that is not what Mr. Trump was asking his supporters to do, Mr. Castor said: "He wanted them to support primary challenges."

The former president stood for law and order, Michael T. van der Veen, one of Mr. Trump's lawyers, said, picking up a phrase the president has used repeatedly.

"Mr. Trump did the opposite of advocating for lawless action, the opposite," Mr. van der Veen said.

"He expressly advocated for peaceful action at the Save America rally."

Senator Ron Johnson of Wisconsin raved about the defense.

"The president's lawyers blew the House managers' case out of the water — they just legally eviscerated their case," he told reporters. Mr. Johnson was among the Republican lawmakers who had planned on Jan. 6 to challenge the Electoral College tally of Mr. Biden's victory. But his plans changed after the attack.

"We've seen a much stronger presentation from the defense," Senator Lisa Murkowski, Republican of Alaska, told reporters. Ms. Murkowski voted with Democrats to find the Senate trial of a former president constitutional, and Democrats have hoped they could count on her to vote to convict Mr. Trump.

**Trump's defense went on offense and brought its own videos.**

The former president's lawyers began their defense by attacking

the House impeachment managers' case, taking aim at many of the compelling video presentations the Democrats made throughout the week.

The lawyers produced split screens for senators, juxtaposing footage that House managers showed during the first three days of the trial with what the defense argued really happened. Many were labeled "MANAGERS" and "REALITY."

"Like every other politically motivated witch hunt the left has engaged in over the last four years, this impeachment is completely divorced from the facts, the evidence and the interests of the American people," Mr. van der Veen said.

The House managers used video footage to tell the story of Jan. 6 in Mr. Trump's and the rioters' own words. They showed scenes of what was happening outside the Senate chamber when the senators — in the same space where the trial has been held — were rushing to safety and played re-

cordings of distress calls from officers who were vastly outnumbered by the violent mob.

**Democrats and Republicans alike use the word 'fight' figuratively.**

Mr. Trump's defense team delivered a rapid-fire video montage of Democrats saying the word "fight" in their political speeches, challenging a key House argument that Mr. Trump incited the attack on Jan. 6 by telling his supporters to "fight" in a speech just before urging them to march to the Capitol.

Earlier in the week, House managers played video of that speech, including Mr. Trump saying: "We fight like hell. And if you don't fight like hell, you're not going to have a country anymore."

Mr. Trump's lawyers maintain that this figurative language is common among politicians, as evidenced by the video montage, which they asserted included all the House managers as well as the Democratic senators using phrases such as: "You don't get

what you don't fight for." "Get in this fight." "We will fight when we must fight." "We are in this fight for our lives."

The final clip on one of the fight reels was of Kamala Harris, a senator at the time, on "The Ellen DeGeneres Show" in April 2018.

Ms. DeGeneres asked Ms. Harris: "If you had to be stuck in an elevator with either President Trump, Mike Pence or Jeff Sessions, who would it be?"

Ms. Harris responded, "Does one of us have to come out alive?" drawing laughter from her host and the audience.

Mr. van der Veen let out a deep sigh as the video ended.

One Democratic lawmaker took issue with the defense team's montage.

"Yes, all of us at some times have used the word 'fight,'" Senator Chris Coons of Delaware told reporters during a brief break. But, he said, Democrats did not tell people to fight right before their supporters launched an attack.

# Trump impeachment trial of critical importance to our democracy

By Jackie Speier

Justice isn't only about conviction — it's about holding those responsible to account, doing the right thing when everyone is looking, and bringing the United States back to reality. On the eve of the impeachment trial, 144 constitutional scholars — including the co-founder and other members of the conservative Federalist Society legal group — have resoundingly rejected the ex-president's defense claims that he can't be convicted after he has left office and that his remarks that incited the Jan. 6 insurrection are protected speech under the First Amendment.

Case precedence provides several examples of impeachment after an individual has left office. In 1797, 10 years after the Constitution was written, the Senate conducted an impeachment trial after Sen. William Blount no longer held office. In 1876, the majority in the Senate voted that they had the jurisdictional authority to try Secretary of War William Belknap, a former Grant administration official, for impeachment after he left office amid a major scandal. To suggest that our Founding Fathers somehow thought it was OK for a president to commit illegal, contemptible high crimes and misdemeanors in the final



weeks of holding office is laughable. And those claiming that Trump was out of office are misstating the facts: He was impeached Jan. 13.

As Dean Erwin Chemerinsky

wrote in his opinion piece in the San Francisco Chronicle, the Supreme Court held in 1919 that speech could be punished as incitement if it posed a "clear and present danger" of harm. SCOTUS ruled again in 1969 that speech could be punished if it was likely to cause imminent illegal activity and if the speech was directed at causing imminent illegal activity.

If a president telling an enraged, armed mob that "you'll never take back our country with weakness" and "if you don't fight like hell you're not going to have a country anymore" isn't a clear and present danger, nothing is. If promising for two months beforehand in public remarks and tweets that the march to "Save America" will be "wild" wasn't likely to cause imminent illegal activity or directed at causing imminent illegal activity, nothing is. If remaining silent as your followers use metal pipes, poles, fire extinguishers and more to storm the Capitol, murdering

a U.S. Capitol Police officer and injuring 140 other officers, isn't sending a clear signal that you are part of the coup, nothing is. If tweeting afterward, "These are the things and events that happen when a sacred landslide election victory is so unceremoniously & viciously ripped away from great patriots who have been badly & unfairly treated for so long. Go home with love & in peace. Remember this day forever!" isn't claiming victory for that attempted coup, nothing is.

The political divide that has eroded the very foundation of our government won't magically disappear if we just move on — that would encourage more attacks. Congress must do its duty to uphold the Constitution and seek truth and justice. We must do our jobs now to protect against future assaults on our democracy.

*Jackie Speier, D-San Mateo, represents District 14 in the U.S. House of Representatives.*

# California senators question Trump defense

By Dustin Gardiner

Former President Donald Trump's defense team insisted Friday that he had no role in inciting the mob that attacked the U.S. Capitol, but California's senators weren't having it.

Democratic Sens. Dianne Feinstein and Alex Padilla, who support convicting Trump of inciting the insurrection, submitted questions during his impeachment trial that were less about specific matters of fact or law and more designed to undercut the basic premise of the former president's defense.

Senators, who sat silently for the first 17 hours of the trial this week, were allowed to submit questions after Trump's team rested its case after less than three hours.

Feinstein submitted the first question along with Senate Majority Leader Chuck Schumer of New York. Their question portrayed Trump's basic defense argument, that the insurrection materialized without his assistance, as a logical fallacy.

"Isn't it the case that the violent attack and siege on the Capitol on Jan. 6 would not have happened if not for the conduct of President Trump?" Feinstein and Schumer asked the House prosecutors.

The question gave Rep. Joaquin Castro, a Texas Democrat and one of the House impeachment managers, a chance to reiterate the steps that Trump took to draw supporters to the Capitol.

Castro said Trump sent a save-the-date message to supporters 18 days before the attack, urging them to come to Washington to help "stop the steal" as Congress certified



Chip Somodevilla / Getty Images

Democratic Sen. Dianne Feinstein (center) walks to the Senate chamber on the second day of the impeachment trial.

election results giving Joe Biden the presidency.

Castro also quoted tweets in which Trump predicted it would be a "wild" and "historic" day. The Democrat said Trump tweeted similar messages to his supporters 34 times over the course of the day before the attack.

"To answer your question very directly, Donald Trump summoned the mob," Castro said. "He assembled the mob

and he lit the flame. Everything that followed was because of his doing."

Padilla, who was sworn in after the attack to the Senate post vacated by Vice President Kamala Harris, built on that premise with his question, suggesting that Trump's false claims of election fraud had fueled extremist groups.

"How did this plot to unconstitutionally keep President Trump in power lead to the

radicalization of so many of President Trump's followers and the resulting attack on the Capitol?" Padilla asked.

Castro, who again responded for Democrats, said the attack was not the result of a "one-off comment" during Trump's rally outside the White House shortly before the attack. Rather, Castro said, the attack was the culmination of Trump repeatedly claiming, even months before the election, that the only

way he could lose was if the election were rigged.

"He directed all of that rage he had incited to Jan. 6," Castro said. "You tell somebody that an election victory is being stolen from them, that's a combustible situation."

# McCarthy call to Trump nearly derailed trial

By Dustin Gardiner

House GOP leader Kevin McCarthy was nowhere near the Senate on the final day of Donald Trump's impeachment trial, but a phone call he made to the former president the day of the Capitol insurrection nearly derailed the proceeding.

As pro-Trump rioters stormed the building Jan. 6, the Bakersfield Republican pleaded with Trump to call off his supporters, according to a Republican House member from Washington state.

"Well, Kevin, I guess these people are more upset about the election than you are," Trump said, according to Rep. Jaime Herrera Beutler, who said McCarthy had briefed her on the call.

That exchange, which Herrera Beutler originally told to a local paper shortly after the insurrection and was reported again late Friday by CNN, triggered a last-minute fight in Trump's impeachment trial.

In a dizzying sequence of events Saturday, House prosecutors first won the right in the Senate to subpoena witnesses including Herrera Beutler, which could have added weeks to the trial, then acquiesced as Senate Democrats and Republicans

cut a deal to enter Herrera Beutler's remarks in the trial record instead.

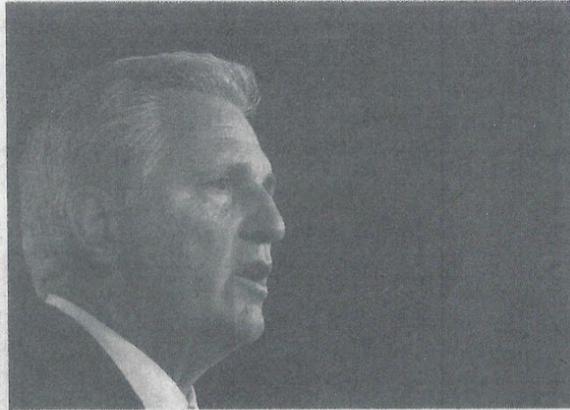
Hours later, the Senate voted 57-43 that Trump had incited the insurrection, 10 votes short of the two-thirds needed for conviction. Both of California's senators, Democrats Dianne Feinstein and Alex Padilla, joined with all their party colleagues and seven Republicans in voting to convict.

Feinstein was among Democrats who said McCarthy's phone call showed that Trump was not only aware of the violence as it unfolded at the Capitol, but that he had refused to intervene to protect Congress. Feinstein said it was proof the former president had sought and "guided" the insurrection, which resulted in five deaths.

"Despite direct pleas from members of Congress and the former president's closest Republican confidants, Trump refused for hours to call off the mob or urge calm," Feinstein said in a statement after the trial.

Padilla said the case against Trump was "abundantly clear" and criticized GOP senators for choosing "their loyalty to Donald Trump" in acquitting him.

The Democrats' decision not to go forward with wit-



Susan Walsh / Associated Press

**House Minority Leader Kevin McCarthy, in a Jan. 6 phone call, reportedly pleaded with former President Donald Trump to call off his supporters as rioters stormed the Capitol.**

nesses prompted fury among many progressives. House impeachment managers, who included Dublin Rep. Eric Swalwell, explained after the trial that entering Herrera Beutler's statement in the record achieved their purpose and that no amount of witness testimony was likely to sway enough Republicans to convict.

Spokespeople for Feinstein and Padilla did not respond to queries about whether the senators supported the ultimate decision not to call witnesses.

Herrera Beutler's statement about the call into the trial record, they did not agree about its "truthfulness."

He also suggested that McCarthy disputed reports of the call, although the GOP leader has not commented publicly. His office did not respond to repeated requests from The Chronicle for comment.

Herrera Beutler, who voted to impeach Trump in January, said McCarthy had shared details of the call with her, including that Trump had initially repeated the falsehood that antifa activists were the ones attacking the Capitol.

"McCarthy refuted that and told Trump that these were Trump supporters," she said.

When Trump told McCarthy that they must be "more upset about the election than you are," the House GOP leader reportedly replied, "Who the f— do you think you are talking to?"

A senior Democratic House aide, speaking on condition of anonymity to be free to describe the events, said that during a break after the vote to hear witnesses, Delaware Democratic Sen. Chris Coons told House managers that the move could lose votes for conviction among Republicans and even some Democrats. "The jury is ready to vote," Coons said, according to the aide.

Michael van der Veen, Trump's attorney, said that although the former president's lawyers agreed to let

# Trump's defense is fiery, but short

## His lawyers say ex-president did not incite melee

By Peter Baker and Nicholas Fandos

Former President Donald Trump's legal team mounted a combative defense Friday focused more on assailing Democrats for "hypocrisy" and "hatred" than justifying Trump's own months-long effort to overturn a democratic election that culminated in last month's deadly assault on the Capitol.

After days of powerful video footage showing a mob of Trump supporters beating police officers, chasing lawmakers and threatening to kill Vice President Mike Pence and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, Trump's lawyers denied that he had incited what they called a "small group" that turned violent. Instead, they tried to turn the tables by calling out Democrats for their own language, which they deemed just as incendiary as Trump's.

In so doing, Trump's lawyers went after not just the House Democrats serving as managers, or prosecutors, in the Senate impeachment trial, but half of the jurors sitting in front of them in the chamber. A rat-a-tat montage of video clips played by the Trump team showed nearly every Democratic senator as well as President Biden and Vice President Kamala Harris using the word "fight" or the phrase "fight like hell" just as Trump did at a rally of supporters on Jan. 6 just before the siege of

the Capitol.

"Suddenly, the word 'fight' is off limits?" said Michael van der Veen, one of the lawyers hurriedly hired in recent days to defend Trump. "Spare us the hypocrisy and false indignation. It's a term that's used over and over and over again by politicians on both sides of the aisle. And, of course, the Democrat House managers know that the word 'fight' has been used figuratively in political speech forever."

To emphasize the point, the Trump team played clips four or five times in less than three hours as some of the Democratic senators shook their heads and at least one of their Republican colleagues laughed appreciatively. The lawyers argued that the trial was "shameful" and "a deliberate attempt by the Democrat Party to smear, censor and cancel" an opponent and then rested their case without using even a quarter of the 16 hours allotted for the former president's defense.

In the process, they tried to effectively narrow the prosecution's "incitement of insurrection" case as if it centered only on their client's use of that one phrase in that one speech instead of the relentless campaign that Trump waged since last summer to discredit an election he would eventually lose and galvanize his supporters to help him cling to power.

"They really didn't address the facts of the case at all," said Rep. Jamie Raskin, D-Md., the lead impeachment manager. "There were a couple propaganda reels about Democratic politicians that would be ex-



President Trump calls for everyone to be "peaceful" in a Jan. 6 tweet during the U.S. Capitol riot in Washington, D.C.

cluded in any court in the land. They talk about the rules of evidence—all of that was totally irrelevant to the case before us."

After the Trump team's abbreviated defense, the senators posed their own questions, generally using their queries to score political points and prompting the former president's prosecutors and defenders to respond to arguments by the other camp.

The questions, a total of 28 submitted in writing and read by a clerk, suggested that most Republicans remained likely to vote to acquit Trump when the Senate reconvenes for final arguments at 10 a.m. Saturday, blocking the two-thirds supermajority required by the Constitution for conviction.

Some of the few Republicans thought to be open to conviction, including Sens. Mitt Romney of Utah, Susan Collins of Maine and Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, peppered the lawyers with questions about what Trump knew and when he knew it during the attack. The managers have argued that it was not just the president's words and actions in advance of the attack that betrayed his oath, but his failure to act more assertively to stop his supporters after it

started.

Responding to the senators, the defense lawyers pointed to mildly worded messages and a video that Trump posted on Twitter after the building was stormed calling on his supporters not to use violence while still endorsing their cause and telling them that he loved them. The managers repeated that Trump never made a strong, explicit call on the rioters to halt the attack, nor did he send help.

Romney and Sen. Bill Cassidy, R-La., zeroed in on Trump's failure to exhibit any concern over the safety of his own vice president, who was targeted for death by the former president's supporters because he refused to try to block finalization of the election. Even after Pence was evacuated from the Senate chamber that day, Trump attacked him on Twitter, saying that "Mike Pence didn't have the courage to do what should have been done."

Van der Veen told the senators that "at no point was the president informed that the vice president was in any danger." But in fact, Sen. Tommy Tuberville, R-Ala., told reporters this week that he spoke by telephone with Trump during the attack and advised him

that Pence had been rushed out of the chamber to protect him from the mob. And officials have said that Trump never called Pence to check on his safety and did not speak with him for days.

Senate Democrats dismissed the defense's efforts to equate Trump's actions with Democratic speeches.

"They're trying to draw a dangerous and distorted equivalence," Sen. Richard Blumenthal, D-Conn., said during a break in the trial. "I think it is plainly a distraction from Donald Trump inviting the mob to Washington."

But for Republicans looking for reasons to acquit Trump, the defense was more than enough.

"The president's lawyers blew the House managers' case out of the water," said Sen. Ron Johnson, R-Wis.

The managers need 17 Republicans to join all 50 Democrats to reach the two-thirds required for conviction. While Trump can no longer be removed from office because his term has ended, he could be barred from ever seeking public office again.

The defense argued that Democrats were pursuing Trump out of personal and partisan animosity, using the word "hatred" 15 times during their formal presentation, and they cast the trial as an effort to suppress a political opponent and his supporters.

"It is about canceling 75 million Trump voters and criminalizing political viewpoints," defense lawyer Bruce Castor said. "That's what this trial is really about. It is the only existential issue before us. It asks for constitutional cancel culture to take over in the United States Senate."

Peter Baker and Nicholas Fandos are New York Times writers.

FACT CHECK

# Defense Repeated Inaccurate Claims During Proceedings

By LINDA QIU

As they mounted their defense of the former president on Friday, Donald J. Trump's lawyers made a number of inaccurate or misleading claims about the Jan. 6 riot at the Capitol, Mr. Trump's remarks, the impeachment process and 2020 election. Many claims were echoes of right-wing talking points popularized on social media or ones that were spread by Mr. Trump himself.

**Mr. Trump's lawyers were misleading about what happened on Jan. 6.**

WHAT WAS SAID

"Instead of expressing a desire that the joint session be prevented from conducting its business, the entire premise of his remarks was that the democratic process would and should play out according to the letter of the law." — Michael van der Veen, lawyer for Mr. Trump

**False.** In his speech on Jan. 6 and before, Mr. Trump repeatedly urged former Vice President Mike Pence to reject the certification of the Electoral College votes, saying Mr. Pence should "send it back to the States to recertify."

WHAT WAS SAID

"Far from promoting insurrection of the United States, the president's remarks explicitly encouraged those in attendance to exercise their rights peacefully and patriotically." — Mr. van der Veen

**This is exaggerated.** Mr. Trump used the phrase "peacefully and patriotically" once in his speech, compared with 20 uses of the word "fight."

WHAT WAS SAID

"As everyone knows, the president had spoken at hundreds of large rallies across the country over the past five years. There had never been any moblike or riotous behaviors." — Mr. van der Veen

**This is misleading.** While no other Trump rally has led to a siege of the Capitol, there have been episodes of violence, sometimes encouraged by the president. Less than two months before the riot on Jan. 6, Mr. Trump waved to supporters who had gathered in Washington to protest his election loss and who later violently clashed with counterprotesters. Previously, other supporters had attacked counterprotesters, and in one case a BBC cameraman, at several Trump rallies.

WHAT WAS SAID

"Given the timeline of events, the criminals at the Capitol weren't there at the Ellipse to even hear the president's words. They were more than a mile away engaged in their preplanned assault on this very building." — Bruce L. Castor Jr., another lawyer for Mr. Trump

**This is misleading.** It is true that the Capitol was first breached before Mr. Trump had concluded his remarks, but this does not rule out the possibility that some rioters were inspired by his speech. In fact, several have said that they were.

For example, Robert L. Bauer, who had attended Mr. Trump's rally on Jan. 6 and entered the Capitol, told law enforcement that when Mr. Trump told the crowd to march to the Capitol (about 16 minutes into his speech), many heeded those words.

Mr. Castor's reasoning that Mr. Trump could not have incited the crowd to riot because the siege was preplanned also ignores an argument that House managers had made this week: Mr. Trump had spent months trying to invalidate the results of the election and encouraging his supporters to act.

WHAT WAS SAID

"At no point was the president informed the vice president was in any danger." — Mr. van der Veen

**This is disputed.** Comments by Senator Tommy Tuberville, Republican of Alabama, suggest otherwise. This week, Mr. Tuberville recounted that he and Mr. Trump had spoken just as the Capitol was breached before the phone call was cut short.

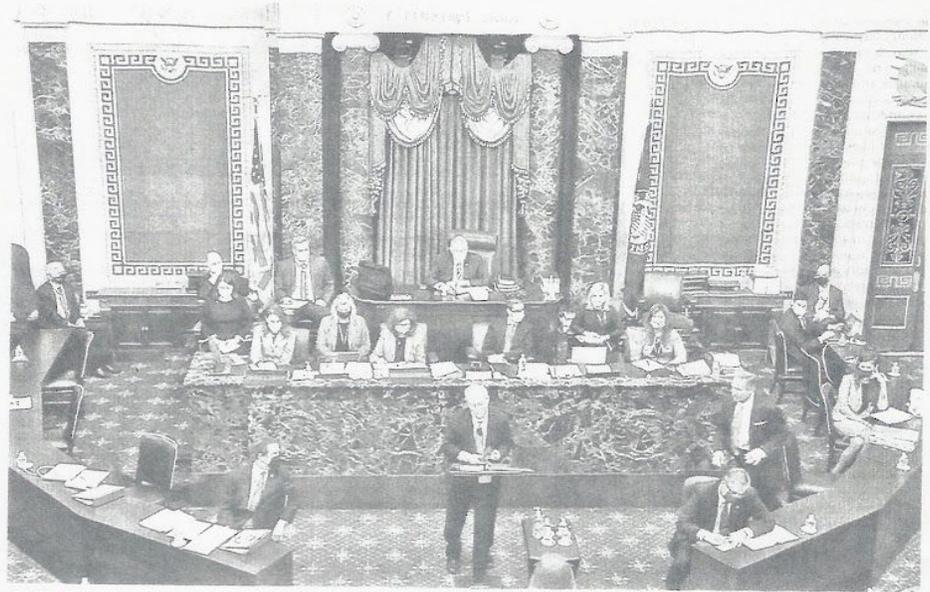
"I said 'Mr. President, they just took the vice president out, I've got to go,'" Mr. Tuberville said.

**They made inaccurate references to antifa, left-wing protests and the 2016 election.**

WHAT WAS SAID

"One of the first people arrested was the leader of antifa." — Mr. van der Veen

**This is misleading.** Mr. van der Veen was most likely referring to John E. Sullivan, a Utah man who was charged on Jan. 14 with violent entry and disruption



SENATE TELEVISION, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Many claims were echoes of right-wing talking points popularized on social media or ones that were spread by President Trump.

conduct. Mr. Sullivan, an activist, said he was there to film the siege. He had previously referred to antifa — a loosely affiliated group of antifascist activists that has no leader — on social media, but he has repeatedly denied being a member of the movement.

The F.B.I. has said there is no evidence that supporters of the antifa movement had participated in the Capitol siege.

WHAT WAS SAID

"As many will recall, last summer the White House was faced with violent rioters night after night. They repeatedly attacked Secret Service officers, and at one point pierced a security wall, culminating in the clearing of Lafayette Square." — Mr. van der Veen

**False.** This timeline is wrong. Law enforcement officials began clearing Lafayette Square after 6 p.m. on June 1 to allow Mr. Trump to pose with a Bible in front of a church, not because of a breach. Additional security barriers were installed after those events, according to local news reports and the National Park Service.

WHAT WAS SAID

"The entire Democratic Party and national news media spent the last four years repeating without any evidence that the 2016 election had been hacked." — Mr. van der Veen

**False.** United States intelligence agencies concluded years ago that Russia had tried to interfere in the 2016 election. The Republican-led Senate agreed last year

election to help Mr. Trump.

**They mischaracterized the impeachment process.**

WHAT WAS SAID

"The House waited to deliver the articles to the Senate for almost two weeks, only after Democrats had secured control over the Senate. In fact, contrary to their claim that the only reason they held it was because Senator McConnell wouldn't accept the article, Representative Clyburn made clear they had considered holding the articles for over 100 days to provide President Biden with a clear pathway to implement his agenda." — David I. Schoen, another lawyer for Mr. Trump

**This is misleading.** Democrats had considered delivering the article of impeachment earlier, but Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky precluded the possibility. In a letter on Jan. 8, he informed lawmakers that the Senate was in recess.

Representative James E. Clyburn, Democrat of South Carolina, suggested withholding the articles longer after Mr. McConnell made his timeline known. In an interview with CNN, Mr. Clyburn suggested Mr. McConnell was "doing what he thinks he needs to do to be disruptive of President Biden," but Democrats might respond to that tactical delay with one of their own to "give President-elect Biden the 100 days he needs to get his agenda off and running."

WHAT WAS SAID

"Our Constitution and any basic sense of fairness require that

cant consequences for a person's life, including impeachment, requires due process under the law, which includes fact-finding and the establishment of a legitimate, evidentiary record. Even last year, it required investigation by the House. Here, President Trump and his counsel were given no opportunity to review evidence or question its propriety." — Mr. Schoen

**This is misleading.** The point about lack of "due process" is one that Mr. Trump's lawyers and supporters had argued during his first impeachment and one that law scholars have dismissed.

There are no "enforceable rights" to due process in a House inquiry, and while those rights exist in the Senate trial, they are limited, said Frank O. Bowman III, a law professor at the University of Missouri and an expert on impeachment.

Moreover, a senior aide on the House impeachment team said that the Trump legal team was given the trial material, including all video and audio footage, before the start of the proceedings.

**They repeated Mr. Trump's false claims about voter fraud.**

WHAT WAS SAID

"Based on an analysis of publicly available voter data that the ballot rejection rate in Georgia in 2016 was approximately 6.42 percent, and even though a tremendous amount of new, first-time mail-in ballots were included in the 2020 count, the Georgia rejection rate in 2020 was a mere 0.4 percent, a drop-off from 6.42 percent to 0.4 percent." — Mr.

**This is misleading.** Georgia elections officials have repeatedly debunked this claim, which conflates the overall rejection rate for mail-in ballots in 2016 to the rejection rate specifically for signature mismatch in 2020. (Ballots can also be rejected for arriving late or not having a signature, among other reasons.)

In 2016, Georgia rejected about 6.4 percent of all returned mail-in ballots and 0.24 percent of those ballots because of signature-matching issues. It is unclear what the 0.4 percent refers to, but in both 2018 and 2020, Georgia rejected 0.15 percent of mail-in ballots because of signature-matching issues.

WHAT WAS SAID

"President Trump wanted the signature verification to be done in public. How can a request for signature verifications to be done in public be a basis for a charge for inciting a riot?" — Mr. Castor

**This is misleading.** Contrary to Mr. Trump's belief and Mr. Castor's repetition of it, Georgia does verify signatures. Georgia's Republican secretary of state noted that the state trained elections officials on signature matching and created a portal that checked and confirmed voters' driver's licenses. In a news conference debunking Mr. Trump's claims, Gabriel Sterling, a top election official in Georgia, explained that the secretary of state's office also brought in signature experts to check over 15,000 ballots. They discovered issues with two, and after further examination, concluded that they

# Trump acquitted 2nd time

57

Votes for conviction

43

Votes against conviction

**Vote:** 7 senators break GOP ranks  
— total falls 10 short of conviction

By Nicholas Fandos

WASHINGTON — A Senate still bruised from the most violent attack on the Capitol in two centuries acquitted former President Donald Trump on Saturday in his second impeachment trial, as all but a few Republicans locked arms to reject a case that he incited the Jan. 6 rampage in a last-ditch attempt to cling to power.

Under the watch of National Guard troops still patrolling the historic building, a bipartisan majority voted to find Trump guilty of the House's single charge of incitement of insurrection. They included seven Republicans, more members of a president's party than have ever returned an adverse verdict in an impeachment trial. But with most of Trump's

# Vaccines vs. variants

The coronavirus mutations that have scientists playing whack-a-mole



# New virus variants raise alarm

Even as the U.S. saw a continuing steep drop in Covid-19 cases this week, health officials expressed growing concern about the accelerated spread of new coronavirus variants and their resistance to vaccines' protection. Maryland and South Carolina reported five cases of the South Africa variant, or B.1.351, which has overwhelmed South Africa and spread to at least 32 countries—and appears to be reinfecting people previously sickened with Covid. The B.1.1.7 strain, or U.K. variant—which spreads up to 70 percent more easily than earlier strains and may be 30 percent more lethal—has been detected in at least 30 states. A case of the P.1 strain that has devastated the Brazilian city of Manaus (see International Columns, p. 15) was reported in Minnesota. University of Minnesota epidemiologist Michael Osterholm warned the variants would cause a “category 5” hurricane of new cases in about six weeks. “We are going to see something like we have not seen yet in this country,” Osterholm said.

The warnings came at the same time vaccines have brought hope for an end to the pandemic. Johnson & Johnson unveiled trial data showing its single-dose vaccine is 66 percent effective in preventing illness, and 100 percent effective in preventing deaths and hospitalizations. Novavax released preliminary results showing nearly 90 percent effectiveness in a British trial. But both vaccines showed somewhat reduced effectiveness against the South African variant, as did Pfizer and Moderna's vaccines. “The implications are really worrisome,” said Peter Hotez, the dean of the National School of Tropical Medicine at Baylor College of Medicine.

New U.S. infections continued a drop that cut new cases by nearly 40 percent in recent weeks, as the holiday surge waned and new restrictions on indoor gatherings were put in place. Vaccination rates were up, with the nation averaging over 1.3 million shots daily, with Johnson & Johnson soon to apply for emergency authorization and Pfizer promising to deliver 200 million doses by May instead of July. But with many months to go before widespread vaccination is achieved, public-health officials beseeched the public to triple down on masking, distancing, and other safety measures. “It is a pivotal moment,” said virologist Shane Crotty.



*Filling syringes with vaccines at Fenway Park in Boston*

# Community colleges' highest-paid employee fired

By Nanette Asimov

The San Mateo Community College Board has rescinded its \$1.6 million contract with its chancellor emeritus, Ron Galatolo, saying that he engaged in secret unethical activities during his 20-year tenure as chancellor of the three-college district.

In a letter to Galatolo, who has been on paid

administrative leave since 2019, the board called him its highest-paid employee.

In a statement, the board said it has been cooperating with an investigation by the San Mateo County district attorney's office into Galatolo's activities — a probe begun in late 2018 — and added that new information has come to light that led to its deci-

## **“The board found continued payments to the former chancellor emeritus to be unacceptable.”**

*John Pimentel, San Mateo Community College Board trustee*

sion Saturday to fire him.

According to the board, Galatolo received gifts of “high-end travel, concert tickets and meals” that he never reported in his Form 700 papers, legal public disclosures required by high-ranking public officials must file with their employer to reveal any conflicts of interest.

The board also cited “the apparent use of public funds for retirement incentives” and “undisclosed personal relationships with vendors” to the college district.

Galatolo ran the district of 54,000 students and three colleges — Skyline in San Bruno, Cañada in Redwood City, and the College of San Mateo — for two decades, until the summer of 2019.

At that point, he and the trustees engaged in a series of secretive arrangements.

Galatolo resigned as chancellor without explanation in August 2019. On Aug. 8 that year, he entered into an unusual 30-month contract in which the district named him chancellor emeritus. Although Galatolo's duties were unspecified, the district agreed to pay him the same base salary of \$38,975 a month plus benefits he earned as chancellor. The contract totaling \$1,632,473 — including \$385,273 in benefits — was to expire on March 31, 2022.

Then, within days of signing the contract, the district placed Galatolo on administrative leave, and has continued to pay him ever since. District officials have cited a non-disparagement clause in the contract that prevents them from saying more.

Meanwhile, the county district attorney, Steve Wagstaffe, has pursued

an investigation into allegations of harassment and improper handling of contracts.

Wagstaffe did not respond to a request for comment Monday.

In a letter informing Galatolo of the board's decision Saturday, board President Thomas Nuris noted that the former chancellor remains “the most highly compensated person employed at the district.” He said that as of Feb. 12, the district “will have paid you a total of 18 months of salary and benefits since Aug. 12, 2019. You have provided no services in return.”

Nuris added the district will try to get its money back. That would amount to at least \$701,550 in base pay alone. But Nuris said the district wants a refund of all additional payments from the 2019 agreement, “as well as funds paid to an annuity.” The letter doesn't say how much that was, and the trustees did not respond when asked for the total they are seeking. An earlier contract shows the district paid Galatolo an

annuity of \$100,000 a year, beginning in 2016.

Reached by phone, Galatolo said his lawyer told him not to talk about his situation.

“But there's clearly a story to be told,” he said.

In November, two new trustees were elected to the five-member board, which took a new interest in the Galatolo situation.

“The board did an internal review in January,” newly elected trustee John Pimentel, a green energy entrepreneur, said Monday. In light of that, “the board found continued payments to the former chancellor emeritus to be unacceptable.”

Nuris, the board president, concluded his letter to Galatolo by saying: “We are disappointed and saddened by this turn of events and ... we are proceeding in what we believe is in the best interests of the college district and of the public that we serve.”

GEORGE SHULTZ 1920-2021

## Secretary of state in Cold War, pragmatist steered presidents

By Carolyn Lochhead and Nanette Asimov

George Shultz, who influenced geopolitics around the world as Ronald Reagan's secretary of state, served two other presidents and rose to the high-

est levels of business and academia in a career that touched seven decades, died Saturday at age 100.

His death was announced by the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, where he had long served as a distinguished

fellow. Shultz died at his home on the university campus, Stanford said.

Shultz helped steer U.S. foreign policy during some of the frostiest years of the Cold War in the 1980s, leading up to the

collapse of the Soviet Union. In the 1960s and '70s, he held three Cabinet posts under Richard Nixon — labor secretary, Treasury secretary and director of the Office of Management and Budget — and helped form an alliance of the world's most powerful free-market economies whose leaders still meet annually to work out policy differences.

Between those stints in Washington, Shultz lived in San Francisco and served as head of Bechtel Corp., — a multinational engineering firm that builds dams, bridges, airports and nuclear plants. After leaving government, he joined Stanford University as a professor of international economics. At the time of his death, he had been a fellow of Stanford's Hoover Institution, a conservative think tank, for more than 30 years.

Well into his later years, Shultz remained active in San Francisco's social scene with his wife, city Chief of Protocol Charlotte Shultz, and on occasion its political life as well. In the city's 2018 mayoral election, he talked up London Breed's candidacy in conservative circles.



Diana Walker / Time & Life Pictures / Getty Images 1982

George Shultz led at the highest level when the Cold War was "as cold as it could get."



Barry Thumma / Associated Press 1985

George Shultz (center), who died at his Stanford home at 100, twice threatened to quit as secretary of state over interference in foreign policy by President Ronald Reagan and Vice President George H.W. Bush, shown after arms talks with the Soviet Union.

party coalescing around him, the 57-43 tally fell 10 votes short of the two-thirds majority needed to convict him and to allow the Senate to move to disqualify him from holding future office.

The Republicans breaking ranks to find guilty the man who led their party for four tumultuous years, demanding absolute loyalty, were Sens. Richard Burr of North Carolina, Bill Cassidy of Louisiana, Susan Collins of Maine, Lisa Murkowski of Alaska, Mitt Romney of Utah, Ben Sasse of Nebraska, and Patrick Toomey of Pennsylvania.

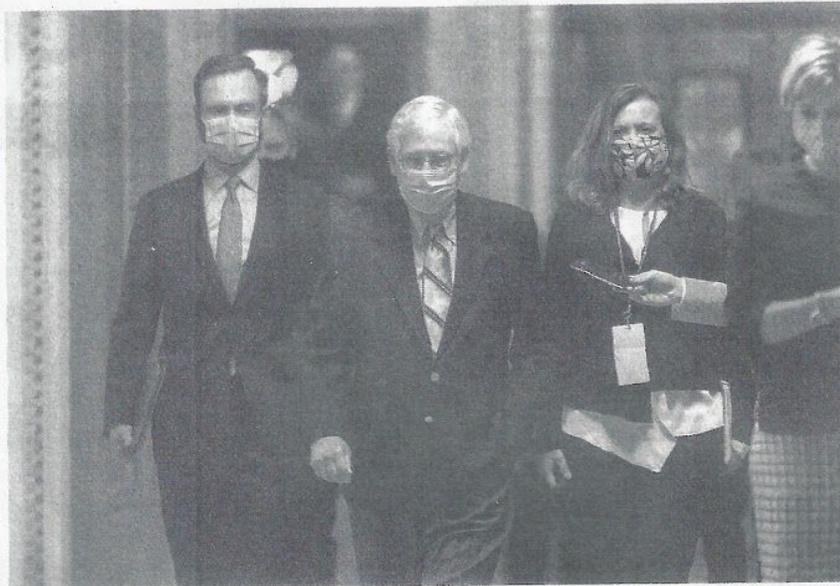
The verdict brought an abrupt end to the fourth residential impeachment trial in U.S. history, and the only one in which the accused had left office before being tried. But it was unlikely to be the final word for Trump, his badly divided party, or the sprawling criminal and congressional investigations into the assault.

It left behind festering wounds in Washington and around the nation after a 39-day stretch unlike any in the nation's history — encompassing a deadly riot at the Capitol, an impeachment of one president, the inauguration of another and a rancorous trial in the Senate.

It took only five days to reach a verdict, partly because Democrats and Republicans were united in their desire to avoid a prolonged proceeding and partly because Trump's allies made clear before it even began that they were not prepared to hold him responsible. Most of the jury of senators had themselves witnessed the events that gave rise to the charge, having fled for their own lives, along with the vice president, as the mob closed in last month while they met to formalize President Biden's victory.

Party leaders and even the president's most loyal supporters in the Senate did not defend his actions — a months-long campaign, seeded with election lies, to overturn his decisive loss to Biden that culminated when Trump told thousands of his supporters to "fight like hell," and they did. Instead, in the face of a meticulous case brought by nine House prosecutors, they found safe harbor in technical arguments that the trial itself was not valid because Trump was no longer in office.

But their overriding political calculation was clear. After party leaders briefly entertained using



J. Scott Applewhite / Associated Press

**Senate Minority Leader Mitch McConnell, R-Ky. (center), voted not guilty in the impeachment trial, but said former President Donald Trump was "practically and morally responsible" for the insurrection.**



Doug Mills / New York Times

**Donald Trump responded to the acquittal by saying the trial was the continuation of a "witch hunt."**



Win McNamee / Getty Images

**Impeachment manager Rep. Jamie Raskin, D-Md., answers questions from the media after the vote.**

the process to purge Trump from their ranks, Republicans doubled down on a bet made five years ago: that it was better not to stoke another open confrontation with a man millions of their voters still singularly embrace.

Sen. Mitch McConnell, R-Ky., the minority leader, embodied the tortured balancing act, denouncing Trump on Saturday minutes after voting to acquit him for a "disgraceful dereliction of duty." In blistering remarks from the Senate floor, McConnell, who had openly considered voting to convict Trump, effectively argued that he was guilty as charged, while arguing that there was nothing the Senate could do about it.

"There is no question — none — that President Trump is practically and morally responsible for provoking the events of the day," McConnell said. "The leader of the free world cannot spend weeks thundering that shadowy forces are stealing our country and then feign surprise when peo-

ple believe him and do reckless things."

But McConnell argued that Trump could not be convicted once he had left office. McConnell said the only way to punish him now was through the criminal justice system. Trump, he said, "didn't get away with anything yet."

Minutes after the verdict, Trump, barred from Twitter, broke an uncharacteristic silence he had maintained during the trial with a defiant statement issued from his post-presidential home in Florida, calling the proceeding "yet another phase of the greatest witch hunt in the history of our country."

He expressed no remorse for his actions and strongly suggested that he planned to continue to be a force in politics for a long time to come.

"In the months ahead I have much to share with you, and I look forward to continuing our incredible journey together to achieve American greatness for all of our people," Trump said.

The not guilty verdict

left him free to run for office again, but it remained unclear whether he could recover after he became the first president to seriously threaten the peaceful transfer of power. Public polling suggests Republicans have pulled their support in droves since the events of last month, but an acquittal is likely to empower Trump with the party's activist base and further stoke the party's gaping divisions.

Democrats condemned the verdict but intended to quickly turn Washington's focus to the new president's ambitious legislative agenda and the coronavirus pandemic passing grim new milestones each day. The outcome promised to leave Biden, who took office pledging to "end this uncivil war," with the monumental task of moving the nation past one of its most violent and turbulent chapters since the 19th century.

But that did not mean party leaders were willing to forgo a potential political advantage. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, D-San Francisco, quickly

Chuck Schumer, D-N.Y., the minority leader, said moments after the vote. "Just look at what has happened. Look at what Republicans have been forced to defend. Look at what Republicans have chosen to forgive."

The vote came hours after the trial briefly dissolved into chaos when House prosecutors made, then dropped, a surprise demand for witnesses who could reveal what the former president was doing as the assault unfolded.

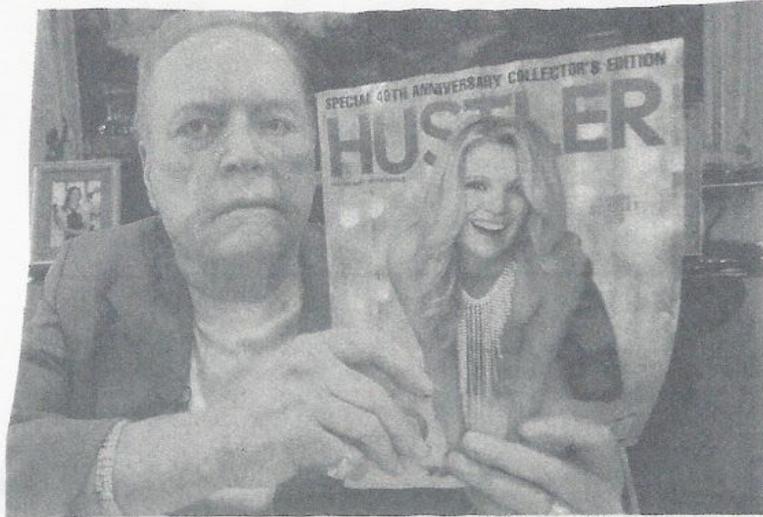
Instead, the two legal teams agreed to admit as evidence a written statement by a Republican congresswoman who has said she was told that the former president sided with the mob as rioters were attacking the Capitol — and to move on.

With the outcome a foregone conclusion, the trial itself became an illuminating and cathartic act for history, clarifying the scope of the violence that occurred, how close the rioters had come to Vice President Mike Pence, the House and Senate, and its chilling consequences.

It could scarcely have been more different than Trump's first trial a year ago. Then, the House tried to make its case around an esoteric plot to pressure Ukraine to smear Biden, and it failed largely on party lines.

But over five days this week, the House managers put forward in harrowing detail an account of a horror that had played out in plain sight. Using graphic video and sophisticated visual aids, they made clearer than ever before how close the armed mob had come to a dangerous confrontation with Pence and the members of the House and the Senate.

Nicholas Fandos is a New York Times writer.



Mark Ralston / AFP via Getty Images 2014

Larry Flynt, publisher of Hustler magazine, ran an empire that also operated casinos, a video production company and scores of websites.

LARRY FLYNT 1942-2021

# Porn mogul fought free-speech battles

By John Rogers

LOS ANGELES — Porn purveyor Larry Flynt, who built Hustler magazine into an adult entertainment juggernaut that included casinos, films, websites and other enterprises as he relentlessly championed First Amendment rights, has died at age 78.

Flynt, who had been in declining health, died Wednesday at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center, his attorney, Paul Cambria, said. He had been paralyzed and nearly killed in a 1986 assassination attempt.

"He suffered decades of health issues and you can imagine it was pretty difficult," said his nephew Jimmy Flynt Jr. He added, "I loved him and may he rest in peace."

From his beginnings as a fledgling Ohio strip club owner to his reign as founder of one of the most outrageously explicit adult-oriented magazines, Flynt constantly challenged the establishment and was intensely disliked by the religious right and feminist groups that said he

demeaned women and put them at risk with pictures of bondage and other controversial acts.

Flynt, who was born in Lakeville, Ky. and grew up poor, maintained throughout his life that he wasn't just a pornographer but also a fierce defender of free-speech rights.

"My position is that you pay a price to live in a free society, and that price is toleration of some things you don't like," he once told the Seattle Times. "You have to tolerate the Larry Flynts of this world."

The Supreme Court agreed with him at least once, when he won a long battle with the Rev. Jerry Falwell, who sued him for libel after a 1983 Hustler ad suggested Falwell had lost his virginity to his mother in an outhouse.

That case and much of the rest of Flynt's life were depicted in the acclaimed 1996 film, "The People vs. Larry Flynt," which brought Oscar nominations for director Milos Forman and for Woody Harrelson, who portrayed Flynt.

Flynt's far-flung com-

pany produced not only Hustler but other niche publications. He also owned a video production company, scores of websites, two casinos and dozens of Hustler boutiques selling adult-oriented products.

Left paralyzed from the waist down and in unrelenting pain by a shooting, Flynt refused to slow down, continuing to build his business for another 44 years. Always a flashy dresser, he used a gold-plated wheelchair with a velvet-lined seat.

"His doctors had said he should have passed away 30 years ago," Jimmy Flynt Jr. said. "He outlived most of the doctors who took care of him," he added.

With an estimated fortune over \$100 million, Flynt spent his later years in the political arena. When California voters recalled Gov. Gray Davis in 2003, Flynt was among 135 candidates to replace him. He campaigned as "a smut peddler who cares" and gathered more than 15,000 votes.

# Mary Wilson, an Original Supreme And a Motown Mainstay, Dies at 76

By DERRICK BRYSON TAYLOR

Mary Wilson, a founding member of the Supremes, the trailblazing vocal group that had a dozen No. 1 singles on the pop charts in the 1960s and was a key to the success of Motown Records, died on Monday at her home in Henderson, Nev. She was 76.

The death was confirmed by her publicist, Jay Schwartz. No cause was given.

Formed in Detroit as the Primettes in 1959, the Supremes, whose other two original members were Diana Ross and Florence Ballard, made their mark with hits like "Baby Love" and "Stop! In the Name of Love" whose smooth blend of R&B and pop helped define the Motown sound.

Berry Gordy, the founder of Motown, said in a statement that the Supremes had opened doors for other Motown acts. "I was always proud of Mary," he said. "She was quite a star in her own right, and over the years continued to work hard to boost the legacy of the Supremes."

She was the only original member still with the Supremes when the group broke up in 1977.

Ms. Wilson was born on March 6, 1944, in Greenville, Miss., to Sam and Johnnie Mae Wilson. She grew up in the Brewster-Douglass Projects in Detroit and began singing as a child. When Milton Jenkins, who in 1959 was the manager of the Primes, a male singing group (two of whose members would later be in the original lineup of the Temptations), decided to form a female version of the act, the original members were Betty McGlow, Ms. Ballard, Ms. Wilson and Ms. Ross.

To get Mr. Gordy's attention, the group, then known as the Primettes, frequented Motown's

Peter Keepnews contributed reporting.

Hitsville USA recording studio after school. They were eventually signed, changed their name to the Supremes and became a trio in 1962.

The Supremes did not fare well early in their career, but they achieved success after they began working with the songwriting and producing team of Brian Holland, Lamont Dozier and Eddie Holland — and after Mr. Gordy made Ms. Ross the lead singer. (Before then, Ms. Wilson and Ms. Ballard had shared most of the lead vocals.)

The trio's breakthrough single was "When the Lovelight Starts Shining Through His Eyes," which peaked at No. 23 on the Billboard pop chart in 1963. Five consecutive No. 1 singles, all with Ms. Ross as the lead singer, followed in rapid succession in 1964 and 1965: "Where Did Our Love Go," "Baby Love," "Come See About Me," "Stop! In the Name of Love" and "Back in My Arms Again."

The Supremes emerged as stars during an era of tension and upheaval in the United States: 1963, the year of their first hit, was also the year of the March on Washington at which the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. famously spoke, and the year President John F. Kennedy was assassinated. If the nation was seemingly divided, the Supremes nonetheless found fans everywhere.

"They were extraordinarily popular with white audiences, Black audiences and everyone else," said Dolores Barclay, an author and adjunct professor at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, who collaborated with Ms. Ross on a memoir, "Secrets of a Sparrow" (1993).

"Appearing in white venues was breaking down racial barriers," Ms. Barclay said. "But it's a different type of disruption. It's nonconfrontational. It's having a platform and saying, 'Yes, we're here, we're great, and we're a part

of American music.'"

The Supremes "transcend adolescence without repudiating it," an article in *The New York Times* said in 1967, adding, "Their audience spans ages and taste barriers."

By that year, the group had undergone another change: Ms. Ballard was replaced by Cindy Birdsong, and the group was renamed Diana Ross and the Supremes. Ms. Ross left the group for a solo career in 1970 and was replaced as lead singer by Jean Terrell, leaving Ms. Wilson as the last remaining original member. The group went on to score several more hits, including "Up the Ladder to the Roof" and "Stoned Love."

The Supremes were inducted into the Rock & Roll Hall of Fame in 1988.

The Supremes broke up in 1977. Ms. Wilson released the album "Mary Wilson" in 1979 (it met with limited success) and had begun working on a second album when she was dropped by Motown in 1980. She did not release another album until "Walk the Line" in 1992, but she maintained a busy career as a singer.

Reviewing a cabaret performance in 2009, Stephen Holden of *The Times* praised her "sizable voice with its rough Tina Turner-like edges" and noted that, despite its emphasis on the Supremes' catalog, her performance "suggested that Ms. Wilson would really like to get away from all that history to be a grander, more grown-up pop diva."

For all the Supremes' success, Ms. Wilson acknowledged in her 1986 autobiography, "Dreamgirl: My Life as a Supreme," that there had been friction in the group during Ms. Ross's tenure. (The book took its name from the 1981 Broadway musical "Dreamgirls," later made into a movie, which was widely regarded as being based on the Supremes' history.)



ROZETTE RAGO FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mary Wilson in 2019. She was the last original member still with the Supremes when the group broke up in 1977. Below, from left: Diana Ross, Ms. Wilson and Cindy Birdsong in an undated photo.



CHARLIE CILLET/REDFERNS, VIA GETTY IMAGES

"Diane always liked to be the center of attraction," Ms. Wilson told *People* magazine in 1986, using Ms. Ross's original first name. "If you happened to be in her way while she was going toward the center, that was your fault."

The strains in their relationship appeared in public again in 2000,

when Ms. Wilson and Ms. Birdsong did not join a Supremes reunion tour, saying they had been offered much less payment than Ms. Ross. For the tour — which did not do well and was canceled midway through its scheduled 29 dates — Ms. Ross was joined by Lynda Laurence and Scherrie

Part of a trio that had a dozen No. 1 hits and broke racial barriers.

Payne, who had joined the Supremes after she left.

"My biggest desire and dream is that Diane and I are together again," Ms. Wilson said on CBS that year. "First of all, it's a friendship thing for me."

Ms. Ross said on Twitter on Tuesday that she had "wonderful" memories of her time with Ms. Wilson and that "the Supremes will live on in our hearts."

Ms. Wilson is survived by her daughter, Turkessa; her sons, Pedro Antonio Jr. and William; her sister, Kathryn; her brother, Roosevelt; 10 grandchildren; and a great-granddaughter. Her marriage to Pedro Ferrer ended in divorce.

She remained in the spotlight in recent years. In 2019 she competed on "Dancing With the Stars" and released the book "Supreme Glamour," a collection of pictures of the Supremes' most dazzling gowns. "Our glamour changed things," she said at the time. "What we wore mattered."

The influence the Supremes had on Black girls and women across America in the 1960s was undeniable. "You never saw anything like it in the 1960s — three women of color who were totally empowered, creative, imaginative," Oprah Winfrey was quoted as saying in "Diana Ross: A Biography" (2007), by J. Randy Taraborrelli.

The Supremes have also influenced countless musical acts, among them Destiny's Child and En Vogue.

"We, the Supremes, can't take all the credit," Ms. Wilson told *The Guardian* in 2019. "The writers and producers at Motown gave us the music and sound that people loved. And then there was the glamour. My whole life is like a dream. I tell you — if I were not a Supreme, I would want to be a Supreme."