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Sixth & I
Liz Cheney in Conversation with Mark Leibovich

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>> Hello, everyone, and welcome to this evening's discussion with Liz Cheney.

(Cheering and applause).

She's here, of course, to talk about her important new book, *Oath and Honor: A Memoir and a Warning*.

I'm Brad Graham, co-owner of Politics and Prose, along with my wife, Lissa Muscatine.

(Applause.)

And whether you're here with us in person or watching virtually from home, and I was told there are several hundred, actually, tuning in this evening... on behalf of P&P and our partner, Sixth & I, thank you so much for participating tonight and for supporting both an independent bookstore and this vital nonprofit institution here in the center of the nation's capital.

For those of you not familiar with the historic building that we're in, it has served for the past 19 years as a center for arts and entertainment, ideas, and Jewish life. Under the leadership of CEO Heather Moran, Sixth & I aims through a mix of experiences to embrace a wide range of participants and bring inspiration and meaning to their lives.

We at P&P love this place because, as you can see, it's a wonderfully spacious and elegant venue for author talks.

A few weeks from today will mark the third anniversary of the January 6th assault on the Capitol. Just six blocks from where we are now, a mob sought to disrupt the certification of the presidential election and prevent the peaceful transfer of power -- a violent act without parallel in American history. Following the attack, Liz Cheney, then a member of Congress representing Wyoming since 2017, was one of just 10 House Republicans who voted to impeach Donald Trump for inciting the insurrection, and she was one of only two Republicans subsequently to serve on the Special House Committee that investigated the January attack.

Putting democracy and country before party, she paid a political price. First, she was removed as chair of the House Republican Congress, the third highest position in the House Republican leadership. Then the Republican National Committee censured her. And later, Wyoming Republicans refused to reelect her.

Even more stunning than Liz Cheney's strength and courage in speaking the truth about Trump in the face of such political consequences is how rare such attributes have been among her former Republican colleagues on the Hill. In *Oath and Honor*, she shares her own account of the insurrection and its aftermath and reflects on this perilous period in our nation's history, and the risks that still imperil American democracy.

Moderating this evening's conversation will be veteran journalist and renowned chronicler of Washington's power elite, Mark Leibovich. Mark is a staff writer at the Atlantic magazine and has written several books of his own, including bestsellers, *This*

Town, a decade ago, and last year's Thank You For Your Servitude. Plus he's a political analyst for NBC and MSNBC.

Later we'd love to hear your questions and you'll be invited to line up at the microphones on either side of the aisle.

Now please welcome Liz Cheney and Mark Leibovich.

(Applause.)

(Cheering and applause).

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: You're standing! Liz, wow! You could probably be elected, you know, to Congress from the District of Columbia if they had representation!

(Cheering and applause).

Don't answer that. Don't say anything --

(Laughter.)

Hi, everyone. Thanks for being here. I'm Mark Leibovich, as Brad said. It's an honor to be here talking to Liz Cheney. I have some news to break. As of about an hour or so ago, she was listed at number 1, she debuted at number 1 on the New York Times bestseller list.

(Applause.)

Which is a beautiful thing. She's been topping the charts at Amazon the last 10 days or so, or for a while. But we don't mention Amazon because we support independent bookstores!

(Laughter.)

And everyone, if you haven't bought the book yet, buy it from Politics and Prose.

(Cheering).

And screw Amazon.

(Laughter.)

But if you need to, buy the book from Amazon too.

Just, before we get started, I was walking over here, and I told my mother I was coming to Sixth & I synagogue to talk to Liz Cheney. And my mother said "Liz Cheney's Jewish?"

(Laughter.)

"I didn't think I could love her any more."

(Laughter.)

She's part of your base. She's a Jewish woman in Massachusetts.

(Laughter.)

I can't say enough good about the book. I'm a big evangelist for the book. I'm going to try to get into some things she hasn't got into in other interviews yet. But first let me ask you, Liz, you've been out of Congress for a while, you've obviously been writing this book for a while. You've written books before. What's this experience been like over the last 2 weeks?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Over the last 2 weeks?

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Well, first of all, having the book out in the world and seeing the response and seeing how it has been digested and received.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well, first of all, thank you for being here. Thank you for doing this. Thank you to Politics and Prose and to Sixth & I. It's wonderful to be back. Last time I was here was for the Henry Winkler event a few weeks ago. It was wonderful. I also want to mention a few people in the audience. My husband Phil is here.

(Applause.)

If you have read the book, you will know what a hugely important role Phil played as someone with decades of experience as a litigator and having served on investigative committees and at some of the highest levels of the Justice Department and federal agencies, and Phil's role and all that we were able to do on the Select Committee was just absolutely -- couldn't have happened without him.

(Applause.)

So, very proud that he's here.

And my daughter, Elizabeth, is also here.

(Applause.)

Elizabeth just finished her last exam of the year. She's a second-year law student. So, very pleased she's celebrating this way.

(Applause.)

And I also want to recognize there are a number of members of my Congressional staff who are here. These are men and women who were with me on January 6th and before, and who stayed with me after. And you can imagine what it was like to be a Liz Cheney staffer among the Republicans on Capitol Hill throughout the course of everything that happened. So maybe I could just ask them to stand up. I know -- I think they're all sitting --

(Applause.)

-- back here. So...

(Cheering and whistling).

And now I forgot the question.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I just want to say that these are unusually raucous applause for a synagogue.

(Laughter.)

I'm really impressed so far.

>> LIZ CHENEY: I remember!

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I guess by way of current events, I want to touch a few bases on just the last few days, starting with today, your former colleagues look like they have launched a, what, impeachment inquiry of President Biden. I guess I would ask you, you have any idea why???

(Laughter.)

Or what do you think of this?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Some of them don't seem to have any idea why.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah, I would say...

>> LIZ CHENEY: And I say that -- it's, you know, with some seriousness.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah.

>> LIZ CHENEY: I think if you look just a couple weeks ago, Speaker Johnson said there simply wasn't the evidence there to go forward. So I'm wondering exactly what's changed in the last few weeks. And I do think they owe the American people transparency.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: And if they're going to go forward on an impeachment inquiry, which I guess they voted to do so, they ought to put the evidence out there.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: A couple of days ago, Jack Smith asked the Supreme Court to basically expedite the idea that -- basically litigate the idea right off the bat that Donald Trump was not liable for anything, and it sounds like they're going to take it. What did you think of that development, and what do you think the chances are that that will be decided?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Um, I think, you know, the notion that a former president enjoys some sort of blanket immunity from criminal prosecution for crimes committed while president is even a close call. I think the prosecution made the right call, and it seems like Donald Trump's attempts to delay this are going to be met with a very clear approach from the special counsel. And we'll see what the Supreme Court does. They say that Trump has got to file his brief by next week.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: By next week, right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: But I don't think it's a close call.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Do you think -- how do you think in general -- I mean, I guess, take Jack Smith especially, because a lot of prosecutors are involved in a lot of jurisdictions obviously. How do you think these have been litigated in the legal realm? Because you left off as an investigator when you left Congress, or when the January 6th Commission disbanded. How have you seen that proceeding from the outside, as a lawyer, as someone who knows the facts of this case better than almost anyone?

>> LIZ CHENEY: It's a really -- it's interesting. Because when we were working on the Select Committee, you know, going into it, it was clear that we had to have an aggressive litigation strategy.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: And one of the things that we saw was sort of a reflexive -- and I think both parties do this, but there was a reflexive approach sometimes by Democratic staffers to make assumptions about how judges would rule if they had been appointed by Republican presidents.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: And Republicans do the same thing. So we were getting advice that you shouldn't expect that you're going to be able to get these issues resolved quickly. But we did, in historic fashion. And on a very expedited timetable.

I also think that before we really began to be engaged in our investigation, it was clear the Justice Department was moving very quickly on the prosecutions of people who had invaded the Capitol, of people you might think of as the foot soldiers. But they had not, as far as we could tell, begun to look, you know, all the way up to the top. And I do think our investigation played a really important role in uncovering evidence and in many of us on the committee, all of us continuing to make the point that there has to be accountability all the way up to the top, if we want to make sure nothing like that ever happens again.

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Speaking of which -- there was -- (breaking for applause).

I would say hold your applause until the end, but just applaud whenever you want!

(Laughter.)

There was a decision today, or there was some guidance today from the Supreme Court that was very arcane, because I haven't read it closely, but some people close to Trump were taking it as a quasi, if not legal victory, at least an indication that, you know, Donald Trump might benefit. I'm wondering if you could tell us a little more about how you responded to this.

>> LIZ CHENEY: So, the Court has agreed to grant cert, to hear the case of one of the January 6th rioters who was convicted of a number of things, but one of which was a violation of Section 1512(c)(2), which is an obstruction of an official proceeding. And the Court agreed to, you know, to hear his appeal, essentially, and this is also one of the statutes under which we made criminal referrals for Donald Trump, and for which he's been charged by the Special Counsel, indicted by the Justice Department. And so there are some Trump people who are sort of saying, well, the Supreme Court is saying they're going to review this issue around 1512(c). And I think one of the things that's really important to remember is that Donald Trump is in a different category than this particular rioter. The question does become sort of an arcane legal one, but an important one, about whether or not Trump was engaged in obstruction of an official proceeding with respect to documents. There's a discussion about whether or not this part of the code applies to the documents, to fraudulent documents, to the destruction of documents. And whereas this rioter himself is making a claim that that doesn't apply to him, no matter how the Court ends up ruling on that, Donald Trump himself is obviously directly involved in the fake elector scheme, which was all about the submission of fraudulent documents to the government, the use of those fraudulent documents to prevent the counting of the legitimate certified electoral votes. So I think it's important for people to recognize the distinction, and I was going to say take with a grain of salt, but really take with a whole container of salt --

(Laughter.)

What these Trump people are saying about granting cert.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: When we were waiting in the wings, I said "are you still a Republican, Liz?" You said "yeah", and your body language was less than enthusiastic.

(Laughter.)

I'm going to ask the follow-up question, or maybe I asked this... why are you still a Republican?

(Laughter.)

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well, I'm not sure you actually portrayed accurately my response.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I'm sorry. Okay, that's fine. I'll let you portray it.

>> LIZ CHENEY: I think I said I'm not a Trump Republican.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah. Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: And I think you were like "that's a shocker".

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah, breaking news. I didn't want to step on the number 1 bestseller, Liz.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Look, the Republican Party today is not a party that represents my views on the Constitution. And when I watch how far they've moved away from what I think is the most conservative of conservative values, which is fidelity to the Constitution, you know, it's hard to see a fit. I think the party is going to have to fundamentally rebuild, which I don't know if that's possible. Or we're going to have to start a new party.

But starting a new party, in my view, is something that has to happen after '24.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Uh-huh.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Because it takes focus and attention away from beating Donald Trump --

(Applause.)

-- and that's what we have to do this year.

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: What do you make of -- I mean, this kind of drives me crazy, but what do you make of -- there are a lot of seemingly very critical-of-Donald Trump Republicans out there, and then you ask, okay, so what are you doing in November of 2024? And they say "I will support the nominee". You know... some people will say "I'm not voting for Donald Trump, I'm going to write in, you know, Ronald Reagan" or something like that. What do you think when you see that?

>> LIZ CHENEY: I mean, you know.... well. I don't even know where to start.

So I would say first of all, I do think what happens is you get -- sometimes you get politicians who sort of operate -- this will surprise you -- operate on autopilot.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Wow!

(Laughter.)

Amazing.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Breaking so much news tonight!

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: It's amazing, yeah.

>> LIZ CHENEY: So there's this automatic "I'm going to support the nominee of my party". And what's been so surprising to me is how few political leaders have broken out of that, how few political leaders have failed to see that you can't support a leader who tries to seize power and says that he'll do it again and still say you're faithful to the Constitution. And the other problem with what those kinds of elected officials are doing is, voters around the country -- you know, often I'll have Republicans say to me "how can it be as bad as you say, if nobody else or very few other people are saying it?"

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: So there's a real need for leadership, for people to understand that there's no gray area here. Like, you can't support him if you say that you support the Constitution.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah. I mean, I think it's true. When you talk about -- there are some Republicans, in fairness, who say they will not support the nominee if the nominee is Donald Trump, or if the nominee is guilty of a felony -- so who could we possibly be talking about in that case?

What is the proper answer then? Because one of two people is going to be elected president: The Republican nominee or the Democratic nominee. I mean, unless I'm wrong, if you're not going to support the Republican nominee, Donald Trump, then you're going to support the Democratic nominee, which is probably Joe Biden. Do we know this?

>> LIZ CHENEY: I don't think we necessarily know this yet.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: We don't, but there seems to be a good chance.

>> LIZ CHENEY: I think, look, we don't know who the nominee is going to be on the Republican side. It's very likely going to be Trump.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Uh-huh.

>> LIZ CHENEY: We don't know who the nominee is going to be on the Democratic side, it's very likely going to be Biden. But I also think that it's too soon to say, look, if you're not for this person, you're definitely for that person. It's not going to be a two-person race, no matter what decisions like me and others make in a couple months. You've already got multiple candidates in the race. And we have to -- the stakes matter. They're so high, that in my view, we have to be able to give people confidence that we're going to pull together, Republicans, Democrats, independents, that we're going to look beyond partisanship, and if we have learned anything in the last couple of years, it's that this is not politics as usual. So, like, I've been around almost as long as you have.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: WOW! We're... we're FAIRLY close in age. But then, my dad was not the vice president.

(Laughter.)

>> LIZ CHENEY: We have a funny story, actually, many funny stories about when Dick Cheney kicked the New York Times reporter off the plane.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: It wasn't me! It wasn't.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Yeah. But the, so, I just think that the tectonic plates of our politics are shifting. And I don't think that we can say, you know, you're either going to have to cast a vote for Donald Trump or Joe Biden, and you have to decide right now that you're going to vote for Joe Biden. I think that you can say for sure you're not voting for Donald Trump. But I don't think we know what the alternative is going to be.

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Okay. So I'm pretty sure you're not going to vote for Cornel West or Robert F Kennedy Jr. or Jill Stein, the no labels candidate if there is one? Or are you still technically a politician who can't answer hypothetical questions?

>> LIZ CHENEY: First of all, my endorsement of people on the Republican side right now will probably hurt people.

(Reaction from the crowd).

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: No, it's true, yeah.

>> LIZ CHENEY: I'm not going to endorse anybody here tonight, and I think it's true that we don't know what the field is going to look like.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: You sound skeptical!

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I agree. With all due respect, I don't think your endorsement is going to help any candidates in the Republican landscape.

The Christie campaign, which doesn't seem to be going anywhere, but he's been so far by far the clearest messenger for the kinds of things you're talking about, how do you think it's been doing?

>> LIZ CHENEY: I have a lot of respect for what Governor Christie is doing. And the last debate it was four candidates, before that, it was eight, whatever it was. And when candidates are asked, will you support Donald Trump even if he's convicted of a felony? And basically all of them raise their hands except for Chris Christie and I think at that point, Asa Hutchinson, that's dangerous.

So I think, you know, we're at a place where we can either decide that people are going to just kind of go along and fall in line because it's the easiest, most comfortable path to take, or you can decide, we have to do what's right for the country, and that means that you've got to say, look, what's right for the country is to have the very best possible candidates on the field running for president. We don't have those yet.

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right. One of the things I really enjoyed about the book as someone who follows politics very closely, and Congress, actually, pretty closely, is I wanted to see what you would say about some of your old colleagues. You did not -- I thought -- I was surprised, even... shouldn't have been surprised, but... you really laid it all -- you left it all out on the field about Kevin McCarthy.

(Applause.)

You were extremely blunt about your feelings about him, the dereliction that he brought to his job. I mean, you obviously -- I'm assuming you're not talking to him on any regular basis these days.

(Laughter.)

But given how his speakership went and how it ended up, I mean, do you think it was worth it for him?

>> LIZ CHENEY: You know, I -- (sighing) --

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I know, I'd have to ask him.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Right. But I think that it's not surprising where the whole thing ended up.

I think it's -- the fact that, you know, even now in the last few days, he's saying that he's going to support Donald Trump and he'd really like to be in Donald Trump's cabinet. I mean, how many times --

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right --

>> LIZ CHENEY: Is Donald Trump going to --

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Humiliate you --

>> LIZ CHENEY: Take a shot at you and you're going to crawl back? It really is sort of pathetic.

(Applause.)

And that's my diplomatic term for it.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: It really is, show. You've always been -- you study history. And one of the things that has always struck me about talking to some of these folks is you

ask them, you know, do you worry about what the verdict of history will be on you? And I asked McCarthy specifically this, and he looked at me like, he just rolled his eyes. You know, it was like I was some kind of Pollyanna-ish, like, who thinks about this stuff? And as someone who has invoked how historians will look on this time and the character of certain actors, I mean, do you worry, you know, that history has become cheapened by the fact that so much information now has become just partisan, or just so cheapened by some of the messengers?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well... I think that we have a real problem in this country in terms of not teaching American history.

(Applause.)

And, you know, that doesn't mean to, you know, glorify our history and say that we're perfect, because we certainly aren't. But, you know, I think all of us, regardless of party, ought to want our kids to study the lives of great people, ought to want our kids to study leaders and their mistakes but also what it took to succeed in the past. So I think that if you asked every member of Congress, if you said to them, "hey, listen, if you have to choose between your political survival and defending the Constitution, which would you choose?" All of them would tell you we're going to defend the Constitution.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: And what was one of the most surprising and also heartbreaking things to me was how few did. And actually, what happens is you say, I'm going to make sure I survive politically, and then you try to rationalize that that isn't really what you did. But that's what happened.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: And also history, we're not talking about a course curriculum in school, we're talking about the day to day. You were living history. We're all living history. And if you watch Fox all the time, in all likelihood, you're going to think that the insurrection was not real, was not Donald Trump's fault, you know, that vaccines or, you know, go down the list, right?

How much -- I guess one question I would ask is, how much responsibility does the outlets like Fox and NewsMax, and I don't know, what's the other one, OM -- OAM -- yeah, just go down that list. How much of it is an information problem, ultimately?

>> LIZ CHENEY: They have a big responsibility. And, you know, I talk in the book about the day after the impeachment vote, and thinking about, all right, what do we have to do to begin to try to bring people back from the brink, and to begin to try to convey to Republicans that the election really wasn't stolen?

And I called Paul Ryan and said, listen -- we talked about what we could do. And the idea that we discussed was that Fox News could produce a show of some kind that was sort of a documentary that explained why the election wasn't stolen.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Paul Ryan is on the board of Fox, just --

>> LIZ CHENEY: Right. And he agreed, and told me relatively soon afterward that he had talked to the management at Fox and they thought it was a good idea. And the show never happened. And I heard later that it was at some stage of production, and it was stopped.

And when you think about the comparison between Fox's approach to that -- the approach, the reported approach to that -- and the approach they took to Tucker Carlson's horrible show called Patriot Purge, which was intentional lies about January 6th and about what had happened, and they did air that. They aired it on their streaming service. And then of course you look at what's come to light through some of the e-mails and text messages, both the Select Committee uncovered, and maybe I'll just say a word about that.

I mean, if you look, for example, at January 7th, the text messages between Sean Hannity and Kayleigh McEnany, then communications manager of the White House, and Hannity is basically telling Kayleigh, okay, the 22nd Amendment, impeachment, this is real. And no more crazy people.

So they're trying to isolate the president. They understand that he can't have access to the people that they call crazy.

I would note that those people they call crazy are now the people Donald Trump says he's going to populate a second term with. They're around him all the time.

But these Fox News hosts -- and they were others texting on January 6th -- they knew what the insurrection was, how dangerous it was, and that the election wasn't stolen. Some of it came to light in the Dominion case. And the damage done, it's not just by them, but by the others you mentioned too. And the damage done by people who are pushing these lies and echoing and magnifying this idea that somehow there's been a massive rigging of the election and that people have to fight to take back their country, it is really dangerous.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I mean, you obviously have a lot of respect for Paul Ryan. To my knowledge, he's still on the board, right? I think he is. Should he not be?

>> LIZ CHENEY: I think he has to make that decision.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: He does. Do you think --

(Laughter.)

Right, well, I agree. And I think Paul Ryan in many ways was a force for good and for common sense. And, you know, you take the allies you can, I guess.

One thing I would ask you is you mentioned the next administration. I mean, the part of this book that is a warning... I mean, you can imagine what that would look like.

We talked about checks and balances. You specifically talked about checks and balances in a Wall Street Journal op-ed that posted about an hour ago. So after you order the book, go and read that op-ed.

But you talked about how, you know, if Donald Trump wants Mike Flynn to be his Secretary of Defense or something like that, how he would use, or sort of circumvent Senate confirmation or the kinds of oversight that the House and Senate would typically bring to bear on nominations like that.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Yeah, it's a really important point, because of the arguments that are being made right now, especially by Republicans who suggest, well, listen, you know, even if Trump were to be elected again, the country has these checks and balances that will prevent him from, you know, actually being able to unravel the republic.

And there are a lot of problems with that argument.

The first thing I would point out is that, you know, the response that many Republicans have had to the last couple of weeks -- the Atlantic had a huge series about the dangers of a second term, there's been talk about the country sleepwalking into dictatorship -- and you don't really hear Republican elected officials responding to that by saying, well, by defending Trump, saying Trump didn't actually try to seize the last election, he didn't actually sit and watch while the Capitol is being invaded. They don't go there.

What they're saying is, no, no, no, he couldn't possibly be a dictator because we have these checks and balances to protect us .

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right, or he was kidding or whatever. He was not kidding.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Right. And I think that's important is that people really stop and think about what are those checks and balances? The checks and balances are, first, the separation of powers. It's Congress, and it's the courts.

So then you say to yourself, right, well, who's in Congress today who's going to stop Donald Trump? Josh Hawley? No. Ted Cruz? JD Vance? Mike Lee? They're not going to stop Trump. And on the House side, Mike Johnson, the Republicans in charge, they're not going to stop Trump.

So then you start thinking, well, Congress's ability to check a president and to stand against a president comes in a number of ways. Number one, possible impeachment and conviction. They're not going to do that.

You can say, well, the Senate has the ability to confirm nominees, so he can't nominate the craziest people. Donald Trump doesn't care if his nominees get Senate confirmation. He'll put people in as acting. He's done it before.

So you can't count on Congress to be able to stop a second Trump presidency, to stop him if he were elected again.

And then you look at the courts, and, you know, courts ' authority, the orders of courts, really matter and mean something and have power because a president, a chief executive, enforces them. So you can imagine a situation where, in a second Trump term, Donald Trump decides he's going to declare an emergency and maybe declare an insurrection, perhaps, say, the elections have to be postponed. And I hear people say, well, if he ever tried that, of course, you know, the courts would step in.

But who's going to enforce those orders?

So I think the idea that a second Donald Trump term isn't dangerous falls apart pretty quickly when you walk through the facts.

And the point that you're making, which is one of the things that we saw pretty clearly in the Select Committee hearings is the people who stopped him, the Republican officials who tried to stop him, the Republican officials who stood against him, will not be there in a second term. You're not going to have Pat Cipollone as House Counsel. And Jeff Clark at the Justice Department. I mean, not Jeff Clark --

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: You might have Jeff Clark at the Justice Department.

>> LIZ CHENEY: He might be otherwise occupied.

(Laughter.)

And I think the Mike Flynn example is very important for people to understand.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: And we haven't talked much about pardoning power, but I have a feeling, you can imagine, day 1, he'll start pardoning, you know, a lot of the January 6th people, you know, maybe like whoever attacked Pelosi. Anyone who he perceives to be an ally to his cause. I mean, it could be open season. Is there anything that could be done legislatively now or even from the executive branch that could possibly tweak the pardon power of the office? Or is it too late?

>> LIZ CHENEY: No, I think that constitutionally, the pardon power, you know, really does rest with the president. And I think there would be constitutional challenges if there was an attempt made, and I think it would be very problematic were another branch to try to step in.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

>> LIZ CHENEY: But I think that the danger of the pardon power is even more than what you're suggesting. Because imagine a situation where a court does issue a compulsory order. Trump decides not to enforce it or obey it, and if he has people in his administration who feel uncomfortable about that, you know, he could just offer pardons. "Just do what I want, and don't worry, I'll pardon you".

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Sure.

>> LIZ CHENEY: So I think one of the most important lessons of what happened on January 6th and the days leading up to it is that America's institutions don't defend themselves. It takes people to do that.

(Applause.)

And... and who we elect really matters.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right. I'm very -- I'm -- I've been curious to get your response to this. I've been sort of thinking a lot about the period in Washington between January 6th and January 20th, which was one of the scariest periods I've ever lived through here, and many of us have. Not only were there, you know, National Guard people in the street, COVID was still happening, but, you know, the biggest threat to our safety seemed to be still sitting in the White House. I'm wondering if you could compare that to what it was like after 9/11, which was an equally scary time, or very different, but it was a scary time in Washington. You didn't know where our enemies were. You didn't know what they were capable of. You didn't know what you were dealing with. I wonder if you could talk a little bit about what those two really acute periods in our history, both of which you've lived through very, very intimately, were like, and how you sort of remember both of them.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Um, yeah. I think, you know, obviously on 9/11, 3,000 Americans were killed. And so, you know, it's important to remember that distinction.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah.

>> LIZ CHENEY: However, you know, I went back and I looked at what President Bush said from the Oval Office on the night of September 11, 2001. And in his speech, what he said was that the terrorists can shake the foundations of our biggest buildings, but they cannot touch the foundations of our democracy.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Uh-huh.

>> LIZ CHENEY: And I think you have to recognize that what Donald Trump did to this country, and what he's still trying to do to this country, certainly does damage, and could potentially unravel, destroy the foundations of our democracy.

And so I think, yes, those two periods, you know, there were moments when I saw the video of Vice President Pence being rushed down the steps of the Capitol on January 6th. I immediately thought of, there's a photo of my dad being rushed down the steps in the White House by a Secret Service agent on 9/11. And I had the realization that when my dad was being rushed into the bunker under the White House on September 11th is because we were under attack from Al-Qaeda. And when Mike Pence was being rushed to safety at the Capitol, it's because a mob sent by Donald Trump went after him.

What I think is important is after 9/11, Democrats and Republicans, representatives, went out on the steps of the Capitol and sang "God Bless America". There was unity around protecting the country. And obviously there were major policy debates that took

place and still take place today. But there was a moment after the attack when we were unified.

And what's happened after January 6th is not that kind of unity.

But I think on some level, it has woken people up about the danger of toxicity in how we treat each other, and not descending to that level. But at the same time, I think that, you know, we have one political party today that is, you know, in thrall of a cult of personality. And that is still a dangerous place for the country to be.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: So you have said that you will do everything in your power to ensure that Donald Trump does not get near the Oval Office, the White House, again. You know, your book, I think, lays it out pretty well. You've been, obviously, a very effective spokesperson for why that would be a terrible thing.

How do you plan to spend the next several months between now and Election Day 2024 to, you know, further that cause?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well, I think there are several important things. One is, I began in the 2022 cycle, you know, for the first time ever, supporting a couple of Democrats. And these were candidates -- two members that I had worked with closely in the House, Elissa Slotkin and Abigail Spanberger.

(Applause.)

And they're people who I have disagreements with on policy issues but who I know will work in the best interest of the country. And I think we have to collaborate like that to work against the election deniers, not just up ballot, but down-ballot. And we could have a presidential election where a candidate does not get 270 electoral votes and it could be thrown to the House, and in my view we cannot have these Republicans in charge of the House of Representatives if that happens.

(Applause.)

So I'm going to be working hard to help elect good candidates, and I'm going to be making a decision about exactly what role I plan to play in the presidential race over the next couple of months.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Okay.

(Applause.)

Just a couple more questions and then we're going to turn it over to audience questions, and I guess you can maybe start lining up. There are a couple of mics and mic stands here.

>> LIZ CHENEY: I just have to say one thing, sorry.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah.

>> LIZ CHENEY: The last time that I was on a stage and people lined up in the aisles at microphones was when I was kicked out as the Republican conference chair.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah, but you also got a standing ovation then after you left, you heard.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Yeah.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: This was in the book.

>> LIZ CHENEY: After a lot of male colleagues told me they didn't like my attitude.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah, they didn't like your tone. By the way, I think your tone has been FINE tonight.

(Laughter.)

(Applause.)

>> LIZ CHENEY: Thank you.

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: One of the things I'm always struck by in writing about politicians is how terrified so many of them are to lose, and in service of that, they'll do all kinds of things to avoid losing, what have you. What has it been like for you to lose? No, because I mean, you lost a year ago. You know, I think you served extremely honorably, you know, your reputation nationally seems to be enhanced, albeit among MSNBC watchers.

(Laughter.)

No, but you've been, you know, you seem to have thrived after Congress. What is that like, and what has life been like on the other side?

>> LIZ CHENEY: I don't think you can compare what happened to me in '22 with losing generally. I actually remember, when I was 10 years old, and dad was President Ford's chief of staff. That's the first campaign I remember really well and was emotionally engaged in, and I remember how terrible it felt to lose, you know, even as a 10-year-old. I like Jimmy Carter a lot better now --

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah, I think we all do.

>> LIZ CHENEY: So, yeah, losing stinks. Nobody likes to lose. This time was different for me, because it became clear at some point that I had to choose. I either had to do what was necessary to keep my Congressional seat, or I was going to stand up for the truth. So there wasn't really a question about what was going to happen. But I did think

it was actually important for me to say in my concession speech that I actually conceded the race. I think that's generally important for losing candidates to do.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Note to self.

(Applause.)

There was one scene that was particularly moving and I wanted to touch on it quickly before we got to questions. There was a scene, I think the night before -- was it before January 6th? When your father came out to the car and said to you -- anyway, tell the story, because it was really moving.

>> LIZ CHENEY: So, this was on New Year's Eve, so December 31st, 2020. And we had just been through the process of working on the Secretary of Defense letter, the letter that was signed by all living Secretaries of Defense, because we were hearing about things that were happening at the Pentagon that were really concerning. So I worked with my dad and Eric Edelman to get the living secretaries of defense to issue this warning to Chris Miller, who was the acting secretary, and to Donald Trump and others, about the use of the military in affecting the outcome of American elections.

And as we had been working on that, the next day, we had lunch at my parents' house, and when we were leaving, my dad came out, and he came around to where I was, and -- on the passenger's side of the car -- and he looked at me, as he was saying goodbye, and he said to me, "Defend the republic, Daughter".

And I said "I will, dad, always".

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I need to start telling my daughters to defend the public more, daughter.

>> LIZ CHENEY: It has an impact!

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: I've never done it before, but --

Why don't we try to do a lightning round because we have a lot of questions and not a lot of time. Why don't we start there and go there.

>> Thank you. Ms. Cheney, I think I have 500 questions I'd like to ask you, but I'm not even going to ask you one. I'm just going to say as a member of Congress, you probably had very little opportunity to read mail and probably have less opportunity to read mail from someone like me who is from Maryland.

(Laughter.)

So I'd like to read to you a very short letter I wrote on January 13th, 2021, after your vote on impeachment.

Dear Congresswoman Cheney, your vote on impeachment was right. Democracy cannot exist amongst lies from its leaders. Your vote on impeachment was difficult. Leadership is making the right decision in tough cases. Your vote on impeachment was honorable. Our Founders pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor. You will retain yours. I cannot say the same about others.

(Applause.)

>> LIZ CHENEY: Thank you, sir.

(Applause.)

Thank you very much. And the outpouring of support and the comments like that, I can't tell you how much they mean, and I know not just for me, but, you know, for others who have done the right thing at all levels. So please know it really makes a difference, and it's important that we're all working to reinforce others who are doing the right thing as well. Because there's certainly a lot of loud voices on the other side. But thank you very much for reading that, and for sending it. Thank you.

(Applause.)

>> I apologize, because I'm sure you're tired of hearing it, and it's on the same vein as our -- my mate, and that is that I have to tell you that my family and I disagree with you on 90 percent of your policy positions.

(Laughter.)

But my sister and I are overwhelmed with gratitude and privilege and honor to tell you personally that you are our she-ro. You're an American treasure.

(Applause.)

And we thank you.

(Clapping).

And we thank you and your wonderful family for your courage, your strength, your integrity. We can't imagine what you and your family go through. And we are so, so grateful to you and your family. Thank you so much.

(Applause.)

>> LIZ CHENEY: Thank you. Thank you.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: All right, show of hands, how many people voted for Dick Cheney for vice president in 2004?

(Laughter.)

>> LIZ CHENEY: That's not fair. There's a couple! All my family.

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: What's that – “faithful and fearless”.

>> LIZ CHENEY: That's a Team Cheney shirt right there.

(Laughter.)

>> I'm not going to stand here and tell you all the ways I think you're wonderful, because we don't have all week. So all I'm going to say is I think you're going to go down as one of the greatest patriots this country has ever known. But I do also have a question. I'm a Midwestern Democrat, have been all my life, and I know that in the blue bubble, it's very easy for us to go "obviously he's unfit and a danger to the country". Like, yeah. Obviously. But there's a lot of people who are hearing very different, and they're not -- we need to get the message out of the bubble. And as a Midwesterner, I know the reason why so many of my fellow Midwesterners -- I'm from Indiana, we went for Obama in 2008 and Trump in 2016. There's a reason for that. To quote my forever-candidate, Amy Klobuchar, she said a lot of voters are feeling left behind at the gas station. And we are. How do we reach out of the bubble to reach people to say, yes, we understand that things need to change -- neither party is perfect -- I also disagree with you on basically everything not named Vladimir Putin --

(Laughter.)

-- but you are dead on about this, that it's so much more than a partisan struggle, and we can't win this without cross-pollinating together?

>> LIZ CHENEY: I think this is the most important question that we're facing. And there are a couple things that really matter. One is to understand that what Trump has done is partly what you're saying. He's tapped into people around the country, really good people in many cases, who feel like their voices aren't heard. And convinced them that he would speak for them. And that's the con man aspect of it.

And when I think about, you know, the really good people across Wyoming who he's taken money from, who, you know, these fundraising frauds that continue to go on to this day, and he's that he's convinced that he'll help him bring this country back.

What I think we have to do, and I think the most important thing in terms of this next election, is make sure that the independent voters know that he's not the lesser of two evils, that he's not the more acceptable option. And that independents have to know that, you know, "we don't like he did, but we're worried about the economy or national security", or whatever it is "and so we're going to be with Trump".

And just by the way, we've seen over the last few days performances by some of Trump's strongest allies in Congress. And I'm talking about Elise Stefanik. Her questioning of presidents of various universities was right, I think some of the answers she got from those presidents were disgraceful. But she's one of Trump's biggest supporters, and he dines with Nick Fuentes, who is a staunch Holocaust deniers, who

calls frequently for the elimination of Israel, and much worse. So I think that it's important to note that Trump's supporters are no friends of Israel or the Jewish people, that that can't be a reason to go that way. And knowing that we can't convince the hardest-core supporters, but we can convince the independents. But it goes back to, those independents have to have a place to go. And I don't know yet exactly where that place is going to be. But people have to know that there is a choice that is not Donald Trump.

(Applause.)

>> Thank you.

>> Hi. Okay, it's very, very, very humbling to be in front of two exceptional people. My aunt got me Thank You For Your Servitude. I loved it.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Thank you.

>> And I'm sure if I hadn't already gotten it today, she would have gotten me Oath and Honor. Earlier you said that you think endorsing any Republican candidate would lose them votes. I want to ask you a more optimistic question. Do you think rather than 2016 where there's a silent majority, there's a silent plurality of Republicans who support you, they just don't --

>> LIZ CHENEY: They just don't know it?

(Laughter.)

I mean, if you look at the polls, among, for example, these latest Republican voters in Iowa, for example, there's many Republicans who don't support Donald Trump as those who do. Now, the problem is, you know, that means that he's 30 points ahead or something among his closest opponent.

But I do believe that if you look at where his support is nationally among Republicans, there are more members of the party who understand that he's dangerous, who do not support him, than there are people who do.

Now, what that means, though, is we have to get those people mobilized. And we also -- look, you know, there are really big, important issues that the Democrats are not addressing right now, that are causing people to think, well, we might have to vote for Donald Trump. Things like the border.

(Applause.)

And I -- I have a -- as Mark has pointed out, I have a lot more Democratic friends now than I used to have.

(Laughter.)

But I tell them, you guys have to not be crazy. Because if you're going to be crazy, you know, you're going to drive people to Trump. So there are some places like immigration policy where we've got to see some changes.

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Message to Democrats: Don't be crazy.

(Laughter.)

>> First, I agree with what everyone said about your courage and your honor.

You used the term "personality cult", and that's discussed quite a bit, as if Donald Trump were the problem.

But he was the Republican nominee in 2016. People knew what he was like. It was no secret. He ran his presidency in the way that many people feared. Despite the fact that there was January 6th, he's far and ahead of any other candidate. There aren't a lot of Republicans lining up to -- not just to challenge him, but even say "maybe that's not right". And there are other ways in which the other party is supportive of autocrats around the world.

So is the problem one of personality? Or did Donald Trump really sort of emulate what was happening in the Republican Party already? At least to some extent?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well, I think there are several things.

One, I think that many of us who supported him, many Republicans, thought, "all right, he'll grow into the job". And I certainly thought that! You know, I had been around presidents. I understood how the White House worked. I understood there are structures in place that help a president do his job. That most presidents, when they take office, they're sort of overwhelmed when they recognize the truly awesome power of that office, and that that has an impact.

Clearly I was wrong.

So, you know, I think that certainly there were reasons why many of us, you know, wished that we had understood sooner and had not supported him. Obviously I wish he had never been president.

And I think you're certainly right with respect to the autocratic connections going on right now. And the fact that you have so many vocal Republicans doing Putin's bidding in regards to Ukraine is a very troubling thing. I think you actually do have, you know, a Putin wing of the Republican Party right now.

(Applause.)

But I also think that it's wrong to say that, you know, somehow that's where the party has always been headed. Because certainly, the people who are taking the party today down that path -- for example, from a national security perspective -- are doing

something that Ronald Reagan could never have imagined. If you had told Ronald Reagan that this is what the party would be doing on national security, he wouldn't have believed it.

So something else is going on. And I think that it's a convergence of factors. But, you know, it's a situation where Donald Trump has taken advantage of it.

Donald Trump is also now teaching other politicians how they should operate. And, in some ways, the people that I hold most responsible, beyond Donald Trump, are those Republican officials who know better. And that's most of them, who understand that he's dangerous, and that he's lying, and yet won't do anything.

(Applause.)

Those are the people that I think are most responsible for where we are.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Yeah.

>> We can take one more question from each microphone, and then the last two questions from the virtual audience.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Okay. I was -- yeah, sorry. Yeah. Yeah.

>> Thank you so much for being here! My name is Nathan Weisler, and my question is, in starting to read the book, I saw you reference in the photo section to your memories of President Ford. And my question is, what do you think is particularly important for future generations to know about President Ford and his leadership and the contributions that he made at the time he was in office?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well, I have a very... a soft spot in my heart for President Ford. You know, I knew him when I was a little girl. And knew him as a good man.

And now, understanding the role that he played, and the way that he served the country. And, you know, he was fundamentally a man of character and decency. And we have had presidents of character and decency on both sides of the political aisle, and those are the kinds of people that we should be electing.

And people who didn't vilify their political opponents. And again, this is a place where I think all of us who have been involved in politics for some time have been guilty of vilifying our opponents to some extent. And I think we all have to realize that the country is better off in debating substance and policy, and not engaged in personal attacks.

(Applause.)

>> First I want to thank you and your family for your service. We're very grateful to you.

The parallels in history are just -- they make my blood ice. And I'm thinking nine years ago -- ninety years ago, when someone took power, was kicked out of power, and came back with a vengeance.

So one of the things that troubles me the most is the humble voter, which we have to put our trust in for the next election, is one thing. But people do tend to act tribally.

The more important thing for me are the changes in legislation that have been going on. And I think you pointed out in the early part of your book about the Electoral College. And the question in my mind is, what are you hearing is happening on the ground? What kind of mischief is happening? Will we be faced with a legitimized second group of electors? And where do we go from there?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well, so I think with respect to the Electoral Count Act, one thing that's really important to remember is, in Congress, just as my term was ending, we actually passed reforms to the Electoral Count Act. Now, Donald Trump says that what he was doing was legal under the previous bill, and that's why we had to reform it, which is absolutely wrong. What he did was illegal under the initial, previous Electoral Count Act, is illegal under the current Electoral Count Act, and is unconstitutional. But what we did try to do is clarify examples of, for example, trying to delay elections. And in that, in my view, the House bill was better than the Senate bill.

Having said that, there's no legislative fix to a president who will attempt to blow through the guardrails of democracy. And so we have to do everything we can to make sure that, you know, we have put in place legislation that can anticipate what might happen. But this goes back to the point we were discussing earlier, which is that individuals, at the end of the day, matter. And so in each state, looking at the races that involve secretaries of state, governors, individuals who will have the ability to determine whether they want to certify an election or not, we have to make sure we don't elect people who are only going to respect the elections if they agree with the outcome. And that's incumbent upon voters all across the country. And we have to -- what I find too often is that what's happening today with respect to Donald Trump is people are exhausted by it, and they don't want to have to deal with it because it's so dire. And what I can tell you is the people that are pushing Donald Trump and the people who are working to try to get him elected, working to elect people who support him, all up and down the ballot, they're really organized. And they're energized.

So if those of us who understand how dangerous he is decide, you know what, it's just too complicated, or too painful, or we can't be involved, then we risk that they'll prevail.

And so, you know, we're in a situation in our democratic process where every voter has to be accountable for finding good candidates, for supporting them, for putting your own name on the ballot. For running. Because what we know for sure is the process itself will crumble if people don't get active and engaged in stopping what he's trying to do.

(Applause.)

The other thing I would say is, it is a very real thing that foreign actors, adversaries, will attempt, once again, to intervene in our elections. And so we have to take that threat very seriously as well. And, you know, do everything that we can at the local level, at the

state level, and nationally, to protect our systems against that kind of foreign intervention.

(Applause.)

Thank you.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: All right. I want to take a couple of questions from our virtual audience for Liz. I guess I'll start with Katie from Washington State.

Who or what has led to the sense of integrity you have? I don't agree with you on anything politically --

(Laughter.)

Why do they all have to say that? We don't agree with you on anything, all right, we get it, great.

(Laughter.)

But you have integrity and speak truth to power. I admire you for that. Thank you.

So I guess the original question is, who or what led to the sense of integrity that you have, Liz?

>> LIZ CHENEY: Well, Katie might not like this answer.

(Laughter.)

But Dick Cheney.

(Laughter.)

(Applause.)

And Lynne Cheney, who I'm sure is watching, so.

But it is really true that watching my parents and watching my dad go through, particularly, you know, periods of time when, you know, people were saying things that weren't very nice about him, and understanding what it means to have the courage of your convictions. And I think also that my mom and dad really cared that Mary and I understood history, and read history, and knew the history of the country.

But I also think that it's important to say that there are hard questions to answer, because it doesn't -- there was not a moment where I thought "should I do this or should I do that?" Because it seems to me that's obvious what had to be done.

And it's also... humbling and very moving. But I also think it's not -- it's not courage. Because, you know, you think about people that landed at Normandy -- that's courage. You think about people that have made tremendous sacrifices in war. That is courage.

The last couple of years have been about duty and what's required. And I think that's how I look at it.

(Applause.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: Right.

My wife is in the audience, so she can attest to this. I did a profile of Dick Cheney about 20 years ago, and I came home, and she looked at me and said "all right, what was he like?" And I said "you know, he was kind of a trip".

(Laughter.)

He was touring the new Air and Space Museum by the Dulles Airport, and John Travolta was there for some reason.

(Laughter.)

And Dick Cheney walked around the corner with his detail and saw John Travolta, and guess who was really starstruck in that moment??? It was John Travolta. He saw Dick Cheney and was like, oh, my gosh!

(Laughter.)

And I don't think your dad even knew who John Travolta was.

>> LIZ CHENEY: John Wayne, maybe!

(Laughter.)

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: And that concludes the John Travolta portion of this evening.

The next question. Did your experience on the committee change your perception of this country in any way?

>> LIZ CHENEY: It gave me tremendous hope when I saw the, you know, sitting there when Cassidy Hutchinson walked out alone to testify, or Sarah Matthews --

(Applause.)

Rusty Bowers, hearing the stories of these people who did the right thing was very inspirational. You know, working with Adam Schiff, and Nancy Pelosi, and members I didn't know, I think it changed my perspective of them, and I think they thought it was pretty weird, working with me.

(Laughter.)

I think all of us stopped and said, you know, we're operating in a nonpartisan fashion. And we also aren't trying to one-up each other when the television cameras are on and we're trying to score political points. And our staff was essentially totally, you know, from a partisan perspective, integrated. I didn't know the party affiliation of the vast majority

of the investigators. They were career prosecutors. There were senior Republicans that I brought on, senior Democrats, too. But that's how Congressional committees ought to work.

But that was eye-opening for me, certainly.

>> MARK LEIBOVICH: So we've gone over a little bit. I just want to say before we wrap up, Liz, it's just been an honor and a privilege to share the bema with you.

(Laughter.)

There's a sentence I never thought I was going to say!!!

(Laughter.)

And, again, everyone should read the book, and if you haven't bought it yet, buy it at Politics and Prose, and buy all of your books at Politics and Prose.

(Laughter.)

And Liz, I look forward to see what you're going to do next, because this is obviously extremely important. I don't think there's anything more important right now in this country, maybe in this world. So thank you for what you've done and what you will do.

>> LIZ CHENEY: Thank you. Thank you very much, Mark, thank you.

(Applause.)

>> Thank you so much! If you can please stay standing, if you can please just stay standing while our guests make their way backstage, we sincerely appreciate your patience just for a moment.

(Applause.)

Thank you to Representative Liz Cheney and to Mark Leibovich for joining us tonight and thanks to you all for being here. There are autographed books by both of our guests for sale in the main lobby as you exit. Just one more moment. Just bear with us. Thank you.

Bathrooms are downstairs, but all exits are on this level, including the two corner lobbies and the main lobby. Again, autographed books will be for sale in the main lobby in just a moment.

All right! You are free to exit. Thank you so much for your patience.