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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL,  
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

INTERVIEW OF: VIRGINIA L. THOMAS

Thursday, September 29, 2022

Washington, D.C.

The interview in the above matter was held in room 5480, O'Neill House Office Building, commencing at 9:33 a.m.

Present: Representatives Luria, Aguilar, Schiff, Lofgren, Murphy, Raskin, and Cheney.

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Appearances:

For the SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
THE JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL:

- ██████████, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER
- ██████████, SENIOR INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL
- ██████████, CHIEF INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL
- ██████████, SENIOR COUNSELOR TO THE VICE CHAIR
- ██████████, PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER

For VIRGINIA L. THOMAS:

MARK R. PAOLETTA  
CRISTINA M. SQUIERS  
BRANDON STRAUSS  
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1717 K STREET NW  
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1

2

Mr. [REDACTED] This is a transcribed interview of Virginia Thomas conducted by the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol pursuant to House Resolution 503.

3

4

5

At this time, I would like to ask the witness to please state her full name and spell her last name for the record

6

7

Mrs. Thomas. Virginia L. Thomas, T-h-o-m-a-s.

8

Mr. [REDACTED] Thanks.

9

This will be a staff-led interview. My name is [REDACTED] and I'm the senior counsel to the vice chair. I'm also joined by [REDACTED] who is our chief investigative counsel, by [REDACTED], who is our senior investigative counsel, and by [REDACTED] who is professional staff with the committee.

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13

Members of the select committee may be joining us and leaving during the course of our discussion. If any of them so choose, they of course may ask questions as well. I'll do my best to announce for the record when they join.

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16

Right now, I think we have Vice Chair Liz Cheney with us. I think we have --

17

Ms. Cheney. Good morning. Thank you for joining us.

18

Mrs. Thomas. Good morning.

19

Mr. [REDACTED] I also see we have Representative Raskin.

20

Mr. Raskin. Good morning.

21

Mr. [REDACTED] And I think we have Representative Luria. And I think those are the members that we have right now.

22

23

Mr. [REDACTED] Mr. Schiff as well.

24

Mr. [REDACTED] And Representative Schiff has also joined us as well.

25

Mr. Schiff. Good morning.

1 Mrs. Thomas. Good morning.

2 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. At this time, I'd like to ask Mrs. Thomas' counsel to please  
3 state your names for the record.

4 Ms. Paoletta. Sure. Mark Paoletta, offices of Schaerr Jaffe.

5 Ms. Squiers. Cristine Squiers, for Schaerr Jaffe.

6 Mr. Strauss. Brandon Strauss, for Schaerr Jaffe.

7 Mr. [REDACTED] Great.

8 Before we begin, I'll start with a few kind of ground rules.

9 There's an official reporter transcribing the record of the interview. You and  
10 your attorney will have an opportunity to review the transcript and suggest any  
11 corrections before it's finalized.

12 Pursuant to our agreement, there will be no video recording of this, but it will be  
13 transcribed by the court reporters. And I'll note that the court reporters' transcript is  
14 the official record for the select committee's proceedings.

15 We appreciate the fact that you came here voluntarily. And also just want to  
16 note, so we aren't going to be video recording this, but we will have the transcribed  
17 reporters.

18 Please wait until each question is completed before you begin your response and  
19 we will try to wait until your response is complete before we ask our next question. The  
20 stenographer cannot record nonverbal responses, such as shaking your head, so it's  
21 important that you answer each question with an audible, verbal response.

22 Although the interview is not under oath, I want to remind you that it is unlawful  
23 deliberately to provide false information to Congress. Do you understand that?

24 Mrs. Thomas. Yes.

25 Mr. [REDACTED] It's important that you understand our questions and are able to

1 answer them to the best of your ability. So to that end, please don't hesitate to ask me  
2 to clarify, or if you didn't hear it or if you don't understand the question, I'll rephrase it.

3 Similarly, if you don't know the answer to a question, you can say you don't know  
4 or you don't recall. But keep in mind that you must be truthful. So if you do recall the  
5 answer to the question, you must say so.

6 Mrs. Thomas. Okay.

7 Mr. [REDACTED] As we discussed before, you can consult with your counsel at any  
8 time during the interview. That's not a problem. You can either have a brief sidebar,  
9 or if you need to take a break to go into a private room we have arranged for you to be  
10 able to do that.

11 And if you need a break for comfort or any other time during the interview, just  
12 please let us know so we can make sure you're able to have that.

13 Okay. I understand that you have a statement that you'd like to read into the  
14 record before we go ahead and start. So if you'd like to go ahead and do that.

15 Mrs. Thomas. Okay. Thank you, counsel.

16 First, I just want to thank the committee for your patience as I recovered from my  
17 hip replacement surgery and your patience of scheduling this.

18 Second, I'm here voluntarily to answer questions about my activities regarding the  
19 2020 election, which I think you'll find were minimal and mainstream.

20 However, as my counsel has expressed, I am concerned that there may be more  
21 than a few questions about my husband's work, which I do not believe is within the scope  
22 of this committee's jurisdiction.

23 Since I was the Nebraska College Republican chair in the twenties -- in my  
24 twenties, not in the '20s -- long before I met my husband in 1986, I have been active in  
25 political and public policy work.



1 Q Thank you very much.

2 I'd like to start just to kind of get a better sense of your professional history and  
3 career. So if you could start and give us a brief overview of that, maybe starting with  
4 law school.

5 A Right. I went to law school really with a mind to run for Congress in  
6 Nebraska. After that, I worked for my Nebraska Congressman.

7 After that, I went to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce as a lobbyist in labor  
8 management issues. Then I went to the Labor Department as a senior political  
9 appointee.

10 After that, I went to Capitol Hill, where I was a leadership staffer in the House.

11 After that I went to -- we adopted a child, and I went to Heritage Foundation for  
12 10 years, getting away from the Capitol Hill chaos that was happening.

13 Then, after about 10 years with Heritage, I went to Hillsdale College that was  
14 opening a Washington-based office and campus.

15 And after that I started Liberty Central, which was a (c)(4). And then I went to  
16 Daily Caller for about 7 years and did interviews of leaders. And then I started my own  
17 consulting firm, which I'm currently at, in 2010, Liberty Consulting.

18 Q Great. Thank you very much.

19 We're going to go over a number of documents that I think we provided access to  
20 you before and just allow you just to kind of explain in your own words some of those  
21 documents.

22 But if you could first turn to exhibit 29.

23 A Okay. Yes.

24 Q And do you recognize this is the letter that the select committee originally  
25 sent to you?

1 A Yes.

2 Q Okay. And attached to the letter there's a schedule that lists the  
3 documents that we requested?

4 A Yes.

5 Q When you received this letter, did you take any steps to preserve the  
6 documents that we requested?

7 A Yes. We started an immediate document search to be responsive to the  
8 committee.

9 Q Okay. And what steps did you exactly take to do that, if you could walk  
10 through that?

11 A Well, I use a computer and iPad and iPhone, and we did a search based on  
12 the people it looks like you were interested in, and my counsel handled the document  
13 search.

14 Ms. Paoletta. Yes.

15 BY MR. [REDACTED]

16 Q Okay. And just to go over the types of methods you use to communicate.  
17 So I understand you communicate over email. Is that correct?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Over text messages sometimes?

20 A Yes.

21 Q Do you use Signal, the Signal app?

22 A I have Signal, but I wasn't using it at that time.

23 Q Okay. Are there other forms of communication besides those that you  
24 use?

25 A No, nothing that I was using at that time.



1 Q Okay. In response to our request, you produced one email. Do you still  
2 have, or have you had any other documents that are responsive to our request?

3 Ms. Paoletta. So, again, I made a determination of what was responsive, and I  
4 set it out in the letter to the committee. So I looked at -- so that's -- I explained it. We  
5 can talk about it here. But she wasn't involved with what was responsive. It was my  
6 determination of what was responsive to the -- responsive in what I was providing to the  
7 committee.

8 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. So to the best of your knowledge, are there any documents  
9 you have that you haven't produced that are responsive to the request?

10 Ms. Paoletta. Again, that's -- what I laid out for the committee is that I looked  
11 for -- as I expressed my concerns about the entire letter and the basis for the  
12 investigation and what the committee was interested in, I looked at -- to be helpful  
13 voluntarily -- to look at the people I thought the committee was most interested in, which  
14 is number nine.

15 And as I said in the letter, that we looked for anything that was a "to/from" with  
16 Ginni Thomas and the people listed in number nine.

17 So that was the basis for how I voluntarily responded to the request.

18 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. So understand that your counsel went through that process.  
19 Are there any documents you know of that haven't been turned over?

20 Ms. Paoletta. Again, I think it was my judgment of what we're going to turn over.  
21 I don't know if she knows what's responsive or not. So I didn't discuss it with her.

22 She made her devices and emails available to my team. We went through it.  
23 We reviewed what was responsive, what we were going to turn over to the committee,  
24 and that's what we've done.

25 Mrs. Thomas. We didn't hear back from the committee for additional things

1 challenging the way we did it, so we assumed that was what you needed.

2 Mr. [REDACTED] Can I follow up on that a little bit? And I'm not sure, Ms. Thomas, if  
3 the question is for you or for your counsel. But my understanding of what you just said  
4 is that you provided your devices to counsel?

5 Ms. Paoletta. Yeah, made them available.

6 Mr. [REDACTED] And counsel made the -- conducted the search through those devices  
7 to see if there are any documents --

8 Mr. Paoletta. Yes.

9 Mr. [REDACTED] -- responsive to the request?

10 Ms. Paoletta. Yes.

11 Mr. [REDACTED] And, counsel, did you focus just on number nine? Because there  
12 are eight other topics here, and I'm wondering whether you searched for those as well.

13 Ms. Paoletta. Sure. As I said in my -- I'm just looking for -- let's see. Yeah.  
14 Right here.

15 "We conducted extensive searches of Mrs. Thomas' emails, text messages, and  
16 social media accounts for any messages that she sent, that were sent directly to her, or  
17 that included her on email on the cc line where such messages were sent to or from any  
18 individual listed in request number nine of the committee's document request about any  
19 of the topics listed in those requests."

20 So it would need to be any one in number nine that was about the topics listed in  
21 the rest of the letter.

22 Mr. [REDACTED] What if it was about the topics listed in the letter, but not the  
23 individuals listed in number nine?

24 Ms. Paoletta. No. I didn't produce it because that's not what I said I was doing  
25 here.



1           Okay. Just referring back to the exhibit 29 and the paragraph nine of the  
2 schedule that lists the names.

3           A    Yes.

4           Q    Did you have any communications with those individuals about the  
5 committee's request to you? So after you got the letter.

6           A    No. I may have had a conversation with Clela Mitchell about her coming  
7 up here and me coming up here and just commiserating about the times we're in. But  
8 that's all.

9           Q    Okay. And what did Ms. Mitchell say?

10          A    I don't remember. That she had -- she got COVID at her appearance, and it  
11 was uncomfortable for her, but she got through it.

12          Q    Okay. And aside from her, no other communications with the other  
13 individuals listed?

14          A    No.

15          Q    Okay.

16          Mr. ██████. Sorry. Can I follow up on that as well?

17          Mrs. Thomas. Yeah.

18          Mr. ██████. I think, Ms. Thomas, in a letter from your counsel, you referenced  
19 the fact that he had reached out to the lawyers for some of these individuals about what  
20 communications you might have had with them during the relevant time period.

21                I'm wondering whether you had conversations with any of these individuals to see  
22 if they remembered or had a recollection of conversations they had with you during the  
23 relevant time period.

24          Mrs. Thomas. No, I did not.

25          Mr. ██████. Thank you.

1 BY MR. [REDACTED]

2 Q In the documents that we'll go through, there are a couple of groups that are  
3 mentioned. And so I'd like to get a little background on a couple of those groups.

4 So one is a called Frontliners. Can you tell us -- can you describe what that group  
5 is for us?

6 A Sure. Frontliners is a group of State leaders that we created, a number of  
7 us helped form, who were part of (c)(4)s in the grassroots conservative movement.

8 And through their help, whether it's Heritage Action or Tea Party Patriots or  
9 FreedomWorks or such, we identified valuable conservative activists in most of the States  
10 who would enjoy coming together weekly on a Zoom call to talk about things that were  
11 interesting to us.

12 Q Okay. And you said it was made up of State leaders. So State legislators,  
13 State officials. Is that right?

14 A No. They were more grassroots activists. They were grassroots activists.  
15 I don't think we had any State legislators in that group.

16 Q Okay. And how did the group originate? Did you form the group?

17 A I was part of it. We all thought it was a good idea, that we were missing  
18 the input and connection to State leaders as we met weekly since 2011 with national  
19 leaders at Groundswell. So it was a bit connected to the Groundswell group. It was  
20 Frontliners and Groundswell were a little bit related.

21 Q Okay. And what was your role with the group?

22 A I would say I was an instigator. I was a leader. I was helping them set  
23 agendas where I could, helping them connect people, helping look for State leaders that  
24 were missing that I knew of. It was kind of like that.

25 Q Okay. And was it a group that was primarily tied together via an email

1 group or how did -- was there a particular mode of communication for this group or --

2 A There wasn't a listserv, if that's what you're asking. I think there was  
3 someone who helped administer that particular group, and she had all the emails. And  
4 she would send things out to them weekly with the agenda and how to get on the Zoom  
5 call.

6 Q Okay. Is that someone who worked for you at Liberty Consulting or --

7 A No. Just a volunteer.

8 Q Okay. And you mentioned Groundswell. Tell us a bit about what that  
9 group is and how you would describe it.

10 A Groundswell is probably like a lot of other political weekly coalition meetings  
11 on the left or the right that get together to talk about current events.

12 We used to call it -- we were mindful of the 30-front war that the left has on  
13 constitutional governance, and we were looking for the biggest opportunities for working  
14 collaboratively across many silos.

15 So Groundswell is like a coalition meeting that happens all over this town, and it's  
16 been there since 2011.

17 Q Okay. And did you form the group? Or how did the group start?

18 A I was an instigator of the group, but I did it with a group of other national  
19 leaders who saw a gap and the need for an action-oriented, collaborative, conservative  
20 meeting.

21 Q And is it a mix of officials and activists? Or how would you describe the  
22 makeup of it?

23 Ms. Paoletta. Well, when you say -- I'm sorry -- officials, are you talking about  
24 public servants?

25 Mr. [REDACTED] Right, either legislators or officials in the government.

1 Ms. Paoletta. Okay.

2 Mrs. Thomas. There's a few congressional staff, but mainly it's (c)(3)s, (c)(4)s,  
3 and leaders of (c)(3)s and (c)(4)s on the center-right.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]

5 Q Can you explain what (c)(3)s and (c)(4)s are?

6 A Nonprofit organizations who get charitable status through the IRS who work  
7 on public policy.

8 Q Okay. And among them, are there some Members of Congress that are  
9 part of this?

10 A No, we don't have any Members of Congress.

11 Q How would you describe the activities of Groundswell during the  
12 post-election time period? So after November 3rd of 2020.

13 A I'm glad you asked. That's one of the misconceptions that I hope to correct  
14 today.

15 The truth is, that a lot of people don't know, is I stepped back on November 9th,  
16 which was a Monday, I believe. And until sometime in January 2021, I didn't attend the  
17 regular weekly meetings that I went to, whether it was Groundswell or Frontliners or CAP  
18 or anything else. And I did that because I don't do the legal lane, and so much of it had  
19 shifted from the political lane to the legal lane.

20 And what I find is that it's just I'm not as valuable in those instances, and a lot of  
21 my friends feel a little bit chilled in discussing Supreme Court work with the wife of a  
22 Supreme Court Justice.

23 So for a number of reasons, I stepped back, and I didn't attend those meetings.  
24 So I'm glad to clarify that. I don't think people knew that.

25 Q Okay. And when you referenced the meetings, were those regular weekly

1 meetings? Or how often were the meetings that the group held?

2 A They were weekly meetings.

3 Q And held over by video or were they in person or --

4 A You know, they were in person until COVID came, and then they shifted to  
5 Zoom, and then they're shifting back now to Zoom and to in person.

6 Q Okay.

7 Mr. [REDACTED] Yeah, if I could.



1

2

BY MR. [REDACTED]

3

Q When did you -- at some point, did you resume participating in the

4

Groundswell meetings?

5

A Yes. I think I came back in -- I don't know exactly. I tried to figure that

6

out. But I think it was sometime in mid-January that I came back in 2021.

7

Q And were you still, during the time that you had stepped back, were you still

8

being apprised of sort of agendas for meetings or topics that were being discussed at

9

meetings? Did you stay sort of informed in terms of the issues they were discussing?

10

A That's a good question. I may have seen -- I don't remember -- but I may

11

have seen agendas that were created by other people largely when I had taken a

12

sabbatical, as I call it. And I certainly found out about the FreeRoots campaign that

13

became an action item out of those meetings, and I participated in the FreeRoots

14

campaign. That's all.

15

Q Can you describe for us a little bit more about the contours of this sabbatical

16

or the step back?

17

Was it just Groundswell? Were there other activities that you felt you needed to

18

step back from or that you did step back from in the post-election timeframe?

19

A Right. There's a number of conservative weekly gatherings that I

20

participate in as a leader in the movement. And so there's a CAP meeting. There's a

21

Groundswell meeting. There's a Frontliner meeting. And there's other lunches or

22

gatherings.

23

That I just decided to focus on Thanksgiving and Christmas and other things that

24

were not as political. So I didn't go to those meetings, but I probably did stay

25

semi-informed about current events.

1           Q    How about CNP Action? Did you continue to remain involved with that  
2 organization in the post-election timeframe?

3           A    No, I did not.

4           Q    And was it in the same -- November 9th, is that when you stepped back from  
5 that work as well?

6           A    I don't know if I specifically told them that that was when I was stepping  
7 back, but I didn't go to the CNP meeting. There was a CAP summit for conservative  
8 leaders that I did not attend in November.

9                    So basically I was missing in action from the meetings. And people don't seem to  
10 realize that, and I think that can inform your committee.

11          Q    It is helpful to understand your role in that timeframe.

12                    I also think it would be helpful to understand a little bit more about the thought  
13 process and why it was that you felt on November 9th that you should step back from  
14 those discussions.

15          A    Right. I appreciate answering that.

16                    Again, some people think legally, because I don't touch the legal lane, that I have  
17 the right to continue to do things that are political and legal because I'm not touching the  
18 legal lane.

19                    But really out of prudence I realized that my friends are uncomfortable, and they'll  
20 look at me and wonder if they can say something, because they don't know whether I  
21 might say something at home or to my husband.

22                    They don't know if the media will take something that's said out of context, which  
23 happened in 2000 when a Washington Post reporter went a little crazy about what my  
24 work was at the Heritage Foundation where I asked Hill staff for resumes for the new  
25 administration, and it became a big curfuffle in the press, which seems to be happening

1 today.

2 So I'm used to dealing with the press as well as my friends, and out of a focus on  
3 the press and my friends and the chilling effect that I could have on my friends' discussion  
4 of current events, it's easier to just take a step back and do other things.

5 Q And the chilling effect related specifically or entirely to Justice Thomas and  
6 the perception that that might create given the fact that he's your husband?

7 A Some people -- I seem to be the only judicial spouse that's involved in the  
8 political lane, and it causes my friends to want to not only protect me, but not say the  
9 wrong thing.

10 So out of respect for me -- I don't know what's in their brains. I think I saw in one  
11 of your documents something that showed me exhibit A as to why they're worried about  
12 me if I'm on a listserv or whatever.

13 So I just step back out of a courtesy to my friends. I think I chill the discussion  
14 sometimes. And I certainly have nothing to add when it comes to legal issues.

15 Q Okay. But previously you had been involved in -- well, let me ask you.  
16 Were you involved in any efforts to change the results of the 2020 election?

17 A To change? I was involved in trying to identify fraud in a timely manner by  
18 certain States that I had heard through friends or whatnot or the media. So I certainly  
19 was involved in things that were trying to get to the truth, yes.

20 Q What prompted your involvement in those efforts to try and discover fraud  
21 or, as you say, get to the truth?

22 A As I say, I was involved in political campaigns since 1976. I've been to many  
23 national Republican conventions. And in this instance, the State of Virginia, the 11th  
24 District, elected me as a delegate from my State to go to the Charlotte national  
25 convention. I was very active with Trump rallies, with the Trump campaign, in the sense

1 that going to rallies and going -- being on the ground in Virginia.

2 And so based on that and the things I was hearing from friends across the  
3 movement, it was quite exciting that there was a new coalition coming together to  
4 support President Trump, many more Democrats than we had ever seen in any other  
5 elections, in my opinion.

6 And so for those reasons, I was an activist. I was an ordinary citizen activist in  
7 Virginia, not paid by anyone to do what I was doing, but I was active with the Trump  
8 campaign and thought he was winning.

9 Q And in the post-election timeframe, did you continue to stay involved in  
10 efforts to question or challenge the results of the election?

11 A I wouldn't necessarily phrase it that way. What I was doing was seeing that  
12 it was the State legislators who had power to decide if there were problems in their  
13 election.

14 And so I participated in a mass communication device called FreeRoots that has  
15 been I'm sure the subject of some of the conversations you guys have had and the media  
16 has been interested in.

17 I joined with thousands of people to push a button that sent an automatic email to  
18 some State legislators that I did not choose. I did not edit that letter.

19 And so, if that was what you would put in that category of things, doing something  
20 about the fraud and irregularities at the State level in a timely manner, I wanted to get at  
21 those because I thought the election was not going the right way.

22 Q So there are a few parts of that answer, if I could, that I want to sort of go  
23 back and explore a little more with you.

24 The first is this issue of State legislators and their role. I took it from your answer  
25 that you came to believe or understand that the State legislators had some role or could

1 have a role in determining the outcome of the election. Is that accurate?

2 A I would rephrase it just slightly to say I think State legislators are in the  
3 position to know whether there were problems, irregularities, or fraud that came to be at  
4 their State elections.

5 Q And that they had some -- that they could do something about that if they  
6 determined that there was fraud?

7 A I hoped so.

8 Q How did you come to that understanding that State legislators had that  
9 ability or that role to play?

10 A How did I? I think it was common sense at that point. I think you just  
11 know that Congress can't exactly do anything, and the people closest to where the voting  
12 happened seemed to be who had authority in a time-sensitive way to identify fraud.

13 Q So even after an election has taken place and the voters have cast their  
14 votes, was it your understanding the State legislators could take steps to change the  
15 result that was determined by the voters?

16 A I think I answered the question, and I think I hoped that State legislators  
17 could identify fraud and irregularities in a timely manner before it was too late.

18 Q And the reason I'm asking on this, and I think there will be a number of  
19 questions about this during the course of our interview, is there have been -- and some of  
20 this is in your documents -- there have been sort of theories that have been put forward  
21 about the power of State legislators, not just to identify fraud, but to appoint electors, for  
22 example.

23 A Right.

24 Q And I'm wondering whether -- it sounds as if maybe you were made aware of  
25 those theories at some point?

1           A    You know, I appreciate the question.

2           I honestly didn't focus on alternative electors.  That wasn't part of what I was  
3 focused on.  It was really kind of more basic.

4           Maybe I hadn't attended enough meetings to be more educated at the time, but I  
5 was only focused on those most likely to get at the fraud and irregularity in their State  
6 elections.

7           Q    Do you recall having any discussions with anyone prior to the election about  
8 the role that State legislators might play in the post-election timeframe?

9           A    I don't remember anything specifically.

10          Q    You've mentioned the FreeRoots emails that you didn't draft and you pushed  
11 a button to send that.

12          Were you involved in any other efforts in the post-election timeframe to call  
13 attention to problems with the election or to try and do something about the result of the  
14 election?

15          A    I can't think of anything specifically.  Is there something you're thinking of?

16          Q    For example, did you have any conversations with anyone in the Trump  
17 campaign regarding --

18          A    No.

19          Q    -- what their strategies were to challenge the election?

20          A    No, I did not.

21          Q    Any members of the Trump administration regarding efforts to challenge the  
22 result of the 2020 election?

23          A    No, except, you know, I can certainly look at those wonderful Mark  
24 Meadows texts that were made public by the committee, unfortunately, that certainly  
25 showed I was --

1 Q I'm sorry.

2 A That's okay. I was certainly hoping that they would challenge the election  
3 until the truth could be found out if there was evidence of State problems in the election.

4 Q Anyone other than Mark Meadows that you communicated with within the  
5 Trump administration regarding your concerns about the election?

6 A Oh, I probably -- Jared Kushner I sent an email to hoping to buck him up on  
7 the team. I probably sent something to Jared. I can't think of anyone else.

8 Q Do you remember what you sent to Jared Kushner?

9 A I probably sent him an email that I then forwarded to Mark, just showing  
10 that I was trying to buck him up and encourage him to stand firm until all the evidence is  
11 in. That's, I think, what my hope was. I don't know the specifics.

12 Q Why did you reach out to Mr. Kushner?

13 A I just knew he was part of the inner circle.

14 Q Do you still have that email to Mr. Kushner? He's not listed in item nine,  
15 but I think that would be responsive to our request. Do you still have the email that you  
16 sent to him?

17 Ms. Paoletta. Well, it was not in her documents.

18 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah.

19 Ms. Paoletta. So I'll leave it at that. But I think it -- as Mrs. Thomas just said,  
20 she forwarded it to Mark Meadows, so it wasn't -- but anyway, it wasn't in Mrs. Thomas'  
21 documents when we searched through the documents. Okay.

22 Mr. [REDACTED] Thank you.

23 BY MR. [REDACTED]

24 Q Anyone else in the administration that you reached out to in the  
25 post-election timeframe, sharing concerns or words of encouragement regarding the

1 election?

2 A I've thought about that. The only one I can think of maybe is Johnny  
3 McEntee, who I had been working with for second term personnel matters, to improve  
4 personnel. That's the only one I can think of. But none of the rest.

5 I mean, Paul Teller was on various listservs with me, and I don't think I wrote to  
6 him specifically about this. But that's all I can remember.

7 Q Did you have any communications with Vice President Pence in the  
8 post-election timeframe regarding questions or concerns or words of encouragement  
9 regarding the 2020 election?

10 A Not that I can recall.

11 Q And you mentioned Mr. Teller. Did you understand Mr. Teller to have a  
12 role in the administration?

13 A Paul Teller would -- was a friend and ally and came to a lot of our meetings.  
14 He's a part of our Groundswell meeting. And so I would see Paul at all the meetings that  
15 I typically go to. So I get emails from him based on the listservs.

16 Ms. Paoletta. But you knew he worked for the Vice President.

17 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah. I knew he worked for the Vice President. Yeah. He set  
18 up meetings sometimes for conservatives to come in.

19 Mr. [REDACTED] What do you recall discussing or communicating with Mr. Teller  
20 about regarding the election in the post-election timeframe?

21 Mrs. Thomas. I don't remember any conversations I had. I assumed -- you  
22 know, I assumed he was interested in reporting back to the Vice President on how various  
23 people felt.

24 And I felt like there might have been a division happening between President  
25 Trump and Vice President Pence. And I think I was being quiet and watching what was



1 happening by email at that time, because I was a little disappointed with the Vice  
2 President at that time.

3 Mr. [REDACTED]. Again, a couple things there I want to ask you to flesh out for us.

4 What made you believe that there was some distance or disagreement between  
5 the President and the Vice President in the post-election timeframe?

6 Mrs. Thomas. I think it was just that I hoped that he would have sounded less  
7 likely to concede. I think I picked up vibes that he was likely to concede prematurely, in  
8 my opinion, before the fraud and irregularity could be investigated and found out. And  
9 so I was really hoping up until a certain point that there wouldn't be any daylight between  
10 those two, and I -- that was why.

11 Mr. [REDACTED]. When you say "he", were you referring to the Vice President or to  
12 the President, when you say "he", you were concerned that "he" might concede?

13 Mrs. Thomas. I was concerned that the Vice President might concede before  
14 President Trump was ready to concede.

15 BY MR. [REDACTED]

16 Q What caused you to pick up those vibes that the Vice President was sort of  
17 more prone to conceding the election than you thought President Trump was or that you  
18 thought he should be?

19 A I think, you know, looking back I'm guessing, but I think it was because I just  
20 didn't hear him talking about fraud and irregularity at the States the way that the  
21 President was. And so it was just I was probably surmising, but there was a distance.  
22 I'm guessing.

23 Q Did you talk to Mr. Teller about your concerns about the Vice President's  
24 role and his position?

25 A No, I didn't.

1 Q Did you share with anyone in the administration, Trump administration, your  
2 concerns about the Vice President not being sort of passionate enough or concerned  
3 enough about the results of the election?

4 A No. No.

5 Ms. Paoletta. Just the text message that you guys have, I think she expresses  
6 that concern, right?

7 Mrs. Thomas. Oh, with Mark Meadows?

8 Ms. Paoletta. Yeah.

9 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah. I guess I did. Yeah. I did.

10 Mr. [REDACTED] Do you remember any conversations you had with Mr. Meadows on  
11 the topic?

12 Mrs. Thomas. Just the text I could see later, when you guys allowed that to  
13 become public, I was refreshed at what I said.

14 Ms. Paoletta. I just want to make clear, when you say, Mark, conversations,  
15 you're talking about oral --

16 Mr. [REDACTED] Old-fashioned conversations, the way we used to do it.

17 [Laughter.]

18 Ms. Paoletta. Yes. I completely agree. I just want to make sure, you don't  
19 recall any conversations with Mark Meadows during that time period, right?

20 Mrs. Thomas. Thank you. Mark keeps helping me understand what you all  
21 mean with that.

22 Yes, I did not speak with Mark Meadows during that time period as far as I  
23 remember.

24 Mr. [REDACTED] Back on the text messages, do you still have those text messages  
25 with Mr. Meadows? You said you saw them when they were leaked, but do you have

1       them on your phone?

2               Mrs. Thomas.   No.

3               Mr. [REDACTED]   Do you want to pause here and see if the members have any  
4       questions at this point?

5               We'll just pause a minute and see if any of them chime in, and if not, we'll keep  
6       going.

7               Okay.

8               Ms. Cheney.   No questions.   Thank you.

9                       BY MR. [REDACTED]

10              Q     Ms. Thomas, I want to back up a little bit.   You referenced conversations  
11     with -- you may have had with Johnny McEntee.   What do you recall discussing or  
12     communicating to Mr. McEntee regarding the election in the post-election timeframe?

13              A     I really don't have specific memory of anything I would have been  
14     communicating.   It was an emotional time.   I was probably just emoting, as I clearly  
15     was with Mark Meadows somewhat.   I don't remember.

16              Q     You -- okay.

17              Did you communicate with Donald Trump, Jr., in the post-election timeframe  
18     about concerns or questions you had about the 2020 election?

19              A     No.

20              Q     Do you have any sort of relationship with Don Jr.?

21              A     No.

22              Q     Did you have any communications with anyone at the Department of Justice  
23     about the 2020 election?

24              A     Oh, yeah.   I'm sorry.   Just a minute.   I did -- Mark's right.   I did interview  
25     him for my Daily Caller leader series back when I was doing Daily Caller.   But beyond

1 that --

2 Ms. Paoletta. That would have been back in, what, like 2018, 2017, somewhere  
3 around there?

4 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah. It must have been right after, sometime between 2016  
5 and probably 2018.

6 So I did interview him for a Daily Caller leader series for my program, but other  
7 than that, no, I don't have a relationship with him.

8 BY MR. [REDACTED]

9 Q I was asking about Department of Justice officials.

10 Do you have -- did you have any communications with anyone who was then at  
11 the Department of Justice in the post-election timeframe regarding concerns or questions  
12 you had regarding the 2020 election?

13 A No, I did not.

14 Q Do you know Jeffrey Clark?

15 A No.

16 Q Do you know Ken Klukowski?

17 A I do.

18 Q How do you know Mr. Klukowski?

19 A He's in a lot of my meetings. He's in CAP meetings. He's in Groundswell  
20 sometimes. And I like him.

21 Q Did you have any conversations with Mr. Klukowski in the post-election  
22 timeframe regarding the 2020 election?

23 A Not that I remember, not that I can recall. No.

24 Q How about Members of Congress? Did you have any conversations with  
25 Members of Congress in the post-election timeframe regarding concerns you had about

1 the 2020 election?

2 A Not that I can recall, no.

3 Q Did you ever speak with Mike Lee on the topic, Senator Mike Lee?

4 A I don't think so.

5 Q How about Mo Brooks?

6 A No, I don't think so.

7 Q Louie Gohmert?

8 A No.

9 Q Do you know Connie Hair?

10 A I love Connie Hair.

11 Q Did she work for Representative Gohmert at the time?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Did you talk with Ms. Hair about the post -- about the 2020 election in the  
14 post-election timeframe?

15 A I could have talked to Connie Hair. I talk to her a lot. She comes to my  
16 Thanksgiving. She's a friend.

17 So it's likely. I don't know exactly -- I don't have any memory of what I would  
18 have talked to her about. But it's likely.

19 Q I think we'll see some documents as we go through the interview, maybe  
20 email chains that you're on with Ms. Hair.

21 There's a text message that you sent to Mr. Meadows that appears to be maybe  
22 forwarded from Ms. Hair? Do you know the one I'm talking about?

23 A Yes. That was the one when I saw it I thought there was clearly something  
24 incorrect in the press.

25 Ms. Paoletta. No. No. No. I'm sorry. That's the first one. I think it's the

1 cut and paste with "no rules in war." I think it's cut and paste. I'm not sure if it's  
2 forwarded. But sorry.

3 Mrs. Thomas. Oh, yeah. You're right. I'm getting them confused.

4 Ms. Paoletta. If you want to show them to her. But, yeah, I don't want her to  
5 be confused with the different texts.

6 Mr. [REDACTED] Sure. Do you want to take a look at exhibit 30, and then you can  
7 point out the ones that you're referring to?

8 Mrs. Thomas. Okay.

9 Yes. Yeah. It's the first one.

10 Ms. Paoletta. No. No. No. It's 12082, right? So it's on the second page.  
11 Yeah. Okay.

12 BY MR. [REDACTED]

13 Q So you're referring -- there's a Bates number in the far left column, and  
14 maybe that's the best way for us today to walk through this as we talk about these text  
15 messages?

16 A Okay.

17 Q So the Bates number of MM012082.

18 A Yes.

19 Q And that's the text message that you're recalling, or is that -- or is there  
20 another one that you were thinking about and counsel was sort of directing you to this  
21 one?

22 A Yes. I'm -- I regret all of these texts. Maybe I'd just start with that.

23 But this particular one you're asking me about that I'm now seeing, I was  
24 forwarding on a text from Connie Hair to my friend, Mark Meadows, just to show him  
25 what was moving through the movement. Some of these are just things I was showing

1 were moving through the movement, and I'm regretting that they became public.

2 Q It appears -- and I don't want to characterize Ms. Hair's message here or  
3 yours, frankly -- but it appears that she shares some of the concerns that you are  
4 articulating in some of these other text messages. Is that fair to say, in  
5 the post -- concerns regarding the election?

6 A It was an emotional time, and people were scared that there had been  
7 enough fraud happening that they weren't going to get to the bottom of it. So that's  
8 how I would look at that one.

9 Q And it seems as if -- I guess what I'm getting at is, did you have conversations  
10 with Ms. Hair about your mutual concerns or fears regarding the election?

11 A I don't recall any specific conversations with Connie Hair at the time.

12 Q But looking at this now, it's your belief or understanding that Ms. Hair sent  
13 you this text message, the body of the text here, and that you then forwarded that or cut  
14 and paste that and sent it to Mr. Meadows?

15 A Yes.

16 Q I'll represent to you, by the way, Ms. Thomas, just in case it creates some  
17 confusion on your end, I believe sometimes where we see question marks in these that  
18 that's maybe an emoji that somehow gets printed out. So it's not necessarily the  
19 question.

20 Is that your understanding as well, that the question marks don't necessarily  
21 reflect you typing a question mark in the text that you sent?

22 A Correct.

23 Q Okay.

24 Mr. [REDACTED] Can I just ask one more question since we're on this text?

25 So the first line says, in part, "You can realize right now is that there are no rules in

1 war."

2 During time period, though, did you -- that was typed out by Ms. Hair and not by  
3 you? Is that correct?

4 Mrs. Thomas. Correct.

5 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. And I assume during this time period you thought that the  
6 laws and regulations that govern the United States ought to still apply. Is that correct?

7 Mrs. Thomas. That is correct.

8 Mr. [REDACTED] Before you leave this one.

9 Ms. Thomas, do you know whether Mr. Meadows was acquainted with Ms. Hair?  
10 Were they friends? Were they acquainted when you forwarded her message to him via  
11 text?

12 Mrs. Thomas. Yes. I assumed they were connected. They'd been at -- Mark  
13 Meadows had come to some of our meetings, and Connie Hair was there. And I think  
14 Mark Meadows knew who Connie was.

15 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. So when you forwarded her message to you and used her  
16 name, your assumption was that Mr. Meadows was aware of who Connie Hair was.

17 Mrs. Thomas. Right.

18 Mr. [REDACTED] Got it. Okay. Thanks.

19 BY MR [REDACTED]

20 Q In your discussions with Ms. Hair about the election, did she ever share with  
21 you what her boss Representative Gohmert's view of the election was?

22 A No. I don't remember anything that she would have said about Louie  
23 Gohmert at the time.

24 Q Did you ever have -- I'm sorry. Did I cut you off?

25 A Go ahead.



1 Q Did you ever have any discussions with her about a role that Mr. Gohmert  
2 might play in assisting with the discovery or revelation of fraud in connection with the  
3 election?

4 A No. I mean I -- no. I don't think -- if I understand your question -- do you  
5 want to say it again?

6 Q Yeah. And we'll get to an email later where there's some discussion about  
7 which Members -- and the very few Members who were willing to engage on this topic --

8 A Right. Right.

9 Q -- and so forth, and to assist the cause.

10 A Right.

11 Q And I'm wondering whether you ever had discussions with her about  
12 whether Representative Gohmert would be one of those Members who would be willing  
13 to assist in the effort to uncover fraud.

14 A No. I don't -- I knew -- I thought you were getting at that point. And I  
15 think the reason I mentioned there were four specific Members who were in my -- and I  
16 don't know how I learned this -- but that were coming out and joining grassroots activists  
17 in the street who thought there was fraud in the election. So I was identifying those  
18 people who I somehow heard of and I don't remember how.

19 Q Representative Gohmert later became a litigant and filed a lawsuit in  
20 relation to the election. Are you aware of that?

21 A I became aware of that later. But, no, I didn't know that at the time.

22 Q When you say "at the time," do you mean at the time that we were talking  
23 about in this November 13th timeframe, or do you mean in November of 2020?

24 A I didn't know that he was doing litigation. That wasn't anything that I knew  
25 about or focused on. I was doing politics.

1 Q When did you learn that he had participated or put his name on a lawsuit?

2 A I don't remember when. I just don't remember when.

3 Q Was it before January 6th?

4 Mr. Schiff. [REDACTED] can I interject with a couple questions really quick?

5 Mr. [REDACTED] Yes, Mr. Schiff.

6 Mr. Schiff. I just wanted to ask Mrs. Thomas something before we moved on  
7 from the last two forwarded text messages that you referred to.

8 Mrs. Thomas, I want to make sure I understood your testimony. I thought I  
9 heard you say that you regretted forwarding them, but I think you also said you regretted  
10 that they became public.

11 I'm not sure that I heard correctly, so I want to ask you. What is it you were  
12 saying with respect to those two forwarded text messages?

13 Mrs. Thomas. I think it might be a unanimous view of everyone on this call and  
14 in this room that I don't know how many of you would want your texts to become public  
15 on the front page of The Washington Post. Certainly I didn't want my emotional texts to  
16 a friend released and made available.

17 So what was your question?

18 Mr. Schiff. So, okay. Thank you. I understand that. And I'm sure you're  
19 right, no would like to see their personal texts in the newspaper.

20 But were you also saying you regretted sending, forwarding these text messages,  
21 or your regret was only that they became public?

22 Mrs. Thomas. I regret the tone and content of these texts. And other than  
23 that, it was an emotional time, and I was texting with a friend who I had known a long  
24 time. So I really find my language imprudent and my choices of sending the context of  
25 these emails unfortunate.

1           Mr. Schiff. And what in particular disturbs you in hindsight about the content of  
2 the texts?

3           Mrs. Thomas. You know, I would take them all back if I could today. So I'm not  
4 comfortable with any of them being -- I wish I could have rewritten them. I wish I didn't  
5 send them.

6           Mr. Schiff. Can you explain a little bit more about what causes you to regret  
7 them?

8           Mrs. Thomas. It was just an emotional time, Congressman.

9           Mr. Schiff. I'm just trying to understand, is it something about the content of  
10 them that you now disagree with or what?

11          Mrs. Thomas. Yes. It was the content of them I'm not comfortable with.

12          Mr. Schiff. Thank you, Mr. [REDACTED].

13          Mr. [REDACTED]. Any other questions from the members?

14          Ms. Thomas, I want to back up --

15          Ms. Cheney. Yes.

16          Mr. [REDACTED]. Yes, Ms. Cheney.

17          Ms. Cheney. Sorry. I have a question.

18                 Back on the issue that we were speaking about before, and, Mrs. Thomas, you  
19 were talking about concerns about fraud in the election. And I wonder if you are aware  
20 that President Trump's advisers, his most senior campaign officials, as well as his leaders  
21 at the Department of Justice, his White House counsel, that they all had told him that  
22 there was no evidence of fraud sufficient that it would change the outcome of the  
23 election.

24          Mrs. Thomas. No. That was news to me, Congresswoman.

25          Ms. Cheney. And so when did you become aware of that?

1 Mrs. Thomas. I think sometime after this committee started its work.

2 Ms. Cheney. And if you had been aware that the Attorney General Barr, for  
3 example, or Pat Cipollone, that if you'd been aware that they had investigated these  
4 claims of fraud and told him that there was no evidence to support those claims, would  
5 that have changed your view?

6 Mrs. Thomas. Honestly, I don't think it would have, because millions of people  
7 still found that there were irregularities with the COVID changes to mail-in balloting.

8 And there were so many other things that, you know, I don't think there's a lot  
9 of -- there's a lot of people uncomfortable with the 2020 election despite what this  
10 committee is pushing. Okay? I just think there's still concern.

11 And I wouldn't have believed that some of those people you named were able to  
12 identify and track down fraud and irregularity that I was hearing from the grass roots in  
13 certain States.

14 Ms. Cheney. And so are you aware that the President and his allies brought legal  
15 challenges, which was completely their right to do, but that they lost 61 out of 62 of  
16 those legal challenges?

17 Mrs. Thomas. I still believed that there was fraud and irregularity, as millions of  
18 Americans do, Representative Cheney.

19 Ms. Cheney. So despite the fact that the courts had ruled in a number of  
20 instances, in fact judges appointed by President Trump had ruled very clearly and  
21 specifically that these allegations -- that the campaign's claims were not supported by the  
22 evidence, you were aware of those rules and just chose to ignore them? I'm just trying  
23 to understand.

24 Mrs. Thomas. I just think there's still a lot of things that are still being  
25 uncovered. And so I believed there was fraud and irregularity, contrary to clearly what

1 you believe.

2 Ms. Cheney. Well, I appreciate that. I think it's important, though, you know,  
3 we're a nation of laws. And in each of these States, isn't it the case that there are  
4 provisions made for candidates to challenge the outcome of an election?

5 Mrs. Thomas. Yes. And Democrats have done that in many instances -- 2000,  
6 2004, 2016. It seemed like there were a lot of people who claimed President Trump was  
7 illegitimate for 4 years and tried to undermine his administration. Do you agree with  
8 that?

9 Ms. Cheney. Well, I think that we have to be very clear here and specific.  
10 So the process by which we elect a President is one in which the State legislators  
11 determine the manner in which those electors are selected. And there are provisions in  
12 each State for the candidates to bring challenges. And so if there are concerns about  
13 fraud, the candidates have to produce evidence.

14 And I think it's what we saw in this situation, was 61 out of 62 courts ruled against  
15 the President and his allies. And so when you have judges, including those appointed by  
16 the President, saying things like charges require specific allegations and proof and we  
17 have neither here, or saying this was a profound and historic abuse of the judicial process,  
18 or making clear that, you know, this is a country of laws.

19 And so once those court cases are decided, the President and all of us have an  
20 obligation to abide by the rulings of those courts, don't we?

21 Mrs. Thomas. I understand your point of view, and I do think President Biden is  
22 the President.

23 Ms. Cheney. And do you think that we have an obligation to abide by the rulings  
24 of the courts?

25 Mrs. Thomas. I hope so. Yes.

1 Ms. Cheney. Thank you.

2 Mr. [REDACTED] I see Mr. Raskin, I think, is up if he has any questions.

3 Mr. Raskin. Thank you very much.

4 Mrs. Thomas, what was the most significant case of voter fraud that you were  
5 concerned with after the election took place?

6 Mrs. Thomas. Thank you for that question, Congressman Raskin.

7 I can't say that I was familiar at that time with any specific evidence. I was just  
8 hearing it from news reports and friends on the ground, grassroots activists who were  
9 inside of various polling places that found things suspicious.

10 So I don't know. I was not an expert of the fraud and irregularities that were  
11 starting to be talked about.

12 Mr. Raskin. I see. And what are the episodes of fraud that still concern you,  
13 even in the wake of more than 60 Federal and State court decisions rejecting allegations  
14 of fraud and irregularity?

15 Mrs. Thomas. What I do I think today?

16 Mr. Raskin. Yes. I thought you were saying that you continue to say that things  
17 were being found about fraud.

18 Mrs. Thomas. Right. There seems to be a lot of people still moving around,  
19 identifying ways that there were -- we'll see. We'll see what happens. I don't know  
20 specific instances. But certainly I think we all know that there are people questioning  
21 what happened in 2020, and it takes time to develop an understanding of the facts.

1

2 [10:33 a.m.]

3 Mr. Raskin. Which States concern you the most?

4 Mrs. Thomas. I don't know.

5 Mr. Raskin. Okay. Are you concerned that you're moving into a different kind  
6 of political system if --

7 Mr. Paoletta. Okay. I think we want to talk about what happened during the  
8 post-election activities. What Mrs. Thomas thinks today about the future I don't think is  
9 relevant to this discussion.

10 Mr. Raskin. Okay. Well, I asked about which post-election activities concerns  
11 her, but I think the answer is she couldn't identify any, unless I missed that.

12 Mrs. Thomas, were there specific episodes that concerned you after the election?

13 Mr. Paoletta. Do you recall? At the time?

14 Mrs. Thomas. I can't think of anything right now.

15 Mr. Raskin. Okay.

16 And I just have one other question for you, Mrs. Thomas. When you took your  
17 sabbatical from action, that was because you had felt as if there were legal things going  
18 on. Is that right? That you consider yourself a political activist and not a legal activist?  
19 Do I have that right?

20 Mrs. Thomas. Right. I don't have much to share when it becomes a legal  
21 discussion.

22 Mr. Paoletta. Well, just to --

23 Mr. Raskin. Um --

24 Mr. Paoletta. I'm sorry. Just to clarify for the record, I think it's in terms of the  
25 comfort of your friends. It wasn't because it was a legal matter and you were

1 prohibited. It was because of the comfort of your friends, discussing these types of  
2 things.

3 Mrs. Thomas. Right.

4 Mr. Paoletta. If you want to say that to the Congressman. I just wanted to  
5 make sure the record's clear from what you said before.

6 I'm not sure you were on when she said that, Congressman.

7 Mr. Raskin. Yeah. No, no. That sounds right to me, from what Mrs. Thomas  
8 said before.

9 But my question is about the State legislatures and Congress. Because I also took  
10 you to be saying that the decision that the State legislatures might make and the decision  
11 that Congress would make were, in fact, still up for grabs.

12 Did you consider yourself involved in that as part of the political process?

13 Mrs. Thomas. I'd say I was generically involved. I mean, you know, the hope of  
14 going to the rally on January 6th was that there would be a robust discussion in the  
15 Congress on January 6th about fraud and irregularity.

16 And, you know, I don't think I had a very sophisticated understanding at that point  
17 of what would happen, Congressman, but I guess I hoped that something -- something  
18 could change in a limited period of time before what I thought was a mistake was going to  
19 happen.

20 Mr. Raskin. Gotcha. So you were not afraid that your friends would think you  
21 were involved in a legal process, by being involved in the discussion of what Congress  
22 should do with respect to the electors or what the legislatures should do with respect to  
23 the electors?

24 Mrs. Thomas. Well, I'm not sure I'm following your question. I'm meaning,  
25 when I went to the January 6th rally as a citizen at the Ellipse, I was joining with



1 grassroots citizens who were worried about election fraud and hoping that Congress on  
2 January 6th would be able to have a discussion, as many Democrats tried to challenge in  
3 previous years electoral challenges by States that they thought were not accurate. And  
4 so I just thought it was a mainstream activity.

5 Mr. Raskin. Very good. Thank you.

6 And I yield back.

7 Mr. [REDACTED] Can I ask just a question to follow up on Mr. Raskin's prior question?

8 Mr. [REDACTED] Sure. Go ahead.

9 BY MR. [REDACTED]

10 Q Is it fair to say that your view of the existence of fraud at the time was based  
11 on what other people said and not your own consideration of the actual evidence?

12 A That is true.

13 Q And have you ever read a report titled "Lost, Not Stolen"?

14 A No.

15 Q Okay. That's a report that was written by a number of prominent  
16 conservatives, including Senator John Danforth, Professor Michael McConnell, Judge  
17 Michael Luttig, and a number of others.

18 A Uh-huh.

19 Q So you've never read that --

20 A No.

21 Q -- report or seen it?

22 A No.

23 Q Okay.

24 Mr. [REDACTED] Do we need a break, or are you guys --

25 Mr. Paoletta. I'd just ask Ginni, do you want to take a break?

1 Mrs. Thomas. Let's take a quick break.

2 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. Sure.

3 Mr. [REDACTED] We'll go off the record.

4 [Recess.]

1

2 [10:53 a.m.]

3 Mr. [REDACTED] We will go back on the record.

4 Mr. [REDACTED] Mrs. Thomas, I want to follow up on --

5 Mr. [REDACTED] I think Mr. Aguilar has joined us, just to be clear on the record,  
6 another member of the committee.

7 BY MR. [REDACTED]

8 Q I want to follow up on some of the questions that the members were asking  
9 about the concerns that you had about fraud and ask you if you recall when you first  
10 became concerned that there had been fraud in the 2020 election.11 A I think, yeah, there was a general sense of surprise when the election night  
12 was going as it was. It looked like President Trump was going to win, and it shifted, you  
13 know, late in the night. And, honestly, it was just because of my sense on the ground as  
14 a grassroots activist that it was shocking, that the rather lackluster performance by the  
15 Biden candidacy versus what was happening on the ground with President Trump, it  
16 just -- you know, in a gut way, that was my first sense that something seems wrong here.17 And then it was things I was reading and things that I was hearing from friends by  
18 email and whatnot that seemed like we -- like, get to the bottom of it before it's too late.19 Q And do you recall that process of reading about things and hearing from your  
20 friends, do you recall that process taking place in the days immediately after the election,  
21 like November 3rd, 4th, 5th?22 A I think there were things that came up right away. I mean, yeah, I think  
23 there were emails that started moving around about things happening in certain States.  
24 Whether it was Detroit or whether it was other places, I can't remember now. I didn't  
25 focus specifically on it. I'm sorry.

1 Q No, that's okay. And the reason I ask is that your text messages or the  
2 emails we've seen, very early on it appears that you had formed a view that the election  
3 had been stolen.

4 A Right.

5 Q And are we sort of --

6 [Cross-talk.]

7 Mr. Paoletta. -- exhausted fraud being investigated.

8 Mrs. Thomas. Good point.

9 I didn't catch what you -- the premise of your question is that I thought there was  
10 fraud. I didn't think it was stolen, sir.

11 Mr. Paoletta. Okay. So you wanted the fraud -- I'm sorry -- just wanted the  
12 fraud investigated, the reports of it. But you had said "stolen." I didn't want to --

13 Mrs. Thomas. Right. I missed it.

14 Mr. [REDACTED] Did you come to a view at some point that the election was stolen by  
15 fraud?

16 Mrs. Thomas. I worried that there was fraud and irregularities that distorted the  
17 election but it wasn't uncovered in a timely manner, so we have President Biden.

18 BY MR. [REDACTED]

19 Q Did you, while you heard about different, you know, fraud and  
20 irregularities -- you mentioned Detroit -- did you also follow when people would debunk  
21 those, so when they would consider evidence and decide, no, there actually wasn't fraud  
22 in this circumstance? Did you follow any of those?

23 A I don't remember seeing any of those.

24 Q So, for example, the allegation about suitcases in Georgia --

25 A Uh-huh.

1 Q -- do you recall or do you follow any of the, kind of, followup that was done  
2 by Georgia officials or Federal law enforcement officials on that matter after the  
3 allegations were made?

4 A I did not.

5 Mr. Paoletta. And, just to be clear, fraud and irregularities, right? Where there  
6 are, you know -- when rules are changed and something, it's not permissible, so that  
7 would be an illegal vote, right? Not fraudulent, but an illegal vote. So --

8 Mr. [REDACTED] Right.

9 Mr. Paoletta. I just wanted to get that on the record.

10 Mr. [REDACTED] My question was more towards when there were allegations of  
11 fraud.

12 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah. Okay.

13 Mr. [REDACTED] For instance, the example I gave was the suitcases in Georgia.  
14 There were allegations that there was a suitcase stuffed with fraudulent false ballots.

15 Mrs. Thomas. Right.

16 Mr. [REDACTED] And there were subsequent law enforcement efforts, both at the  
17 State and Federal level, to investigate whether that actually happened.

18 And so my question was, did you follow or, kind of, consider those investigations  
19 after -- in the allegations of fraud like that?

20 Mrs. Thomas. I did not.

21 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay.

22 BY MR. [REDACTED]

23 Q Prior to the election, Mrs. Thomas, were you involved in any discussions  
24 about the potentiality of fraud or that the Democrats might try to steal the election or  
25 anything to that effect?

1           A    Yes.  Well, that's a big part of why we had some people, including John  
2 Eastman and Chuck DeVore, come to Groundswell meetings.  There were two groups  
3 that created, it was called, the 79-day project, and it was briefed to our groups, about  
4 what would happen by the left if they lost the election.  And they had tried to war-game  
5 out what that was.

6           And so that was something that our groups were focused on, what could happen if  
7 Biden lost.

8           Q    Did you participate in the 79-day project?

9           A    No.  We just brought them in to brief groups.

10          Q    Did they -- "they," you mean Mr. DeVore and Mr. Eastman?

11          A    Yes.

12          Q    And did they brief groups -- and I want to talk about which groups in a  
13 moment, but did they do these briefings before or after the exercise that they did, this  
14 sort of war-gaming exercise that they did?

15          A    I believe it was after, when they had a written report.

16          Q    Do you know people who participated in that exercise besides Mr. DeVore or  
17 Mr. Eastman?

18          A    I don't remember.  I know it was the Texas Public Policy Foundation and  
19 Claremont, but I don't know if it went -- I don't know the specific people who were  
20 involved.  It seemed extensive and well-thought-out to me.

21          Q    Did Cleta Mitchell participate, to your knowledge?

22          A    I don't know.

23          Q    Did you ever talk to her about it?

24          A    I don't remember anything about her.  She may have been at when we had  
25 those briefings, but I don't remember her participating as a participant in that.

1 Q Which of the groups were you referring to when you said that Mr. DeVore  
2 and Mr. Eastman briefed you on the results of their war-game exercise?

3 A I believe they talked to the Groundswell meeting. I don't know if they did  
4 the Frontliner group or not.

5 Q And you believe that discussion with the Groundswell group was after the  
6 exercise but before the election?

7 A Yes.

8 Q Do you remember discussions at that meeting regarding what efforts might  
9 be taken to address fraudulent activity that took place in the election causing Mr. Biden  
10 to be declared the winner?

11 A No, I don't -- I don't remember that.

12 Q Did Mr. Eastman or Mr. DeVore or anyone else discuss this notion of State  
13 legislators taking some responsibility or taking some action to challenge or change the  
14 result of the election?

15 A No. I don't -- I don't remember that. I mean, I wasn't down in the details.  
16 I just remember -- at this point in time, I just remember there was generally a briefing  
17 about that war-game activity.

18 Mr. Paoletta. And, [REDACTED], I'm sorry, you're talking about before the election,  
19 right?

20 Mr. [REDACTED] Yes.

21 Mr. Paoletta. Okay. Sorry.

22 BY MR. [REDACTED]

23 Q Did you know Mr. DeVore prior to this briefing that he gave regarding the  
24 79-day project?

25 A If I did, I don't remember. I may have met him at different things, but I

1 didn't focus on Chuck DeVore until this occasion.

2 Q How about Mr. Eastman? Had you known Mr. Eastman for some time?

3 A Yes. He was a clerk for my husband back in the early days, and he's an  
4 active participant with the "Thomas clique" clerks that gather and -- by Christmas and  
5 retreats, et cetera.

6 Q And I called him "Mr. Eastman." I think he goes by "Dr. Eastman."

7 Had you had discussions with Dr. Eastman -- outside of this meeting at  
8 Groundswell regarding the 79-day project, had you had discussions with Dr. Eastman  
9 prior to the election about potential avenues that could be pursued if former Vice  
10 President Biden was declared the winner?

11 A I don't remember that. I mean, I don't remember any conversations with  
12 John about that. But I think I was just trying to facilitate him presenting what the  
13 war-gaming effort showed as to what the left could do if they lost and how they could -- I  
14 just don't remember specifics about the 79-day project. I'm -- you can read it. I don't  
15 remember it.

16 Mr. [REDACTED] Can I just ask --

17 Mr. [REDACTED] Yeah.

18 Mr. [REDACTED] -- when you say "what the left would do when they lost," did you  
19 mean what policies they would put in place or did you mean what they would do with  
20 respect to the actual election?

21 Mrs. Thomas. What they would do to challenge the election.

22 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay.

23 Mrs. Thomas. Like, how they would throw it into the House, et cetera. The  
24 things that probably came up later. So, yes, it was -- I mean, you should read it. I don't  
25 remember the specifics.



1 BY MR. [REDACTED]

2 Q Take a look at exhibit 1 in the binder in front of you.

3 A Okay.

4 Q And this is -- it starts, or the top email is from you to Mr. DeVore, Dr.

5 Eastman, and a gentleman by the name of Tim Daughtry, dated November 6th.

6 Do you see that?

7 A Yes.

8 Q Okay. I want to start at the earliest-in-time email in this chain, so that

9 begins on page 2 of the exhibit, I believe.

10 A Okay.

11 Q And do you see in the bottom-right corner there's a number, it says

12 "Chapman 003019"?

13 A Yes.

14 Q Okay. Just want to make sure we're on the same page.

15 A Okay.

16 Q Even though there are several pages after that, I believe they all flow from

17 that email that's listed on page 3019, the Friday, November 6th email at 6:12 a.m. from

18 Connie Hare.

19 A Okay.

20 Q Do you see where I'm looking?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Okay. Do you recall, have you seen this email chain before?

23 A I don't remember it until you guys presented it, but -- I don't remember it.

24 Q And this wasn't in your emails when you went back or counsel went and

25 looked for documents responsive to the subpoena -- or, excuse me, the request. Is that

1 correct?

2 Mr. Paoletta. That's correct, yeah.

3 Mrs. Thomas. Okay.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]

5 Q So it appears that Ms. Hare has forwarded, in this 6:12 a.m. email, an article  
6 by someone named Daniel Horowitz describing a strategy by which Republican-controlled  
7 State legislatures could, quote, "rectify election fraud committed by courts and  
8 governors."

9 Had you heard of that strategy before November 6, 2020?

10 A No. No.

11 Q Was that something that came up in the course of the discussion regarding  
12 the 79-day project?

13 A I don't have any memory of that.

14 Q Okay.

15 I should note for the record that Representative Kinzinger has joined.

16 A Okay.

17 Q Ms. Hare says in her email that she hopes State legislatures were already  
18 looking into the approach suggested by Mr. Horowitz. And she said, quote, "We need to  
19 normalize it by talking about it, writing about it. We cannot allow Marxists to steal the  
20 election through fraud, and that is exactly what they're doing."

21 Do you see that?

22 A Yes.

23 Q On November 6, 2020, did you share Ms. Hare's belief that Marxists were  
24 stealing the 2020 election?

25 A I don't remember what I was thinking at the time.

1 Q What did you understand Ms. Hare to mean when she said "we need to  
2 normalize it by talking about it, writing about it"?

3 A I don't know if I, you know, read down that far. I don't know if I focused on  
4 it. I -- I don't.

5 Q Okay.

6 Above the email from Ms. Hare is an email from someone named Ann Siegel. Do  
7 you know Ann Siegel?

8 A Yes.

9 Q Who's that?

10 A She's an investigator, a pollster, in the Midwest.

11 Q Ms. Siegel writes, presumably to Ms. Hare and others on this chain, "I  
12 believe this is our best play now and for the future."

13 A Uh-huh.

14 Q "We need to reassert the powers given to the states in the Constitution."  
15 What did you understand her to mean by that?

16 A I don't know if I focused on it at the time.

17 Q Okay.

18 And the very next email in the chain is from you --

19 A Uh-huh.

20 Q -- and you write, "Agree. And thanks to you all."

21 I want to pause on that for a second. So when you said "agree," were you  
22 agreeing with Ms. Siegel and Ms. Hare that we need to take these steps that they've  
23 described in their emails?

24 A I can't speak to what I believed when I wrote that back then, but the point  
25 was trying to get at State evidence of irregularities and fraud in a timely manner before

1 there was a big decision.

2 Q And you say, "Eric Berger is on the case with a group of us."

3 A Uh-huh.

4 Q Who's Eric Berger?

5 A Eric Berger is somebody who created FreeRoots, the grassroots mass  
6 communication device. And he was working on, with someone who started a campaign  
7 on FreeRoots, something that would message to State legislators.

8 Q And what did you mean when you said that he was "on the case with a  
9 group of us"?

10 A I believe he was working on a FreeRoots campaign that people in  
11 Groundswell and other groups could use to help focus on State legislators and their role  
12 in identifying fraud and irregularity in their elections.

13 Q Okay.

14 So the email chain was started at 6:00 a.m. -- at least the excerpt that we have  
15 here -- was started at 6:00 a.m. on Friday the 6th. Your response is at 11:00 a.m.

16 Had you had conversations with Mr. Berger and others before 11:00 a.m., or 11:09  
17 a.m., on the 6th about the need to activate the FreeRoots messaging and so forth?

18 A I don't think so, but I have no memory of what I would've done or how I  
19 would've known that.

20 Q What's your best recollection of how it is that you connected with Mr.  
21 Berger in that timeframe right after the election?

22 A It could've been a listserv discussion where he identified a possible action  
23 item. I don't know. Or it could've been a meeting that I went to. I can't remember  
24 what was happening on November 6th, honestly.

25 Q Yeah. And the reason I'm pushing a little bit on your memory -- and I know

1 it's a while ago, and I maybe sound like I'm repeating questions that you've already said  
2 you don't recall, but trying to prompt a memory here maybe -- that this is very shortly  
3 after the election --

4 A Uh-huh.

5 Q -- and it seems as if, sort of, the machine of potentially, you know, grassroots  
6 messaging and so forth has already sort of kicked into gear quickly pretty.

7 And I'm wondering if you could help us sort of understand the origin of that or  
8 what your -- earliest memory about this, sort of, messaging effort and how it came about.

9 A I can't help you. I'm sorry.

10 I think you have to put yourselves in the shoes of had this happened the other way  
11 around and people were finding tools before the election was called to identify fraud and  
12 irregularity that seemed to have a big impact on the final election. And it falls into that  
13 kind of thing for people on the center-right.

14 Q And I understand that -- I hear you loud and clear on the points you've been  
15 making about the fraud and irregularities and the concerns you had.

16 This also seems to, though, target a specific, sort of, strategy --

17 A Uh-huh.

18 Q -- the one that Ms. Hare and Ms. Siegel are talking about in these prior  
19 emails about it being our "best play" to look to the legislatures and so forth.

20 I'm trying to see if that prompts a memory as to when you first became aware that  
21 that was a strategy that was going to be pursued.

22 A I -- I don't remember.

23 Q So the email chain sort of continues, with other folks chiming in or weighing  
24 in on their views of this approach, including Mr. Daughtry in the email on the first page.  
25 Do you see it, at 12:34 on November 6th?

1 A Yes.

2 Q Who's Mr. Daughtry?

3 A He is an author of a book called "Sleeping the Waking Giant" about  
4 grassroots conservatives. He lives in North Carolina. He's a member of Groundswell.  
5 I've used him some times to be a facilitator at retreats that I've had on a number of cases.  
6 He's very good at communication ideas.

7 Q And he notes some concerns from a messaging standpoint about this  
8 approach that's advocated in Mr. Horowitz's article and then sort of endorsed by the  
9 other folks that we've just read from.

10 Is that sort of a fair characterization of what he's saying in his email?

11 A I guess so.

12 Q And then you forward his email, or the chain including his email, to Mr.  
13 DeVore and Dr. Eastman at, it looks like, 2 o'clock mountain time on the 6th.

14 Do you see that?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Why were you bringing Mr. DeVore and Dr. Eastman into this conversation,  
17 if you recall?

18 A I don't recall. I don't know.

19 Mr. Paoletta. You don't recall.

20 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah. I don't recall.

21 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

22 Q You say in the email, "Tim Daughtry (see below) works on messaging with  
23 us."

24 A Uh-huh.

25 Q "And if you were doing a myth and fact, as we discussed this a.m., could you

1 have a brief discussion with Tim Daughtry as you both are thinking through the left's  
2 responses and how we would need to rebut."

3 A Right.

4 Q Do you recall having a discussion with Mr. DeVore and Dr. Eastman on the  
5 morning of November 6th?

6 A No, I don't -- I don't recall.

7 Q Do you recall any discussion with either of them about a myth and fact?

8 A I mean, I see the email that -- it looks like something I would do.

9 It could've followed a meeting that happened that morning. I'm guessing; I don't  
10 know. When I say "we discussed this a.m.," it could've been a meeting that was held for  
11 Groundswellers about what we do at that point. And so action items were probably  
12 being considered.

13 Q This is before you started what you've described as a sabbatical, right?

14 A Right.

15 Q Do you remember in those early days after the election of there being a  
16 series of meetings, or meetings at all, about, okay, what's the plan here, what are we  
17 doing, how are we going to address and confront these concerns about fraud and  
18 irregularities?

19 A Probably. I don't remember specifically, but that tends to be what happens  
20 at a Groundswell meeting. We look for action items that can help galvanize grassroots  
21 focus.

22 And probably, you know, that was in the political lane. And so something must  
23 have happened -- I don't remember the calendar, but before -- until the 9th. That's  
24 when it was too legal to me, and that's when I pulled back from the meetings.

25 So, as far as this -- focused on State legislators and helping them politically see

1 their role, that was what I was doing.

2 Q Do you remember what happened on the 9th that caused you to think that  
3 you needed to step back?

4 A I don't remember. It must have gotten just too legal.

5 Q What do you mean by that, "too legal"?

6 A I think there were challenges moving to the courts.

7 Q Well, there certainly were court cases filed in the days immediately after the  
8 election --

9 A Right.

10 Q -- as there often are, as you pointed out, election challenges. Were those  
11 the legal challenges that concerned you or that caused you to take this sabbatical?

12 A I don't remember the specifics.

13 Q Was there -- again, I'm going to push a little bit just to see if I can jog a  
14 memory. Was there a concern that there might be cases beyond just the typical  
15 election challenges that were being filed in the States that might, for example, percolate  
16 up to the Supreme Court?

17 A I don't know. I think I probably was thinking about Bush v. Gore and what  
18 happened and how chaotic it became and what a big role the Supreme Court played, and  
19 I wanted to pull back.

20 Q You talked about the Groundswell meetings and this is what typically  
21 happens in, sort of, grassroots mobilizing -- and I'm paraphrasing your last response.

22 A Uh-huh.

23 Q Do you recall a decision that Groundswell was going to have more frequent  
24 meetings than it typically had in this post-election timeframe?

25 A I think they did. And that was, again, something that I was gonna be pulling



1 out of, so other people were doing agendas and that kind of thing.

2 Q I think we've seen some reference, maybe in some of the documents that  
3 you have there, about daily calls with Groundswell. Was that something that was  
4 happening before you started your sabbatical?

5 A No. It would be, I believe -- my memory is that it was after I pulled out  
6 of -- it was getting too legal. And so I think they wanted to continue meeting, and I  
7 wanted to depart and let them have their conversations that could've included legal  
8 issues.

9 Q Do you remember who made the decision -- if you know -- who made the  
10 decision that there were going to be daily meetings?

11 A I don't remember. It probably was a consensus thing.

12 Q Prior to your taking a sabbatical, would that have been something that you  
13 would've been involved in, given your role or position within the Groundswell group?

14 A To what?

15 Q To make a decision, we're going to have daily Zoom calls.

16 A No, not on this. I wouldn't have done that. It would've been other people  
17 in the group that would've said, we need daily calls on what's happening. And that  
18 probably is what pulled me away.

19 Q Is there a particular person or group of people who you think would've made  
20 that decision? Or is it just sort of a consensus that might've come up in a -- I'm asking  
21 you to speculate, but -- in a meeting?

22 Mr. Paoletta. Do you know?

23 Mrs. Thomas. I don't know.

24 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

25 Q But that wasn't your -- it wasn't your call --

1 A No.

2 Q -- that we need to have daily Zoom calls?

3 A It was not.

4 Mr. [REDACTED]: Could I -- if we're going to --

5 Mr. [REDACTED]: Just one more question --

6 Mr. [REDACTED]: Yeah.

7 Mr. [REDACTED]: -- on this one email. Sorry.

8 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

9 Q "Myth and fact."

10 A Uh-huh.

11 Q What is -- do you know what that refers to or what that means?

12 A Yes. That's frequently used for political documents that help inform people  
13 on complex things. And people put myths and facts together. You know what it  
14 means.

15 Q Yeah, I want to make sure my understanding is the same as yours, that when  
16 it's referenced in this email, it's referring to some type of document, an explainer --

17 A Yeah.

18 Q -- that was going to be put together by Mr. DeVore and Dr. Eastman?

19 A If they wanted to do that. I was -- looks like I was recommending Tim  
20 Daughtry as a valuable asset for that.

21 Q Okay. Thank you.

22 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

23 Q Just still on the same exhibit 1, on page 2, it starts by forwarding this article  
24 and reports from Daniel Horowitz, and the title is "How Republican-controlled state  
25 legislatures can rectify election fraud committed by courts and governors."

1 Did you think that courts had committed election fraud at this time?

2 A I probably -- I don't know if I read this, and I don't -- that doesn't sound like  
3 something I would believe in. But I don't have a memory.

4 Q Okay. And do you have any evidence or know of any evidence that courts  
5 committed election fraud during the elections period?

6 A No.

7 Q Okay. And how about Governors? Do you have any reason to think that  
8 particular Governors committed election fraud?

9 A I didn't get into the specifics. I'm sorry. I was kind of a generalist, and I  
10 don't have specific evidences of fraud. It was just a general belief that was motivating  
11 me at the time.

12 Q Okay.

13 Mrs. Thomas. Are we done?

14 Mr. [REDACTED] Not yet. I was going to move to another exhibit.

15 BY MR. [REDACTED]

16 Q Mrs. Thomas, can you take a look at exhibit 23?

17 A Yes.

18 Q Have you seen this document before?

19 A I don't remember seeing it until you guys brought it to our attention this  
20 week.

21 Q Do you know who prepared it?

22 A No.

23 Q Did you have any role in the release of this report?

24 A No.

25 Q So, I take it, you didn't -- you didn't review it at or around the time that it

1 was released?

2 A Not that I remember.

3 Q Are you affiliated with a group called CNP Action?

4 A Yes.

5 Q Were you in December of 2020?

6 A I may have been, but I didn't -- again, I took a step back, so I wasn't involved  
7 in what they were doing. Did they create this?

8 Q My understanding is that they did.

9 A Okay. It was something I didn't see. I didn't -- I wasn't participating with  
10 CNP Action at that time.

11 Q And that was part of your sabbatical you mentioned.

12 A Yes.

13 Q So, from November 9th going through mid-January, you stepped back from  
14 CNP Action's efforts regarding the election?

15 A Among others that I stepped back from, yes.

16 Q Yes.

17 Do you know -- have you ever talked to Ms. Mitchell about this document, by any  
18 chance? Cleta Mitchell.

19 A I don't have any memory of it.

20 Mr. Paoletta. And, just to be clear, you don't have any memory of this document  
21 at all.

22 Mrs. Thomas. Right.

23 Mr. Paoletta. Okay. So --

24 Mrs. Thomas. The first I remember seeing it was when you guys brought it to  
25 our attention.

1           Mr. Paoletta. Okay.

2                           BY MR. [REDACTED]

3           Q     To your knowledge, before or after your sabbatical, do you know if CNP  
4 Action played any role in challenging the results of the 2020 election?

5           A     I don't know what role they must've or might've played. I really pulled back  
6 from them, and I've actually now come off of that group. But I didn't attend a lot of  
7 their meetings and -- no, I wasn't aware.

8           Q     How about before November 9th, before you began your sabbatical, was  
9 CNP Action taking action or steps to either mobilize folks or promote some sort of  
10 messaging regarding the 2020 election?

11          A     Okay. CNP Action created conference calls with a lot of people at CNP, a  
12 bigger group, a (c)(3), and those would occasionally be scheduled. And I didn't attend  
13 many of the CNP Action phone calls with all those people, and I wasn't involved in setting  
14 the agenda for those conference calls. So I was not a valuable part of CNP Action.

15          Mr. Paoletta. Just to get to [REDACTED] question, it was before November 9th.

16          Right [REDACTED]? Is that what the --

17          Mr. [REDACTED]. Yes.

18          Mr. Paoletta. -- specific question? Okay.

19          Mrs. Thomas. Yes. Even before that. I mean, I wasn't a valuable part of CNP  
20 Action. I came to meetings when they would have them, and I happened to be at CNP  
21 meetings, but I was going to less and less of the CNP meetings. So I would call in  
22 sometimes to the CNP Action meetings that were sometimes happening in the midst of  
23 those gatherings.

24                   Does that help you?

25                   BY MR. [REDACTED]

1 Q Yeah, I think I understand. Yeah. They were -- okay. I'll leave it at that.

2 So let me ask you, though, about Cleta Mitchell. Did she work with you during  
3 the time that you were more involved with CNP Action? Did she work with that group?

4 A She was not, to my knowledge, a member of CNP Action.

5 Am I wrong? Was she a member?

6 I don't remember her being a CNP Action member. It was a group of six or seven  
7 people, I believe, and I don't remember her in those meetings.

8 Q Do you recall having any discussions -- and if I asked you this already, I  
9 apologize. Do you remember having any discussions with Cleta Mitchell in the  
10 aftermath of the 2020 election about potential fraud in the election?

11 A I knew she was upset about Georgia. I know she was very active in what  
12 was happening. And I may have heard somehow -- and I don't know how I heard it, but I  
13 may have heard her talking about what she was doing in Georgia and that she was upset.  
14 That's all I remember.

15 Q When you say you may have heard, did you talk to her directly?

16 A I don't think so. I think she was presenting at something that I may have  
17 heard. I just can't remember.

18 Q Ms. Mitchell has testified under oath to this committee that she spoke with  
19 you about what was going on in Georgia after the election and that you asked her about  
20 the claims of fraud that were being made there.

21 Is that accurate?

22 A I don't have any memory of it. So maybe she has a better memory than I  
23 do.

24 Q You don't recall any specific discussions with her or even general discussions  
25 with her about what she was finding in Georgia and what the lay of the land seemed to be

1 there with respect to the fraud claims?

2 A No. I don't remember.

3 Q Did you ever speak with Ms. Mitchell about State legislatures choosing  
4 electors in the Presidential election?

5 A I don't remember that.

6 Q Okay.

7 This document -- and I know that you said you hadn't seen it before we provided it  
8 to your counsel -- includes -- there are some bullet points about potential theories and  
9 arguments regarding the role of State legislatures. But then there are several pages of,  
10 sort of, summaries of fraud claims in some of the contested States.

11 Do you see that part of the document?

12 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah, the first time she ever saw this was on Tuesday. So -- and I  
13 think she'd never seen it, I'd never seen it, so we didn't spend a lot of time on it.

14 Mrs. Thomas. And I didn't read it.

15 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah.

16 BY MR. [REDACTED]

17 Q Okay. Well, if you just look at the State-specific pages, so starting on  
18 page 4 through the end --

19 A Uh-huh.

20 Q -- have you seen any documents like this, meaning summaries by State, or in  
21 a particular State, listing the fraud allegations that supposedly took place in those States  
22 with regard to the 2020 election?

23 A No.

24 Q So, going to Mr. Raskin's question earlier about particular claims of fraud,  
25 this document lists several of them, but you've not seen documents like that, a

1 compilation of fraud claims in various jurisdictions.

2 A Right. It looks like a valuable document, but I hadn't seen it until Tuesday.

3 Q Do you know Jenny Beth Martin?

4 A I do.

5 Q Did you ever discuss with Ms. Martin any efforts to overturn the results of  
6 the 2020 election?

7 A Again, I go to the premise of your question. Anything I was doing was  
8 looking for fraud and irregularities in the election, not to overturn it.

9 I don't remember any specific conversations with Jenny Beth about what actions  
10 she was doing. She was active with Cleta, I think, in Georgia. That's all I remember.

11 Q And was she also active in CNP Action?

12 A Yes.

13 Q How about Russell Ramsland? Was he involved with CNP Action?

14 A I don't think so.

15 Q Do you know Mr. Ramsland?

16 A I know the name, but I don't know him.

17 Q Have you ever had any conversations with him about the 2020 election?

18 A Not to my knowledge.

19 Mr. Paoletta. Who is he?

20 BY MR. [REDACTED]

21 Q Russell Ramsland, I think, ran for Congress in Texas many years ago. And  
22 he was involved with a group called -- or he became involved with a group called Allied  
23 Security Operations Group, and they were active in investigating claims of fraud relating  
24 to Dominion voting machines.

25 A Okay. I didn't know him. I don't know.



1 Q He worked with someone named Phil Waldron. Do you know Phil  
2 Waldron?

3 A I've heard of the name, but I don't know Phil Waldron.

4 Mr. ██████. Anything else on the CNP memo?

5 Mrs. Thomas. Are we done?

6 Ms. Cheney. Can I ask a question, ██████?

7 Mr. ██████. Yes, of course.

8 Ms. Cheney. I just wanted to make sure I understood.

9 So, Mrs. Thomas, you mentioned that what you were doing was looking for fraud  
10 and irregularities.

11 Mrs. Thomas. Yes.

12 Ms. Cheney. But then you also -- I think I understood you to say that you never  
13 saw any list of fraud or irregularities.

14 Mrs. Thomas. Right. I know. I wasn't very deep; I admit it.

15 Ms. Cheney. And so -- but you're confident that there was fraud and  
16 irregularities?

17 Mrs. Thomas. I was hearing it, Congresswoman, from a lot of people I trust. So  
18 trusted people were telling me there were problems, and I just thought there should be  
19 people at the State level investigating those before it was too late.

20 Ms. Cheney. And so I just want to make sure that we're clear that the leadership  
21 of the Trump campaign -- so, for example, Bill Stepien, the campaign manager, testified to  
22 the committee, you know, that it was his job to track down some of these allegations and  
23 they would come up dry because, quote, "the allegations didn't prove to be true."

24 You know, Matt Morgan, who was the general counsel for the Trump campaign,  
25 discussed a meeting that included a number of senior attorneys, including for the Vice

1 President, in which he said that the topic was "whether the fraud, maladministration,  
2 abuse, or irregularities, if aggregated and read most favorably to the campaign, would be  
3 outcome-determinative. And I think everyone's assessment in the room, at least  
4 amongst the staff -- Marc Short, myself, Greg Jacob -- was that it wasn't sufficient to be  
5 outcome-determinative."

6 Are you aware of any of that?

7 Mrs. Thomas. No, I was not.

8 Ms. Cheney. Do you think it's important that the counsel for the campaign and  
9 the Attorney General and the Vice President's counsel all determined that there was not  
10 sufficient fraud or irregularities, on top of 61 out of 62 courts, to overturn the results of  
11 the election?

12 Mrs. Thomas. I understand your question, and I understand your point. I just  
13 believe there were millions who believed there was still fraud and irregularities that were  
14 problematic and didn't get solved in a timely manner.

15 Ms. Cheney. Thank you.

16 BY MR. [REDACTED]

17 Q And just following up on Vice Chair Cheney's questioning on that -- and I  
18 know you've not seen this document, but I believe --

19 Mr. Schiff. Mr. [REDACTED], could I just follow up very quickly --

20 Mr. [REDACTED]. Yes, please.

21 Mr. Schiff. -- as well?

22 Mrs. Thomas, you talked how millions believed these claims of fraud,  
23 notwithstanding what the Attorney General was saying, what the White House Counsel  
24 was saying.

25 Were millions of people believing this because this was what Donald Trump was

1 telling them?

2 Mrs. Thomas. I don't know. I'm not an expert at public opinion. I think polls  
3 just show that a number of people still have lack of confidence in that election, sir.

4 Mr. Schiff. And even though the President's own Attorney General and his White  
5 House Counsel, his own campaign lawyers, were all telling him that there wasn't sufficient  
6 evidence of fraud that would have affected the result, you nonetheless think that that  
7 doesn't change your opinion? That it should be excluded based on a belief?

8 Mrs. Thomas. I understand your point of view, sir.

9 Mr. Schiff. I appreciate it. I'm trying to understand your point of view.

10 When the President's own lawyers are telling him there's no "there" there with  
11 respect to the fraud, when his own Attorney General is telling him in a very colorful  
12 language that it's BS, you think those opinions, based on the investigation of these  
13 allegations, don't deserve weight?

14 Mrs. Thomas. You're asking me what I knew and thought at that time, sir, and I  
15 didn't know of those things that you're talking about now. And I was basing what I  
16 believed off of people I trusted and news that I trusted.

17 Mr. Schiff. If you had known then that the President's Attorney General in  
18 real-time was telling him that these claims were false, that there wasn't sufficient fraud to  
19 affect the outcome, would that have changed your view and your actions?

20 Mrs. Thomas. I don't know.

21 Mr. Schiff. Thank you, Mr. Harris.

22 BY MR. [REDACTED]

23 Q And, you know, the fact sheets, or the State-specific fraud descriptions that I  
24 referred to in this document, following up on Vice Chair Cheney and Representative  
25 Schiff's questions, I mean, these were issues that, prior to December 8th, the date of the

1 release of this document, many, if not all, of them had been addressed by courts and  
2 were found not to have merit.

3 And I'm wondering whether you were aware of any discussions within CNP Action  
4 or with Ms. Mitchell or Ms. Martin or anyone else about the fact that courts had heard  
5 these claims, had rejected these claims, and they were nevertheless being put forward in  
6 messaging documents to sort of establish that the election was somehow improper or  
7 tainted.

8 Any discussions along those lines?

9 A I really appreciate, Mr. [REDACTED], you asking me this, because I think people  
10 really misunderstand how minimal my involvement was in that time period. And I didn't  
11 see this, and I didn't go to the meetings that I usually go to where this kind of information  
12 might have been discussed.

13 So I can't help you further. I wasn't there. I didn't participate in that. I was  
14 rather superficial in my work at that point.

15 Q In November and early December, were you tracking, sort of, the specific  
16 claims of election fraud that were being made by the Trump campaign?

17 A I don't have any memory of tracking what the Trump campaign was saying  
18 about the election, no. I can't remember anything.

19 Q And by "tracking," I don't mean in a formal sense that you were keeping a  
20 spreadsheet --

21 A No.

22 Q -- but were you aware of or keeping an eye on the nature of the claims that  
23 were being made by the Trump campaign in the November and early December  
24 timeframe?

25 A I don't remember if I was or not. I was probably occasionally watching

1 news and seeing emails. But, beyond that, I don't -- I felt like I was pulled out. I was  
2 looking at Thanksgiving and getting ready for a crowd coming to my house, et cetera.

3 Q So, on November 13th, there's a text message in the exhibit that we've  
4 looked at previously from you to Mark Meadows that says "Sidney Powell" --

5 Mr. Paoletta. I'm sorry, [REDACTED]. What was the --

6 Mr. [REDACTED]. Yeah, let me -- that would be helpful.

7 Mr. Paoletta. What's the --

8 Mr. [REDACTED]. It's November 13.

9 Mr. Paoletta. Yep. November 13. Okay, the -- 1975?

10 Mr. [REDACTED]. Yes.

11 Mr. Paoletta. Okay.

12 Mr. [REDACTED]. At the bottom of page 1.

13 Mrs. Thomas. All right.

14 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

15 Q It says, "Sidney Powell and improved coordination now will help the cavalry  
16 come and fraud exposed and America saved." You suggested that Mr. Meadows should  
17 help Ms. Powell be "the lead and the face."

18 Do you see that?

19 A Yes.

20 Q What caused you to believe that Sidney Powell's presence or efforts would  
21 help the cavalry come and fraud exposed -- I assume you mean "be exposed" -- and  
22 America saved?

23 A Yes. Thank you for that question.

24 I must have been watching enough things where she was communicating in TV  
25 shows or press conferences where I had confidence in her because of what she had done

1 for Michael Flynn before, and I viewed her as a trusted person to get at facts. And I had  
2 hoped that she could do the same with -- not knowing what was going on with Dominion  
3 voting machines.

4 But I think you'll see in a later text with Mark Meadows that he corrected my view  
5 on Sidney Powell. And that was on 11/22, number [REDACTED]. And you'll find, after he told  
6 me that, I kind of got off that train.

7 Mr. Paoletta. You didn't know her, right?

8 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah, I didn't know Sidney Powell. I just saw her on TV and saw  
9 what she was doing. And so I was pulling in as a -- someone who looked like she could  
10 credibly get to the bottom of it.

11 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

12 Q And that's why you thought that she should be the lead and the face of the  
13 effort, because of the way she presented on television and what you believed to be the  
14 substance of the claims that she was making on TV?

15 A And what she had done for Michael Flynn. Yes, that was why I had a belief  
16 in her ability to get to the bottom of things.

17 Q Have you ever spoke to Ms. Powell?

18 A I don't think so.

19 Q And leading up to the text that you referred to on the 22nd, you had texts  
20 with Mr. Meadows on the 19th -- one on the 19th that says -- well, actually, let me give  
21 you the Bates number on that.

22 Mr. Paoletta. 2212, the second one?

23 Mr. [REDACTED] Yes -- uh, [REDACTED]?

24 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah.

25 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

1 Q And I'll just call your attention to the part of that text message which is  
2 somewhat lengthy. It says, "Sounds like Sidney and her team are getting inundated with  
3 evidence of fraud. Make a plan, release the Kraken, and save us from the left taking  
4 America down."

5 What did you mean by that?

6 A I was clearly emotional. I regret the language. I was just hopeful that  
7 someone with capacity could get at the fraud.

8 Q Do you remember what led you to believe that Sidney and her team were  
9 getting inundated with evidence of fraud?

10 A I don't recall. No.

11 Q Later that afternoon -- it looks like that text was in the middle of the night.

12 Later in the afternoon on that same day, I'll represent to you there was a press  
13 conference -- and maybe you recall -- there was a press conference with Mr. Giuliani,  
14 Ms. Powell, and several other members of the Trump legal team that was held at the RNC  
15 here in Washington.

16 A Right.

17 Q Do you remember watching that press conference?

18 A I do.

19 Q Were you watching it live?

20 A I think I was.

21 Q And it looks like there are some text messages to Mr. Meadows in real-time  
22 while that press conference was taking place. And do you see those? Those are  
23 beginning on the text number [REDACTED].

24 A Yes.

25 Q And your first text is, "Tears are flowing in what Rudy is doing right now."

1 Do you remember what that refers to?

2 A I think somebody was identifying fraud and showing leadership and being a  
3 good communicator, and I was hopeful at the time.

4 Q So were they tears of joy? Is that what you meant?

5 A I guess so.

6 Q Minutes later, you text, "Whoa. Heroes."

7 Do you remember why you were expressing that sentiment to Mr. Meadows  
8 during the press conference?

9 A I don't remember.

10 Q So I take it that you were impressed with the presentations by Mr. Giuliani  
11 and Ms. Powell at the press conference?

12 A I was hopeful.

13 Q Did you discuss the claims being made by Mr. Giuliani and Ms. Powell with  
14 anyone other than Mr. Meadows, if you recall, contemporaneously?

15 A I don't think so.

16 Q Did you ever talk to Cleta Mitchell about the claims that Ms. Powell, in  
17 particular, was making?

18 A I don't remember any such discussion.

19 Q Did she, Ms. Mitchell, ever tell you that she did not believe that Ms. Powell  
20 had the proof to support her claims?

21 A I knew there was controversy in the conservative movement among election  
22 integrity lawyers about Sidney Powell's claims on the Dominion voting machines. Yes.

23 Q But you don't recall a specific conversation with Ms. Mitchell about that?

24 A No.

25 Q And, as you pointed out, you did have an exchange with Mr. Meadows



1 generally on Ms. Powell's ability to back up the claims that she was making. Is that  
2 right?

3 A That is correct.

4 Q Did you have any interactions with Mr. Meadows on that topic other than  
5 what we see reflected in the text messages?

6 A No, I don't think so.

7 Q So you don't recall ever talking to him?

8 A No.

9 Q Were you talking to him in this timeframe? Did you have actual  
10 conversations with him? I think maybe we talked about this earlier, but were all your  
11 communications with Mark Meadows in this time via text or email?

12 A That's all I remember. I don't have any memory of conversations with Mark  
13 at that time. I think I was hopefully leaving him alone. I was bugging him enough in  
14 these texts.

15 Q And just to sort of close the loop on that piece of it, as referenced in the text  
16 messages, or as alluded to in the text messages, the Trump campaign issued a statement  
17 on November 22nd distancing itself from Ms. Powell, claiming she had no role in the  
18 representation of the President or the campaign.

19 Do you remember learning of that press release or that statement?

20 A The 22nd you think that happened?

21 Q Yes.

22 A No, I don't remember, but I -- you know, again, I see that Mark texted me on  
23 the 22nd and said that she's not sharing evidence. So, again, that's all I know. I don't  
24 remember something else.

25 Q So it looks like you actually, in [REDACTED] you started the discussion on the

1 topic, it appears, saying, "Trying to understand the Sidney Powell distancing."

2 A Right.

3 Q And I'll represent to you that the timing on that is consistent with the release  
4 of a statement by the campaign. And I'm wondering whether -- and maybe I'm asking  
5 you to speculate here, but -- whether that text message was prompted by learning that  
6 the campaign was creating some distance and it issued this press release.

7 A No, I didn't -- I don't remember anything about a press release from the  
8 campaign. But I was surprised that she wasn't providing evidence on the inside. And  
9 so my next text to him on the 22nd was the end of me promoting Sidney Powell at that  
10 point.

11 Q After he responded to your message by saying, "She doesn't have anything,  
12 or at least she won't share if she does."

13 A Right.

14 Q And you said, "Wow." And then your testimony is that that caused you to  
15 sort of step back from her and promoting her or putting her forward as someone who  
16 should be a spokesperson?

17 A Correct.

18 Q Okay.

19 Any questions on that?

20 Mr. [REDACTED]. Yes.

21 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

22 Q Mrs. Thomas, you mentioned this controversy in conservative circles about  
23 the Dominion claims. Could you talk a little bit more about that? What was the  
24 controversy, and with whom did you discuss that?

25 A I don't think I discussed it. I think I saw -- I saw an email exchange on a

1 listserv, I believe, about -- there were people who had done election integrity work for  
2 decades who thought there were alternative and better routes to find fraud and  
3 irregularity. And that's what I remember. Probably Christian Adams was saying things  
4 about Sidney Powell. That's all I remember.

1

2 [11:45 a.m.]

3 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

4 Q All right. To be clear, there was some -- you saw some email  
5 communication suggesting that challenging the integrity of voting machines was not  
6 perhaps strategically a good idea or not a reliable way?

7 A It was a debate within conservative leaders who I know and deal with, yes.  
8 There was a debate about whether focusing on the machinery was going to be fruitful.

9 Q Okay. And do you associate anyone with either side of that debate? You  
10 mentioned Christian Adams as being one of those voices of skepticism about the  
11 machines.

12 A Yes.

13 Q Was anyone else on Mr. Adams' side?

14 A I'm not sure. It would make sense if Cleta was on that side too. Cleta  
15 works with Christian a lot.

16 Q I see. Do you know whether Ms. Mitchell ever had any skepticism about  
17 the claims?

18 A I don't remember.

19 Q Okay. And how about the other side? You said there was some  
20 controversy. So there were others that did believe that the challenge to machines was a  
21 viable option?

22 A There were people who believed in Sidney Powell based on what she had  
23 done with Mike Flynn, in our group. So those people weren't getting the message from  
24 Mark Meadows that I got. So I just watched that play out.

25 Q Okay. Did you ever weigh in on either side of that controversy?

1 A I don't think I did.

2 Q Did you ever convey to anyone anywhere that you had heard from Mr.  
3 Meadows skepticism about Ms. Powell?

4 A I don't think so. But I have no memory.

5 Q Okay. Anything else you recall about this sort of Dominion controversy, the  
6 pros and cons of using those -- crediting those claims of potential fraud?

7 A No.

8 Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. All right. Thanks.

9 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

10 Q Do you know if Ms. Powell was ever invited to a Groundswell meeting in this  
11 timeframe?

12 A I think she probably was.

13 Q And did you hear that she presented on some of her concerns or claims  
14 regarding Dominion or otherwise?

15 A I don't remember if I ever heard the substance of her coming. But there  
16 were a number of people asked to present at Groundswell when I wasn't there.

17 Q Okay.

18 Mr. Paoletta. I just wanted to, just going back to your exchange with Tim.

19 I think preparing for this meeting with the email in terms of Ms. Thomas' kind of  
20 recollection of the Christian Adams email is what refreshed her memory on it.

21 Mr. [REDACTED]. I see.

22 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah, No. 17.

23 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah.

24 Mr. [REDACTED]. All right.

25 Mr. Paoletta. So I wanted to explain to clarify why she had a --

1 Mr. [REDACTED]. Yeah, yeah.

2 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah.

3 BY MR [REDACTED]:

4 Q And I was just, again, in my typical fashion of trying to push and prod a little  
5 bit to maybe provoke a memory, I wonder whether it was sort of fallout from a  
6 Groundswell meeting that Ms. Powell attended that might have prompted some of this  
7 debate and discussion among your circle.

8 Does that sound familiar? Does that --

9 A I have no idea.

10 Q Okay. And, in fact, you're not even sure that she was -- that she did attend  
11 or appear at --

12 A Or call in.

13 Q -- participate in.

14 A I don't know. I don't know if she did or not. It wouldn't surprise me if she  
15 called in or came. I don't know.

16 Q During the time that you were on your sabbatical from these various  
17 organizations, were you still suggesting or recommending speakers or helping bring in  
18 speakers for the Groundswell meetings?

19 A I think sometimes if they needed help they would call me because I had  
20 connections through the conservative movement. So sometimes people would return  
21 my phone call that they wouldn't if they were other people.

22 The people on the Hill, we had congressional staffers who pulled those  
23 congressional people into meetings if they wanted them. So sometimes I helped.

24 Q Or how about on the other side of it? "Hey, this is someone you folks  
25 should be thinking about. This person would be a great speaker for the next meeting or

1 to fill you in on what's happening."

2 A That's the role I didn't play in this time period.

3 Q Okay. That's what I was trying to get at.

4 A Yeah.

5 Q Okay. Were you -- again, a tracking question, and, again, I don't mean in a  
6 literal sense -- but were you keeping track of or generally aware of what courts were  
7 doing with respect to Ms. Powell's claims in particular?

8 I know Vice Chair Cheney asked you some questions about the courts and your  
9 knowledge of the decisions that were being made. Were you generally aware that  
10 Ms. Powell's claims were being presented in courts around the country?

11 A No.

12 Mr. [REDACTED]. Anything else on this topic?

13 Mr. [REDACTED]. Not on that one, no.

14 Mr. [REDACTED]. Do you want to take another break?

15 Mrs. Thomas. No.

16 Mr. [REDACTED]. I see you looking at your watch.

17 Mrs. Thomas. No. Do you guys want to take a break? I'm fine.

18 Mr. Paoletta. I'm okay.

19 Mrs. Thomas. Okay. Let's keep going.

20 Mr. [REDACTED]. I guess let me just on the issue --

21 Mr. Aguilar. [REDACTED], can I ask a question?

22 Mr. [REDACTED]. Yes, Mr. Aguilar.

23 Mr. Aguilar. Hello. Good morning. Thanks, [REDACTED].

24 Mrs. Thomas, I'm sorry, I came on, I think, 45 minutes late.

25 But the text messages that you're referencing end, a substantial amount of them

1 end on 11/24, on November 24th. And then, if I have this right, there was a single one  
2 after that in January.

3 From the period of November 24th to January 10th, do you recall any  
4 communication with Mr. Meadows in that timeframe?

5 Mrs. Thomas. No. Just the texts were unfortunate enough. Nope, that's all I  
6 remember.

7 Mr. Aguilar. Is that right? Do I have that timeline right, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED]?

8 Mr. [REDACTED]. Yes, Mr. Aguilar, you do, exactly. There were no texts between  
9 November 24th and January 10th.

10 Mr. Aguilar. In your text messages you mentioned sending something to his  
11 email, Mark Meadows' email. You turned over any emails to the select committee?

12 Mrs. Thomas. What was he talking about?

13 I don't -- which email -- which text are you talking about? Oh, I think you're  
14 talking -- are you talking the one for Jared Kushner?

15 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah. It's 11975, Congressman, right? First page, last text  
16 message: "I just forwarded to your Gmail."

17 Mr. Aguilar. Yeah.

18 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah. But Mrs. Thomas did not have that in her records.

19 Mr. Aguilar. All right. Thank you.

20 Mrs. Thomas. Uh-huh.

21 Mr. [REDACTED]. Just one more since we're focused on the texts. If you could look  
22 at -- this is still in exhibit 30. It's the very last text, dated January 10th, 2021. And a  
23 portion of the text says --

24 Mr. Paoletta. And I'm sorry, Joe, which one?

25 Mr. [REDACTED]. It's the very last text.



1 Mr. Paoletta. Okay.

2 Mr. [REDACTED] It's dated January 1st -- I'm sorry -- January 10th, 2021.

3 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]

5 Q A portion of it says, "Most of us are disgusted with the VP and are in a  
6 listening mode to see where to fight with our teams."

7 Can you explain, why were you disgusted with the Vice President?

8 A Right. I appreciate your question.

9 I believe, looking back, that I was frustrated that I thought Vice President Pence  
10 might concede earlier than what President Trump was inclined to do. And I wanted to  
11 hear Vice President Pence talk more about the fraud and irregularities in certain States  
12 that I thought was still lingering.

13 And so I was frustrated with the Vice President for not sounding the same, in the  
14 same thematic way. I mean, I was just picking up things on the news media. But that  
15 would be why.

16 Q So this is on January 10th. Was this a reflection of what you thought he  
17 should have done on January 6th?

18 A No, I don't think -- I wasn't focused on the Vice President's role on  
19 January 6th. I was just hoping Congress would have a robust discussion of the specific  
20 State fraud that was surfaced that they were getting ready and poised to do. It wasn't  
21 about what happened by Vice President Pence on that day.

22 Q Do you think that Vice President Pence on January 6th took appropriate  
23 action?

24 A I think he probably did. I don't think he probably had a role that he could  
25 have done anything else than he did that day.

1 Mr. [REDACTED]: Okay. Thanks.

2 Mr. Paoletta. Are we breaking on the texts? I want to take a break. Can we  
3 take a break?

4 Mr. [REDACTED]: We can take a break. I was going to do one more text sequence.

5 Mr. Paoletta. Oh, sure, yeah.

6 Mr. [REDACTED]: But we can break now if that's better.

7 Ms. Squires. We're also going to lose our room, so if there's anything in  
8 there -- in 6 minutes -- we should go get it.

9 Mr. Paoletta. Yes. Let's go off the record.

10 [Recess.]

11 Mr. [REDACTED]: Okay. We're back on the record.

12 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

13 Q Ms. Thomas, before we move off the text messages, there was one other  
14 conversation, we'll call it, not old-style conversation, but 21st century conversation, that I  
15 wanted to ask you about.

16 A Yes.

17 Q And it's the conversation on November 24th. As Representative Aguilar  
18 noted, it was the last conversation before that long break and then the final text in  
19 January. And it starts -- so you can see it starts on page 3 of the exhibit.

20 A Page 3 of the exhibit.

21 Q And the Bates number is 12714.

22 Do you see that?

23 A Yes.

24 Q Now, it's hard to read the hyperlink --

25 A Yes.

1 Q -- because of the colors. And we won't click on or play that video. But I  
2 believe it's a Glenn Beck video. And you can see referencing in the next text message  
3 something about what Glenn is expressing, and then you describe it for Mr. Meadows  
4 very briefly on the top of the next page, page 4.

5 Are you with me?

6 A Yes.

7 Q Okay. So in the first message after the one with the video link --

8 A Yes.

9 Q -- you say to Mr. Meadows, "If you all cave to the elites, you have to know  
10 that many of your 73 million feel like what Glenn is expressing, me included. I think I'm  
11 done with politics, and I don't think I'm alone, Mark."

12 Do you remember what it was that caused you to feel so frustrated or concerned  
13 that you might even step aside from what you had been doing for basically your entire  
14 adult life and what it was that prompted that text to Mr. Meadows?

15 A No. I'm sorry, I don't have any memory of what that Glenn Beck video is.  
16 I don't remember even watching it. I must have watched it because I sent it to him, but I  
17 don't have any memory.

18 Q Okay. In the -- Mr. Meadows asks about caving, what you meant by caving  
19 to the elites. And then you respond -- part of the response, I won't read the whole  
20 thing, is, "I can't see Americans swallowing the obvious fraud, just going with one more  
21 thing with no frickin' consequences, the whole coup, and now this."

22 Does that prompt a recollection as to what the "now this" was?

23 A No. I'm sorry. I don't have a memory.

24 Q What about "the whole coup"? What did you mean by that?

25 A I don't know. I don't know. You know, it was an emotional time. I

1 was -- I don't know. I'm sorry these texts exist. I don't know.

2 Q Okay. On the next page -- I won't go through all of them. They're, sort of,  
3 of the same general sentiment.

4 A Uh-huh.

5 Q And Mr. Meadows responds -- this is in the last -- it's white here in the  
6 exhibit indicating that it came from him. It's number [REDACTED]. He responds, "This is a  
7 fight of good versus evil. Evil always looks like the victor until the king of kings triumphs.  
8 Do not grow weary in well doing. The fight continues. I stake my career on it, or at  
9 least my time in D.C. on it."

10 Do you see that?

11 A Yes.

12 Q And then you responded just a few minutes later, "Thank you. Needed  
13 that, this plus a conversation with my best friend just now. I will try to keep holding on."

14 And you sent that message at a little before 11 p.m. on the 24th.

15 Do you recall who you were referring to when you said you had just had a  
16 conversation with your best friend?

17 A It looks like it was my husband.

18 Q Do you remember what you talked to Justice Thomas about that made you  
19 feel better and allowed you to say "keep holding on"?

20 A I wish I could remember, but I have no memory of the specifics. My  
21 husband often administers spousal support to the wife that's upset. So I assume that  
22 that's what it was. I don't have a specific memory of it.

23 Q What makes you think now, as you read it, that you're referring to your  
24 husband when you say "my best friend"?

25 A Because that's what I call him, and he is my best friend. Mark is getting

1 pretty close, though.

2 Q Oh, I don't think we're that -- I mean, I've enjoyed my time here -- oh, sorry.

3 [Laughter.]

4 A Very good.

5 Q I thought you were looking at me.

6 So the term that you used and just sort of the context --

7 A Yes.

8 Q -- makes you think that was a conversation with your husband?

9 A Yes. I mean, Mark Meadows is a friend of mine, and my best friend that I  
10 talk about is often my husband, and he bucks me up a lot.

11 Q And I think you mentioned this in your statement at the beginning of the  
12 interview. Did you talk with -- especially in light of that text message -- do you recall  
13 having any conversations with your husband about the fact that you were in contact with  
14 Mr. Meadows in this post-election timeframe?

15 A Absolutely not. He found out in March of this year when it hit the  
16 newspapers. He had no idea that I was texting Mark Meadows about the election.

17 Q So even putting aside the substance of the texts, you didn't talk with him  
18 about what you were saying, but even the fact of a conversation or text communications  
19 with Mr. Meadows was unknown to your husband?

20 A Yes.

21 Q As far as you know?

22 A Yes.

23 Mr. [REDACTED]. Anything else on the text messages or those issues?

24 Mr. [REDACTED]. Not from me. No thanks.

25 Mr. [REDACTED]. Okay.

1 Mr. [REDACTED] Any members? Mr. Schiff?

2 Mr. [REDACTED] Mr. Schiff, you came on camera.

3 Mr. Schiff. Yes. I just want to follow up very quickly on those questions.

4 So, Ms. Thomas, you never related to Justice Thomas that you had emailed or text  
5 messaged people in the White House or Mr. Eastman or others concerning alleged fraud  
6 in the election or efforts to change or stop or decertify the results of the election?

7 Mrs. Thomas. I wouldn't use those words that you just put into your question.  
8 But I said earlier, Mr. Schiff, my husband is not interested in politics. I generally do not  
9 discuss with him my day-to-day work in politics, the politics -- the topics I'm working on,  
10 who I'm calling, who I'm emailing, texting, or meeting with.

11 Regarding the 2020 election, I didn't speak with him at all about the details of my  
12 volunteer campaign activities, no.

13 Mr. Schiff. I appreciate that.

14 I just want to be very specific. So at no time would you have made your husband  
15 aware that you were emailing, texting, or communicating with anyone in the White  
16 House about the 2020 election and your concerns over alleged fraud?

17 Mrs. Thomas. Absolutely not, no.

18 Mr. Schiff. And were you aware, Ms. Thomas, that this committee was litigating  
19 over access to records being held by the National Archives?

20 Mrs. Thomas. No. I really don't get involved in the legal lane.

21 Mr. Schiff. I appreciate that. But it was, you know, widely reported in major  
22 newspapers that this committee was in litigation with the former President over access to  
23 records being held by the National Archives.

24 Did you see any of that coverage?

25 Mrs. Thomas. I honestly -- I kind of zone out when it comes to legal issues. I

1 don't read about them. I don't focus on them. I don't care about them. I know other  
2 people do and other people will handle them. I didn't notice it, no.

3 Mr. Schiff. The reason I ask is -- and I know you've said that you don't discuss  
4 your work generally with your -- with the Justice and the Justice doesn't discuss his work  
5 with you.

6 But would you have felt an obligation to inform the Justice that in litigation the  
7 committee was seeking to obtain it might obtain some of your records or texts and that  
8 might create the appearance of a conflict for him?

9 Mr. Paoletta. Congressman, this is Mark Paoletta.

10 I think the litigation was over a claim of executive privilege by President Trump.  
11 An executive privilege by -- I think by its very terms is about communications between the  
12 President and his senior advisers. And since Mrs. Thomas was never a senior adviser or  
13 had any role in the government working for President Trump, by their very terms, they  
14 wouldn't have been covered.

15 My understanding, as I point out in my letter, is those documents were produced  
16 to the committee, right, by Mr. Meadows on December 3rd, which is before President  
17 Trump brought his -- filed his petition, I think, on December 21st.

18 So you guys had those documents already in your possession. And I do not  
19 believe, because they would have been released with whatever else was released in  
20 March, any texts that Mark Meadows had in terms of that litigation with -- at the White  
21 House.

22 So I pointed this out in my letter. I'm not sure if you've seen it. But I'm trying  
23 to -- why do you think Ginni Thomas' texts would be in a battle over internal White House  
24 records?

25 Mr. Schiff. Well, thank you, counsel.

1           You know, Ms. Thomas was texting people in the White House.

2           Mr. Paoletta. Yeah. But those wouldn't be subject -- right, but the law -- but,  
3 you know --

4           Mr. Schiff. Counsel, if you would let me finish.

5           Mr. Paoletta. Sure.

6           Mr. Schiff. Ms. Thomas was texting people in the White House. Under the  
7 current law, people in the White House are required to maintain records of  
8 communications on official topics like this and provide those to the Archives, so  
9 presumably those would be provided to the Archives.

10           So my question to Ms. Thomas is, did you feel an obligation to inform your  
11 husband that in litigation over whether Congress would access text messages to the  
12 White House, that your texts might be included, such that --

13           Mr. Paoletta. Again, Congressman, yeah --

14           Mr. Schiff. -- such that he should consider whether recusal was appropriate?

15           Mr. Paoletta. Yeah. I don't think that the claims over the documents at issue  
16 have any documents that originated outside the White House. If you have evidence  
17 otherwise. But that's what I'm saying, that if there are any internal communications  
18 between the President and his advisers, that would be the subject of an executive  
19 privilege claim.

20           So anything originating outside the White House, right, wouldn't be covered by  
21 the claim that was currently, you know, being litigated.

22           And as I just pointed out, all those documents that Mrs. Thomas had with Mark  
23 Meadows were turned over to this committee on December 3rd.

24           So I know there's been discussions or claims in the newspaper by perhaps some  
25 members of this committee that somehow those documents were at issue when you



1 already had them, the Mark Meadows ones.

2 So, again, executive privilege is about internal communications. These are not  
3 internal communications that Mrs. Thomas would have had with a White House adviser,  
4 and they wouldn't have been subject to that privilege.

5 Mr. Schiff. Counsel, I appreciate it, and I don't disagree with your interpretation.  
6 But there were very broad claims of privilege made that go well beyond my  
7 understanding of what would be covered and I think your understanding of what would  
8 be covered.

9 But let me ask, regardless, Ms. Thomas, if you believe that some of your  
10 documents might be within a congressional request, would it be appropriate for you to  
11 inform your husband so that he would not preside in a case or write an opinion in a case  
12 in which your documents might be revealed to Congress?

13 Mrs. Thomas. Honestly, we just don't talk about each other's work. I don't  
14 know what cases that he's dealing with. He doesn't know what work I'm doing.

15 So it would -- I don't know how that would ever happen. It just doesn't happen  
16 in our ordinary course of work.

17 Mr. Schiff. And so, finally, whether you discussed it with him or not, do you have  
18 any information that he was aware, either because you told him or others had, that you  
19 had been in communication with the White House on the subject of the 2020 election  
20 and efforts to either prevent the certification of the results or to press claims of alleged  
21 fraud?

22 Mrs. Thomas. He first learned of my text messaging with Mark Meadows in  
23 March when he was in the hospital and this committee released them.

24 Mr. Schiff. Okay. Thank you.

25 [REDACTED], I yield back to you.

1 BY MR. [REDACTED]

2 Q So, I want to put the texts aside for now, or maybe for good --

3 A Thank you.

4 Q -- and go back through some emails.

5 And I appreciate your being nimble here because we're a little bit sort of out of  
6 order. I was sort of chronologically speaking. I was trying to make sure we covered the  
7 ground we needed to cover on those text messages.

8 I want to go back to an email chain from early November. It's exhibit 2 in the  
9 binder.

10 A Okay. Yes.

11 Q And the timing on this email chain seems to overlap somewhat the timing on  
12 the exhibit 1 email chain that we looked at earlier. So these are -- again, this one is early  
13 in the morning on November 6th.

14 Have you seen this before?

15 A Yes.

16 Q It appears to be an email that you sent to yourself, but presumably that  
17 means there were bcc's or others copied on this email.

18 Am I understanding that correctly?

19 A Yes. I don't remember who it would have gone to, but it probably went to  
20 various listservs that I'm trying to inform of things I knew at the time.

21 Q Do you remember creating or drafting this email?

22 A No.

23 Q Do you know who it went to?

24 A Not exactly. It could have been Groundswell. I'm speculating. I don't  
25 know. I'm on many listservs, and I was probably sharing information in this emotional

1 time with the listservs that I'm on.

2 Q And was that your -- was it your practice to send emails to groups of people  
3 where you would create the groups in a blind copy entry and note that it would only  
4 be -- it would only show that it was being sent to you?

5 A Sometimes. Sometimes I did that.

6 Q And was that a way to sort of protect the confidentiality of all the recipients  
7 of the email?

8 A Probably. Yes, probably.

9 Q In the first -- before sort of the text of the email, there's a part that's in red  
10 and underlined. It says, "Do not forward this."

11 A Uh-huh.

12 Q "This is for you to ingest and take action with others, please. Do not  
13 forward (unless you take off my name, please)."

14 Did you write that?

15 A Looks like I did.

16 Q Why were you asking that the email not be forwarded unless your name was  
17 removed?

18 A I can't remember why I would have. I mean, I guess people are just  
19 sensitive about emails like this that would move around, and I probably was. I mean, I  
20 don't -- I don't remember specifically.

21 Mr. Paoletta. Do you do that normally with emails?

22 Mrs. Thomas. Sometimes for mass emails like this I would.

23 Mr. Paoletta. I mean, apart from the election.

24 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah.

25 BY MR. [REDACTED]

1 Q What was the purpose of sending this email, if you remember?

2 A I think that it was such a frenetic period after the election and there were so  
3 many things moving around that, you know, you can see that I forwarded someone I  
4 knew who was at the Detroit -- one of the Detroit -- the TCF Center and what he saw at it.

5 I'm forwarding the FreeRoots campaigns to all the people that would have gotten  
6 it. So in those instances, I was always a believer in creating a Groundswell, in this  
7 instance by using the FreeRoots campaign that would get thousands of people to take  
8 action in some way.

9 Q You say at the very end of the email that you drafted -- it's on page 4, so it's  
10 not the end of the document, because it appears that you are forwarding this email from  
11 Paul Gray (ph). But the end of the part that you drafted, do you see that at the top of  
12 page 4?

13 A Right.

14 Q Just before you sign off, "Cheers, Ginni," you write, "Sorry for the length of  
15 this. I will try to send updates once a day for a while."

16 Did you send further updates to this same email group after this November 6th  
17 email?

18 A It's possible I did. It's also possible that in my exuberance this was one of  
19 the only things that I sent. So I could have -- I could see it going either way.

20 And when I say we are working on some awesome campaigns to State legislators, I  
21 was specifically meaning the FreeRoots campaign that was going to provide an easy  
22 activism way for millions of people to contact State legislators who could have a role in  
23 identifying fraud and irregularity in specific State elections.

24 Q So, again, going out of order a little bit, let's go to point 4 of the email, which  
25 is on page 2 of the exhibit.

1 A Yes.

2 Q It starts "VIP." Do you see that?

3 A Yes.

4 Q It appears in this section of the email you're talking about the FreeRoots  
5 campaign.

6 A Right.

7 Q Am I understanding that correctly?

8 A Right.

9 Q What was your role in getting the FreeRoots process started with respect to  
10 this particular messaging campaign?

11 A Minimal. My role was minimal. I was an amplifier of the people. I think  
12 it was Kevin Freeman in Dallas created the campaign with Eric Berger, who created the  
13 device of the mechanism, the platform.

14 And so I don't know who, Eric or Kevin, who would have identified which State  
15 legislators to do which -- what message it would say. So you'd just push the button and  
16 it goes to people. And I didn't probably read it carefully, and it went to a lot of people,  
17 and then I started getting a lot of automated responses.

18 Mr. Paoletta. You didn't know who it was going to, right?

19 Mrs. Thomas. I didn't know who it was going to. I didn't edit the document.

20 But the media has totally misrepresented this particular tool, something that Members of  
21 Congress are familiar with and get every day from citizens interested in an issue.

22 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

23 Q And I think we'll see in the binder we've got a few of the examples.

24 A Yeah.

25 Q So we'll talk about the substance of the messaging and your role, if any, in it.

1 A Okay.

2 Q But I want to understand your role in just the idea of getting FreeRoots  
3 involved in this particular messaging campaign.

4 A Right. FreeRoots -- go ahead.

5 Q No. Go ahead.

6 A No. You go ahead.

7 Q Okay.

8 [Laughter.]

9 We saw in an earlier email, which I think is actually later in time than this one, but  
10 we saw in an email we talked about earlier the reference to, "Eric Berger is on the case  
11 with a group of us."

12 Is that what you were talking about there, Eric Berger being the FreeRoots person  
13 and "on the case" being developing a FreeRoots campaign that would be put into play --

14 A Yes.

15 Q -- for this issue?

16 A Yes.

17 Q Okay. And we see in this email the instructions that you're providing to  
18 whoever it was that you were sending this mass email to as to how they could tap into  
19 the FreeRoots campaign?

20 A Right.

21 Q So I'm understanding that properly?

22 A Yes.

23 Q The messaging that's listed here -- I'm calling it messaging, that may not be  
24 the right term -- but the language that's referenced here in point 4 of this email on  
25 page 2, is that something that you drafted?

1 A No.

2 Q Do you remember where it came from?

3 A It looks like I cut and pasted it from the people with FreeRoots, whether it  
4 was Kevin Freeman or whether it was Eric Berger, or somebody in Groundswell may have  
5 passed it on to me, that it was an action item that we were trying to amplify.

6 Q Okay. Going, again, back in -- sort of out of sequence -- but back in time on  
7 this document -- or not time, but space -- point 3, which is at the bottom of page 1 -- and I  
8 referenced this earlier in one of the questions when we were talking about  
9 Representative Gohmert.

10 A Right.

11 Q Do you see that last point 3, "We have a few Members of Congress  
12 (heroes)"?

13 A Yes.

14 Q Okay. Do you remember where you got the information regarding the  
15 Members of Congress who were joining the ground game efforts that you reference in  
16 this part of the email?

17 A No, I have no idea.

18 Q You say, "Ask your Members, State legislators, and GOP leadership in States  
19 to join, either in person or, like Lindsey Graham did, send money to the Trump effort."

20 Did you draft that language for this email, or is that a cut-and-paste from  
21 somewhere else, if you remember?

22 A I don't remember.

23 Q Do you remember knowing or how you found out or learned that Lindsey  
24 Graham had given money to Trump, to the Trump effort?

25 A No. Honestly, the first time I focused on it is here with you. No, I don't

1 remember it.

2 Q The next bullet point -- or not bullet point, but the next numbered point in  
3 the email is 3, and it's at the top of page 2. It says, "Hat tip Connie Hair."

4 What do you mean by "hat tip" there?

5 A That Connie Hair must have brought something to our awareness, something  
6 about Mark Levin.

7 Q So "hat tip" meaning giving Connie credit for this one?

8 A Yes.

9 Q And, in fact, I think that is a cut-and-paste from the exhibit that we saw,  
10 exhibit 1, where there was a message from Connie Hair in which she forwarded the  
11 Horowitz article and the reference to Mark Levin, right?

12 A Mark Levin, that's true.

13 Q Mark Levin, yeah.

14 Now there's part of that, though, part of this bullet point does not appear to track  
15 exactly what Ms. Hair said, including the part that's highlighted here. It says, "Target  
16 States: We need contact info for your State legislators."

17 Do you see that?

18 A Yeah.

19 Q So that doesn't seem like it came directly out of Ms. Hair's message. It's  
20 not inconsistent with it. But it looks as if that language was added.

21 Do you remember if you added that language?

22 A I don't have a specific memory.

23 Q Do you remember wanting to get the message out that the recipients of this  
24 email needed to -- you were encouraging them to activate and contact State legislators or  
25 help you contact State legislators?



1           A    Help the cause, not me.  But I was just one of the amplifiers.  Is there  
2 something wrong with that?

3           Q    I'm just wondering where -- what I've been pushing and prodding a little bit  
4 on today -- and maybe it's obvious -- but this idea of going to State legislators or the role  
5 that State legislators would play, and that's something we've talked about a little bit so  
6 far in our interview today.

7           A    Uh-huh.

8           Q    And I want to understand where that notion came from, whether someone  
9 had suggested that to you, whether you were part of strategy discussions in which that  
10 particular focus became crystallized.

11           So that's why I'm asking.  I'm not insinuating anything further by it.  I just want  
12 to understand what your role in that was.

13           A    I just think State legislators are in a better position than congressional  
14 people to identify and know more about fraud and irregularities at the State level with  
15 the election that just happened.

16           So I think it was a focus on having them feel their responsibility to make sure they  
17 get it right before it's reported to the Congress.

18           Q    And, again, we've probably already talked about this already, but in the  
19 article that Ms. Hair sent around and the contents of which you're referencing in the hat  
20 tip here, it talked about State legislators having more of a role than just investigating the  
21 fraud, right?  Are you with me on that, or do you agree with me on that?

22           A    It may be I hadn't focus on that, Mr. [REDACTED]  I had been focused just on  
23 what I said.  I mean, I wasn't -- if you're asking -- if you're getting at the alternative  
24 elector issue, I wasn't in that camp.  I didn't know.  I didn't focus on that.

25           Mr. [REDACTED]  Let me ask it this way.

1           At the time that you were writing these messages or circulating messages, did you  
2 have a view of what the State legislatures' role was under the Federal Constitution?

3           Mrs. Thomas. I honestly didn't focus on it that carefully.

4           Mr. [REDACTED]. Okay.

5           Mr. [REDACTED]. And I may have asked you this one as well, but do you recall any  
6 conversations with Dr. Eastman on that topic?

7           Mrs. Thomas. No.

8           Mr. [REDACTED]. I don't have anything else on that exhibit.

9           Anything?

10          Mr. [REDACTED]. Did you add the highlights, the yellow portions? Was that your  
11 emphasis when you composed and sent the email?

12          Mrs. Thomas. It's really embarrassing to go back to emails and texts that you did  
13 long ago. I just wanted to get that on the record.

14          Mr. [REDACTED]. I understand.

15          Mr. Paoletta. So this was produced by Chapman. Ginni didn't have it in  
16 her -- so, yeah. This is --

17          Mr. [REDACTED]. I understand.

18          Mrs. Thomas. It looks like something I might have exuberantly done.

19                   BY MR. [REDACTED]

20          Q    Okay. So it looks like -- just to be clear, Ms. Thomas -- that you compiled a  
21 lot of information from various sources --

22          A    Yes.

23          Q    -- emphasized some things in particular in yellow or in bold, and then sent it  
24 out, as you indicated, to --

25          A    It's possible. It looks likely. It looks possible. I have no specific memory,

1 but it looks like something I did.

2 Q Yeah, I understand.

3 Okay. Thanks.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

5 Q I want to move to exhibit 4. And I realize you're not -- I don't see your  
6 name on this. I don't know that you were copied on it. It refers to a Groundswell  
7 meeting in December, which I believe was on December 1st. And that was during your  
8 sabbatical.

9 A I wouldn't have been there.

10 Q Okay. So do you have any knowledge or understanding of what Mr. von  
11 Spakovsky is asking Mr. -- or Dr. Eastman for in this email?

12 A No. No.

13 Q It references a memo with the title "Constitutional Authority of State  
14 Legislatures to Choose Electors" that it appears Dr. Eastman presented at that  
15 Groundswell meeting on December 1st.

16 Were you aware that there was such a presentation?

17 A I don't remember that. It wouldn't surprise me, but I don't remember it.

18 Q And it wouldn't surprise you --

19 Mr. Paoletta. You weren't at the meeting.

20 Mrs. Thomas. I wasn't at the meeting.

21 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah. She wasn't at the meeting.

22 Mrs. Thomas. And it wouldn't surprise me that Groundswellers would invite  
23 John into the meeting for such a discussion.

24 BY MR. [REDACTED]

25 Q Right. And, again, though, getting back to the issue that I spelled out a few

1 minutes ago about Dr. Eastman's views and whether they were shared and whether you  
2 were aware, when you say it wouldn't surprise you, you weren't specifically focused on it  
3 wouldn't surprise you that he would make this type of presentation?

4 A Correct.

5 Q You're just saying it wouldn't surprise you that he was at a Groundswell  
6 meeting?

7 A Correct.

8 Q But you have no knowledge or awareness of what he might have presented  
9 or what his theories were in this timeframe?

10 A Correct.

11 Q Okay.

12 The next exhibit is exhibit 5, and there you are -- your name does appear. It  
13 appears to be an email from you to Dr. Eastman with some cc's. And this was sent on  
14 December 4th.

15 Do you know who the cc's are that are redacted here in this email?

16 A I don't have any -- maybe it's to whoever else it was -- I don't know. I'm  
17 guessing. No, I don't have an idea.

18 Q Do you remember having this communication with Dr. Eastman in early  
19 December, which was during your sabbatical timeframe, regarding having him present to  
20 grassroots State leaders at a Frontliners gathering?

21 A I became aware of it when we were doing document searches that I asked  
22 him to present to a Frontliner. Sometimes I helped people, as I said --

23 Mr. Paoletta. So just to be clear, Ginni doesn't have this document.

24 Mrs. Thomas doesn't have this document. As I indicated in my letter, I asked his counsel  
25 to provide us the document. So that's when we first became aware of it, when Ginni

1 first remembered it or became -- refreshed her recollection on it.

2 Mr. [REDACTED]. Understood.

3 Mr. Paoletta. Okay.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

5 Q Do you have, though -- did it jog a memory for you as to how it was that  
6 during this sabbatical timeframe you were reaching out to Dr. Eastman to ask him to  
7 speak at a gathering?

8 A Yes. I appreciate that question because, you know, taking a sabbatical from  
9 meetings doesn't mean that I -- I think I said this earlier. I didn't necessarily stop helping  
10 my friends invite people into some of those meetings.

11 That was the -- I typically -- in the past, if I'm not on sabbatical, I typically am the  
12 one who does a lot of the agenda context and give people how much time they have and  
13 what the topic is that they want -- people would want to hear from.

14 But I wasn't playing that role then unless I was asked to. And it looks like I may  
15 have been asked to bring John into the Frontliner meeting in this instance.

16 Q You reference an interview that you heard or were aware of that John -- I  
17 assume you mean Dr. Eastman there --

18 A Uh-huh.

19 Q -- being interviewed by Larry O'Connor.

20 A Yes.

21 Q Do you remember anything about that interview or what Dr. Eastman was  
22 discussing in the interview with Larry O'Connor in this timeframe?

23 A I don't remember the specifics. I know Larry O'Connor is very proud to be a  
24 part of the January 6th President's full committee because of this email. He jokes about  
25 it on air. But I don't remember.

1 Q I want to skip to exhibit 7. Again, it's a document that your name doesn't  
2 appear, but -- actually your name does appear.

3 A Which one?

4 Q It's exhibit 7.

5 A Okay. Oh, yeah.

6 Q Your name -- your first name appears in the subject line. Do you see that?

7 A It certainly does.

8 Q Okay. And it says, "External. Ginni, don't read."

9 A Right.

10 Q Do you have an understanding -- well, first, do you know Rick Manning?

11 A Yes, he's part of Groundswell.

12 Q Have you worked with Mr. Manning in other capacities?

13 A He's in our regular conservative activist meetings. He's a friend and ally.

14 Q Is he involved with Liberty Consulting or one of the Liberty organizations that  
15 you were involved in?

16 A No. He's just a conservative activist with his own (c)(4) and (c)(3).

17 Q I saw that his email address is GetLiberty.org, and I didn't know if that had  
18 some affiliation with one of the organizations that you have with a similar name.

19 A Thankfully, a lot of people care about liberty.

20 You're not smiling very much, I'm just here to tell you.

21 Mr. [REDACTED]. He's like that with everybody.

22 Mrs. Thomas. Okay. What can I do for you?

23 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

24 Q And do you recall seeing this email at around the time that it was sent?

25 A No. You guys made this available to me, so it was the first time I remember

1 seeing it the other -- this week when I read it.

2 Q Do you have any idea why Mr. Manning would write, "Ginni, don't read," in  
3 an email that he was sending to the folks listed here, including the Groundswell group?

4 A Yes. It exactly makes the point of my friends feel that when I'm in a group  
5 and things are moving to the legal world, their conversation is chilled. They feel  
6 uncomfortable talking around me. And that's why I took the sabbatical. And this can  
7 be, exhibit 7, as to why that happens.

8 I mean, I probably, when he said "don't read," I probably didn't read it.

9 So it was legal. It was not something I'm familiar with.

10 Q And I'm not asking you to speculate regarding Mr. Manning's thought  
11 process here, but it would seem to me that the reason he's -- he's honoring your  
12 sabbatical situation, it seems, as you've just described. But you're still getting the email,  
13 presumably because you're part of the Groundswell listserv?

14 A Right.

15 Q Is that -- you're assuming the same thing I am?

16 A Yeah.

17 Q So would that -- I take it then that in this same timeframe other documents  
18 that were sent to this same Groundswell listserv would also have come to you.

19 A That is true.

20 Q And is it true that in that timeframe where you were creating this -- sort  
21 of this wall --

22 A Yeah.

23 Q -- for lack of a better word, or this sabbatical --

24 A Yeah.

25 Q -- stuff was still flowing, emails were still flowing into your mailbox --

1 A Right.

2 Q -- that you were choosing not to look at?

3 A Or I was just deleting or not caring about or focused on other things. So,  
4 yeah, there was probably a lot I didn't read or things that I wasn't interested in.

5 Q And I take it that there were other senders of such emails who, unlike Mr.  
6 Manning, did not note at the top "Ginni, don't read."

7 A Probably true.

8 Q Do you have a sense of the -- how is it that you were able to filter out the  
9 emails that you should be involved in and shouldn't be involved in based on this  
10 self-imposed sabbatical in that timeframe?

11 Mr. Paoletta. Can I -- I think -- and, Ginni, correct me if I'm wrong -- I think what  
12 Ginni is saying, there's no legal requirement -- and I won't bore you with my view of -- I've  
13 written a lot on this -- that if she's not a party, there's no -- in terms of a recusal, or  
14 anything like that. Right?

15 I think it was in terms of being in a meeting and people feeling chilled about  
16 talking about a topic either because they're trying to protect Ginni because they think  
17 that she'll go home and talk to her husband, or whatever it is, it was chilling that  
18 discussion, not -- you know, I don't think she thought she couldn't hear or read this stuff.  
19 It was just for purposes of making her friends feel comfortable in these discussions that  
20 were getting more legal. Right?

21 So it's more of a -- so when you say a wall, I think it was just not attending  
22 meetings that she was drawing a line on. Okay?

23 Mr. [REDACTED]. I see.

24 Mr. Paoletta. And correct me if I'm wrong, Ginni. I think that's it. Right?

25 Mr. [REDACTED]. I see.



1 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

2 Q And I called it self-imposed to recognize your point. This was not a -- you  
3 didn't see this as a legal impediment, but you thought that it was appropriate or --

4 A And it's prudential.

5 Q Prudential.

6 A It's prudential. And I don't have a lot to add on the legal stuff. If I were to  
7 add something, people would look at me like, "Where did that come from?"

8 Anyway, I don't offer legal anything.

9 Q Okay. So you -- but you erected these -- I'll call it a wall -- but  
10 understanding everything you've said, Mark -- for prudential reasons that you thought it  
11 was appropriate for you not to attend these meetings?

12 A Right.

13 Q And the message got through, at least to Mr. Manning, that  
14 maybe you shouldn't even be reading some of this stuff, right?

15 A Right.

16 Q But others, I presume, in the same timeframe, were including you because  
17 they were sending to the group Groundswell listserv --

18 A Right.

19 Q -- and you were getting information that was coming in, notwithstanding  
20 your belief that there were things that were outside your lane.

21 A Okay.

22 Q Were you reading those emails as they came in?

23 A I don't have any memory of what I read and what I didn't read.

24 Q Okay.

25 Mr. Paoletta. And, again, just -- that's just a factual question, not a question of

1 whether there's a problem with it. Right?

2 Mr. [REDACTED]. Of course.

3 Mr. Paoletta. Because there's nothing wrong with her reading those types of  
4 emails that were coming in.

5 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

6 Q Reading or not reading, it's not a problem. It's just I'm just curious, because  
7 we actually have some documents in here that were sent to the Groundswell group, and I  
8 was going to ask you about them, if you may have seen them or read them. But if you're  
9 saying, "I didn't even read anything in that timeframe, I basically -- if it said Groundswell, I  
10 sent it to trash," that would be helpful to know. We could --

11 A No, I didn't do that. I didn't do that. There may have been things I read.

12 Q Okay. And to the extent that you had this self-imposed sabbatical, it was,  
13 as your counsel said --

14 A Meetings.

15 Q -- meetings only.

16 A Yeah.

17 Q Informal conversations, was that included? Would you have informal  
18 conversations with members of Groundswell, not in the group setting, but one-on-one  
19 regarding the issues that we've been talking about?

20 A It's possible, but I have no specific memory.

21 I did have Connie for Thanksgiving.

22 Q And I think we mentioned Cleta Mitchell may have -- you may have spoken  
23 to Cleta Mitchell --

24 A Yes.

25 Q -- about some of these issues as well.

1 A It's possible, yes.

2 Q And that you felt comfortable having those conversations, just not in the  
3 Groundswell group setting? Am I understanding that right?

4 A Right.

5 Q So take a look, for example, at exhibit 8.

6 A Okay.

7 Q Which we don't have a "to" or a "from." The "from" is redacted, and we  
8 don't have a "to" line on this email for some reason. But it appears to be something that  
9 would have gone to the Groundswell group.

10 A Right.

11 Q Did you see this document? Have you seen this before?

12 A It's a document that would come out weekly, but I don't think I had anything  
13 to do with this -- creating this agenda. But it would have been to encourage people to  
14 attend that week, and I wasn't attending that at that time.

15 Q And this one lists special guest Dr. John Eastman and special guest  
16 Representative Mo Brooks as having been invited to this Groundswell meeting on  
17 December 9th?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Do you recall being aware that Dr. Eastman and Representative Brooks were  
20 appearing or were joining the Groundswell meeting to discuss lawsuits that had been  
21 filed and challenges to the electors in the House of Representatives?

22 A No.

23 Q Exhibit 10 is an email -- again, you're not copied on this -- from Paul Teller to  
24 Paul Teller. So perhaps you were blind copied. It seems that maybe his -- he engaged  
25 in a similar practice to you and others where they have bcc's on recipients.

1 Do you know, have you seen this document before?

2 A Not until you showed it to me.

3 Q Were you aware of the fact that Mr. Teller was reporting to someone about  
4 meetings involving CAP and Groundswell?

5 A No.

6 Q Did he ever tell you that he was reporting -- during the time that you were  
7 attending Groundswell meetings, did Mr. Teller ever inform you that he was reporting up  
8 to others in the administration or otherwise as to what was happening at the  
9 Groundswell meetings?

10 A He would -- he told us he would -- he reported back to people that he  
11 worked for, but I had no idea it was in writing like this.

12 Mr. Paoletta. Again, during this time period, you weren't in those meetings,  
13 though.

14 Mrs. Thomas. Right, I wasn't there. But if you're asking me before this  
15 particular meeting, he did tell us that he reported back. I didn't know it was in writing.  
16 But I didn't go to these meetings.

17 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

18 Q Groundswell -- I may be confusing some of these groups -- but is  
19 Groundswell -- the Groundswell meetings, is there an informal sort of cone of silence  
20 agreement among those who participate?

21 A Yes.

22 Q What does that mean? What do you understand that to mean?

23 A The way we talk about it is we don't talk about who's at a meeting and  
24 what's talked about unless you ask for permission. So it was surprising for me to see  
25 somebody write up a Groundswell meeting is all.

1 Q That's what I was getting at.

2 Were you under -- did you -- were you aware, because you said you knew he was  
3 reporting, but not putting it in writing?

4 A Yeah. I guess I thought he would just talk and tell his superiors what was  
5 happening at the meetings he was going to. I didn't know it would look like that.

6 Q What was your understanding as to who Mr. Teller was reporting up to  
7 regarding these meetings?

8 A I didn't think about it. I probably thought Marc Short, his boss, would be on  
9 that. I didn't know.

10 Q Did Mr. Teller ever say to you that, "I'm keeping the Vice President, for  
11 example, apprised of the things we talk about in Groundswell"?

12 A I don't remember him saying that, no.

13 Q Was that an important function, as you understood it, of Groundswell, to get  
14 the word out to elected officials, or is it more of a grassroots-level type of messaging  
15 objective?

16 A That's a good question. To me it was a grassroots -- how do you generate  
17 grassroots groundswells and based on getting intelligence and insight about current  
18 events from people that are national leaders, from the administration, from Congress,  
19 from needs that are developing.

20 Q Have you had a chance, in anticipation of this interview, to review the Paul  
21 Teller memos or reports that we included in the binder?

22 A Yes. I looked at them briefly.

23 Q Is it fair to say that you did not attend any of the meetings that he's  
24 describing in these reports?

25 A It is fair to say that. Yes, I did not attend.

1 Q Do you have any information -- and I'm just trying to do this in summary  
2 fashion so we can sort of be efficient here -- do you have any information as to the  
3 subject of the meetings that he's reporting on that is not included or not reported in his  
4 memos?

5 In other words, if he's reporting on a particular meeting on December 14th, do  
6 you have additional information, other than what Mr. Teller may have provided, about  
7 what happened at that meeting?

8 A No, I would have no idea.

9 Q And, in fact, even what he put in this report you wouldn't have awareness of  
10 because you weren't at the meetings?

11 A It is true.

12 Q Let's go to exhibit 13, which is one of the emails that you were alluding to I  
13 think earlier in your testimony.

14 A Yes.

15 Q And we can look at 13, 14, and 15 sort of together, but let's focus on  
16 14 -- I'm sorry -- on 13 first.

17 Ms. Thomas, what can you tell us about the circumstances that led to this email  
18 on November 10th from you to Shawanna Bolick?

19 A Well, I honestly think it's more helpful to look at the next two exhibits, 15  
20 and 16, that were automatically generated from the FreeRoots campaign when I clicked  
21 the button, and it went to unknown State legislators.

22 You know, one was on November 9th. One was on December 13th. I don't  
23 remember -- I didn't remember there were more than one of them, but there must have  
24 been several since those are two different dates.

25 What happened was Shawanna Bolick is somebody who I generally know, and she

1 was surprised that I emailed her. I was surprised I emailed her because I didn't know  
2 that I emailed her because that was chosen in the FreeRoots device. And so this is just  
3 an exchange that we had after she got my form email and we found each other.

4 Q Got it. And I appreciate your pointing that out because 13 was not the best  
5 one to start on.

6 So let's have 15 in mind.

7 A Yeah.

8 Q And I think you maybe just described this.

9 Let me note for the record that Mrs. Murphy has joined us, and I see Mrs. Luria  
10 has joined us as well. Maybe she's been there all along.

11 So this November 9th email, what else can you tell us about how it came to be  
12 that your name appears on this email and what action you took, if any, that led to the  
13 generation and the sending of this email?

14 A I so appreciate this question because the media just didn't get it. Congress  
15 gets every day letters from citizens about specific issues.

16 FreeRoots is a platform, a mass communication device for grassroots, that we  
17 were at Groundswell happy to know about and learn about and use often.

18 And in this instance someone in Texas created an "every legal vote" campaign,  
19 told us how to use it, and so we all used it. And this is what got spewed out when you  
20 clicked the button.

21 I didn't know what -- I should have read it more carefully, but I can't say that I read  
22 it. I was probably moving fast, I clicked the button, and suddenly it went to a lot of  
23 different State legislators because I suddenly started getting a lot of automated responses  
24 back, and one of them was Shawwna Bolick, who I know.

1 [1:05 p.m.]

2 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

3 Q So let me -- I'm going to back you up a little bit and ask you to give me a little  
4 bit -- give us a little more detail on some of that.

5 A So, every legal vote.

6 A Uh-huh.

7 Q I think you said someone in Texas was involved in that.

8 A Right.

9 Q Was that Catherine Engelbrecht?

10 A No. That was Kevin Freeman. It was not the name of his organization. It  
11 was just the name of the campaign on FreeRoots. So it didn't have to be the name of an  
12 organization. But it sounds like Catherine Engelbrecht's group; I hear what you're  
13 saying.

14 Q Okay. So Mr. Freeman -- I just want to understand the FreeRoots process.  
15 Mr. Freeman would've crafted a -- or did craft a message?

16 A I assume so. I don't know who crafted the message, but he sponsored the  
17 campaign on FreeRoots.

18 Q And how is it that it came to your attention and you had a button that you  
19 could press that would send it to the various representatives that you described?

20 A You, too, could have pushed the button. All you needed was the link that  
21 was readily available in other emails that I send around, right, that we've talked about.

22 So you use that link, and it said, "Do you want every legal vote to count?" Or, I  
23 don't know, it says in here what the text was. And, again, I didn't scrutinize and look at  
24 every word to see if I agreed with the sentence or the wording. I said, "Those are what  
25 my friends are doing. Gosh darn it, I'm going to join in that groundswell," and I pushed



1 the button.

2 And then I was shocked at how many things started coming back, and I realized,  
3 ooh, a lot of people got it.

4 And the press completely misunderstood it, because -- anyway. I'm digressing.

5 Q No, I think you're answering the question exactly.

6 Mr. [REDACTED] You said -- do you select who it goes to, or you do not select at all  
7 who it goes to?

8 Mrs. Thomas. I did not select who it went to. Thank you for that question.  
9 Could we please inform the media?

10 Mr. Paoletta. And just, again, I think Ginni -- so I think it's in the, kind of,  
11 conservative movement of people involved with this who, if they have an idea, an issue  
12 they want to push -- this, other things, you know -- they come up with a campaign, right,  
13 their messaging, and then they work with Kevin Freeman, right, and then, within that  
14 group, it gets set --

15 Mrs. Thomas. No. No.

16 Mr. Paoletta. Oh.

17 Mrs. Thomas. They work with Eric Berger. Sorry.

18 Mr. Paoletta. Okay. Eric Berger. Sorry.

19 Mrs. Thomas. Kevin was the person who put his name with the campaign, or I  
20 don't know how much he did to do it. But it was Eric Berger's FreeRoots platform that  
21 he used.

22 Mr. Paoletta. Okay.

23 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

24 Q But, Mrs. Thomas, you were -- in this instance, you were more than just a  
25 person who shared this information or whose friend said, "Hey, this is a good thing to

1 do," and you clicked a button. You were involved, it looked like, in sort of the formation  
2 of -- or at least the decision to try to utilize FreeRoots for this particular messaging  
3 campaign. Is that fair?

4 A I think that might be a bit of a stretch.

5 Q Okay.

6 A I was an enthusiastic believer that this would be a mechanism to bring a lot  
7 of attention to State legislators that they had a responsibility, in a short period of time, to  
8 certify there were no irregularities and fraud in their State election before it came up to  
9 the Congress.

10 Q Sure. Yes. And you've talked about that.

11 A Yeah.

12 Q And you had discussions with Mr. Berger and others as early as November  
13 6th, or probably earlier -- because that's super-early in the morning, I think, when we see  
14 that email -- that, hey, FreeRoots could be a good tool for us to use here. Is that fair to  
15 say?

16 A I don't think I stimulated that. It was something that came out of a  
17 Groundswell discussion, and I became an enthusiastic supporter of that as a grassroots  
18 tool, and I was using it.

19 Q Fair enough. And you promoted --

20 A Uh-huh.

21 Q -- use of that tool to the folks on that -- the unnamed people that you sent  
22 that other email exhibit to.

23 A Right.

24 Q Right?

25 A Uh-huh.

1 Q So you weren't sort of a passive, "Hey, something just came into my inbox.  
2 I can click and send it." You were at least part of encouraging this use of the FreeRoots.  
3 I'm not criticizing it. I'm just -- is that fair to say, though, that you were --

4 A I'm enthusiastic at times.

5 Q That's fine.

6 Mr. Paoletta. I think the campaign was developed outside of Ginni Thomas's  
7 role --

8 Mr. [REDACTED] Yes.

9 Mr. Paoletta. -- or work, and it would've happened regardless of whether Ginni  
10 Thomas had said "let's do this" or not. She was amplifying it. She was sending it to all  
11 these legislators. She was sending it to her friends to send to legislators, right? I think  
12 that's a distinction without a difference in terms of being more involved with it.

13 I think Ginni got -- this was prewritten, preselected. You know, people were  
14 talking about it already as an idea, right? And you can see, I think, from the emails that  
15 she thinks it's a good idea, but I don't think that's the driving force to have this thing go  
16 out. It gets set up on the platform, and she pushes a button and it goes out.

17 Mrs. Thomas. Can we agree that the media completely messed this up?

18 Mr. Paoletta. Don't --

19 Mrs. Thomas. Oh, sorry. Never mind.

20 BY MR. [REDACTED]

21 Q So, just to sort of distill all of that, you were aware of the -- and enthusiastic  
22 about the use of the FreeRoots tool in connection with the effort to uncover fraud with  
23 respect to the 2020 election.

24 A It's true.

25 Q The specific language, though, of the email --

1 A No.

2 Q -- you didn't draft.

3 A Right.

4 Q And, looking at exhibit 15, you're not sure you even read it all the way  
5 through before clicking "send" and having it go out under your name.

6 A Yes. I was afraid you were gonna get to that.

7 Q Well, I think you got to it. I'm just summarizing, right?

8 A Yes.

9 Q Okay. And how many such messages are you aware of -- I don't mean how  
10 many recipients, but how many different messages were you aware of that went out  
11 under your name as a result of this FreeRoots campaign?

12 A I don't know how many State legislators were in each of the campaigns. I  
13 was surprised -- it might've been at least two. And I thought there were seven States of  
14 State legislators that the campaign was focused on. So I don't have a specific memory.

15 Q Well, but that -- what you're describing now is the, sort of, breadth of the  
16 blast --

17 A Yeah.

18 Q -- as it went out, right?

19 A Yeah.

20 Q But there's just the core one email that you had to click on, and then it went  
21 to wherever it went.

22 A Yeah.

23 Q Is that --

24 A Right.

25 Q -- fair to say?

1 A Uh-huh.

2 Q It looks like from exhibit 14 there's different texts -- let me first ask you this.  
3 Was exhibit 14 generated along the same lines, with the same process that we just talked  
4 about for exhibit 15?

5 A It must have been, because I don't know Russell Bowers. Yes.

6 Q And it says "noreply@freeroots.com" next to your name.

7 A Right.

8 Q But it's a different message; the text is different.

9 A Right. Right.

10 Q Right? So would that imply that you clicked on a different email that  
11 generated exhibit 14 than the one that generated exhibit 15?

12 A I think you're right.

13 Q And my question is: Are there others, or are there multiple, you know,  
14 beyond these two, messages that you caused to be disseminated through this FreeRoots  
15 platform?

16 A I don't have a specific memory. I was surprised that there was more than  
17 one. When I first started talking with my counsel, I thought there was one. And so I  
18 obviously don't have a specific memory of how many FreeRoots campaigns they did.

19 Q Okay.

20 Mr. Paoletta. But given -- I mean, obviously, there's FOIA requests that have  
21 identified others from other States, and I assume those people filed for Ginni Thomas  
22 emails and they would've gone to the same ones. So there's probably not more. I  
23 don't know. But just in terms of --

24 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

25 Q This email is -- "this," I'm sorry, exhibit 15 is dated November 9th --

1 A Uh-huh.

2 Q -- which coincides with the date that you imposed upon yourself in order to,  
3 sort of, protect your friends or make them less uncomfortable, or not uncomfortable.

4 Is there some connection between this email and that decision, being that they're  
5 on the same date?

6 A I don't have a recollection of such a connection.

7 Q How is it that you recall that date, November 9th, as being the date of the  
8 sabbatical? How did you come to that? After all this time has passed, how did you  
9 remember that date?

10 A How do I remember that date? I don't remember. I think I must have told  
11 a friend, who reminded me. I don't remember. I just had it in my mind that  
12 November 9th is when I started my sabbatical from work meetings.

13 Q When you think someone might have reminded you, was it in the context for  
14 preparing for your interview here or in some other context that you were reminded of  
15 that date?

16 A I don't remember the specific context. I'm sorry.

17 Q And you mentioned earlier, very beginning of our interview today, that the  
18 sabbatical ended, I think you said, in mid-January. Did I --

19 A Right.

20 Q Do you recall precisely when or what prompted your decision that, okay,  
21 now I can resume my attendance at these meetings?

22 A That's a good question. I think I thought that -- you know, I don't have a  
23 memory of when --

24 Mr. Paoletta. So you don't remember.

25 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah. I don't remember. I don't remember.

1           Mr. [REDACTED]. Do you know what kinds of things would typically trigger you to stop  
2 a sabbatical like this?

3           Mrs. Thomas. It could've been I was just champing at the bit to get out into the  
4 field again. I don't have a specific memory.

5           Mr. [REDACTED]. But at that point you would've thought that it's no longer  
6 prudentially necessary for me to be separated from the groups. Is that correct?

7           Mrs. Thomas. I must have thought things were moving back into political -- I  
8 mean, you know, let's remember, I guess, it was -- the election was called at a certain  
9 point. So January 6th was over, and the election was called shortly thereafter. And  
10 that's probably what made me realize, the jig is up, it's time to get back to work.

11          Mr. [REDACTED]. I think the election was called on December 7th by the media. Are  
12 you referring to some other calling of the election?

13          Mr. [REDACTED]. November 7th.

14          Mr. [REDACTED]. November 7th. Excuse me.

15          Mrs. Thomas. Oh, November 7. Oh, yeah. And then -- I don't know. The  
16 legal maneuverings, I guess at some point -- I don't have a specific memory, but -- it felt  
17 like they were ending. People weren't talking about litigating as much. They were  
18 moving on to issues.

19                   BY MR. [REDACTED]

20           Q    When did you personally sort of move on or come to the view that the jig is  
21 up with regard to the 2020 election?

22           A    Definitely by January 20th.

23           Q    Not before?

24           A    I don't remember. Definitely by January 20th. I don't remember if it was  
25 sooner.

1 Q Do you remember December 14th being a meaningful day, in terms of your  
2 view of the election, once the electoral college had met?

3 A You know, I see now that that was when --

4 Mr. Paoletta. At the time, though, were you focused on that at all?

5 Mrs. Thomas. No, I wasn't focused on the electoral college. I was just probably  
6 focused on anything and everything to be done to shift the January 6th discussion in the  
7 Congress, I think, and what State legislators could figure out before that time.

8 Mr. [REDACTED] Any questions on that?

9 Ms. Squiers. We're at an hour. I just want to -- we're at an hour.

10 Mr. Paoletta. Yeah. Okay.

11 Mr. [REDACTED] Do you need to take a break? I don't think we're going to go too  
12 much longer.

13 Mrs. Thomas. Let's keep going.

14 Mr. Paoletta. Well, how much longer? I just want to -- I think we want to take  
15 a quick break. Could we do that?

16 Mr. [REDACTED] Let's go off the record.

17 [Recess.]



1

2 [1:35 p.m.]

3 Mr. [REDACTED]. We're back on the record.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

5 Q I wanted to ask you about three cases. And from our prior discussion, I  
6 think I can predict what your answer is, but just to make sure the record is clear.

7 One case is a case brought by the State of Texas against a number of States. Did  
8 you have any involvement in the State of Texas filing a lawsuit related to the 2020  
9 Presidential election?

10 A None at all.

11 Q Okay.

12 And another case was brought by Representative Gohmert against Mike Pence,  
13 which was filed in the Eastern District of Texas. Did you have any involvement in that  
14 litigation at all?

15 A None at all.

16 Q And then a third case was brought by President Trump, his campaign, against  
17 the secretary of state of Pennsylvania. Did you have any involvement in that case at all?

18 A None at all.

19 Q Okay.

20 Let me turn to exhibit 19, and we'll look at exhibit 19 and 20 kind of together.  
21 But these are emails from Paul Teller to you, and they are forwarding statements from a  
22 number of Members of Congress about Congress's role on the 6th.

23 Can you tell us briefly what you understood to be the role of Congress on  
24 January 6th?

25 A Yes. Thank you for that question.

1 I assumed that there could be a robust discussion by those most familiar with  
2 State incidents of fraud or irregularities and that somehow such a discussion would alter  
3 the course of events.

4 And I was -- I was so surprised at the violence. I found it abhorrent, and I said  
5 that to Mark Meadows, by the way, in my texts. But -- that's all.

6 Q Okay.

7 And tell us a little bit about what you were thinking as Paul Teller sent you the  
8 email on exhibit 19 and 20. These are both on January 4th. Did you have any thoughts  
9 or reaction to getting those emails?

10 A The first one I remember, where he was forwarding something from Tom  
11 McClintock. I think that's the document we found that was responsive for you all from  
12 us. I wasn't familiar with the second one, exhibit 20.

13 And I assume what Paul Teller was doing was circulating this to help the  
14 conservative leaders see what they probably thought on the inside, that there wasn't any  
15 discretion for Vice President Pence on January 6th, in case people thought there was.

16 Q And was that your view as well, or --

17 A I honestly -- I knew it was a controversy, but I didn't get involved and didn't  
18 weigh in either way on that issue.

19 Q Okay.

20 Mr. [REDACTED]. Could I just jump in for one second, Joe?

21 Mr. [REDACTED]. Uh-huh.

22 Mr. [REDACTED]. We should clarify -- and we should probably make the document that  
23 you provided, Mrs. Thomas, or Mark, a part of the record -- which is that, you're correct,  
24 it's the same substance of the email that we have in exhibit 19, but I note in the copy that  
25 you provided it shows a date and time of January 3rd at 9:35 p.m., whereas you'll see the

1 date on exhibit 19 is different.

2 Mrs. Thomas. Right.

3 Mr. [REDACTED]. And I believe that's because Mr. Teller's email shows up in UTC time  
4 as opposed to local time. And so that's why it's 5 hours forward.

5 So is it your understanding that that email -- that the date and time on the  
6 document you provided is the date and time that you sent or received that email,  
7 January 3rd at 9:35 p.m.? Any way of knowing that?

8 Mrs. Thomas. No. I've just sent you what I had.

9 Mr. [REDACTED]. Okay. So we'll make sure this copy, or this document, gets into the  
10 record and note that it's the same substance but the dates and times are different  
11 because of the timing convention that's used in these White House emails.

12 Mr. [REDACTED]. So why don't we maybe make that exhibit 31? And it relates to  
13 what is labeled exhibit 19, for the record.

14 Anything else on those emails?

15 Okay.

16 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

17 Q Could you look at exhibit 18? This looks like a text message from Jake  
18 Hoffman to Kylie Kremer.

19 A Right.

20 Q And he mentions in the first line, "Hi, ladies. Ginni Thomas and Stephanie  
21 Coleman gave me your number and suggested I reach out." And he goes on to mention  
22 that he's one of the official Trump Presidential electors in Arizona. And it looks like he's  
23 asking to speak at the events on January 6th.

24 Do you recall having a conversation with Jake Hoffman?

25 A Not about this. I mean, I don't remember -- until I got this from the

1 committee, I didn't know that this happened. I didn't remember that I was connecting  
2 him to Kylie Kremer about his desire to be a speaker.

3 Q Okay.

4 And can you tell us a little bit about what role, if any, you had in relation to the  
5 rally on the 6th at the Ellipse?

6 A I'm glad you asked. I had no role in organizing, coordinating, speaking. I  
7 just went as an ordinary citizen that day.

8 Q Okay.

9 A And so the media has gotten that one wrong too.

10 Q And did you have any role in organizing any events or rallies on January 5th,  
11 the day before?

12 A No.

13 Q Okay.

14 And so did you have any role in organizing buses or the funding of buses that  
15 came to D.C. on the 6th?

16 A Thank you for that question. I had no idea what they were talking about.  
17 I had no role in buses that came that day.

18 Q Okay.

19 Aside from Jake Hoffman, did you talk to anybody else about an interest in  
20 speaking at the rally at the Ellipse?

21 A Not that I remember. I didn't remember this one.

22 Q Okay.

23 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

24 Q On that, do you have Kylie Kremer's number? Were you in regular  
25 communication with her? It says he got Ms. Kremer's number from you, he says, and

1 Stephanie Coleman. I'm just wondering about your prior connection to Kylie Kremer.

2 A I knew Amy Kremer from back in 2011 or 2012, but -- and Kylie, no, I  
3 didn't -- I don't know how I had her number. I do have a lot of numbers of people.

4 Q I understand.

5 A But she's not a close friend. I don't remember how I would've even  
6 connected them. But I clearly did.

7 Q Yeah. Okay. And no specific communication with either Kremer about  
8 the events on the 5th or 6th?

9 A Right.

10 Q Okay. Thanks.

11 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

12 Q And it sounds like -- did you know Jake Hoffman before this event?

13 A Yes. He's a friend.

14 Q Okay. And did you, during the November/December of 2020 timeframe  
15 have discussions with him about his role as an elector at all in the State of Arizona?

16 A No. I forgot that he was an elector. He's a State delegate. He's  
17 oftentimes a speaker for us at Groundswell. And, no, he's just a great guy.

18 Q Okay.

19 I'd like to move on, then, to the day of the 6th, unless you guys have any other  
20 questions before that.

21 Mr. [REDACTED]: I don't.

22 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

23 Q Can you just start by telling us, kind of, what you did on the morning of  
24 January 6th and where you were?

25 A Sure.

1 I was home. I felt like -- well, obviously I was putting things on my Facebook  
2 early. I get up early with my dogs. And I was encouraged that people were coming  
3 together for the purpose of trying to challenge the election fraud and irregularities that  
4 were surfacing.

5 So, after being at many Trump rallies and Trump events in Virginia, I wanted to go  
6 out and feel that crowd. And I went as an ordinary citizen. And I left when I got cold.

7 Mr. Paoletta. Took the Metro.

8 Mrs. Thomas. Yeah, I took the Metro. And I took the Metro home at about  
9 10:30 after -- it was a really cold day.

10 And I didn't go to the Capitol itself. And I didn't really focus on even the  
11 speakers. John Eastman was speaking when I got there, I believe, and I think Rudy  
12 Giuliani may have been on the stage. But I honestly was there to kind of feel the crowd.  
13 And I probably talked to 25 people from all over the country, asking them why they came  
14 that day and why they felt so passionately.

15 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

16 Q Okay. Did you get an invite from anybody to attend the Ellipse rally?

17 A No.

18 Q Okay. So were you in any kind of VIP --

19 A No.

20 Q -- seating or area?

21 A I was not. Thank you for asking. I went on the Metro. I joined the  
22 crowd. I walked through the crowd at the Ellipse. I was just feeling the crowd that  
23 day. And when I got cold, I went home.

24 Q Okay. So did you leave before President Trump gave his speech?

25 A I think I may have. I wish I was looking at the time in which he spoke. I

1 mean, I left around 10:00 or 10:30. I don't know what time he spoke.

2 Q Okay. And you didn't want to stay to hear him speak?

3 A I was cold. Sorry. My body told me to go.

4 Q Okay.

5 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

6 Q Can I ask, how long were you there? How long were you on the Ellipse or in  
7 the vicinity of the events?

8 A I think I left probably around 8:30 or 8:45 in the morning, and, again, I think I  
9 left about 10:00, 10:30. So not that long.

10 Q And without -- I don't want you to give too much information in terms of  
11 what that commute means for you, but when you say "left," you left your home, so would  
12 you have gotten to the Ellipse around 9:30 or so?

13 A 9:00 or 9:30, I think.

14 Q So you stayed for an hour, hour and a half? Does --

15 A Yeah.

16 Q -- that sound about right?

17 A Yeah.

18 Q And did you hear Dr. Eastman speak?

19 A I heard him speaking in the background and noticed he had a hat on, and  
20 that was about as much as I focused on. I really was there just to feel and sense and talk  
21 with the crowd and be, kind of, one of them.

22 Q How close did you get to the stage? Were you in the seating area by the  
23 stage where the speakers were?

24 A No. I was up kind of by the Ellipse and in a crowd. And I think I walked  
25 over, at one point, by the African-American museum and walked up that street a little bit.

1 And, again, I was just interacting with people who had come from all over the country.

2 And then I got cold and left.

3 Q Were you by yourself? Did you hang out with anybody in particular? I  
4 mean, obviously you were interacting with other people, you say, but did you have a  
5 friend or another person, anyone we've talked about today, who was with you?

6 A I came with a friend, but nobody we've talked about today. No one you'd  
7 know.

8 Q Thank you.

9 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

10 Q Did you have a sense at all when you were there that there might be  
11 violence later in the day?

12 A I had no sense of violence. That would be -- that was so foreign to any  
13 Trump event I'd been to up to that point. So I was shocked when I got home and started  
14 hearing the reports about the violence.

15 When I looked around, thinking back, I think I saw a lot of people that didn't look  
16 like regular Trump supporters, I'd say, that looked a little militaristic. And I didn't know  
17 if -- I didn't know why. I didn't give much thought to it.

18 But when the violence broke out later, I started thinking back about some of those  
19 people, some of those men who looked like they had backpacks. And, I mean, I  
20 just -- I'm just telling you what I saw and what I thought at the time. It did seem a little  
21 different than other Trump rallies after the violence started and I started thinking about  
22 who else I saw.

23 Q Okay.

24 Mr. [REDACTED]: Can I just add a followup?

25 Mr. [REDACTED]: Yeah, of course.



1 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

2 Q So, Mrs. Thomas, on the 6th, on the Ellipse, there was magnetometers; and  
3 then there was sort of an area inside the mags, close to the stage; and then there were a  
4 bunch of people on the outside.

5 Did you pass through the magnetometers and go inside of the Ellipse event?

6 A I did not go through magnetometers.

7 Q Okay.

8 A I was with regular people, not up near the VIPs.

9 Q I see. You didn't need to be a VIP to go through the mags. There was a --

10 A I didn't go through mags.

11 Q Okay. I see. So you were outside of the secure, protected area through  
12 which you had to --

13 A Yeah.

14 Q -- be screened.

15 A I just came from the Metro, I went to the Ellipse area, and I started walking  
16 through crowds. And --

17 Q Uh-huh. Yeah.

18 A -- a lot of Chinese Americans were there.

19 Q Uh-huh. Yeah. There were a lot of people, sort of, on Constitution  
20 Avenue --

21 A Yeah.

22 Q -- and even across the street, up closer to the Washington Monument.

23 A Yeah. I walked between Constitution Avenue and Independence Avenue.  
24 I kind of walked that. And then I was getting cold and I left.

25 Q I see. Okay.

1           At that point when you decided to go in the morning, did you believe that there  
2 was a chance on January 6th that the election was not going to be certified as complete  
3 and President Biden would be declared the winner? Did you think that was still an open  
4 question?

5           A     It's a good question. I think I was hopeful that something could still  
6 happen, and I didn't think more deeply than that.

7           Q     Did you have any sense as to how that outcome would be achieved? Even  
8 though the networks had called it, the courts had all rejected the claims, as we've  
9 discussed, the electoral college had already met on December 14th, what was your sense  
10 as to the scenario by which President Trump would be able to stay in office?

11          A     You know, I just didn't think deeply about it. I just was hopeful that, you  
12 know, just as Democrats challenged electoral votes in 2004 -- I don't know what was in  
13 their head, if they thought that that would change the debate and the election. I guess I  
14 had hoped something -- something probably could happen in the -- on the inside of the  
15 Capitol, without the violence, with just the power of debate, discussion over fraud and  
16 irregularities. And it was just hope.

17          Q     Yeah. I think you described it before as you were hoping for a robust  
18 discussion or that inside of the halls of Congress there would be discussion of these  
19 issues.

20          A     Right.

21          Q     Right.

22                 Did you have any expectation about the Vice President and what he would or  
23 would not do during the joint session?

24          A     I really didn't give that much thought. I knew there was pressure on him,  
25 and I heard what the President was saying. But I didn't know if it was right for him to

1 differ from what -- I just didn't think through the Vice President's role and whether he  
2 could do something contrary to what was ceremonial.

3 Q Okay.

4 You went home, presumably watched or were familiar with the events that  
5 transpired. And then the election was certified, I think at 3:00-something in the  
6 morning on January 7th.

7 Did that then change your view as to whether it was or was not possible, still, for  
8 those fraud and irregularities to lead to President Trump staying in office, or did that end  
9 it in your mind?

10 A I don't have a specific memory. I was probably just really depressed and  
11 down and discouraged, and I don't know if I was thinking logically about if there was any  
12 other hope for any other action. I --

13 Q Yeah.

14 A I don't know.

15 Q I'm just trying to get a sense, sort of going back to the questions ██████ asked  
16 you, about the end of the sabbatical or when the jig was up, I think was the expression  
17 you used. I'm just curious if that was the moment at which, okay, the jig is up, it's time  
18 to shift the focus to something else --

19 A Yeah.

20 Q -- or not. Do you have a -- was January 6th the specific moment that  
21 changed your mind about the jig and the existence of the jig?

22 A I don't -- I can't answer that. I don't know the answer to when specifically.  
23 I don't have a specific memory of when I decided there was no more hope.

24 Q Yeah.

25 A I don't remember.

1 Q Okay.

2 I jumped in front of Joe, so we can keep going through the day, but I appreciate  
3 that. Thank you.

4 Mr. [REDACTED] [REDACTED] did you have a --

5 Mr. [REDACTED] Just a housekeeping piece here.

6 BY MR. [REDACTED]:

7 Q We have in the binder copies of some Facebook posts, starting at exhibit 24.

8 A Yes.

9 Q And I want to call your attention to, I guess it's every other exhibit. So it's  
10 exhibit 25, 27, and 28.

11 A Yes.

12 Q And those appear to be -- and I just want to see if you can confirm or sort of  
13 validate the timing on these. These have been represented to be screenshots of a  
14 Facebook page that show dates and times. Because you can see the other ones don't  
15 have dates and times on there.

16 A Yes.

17 Q All right. Do those times appear to be accurate, the 3:33 a.m. on  
18 exhibit 25; 3:47 a.m. on the 27th, and 3:46 a.m. on the 28th? You said you're up early  
19 with the dogs. That's early. Do you think, are those proper times?

20 A Those dogs. Yes.

21 Q Okay. Okay.

22 A And I go back to sleep. But sometimes I start Facebooking, obviously.

23 Q Okay.

24 A But, yes, it's kind of a dog thing.

25 Q Got it.

1           And, then, are you able to share, if you recall, why you posted the Ronald Reagan  
2 quote that we have as exhibit 28? How did that, if you remember -- it was 3:46 in the  
3 morning, and the dogs were probably barking, but do you remember why you thought  
4 that was a meaningful thing to post on Facebook that day?

5           A     Hold on.

6           You know, it's probably because Ronald Reagan was kind of important in my life,  
7 and it was someone I really looked up to. And it was my first political campaign that I  
8 was in Washington, D.C. I worked on the Reagan campaign with Bay Buchanan and  
9 others when I was a freshman in college.

10          And I've always loved that quote. And I bring it up oftentimes when I do  
11 speeches, when I am activating grassroots people and talking to leaders. I think we  
12 oftentimes have certain moments in history that are a rendezvous with destiny. And I  
13 just was hopeful. That's all.

14          Q     Thank you.

15          I don't have anything else on this or anything else.

16          Mr. ██████ Okay.

17          Just one kind of housekeeping-matter question, too, that we ask a number of  
18 witnesses. This is not just assigned for you. But can you tell us whether anybody else  
19 aside from you is paying for the legal services for Mr. Paoletta and his firm?

20          Mrs. Thomas. Nope. It's Ginni.

21          Mr. ██████ Okay. Great.

22          Mr. ██████ We just always also ask people if there's anything else that they  
23 think is relevant that you want to share, any reactions to the events of January 6th or  
24 anything that you want the committee to ensure they're aware of as they complete their  
25 work.

1           Mrs. Thomas. I guess I'd only say one more thing, and that is: Violence on both  
2 sides is abhorrent, and the more you guys focus on just one side, it can do significant  
3 damage to our country, I believe.

4           And, certainly, I'm living with Senator Schumer having said some things on the  
5 steps of the Supreme Court that unleashed a lot of things that have us living with  
6 Marshals right now. I think the summer of 2020 has a lot of communities who felt  
7 violence by left-wing activists.

8           And when you don't show that same kind of focus that you guys are focusing on  
9 the violence in the Capitol on January 6th, I am afraid of what happens -- the corruption,  
10 the erosion of confidence in equal justice.

11           That's the last thing I'd like to say to you.

12           Mr. [REDACTED]: Okay.

13           Mr. [REDACTED]: Thank you very much. We appreciate you being here voluntarily  
14 and for sitting with us, so thank you very much.

15           Mrs. Thomas. You guys were great.

16           Mr. [REDACTED]: Thank you.

17           Mrs. Thomas. I really appreciate how you treated me, and I appreciate, you  
18 know, the fairness by which this has happened. And I'm really glad it's over.

19           Mr. [REDACTED]: Let's make sure that last part's on the record.

20           Thank you.

21           Actually, before we stop -- I'm sorry.

22           Mr. [REDACTED]: I saw Ms. Lofgren.

23           Mr. [REDACTED]: Yeah.

24           Ms. Lofgren, you're the only member on. Do you have any questions before we  
25 stop? No?

1           Okay. Then we are done, and we can go off the record.

2           Ms. Lofgren. Let me unmute and just say thanks.

3           Mr. [REDACTED] Okay. Thanks, Ms. Lofgren.

4           Mrs. Thomas. Thank you very much.

5           [Whereupon, at 1:57 p.m., the interview was concluded.]

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Certificate of Deponent/Interviewee

I have read the foregoing \_\_\_\_ pages, which contain the correct transcript of the answers made by me to the questions therein recorded.

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Witness Name

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Date