1	SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
2	U.S. SENATE
3	WASHINGTON, D.C
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7	INTERVIEW:
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11	TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 2018
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16	The interview convened at 12:34 p.m.
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- 1 [Telephone ringing.]
- 2 Hello?
- Hi, this is from the Senate
- 4 Judiciary Committee.
- Oh, hi, How are you?
- Great.
- 7 This is I'll put you on
- 8 speaker with the judge. I'm with Alex Walsh, his counsel,
- 9 and then the rest of us will head out of the room.
- Okay. Thank you.
- Can you hear us?
- 12 Yes.
- 13
- Yes. Can you hear us?
- 15 Yes, it's a little quiet.
- Is this any better?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I can hear you. This is Brett
- 18 Kavanaugh. And Alex Walsh is here. It sounds like you're
- 19 in kind of a wind tunnel, but --
- Okay. I'm not sure how to fix that.
- 21 Why don't we try calling them back?
- We're happy to try one more time. We'll
- 23 just dial the number one more time and see if it's a better
- 24 connection.
- Judge Kavanaugh. Okay. Great.

1 [Pause.] [Telephone ringing.] 2 Judge Kavanaugh. Hello? 3 Hi, it's Is this any better? 4 5 Judge Kavanaugh. It sounds like it. Let me put you 6 on speaker. 7 You there? Yes, how is it? 8 9 Judge Kavanaugh. We'll make do. 10 Female Speaker. Yeah, it's fine. We can hear you. 11 All right. Well, we apologize. If 12 there's any question you need us to repeat because you didn't hear it very well, please just let me know. 13 14 Okay. Well, again, thank you very much for jumping on the phone with us today. 15 16 I am here with several colleagues. I'll let them introduce themselves, and then we will get started. 17 18 I'm I'm for Chairman Grassley. 19 20 21 for Chairman Grassley. 22 Hi, Judge. with the 23 minority. We've spoken in the past. 24 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. 25 ■ Hi, Judge. We've also

- 1 spoken. I'm with the ranking member.
- 2 Judge Kavanaugh. Yeah, thanks,
- Hi, Judge. It's I'm a
- for the ranking member.
- Judge Kavanaugh. Okay. Thank you.
- Before we begin, I just want to make clear
- 7 that the Democratic members have asked the FBI to
- 8 investigate these allegations, and they believe that's
- 9 necessary to a fair process and fairness more generally.
- 10 The Democratic members do not believe that it's appropriate
- 11 for staff to be discussing allegations with you that have
- 12 not yet been investigated.
- 13 Also want to make clear that we just learned about the
- 14 possibility of this phone call today at 11:15 a.m. and
- weren't advised that it would be happening at 12:30 p.m.
- 16 until about 11:50 a.m. today. So it's likely that we will
- 17 primarily be listening during this call.
- 18 And again, I just want to reiterate that the
- 19 Democratic members do not believe that this is a fair or
- 20 sufficient process, and this is not how the committee
- 21 usually handles allegations of this sort.
- I would just say -- this is
- 23 would just say that we can have these political discussions
- 24 offline. Our job today is to gather evidence in the form
- of Judge Kavanaugh's testimony, and that's how we're going

- 1 to proceed. And we can have the political discussions
- 2 offline.
- Judge, for your knowledge, this is being
- 4 transcribed as well.
- 5 Okay. So we are here because we have received in
- 6 various forms, but not through the normal BI process,
- 7 various allegations. And when we receive allegations, we
- 8 typically go to the nominee to get their take on it. So
- 9 I'm going to run through some questions, and if anyone has
- 10 follow-up or clarifications, feel free to jump in.
- Judge Kavanaugh, by now we assume that you've heard
- 12 about the New Yorker article published on Sunday. Have you
- 13 reviewed the article?
- 14 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.
- The article alleges that during your
- 16 freshman year at Yale, you attended a -- and I quote -- "a
- 17 drunken dormitory party at which you exposed yourself,
- 18 thrust your penis in Deborah Ramirez's face, and caused her
- 19 to touch it without her consent as she pushed you away."
- Did that happen?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That did not happen.
- Do you know Deborah Ramirez?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I do.
- When did you meet her?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I knew her in college.

- 1 And when did you last talk to her?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Many, many years ago.
- Would you say that was post college?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I'm pretty sure we were at a wedding
- 5 together. wedding,
- 6 which I believe was in 1997 in the Baltimore area. And I
- 7 don't think I've seen her since then.
- Okay. Will you describe your
- 9 relationship with her?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I knew her. Friendly, Friendly,
- 11 but not friends.
- Okay. So we're on the same page, I'm
- 13 going to define "sexual or romantic behavior" as kissing,
- 14 touching, or penetrating her genitals, anus, or breasts;
- 15 touching or penetrating your -- her touching or penetrating
- 16 your genitals or anus; seeing her genitals, anus, or
- 17 breasts; or her seeing your genitals or anus.
- 18 With that definition in mind, did you have any sexual
- 19 or romantic encounters with Deborah Ramirez?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 21 Are you aware of any reason Deborah
- 22 Ramirez would lie about you?
- 23 [Pause.]
- Judge Kavanaugh. I don't want to speculate.
- Okay. Ms. Ramirez says that she was

- 1 invited by a friend on the women's soccer team to a dorm
- 2 room party that occurred at Lawrence Hall. And again, she
- 3 says this occurred when you were both freshmen.
- 4 Did you attend any such party?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I lived in Lawrence Hall freshman
- 6 year in the basement, and I have no recollection at all of
- 7 the party she's describing. And of course, I've said the
- 8 incident, the specific incident didn't happen.
- 9 So did you attend any such party with
- 10 Ms. Ramirez?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I -- I don't know all the parties in
- 12 Lawrence Hall or get-togethers in Lawrence Hall that might
- 13 have occurred. What I do know is this incident, this
- 14 specific incident alleged did not happen, and I don't
- 15 recall the general party that she's describing in
- 16 particular.
- 17 Okay.
- Judge Kavanaugh. But people got together, of course,
- 19 in the dorm rooms, if that's the question. So I don't want
- 20 to imply that people weren't in the dorm rooms.
- 21 And the dorms had common rooms, just so you know. So
- 22 there were not my -- not the room I lived in, but some of
- 23 the other rooms in Lawrence Hall were six rooms off a
- 24 common room in a what was called a suite. So in the common
- 25 rooms, there would often be people just hanging out.

- Okay. Ms. Ramirez says at the party she
- 2 identified, a small group of students decided to play a
- 3 drinking game together at which students were sitting in a
- 4 circle, and people would pick who drank. She says that she
- 5 was chosen repeatedly to the point that she later was on
- 6 the floor, foggy and slurring her words.
- 7 Did you attend any such party?
- 8 Judge Kavanaugh. I have no recollection of that.
- 9 Ms. Ramirez says that at one point during
- 10 the drinking game at the party she identified, a male
- 11 student pointed a gag plastic penis in her direction.
- Did you attend any party at which a male student
- 13 pointed a gag plastic penis at Ms. Ramirez?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I have no recollection of that.
- Ms. Ramirez says that after she was on
- 16 the floor, foggy and slurring her words, a male student
- 17 exposed herself -- himself to her. She says, "I remember a
- 18 penis being in front of my face. I knew that's not what I
- 19 wanted, even in that state of mind."
- 20 According to the article, she recalled remarking,
- 21 "That's not a real penis," and the other students laughing
- 22 at her confusion and taunting her, one encouraging her to
- 23 kiss it. She said that she pushed that person away,
- 24 touching it in the process.
- Did you attend a party at which any of this happened,

- 1 whoever that student was?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I know that -- I couldn't hear all
- 3 of the question.
- 4 Repeat it.
- Judge Kavanaugh. I guess, I have no recollection of
- 6 what you're describing generally, and of course, no -- did
- 7 not -- the specific incident you're describing didn't
- 8 happen. I never saw anything like that.
- Judge, we're going to repeat the question.
- 10 Judge Kavanaugh. Okay.
- Ms. Ramirez says that after Ms. Ramirez
- 12 was on the floor, foggy and slurring her words, a male
- 13 student exposed herself -- himself to her. She says, "I
- 14 remember a penis being in front of my face. I knew that's
- 15 not what I wanted, even in that state of mind."
- 16 According to the article, she recalled remarking,
- 17 "That's not a real penis," and the other students laughing
- 18 at her confusion and taunting her, one encouraging her to
- 19 kiss it. She said that she pushed that person away,
- 20 touching it in the process.
- 21 Did you hear all of that?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. And the question is?
- Did you attend a party at which any of
- 24 this happened, whoever that student was?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Never -- I never saw anything like

- 1 that.
- 2 Ms. Ramirez says that after this event
- 3 occurred, she remembers you standing to her right and
- 4 laughing, pulling up your pants. According to her, you
- 5 were laughing, and she can still see your face and your
- 6 hips coming forward like when you pull up your pants.
- 7 She states that another student shouted about the
- 8 event, "Somebody yelled down the hall, 'Brett Kavanaugh
- 9 just put his penis in Debbie's face.' It was his full
- 10 name. I don't think it was just 'Brett,' and I remember
- 11 hearing and being mortified that this was out there."
- 12 Did this ever happen?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That did not happen.
- The article reports that an anonymous
- 15 classmate is 100 percent sure that he was told at the time
- 16 that Kavanaugh was the student who exposed himself to
- 17 Ramirez and that he independently recalled many of the same
- 18 details offered by Ramirez, including the party's location.
- 19 The article also suggests that some of your classmates have
- 20 discussed this alleged event.
- 21 At any point, have you ever heard a rumor that you
- 22 exposed yourself to Ms. Ramirez?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No, and I would have, because it
- 24 would have been the talk of campus.
- Okay. The article identifies Mr. James

- 1 Roche as your roommate. Is that his -- how do you
- 2 pronounce his name?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Roche. Jamie.
- 4 Roche. Okay.
- Judge Kavanaugh. Jamie is what he went by then.
- Okay. Generally speaking, he supports
- 7 Ms. Ramirez's account of the story. When did you first
- 8 meet Mr. Roche?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. Can you hold on one second?
- 10 Yes.
- 11 [Pause.]
- 12 Judge Kavanaugh. Okay. I'm here.
- Great. When did you first meet
- 14 Mr. Roche?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I would have met him when we moved
- in to Lawrence Hall in September of 1983 when I was 18.
- And when did you last communicate with
- 18 him?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I saw him probably at our 25th
- 20 reunion, which would have been 2000 and -- 2012. It might
- 21 have been our 20th reunion, but I saw him briefly at one of
- 22 those reunions.
- 23 And will you describe your relationship
- 24 with him?
- Judge Kavanaugh. So there were three guys who lived,

- 1 in essence, in a room together -- Dave White, Jamie Roche,
- 2 and myself. Jamie and Dave White hated each other. They
- 3 got in fights, fist fights during the year. One time Dave
- 4 White was away for the weekend. Jamie -- when he came
- 5 back, Jamie had moved all Dave White's furniture,
- 6 everything, like into some other area of Lawrence Hall in a
- 7 hallway.
- 8 So he came back, and Dave White's room was entirely
- 9 empty. They had a very contentious -- they had a
- 10 contentious relationship, didn't like each other, at least
- 11 as I recall it.
- 12 I got -- I was friends with Dave White more than
- 13 Jamie. I tried to be civil. Jamie wasn't around a lot. I
- 14 don't know, I think his parents lived nearby, and so he was
- 15 elsewhere or with a girl, I don't know, a woman at Yale.
- He didn't hang out with us very
- 17 much, wasn't a great situation.
- 18 Are you aware of any reason Mr. Roche
- 19 would lie about you?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not going to speculate beyond --
- 21 I'm not going to speculate beyond what I've said. My
- 22 understanding, of course, is that he does not corroborate
- 23 the incident.

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12	What is your knowledge about the
13	relationship between Mr. Roche and Ms. Ramirez while at
14	Yale?
15	Judge Kavanaugh. I don't think I have much knowledge
16	of that, or at least not much I don't have much
17	recollection of that.
18	Do you have any recollection about their
19	relationship after their time at Yale?
20	Judge Kavanaugh. I don't.
21	So Mr. Roche says, "Debbie and I became
22	close friends shortly after we both arrived at Yale. She
23	stood out as being exceptionally honest and gentle. I
24	cannot imagine her making this up."
25	Do you have any other understanding about the nature

- 1 of their relationship, either then or now?
- 2 Judge Kavanaugh. I don't.
- According to the article, Mr. Roche never
- 4 saw you engage in any sexual misconduct, but did recall you
- 5 being frequently incoherently drunk.
- Were you frequently incoherently drunk in college?
- 7 Judge Kavanaugh. No. Like -- like most people in
- 8 college, I went to parties and had beers, but that's --
- 9 that's not an accurate description, in my view.
- Do you have any understanding of why
- 11 Mr. Roche would characterize you as frequently incoherently
- 12 drunk in college?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not going to speculate on what's
- 14 going on right now. We're in the twilight zone.
- 15 In a recent interview --
- 16 Can I ask a question?
- 17 Of course.
- 18 Let me jump in here, Judge. Talk about
- 19 your academic performance at Yale.
- Judge Kavanaugh. Yeah. So two things I was doing the
- 21 most at Yale College were studying and going to class and
- 22 working very hard on my academics, doing well enough to get
- 23 into Yale Law School, which was not obvious when I arrived
- 24 in September of 1983. I worked my ass off.
- 25 And the second thing was basketball. Throughout the

- 1 freshman year when I lived there, I was playing basketball
- 2 every day. I tried out for the varsity basketball team.
- 3 As soon as we got there, literally the first day, the
- 4 workouts started. Not -- not with coaches present because
- 5 they weren't allowed by NCAA rules to be present, but the -
- 6 the play, the captain-led workouts started immediately.
- 7 Butch Graves was the captain of the Yale basketball team.
- 8 Chris Dudley was my classmate.
- 9 So we had basketball every day. Those were intense,
- 10 really intense afternoons, early evenings of basketball.
- 11 And then I played JV basketball that year, practice every
- 12 day, lots of games, and then in the spring, basketball
- 13 again for the same kind of captain-led workouts, which were
- 14 every weekday, a lot of running, a lot of lifting.
- So the two primary focuses of my life were academics
- 16 and basketball. And of course, we all lived on Old Campus.
- 17 So, of course, it was also social. I had friends. Louisa
- 18 Garry, who testified at the hearing for me, who I met on
- 19 the first day of Yale College, the other college women
- 20 friends who have written, who joined that letter, talked
- 21 about what I was like from the beginning in college.
- 22 So thank you for the question. Happy to answer any
- 23 follow-up, but I was very focused on doing as well as I
- 24 could in school, and I was very focused on trying to be the
- 25 best basketball player I could be.

- So, in a recent interview, you denied
- 2 ever getting blackout drunk. Would anything about your
- 3 college drinking in any way impair your ability to remember
- 4 whether you engaged in the conduct Ms. Ramirez identifies?
- 5 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- All right. The article reports Mr. Roche
- 7 as saying, "Is it believable that she was alone with a
- 8 wolfy group of guys who thought it was funny to sexually
- 9 torment a girl like Debbie? Yeah, definitely. Is it
- 10 believable that Kavanaugh was one of them? Yes."
- 11 So did you ever, either alone or with other men,
- 12 sexually torment any student at Yale?
- 13 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 14 And do you -- do have any understanding
- of why your college roommate would make such an accusation?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Well, I'm not going to speculate.
- 17 I've described the contentious relationship in that room
- 18 generally and his issues generally.
- And his issues you testified being
- 20 ?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That's my understanding.
- 22 According to the New Yorker article,
- 23 Ms. Ramirez continued to socialize with one of the male
- 24 classmates who had egged Kavanaugh on during the party
- 25 during college. She even invited the classmate to her

- 1 house for Thanksgiving one year after he told her that he
- 2 had nowhere to go. She also attended his wedding years
- 3 later as a guest of his wife, and she said that she posed
- 4 for photographs with Kavanaugh, smiling.
- 5 You mentioned that you believed you were probably at a
- 6 wedding with her. So have you interacted with Ms. Ramirez
- 7 since you graduated college, including potentially that
- 8 wedding or any other time?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. Yeah, so her best friend was Karen
- 10 Yarasavage. Karen Yarasavage said she never heard about
- 11 any such incident like this and that she would have heard
- 12 about it. That's what she said, as I understand it, in the
- 13 story -- or some story.
- 14 would have been the person who had
- 15 the wedding, marrying , who also lived -- who
- 16 was also a student at Yale College at that time. And so,
- 17 anyway, I would have been at and -- I was at
- 18 and wedding. And like I said, said she
- 19 never heard about any such thing as this incident.
- Did you interact with Ms. Ramirez at the
- 21 wedding?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I'm sure -- I'm sure I saw her
- 23 because it wasn't a huge wedding. And at any wedding, you
- 24 would see the people that you went to school with. But I
- 25 don't have a specific recollection.

- Other than the wedding, have you had
- 2 postgraduation interactions with Ms. Ramirez?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Not that I'm remembering right now.
- The incident that she alleges in the
- 5 article, was that discussed at the wedding?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No, because it didn't happen. With
- 7 me, or with anyone as far as I know, but not with me.
- 8 All right. My last question on this
- 9 subject is since you graduated from college, but before the
- 10 New Yorker article publication on September 23rd, have you
- 11 ever discussed or heard discussion about the incident
- 12 matching the description given by Ms. Ramirez to the New
- 13 Yorker?
- 14 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- Judge, I want to get your general reaction
- 16 to this New Yorker story, including the allegations made in
- 17 this story.
- 18 Judge Kavanaugh. This didn't happen. I've never done
- 19 anything like that. The story, as described -- back up.
- 20 Karen Yarasavage, her best friend, says she never heard
- 21 anything like this. If something like this had happened,
- 22 it would have been the talk of campus.
- The New York Times says as recently as last week, she
- 24 was calling around to other classmates saying she wasn't
- 25 sure I had done this. And you know, I think -- I think

- 1 we're -- this is an outrage for this kind of thin,
- 2 uncorroborated, 35-year-old accusation to be leveled in
- 3 this fashion at this time. I've been in the public eye for
- 4 24 years, since I started with the independent counsel in
- 5 the fall of 1994, very public at various points in my life.
- I've been through six background checks. I worked in
- 7 the White House at the highest levels, senior staff,
- 8 traveling with the President all over the world, seeing the
- 9 most highly sensitive secrets of our Nation for years. I
- 10 went through a difficult confirmation process for the D.C.
- 11 Circuit that was public with two separate confirmation
- 12 hearings in 2004 and 2006.
- 13 I've been a judge for 12 years in a very public way.
- 14 I've been identified repeatedly as a potential Supreme
- 15 Court nominee. Whether that was accurate or not, I've been
- 16 publicly identified. My decisions have been publicly
- 17 discussed.
- 18 I've been very much a presence at the Yale College
- 19 reunions. I've been on multiple panels there. So I've
- 20 been active in the class. The class newsletter has talked
- 21 about me. The people in my class have been at those
- 22 reunions and those events.
- In all that time, not a word. And then 4 days, you
- 24 know, when just right before a vote for the Supreme Court,
- 25 after the nomination itself has been pending for months,

- 1 and I've been through the hearings and 65 Senate meetings
- 2 and all the written questions, and then -- and then, after
- 3 all these years, with all this time, and all these
- 4 descriptions with no corroboration and with her best friend
- 5 saying she never heard about it, you know, I'm -- I'm
- 6 really just, you know, stunned. And outraged.
- 7 It's the twilight zone. I guess we're going to get to
- 8 a few more of these twilight zone things, but --
- 9 Well, actually, are you aware that the New
- 10 York Times passed up on this story before the New Yorker
- 11 ran the story?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That's what I read in the New York
- 13 Times.
- What's your reaction to that?
- Judge Kavanaugh. They couldn't -- the New York Times
- 16 couldn't corroborate this story and found that she was
- 17 calling around to classmates trying to see if they
- 18 remembered it. And I, at least -- and I, myself, heard
- 19 about that, that she was doing that. And you know, that
- 20 just strikes me as, you know, what is going on here? When
- 21 someone is calling around to try to refresh other people,
- 22 is that what's going on? What's going on with that?
- 23 That doesn't sound -- that doesn't sound good to me.
- 24 It doesn't sound fair. It doesn't sound proper. It sounds
- 25 like an orchestrated hit to take me out. That's what it

- 1 sounds like.
- The New Yorker story discussed how
- 3 Ms. Ramirez had a lapse of memory related to this incident
- 4 until she had several days of conversations with her
- 5 attorney. Did you read that?
- 6 Judge Kavanaugh. I did. Six days of --
- 7 What's your -- what's your reaction to
- 8 that, Judge?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. I mean, what is that all about?
- 10 What are we talking about here? This is serious stuff, and
- 11 they're -- you know, they're calling around to other people
- 12 either to refresh them, or I don't know what's going on in
- 13 those conversations, but it takes 6 days to kind of dredge
- 14 up something with a lawyer, as I understand it.
- 15 And in the context of a highly contentious Supreme
- 16 Court nomination where people understandably, and that is
- 17 understandably, feel strongly about the Supreme Court. I
- 18 don't -- I don't want to say anything -- that's appropriate
- 19 in America. It's appropriate in America for people to feel
- 20 strongly about the Supreme Court.
- It's not appropriate for people to be dredging up
- 22 uncorroborated stories and trying to refresh other people's
- 23 recollections and then stoke the media and create a feeding
- 24 frenzy and destroy my family and destroy my reputation and
- 25 take me down. This is not right. It's an outrage.

- Judge, your wife, Ashley, and you recently
- 2 did an interview on Fox News with Martha MacCallum. Is
- 3 that correct?
- 4 Judge Kavanaugh. That is correct.
- 5 Everything that you said on that
- 6 interview, do you -- do you affirm that today? Do you
- 7 adopt that as your testimony today?
- 8 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.
- 9 And do you understand that what you tell a
- 10 reporter is not subject to felony prosecution if you're
- 11 lying? Do you understand that?
- 12 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.
- Do you understand that what you tell
- 14 congressional investigators is subject to felony
- 15 prosecution for lying? Correct?
- 16 Judge Kavanaugh. Correct.
- So are you saying that you're -- again,
- 18 with that in mind, are you adopting today that what you --
- 19 as your testimony what you told Martha MacCallum on Fox
- 20 News?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.
- Hey, Judge. So we have a few more
- 23 questions, as we've had a few more allegations. So I just
- 24 want to start walking through those with you now.
- 25 Michael Avenatti has conveyed to the committee and the

- 1 press allegations about your alleged involvement in gang
- 2 rape parties while in high school.
- 3 Have you had the opportunity to review those
- 4 allegations?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I've heard about them generally.
- 6 Well --
- Judge Kavanaugh. Happy to -- happy to answer
- 8 questions.
- 9 So tell us what you've heard about these
- 10 allegations, Judge.
- Judge Kavanaugh. Well, can you just give me an
- 12 allegation? I think I saw generally described in an email
- 13 the allegations. So if you can ask me --
- So the committee investigators --
- 15 Mr. Avenatti made allegations that he had secret evidence
- 16 against you. Committee investigators reached out to him
- 17 immediately via email and asked him for his allegations and
- 18 his evidence. The allegations that he made are, to
- 19 summarize, he alleged a drug- and alcohol-induced gang rape
- 20 that you participated in.
- Judge Kavanaugh. That is false. I've never
- 22 participated in a gang rape. I've never participated in
- 23 sexual activity with more than one woman present and me. I
- 24 think -- yeah. Just making sure I accurately described
- 25 that. In other words, I've never had a threesome or more

- 1 than a threesome.
- So, specifically, Mr. Avenatti said, "We are
- 3 aware of significant evidence of multiple house parties in
- 4 the Washington, D.C., area during the early 1980s during
- 5 which Brett Kavanaugh, Mark Judge, and others would
- 6 participate in the targeting of women with alcohol/drugs in
- 7 order to allow a 'train of men' to subsequently gang rape
- 8 them."
- 9 Were you involved in any way in such parties?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No. And I've never heard of such a
- 11 thing. It's an outrageous accusation. Ridiculous.
- Okay. So we have some more specific
- 13 questions. These are -- these are Mr. --
- 14 Judge Kavanaugh. Good.
- Mr. Avenatti's questions. The first one,
- 16 did you ever target one or more women for sex or rape at a
- 17 house party?
- 18 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 19 Did you ever assist Mark Judge or others in
- 20 doing so?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- Did you ever attend any house party during
- 23 which a woman was gang raped or used for sex by multiple
- 24 men?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No.

- Did you ever witness a line of men outside a
- 2 bedroom at any house party where you understood a woman was
- 3 in the bedroom being raped or taken advantage of?
- 4 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 5 Did you ever participate in any sexual
- 6 conduct with a woman at a house party with whom you
- 7 understood to be intoxicated or under the influence of
- 8 drugs?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 10 Did you ever communicate with Mark Judge or
- 11 anyone else about your participation in a "train" involving
- 12 an intoxicated woman?
- 13 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- Did you ever object or attempt to prevent
- one or more men from participating in the rape or taking
- 16 advantage of a woman at any house party?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I never saw such a thing. So the
- 18 premise, the question is off.
- 19 Mr. Avenatti has also conveyed certain
- 20 allegations about your yearbook and calendar. First, he
- 21 says your yearbook and calendar refer to "FFFFFFFFourth of
- 22 July," that is "Fourth of July" with a total of seven Fs.
- 23 For clarity, I'll just refer to that as the "FFFFFFFFourth
- 24 of July entry."
- Does your yearbook contain the "FFFFFFFFourth of July

- 1 entry" described by Mr. Avenatti?
- 2 Judge Kavanaugh. Can you -- sorry, you were breaking
- 3 out. Can you just speak a little closer to the phone and
- 4 speak up?
- 5 Sure
- Reread the question, please.
- Right. Sorry. It's kind of a long one.
- 8 Mr. Avenatti says that your yearbook and calendar
- 9 refer to "FFFFFFFFourth of July," that is "Fourth of July"
- 10 with a total of seven Fs. For clarity, I'll just refer to
- 11 that as the "FFFFFFFFourth of July entry."
- Does your yearbook contain the "FFFFFFFFourth of July
- 13 entry" described by Mr. Avenatti?
- Judge Kavanaugh. So "FFF," all that refers to is a
- 15 friend of ours in the class, when he would say "fuck you,"
- 16 he would often say it with a wind-up like "fffuck you."
- 17 And for reasons that are not clear to me today, at age 15
- 18 and 16, the whole group of guys thought that was a funny,
- 19 inside thing, and it got shortened to the sound I just made
- 20 was a number of Fs rolling together.
- 21 And that guy would sometimes get in fights, either on
- 22 the football field or otherwise, where he would say "fuck
- 23 you" and then, you know, be in a fight. And that was the
- 24 reference.
- Okay. But what does ""FFFFFFFFourth of July"

- 1 specifically refer to?
- 2 Judge Kavanaugh. That must refer to a specific
- 3 incident where that guy -- hold on one second.
- 4 [Pause.]
- Judge Kavanaugh. Best recollection would be that it's
- 6 a specific party where he got in a fight.
- But you don't recall that party or that
- 8 fight?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. I don't recall the specifics, no. I
- 10 think it's referring to Rehoboth Beach.
- Okay. Mr. Avenatti says he has reason -- he
- 12 has reason to believe that the "FFFFFFFourth of July entry"
- 13 stands for "find them, French them, feel them, finger them,
- 14 fuck them, and forget them."
- Have you ever used such a reference?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That's wrong. It refers to this one
- 17 guy and his -- and a joke that everyone had about him and
- 18 how he said "fuck you."
- Have you ever heard of such a reference as
- 20 Mr. Avenatti described it being used?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I have never heard that as a
- 22 reference, and I know for a fact that that was not the
- 23 reference with respect to the yearbook.
- 24 Why did you include the "FFFFFFFourth of
- 25 July entry" in your yearbook and your calendar?

- Judge Kavanaugh. I can't remember. The yearbook is a
- 2 lot of humor, a lot of farce, a little bit of serious where
- 3 you list your activities. But it's a lot of humor and a
- 4 lot of farce at a time when the editors of the yearbook
- 5 were probably following a model -- model of -- hold on one
- 6 second.
- 7 [Pause.]
- Judge Kavanaugh. Yeah, the yearbook editors, I think,
- 9 had a mindset of like "Caddyshack," "Fast Times at
- 10 Ridgemont High," "Animal House," or something and made the
- 11 yearbook into kind of a farce in that respect. And that's
- 12 -- you know, that explains some of the yearbook.
- Judge, I just want to get some clarity on
- 14 the first question that _____ asked you on this line of
- 15 questioning. I just want to make sure that your answer is
- 16 what we suspect it is.
- So let me repeat the question, and then I'm going to
- 18 ask you the first question again to get a clear answer.
- Mr. Avenatti says he has reason to believe that the
- 20 "FFFFFFFourth of July entry" stands for "find them, French
- 21 them, feel them, finger them, fuck them, and forget them."
- 22 And here's the question. Have you ever used such a
- 23 reference?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No, never. Nor has anyone else, to
- 25 my understanding. And I know for a fact that that is not

- 1 the reference in the yearbook or the reference related to
- 2 the person in question talking about his use of it and how
- 3 that became a joke among some of the classmates.
- Thank you, Judge, for the clarification on
- 5 our part, and will continue the questioning.
- So do you have any understanding of why
- 7 Mr. Avenatti would interpret the "FFFFFFFourth of July
- 8 entry" as he has?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. No. We all know about -- no, I'm
- 10 not going to speculate further.
- 11 Well, Judge, tell us about your general
- 12 reaction to Mr. Avenatti and his allegations.
- Judge Kavanaugh. I think it's absurd, outrageous, a
- 14 joke, a farce, the twilight zone.
- Have you ever met Mr. Avenatti?
- 16 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- We have not received any evidence from
- 18 Mr. Avenatti, despite Senate investigators requesting his
- 19 evidence for his allegations. We don't even know who his
- 20 client is, or clients, he's apparently representing in this
- 21 matter.
- 22 Are you aware of any client or clients of Mr. Avenatti
- 23 related to this matter?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I am not.
- Are you aware of any evidence that

- 1 Mr. Avenatti may have that he says that he's going to
- 2 present to us at some indeterminate time in the near
- 3 future?
- 4 Judge Kavanaugh. I am not.
- Okay. So we have a few more questions about
- 6 some of these yearbook entries. Mr. Avenatti also says
- 7 that your yearbook and calendar include the phrase "devil's
- 8 triangle." For clarity, I'll refer to that as the "devil's
- 9 triangle entry."
- Does your yearbook contain the devil's triangle entry
- 11 described by Mr. Avenatti?
- 12 Judge Kavanaugh. Hold on one second.
- 13 [Pause.]
- Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. I should just clarify, too,
- 15 you've referred to my calendars a couple of times. He has
- 16 no -- he's never seen my calendars.
- You say "he," you mean Mr. Avenatti?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Yes, Mr. Avenatti, of course, has
- 19 never seen my calendars.
- 20 And you say that -- you've referred to
- 21 your calendars, are you -- you mean -- are you looking at
- 22 your calendars today?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No. I'm just saying your question,
- 24 or at least the lead-up to the question, the last two
- 25 questions referred to calendar and yearbook, and I'm just

- 1 pointing out that Mr. Avenatti has never seen my calendars.
- 2 So we're talking about the yearbook entry.
- On the yearbook entry, yes, there is a reference to
- 4 devil's triangle.
- 5 What does the devil's triangle entry refer
- 6 to?
- Judge Kavanaugh. It refers to a drinking game where
- 8 there were three glasses in a triangle. Beer drinking.
- 9 Mr. Avenatti says he has -- he has reason to
- 10 believe the devil's triangle entry refers to a situation
- 11 where two men engage in sex with one woman at the same
- 12 time.
- 13 Have you ever used the term "devil's triangle" to
- 14 refer to sexual behavior?
- 15 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- Have you ever heard "devil's triangle" being
- 17 used to refer to sexual behavior?
- 18 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 19 Why did you include the devil's triangle
- 20 entry in your yearbook?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I don't know. We were 17.
- Do you have any understanding of why
- 23 Mr. Avenatti would interpret the devil's triangle entry as
- 24 he has?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I think I'll refer back to my prior

- 1 answer about my reaction to his allegations.
- Thank you, Judge.
- This is again. I'm going to jump
- 4 to the next set of questions unless you have anything else
- 5 to add on that past topic?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That's fine by me. Thank you.
- Okay. Judge Kavanaugh, on September 22nd
- 8 of this year, Senator Gardner received an anonymous letter,
- 9 apparently sent from Denver, alleging that you engaged in
- 10 certain conduct in 1998.
- 11 Have you had an opportunity to review that letter?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I did look at that, I believe, yeah.
- Okay. I'm going to read -- read from it.
- 14 The letter states, "I will remain anonymous, but I feel
- 15 obligated to inform you of this 1998 incident involving
- 16 Brett Kavanaugh." When you were the author of the Starr
- 17 Report, the author's daughter from Boulder, Colorado,
- 18 occasionally socialized with Brett Kavanaugh. She and a
- 19 group of four, including Kavanaugh, met in a Washington,
- 20 D.C., bar.
- "Her friend was dating him, and they left the bar
- 22 under the influence of alcohol. They were all shocked when
- 23 Brett Kavanaugh shoved her friend up against the wall very
- 24 aggressively and sexually. There were at least four
- 25 witnesses, including my daughter. Her friend, still

- 1 traumatized, called my daughter yesterday, September 21,
- 2 2018, wondering what to do about it. They decided to
- 3 remain anonymous."
- 4 Did the events described in the letter occur?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No, and we're dealing with an
- 6 anonymous letter about an anonymous person and an anonymous
- 7 friend. It's ridiculous. Total twilight zone. And no,
- 8 I've never done anything like that.
- Just a few more specific questions. At
- 10 any point while you were involved in the Starr
- 11 investigation, did you ever shove a woman up against a wall
- 12 very aggressively or sexually as you left a bar?
- 13 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 14 At any point while you were involved in
- 15 the Starr investigation, did you ever behave violently
- 16 toward a woman?
- 17 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 18 All right. Just one moment, please.
- 19 [Pause.]
- When you were involved in the Starr
- 21 investigation, do you recall ever socializing with a woman
- 22 from Boulder, Colorado?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- While you were involved in the Starr
- 25 investigation, do you recall ever dating a woman who would

- 1 fairly fit the description in the letter provided to
- 2 Senator Gardner?
- The anonymous letter.
- 4 Judge Kavanaugh. What's the description?
- Just based on what I --
- Judge Kavanaugh. Describe her appearance.
- 7 No, it's -- all we have is what I read.
- Judge Kavanaugh. Well, then I don't know what I'm
- 9 responding to then.
- Judge, I want to give you the opportunity
- 11 again to respond more generally to these series of
- 12 allegations that are made against you either by
- 13 Mr. Avenatti or anonymous sources or others. I just want
- 14 to get your general reaction to this.
- Judge Kavanaugh. I think this is -- this is crazy
- 16 town. It's a smear campaign. I've been in the public eye
- 17 for 24 years, really public at various points. Certainly
- 18 1998, when I was in the Starr investigation, that was a
- 19 very public year. In the Bush White House, very public,
- 20 especially in 2003 to 2006. Two notable confirmation
- 21 hearings in '04 and '06. As a judge for 12 years. Named,
- 22 whether correctly or not, a few times as a possible Supreme
- 23 Court nominee, very public around those times.
- You know, go through this whole process, and the FBI
- 25 background, six FBI backgrounds, intense scrutiny, and then

- 1 for something like this and the Avenatti thing are just
- 2 absurd and outrageous, coordinated perhaps. I don't know.
- 3 Twilight zone. And I don't -- you know, it's just
- 4 outrageous. It's trying to take me down, trying to take
- 5 down my family.
- It's bad -- it's doing damage to the Supreme Court.
- 7 It's doing damage to the country. It's doing damage to
- 8 this process. It's become a total feeding frenzy, you
- 9 know? Every -- just unbelievable.
- The committee has received four separate
- 11 allegations related to you and sexual misconduct. Is there
- 12 a kernel of truth in any of these allegations?
- 13 Judge Kavanaugh. No. Are we going to talk Rhode
- 14 Island?
- 15 We are.
- Judge Kavanaugh. Okay. Let's get that one out of the
- 17 way, too.
- Okay, Judge.
- Judge Kavanaugh. I don't mean to cut off questions
- 20 about the other one.
- Oh, no, I think we were finished. Judge
- 22 Kavanaugh, a Rhode Island man named
- 23 recently called Senator Whitehouse's office making
- 24 allegations concerning a rape on a boat in August of 1985.
- 25 Have you had the opportunity to review those allegations?

- 1 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.
- So, for the record, the report from Senator
- 3 Whitehouse states, "Senator Whitehouse received a call this
- 4 morning from a Rhode Island constituent, , ,
- 5 who made allegations regarding U.S. Supreme Court nominee
- 6 Brett Kavanaugh. reported that early on a Sunday
- 7 morning in August of 1985, a close acquaintance of the
- 8 constituent was sexually assaulted by two heavily
- 9 inebriated men she referred to at the time as Brett and
- 10 Mark.
- "The event took place on a 36-foot maroon and white
- 12 boat in the harbor at Newport, Rhode Island, after the
- 13 three had met at a local bar. According to _____, when
- 14 he learned of the assault at approximately 5:00 a.m. that
- 15 same morning, he and another individual went to the harbor,
- 16 located the boat the victim had described and physically
- 17 confronted the two men, leaving them with significant
- 18 injuries.
- 19 recently realized that one of the men was
- 20 Brett Kavanaugh when he saw Kavanaugh's high school
- 21 yearbook photo on television over the weekend. He promptly
- 22 reported the incident to our office on Monday morning,
- 23 September 24, 2018."
- Judge, did this event happen?
- Judge Kavanaugh. No. I was not in Newport, haven't

- 1 been on a boat in Newport. Not with Mark Judge on a boat,
- 2 nor all those three things combined. This is just
- 3 completely made up, or at least not me. I don't know what
- 4 they're referring to.
- 5 Did you ever sexually assault a woman or
- 6 women in Rhode Island?
- 7 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- Were you ever in a situation where two men
- 9 injured you and someone named Mark?
- 10 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- Do you have any knowledge of such a boat?
- 12 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- Do you know
- 14 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- appears to have a Twitter
- 16 account with the handle . Among other
- 17 things, the information identifies the account holder as a
- 18 "hippie" from "Rhode Island."
- 19 Are you aware that on June 27th of this year, the
- 20 account tweeted, "A question, when will the United States
- 21 military decided to do what they have vowed and remove the
- 22 domestic threat to the Constitution that lives in the White
- 23 House?"
- Judge Kavanaugh. Can you repeat -- you broke out. So
- 25 I just want to make sure I got it. I think I got it, but

- 1 can you repeat it?
- Sure. So has a Twitter account
- 3 with the handle . Among other things, the
- 4 information identifies the account holder as a "hippie"
- 5 from "Rhode Island."
- Are you aware that on June 27 of this year, this
- 7 account tweeted, "A question, when will the United States
- 8 military decided to do what they have vowed and remove the
- 9 domestic threat to the Constitution that lives in the White
- 10 House?"
- Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not aware of his Twitter account
- 12 or what might be on his Twitter account, if that's the
- 13 question.
- So you are not aware that on July 8th of
- 15 this year, this account tweeted, "Dear Pentagon, please
- 16 save my country from the parasite that occupies the White
- 17 House. Our you waiting until Russians parachute in like in
- 18 Red Dawn? Please help!"
- 19 Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not aware of that.
- So you are also not aware that on August 18
- 21 of this year, this account tweeted, "I am making for the
- 22 military to do their constitutional duty --"
- I am asking.
- "I am asking" -- excuse me. "-- for the
- 25 military to do their constitutional duty and protect us

- 1 from the domestic terrorist in the Oval Office. Please,
- please, please."
- Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not aware of that.
- 4 Having heard this information, do you know
- 5 or remember, ?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I don't.
- 7 What are your general reactions to this
- 8 allegation, Judge?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. It's just totally made up.
- 10 Ridiculous.
- Okay. So, Judge Kavanaugh, we've asked you
- 12 now about a number of very recently made allegations of
- 13 sexual misconduct, and I want to make sure that we fully
- 14 understand your testimony.
- Again, you understand that falsely answering my
- 16 questions -- our questions can carry criminal penalties.
- 17 Correct?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I understand that, yes.
- 19 Committee investigators previously asked you
- 20 about Dr. Ford's allegations. You categorically and
- 21 unequivocally denied them.
- Do you stand by that testimony?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I do.
- Today, we've ask you about some other
- 25 allegations that became public after Dr. Ford's allegations

- 1 became public. You have denied all of them.
- Do you stand by that testimony?
- 3 Judge Kavanaugh. I do.
- Have you ever sexually assaulted anyone?
- 5 Judge Kavanaugh. I have not.
- 6 Have you ever committed any kind of sexual
- 7 misconduct?
- 8 Judge Kavanaugh. No.
- 9 Are you looking forward to testifying at
- 10 Thursday's hearing?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I am looking forward to it. And to
- 12 reiterate what I said last Monday, now 8 days ago, I wanted
- 13 to testify last Tuesday so that I can clear my name, defend
- 14 my integrity, defend a lifetime of good work that I have
- done and the record I've built as a judge for 12 years,
- 16 worked in the White House for 5 1/2, working in public
- 17 service, working for Justice Kennedy. I look forward to
- 18 defending my name, defending my integrity.
- 19 And to reiterate also, listen to all the people who
- 20 knew me best. The women I went to high school with who've
- 21 spoken. You know, Julie and Suzanne and Meghan and Maura,
- 22 and Maura, and I'll go on, who were my friends and are
- 23 still my friends, and who knew me then and have known me
- 24 since age 13 or 14. And the college friends like Louisa
- 25 and Carolyn and Karen, and the people I -- the women I

- 1 worked with in the Bush White House who have repeatedly
- 2 spoken on my behalf and signed a letter on my behalf and
- 3 talked about how I've always treated women with dignity and
- 4 respect throughout my life.
- 5 The law clerks that I've hired, and I've been the
- 6 leading judge in the United States, Federal judge in the
- 7 United States in my time on the bench in promoting women
- 8 law clerks to Supreme Court clerkships and hired more women
- 9 than men, and they've all spoken out in support of me and
- 10 how I've been an advocate for women's equality throughout
- 11 my life.
- 12 As a coach for the last 7 years of girls basketball
- 13 teams, and training and encouraging and inspiring girls to
- 14 do -- to have confidence and do better at basketball and
- 15 prepare them for life and listen to their moms and dads.
- 16 And all this inspired by my mom, who taught me at a
- 17 young age to break barriers and who, herself, was a
- 18 trailblazer and overcame sexual harassment and barriers
- 19 that were omnipresent at that time for women trying to
- 20 break into the legal profession. And I watched her do that
- 21 and learned from her and was inspired by her.
- 22 And one facet of my life that has been important to me
- 23 in all aspects is I've always been friends with lots of
- 24 people, and I'm blessed by my friends, and I've talked
- 25 about that in my opening statement last time. And one of

- 1 the things that's been true throughout my life is how many
- 2 women I've been friends with. Not talking about dating
- 3 now, talking about friends.
- 4 From an early age, Julie Hurson DeVol on TV the other
- 5 night talking about how I always helped her with her
- 6 homework in high school. Suzanne Hohman Matan and Amy
- 7 O'Neill and Kristin Blomquist Treacy and Maura Fitzgerald
- 8 and Maura Molloy Kane and Meghan Molloy McCaleb, all
- 9 friends from high school who were with me all the time and
- 10 were my friends and are still my friends. And I can go on
- 11 and on on the names and the people in college.
- 12 I've been -- I've been a supporter and promoter of
- 13 women's equality, and then the women -- women I've dated
- 14 have talked about that as well and how I treated them. And
- 15 some of the women on those letters are people I went out
- 16 with. Most of them, of course, are friends and never had
- 17 that kind -- but they've all talked about how I treated
- 18 them with dignity and respect throughout my life.
- 19 And you know, who would want to go through this? Who
- 20 is ever going to want to go through this in the future?
- 21 What is this doing to the Court when -- and the country and
- 22 the process when these kind of -- this kind of process
- 23 happens where an allegation is held for this long, an
- 24 allegation during the process that was known. And then I
- 25 have -- known during the process, I mean, by a Senator.

- 1 And then I go through the hearing and the prompt
- 2 background check and the individuals meetings, and then
- 3 it's sprung in the way it was sprung. And you know, just
- 4 to go back to that, that's the summer of 1982. Well, I
- 5 wasn't at such thing in the summer of 1982. And the people
- 6 who were there say it didn't happen.
- 7 And since we last talked, the other -- the woman who
- 8 was there says she doesn't know me and has never seen me,
- 9 as far as she can remember, at a party. It's just -- it's
- 10 a disgrace. It is a total -- what this process has become.
- 11 I'll end with that, unless you have further questions.
- Just one more.
- Two more. Go ahead.
- 14 Two more. Excuse me. Do you object to the
- 15 public release of the transcript of this interview?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I do not object.
- And Judge, we had a transcribed interview
- 18 with you on Monday, September 17, 2018. Correct?
- 19 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.
- And in that interview, we discussed the
- 21 then-allegations by Dr. Ford contained in the July 30,
- 22 2018, letter sent to Senator Feinstein's office. Correct?
- Judge Kavanaugh. Correct.
- Do you -- for purposes of your testimony
- 25 today, do you adopt your testimony from September 17th?

- 1 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.
- 2 And do you object to the public release of
- 3 that testimony from September 17th?
- Judge Kavanaugh. I do not object to that.
- So that was during -- that testimony was
- 6 during a background investigation call with you between the
- 7 ranking member's staff and the chairman's staff. Do you
- 8 understand that?
- 9 Judge Kavanaugh. I thought it was just the chairman's
- 10 staff, that call. Am I wrong about that?
- Excuse me. The chairman's staff. The
- 12 ranking member's staff was invited, but did not
- 13 participate. I stand corrected. But you understand that
- 14 that's --
- 15 Judge Kavanaugh. Right. That --
- -- part of the BI process?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That's correct.
- 18 So I just want to make sure that this is
- 19 crystal clear. You do not object to having that testimony,
- 20 that transcript of that testimony attached, because you're
- 21 adopting it for purposes of today's testimony, to your
- 22 testimony today, and so we can publicly release both
- 23 transcripts. Is that correct?
- Judge Kavanaugh. That is correct.
- Do you have anything further to add,

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Judge?
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 2
         Judge Kavanaugh. Thank you all for your time.
 3
         Thank you.
         [Whereupon, at 1:36 p.m., the interview was
 4
 5
    concluded.]
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