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United States Senate COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6275

KOLAN L. DAVIS, Chief Counsel and Staff Director JENNIFER DUCK, Democratic Chief Counsel and Staff Director

September 29, 2018

VIA ELECTRONIC TRANSMISSION

The Honorable Jeff Sessions Attorney General U.S. Department of Justice 950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20530

The Honorable Christopher A. Wray Director Federal Bureau of Investigation 935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20535

Dear Attorney General Sessions and Director Wray:

As you know, the Senate Judiciary Committee recently processed the nomination of Judge Brett M. Kavanaugh to serve as an Associate Justice on the Supreme Court. As part of that process, the Committee has been investigating various allegations made against Judge Kavanaugh. The Committee's investigation has involved communicating with numerous individuals claiming to have relevant information. While many of those individuals have acted in good faith in providing the Committee information during the investigation, unfortunately it appears some have not. As explained below, I write today respectfully referring Mr. for investigation of potential violations of 18 U.S.C. §§ 1001 and 1505, for materially false statements Mr. made to the Committee as part of its investigation of allegations against Judge Kavanaugh.

According to Senator Whitehouse and his Committee staff, on the morning of September 24, contacted the Senator's office to report an allegation of sexual misconduct by Judge 2018, Mr. claimed that in August of 1985, Judge Kavanaugh sexually assaulted a close Kavanaugh. Mr. acquaintance of Mr. on a boat in the harbor at Newport, Rhode Island. Committee staff took 's allegation seriously, and asked Judge Kavanaugh numerous questions about it under Mr. penalty of felony during an interview on September 25, 2018. He categorically denied the allegation. On September 26, 2018, the Committee publicly released a redacted transcript of that interview, with 's name redacted. Afterwards, at 7:51 pm that same evening, Mr. "recanted" and Mr. apologized for his allegation via social media. I have enclosed the relevant materials documenting these facts.

Committee investigations in support of the judicial nomination process are an essential part of the Committee's constitutional role. The Committee is grateful to citizens who come forward with relevant information in good faith, even if they are not one hundred percent sure about what they know. But when individuals provide fabricated allegations to the Committee, diverting Committee resources

during time-sensitive investigations, it materially impedes our work. Such acts are not only unfair; they are potentially illegal. It is illegal to make materially false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements to Congressional investigators. It is illegal to obstruct Committee investigations.

Accordingly, in light of the seriousness of these facts, and the threat these types of actions pose to the Committee's ability to perform its constitutional duties, I hope you will give this referral the utmost consideration.

Thank you for your prompt attention to this matter. If you have any questions, please contact a professional staff investigator in the Committee's Oversight and Investigations Unit at (202) 224-5225.

Sincerely,

Chuck Grassley

Charles E. Grassley Chairman Committee on the Judiciary

Enclosures:

Letter from Senator Whitehouse to Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Feinstein Email from Senator Whitehouse' Staff Transcript of Kavanaugh Interview Tweet by Mr.

cc: The Honorable Dianne Feinstein Ranking Member Committee on the Judiciary

> The Honorable Sheldon Whitehouse Ranking Member Subcommittee on Crime and Terrorism Committee on the Judiciary

SHELDON WHITEHOUSE RHODE ISLAND

COMMITTEES: BUDGET ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS FINANCE JUDICIARY



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170 Westminster Street, Suite 200 Providence, RI 02903 (401) 453–5294

September 24, 2018

The Honorable Charles E. Grassley Chairman Committee on the Judiciary United States Senate 224 Dirksen Senate Office Building Washington, DC 20510

The Honorable Dianne Feinstein Ranking Member Committee on the Judiciary 331 Hart Senate Office Building Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Feinstein:

This morning, a constituent contacted my office to report another allegation of sexual misconduct by Judge Brett Kavanaugh, nominee to be Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. At the constituent's request, I provided the constituent with the contact information of a reporter who might investigate the allegation. I have also alerted the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I look forward to hearing what further action you would like to take.

Sincerely, Sheldon Whitehouse

United States Senator

From:	(Judiciary-Dem)	
Sent: N	1onday, September 24, 2018 6:25 PM	
To:	(Judiciary-Rep)	(Judiciary-Rep)
	(Judiciary-Dem)	
	(Judiciary-Dem)	
Cc:	(Judiciary-Dem)	
Subjec	:	

All—

Please find attached a letter from Senator Whitehouse to Chairman Grassley and Ranking Member Feinstein. I believe he handed your bosses hard copies at the vote. Below is a summary of the substance of the allegations referenced in the letter:

Our office received a call this morning from a Rhode Island constituent, **according**, who made allegations regarding U.S. Supreme Court nominee Brett Kavanaugh. **Constituent** reported that early on a Sunday morning in August of 1985, a close acquaintance of the constituent was sexually assaulted by two heavily inebriated men she referred to at the time as "Brett and Mark." The event took place on a 36' maroon and white boat in the harbor at Newport, Rhode Island, after the three had met at a local bar. According to **according**, when he learned of the assault at approximately 5:00 a.m. that same morning, he and another individual went to the harbor, located the boat the victim had described, and physically confronted the two men, leaving them with significant injuries. **Constituent** recently realized that one of the men was Brett Kavanaugh when he saw Kavanaugh's high school yearbook photo on television over the weekend. He promptly reported the incident to our office on Monday morning, September 24, 2018.

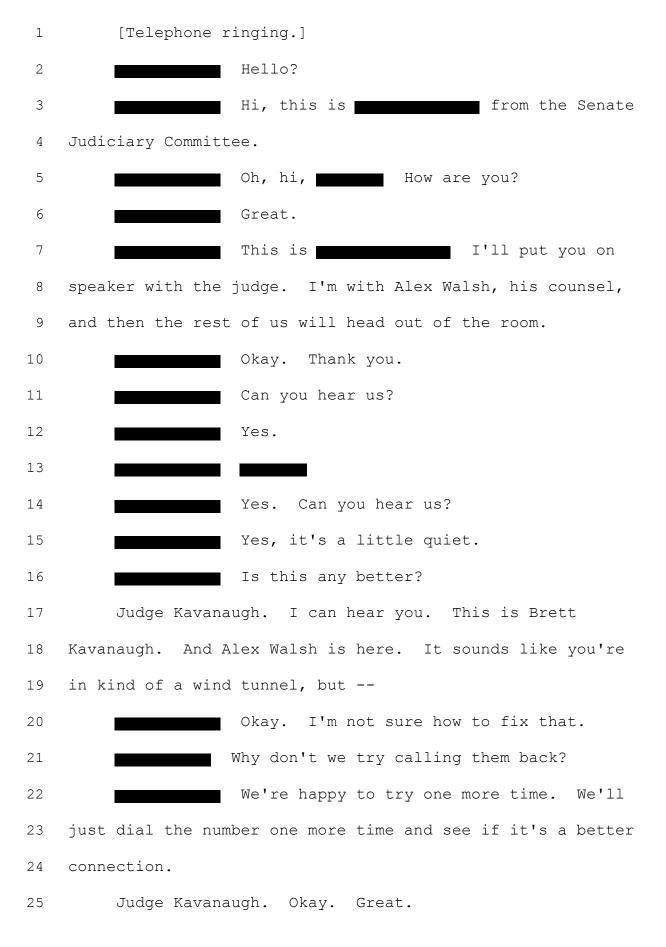
If your office wishes to pursue this matter, we can provide contact information for Mr. . . It is not clear that the victim is aware that Mr. has brought these allegations forward or that she wishes to come forward herself.

Thanks,



Senator Sheldon Whitehouse Subcommittee on Crime & Terrorism Senate Committee on the Judiciary

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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15	
16	The interview convened at 12:34 p.m.
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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.

Judge Kavanaugh. Yeah, thanks, 2 I'm a 3 Hi, Judge. It's for the ranking member. 4 5 Judge Kavanaugh. Okay. Thank you. Before we begin, I just want to make clear 6 that the Democratic members have asked the FBI to 7 investigate these allegations, and they believe that's 8 necessary to a fair process and fairness more generally. 9 10 The Democratic members do not believe that it's appropriate for staff to be discussing allegations with you that have 11 12 not yet been investigated. 13 Also want to make clear that we just learned about the possibility of this phone call today at 11:15 a.m. and 14 weren't advised that it would be happening at 12:30 p.m. 15 16 until about 11:50 a.m. today. So it's likely that we will

17 primarily be listening during this call.

And again, I just want to reiterate that the Democratic members do not believe that this is a fair or sufficient process, and this is not how the committee usually handles allegations of this sort.

I would just say -- this is I I would just say that we can have these political discussions 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 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 about the New Yorker article published on Sunday. Have you reviewed the article?

14 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.

The article alleges that during your 15 16 freshman year at Yale, you attended a -- and I quote -- "a drunken dormitory party at which you exposed yourself, 17 thrust your penis in Deborah Ramirez's face, and caused her 18 to touch it without her consent as she pushed you away." 19 20 Did that happen? 21 Judge Kavanaugh. That did not happen. 22 Do you know Deborah Ramirez? 23 Judge Kavanaugh. I do. 24 When did you meet her?

25 Judge Kavanaugh. I knew her in college.

And when did you last talk to her? 1 Judge Kavanaugh. Many, many years ago. 2 3 Would you say that was post college? 4 Judge Kavanaugh. I'm pretty sure we were at a wedding together. and wedding, 5 which I believe was in 1997 in the Baltimore area. And I 6 don't think I've seen her since then. 7 8 Okay. Will you describe your relationship with her? 9 10 Judge Kavanaugh. I knew her. Friendly. Friendly, 11 but not friends. 12 Okay. So we're on the same page, I'm going to define "sexual or romantic behavior" as kissing, 13 14 touching, or penetrating her genitals, anus, or breasts; touching or penetrating your -- her touching or penetrating 15 your genitals or anus; seeing her genitals, anus, or 16 breasts; or her seeing your genitals or anus. 17 With that definition in mind, did you have any sexual 18 or romantic encounters with Deborah Ramirez? 19 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 20 21 Are you aware of any reason Deborah Ramirez would lie about you? 22 23 [Pause.] 24 Judge Kavanaugh. I don't want to speculate. Okay. Ms. Ramirez says that she was 25

invited by a friend on the women's soccer team to a dorm
 room party that occurred at Lawrence Hall. And again, she
 says this occurred when you were both freshmen.

4 Did you attend any such party?

Judge Kavanaugh. I lived in Lawrence Hall freshman year in the basement, and I have no recollection at all of the party she's describing. And of course, I've said the 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 Lawrence Hall or get-togethers in Lawrence Hall that might have occurred. What I do know is this incident, this specific incident alleged did not happen, and I don't recall the general party that she's describing in particular.

17

Okay.

Judge Kavanaugh. But people got together, of course, in the dorm rooms, if that's the question. So I don't want to imply that people weren't in the dorm rooms.

And the dorms had common rooms, just so you know. So there were not my -- not the room I lived in, but some of the other rooms in Lawrence Hall were six rooms off a common room in a what was called a suite. So in the common rooms, there would often be people just hanging out.

Okay. Ms. Ramirez says at the party she 1 identified, a small group of students decided to play a 2 3 drinking game together at which students were sitting in a circle, and people would pick who drank. She says that she 4 was chosen repeatedly to the point that she later was on 5 the floor, foggy and slurring her words. 6 Did you attend any such party? 7 8 Judge Kavanaugh. I have no recollection of that. Ms. Ramirez says that at one point during 9 10 the drinking game at the party she identified, a male student pointed a gag plastic penis in her direction. 11 12 Did you attend any party at which a male student pointed a gag plastic penis at Ms. Ramirez? 13 Judge Kavanaugh. I have no recollection of that. 14 Ms. Ramirez says that after she was on 15 16 the floor, foggy and slurring her words, a male student exposed herself -- himself to her. She says, "I remember a 17 penis being in front of my face. I knew that's not what I 18 wanted, even in that state of mind." 19 20 According to the article, she recalled remarking, "That's not a real penis," and the other students laughing 21 at her confusion and taunting her, one encouraging her to 22 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 of the question.

Repeat it.
Judge Kavanaugh. I guess, I have no recollection of
what you're describing generally, and of course, no -- did
not -- the specific incident you're describing didn't
happen. I never saw anything like that.
Judge, we're going to repeat the question.
Judge Kavanaugh. Okay.

Ms. Ramirez says that after Ms. Ramirez was on the floor, foggy and slurring her words, a male student exposed herself -- himself to her. She says, "I remember a penis being in front of my face. I knew that's not what I wanted, even in that state of mind."

According to the article, she recalled remarking, "That's not a real penis," and the other students laughing at her confusion and taunting her, one encouraging her to kiss it. She said that she pushed that person away, touching it in the process.

21 Did you hear all of that?

Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. And the question is? Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. And the question is? Did you attend a party at which any of 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 were laughing, and she can still see your face and your 5 6 hips coming forward like when you pull up your pants. She states that another student shouted about the 7 8 event, "Somebody yelled down the hall, 'Brett Kavanaugh just put his penis in Debbie's face.' It was his full 9 10 name. I don't think it was just 'Brett,' and I remember hearing and being mortified that this was out there." 11 12 Did this ever happen? Judge Kavanaugh. That did not happen. 13 14 The article reports that an anonymous classmate is 100 percent sure that he was told at the time 15 16 that Kavanaugh was the student who exposed himself to Ramirez and that he independently recalled many of the same 17 details offered by Ramirez, including the party's location. 18 The article also suggests that some of your classmates have 19 20 discussed this alleged event. 21 At any point, have you ever heard a rumor that you 22 exposed yourself to Ms. Ramirez? 23 Judge Kavanaugh. No, and I would have, because it 24 would have been the talk of campus. Okay. The article identifies Mr. James 25

Roche as your roommate. Is that his -- how do you 1 2 pronounce his name? 3 Judge Kavanaugh. Roche. Jamie. 4 Roche. Okay. Judge Kavanaugh. Jamie is what he went by then. 5 6 Okay. Generally speaking, he supports Ms. Ramirez's account of the story. When did you first 7 meet Mr. Roche? 8 Judge Kavanaugh. Can you hold on one second? 9 10 Yes. 11 [Pause.] 12 Judge Kavanaugh. Okay. I'm here. Great. When did you first meet 13 14 Mr. Roche? Judge Kavanaugh. I would have met him when we moved 15 16 in to Lawrence Hall in September of 1983 when I was 18. And when did you last communicate with 17 him? 18 Judge Kavanaugh. I saw him probably at our 25th 19 20 reunion, which would have been 2000 and -- 2012. It might have been our 20th reunion, but I saw him briefly at one of 21 22 those reunions. 23 And will you describe your relationship with him? 24 Judge Kavanaugh. So there were three guys who lived, 25

in essence, in a room together -- Dave White, Jamie Roche,
and myself. Jamie and Dave White hated each other. They
got in fights, fist fights during the year. One time Dave
White was away for the weekend. Jamie -- when he came
back, Jamie had moved all Dave White's furniture,
everything, like into some other area of Lawrence Hall in a
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.

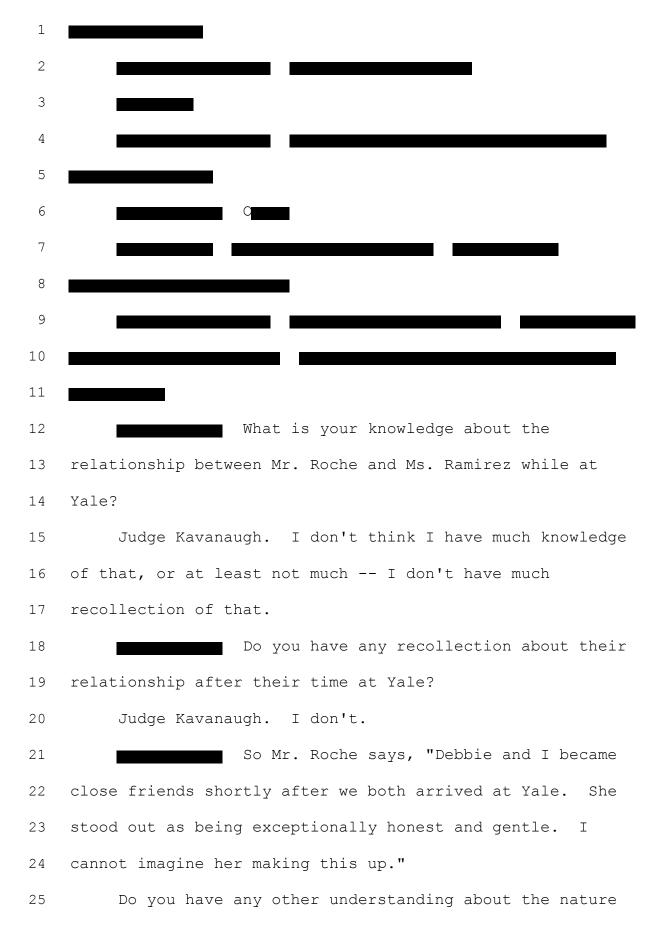
I got -- I was friends with Dave White more than Jamie. I tried to be civil. Jamie wasn't around a lot. I don't know, I think his parents lived nearby, and so he was elsewhere or with a girl, I don't know, a woman at Yale.

16 He didn't hang out with us very 17 much, wasn't a great situation.

18Are you aware of any reason Mr. Roche19would lie about you?

Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not going to speculate beyond --I'm not going to speculate beyond what I've said. My understanding, of course, is that he does not corroborate the incident.





1 of their relationship, either then or now?

2 Judge Kavanaugh. I don't.

According to the article, Mr. Roche never saw you engage in any sexual misconduct, but did recall you being frequently incoherently drunk.

Were you frequently incoherently drunk in college?
Judge Kavanaugh. No. Like -- like most people in
college, I went to parties and had beers, but that's -that's not an accurate description, in my view.

Do you have any understanding of why Mr. Roche would characterize you as frequently incoherently drunk in college?

Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not going to speculate on what's qoing 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 most at Yale College were studying and going to class and working very hard on my academics, doing well enough to get into Yale Law School, which was not obvious when I arrived in September of 1983. I worked my ass off.

25 And the second thing was basketball. Throughout the

freshman year when I lived there, I was playing basketball 1 every day. I tried out for the varsity basketball team. 2 As soon as we got there, literally the first day, the 3 workouts started. Not -- not with coaches present because 4 they weren't allowed by NCAA rules to be present, but the -5 - the play, the captain-led workouts started immediately. 6 Butch Graves was the captain of the Yale basketball team. 7 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 and basketball. And of course, we all lived on Old Campus. So, of course, it was also social. I had friends. Louisa Garry, who testified at the hearing for me, who I met on the first day of Yale College, the other college women friends who have written, who joined that letter, talked 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 1 ever getting blackout drunk. Would anything about your 2 college drinking in any way impair your ability to remember 3 4 whether you engaged in the conduct Ms. Ramirez identifies? 5 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 6 All right. The article reports Mr. Roche as saying, "Is it believable that she was alone with a 7 8 wolfy group of guys who thought it was funny to sexually torment a girl like Debbie? Yeah, definitely. Is it 9 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? 15 16 Judge Kavanaugh. Well, I'm not going to speculate. I've described the contentious relationship in that room 17 generally and his issues generally. 18 And his issues you testified being 19 20 ? 21 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 eqged Kavanaugh on during the party during college. She even invited the classmate to her 25

house for Thanksgiving one year after he told her that he had nowhere to go. She also attended his wedding years later as a guest of his wife, and she said that she posed 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 **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 **Marrying** and -- I was at **Marrying** 18 and **Marrying** wedding. And like I said, **Marrying** said she 19 never heard about any such thing as this incident.

20 Did you interact with Ms. Ramirez at the 21 wedding?

Judge Kavanaugh. I'm sure -- I'm sure I saw her because it wasn't a huge wedding. And at any wedding, you would see the people that you went to school with. But I don't have a specific recollection.

Other than the wedding, have you had 1 postgraduation interactions with Ms. Ramirez? 2 3 Judge Kavanaugh. Not that I'm remembering right now. 4 The incident that she alleges in the article, was that discussed at the wedding? 5 Judge Kavanaugh. No, because it didn't happen. With 6 me, or with anyone as far as I know, but not with me. 7 8 All right. My last question on this subject is since you graduated from college, but before the 9 10 New Yorker article publication on September 23rd, have you ever discussed or heard discussion about the incident 11 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 to this New Yorker story, including the allegations made in this story.

Judge Kavanaugh. This didn't happen. I've never done anything like that. The story, as described -- back up. Karen Yarasavage, her best friend, says she never heard anything like this. If something like this had happened, it would have been the talk of campus.

The New York Times says as recently as last week, she was calling around to other classmates saying she wasn't sure I had done this. And you know, I think -- I think

we're -- this is an outrage for this kind of thin, 1 uncorroborated, 35-year-old accusation to be leveled in 2 this fashion at this time. I've been in the public eye for 3 24 years, since I started with the independent counsel in 4 the fall of 1994, very public at various points in my life. 5 6 I've been through six background checks. I worked in the White House at the highest levels, senior staff, 7 8 traveling with the President all over the world, seeing the most highly sensitive secrets of our Nation for years. I 9 10 went through a difficult confirmation process for the D.C. Circuit that was public with two separate confirmation 11 12 hearings in 2004 and 2006.

I've been a judge for 12 years in a very public way.
I've been identified repeatedly as a potential Supreme
Court nominee. Whether that was accurate or not, I've been
publicly identified. My decisions have been publicly
discussed.

I've been very much a presence at the Yale College reunions. I've been on multiple panels there. So I've been active in the class. The class newsletter has talked about me. The people in my class have been at those reunions and those events.

In all that time, not a word. And then 4 days, you know, when just right before a vote for the Supreme Court, after the nomination itself has been pending for months,

and I've been through the hearings and 65 Senate meetings and all the written questions, and then -- and then, after all these years, with all this time, and all these descriptions with no corroboration and with her best friend saying she never heard about it, you know, I'm -- I'm 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?

12 Judge Kavanaugh. That's what I read in the New York 13 Times.

14 What's your reaction to that? Judge Kavanaugh. They couldn't -- the New York Times 15 16 couldn't corroborate this story and found that she was calling around to classmates trying to see if they 17 remembered it. And I, at least -- and I, myself, heard 18 about that, that she was doing that. And you know, that 19 20 just strikes me as, you know, what is going on here? When someone is calling around to try to refresh other people, 21 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.

It doesn't sound fair. It doesn't sound proper. It sounds like an orchestrated hit to take me out. That's what it

1 sounds like.

The New Yorker story discussed how Ms. Ramirez had a lapse of memory related to this incident until she had several days of conversations with her attorney. Did you read that? 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.

And in the context of a highly contentious Supreme Court nomination where people understandably, and that is understandably, feel strongly about the Supreme Court. I don't -- I don't want to say anything -- that's appropriate in America. It's appropriate in America for people to feel strongly about the Supreme Court.

It's not appropriate for people to be dredging up uncorroborated stories and trying to refresh other people's recollections and then stoke the media and create a feeding frenzy and destroy my family and destroy my reputation and take me down. This is not right. It's an outrage.

Judge, your wife, Ashley, and you recently 1 did an interview on Fox News with Martha MacCallum. 2 Is 3 that correct? 4 Judge Kavanaugh. That is correct. 5 Everything that you said on that interview, do you -- do you affirm that today? Do you 6 adopt that as your testimony today? 7 8 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. And do you understand that what you tell a 9 10 reporter is not subject to felony prosecution if you're lying? Do you understand that? 11 12 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. 13 Do you understand that what you tell 14 congressional investigators is subject to felony prosecution for lying? Correct? 15 16 Judge Kavanaugh. Correct. So are you saying that you're -- again, 17 with that in mind, are you adopting today that what you --18 as your testimony what you told Martha MacCallum on Fox 19 20 News? Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. 21 Hey, Judge. So we have a few more 22 23 questions, as we've had a few more allegations. So I just want to start walking through those with you now. 24 Michael Avenatti has conveyed to the committee and the 25

press allegations about your alleged involvement in gang 1 2 rape parties while in high school. 3 Have you had the opportunity to review those 4 allegations? 5 Judge Kavanaugh. I've heard about them generally. 6 Well --7 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 11 12 allegation? I think I saw generally described in an email the allegations. So if you can ask me --13 14 So the committee investigators --Mr. Avenatti made allegations that he had secret evidence 15 16 against you. Committee investigators reached out to him immediately via email and asked him for his allegations and 17 his evidence. The allegations that he made are, to 18 summarize, he alleged a drug- and alcohol-induced gang rape 19 20 that you participated in. 21 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 think -- yeah. Just making sure I accurately described 24 that. In other words, I've never had a threesome or more 25

1 than a threesome.

So, specifically, Mr. Avenatti said, "We are 2 aware of significant evidence of multiple house parties in 3 4 the Washington, D.C., area during the early 1980s during 5 which Brett Kavanaugh, Mark Judge, and others would participate in the targeting of women with alcohol/drugs in 6 order to allow a 'train of men' to subsequently gang rape 7 them." 8 9 Were you involved in any way in such parties? 10 Judge Kavanaugh. No. And I've never heard of such a 11 thing. It's an outrageous accusation. Ridiculous. 12 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, 15 did you ever target one or more women for sex or rape at a 16 house party? 17 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 18 19 Did you ever assist Mark Judge or others in 20 doing so? 21 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 22 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. 25

Did you ever witness a line of men outside a bedroom at any house party where you understood a woman was in the bedroom being raped or taken advantage of?

Judge Kavanaugh. No.

4

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.

Did you ever communicate with Mark Judge or anyone else about your participation in a "train" involving 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 advantage of a woman at any house party?

Judge Kavanaugh. I never saw such a thing. So the premise, the question is off.

25 Does your yearbook contain the "FFFFFFFourth of July

1 entry" described by Mr. Avenatti?

Judge Kavanaugh. Can you -- sorry, you were breaking out. Can you just speak a little closer to the phone and speak up?

5 Sure 6 Reread the question, please. 7 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 "FFFFFFFourth of July entry."

Does your yearbook contain the "FFFFFFFourth of July entry" described by Mr. Avenatti?

Judge Kavanaugh. So "FFF," all that refers to is a friend of ours in the class, when he would say "fuck you," he would often say it with a wind-up like "fffuck you." And for reasons that are not clear to me today, at age 15 and 16, the whole group of guys thought that was a funny, inside thing, and it got shortened to the sound I just made was a number of Fs rolling together.

And that guy would sometimes get in fights, either on the football field or otherwise, where he would say "fuck you" and then, you know, be in a fight. And that was the reference.

25

Okay. But what does ""FFFFFFFourth of July"

specifically refer to? 1 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 5 6 a specific party where he got in a fight. But you don't recall that party or that 7 8 fight? Judge Kavanaugh. I don't recall the specifics, no. I 9 10 think it's referring to Rehoboth Beach. Okay. Mr. Avenatti says he has reason -- he 11 has reason to believe that the "FFFFFFFourth of July entry" 12 stands for "find them, French them, feel them, finger them, 13 fuck them, and forget them." 14 Have you ever used such a reference? 15 16 Judge Kavanaugh. That's wrong. It refers to this one guy and his -- and a joke that everyone had about him and 17 how he said "fuck you." 18 Have you ever heard of such a reference as 19 20 Mr. Avenatti described it being used? Judge Kavanaugh. I have never heard that as a 21 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 July entry" in your yearbook and your calendar? 25

Judge Kavanaugh. I can't remember. The yearbook is a lot of humor, a lot of farce, a little bit of serious where you list your activities. But it's a lot of humor and a lot of farce at a time when the editors of the yearbook were probably following a model -- model of -- hold on one second.

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7 [Pause.]
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Judge Kavanaugh. Yeah, the yearbook editors, I think, had a mindset of like "Caddyshack," "Fast Times at Ridgemont High," "Animal House," or something and made the yearbook into kind of a farce in that respect. And that's -- you know, that explains some of the yearbook.

Judge, I just want to get some clarity on the first question that **Example** asked you on this line of questioning. I just want to make sure that your answer is what we suspect it is.

17 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 "FFFFFFFourth of July entry" stands for "find them, French them, feel them, finger them, fuck them, and forget them." And here's the question. Have you ever used such a reference?

Judge Kavanaugh. No, never. Nor has anyone else, to my understanding. And I know for a fact that that is not

the reference in the yearbook or the reference related to 1 the person in question talking about his use of it and how 2 that became a joke among some of the classmates. 3 Thank you, Judge, for the clarification on 4 our part, and will continue the questioning. 5 So do you have any understanding of why 6 Mr. Avenatti would interpret the "FFFFFFFourth of July 7 8 entry" as he has? Judge Kavanaugh. No. We all know about -- no, I'm 9 10 not going to speculate further. Well, Judge, tell us about your general 11 12 reaction to Mr. Avenatti and his allegations. Judge Kavanaugh. I think it's absurd, outrageous, a 13 joke, a farce, the twilight zone. 14 Have you ever met Mr. Avenatti? 15 16 Judge Kavanaugh. No. We have not received any evidence from 17 Mr. Avenatti, despite Senate investigators requesting his 18 evidence for his allegations. We don't even know who his 19 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 related to this matter? 23 24 Judge Kavanaugh. I am not. Are you aware of any evidence that 25

Mr. Avenatti may have that he says that he's going to present to us at some indeterminate time in the near future?

Judge Kavanaugh. I am not.

5 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 described by Mr. Avenatti?

12 Judge Kavanaugh. Hold on one second.

13 [Pause.]

4

Judge Kavanaugh. Yes. I should just clarify, too, you've referred to my calendars a couple of times. He has no -- he's never seen my calendars.

17 You say "he," you mean Mr. Avenatti? 18 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes, Mr. Avenatti, of course, has 19 never seen my calendars.

And you say that -- you've referred to your calendars, are you -- you mean -- are you looking at your calendars today?

Judge Kavanaugh. No. I'm just saying your question, or at least the lead-up to the question, the last two questions referred to calendar and yearbook, and I'm just

pointing out that Mr. Avenatti has never seen my calendars. 1 2 So we're talking about the yearbook entry. 3 On the yearbook entry, yes, there is a reference to devil's triangle. 4 5 What does the devil's triangle entry refer 6 to? Judge Kavanaugh. It refers to a drinking game where 7 there were three glasses in a triangle. Beer drinking. 8 Mr. Avenatti says he has -- he has reason to 9 10 believe the devil's triangle entry refers to a situation where two men engage in sex with one woman at the same 11 12 time. 13 Have you ever used the term "devil's triangle" to refer to sexual behavior? 14 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 15 16 Have you ever heard "devil's triangle" being used to refer to sexual behavior? 17 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 18 Why did you include the devil's triangle 19 20 entry in your yearbook? 21 Judge Kavanaugh. I don't know. We were 17. 22 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 25

1 answer about my reaction to his allegations.

2 Thank you, Judge. This is again. I'm going to jump 3 4 to the next set of questions unless you have anything else to add on that past topic? 5 6 Judge Kavanaugh. That's fine by me. Thank you. Okay. Judge Kavanaugh, on September 22nd 7 8 of this year, Senator Gardner received an anonymous letter, apparently sent from Denver, alleging that you engaged in 9 10 certain conduct in 1998. 11 Have you had an opportunity to review that letter? 12 Judge Kavanaugh. I did look at that, I believe, yeah. 13 Okay. I'm going to read -- read from it. 14 The letter states, "I will remain anonymous, but I feel obligated to inform you of this 1998 incident involving 15 16 Brett Kavanaugh." When you were the author of the Starr Report, the author's daughter from Boulder, Colorado, 17 occasionally socialized with Brett Kavanaugh. She and a 18 group of four, including Kavanaugh, met in a Washington, 19 20 D.C., bar. 21 "Her friend was dating him, and they left the bar under the influence of alcohol. They were all shocked when 22 Brett Kavanaugh shoved her friend up against the wall very 23

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."

Did the events described in the letter occur?
Judge Kavanaugh. No, and we're dealing with an
anonymous letter about an anonymous person and an anonymous
friend. It's ridiculous. Total twilight zone. And no,
I've never done anything like that.

9 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.

At any point while you were involved in the Starr investigation, did you ever behave violently toward a woman?

17 Judge Kavanaugh. No.

18 All right. Just one moment, please.19 [Pause.]

When you were involved in the Starr investigation, do you recall ever socializing with a woman from Boulder, Colorado?

23 Judge Kavanaugh. No.

24 While you were involved in the Starr 25 investigation, do you recall ever dating a woman who would

fairly fit the description in the letter provided to
 Senator Gardner?

The anonymous letter.
Judge Kavanaugh. What's the description?
Just based on what I -Judge Kavanaugh. Describe her appearance.
No, it's -- all we have is what I read.
Judge Kavanaugh. Well, then I don't know what I'm
responding to then.

Judge, I want to give you the opportunity again to respond more generally to these series of allegations that are made against you either by Mr. Avenatti or anonymous sources or others. I just want to get your general reaction to this.

Judge Kavanaugh. I think this is -- this is crazy 15 16 town. It's a smear campaign. I've been in the public eye for 24 years, really public at various points. Certainly 17 1998, when I was in the Starr investigation, that was a 18 very public year. In the Bush White House, very public, 19 20 especially in 2003 to 2006. Two notable confirmation hearings in '04 and '06. As a judge for 12 years. Named, 21 22 whether correctly or not, a few times as a possible Supreme 23 Court nominee, very public around those times.

24 You know, go through this whole process, and the FBI 25 background, six FBI backgrounds, intense scrutiny, and then

for something like this and the Avenatti thing are just 1 absurd and outrageous, coordinated perhaps. I don't know. 2 Twilight zone. And I don't -- you know, it's just 3 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. 6 It's doing damage to the country. It's doing damage to 7 8 this process. It's become a total feeding frenzy, you know? Every -- just unbelievable. 9 10 The committee has received four separate allegations related to you and sexual misconduct. Is there 11 12 a kernel of truth in any of these allegations? 13 Judge Kavanaugh. No. Are we going to talk Rhode 14 Island? We are. 15 16 Judge Kavanaugh. Okay. Let's get that one out of the 17 way, too. Okay, Judge. 18 Judge Kavanaugh. I don't mean to cut off questions 19 20 about the other one. 21 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. Have you had the opportunity to review those allegations? 25

1 Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.

2 So, for the record, the report from Senator Whitehouse states, "Senator Whitehouse received a call this 3 morning from a Rhode Island constituent, 4 who made allegations regarding U.S. Supreme Court nominee 5 6 Brett Kavanaugh. reported that early on a Sunday morning in August of 1985, a close acquaintance of the 7 constituent was sexually assaulted by two heavily 8 inebriated men she referred to at the time as Brett and 9 10 Mark. 11 "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."

24 Judge, did this event happen?

25 Judge Kavanaugh. No. I was not in Newport, haven't

been on a boat in Newport. Not with Mark Judge on a boat, 1 nor all those three things combined. This is just 2 completely made up, or at least not me. I don't know what 3 4 they're referring to. 5 Did you ever sexually assault a woman or women in Rhode Island? 6 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 7 Were you ever in a situation where two men 8 injured you and someone named Mark? 9 10 Judge Kavanaugh. No. Do you have any knowledge of such a boat? 11 12 Judge Kavanaugh. No. Do you know 13 ? 14 Judge Kavanaugh. No. 15 appears to have a Twitter 16 account with the handle . Among other things, the information identifies the account holder as a 17 "hippie" from ", Rhode Island." 18 Are you aware that on June 27th of this year, the 19 20 account tweeted, "A question, when will the United States military decided to do what they have vowed and remove the 21 domestic threat to the Constitution that lives in the White 22 House?" 23

Judge Kavanaugh. Can you repeat -- you broke out. So I just want to make sure I got it. I think I got it, but

1 can you repeat it?

2 Sure. So has a Twitter account 3 with the handle **Constant**. Among other things, the 4 information identifies the account holder as a "hippie" 5 from "**Constant**, Rhode Island."

Are you aware that on June 27 of this year, this account tweeted, "A question, when will the United States military decided to do what they have vowed and remove the domestic threat to the Constitution that lives in the White House?"

Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not aware of his Twitter account or what might be on his Twitter account, if that's the guestion.

14 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.

20 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 --"

23 I am asking.

24 "I am asking" -- excuse me. "-- for the 25 military to do their constitutional duty and protect us

from the domestic terrorist in the Oval Office. Please, 1 2 please, please." 3 Judge Kavanaugh. I'm not aware of that. 4 Having heard this information, do you know or remember, ? 5 Judge Kavanaugh. I don't. 6 What are your general reactions to this 7 8 allegation, Judge? 9 Judge Kavanaugh. It's just totally made up. 10 Ridiculous. Okay. So, Judge Kavanaugh, we've asked you 11 12 now about a number of very recently made allegations of sexual misconduct, and I want to make sure that we fully 13 understand your testimony. 14 Again, you understand that falsely answering my 15 16 questions -- our questions can carry criminal penalties. Correct? 17 Judge Kavanaugh. I understand that, yes. 18 Committee investigators previously asked you 19 20 about Dr. Ford's allegations. You categorically and unequivocally denied them. 21 22 Do you stand by that testimony? Judge Kavanaugh. I do. 23 24 Today, we've ask you about some other allegations that became public after Dr. Ford's allegations 25

became public. You have denied all of them.
 Do you stand by that testimony?
 Judge Kavanaugh. I do.
 Have you ever sexually assaulted anyone?
 Judge Kavanaugh. I have not.
 Have you ever committed any kind of sexual
 misconduct?

8 Judge Kavanaugh. No.

9 Are you looking forward to testifying at 10 Thursday's hearing?

11 Judge Kavanaugh. I am looking forward to it. And to 12 reiterate what I said last Monday, now 8 days ago, I wanted to testify last Tuesday so that I can clear my name, defend 13 my integrity, defend a lifetime of good work that I have 14 done and the record I've built as a judge for 12 years, 15 16 worked in the White House for 5 1/2, working in public service, working for Justice Kennedy. I look forward to 17 defending my name, defending my integrity. 18

And to reiterate also, listen to all the people who knew me best. The women I went to high school with who've spoken. You know, Julie and Suzanne and Meghan and Maura, and Maura, and I'll go on, who were my friends and are still my friends, and who knew me then and have known me since age 13 or 14. And the college friends like Louisa and Carolyn and Karen, and the people I -- the women I

worked with in the Bush White House who have repeatedly spoken on my behalf and signed a letter on my behalf and talked about how I've always treated women with dignity and 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.

As a coach for the last 7 years of girls basketball teams, and training and encouraging and inspiring girls to do -- to have confidence and do better at basketball and prepare them for life and listen to their moms and dads.

And all this inspired by my mom, who taught me at a young age to break barriers and who, herself, was a trailblazer and overcame sexual harassment and barriers that were omnipresent at that time for women trying to break into the legal profession. And I watched her do that and learned from her and was inspired by her.

And one facet of my life that has been important to me in all aspects is I've always been friends with lots of people, and I'm blessed by my friends, and I've talked 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 night talking about how I always helped her with her 5 homework in high school. Suzanne Hohman Matan and Amy 6 O'Neill and Kristin Blomquist Treacy and Maura Fitzgerald 7 8 and Maura Molloy Kane and Meghan Molloy McCaleb, all friends from high school who were with me all the time and 9 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.

I've been -- I've been a supporter and promoter of women's equality, and then the women -- women I've dated have talked about that as well and how I treated them. And some of the women on those letters are people I went out with. Most of them, of course, are friends and never had that kind -- but they've all talked about how I treated them with dignity and respect throughout my life.

And you know, who would want to go through this? Who is ever going to want to go through this in the future? What is this doing to the Court when -- and the country and the process when these kind of -- this kind of process happens where an allegation is held for this long, an allegation during the process that was known. And then I have -- known during the process, I mean, by a Senator.

And then I go through the hearing and the prompt background check and the individuals meetings, and then it's sprung in the way it was sprung. And you know, just to go back to that, that's the summer of 1982. Well, I wasn't at such thing in the summer of 1982. And the people who were there say it didn't happen.

And since we last talked, the other -- the woman who was there says she doesn't know me and has never seen me, as far as she can remember, at a party. It's just -- it's a disgrace. It is a total -- what this process has become. I'll end with that, unless you have further questions. Just one more.

13 Two more. Go ahead.

14 Two more. Excuse me. Do you object to the 15 public release of the transcript of this interview? 16 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 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 today, do you adopt your testimony from September 17th?

Judge Kavanaugh. Yes.

2	And do you object to the public release of
3	that testimony from September 17th?
4	Judge Kavanaugh. I do not object to that.
5	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?
11	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
16	part of the BI process?
17	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?
24	Judge Kavanaugh. That is correct.
25	Do you have anything further to add,

1 Judge?

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