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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: ALEX HOLDER

Thursday, June 23, 2022

Washington, D.C.

The interview in the above matter was held in Room 5480, O'Neill House Office  
Building, commencing at 10:07 a.m.

Present: Representatives Schiff, Lofgren, and Murphy.

1     Appearances:

2

3

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

6

7     [REDACTED], INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL

8     [REDACTED] INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL

9     [REDACTED], PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBER

10    [REDACTED], CHIEF INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL

11    [REDACTED], SENIOR INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL

12

13

14    For THE WITNESS:

15

16    RUSSELL SMITH

17    SMITH DEHN, LLP

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Mr. [REDACTED] This is a transcribed interview of Alex Holder conducted by the House Select Committee to Investigate the January 6th Attack on the United States Capitol pursuant to House Resolution 503. This interview is being conducted in the O'Neill House Office Building in Washington, D.C.

6

I would first like to ask the witness to state his name and spell it for the record.

7

8

Mr. Holder. Full name Alexander James Holder, A-l-e-x-a-n-d-e-r, J-a-m-e-s, H-o-l-d-e-r.

9

10

Mr. [REDACTED] And if I could have your counsel introduce himself for the record, too.

11

Mr. Smith. Russell Smith, Smith Dehn LLP, and Dehn is spelled D-e-h-n.

12

Mr. [REDACTED] Thank you.

13

14

15

16

This will be a staff-led interview. My name is [REDACTED], and I'm an investigative counsel with the select committee. We may have members of the select committee join us remotely, and if they do, then I'll try to introduce them as they pop up on the screen. And they may ask questions.

17

18

19

I'm also joined by [REDACTED] who is the chief investigative counsel for the select committee; [REDACTED], who's a Senior investigative counsel with the select committee; and [REDACTED] is also joining us. He's also an investigative counsel.

20

21

22

Before we get going with our conversation, I'll just lay out some of the nuts and bolts, ground rules, if you will. We do have an official reporter here who is transcribing our conversation.

23

24

25

We have the video feed and a camera that's recording this conversation as well, but the transcript will be the official record of our conversation. And so, because of that, we have to make sure that we follow the rules of the road for when we have

1 someone transcribing. So please wait until I finish answering a question before -- asking  
2 a question before you answer, and then I'll wait to ask the next one until after you're  
3 done. And the reporter cannot note any nonverbal responses, so if your answer is yes  
4 or no just say so as opposed to nodding or shaking your head.

5 We'd ask that you just give complete answers to the best of your recollection.  
6 And if my question is unclear, I'm happy to clarify. If you don't know the answer to  
7 something, you can just say so.

8 And finally, I'll remind you, as we do for all of our witnesses, that it is unlawful to  
9 deliberately provide false or misleading information to Congress, and doing so could  
10 result in criminal penalties under Federal law.

11 Do you understand that?

12 Mr. Holder. Yes.

13 Mr. [REDACTED] Now, I'm happy to take breaks at any point. If you need to stretch  
14 your legs or use the restroom, just let me know. Otherwise, I think we can  
15 accommodate the conversation in relatively short order to help give context for what  
16 brought you here today.

17 Mr. Holder. Cool.

18 Mr. [REDACTED] So first let me just start with some background information about  
19 you.

20 Mr. [REDACTED] Swear him in?

21 Mr. [REDACTED] This is a transcribed interview.

22 So, just for the record, this is not a sworn deposition. It's a transcribed interview.  
23 That is something that matters more procedurally for the select committee. It has no  
24 effect on whether you're required to tell the truth or the substance of your testimony.

25 Do you understand that?



1 Mr. Holder. No.

2 Mr. [REDACTED] So a deposition would be a sworn deposition where the court  
3 reporter would actually swear you in, and there are some procedural things that go along  
4 with that in terms of what the select committee can do to compel you to answer  
5 questions, and there's also requirements that go into giving notice to members and  
6 allowing sufficient time for them to be available to participate.

7 Given the short order here and trying to get this on the record quickly, we went  
8 with a transcribed interview, which is an easier way for us to streamline the conversation,  
9 but it has no effect on whether you are required to tell the truth when we ask you  
10 questions.

11 Does that make sense?

12 Mr. Holder. Yes.

13 Mr. [REDACTED] Witnesses who are cooperative who have come forward voluntarily  
14 like you, Mr. Holder, we generally do a transcribed interview. We don't expect you to  
15 raise any objections to questions that would require a legal ruling. That's why, as [REDACTED]  
16 said, it's easier to proceed with a transcribed interview.

17 Mr. [REDACTED] And I will state for the record, as I'm sure you know, we did compel  
18 your participation formally through a subpoena, but as we'll talk about, you've been  
19 helpful and cooperative with us thus far under that context.

20 EXAMINATION

21 BY MR. [REDACTED]

22 Q So, Mr. Holder, you're a citizen of the United Kingdom. Is that right?

23 A Yes.

24 Q Could you tell us what city and State you live in currently?

25 A Well, I currently live in Los Angeles, California.

1 Q And can you just briefly summarize for the committee what your  
2 professional background is?

3 A So I'm a film director and producer, specializing in documentaries.

4 Q And what's the name of -- do you have a production company associated  
5 with your professional --

6 A Yes.

7 Q -- efforts? And what's the name of that company?

8 A AJH Films.

9 Q And about how long have you been making documentary films?

10 A Well, I set up my company in 2010. Documentary films for about 6, 7 years  
11 or so.

12 Q And so what generally type of documentary films do you make or specialize  
13 in?

14 A I mean, all sorts. The last film I made was called Keep Quiet, which was  
15 about a neo-Nazi who set up the largest far right party in Europe, and then discovered  
16 that he was, in fact, Jewish, which is a problem for a neo-Nazi.

17 So he was then fired from his -- from his political party, and then embraced  
18 Orthodox Judaism, which is, of course, a 180, I guess. And that ended up premiering at  
19 the Tribeca Film Festival in New York, the One World documentary festival. And then it  
20 was licensed to a streamer and also had a distribution as well in North America.

21 And then following up from that, I started making a film about the Middle East  
22 conflict. So that so far -- we haven't finished that project yet. It's taken about a year  
23 and a half or so, 2 years. And we interviewed many people across the discourse of that  
24 particular dispute.

25 And while that was going on, I then ended up moving into the documentary that

1 we're here to talk about today.

2 Q And tell us what that documentary project that brings you here today is?

3 A So I got access to the Trump family around about August of 2020. And the  
4 end result of that project is a three-part series, and it covers the last 6 weeks or so of the  
5 2020 Presidential campaign and then continues past that into the post election and then  
6 post events of January 6th and culminated -- I think the last interview with members of  
7 the Trump family were around -- I'd have to double-check, but around June of 2021.

8 Q And this is the project that's been given the name Unprecedented. Is that  
9 right?

10 A Yes.

11 Q How -- can you tell us how that project came into being, how you had the  
12 opportunity to make this?

13 A So while I was making the Middle East project, which is commonly called  
14 Conflict of Interest, I had been interviewing various people in the United States that had  
15 connection with that, with that -- with this particular story, the story of the  
16 Israel-Palestine conflict.

17 Various people that I was interviewing in the States had a connection -- had  
18 connections with the current administration. And ultimately, I built a relationship with a  
19 particular -- with a few people, but mainly one particular person, and we discussed the  
20 idea of making a documentary about the Trump family. And this particular person was  
21 very close with that family, and had worked with them and thought it was an interesting  
22 idea.

23 The premise was purely to try and understand who the family were and look at it  
24 from a sort of more sort of nonpolitical sort of approach, in the sense that I wasn't  
25 American or I'm not American and, therefore, there was sort of a different objectivity,

1 let's say.

2 And those conversations were going on for a while, during the midst of COVID,  
3 actually. So I was back in the U.K. And the key sort of factor was that I would not be  
4 interested in doing anything of the sort unless I would have editorial control for the  
5 project. And that was agreed quite quickly.

6 And thereafter, there was an introduction. And at that point, it was really me in  
7 terms of speaking to the family and building a relationship with them, trying to work out  
8 what this story was going to be. It started off being a film and ended up being a  
9 documentary series.

10 Mr. [REDACTED] I'll note for the record that Representative Murphy has joined us.

11 BY MR. [REDACTED]

12 Q So can you tell us specifically who it was that was able to basically connect  
13 with the President and his family to get their blessing to have this documentary filmed?

14 A I can. Can I just quickly speak to Russell just before? I mean, I have no  
15 problem mentioning it. I just want to make sure that that's all fine in terms of  
16 confidentiality and everything. Is that okay?

17 Q Sure.

18 [Witness confers with counsel.]

19 Mr. Holder. And I'm happy to answer. The person that introduced me to the  
20 Trump family was Jason Greenblatt?

21 BY MR. [REDACTED]

22 Q And can you tell us about how he was able to make that connection or what  
23 his relationship is to the President and his family?

24 A Well, I mean, I don't know exactly his relationship with the President. All I  
25 know is what's publicly available in terms of sort of his roles. So he was a -- he worked

1 for the Trump Organization for many years, and he also worked at the White House for, I  
2 think, about 2 years as Middle East Envoy under President Trump.

3 I met him after he had already left the White House. And that -- and I know that  
4 he has a close relationship with the family.

5 Q And so was it your idea to reach out, or were you approached by someone  
6 to do this?

7 A No, no. It was my idea after having met Jason.

8 Q And what was the pitch to him to convey to the First Family?

9 A I think it was -- the pitch was to try and understand who this family was.  
10 It's as simple as that. I think it evolved. I mean, the beauty of documentaries is that  
11 you don't really know what the ending is going to be, and a lot of the time, these films  
12 and these stories change and develop as you progress.

13 And I think when we started talking about this, this was the early part of 2020, the  
14 idea of it sort of coinciding with the campaign was sort of in parentheses. It wasn't  
15 really sort of a major sort of aspect of the original pitch.

16 By the time it was all sort of green-lit by the family, it was obvious that the  
17 campaign was going to be a significant part of the narrative of this particular project.

18 Q And so, did you have to coordinate access to the First Family through  
19 members of the Trump Organization, or any White House staff while they were in the  
20 White House?

21 A There were lots of different ways of how we coordinated. It depends on  
22 the situation.

23 Q Well, we can get into those specifically as we talk about some of the  
24 interviews that you gave. Before we get there, I'd like to talk a little bit just so we  
25 understand the context of the financing of the project, because there have been some

1 questions raised about that.

2           Could you tell us how the project was financed and sort of how the -- what, if any,  
3 money exchanged hands along the way?

4           A     So I can confirm absolutely no money was transferred between myself and  
5 anyone connected to me and my company at all with any of the people that are in this  
6 project whatsoever.

7           So there was absolutely -- and we were sort of so concerned to ensure that that  
8 wasn't the case that we didn't take any sort of -- for instance, if there was a situation  
9 where we could travel with a member of the Trump family on their, sort of, campaign  
10 plane, we did not. We, in fact, hired our own plane and followed sort of behind them.  
11 So we ended up having to charter private jets during the course of the project.

12           So hotels, gas, cars, I mean, everything we paid for ourselves. And the funding of  
13 the project originally was totally privately funded by people who are not American and  
14 have no connection whatsoever with the family at all. So there was literally no  
15 connection whatsoever.

16           About a year ago, we then sold the project to a major streaming platform. And  
17 we then continued to produce the project, so there was still filming subsequent to that.  
18 And the funding from that took -- essentially, the funding took over from that streaming  
19 service.

20           So on all aspects of the financing of this project, there was absolutely zero  
21 connection with the Trump family whatsoever.

22           Q     So let me summarize, and you tell me if this is accurate. This was a  
23 self-financed project through -- or financed through sources that you obtained separate  
24 and apart from any connection to the Trump Organization or members of the Trump  
25 administration.

1           No financial benefit, at least directly, from this project went to anyone who you  
2 interviewed, the Trump family members, and at some point, the project was sold to a  
3 streaming platform, which I think has been -- I understand to be the Discovery+ network,  
4 and they paid you money for it, but even after that, no money went to the Trumps or  
5 anyone associated with the administration.

6           Is that accurate?

7           A     Yes.

8           Q     Now, you mentioned hiring your own private charters. I only ask this  
9 because I've seen it reported recently, a photograph from Air Force One. Can you tell us  
10 about that? I mean, because I just want to make sure that we're not inconsistent in our  
11 understanding of what you said about chartering your own travel to follow them, but  
12 then at one point, riding on Air Force One.

13          A     So that the only time where we were with the campaign or essentially the  
14 White House was with respect to the President, and this is about sort of 4 or 5 -- maybe 9  
15 days before the election. We were told that we could do an interview with the  
16 then-President on Air Force One. So we were invited on Air Force One to do that, that  
17 interview, which did not end up taking place.

18          But we did join the President in the motorcade from the White House to Andrews  
19 Air Force Base. We went on Air Force One and joined the President on his journey to  
20 various -- actually, it was to one campaign rally on that day, and where -- mostly the  
21 interview didn't happen.

22          Q     So because there's no financial benefit, as you've explained, going to the  
23 Trump family, do you understand why it was that they would have trusted you to come  
24 and produce this documentary, particularly if you were going to have full editorial control  
25 over it?

1           A    I think that they would definitely be the best people to ask that question to.  
2 I mean, I have my own opinions as to why that was the case, but I would ask them.

3           Q    Well, I'm just curious, though, if you maybe in your conversations with  
4 Mr. Greenblatt, understood sort of as part of the pitch why it was that you might be  
5 someone that could be trustworthy to tell a story that they would support?

6           A    I think it was very much down to the fact that I was not an American, I did  
7 not -- I was not part of sort of the media, and they felt that my approach was going to be  
8 sort of fair-handed and -- and given the time that they sort of felt like they weren't given  
9 by others. And I believe that we did do that.

10          Q    So you said filming began -- did you say when you began filming the  
11 documentary?

12          A    So, I mean, I came out to America in August of 2020. We started filming in  
13 September.

14          Q    And filming wrapped around when?

15          A    The last interview with the family was with the -- was with the  
16 President's -- the then-President's daughter and son-in-law, which was around about June  
17 of '21. And then there was more filming with journalists that we interviewed to give  
18 context to the project.

19          Q    And to your knowledge, had members of the Trump family or the Trump  
20 administration seen edits or cuts of the documentary series along the way?

21          A    Nobody from the Trump family or administration has seen a single cut from  
22 the film whatsoever, save for during the interview with the -- with President Trump in  
23 Bedminster, as part of the interview, I showed him on my iPad various sort of short clips  
24 of some of the interviews that we had done with his children as context for questions I  
25 asked him about his children to be part of the documentary. But no one has seen



1 anything from that family or the Trump administration whatsoever with respect to this  
2 film series.

3 Q And when you say that you have full editorial control, I understand -- I'm  
4 curious what you understand that to be. Is it you, or do you have partners that also  
5 have to agree to it? Sort of what's the decision-making process about what the final  
6 product looks like?

7 A So prior to sending it to Discovery+, it was solely me. After selling it to  
8 Discovery+, practically, it's been solely me, but obviously the platform, having bought it,  
9 had some involvement in sort of its editorial. But I think it was much more in terms of  
10 more sort of filming-type questions.

11 There was never a sort of debate about the sort of profound editorial narrative  
12 that we were telling. It was -- the default was always to come back to me. But there  
13 would literally be no -- I mean, there was nobody else other than me in terms of who  
14 would make the final decision, like sort of practically and prior to Discovery entirely.

15 Q Now, could you summarize for us the types of documentary -- or types of  
16 footage that you recorded for the documentary series? You've mentioned there's  
17 interviews with various types of folks. And I just would like to get your summary of sort  
18 of what types of footage are -- you captured as you were creating this project.

19 A Sure. So we interviewed -- essentially master interviews with members of  
20 the Trump family. I can list them if you like.

21 Q We can go through those in a moment.

22 A So master interviews with the Trump family, master interviews with  
23 journalists, and then observational footage of members of the Trump family on the  
24 campaign trail as well as sort of what we call the B roll or actuality by filming landscapes  
25 and various things to establish where we are in a particular State, town, city, et cetera.

1 Q And when you say master interviews, is that sort of what we would  
2 understand is a traditional, they're sitting down and you're asking them questions?

3 A Yeah, exactly.

4 Q Now -- and we can run through those. I understand from previous  
5 conversations that we had that in terms of the master interviews that you conducted with  
6 the President and his family or people associated with the administration, there were  
7 three interviews of the President. Is that right?

8 A Correct.

9 Q Three interview of his daughter Ivanka?

10 A Yes.

11 Q One interview of his son, Don Jr.?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Two interviews of his son Eric?

14 A Yes.

15 Q Two interviews of his son-in-law, Jared Kushner?

16 A Yes.

17 Q And one interview of the Vice President, Mike Pence?

18 A Correct.

19 Q Were there any other master interviews of members of the family, the  
20 Trump Organization, or the Trump administration?

21 A Yes. There was one interview with a member of the Trump administration  
22 that never made it into the series, which was -- it was the person that took over -- Avi  
23 Berkowitz, who was at the time I interviewed him I believe the Middle East Envoy; and  
24 also the -- the Ambassador to the State of Israel, the American Ambassador to the State  
25 of Israel as well.

1 Q And about when were those individuals conducted?

2 A So with the Ambassador, it was -- it must have been around sort of  
3 September of 2020. And the interview with Avi Berkowitz was on the same day as we  
4 interviewed Jared Kushner. So we can look back at the notes and give you the exact  
5 date for that.

6 Q When you say same day as Jared Kushner, was it the White House interview  
7 with Kushner?

8 A The White House.

9 Q The White House interview.

10 A Yes.

11 Q So that would have been -- in the notes I took, that was about October  
12 2020?

13 A Correct.

14 Q And in those two interviews with the Envoy and the Ambassador, did the  
15 subject of the 2020 election come up?

16 A No.

17 Q And so, other than those two and the ones that we've mentioned, no other  
18 master interviews of the Trump family, Organization members, or Trump administration?

19 A That is correct.

20 Q Now, if you had to ballpark, how many hours of footage do you think exist  
21 for the documentary project?

22 A Could I just check our notes, because --

23 Q Sure.

24 A -- we actually looked for this yesterday. But I turned my phone off, so I  
25 have to turn it back on.

1           105 hours of recorded material, and 67 hours, probably 6-1/2 hours of interviews  
2 with the family.

3           Q    So 105 interviews -- 105 hours total, 6-1/2 of which were the master  
4 interviews?

5           A    Yes.

6           Q    With the family?

7           A    Yes.

8           Q    So, on balance then, a little less than 99 hours of the other kind of  
9 observational footage and B roll, as you described it?

10          A    Yes.

11          Q    Now, in terms of the editorial control, when you were trying to pitch this  
12 project, did you have to meet with anyone from the Trump Organization or  
13 administration before you were given the green light to produce the project?

14          A    I was available to meet. And it wasn't required, essentially.

15          Q    And were you under the understanding that there was anything in these  
16 conversations at the front end before you started filming that was off limits to you?

17          A    No.

18          Q    And you mentioned Mr. Greenblatt. Is he the only person that you -- sort  
19 of was your envoy, so to speak, to the administration and the Trump Organization?

20          A    I mean, there were certainly times where I had direct interaction with  
21 staffers or people in terms of organizing interviews and logistics for particular things, but  
22 Jason was pretty aware of everything that was going on.

23          Q    On the front end as you're pitching the project, he's the guy who you're  
24 going through. Is that right?

25          A    Yes, yes, yes.

1

BY MR. [REDACTED]

2

Q Did he get paid as part of the project?

3

A Could you pause on that for just a second?

4

[Witness confers with counsel.]

5

Mr. Holder. The only reason I'm asking the question is purely because whenever

6

it comes to other people, I feel like I just want to double-check the confidentiality.

7

Yes. The answer is yes.

8

BY MR. [REDACTED]

9

Q And do you know who paid him?

10

A As in -- as in my company.

11

Q Okay.

12

A Which is standard practice for people who sort of introduce or provide

13

access to various things, most people.

14

BY MR. [REDACTED]

15

Q And was that, Mr. Holder, a flat fee or a percentage of the ultimate profits of

16

the project?

17

A Flat.

18

Q I'm sorry?

19

A A flat fee.

20

Q Flat fee.

21

A And then depending on various things, there would be sort of -- it depends

22

on sort of the circumstances, but, I mean, I'd have to sort of double-check exactly what

23

the --

24

Q Sort of a finder's fee or --

25

A Exactly.

1 Q -- a premium for bringing the project to you?

2 A And the key thing, which I mentioned at the beginning, was that this would  
3 never have worked had Mr. Greenblatt been an administration official at the time of me  
4 even sort of talking to him. So, you know, when I met him for the first time, he had  
5 already left the administration and was a citizen, so --

6 Q I see. And do you know whether or not the arrangement with  
7 Mr. Greenblatt was obvious to the Trump family? Were they aware of his personal  
8 stake in the project?

9 A I do not.

10 Q Okay. Thanks.

11 BY MR. [REDACTED]

12 Q Did he make a representation that anything he was paid would not go to the  
13 Trumps?

14 A I would need to double-check.

15 BY MR. [REDACTED]

16 Q Now, you mentioned this observational footage that you recorded of the  
17 Trump family. That entailed you going on essentially the campaign trail with them. Is  
18 that right?

19 A Yes.

20 Q How many stops did you go on the campaign trail with them, or how many  
21 days were you with them?

22 A I can give you the list of that if you like.

23 Q I'm just -- from your -- I'm just trying to get a sense of sort of was this a few  
24 days at a time. Were you with them every day?

25 A Oh, no, not every day. No, it was a few days at a time, yeah. So it would

1 be like one day with Eric Trump, and then maybe 2 days with Eric Trump, and then there  
2 would be a gap. And then there would be sort of two or three days with Ivanka Trump,  
3 and then another day with Eric, and then a day with Don Jr., et cetera.

4 Q And the reason I ask is because, as you know, in the subpoena that we  
5 issued to you, we specifically called for the master interview raw footage, the footage  
6 that you had recorded that was on January 6th, but then also, a category that was to  
7 produce any footage that related to election fraud or election integrity issues.

8 So I just want to confirm that in the additional observational footage that you  
9 have, that there is not anything in there that would have been called for by the subpoena  
10 related to election integrity issues?

11 A No. I mean, at least my understanding of what that is, the answer is no.  
12 Otherwise, we would have supplied it.

13 Q And maybe not master interviews, but in observational footage, or B roll  
14 footage that you might have been shooting where you capture conversations with  
15 people, I'm just going to go through some names and topics to see if any of these things  
16 came up. We'll just go through one at a time, and you can tell me yes or no.

17 Mr. Smith. Can I just talk to him?

18 Mr. [REDACTED] Sure.

19 [Witness confers with counsel.]

20 Mr. Holder. So one thought on that question you just asked, which I was  
21 discussing with Russell on the way here, was that there was one particular event that  
22 took place which was an unusual event that we did not provide because my  
23 understanding of the -- the subpoena didn't sort of necessarily make that fit in.

24 It could be relevant, which is an event that took place at the Trump International  
25 Hotel in D.C. during the election campaign where we were filming members of the family.

1 Specifically, Eric Trump was there and Donald Trump Jr. was there as well as people I  
2 don't know who were sort of campaign officials quite high up raising money for the  
3 campaign.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]

5 Q Tell us more about that event. What do you recall being discussed?

6 A I mean, in terms of the event, it was purely just people making phone calls,  
7 trying to raise money, sort of conversations between officials. I mean, it was pretty  
8 innocuous at the time. I think for us what was interesting was how sort of they were  
9 very eager to raise finances.

10 At the time, at least the media had said that they were running out of money. So  
11 it obviously was an important -- it was important for them to try and raise more. So it  
12 seemed it was sort of a -- it was an important event for them.

13 Q I see. Was it -- how long before the election, approximately, do you think  
14 that was?

15 A I can double-check.

16 Q That would be great. And for the record, you're consulting it looks like sort  
17 of a calendar that will show you when certain things occurred?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Okay.

20 A An Excel spreadsheet. 29th of September 2020.

21 Q Okay. And was this a fundraiser? Were there people at the event who  
22 were actually being solicited for contributions?

23 A There were people making phone calls to people to try and ask them to  
24 donate money to the campaign.

25 Q I see. It wasn't like a cocktail party or reception. It was people, Trump



1 family members or campaign officials making phone calls --

2 A Yes.

3 Q -- to people that might give money?

4 A Yes.

5 Q I see. And it took place at the Trump Hotel? Was it in a suite or a room?

6 A It was in a conference room.

7 Q I see. Okay. And was it successful? Did you get a sense that it was  
8 working or not?

9 A No. The sense that we got was that at a certain point they wanted us to go.  
10 So -- we were invited in. And we -- I mean, throughout this entire project, there was  
11 nothing sort of untoward or hidden. We were very visible.

12 And those that have said recently that they didn't know about us seems quite  
13 unusual, because not only were we visible, we also had sort of access to the First Family  
14 and the residence that no one else had. So we were very visible.

15 At one point, somebody, I believe it was one of the family members, sort of  
16 realized we were there and did not like the fact that we were there and spoke to another  
17 family member, who then came up and asked us to stop.

18 But we had spent some time already filming them. At no point did they say that  
19 the footage was not able to be used or anything like that whatsoever.

20 Q The President himself was not involved in that event? That was his sons  
21 and others?

22 A I don't know whether he was involved, but he wasn't there.

23 Q He wasn't physically present?

24 A At least I didn't see him physically present at that time when I was there.

25 Q I see. Okay, thanks.

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BY MR. [REDACTED]

Q Are there other moments of capturing observational footage that you and your crew did between Election Day and the end of your project?

A Sorry. Say that question again.

Q So I'm just curious. You know, I understand that there's this observational footage that's captured during the campaign when they're on the trail, going around making speeches, that kind of thing.

Were there additional observational recordings made after the election in November through the -- you know, the end of the filming in June of 2021?

A Yes.

Q Could you tell us about those?

A Two rallies that we filmed of President Trump in Georgia.

Q And so, that's December of 2020, and then there's, like, January 4, 2021?

A Yes.

Q Is that right?

A Yes.

Q Any other moments of filming in the Trump Hotel after the election through -- setting aside any sit-down interviews, the master interviews, any observational recordings made after Election Day?

A No.

Q What about on Election Day? Were you doing any recording for the project on Election Day, November 2020?

A Yes.

Q Tell us about that.

A The director of photography was present in the White House on election

1 night. When you say Election Day, I'm assuming it's the same as election night. I  
2 mean, moved on as in in terms of timing.

3 Q Yes. It's good. The specificity is fine. So November 3rd was Election  
4 Day. We know, obviously, that after midnight people were still gathering and talking  
5 about that into that, you know, election night, November 4th.

6 But during that time period, you had a photographer in the White House?

7 A My director of photography/cameraman was in the White House, and he  
8 had access to the room that the President then came out to give his speech. So he was  
9 in there. But it was -- he didn't have sort of -- it was the same access, sort of give or  
10 take, that the pool camera had.

11 The only difference is that his was obviously an independent camera, and wasn't  
12 part of the media, and he may have -- he filmed more than what the pool most probably  
13 would have filmed in terms of his camera was rolling past the President leaving the room.  
14 So he would see the people that were there. You could sort of see them standing up  
15 and sort of leaving for a period of time until he was told he had to leave.

16 Q And that camera with your director of photography at the White House on  
17 election night, is that stationary or is he wandering around in the crowd?

18 A Stationary. I mean, stationary in the sense that he's not wandering around.  
19 I think he had a tripod, but I don't believe he had enough space to put the tripod on the  
20 sort of box that you need to make it stationary, because CNN, I think, was using that box.  
21 So he sort of was -- so it was a bit shaky.

22 Q Any other recordings other than election night observational after -- related  
23 to the election, maybe the day before? I'm just trying to make sure that we have a full  
24 comprehensive view of what this footage is that's observational and may capture people  
25 discussing the election.

1 A No, there was nothing. I mean, like I said, the -- yeah, no.

2 BY MR [REDACTED]

3 Q Before we leave that, Mr. Holder, just give us a better sense of the crew  
4 involved in your project. You were the director or producer, not the person actually  
5 shooting the footage. Is that right?

6 A Yes.

7 Q You said director of photography. Did you have one person throughout the  
8 project who served in that capacity?

9 A So -- yes, except on one day where we were doing observational filming in, I  
10 believe it was Pennsylvania, when the President had -- was now at hospital and various  
11 members of the family started to be more involved in the campaign. And we got access  
12 to Eric Trump's wife and her coterie in Pennsylvania on the sort of Women for Trump sort  
13 of tour bus, I guess.

14 And that was the one time that Michael didn't film, but that's it. Every  
15 other -- every single frame in the project was shot by him other than that particular day.

16 Q I see. So what's Michael's last name?

17 A Crommett.

18 Q I see. So Michael Crommett is your shooter, your cameraman for the entire  
19 project, but for that one event in Pennsylvania?

20 A Yes. And then with respect to master interviews, we would have sort of a  
21 slightly different crew. But Michael was the director of photography and he would  
22 shoot sort of the main camera, but there were other cameras that we had in the room.

23 So one interview may have two or three cameras, and we would have a different  
24 operator for those cameras. So it could be that we would have, you know, Michael as  
25 the director of photography, but an assistant camera person to use the second camera,

1 which was sort like a close-up of the subject.

2 Q I understand. How about a sound person, did you have a separate sound  
3 recorder?

4 A So we'd have a sound recorder. And for the -- for every single interview,  
5 there was always a sound recorder. For most of the observational footage, we would  
6 have sound recorders. Not for all of them.

7 The crew for the observational material was much, much smaller than for the  
8 master interviews, because we wanted to sort of keep a small footprint. We have to  
9 move around. We have to get the various angles and things that we wanted to get.

10 Q Right. So Michael's camera had sound capacity, but you would sometimes  
11 have separate sound recording equipment, depending upon the event?

12 A Yes.

13 Q Okay.

14 A Yes.

15 Q All of the interviews that you described, did you do those yourself?

16 A I interviewed everybody, yes.

17 Q No one else was in the position in the project of asking questions of the  
18 President or the other subjects, that was just you?

19 A No, that was my responsibility.

20 Q Okay. And did you have a team that helped prepare you for those  
21 interviews, or did you do that yourself?

22 A No, I did it myself. I mean, I would definitely bring people in at various  
23 times and ask them their thoughts, but ultimately, they were -- I asked those questions  
24 and I prepared those myself.

25 Q Okay. And did you go in, Mr. Holder -- and, [REDACTED], forgive me if I'm going

1 out of order here -- but did you go into those interviews with sort of a prepared script or  
2 list of questions that you intended to ask or was it more conversational?

3 A Could I -- I want to return back to the previous question.

4 Q Sure.

5 A I quickly want to ask Russell one question.

6 [Witness confers with counsel.]

7 Mr. Holder. We can keep going.

8 BY MR. [REDACTED]

9 Q Just going back to the questions asked, did you stick to a sort of  
10 pre-prepared script, or was it more of a conversational thinking of questions in response  
11 to what you heard from the interviewee?

12 A It depended on the interviewee.

13 Q Okay. In watching the interviews, Mr. Holder, it seemed as if there was  
14 never a time when you sort of challenged the answer or pushed back at anything that the  
15 President or his children said.

16 Was that a sort of conscious decision that you were going to just not challenge  
17 him like a journalist would do. Tell me more about your calculus in asking those  
18 questions?

19 A Yeah. So I don't know if I agree necessarily that a journalist would always  
20 push back. I mean, I consider myself a journalist. I think my approach was that this  
21 was -- having spent a lot of time researching and sort of seeing how the President and his  
22 family answer questions, and having a particular narrative that I wanted to explore with  
23 respect to this project, the idea of trying to challenge the President, for instance, with  
24 respect to his position on the election, was foolhardy, and would waste the time that we  
25 were given to do the interview.

1           So, for instance, as an example, I wanted to explore his relationship with his  
2 children, which is part of the narrative of the series. He very much wanted to keep  
3 talking about a particular subject, mainly the election. So I did not want to sort of keep  
4 going on that particular subject and then not be able to talk about the other points I  
5 wanted to raise, as a practical sort of point.

6           The second is also the premise of long-form documentary is very different to TV  
7 live recordings. And so the -- I felt that they had not fully comprehended the  
8 differences. And so in TV, the interviewer is very much part of the interaction. Most of  
9 the time, or a lot of the time, there's even a camera on the interviewer asking those  
10 questions.

11           With me, it was very -- only at specific times, and I think it was only on one  
12 occasion just to sort of illustrate that I was handing an item to the President. But other  
13 than that, I am not part of the -- of the narrative.

14           And so giving him the opportunity to answer the question in his own words, and  
15 then to contextualize that with, for instance, a journalist or with archival footage or with  
16 text, would do the same job as me being able to -- to challenge him on a particular point.

17           Q     I see. The reason I ask is that a lot of the things that he says in your  
18 interviews, particularly about the election, have been discredited, have been challenged  
19 by his own Attorney General, his own campaign officials, but I didn't hear you point that  
20 out to him.

21           You know, Sir, the Georgia suitcases, you know, was -- your own Justice  
22 Department looked into that and found it didn't -- you didn't ask those kinds of questions,  
23 and I'm just curious as to why, why not?

24           A     So we do -- so we give those answers in the series. So in the finished series,  
25 for instance, the President will say something which is inaccurate or completely untrue,

1 and straight after he says his position the reality of that, of the situation is clearly  
2 explained.

3 So as an example, there's a scene or a sequence in the finished series where the  
4 President and his son are talking about how the election was totally fraudulent, and as an  
5 example suitcases, ballots, and this and that. And after they finish their sort of tirade, a  
6 journalist will then say, there's absolutely no evidence whatsoever to support these  
7 positions.

8 Q I see.

9 A And we go from there.

10 Q I see. But it doesn't sound like you -- you had the journalist in the finished  
11 product, but in the interview you didn't personally say, But, sir, this theory has been  
12 discredited. You made an editorial or a choice not to do that.

13 A Yes, yes. And I think it was very important to actually understand, I  
14 felt -- there were two parts to this. It was very important to actually understand what  
15 he was saying. The gravity and the historic importance of what he was saying was so  
16 vital, I think for the documentary and for history, that challenging him and sort of  
17 becoming part of that narrative would actually detract from the fact that the President of  
18 the United States of America and the White House is saying things that are, you know,  
19 completely untrue and, frankly, dangerous.

20 And just to even contextualize that further, there is a difference between sort of,  
21 you know, my integrity in terms of trying to be sort of nonpartisan and unbiased and  
22 being told that, you know, one plus one doesn't equal two. And I think that for me to  
23 sort of say, Well, he's entitled to his opinion and despite the fact that I may disagree, I'm  
24 not going to have an opinion. I'm happy to say on the record that there is a lot of what  
25 he said that is -- I am happy to sort of make clear is obviously nonsense.



1           And just one bit which I think I mentioned in the past. Prior to my first interview  
2 with the President, I was very convinced that he didn't really believe that the election was  
3 rigged and that he had -- you know, was using this as sort of part of his -- I guess his  
4 personality or the way that he sort of speaks, et cetera, bombastic.

5           And I had this debate with Michael the day prior to that interview about whether  
6 or not President Trump really believed this. And I couldn't really conceptualize actually  
7 that he did, especially the fact that there's a difference between interviewing the  
8 President of the United States in the White House and hearing him on the campaign or at  
9 a rally.

10           After that interview finished, the first thought that I remember having was how  
11 wrong I was and how much he genuinely did believe in the things that he was saying.

12           Q    It seemed to you as if he was not acting but sincerely believed this?

13           A    100 percent.

14           Q    Okay. Were there topics that he or others said they did not want to talk  
15 about during those interviews?

16           A    No.

17           Q    Did anybody ever say, don't ask me about that, or I don't want to talk  
18 about --

19           A    With respect to the President?

20           Q    Well, start with him. Yes.

21           A    With respect to -- no.

22           Q    He never took any topic off the table?

23           A    No.

24           Q    Including January 6th?

25           A    Correct.

1 Q How about other interviewees?

2 A So other interviewees did take subjects off the table.

3 Q Tell us about that.

4 A So with respect to Eric Trump, he says on camera that he didn't want to talk  
5 about January 6th when I asked the question, which is actually in the film.

6 Q And did he say why?

7 A So he didn't say why at the time, but he said why to me earlier before we  
8 were filming.

9 Q What did he say?

10 A Along the lines of -- I'm not going to be verbatim. It was sort of along the  
11 lines of it was a horrible day, or I don't -- along those lines. It was a horrible day.

12 Q Isn't that why he would you would want to ask him about that?

13 A Exactly. I agree, yes.

14 Q He said it's a horrible day, don't ask me about January 6th?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Did anyone else take that subject explicitly off the table when you were  
17 preparing for an interview?

18 A Yes. Ivanka Trump and -- and -- Ivanka Trump, and then Don Jr. we asked  
19 to have a second interview with him and in the -- and when we sort of wanted to -- I like  
20 to sometimes show topics and questions to the subjects prior so they can prepare  
21 themselves especially when you ask them questions about their early life so they give you a  
22 good answer, and when -- and part of that, the topics that we sort of suggested wanted  
23 to discuss with him for a second interview included January 6th. He declined to do the  
24 interview because of the inclusion of January 6th in the questions.

25 Q Did he, like Eric Trump, say why or through a representative or directly?

1 A No.

2 Q How about Ivanka, did she say why she didn't want to talk about it?

3 A No.

4 Q How about the Vice President, did you ask him about it?

5 A No. So the Vice President's people said that we could not ask about  
6 January 6th.

7 Q Again, why?

8 A Again, I mean, it was along the lines of we just don't want to go there. It's  
9 too stressful. You know, it's a week after the event. So that's not -- I do remember  
10 something along the lines of him and the President's relationship was somewhat  
11 fractured and they didn't want to sort of reopen that particular, sort of, can of worms  
12 again, which I didn't really understand at the time. And it was what it was.

13 Q When you say the Vice President's people, who specifically?

14 A I just can't remember his name. I have to check the person's name, but  
15 we're talking like sort of -- it definitely wasn't his chief of staff. It was someone -- people  
16 connected to him. Probably his communications person --

17 Q I see.

18 A -- or his head of press or something along those lines.

19 Q Okay. All right. Thank you.

20 BY MR. [REDACTED]

21 Q And when you say with the Vice President, just to be clear, I think that the  
22 recording of the footage that you provided to us, that interview with him was January  
23 12th, so 6 days after the events at the Capitol?

24 A Yes.

25 Q So let me ask you then about certain topics, if you remember them coming

1 up in any observational or conversations that may have taken place off camera. And  
2 first, I'll just start with individual people, whether their names came up or you remember  
3 conversations with them or even other people talking about conversations with them.

4 So Mark Meadows, who's the President's chief of staff?

5 A I had a conversation with him.

6 Q Tell us about that.

7 A When I say conversation, it was a sort of -- it was hello, and it wasn't much of  
8 a conversation in terms of anything of substance. There was a moment on Air Force  
9 One, and this is something which I need to -- I'm not -- I recall -- so, essentially, there was  
10 meant to be an interview on Air Force One with the President. And I recall him, Mark  
11 Meadows telling us that it wasn't going to happen because the President was on the  
12 phone.

13 And I remember him saying that the President was sort of on the phone with the  
14 President of Russia and, therefore, couldn't do the interview. But that was sort of  
15 my -- the interaction I had.

16 And we were also sort of -- I think we were quite close in the line going up to Air  
17 Force One after the rally had finished, and he was having a conversation with various  
18 people which I didn't -- I wasn't privy to. I was just -- we had some sort of -- an  
19 interaction.

20 Q So it sounds like generally, aside from him telling you that the interview  
21 wasn't going to happen on Air Force One, just non-substantive kind of coming across him?

22 A Correct.

23 Q What about Dan Scavino?

24 A So I met him a few times. He does appear actually in the series for a  
25 moment where you sort of see him checking the shot of the -- at that time the former

1 President. This is in Mar-a-Lago. The only time I can remember meeting him was in  
2 Mar-a-Lago after the President left office, and he was checking what the picture looked  
3 like on the screen and took the President's mobile phone as well.

4 Q Rudy Giuliani?

5 A No. I think I may have seen him coming out of a car outside Trump  
6 International Hotel sort of pre the election.

7 Q And was that captured on film?

8 A No.

9 Q What about the name John Eastman, does that ring a bell?

10 A No. I mean, I know who he is, but I never -- I never met him. I saw him on  
11 January 6th when he was speaking at the Ellipse, but I never met him or had any  
12 conversations with him.

13 Q And then anyone who you understood to be a Member of Congress, whether  
14 that's a Representative from the House of Representatives or a United States Senator?

15 A No, not that I can recall.

16 Q And any State-elected officials?

17 A I mean, I'm sure there were people that I had sort of some sort of interaction  
18 with, in terms of being in the same vicinity or sort of nodding and saying hello, but no one  
19 that comes to mind and no sort of substantive conversation whatsoever.

20 Q Is there anybody -- and this is I guess maybe a tough but broad question,  
21 because you have special visibility into your own project and your footage. The  
22 people -- other than the people who sit for the master interviews, individuals who you  
23 capture in this observational footage or casual conversations who said something that  
24 stands out in your memory as being relevant to understanding what the administration  
25 was doing and how they were approaching the election and the days after it?

1 A Not that was captured on camera.

2 Q But other things that you observed personally that aren't on camera?

3 A Yes.

4 Q So what are you thinking of when we ask that?

5 A I mean, for example, pre the President's interview, there was a conversation  
6 with his -- they call him a body man. And he was giving his sort of position or opinion on  
7 the way the President was behaving during that period of time. Yeah.

8 Q So I'd ask you to elaborate a little bit on that. Tell us when that was. Was  
9 this Nick Luna?

10 A Yes.

11 Q So tell us then about this conversation with Mr. Luna, when, where it  
12 happened, and what he said?

13 A It was outside the diplomatic reception room in the White House residence  
14 prior to the President's arrival. There were two memorable things he said. One was  
15 that he ensures that he keeps Tic Tacs and hair spray in his pocket at all times; and the  
16 second was that he did not agree with the approach the President was taking vis-à-vis the  
17 election and gave a suggestion as to what he should be doing, which was essentially to  
18 build some sort of consortium that would emphasize how the Trump administration had  
19 basically created the COVID vaccine, and that the President should champion that and  
20 should work with the President-elect, and, sort of, do a whirlwind trip around the States  
21 and focus on those achievements rather than on the approach that he was taking at that  
22 time.

23 Q And so this is before the December 7th interview with the President at the  
24 White House?

25 A It was before he -- yes. It was on that day. Was it the 7th?

1 Q My notes say December 7th. Maybe it was a different day, but December  
2 2020.

3 A The interview -- yeah, December 7th, exactly. Yeah.

4 Q And so, it was your understanding then that Mr. Luna was essentially saying  
5 he didn't agree with the President contesting the results of the election, he should accept,  
6 concede, and sort of ride on the achievements of the Trump administration around the  
7 country after he's out of office?

8 A Yes. That was my impression.

9 BY MR. [REDACTED]

10 Q How did that come up as a topic of conversation?

11 A I guess -- I mean, I like to talk to people and I think sort of charming English  
12 guy in the White House and he was there and we were speaking about what he did and  
13 his role, which is how the Tic Tacs and the hair spray came up.

14 And then I think I sort of -- I probably just asked him. I was, like, what's your take  
15 on all of this? And he gave his take.

16 BY MR. [REDACTED]

17 Q Did he say anyone else shared that view, anyone else in the White House,  
18 "his view" being Mr. Luna's?

19 A He -- I do not -- I mean, that's a good question. I don't -- I'm not sure  
20 whether he did, but what I do recall is feeling that others who didn't express it verbatim  
21 but certainly gave the impression that they didn't agree.

22 And I think the reason for that was the sort of unorthodox incredibly odd fact that  
23 I was there, in the sense that it is highly unusual for an independent film production  
24 company to be interviewing the sitting President of the United States and -- you know,  
25 and also a foreign person as well.

1           And it just seemed that there was something sort of odd. And the people that  
2 were involved in organizing this were not as sort of high up as I would have imagined.  
3 So, you know, various well-known people from the administration did turn up at various  
4 points, but really just sort as a sort of fleeting visit and sort of an in-and-out approach.

5           Now, it could be because other things were going on or that they didn't fully  
6 understand what the project was about or -- but it just -- there was something odd about  
7 it. This is very much my feeling. And sort of smaller -- there was a small feeling about  
8 this in the back of my mind, and then afterwards more so.

9           And then subsequently, because of all this media sort of interest in this project,  
10 some of the things that have come out recently was that Trump people saying they didn't  
11 know about it. And so, that sort of, in some respects, makes sense in that you would  
12 have expected that more of the higher-ups would be more involved in what was going on,  
13 which didn't seem to be the case at the time.

14           Mr. Smith. I didn't know if you wanted to know.

15           Mr. [REDACTED] Thank you. Yes. Representative Schiff is joining us now at this  
16 time.

17           BY MR. [REDACTED]

18           Q    So was there anything else, Mr. Holder, that you heard along the lines of  
19 Nick Luna that gave you the sense that others in the White House didn't agree with the  
20 President's public statements about election fraud?

21           A    I mean, not specifically. But, I mean, I saw an email that I got from the  
22 deputy press secretary of the White House, who made a comment about sort of -- I think I  
23 was emailing him asking him for access to a particular event.

24           And he sort of came back quite flippantly with we're losing people, as you know.  
25 I'm not quoting exactly, but sort of people are leaving very quickly and I'm sort of -- I'm



1 scrambling, so sort of leave me alone type.

2 Q I see. Was that Judd Deere?

3 A Yes.

4 Q Okay. And was it your impression that you were dealing with junior people  
5 because a lot of the senior people were not -- were no longer engaged, or were moving  
6 on from the administration?

7 A That was my feeling, yes.

8 Q I see. That's why you were dealing with Nick Luna and Judd Deere rather  
9 than people higher up?

10 A Well, I would only say Deere. I didn't really deal with Nick Luna at all.  
11 Nick Luna was there because the President was on his way. So I think he was there  
12 because that's his job.

13 I think Judd was there because he was given the responsibility to interact with me  
14 and sort of organize the various things I was asking for, which he did sometimes and  
15 other times he did not.

16 But the feeling I got was, there were various conversations I would have with  
17 other people and not with -- that were not so directly connected to the President. So,  
18 for instance, there were various people who worked for Ivanka Trump, who I would have  
19 sort of conversations with outside of the interview. And they gave sort of an impression  
20 of -- I think one of them said that she sort of hopes it all works, but she doesn't think it  
21 will. So there was --

22 Q Do you remember who that was?

23 A That was -- I can't remember her name. I mean, I can find out, but I just  
24 need to --

25 Q Her chief of staff's name is Julie Radford.

1 A No. I know Julie. It wasn't Julie. It was the person after Julie.

2 BY MR. [REDACTED]

3 Q Was it Rachel Craddock?

4 A I believe so, yes. Yes.

5 BY MR. [REDACTED]

6 Q Off camera, were there others?

7 A Off camera.

8 Q That gave you the impression that they did not personally buy into the  
9 election fraud narrative.

10 A Those that come to mind were -- those are the people I mentioned so far,  
11 yes. Yeah. There was definitely a difference of opinion, I mean there's no question.  
12 There was -- after the President's first interview, there was this sort of very odd, awkward  
13 reaction to his behavior, which to me, I took as being standard operating procedure for  
14 when he is speaking, but now thinking about it, it could be because they didn't sort of  
15 think that he would have expressed those views in the most -- in the way that he did.  
16 There was a feeling at Mar-a-Lago after that interview by his assistant Margo -- I think it's  
17 something Margo.

18 Q Molly Michael?

19 A No, no, it was Margo. Does that ring a bell? I have to double-check the  
20 name. I've got it on my phone. Who it was sort of that's how he is type thing. You  
21 know, like not where they would agree with him, but not where they would disagree with  
22 him. It's just that's who he is, and so like it is what it is type thing.

23 But not -- but yeah, I mean, like I said, the people I mentioned are the people I  
24 remember having direct conversations with. That and they gave me their opinion.

25 Mr. [REDACTED]. I see. Okay.

1

BY MR. [REDACTED]

2

Q You mentioned emailing with Mr. Deere. Do you have emails with

3

Mr. Deere and other people within the White House?

4

A Yes.

5

Q And do you have all those collected in a way that you could provide to us?

6

A I mean, yeah. I mean, of course, yes.

7

BY MR. [REDACTED]

8

Q So with the interviews that you had before the election, did anyone express

9

to you their concern or their thought that the President might lose the election?

10

A Yes. I mean, in terms of giving you names, I don't want to say the names

11

incorrect, but I definitely did have conversations with people or heard -- yeah, I was

12

having conversations with people sort of during this process that they did -- that they did

13

not think he was going to win, or they thought it was tighter.

14

There was one particular person who I remember who was a member of the

15

Trump campaign who was assisting Don Jr., whose name I definitely don't remember, but

16

I can find out, who did make it clear he didn't think it was going to work out. He was not

17

confident.

18

Q Did anyone express to you concerns or even just the thought that the

19

President might not concede the election if he were to lose?

20

A From that -- no. I mean, no, no, no.

21

Q Now, you talk about the sit-down master interview that you had with the

22

President December 7th. That's the first sit-down interview that I think you had after

23

Election Day. Is that right?

24

A It was the first interview I had with the President at all.

25

Q Sure. But what -- I guess what I'm getting at is did you attempt to have any

1 interviews, master interviews recorded in November after the election?

2 A Sorry. As in did I intend to have interviews with him after the election?

3 Q Maybe I'll ask it a different way. Were there attempts made to interview  
4 anyone that you wanted to talk to earlier than December 7th, and they pushed you off  
5 because of issues having to do with the election?

1

2 [11:07 a.m.]

3 Mr. Holder. No. I mean, no one -- if people said no, it was they didn't give a  
4 reason why. It was because that they were busy. We certainly tried to get with the  
5 President prior to the election, which was why we went on Air Force One, and then  
6 obviously that didn't happen. So the only reason we were on Air Force One was to do  
7 that interview prior to the election; that didn't happen. The excuse, if I remember, it  
8 was something to do with him being on the phone with the President of Russia. But  
9 then the interview with the President did happen, obviously, after the election.

10 Let me just comment, after the election took place, the interactions with the  
11 family sort of became sort of minimal and then almost nonexistent, i.e., we were able to  
12 converse with the family directly -- really directly. It was more to -- my interactions with  
13 them were indirect with the family most of the time in terms of organizing things.

14 But, after the election took place -- and I was reaching out and other people were  
15 reaching out to get their cooperation after the election had happened, and we got no  
16 response whatsoever. So it was actually quite surprising when the White House reached  
17 out to do the interview with the President. I mean, it was astonishing, really, because  
18 he wasn't doing interviews with anyone at that time. He had barricaded himself in the  
19 White House. And I remember being quite disappointed about it, from the point of the  
20 view of the film and the series, in that it was quite imperative to include him in this  
21 project. So I remember clearly when that phone call happened and the organization of  
22 that and how surprised I was that we were doing it.

23 BY MR [REDACTED]

24 Q Who reached out from the White House?

25 A I recall where it was when that phone call happened and how that

1 happened. Who it was, I can't remember exactly, but I can look back at my notes and  
2 see if I can find something to [inaudible] me with on that point.

3 Q Okay. So just a couple other names to mention, like I was mentioning  
4 before. Roger Stone, did his name come up in any conversations or anything that you  
5 witnessed?

6 A No.

7 Q Or Mike Flynn?

8 A No.

9 Q All right. Is there any other names?

10 Mr. [REDACTED] How about Mark Meadows, did you have any interaction with the  
11 chief of staff?

12 Mr. Holder. Yeah, we mentioned that before.

13 Mr. [REDACTED]. Oh, I'm sorry. I was not paying attention.

14 BY MR [REDACTED]

15 Q Okay. So why don't we -- you've already kind of forecast some of the  
16 questions that I had about the December 7th interview with the President. So I don't  
17 need to rehash that. But I know you mentioned having sat and done a master interview  
18 with Ivanka Trump. I think that, according to the materials you gave us, that was on  
19 December 10th of 2020 at the White House. Does that sound right?

20 A Yes. I think it was -- just for clarity, when I say the White House, I am  
21 including the White House complex. So what I believe is the White House, i.e., it is  
22 the whole executive office building.

23 Q Right. Okay.

24 A Whereas with the President, it was in the residence. As in like why, I mean,  
25 they told me it was called the residence, the diplomatic reception room. So I was like in

1 the actual building of the White House --

2 Q Sure.

3 A But the interviews with Ivanka Trump took place in the executive building.  
4 That's in the White House complex.

5 Q Understood. Okay. That is helpful context. Let me see if I can share my  
6 screen here so that we can all be looking at this together.

7 And this is a clip from the interview with Ms. Trump. I say just want to play for  
8 you here the second half of it. And hopefully the sound will work. Well, the audio is  
9 not working. Can we go off the record for a second?

10 [Recess.]

11 BY MR. [REDACTED]

12 Q We will go on the record.

13 What I'm going to do in order to avoid the audio feedback is mute the microphone  
14 within our conference room so that you can listen to the audio of the clip. And, after  
15 the clip is done, I'll turn the microphone back on to avoid the feedback issue. So I am  
16 going to show you a clip of the interview with Ms. Trump on December 10th of 2020 in  
17 the White House complex.

18 [Video shown.]

19 BY MR. [REDACTED]

20 Q So, in that clip, Ms. Trump says: I think that, as the President has said,  
21 every single vote needs to be counted. It needs to be heard. And he campaigned for  
22 the voiceless. And I think a lot of Americans feel very, very disenfranchised right now  
23 and really question the sanctity of our elections. And that's not right. It is not  
24 acceptable. And he has to take on this fight. Look, you fight for what you love the  
25 most, and he loves his country, and he loves this country's people, and he wants to make

1 sure that their voice is heard and not muted and will continue to fight until every legal  
2 remedy is exhausted. And that's what he should do.

3 So that's the quote from that clip from the interview.

4 Can you tell me what your reaction was to that in the time hearing her talk about  
5 it in terms that were very -- in her own words, the way that she put it?

6 A Yeah, I mean it was the answer to the question about whether or not she  
7 shares her father's position on the election, I think it was -- it was what you sort of  
8 unexpected, that his children, at least the ones I met, admired their father very much and  
9 sort of toe the line with respect to his position. And so she was clear in her view, and  
10 we moved on. I mean, it wasn't surprising. Maybe the only thing I would say that was  
11 surprising at the time is that it wasn't as belligerent as her father's. But my interactions  
12 with her were very, were very nice. And she doesn't give across -- she has obviously a  
13 very different personality to her father, and so I wasn't sort of surprised on that front.  
14 At the time, it was definitely expected.

15 Q When your attorney reached out to the select committee last week,  
16 essentially conveyed that some of the documentary footage that you had might reveal  
17 potential perjury or factual discrepancies from witnesses that the select committee had  
18 interviewed; it was in reference to the clip that we just watched. Is that right?

19 A Yes.

20 Q Were there any other clips that you had in your possession that you thought  
21 might reveal people who had given inconsistent statements to the select committee?

22 A Not that I know.

23 Q Okay.

24 BY MR. [REDACTED]

25 Q During any of your small talk with Ivanka off camera, did she tell you that she



1 had already made plans to move to Florida, was looking at schools and residences down  
2 there by the time of your interview?

3 A No, but she definitely gave across the impression in the interview that she  
4 was looking to leaving, as in, it was, it was odd. I don't know whether or not one could  
5 imply that she felt that her father's interventions would be successful. So, I -- and, if  
6 anything, perhaps her comments to me felt that it wouldn't be, but that wasn't what she  
7 said -- you know, in terms of trying to, so I guess, stay put, she made that point quite  
8 clear.

9 Q I see. Okay. Thanks.

10 BY MR. [REDACTED]

11 Q And did she ever say anything off camera that was inconsistent with what  
12 she had said to you on camera?

13 A Not that I recall then.

14 Q You also interviewed the Vice President. And I think I can actually just  
15 share this one because there is not a lot of audio associated with it. So I can -- if you  
16 bear with me, I'll try to do the screen sharing thing again. But this is from the beginning  
17 of your sit-down interview with the Vice President on January 12th. And maybe, as this  
18 is playing, you can sort of narrate for us what it is that is going on and you're seeing  
19 happen.

20 [Video shown.]

21 Mr. Holder. The President is receiving a message on his phone which both  
22 myself and the director of photography saw that came from the Speaker's sort of email  
23 address or House logo on it or whatever. It looked like -- we were very confident that it  
24 was an email from her or from her office saying that he -- it was a draft that had basically I  
25 believe, basically set out that if he did not invoke the 25th Amendment, then Articles of

1 Impeachment would be -- most probably would be sort of put down in the House.

2 Q So maybe we just could drill down a little bit more on that. The video  
3 shows the Vice President sitting in a chair, and someone from off camera hands him a  
4 phone to look at, and he is zooming in on something. Your understanding was that he  
5 was looking at some kind of communication from the Office of the Speaker of the House?

6 A Yes.

7 Q And that was based on you and your director of photography actually seeing  
8 what was on the screen?

9 A Yes.

10 Q Did anyone communicate to you otherwise that that's what was on the  
11 phone that he was looking at?

12 A No.

13 Q So then was it later on that you sort of, through context, put together that  
14 that's what the communication was about, or was there something else that happened  
15 off camera that gave you more insight into what it was the Vice President was looking  
16 for?

17 A I think off camera I recall somebody saying like the Members received it X  
18 time. And then, after, yes, as you said, we put two and two together based on timings  
19 and what we saw and sort of came to a conclusion that we believed to be accurate.

20 Q What time of day was that January 12th interview conducted?

21 A Evening.

22 Q And so, when he says that the Members received it at 7-something, was it  
23 your understanding that was in the evening?

24 A Yes.

25 BY MR. [REDACTED]

1 Q And the Vice President's reaction when he sees it is excellent. Is that right?

2 A Yes.

3 Q That's the word he uses?

4 A I think that's the word he said.

5 Q He says out loud when shown the text from -- or the email from the Speaker:  
6 Excellent.

7 A I believe -- yeah, I didn't hear that just now, but I believe that is what he said  
8 at the time, yes.

9 Q It is -- I can tell you that it is --

10 A Yes.

11 Q -- consistent with your recollection?

12 A Yes.

13 Q And did he elaborate? Did he say anything more about that --

14 A No.

15 Q -- to his staff or to you?

16 A He said to his staffer something along the lines of: Tell Zack to print me out  
17 a copy so I can read it on my way home.

18 Q I see. That's also oddly captured in your interview?

19 A Yes, yes.

20 Q But no discussions subsequently that you heard?

21 A No.

22 Q Okay. Thanks.

23 BY MR. [REDACTED]

24 Q And did anybody -- tell us a little bit more about the conversations you had  
25 with members of the Vice President's staff about the limitations on January 6th?

1           A    It appeared that -- I do remember that one particular person that was very  
2           anxious about the interview in general and sort of raised concerns before it was  
3           organized and even when we were setting up and during, et cetera, but eventually it took  
4           place.  It was delayed a lot because the President was in his office in the West Wing  
5           doing photos with people because they were leaving in a few days.  So it sort of kept  
6           being pushed off.  But he eventually came in, and he was very pleasant and sat down  
7           and did the interview.

8           Q    Did you talk with any Members of the Vice President's staff about what their  
9           experience was like on January 6th?

10          A    No, not by January 6th, but -- no not by January 6th.

11          Q    Did you have conversations with them about other things that they had been  
12          going through since the election?

13          A    Yes.

14          Q    Tell us about that.

15          A    Just specifically about the relationship between the Vice President and the  
16          President, and that there was a recent meeting where it seemed that they had reconciled.

17          Q    Do you remember who specifically -- maybe we asked this earlier, this was a  
18          person who worked in the Vice President's communications staff you thought whose  
19          name you don't recall.  Is it same person for all these conversations?

20          A    Yeah, it was a few people.  But I would need to sort of think about exactly  
21          who, but he was definitely involved in that conversation.

22          Q    And this sort of guidance not to ask about January 6th, that was in a  
23          face-to-face conversation or over the phone?

24          A    It was a face-to-face, yes.

25                   BY MR. [REDACTED]

1 Q Had the interview already been scheduled before January 6th?

2 A No, and we weren't even asking for it. I mean, I'll give a bit more context.  
3 We weren't asking for it because it wasn't part of the narrative. So they reached out to  
4 us, which was weird. And then this is what I recall, so as far as I recall. In terms of  
5 whether or not other people reached out to them that were connected to me without my  
6 knowledge is something else I don't know. But I know that it was -- to me it seemed  
7 quite coincidental and random and very odd that they reached out. And then they  
8 made that prerequisite about not asking any questions about January 6th. And to be  
9 honest, at the time, I was thinking like, well, what else is there to ask about with respect  
10 to the film and what we had captured? And so I was to-ing and fro-ing. I sort of took  
11 some advice from friends and colleagues in the U.K. about whether or not I should just  
12 say that there was no point in doing this interview.

13 And then I realized, at the end of the day, the 12th of January, 6 days after this  
14 event, that there sort of was historic importance period just to have him sit down in a  
15 chair and say his name, let alone give any further sort of content or detail of the project.  
16 So I decided to go ahead and to do it and I did.

17 Q It was the Vice President's Office who reached out to you?

18 A Yes.

19 BY MR. [REDACTED]

20 Q Ms. Lofgren has joined us. So I just want to confirm this again, when we  
21 get down to after the election, the interview with President Trump at Mar-a-Lago in  
22 March of 2021, there are no limitations on the kinds of questions that you could ask?

23 A No.

24 Q And you do ask him about January 6th. And I can say -- I have written down  
25 what his response was. You asked him: Can we talk for a minute about January 6th?

1           And his response was: Yeah.

2           And you asked him: What's your take on what happened there?

3           And the President's response was: Well, it was a sad day, but it was a day where  
4 there was great anger in our country because I believe -- I happen to believe that people  
5 went to Washington primarily because they were angry with an election that they think  
6 was rigged. And I think it was a disgraceful election. And I think that's why they were  
7 there. Despite that, it was a tremendous crowd. I've never spoken before a crowd so  
8 big. It went back to the Washington Monument. It was a tremendous crowd. A very  
9 small portion, as you know, went down to the Capitol, and then a very small portion of  
10 them went in. But I will tell you, they were angry from the standpoint of what  
11 happened in the election because they're smart, and they see and they show what  
12 happened. And I believe that that was a big part of what happened on January 6th.

13           I mean, I am not asking you to verify exactly, but that sounds about right, to your  
14 recollection?

15           A    Yes.

16           Q    So I just want to confirm that this is the only time that you asked President  
17 Trump about January 6th?

18           A    Yes.

19           Q    Were there any other times that you had a conversation with him or people  
20 on his staff after the election about what happened on January 6th?

21           A    Not that I can recall.

22           Mr. [REDACTED] On or off camera, even just informally?

23           Mr. Holder. Yeah, yeah, no, not that I can recall.

24           Mr. [REDACTED] Okay.

25           Mr. [REDACTED] Ms. Lofgren, I see you turned your camera on. Do you have a

1 question?

2 Ms. Lofgren. Just by mistake, sorry.

3 Mr. [REDACTED] No, that's perfectly fine. Thank you.

4 BY MR. [REDACTED]

5 Q And then, again -- you had mentioned this before; we don't have to watch  
6 the clip. It's at the very end, I think, of the interview with Eric Trump in March of 2021  
7 at Trump Tower where, at the end of the interview, you said, "You didn't want to talk  
8 about the Capitol," and he said, "Yeah, let's skip the 6th." I just want to confirm that's  
9 the only time you asked anybody else from the Trump family about January 6th?

10 A I know I had mentioned before that I had spoken to him prior to the  
11 interview about it.

12 Q Right. Understood.

13 A Yeah. But no one else, yeah.

14 Q And that -- so was it a condition of the subsequent interviews with Jared and  
15 Ivanka in June that there would be no questions about January 6th?

16 A I mean, there wasn't a condition per se, but it was certainly implied in the  
17 sense that, if I said to them, no, I am going to ignore the request, it would be unlikely that  
18 they would have granted me the interview. And this is sort of the approach that I took  
19 all the way through in terms of, you know, again with long-form documentary, especially  
20 with the fact that we were getting the kind of access we were getting at a time and during  
21 a period of time where it was very unusual for them to be giving this interview at all, it  
22 was important to ensure to keep that access going as much as possible. And, also, the  
23 reaction that the former President at Mar-a-Lago had to January 6th to me was of such  
24 note that it was almost me responding to it and potentially even having him change his  
25 position I felt was -- would be problematic in that he answered my question in that

1 instance. And he is a former President of the United States. And I am not there to  
2 ensure whether or not he really meant the word "smart." So, you know, or whether or  
3 not he really thinks that the people there were there because they thought the election  
4 was stolen, I mean, it is quite clear where they got that thinking from, and so the idea of  
5 pressing him on those points to see whether or not he would dilute that position seemed  
6 like I would be doing him a favor, frankly, and that's not my job. He answered my  
7 question, and he gave his answer, and it was what it was.

8 Q And so but regarding the interviews with Jared and Ivanka in June of 2021,  
9 you mentioned earlier for Don Jr., you had essentially provided list of topics that you  
10 wanted to be able to ask about, and the response back from him or his representatives  
11 was: We're not going to do the interview because of January 6th.



1

2           Mr. Holder. No, no. It was that we don't want to answer any questions about  
3 January 6th, which therefore meant that we would not -- if I pushed back on that point,  
4 then they would then most probably would have said: Well, we are not going to do the  
5 interview at all.

6           And for me it was important to do the interview with them outside of the context  
7 of January 6th for the purpose of the project and that we would make clear in the project  
8 that they declined or refused to answer the questions about January 6th, which is what  
9 we do.

10

BY MR. [REDACTED]

11

Q     And so -- but, to clarify for the record, what you just described was the  
12 interaction regarding Jared and Ivanka, right?

13

A     Yes. The only -- we always provided -- and I said it is a -- it is an advantage  
14 to provide questions prior for the people to come up with sort of better answers than  
15 they would in a media situation about things that happened in the past. And so I would  
16 provide sort of questions about upbringing and school and, in the instance of President  
17 Trump's kids, about their parents' divorce, et cetera, which is all part of the narrative of  
18 the whole series.

19

So, with the only person that we never have to -- not have to, but the only person  
20 I would never provide that to -- because some of them asked for the topics of  
21 [inaudible] -- was the President. So there was never a request, and there was never any  
22 point in doing so because it was off the pure record.

23

Q     Just to clarify, I think something you said earlier, you went through this  
24 process with Donald Trump, Jr., where you provided a list of topics, and they just declined  
25 to sit for a subsequent interview?

1           A    No, it was text message, and the -- it was something along the lines of, you  
2 know, like, "January 6th was a bad day, and we don't want to" -- and that was it. So it  
3 was like -- there was no phone correspondence thereafter.

4           Q    Were there any other topics, as you went through this process to sort of  
5 prepare them for the kinds of conversations that you wanted to have, any other topics  
6 other than January 6th that they said, "We'll sit for the interview, but we are not going to  
7 talk about this"?

8           A    No, there was just a conversation with Ivanka prior to her interview where I  
9 was just running through some of the things that I wanted her to think about  
10 before -- while the cameras are being set up, and she made clear, quite vehemently, that  
11 she did not want to discuss one of those topics. It had nothing to do with January 6th.

12          Q    What topic was that?

13          A    To do with her parents' divorce.

14          Do you have any other followup on those?

15                BY MR. [REDACTED]

16          Q    I mean, you told us before, Mr. Holder, that part of the focus of your project  
17 was succession or sort of relationships between rivalry among the children. Just talk a  
18 little bit more about your overall conclusions about that upon completion of the project.

19          A    My only hesitancy is that, when this might potentially go public, which  
20 potentially would ruin sort of an audience's experience of the --

21          Q    The release of the Discovery+ is in August?

22          A    Series.

23          Q    Series --

24          A    Yes.

25          Q    -- is in August. Is that right?

1           A    It is -- I don't know. I mean, at the moment, as far as I understand, it is  
2 August, but it could be moved at any point.

3           Q    This will not -- just for your personal information, there is no intention to  
4 release this publicly until the completion of the select committee's work, and even then,  
5 it is unclear.

6           A    Okay. My conclusion is that the -- [inaudible] my conclusion is not the  
7 center of the film -- well, I guess the film does come to a conclusion -- is that only  
8 successor to Donald Trump is himself. And that he does not have -- that there  
9 isn't -- that there are those of the three that might be close to embodying him and his  
10 personality and might be a successor electorally at some point in the future. But, in  
11 terms of him wanting to sort of anoint someone or have the capacity to do so, I do not  
12 believe that he does and that he wants to continue ad infinitum.

13          Q    I see. Thank you. That's helpful.

14                   BY MR. [REDACTED]

15          Q    Have you had any contact with the interviewees or their representatives  
16 about the series post-June 2021?

17          A    Yes.

18          Q    Tell us about that.

19          A    Conversations with Ivanka Trump's chief of staff about her being able to see  
20 the footage of her interview, which I said was not something that I was going to do. And  
21 I think it was sort of two conversations on that. One was just: How is it going?

22                   And there wasn't very much of a request; it was more of update.

23                   And then the second was a direct request to see her interview footage, which I  
24 said was not possible.

25          Q    When was that request made?

1           A    I remember I was actually in London when that happened.  So it was  
2 probably in the winter of last year.  I think it was the winter of last year.  Or maybe it  
3 was the beginning of this year.  I would need to check, but it was this year.

4           Q    Other than Ivanka's chief of staff, anybody else on behalf of the interviewees  
5 reach out?

6           A    No.

7           Q    And what about in the last week or so since your participation in the  
8 investigation has become public?

9           A    Not -- no one from their family had reached out to me.

10          Q    I want to ask you now about the January 6th footage --

11          A    Yes.

12          Q    -- that your director of photography took, which was really interesting to us.  
13 Can you tell us how you came to be in D.C. for that event on January 6th?

14          A    Yeah.  So we knew, obviously, about this particular rally.  We had been  
15 following rallies that the President was giving prior to the 6th, and we asked for access.  
16 We got given the access.  And the night before I felt that it was a very good chance that  
17 the President was going to sort of tell those that were there to march on the Capitol then.  
18 And I sort of remember saying that in the elevator to Michael along the lines of:  You  
19 know, the President is going to get them all to march on the Capitol.

20                And it was sort of a half joke.  It wasn't -- it wasn't sort of entirely -- because the  
21 idea about it is horrifying, but I did think that could be the case.  And so we actually  
22 made preparations for that eventuality.  So, on that day, the plan was that, if things  
23 started to go in that direction, Michael wanted to -- and I said I want Michael to get to  
24 film these events.  But, obviously, he had -- his kit was set up for the rally.  And just  
25 context, in the past with the President, we always had access to what was called the

1 buffer, which is right up close to the stage, and very rarely were we ever in the press pen.  
2 It was over sort of milling around the audience, and then very close to the buffer, and, in  
3 some cases, sort of very, very, very close, even closer than what is normally possible.

4 But, on this particular occasion, that didn't exist of having -- there was no buffer  
5 because of the fact it was sort of too many people or security reasons whatever. So we  
6 were in the press pen. And the -- and so Michael had a quite a lot of equipment with  
7 him. And so the idea was that I would take that equipment away from him if things  
8 started moving to the Capitol, put them in the car, and then move the car as close as I  
9 could to the -- to where people were promulgating so that, if it sort of got dangerous, I  
10 would be able to extricate him from the situation and put him in the car.

11 I mean, the plan didn't work so well in the sense that I managed to get the  
12 equipment from the rally to the car and move the car as close as I could, but at that point,  
13 my ability to communicate with Michael was interrupted, and it was just sort of not  
14 possible to sort of get through to him. I do remember sending him a message saying:  
15 At any point you feel uncomfortable or dangerous, you absolutely have to stop and come  
16 back.

17 But Michael was -- I mean, you can see in the footage; I mean, he went through an  
18 experience that he himself sort of, you know, is traumatized by and captured some of the  
19 most extraordinary footage that I think exists of that particular day, which I think shows  
20 the -- clearly the tragedy of what happened and how it happened, very clear to a  
21 beginning, middle, and end. And it was the -- it was the full stop to what we had, you  
22 know, to the filming. It was the obvious conclusion to the series that we had made over  
23 the last, you know, sort of 6 months or so. Yeah.

24 Q Tell us more, then, about what led you to your hunch or prediction or  
25 whatever you want to call it the night before about the President was going to tell people

1 to march to the Capitol. What led you to think that?

2 A I mean, British elections are very different from American elections. And  
3 this was certainly my first experience in the midst of an American election. I know that  
4 there is definitely sort of a volume of comment, let's say, that is -- that candidates and  
5 sitting Presidents have used in terms of their eagerness to retain power or to become the  
6 new President, which is different to the United Kingdom. And, obviously, the amount of  
7 money that is spent and the number of people and sort of the feelings towards the  
8 candidates as well is very different in terms of my experience in politics.

9 However, the sort of rhetoric and belligerence that took place sort of during the  
10 campaign that I witnessed was sort of -- it was just very concerning to -- it just felt sort of  
11 quite like a -- like this was a war, and it was a battle, and anything goes, and this is  
12 something that we have to win at all costs was sort of the feeling I got.

13 But, you know, at the end of the day, you sort of think: Okay. This sort of  
14 rhetoric. Do they sort of really believe it? At the end of the day, if they lose, they'll  
15 sort of -- they may not shake hands, but they'll sort of accept that they lost and then sort  
16 of walk away.

17 So that sort of is there in the ether. And then sort of coupled with what then  
18 took place after the election and the sort of intense belligerence. I mean, for instance, I  
19 remember one of the rallies of Donald Trump, Jr., where he gets up on stage, and he says,  
20 "Let's kick some ass," right, which I think is just an unusual sort of way of speaking in this  
21 particular -- in this particular situation, especially after the election had already been  
22 decided.

23 And then the President's position as well at these rallies with respect to the Vice  
24 President and with respect to how the country was being stolen, et cetera. So all of it,  
25 when you take all of it together -- and then my interactions with the President where I

1 sort of came to the conclusion that he genuinely believed in what he was saying -- it  
2 just -- it made sense that when he is saying sort of things like, you know, well, "let's walk  
3 down Pennsylvania Avenue" or when he is saying things like, you know, "we need to fight  
4 to get our country back, we need to fight like hell," if I remember correctly, it was sort of  
5 like, obviously, this is going to happen, especially when you be telling everybody for the  
6 last, at least 75 million people for the last few weeks that the election was stolen, that  
7 they're going to try and get their election back and that their vote be counted.

8 So it wasn't so surprising it happened, and that's why I sort of thought the night  
9 before this was sort of a potential chance of it occurring. I mean, frankly, obviously,  
10 totally tragic what happened and sort of -- I thought it would be even worse, to be  
11 honest, and that the fact it wasn't is pretty remarkable. When I say worse, I mean in  
12 terms of the number of people that were injured and that had died, which maybe even  
13 one person would be terrible, but I'm saying I did -- expect this to be even more  
14 significant, for sure.

15 Q I just want to drill down a little bit to -- that's very helpful context and insight  
16 that you provided in terms of observing what was going on, the build-up, and comparing  
17 it to your experience with British elections. But were there any specific conversations or  
18 things that you maybe saw on social media or any particular indications that led you to  
19 think that the night before there would be, specifically, a march to the Capitol?

20 A No.

21 BY MR. [REDACTED]

22 Q Did you have any idea in advance, Mr. Holder, what the President planned to  
23 say, other than a general speech about the election?

24 A No -- I mean, I just thought he was sort of -- everything that he had been  
25 saying up until then would be amplified even higher.

1 Q Yeah.

2 A And he had sort of -- he had mentioned a couple of times in rallies about sort  
3 of providing evidence to his -- to support his position. And I remember he like always  
4 like waiting for that evidence whilst it was happening, and nothing was to be forthcoming,  
5 you know, sort of after he said that. So there was still this expectation, at least I had,  
6 that maybe something he might sort of take the rabbit out of the hat or something, but  
7 that didn't obviously happen.

8 Q Were you aware at the time of the joint session and the purpose of what  
9 was happening in Congress?

10 A Yeah, absolutely.

11 Q Okay. And had you heard any discussion of the President himself  
12 potentially marching or going to the Capitol?

13 A He suggested it at the speech --

14 Q He did?

15 A -- but not prior.

16 Q I see. So not prior. Okay.

17 A Yeah.

18 BY MR. [REDACTED]

19 Q On that day, did you meet with anyone from the White House or the Trump  
20 sort of universe of people?

21 A No, my interactions like that would have been campaign people who give  
22 sort of credentials and, you know, provide the WiFi password, which if I remember  
23 correctly did not actually exist on that day. There was no WiFi.

24 Q So are you and Michael and your sound person all there together  
25 during the rally at the same location as the President speaking?



1           A     During the rally, yes. I mean, give or take, I -- Michael might be with the  
2 sound guy filming sort of around. I might be sort of on my laptop or something in the  
3 press pen. But it would have been in the same vicinity, yes.

4           Q     So then, at some point, did you leave before or after the President had  
5 spoken to go and take things to the car?

6           A     I left before. And because I realized Michael was just filming the other  
7 story of the speech, and I realized that there was clearly going to be sort of a movement  
8 from the Capitol because various things had happened whilst he was speaking. I heard  
9 from people in the audience that made me realize that at least some people were going  
10 to move in that direction.

11          Q     Tell us more about what you were hearing.

12          A     There were people in the audience that were saying things like: There is  
13 enough people here to storm the Capitol.

14                I mean literally those words. And that's actually picked up on recordings where  
15 you hear it. You don't see the person that is saying it, but you hear the audio of people  
16 in the audience. And I remember -- because I would be quite annoyed by fact that there  
17 was sort of this narrative that there is certainly people that had prepared for this  
18 beforehand, but like to sort of dilute some of the responsibility here was quite irritating in  
19 the sense that people were -- the people that went there went there because of the noise  
20 and the rhetoric that they had from the various speeches that took place on that day.

21                   BY MR. ██████:

22          Q     You mentioned to us before, Mr. Holder, that you were in the press pen and  
23 for the first time felt strong antipathy from the crowd toward the press. Can you  
24 describe that a little?

25          A     Yes, the President, one of his things, a long time in his speeches is talk about

1 the fake news media. And I never had the experience of being in the press pen when he  
2 does because that -- what happens is the audience all turn around and look at them.  
3 The media are 25 or 30 people in a small box in the middle of the entire sort of -- you  
4 know, it was a rally like at an airport hangar. And then I can imagine it was quite scary.  
5 But I had never had that experience before until that particular day where there was this  
6 sort of -- I mean, it was a very -- it was a horrible day. I mean, it was a horrible day  
7 before the event even took place. There was -- it was very heightened emotions.  
8 People were sad, were angry. People were making these gestures. For instance, in the  
9 series, there is a gesture of a particular individual making sort of beheading sort of signs  
10 towards -- I think, in this particular case, it was actually toward the President-elect at the  
11 time. But a lot of the sort of comments and things that people were saying on that day  
12 and then, obviously, when everyone is sort of staring at you and screaming profanities,  
13 it's not exactly the most -- well, it was a terrifying experience vaguely.

14 BY MR. [REDACTED]

15 Q So you had observed that on other occasions, but for the first time on  
16 January 6th, you were inside the press pen and actually felt that attention drawn to you  
17 personally?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Okay.

20 BY MR. [REDACTED]

21 Q There's been some descriptions of that day that the crowd was happy and in  
22 a jubilant mood. Did you see that at all?

23 A It was more sort of -- it was an unusual happiness. It was a very  
24 heightened -- I felt a very heightened emotion, a very like sort of -- there was an  
25 expectation that maybe something could happen, which was sort of -- it was like a

1 surreal -- it's like we know the chances of this happening is probably very unlikely, but  
2 maybe it could happen so we are going to really put our efforts and just, you know, sort  
3 of pray for this particular eventuality to take place, which took place. I mean, people  
4 were praying. The people were praying for the President to succeed in what he was  
5 trying to do, which I believe at the time was to have the Vice President to use sort of a  
6 technique to stop the process taking place in the House of Representatives. And I think  
7 people were praying for that to happen. Well, people were. I mean, that's captured.

8

BY MR. [REDACTED]

9 Q So you get separated from Michael. He follows the crowd, down to the  
10 Capitol. We have reviewed that footage. Where did you end up after you left?

11 A Well, I got as close as I could, which was sort of, you know, around the  
12 corner or so from the building. And then there were lots of people around where I was,  
13 you know, in my car, that sort of surrounded the area. And I remember lots of  
14 screaming between residents in D.C. who were in their apartment buildings, sort of  
15 yelling, sort of, "Get out of my city," which I thought was quite fascinating actually in  
16 terms of like the interactions between people, because a lot of people have come from  
17 outside of D.C., to look at the events, an occasion to sort of share the sort sensibilities, I  
18 guess, of the people that were living in D.C. So there was lots of like animosity and  
19 screaming and lots of people around where I was. And I was [inaudible] get  
20 Michael -- so, in terms of -- from the point that I left Michael, my interactions with him  
21 were very minimal, and we had a very small amount of conversations. I sort of only  
22 found out what happened in substance after I collected him on that, after he had left the  
23 area, once the police had sort of taken control of the area.

24 Q And so did you end up in the area of the Capitol afterwards looking for  
25 Michael?

1           A    No, no, I mean I did try to look for him after sort of the event had sort of  
2 ended, let's say, in terms of once I was able to communicate with him and try to collect  
3 him and pick him up. But, you know, the communicating with him was impossible  
4 because he -- I mean, I think -- personally, I think sort of the phones went down at various  
5 points because I think a lot of people may have been using it. So the phone network I  
6 think was saturated. So it was difficult to get with anybody.

7           Q    Anything else that stands out to you from that day from January 6th that you  
8 haven't talked about so far?

9           A    I mean, only with respect to the footage, which obviously includes this lady,  
10 which was, yeah, obviously, you know, horrifying. And I believe -- I mean, I, you know,  
11 obviously did a lot of research for this film, I guess not as much as you have done for your  
12 investigation, but I haven't seen any footage of that particular lady, you know, sort of  
13 dying and then dead on the ground. And so, yeah, I mean that to me is particularly and  
14 obviously incredibly important and sometimes iconic of the entire day.

15           But also the wounded people from them trying to attack police officers and their  
16 injuries that they sustained from that and how happy they were by sustaining that. And  
17 also sort of, prior to the real violence, the interactions that people had outside and inside  
18 the buildings. So you had some people with megaphones sort of yelling to the rest of  
19 the people: We have -- there are people barricaded inside the building. If you see a  
20 police officer, you have to tell them to do their constitutional duty and let you in -- which  
21 obviously was not the case. So there was sort of an interaction between people outside  
22 and people inside and also a real feeling of we have to do this because it's our country  
23 and it is being stolen from us.

24           And then lots of sort of conspiratorial, you know, comments from people that  
25 were actually in the crowd that were, yeah, trying to attack police officers and trying to

1 get into the building as well. So all of that. It was incredibly -- when you sort of look at  
2 this footage, it was incredibly upsetting, but also it sort of shows how passionate these  
3 people were in their belief that what they were doing was the right thing. And, you  
4 know, they explained why they did the right thing as well, which was so astonishing.

5 Q From your experience having filmed the President's campaign rallies and  
6 then having reviewed the detailed footage that your director of photography shot on  
7 January 6th, were there any moments that the January 6th footage you saw, you know,  
8 people who looked like maybe they were subversive actors, not Trump supporters, there  
9 to make trouble, that kind of thing?

10 A No.

11 Q So I mean, as best you can tell, you were looking at people who were  
12 supporters of the President who were attacking the Capitol?

13 A Yes.

14 BY MR. [REDACTED]

15 Q And it sounds to me, Mr. Holder, that your overall view over the course of  
16 the project was that January 6th was the logical culmination of the rhetoric that you  
17 observed in the post-election period. Is that accurate?

18 A As well as during the campaign itself, it was all -- yeah, the narrative of this  
19 project is only one part of that. The project is exactly what you said. The rhetoric from  
20 throughout the campaign and in the immediately aftermath leading to this event. This  
21 event did not happen, in my humble opinion, in isolation to the things that happened  
22 prior. They -- it needed all those things to take place, and it needed the campaign to  
23 take place as well because, during the campaign, the President had said on multiple  
24 occasions that I witnessed that about potential sort of trying to foresee potential election  
25 irregularities that could take place. So it was sort of an amalgamation of all these things.

1 And then, when you add into it also the interactions that I had with him personally at the  
2 White House when I interviewed, there was just sort of a deep sense of anger and  
3 resentment that he had towards specific people and the institutions that, you know, the  
4 Supreme Court or other judges, or Georgia election officials, et cetera, where -- yes, all of  
5 that in totality resulted in this particular event, and that's categorically clear, in my  
6 opinion, and in others.

7 Q So January 6th was not spontaneous but rather predictable based on  
8 everything that you observed?

9 A That's my belief, yes.

10 BY MR. [REDACTED]

11 Q One last substantive question, do you have any observational footage, as  
12 you've described it, that was shot in the White House complex?

13 A No -- what do you mean by observational footage?

14 Q Well, so when we started our conversation, we sort of distinguished  
15 between master interviews, observational footage, and B roll footage, sort of the three  
16 types. And I guess I'm asking is there anything that's not a master interview shot that  
17 you had footage of within the White House complex?

18 A No.

19 Q What about at Mar-a-Lago or Bedminster?

20 A I think we filmed maybe like three or four seconds worth of footage of sort  
21 of the landscape sort of, of the building, also the golf buggy, or something like that.

22 Q So establishing --

23 A Yeah. I'd be happy to send you that --

24 Q -- have you been contacted or anyone, to your knowledge, from your crew  
25 been contacted by law enforcement with respect to January 6th?

1 A No.

2 Q And so there hasn't been any requests from Federal officials other than us to  
3 turn over the footage that you have shot?

4 A That's right.

5 Q And I think you answered this, but just to clarify, any members of the White  
6 House staff reaching out to you regarding the documentary up until this day?

7 A Not to me, no.

8 Q Other than I think you mentioned Ivanka's chief of staff inquiring about  
9 reviewing the footage?

10 A Again, with respect to -- I'm sorry, I think you mentioned -- sorry -- as in, yes,  
11 Ivanka's chief of staff did reach out on two occasions, yes. And sorry -- and also there  
12 was -- I think we need to sort of go back to the previous question. I also did have a  
13 conversation with Hope Hicks in relation to Ivanka Trump as well, which took place  
14 actually earlier, from quite a while ago. But it was for the same reason about sort of  
15 seeing footage of some nature.

16 BY MR. [REDACTED]

17 Q And Ms. Hicks as a sort of a representative of Ivanka?

18 A Of Ivanka.

19 Q I see. Looking to get some preview of the footage from you?

20 A Exactly.

21 Q I see.

22 Mr. [REDACTED] After the end of the Trump administration?

23 Mr. Holder. Yes.

24 BY MR. [REDACTED]

25 Q Has Mr. Greenblatt -- that's his name, right, Greenblatt?

1 A Yes.

2 Q Has he, since this has become public that you have been interacting with the  
3 committee, has he conveyed to you anything about the Trump family's reaction to this?

4 A Not -- he hasn't conveyed any specifics about Trump's family or that sort of  
5 thing.

6 Q So what is it that he has conveyed since then?

7 A We've had two conversations of which -- it was very short conversations  
8 about sort of what the news had reported. And I sort of made clear that I didn't think it  
9 was a good idea for us to sort of, you know, continue having conversations until after this  
10 particular -- after this had taken place. And he agreed, and that was it. It was very  
11 amicable. Totally benign.

12 BY MR. [REDACTED]

13 Q How about Discovery+, what has their reaction been to your participation in  
14 our investigation?

15 A At best chaotic, I would say.

16 Q Have they given you any instruction, advice about what you should or  
17 shouldn't say or do in your interaction --

18 A To sort of listen to your attorney.

19 Q Always good advice.

20 Mr. [REDACTED] And then, if I could just -- are you done?

21 Mr. [REDACTED] Yes.

22 BY MR. [REDACTED]

23 Q And, just to clarify, again, to take us back to a week ago when your attorney  
24 reached out to convey that you had this footage, could you just tell us what prompted  
25 you to do that?



1           A     I think that there is a fine line between sort of, you know, moving from  
2     journal -- the argument of journalistic integrity to sort of, you know, becoming somewhat  
3     political.    And, after having watched the public hearings that took place and seeing the  
4     footage that the committee had presented, sort of using words that I never sort of seen  
5     before -- and never-before-seen footage and feeling that sort of -- this isn't my country,  
6     and while my job is to -- at least I believe my job is to document history -- the idea of this  
7     footage sort of not being part of an ongoing investigation to be me seemed unethical, I  
8     think is definitely one aspect.    I think that there could be -- I have no idea -- but there  
9     could be relevant information in there that could be substantive to this investigation.  
10    And you would need to have sort of -- one would need to be very strong in their  
11    convictions that it is so important to keep this sort of contained until sort of a release  
12    date or something just seemed sort of unfair.

13           And also the fact that I wasn't sure about whether or not there was an obligation  
14    to reach out after I had seen the testimony of Ivanka Trump and that I had felt, from a  
15    complete layperson's point of view as to whether or not there was an obligation to reach  
16    out, if I felt that the things that she was saying were inconsistent with what she had said  
17    to me and therefore was sort of an obligation.    Because I knew, I was quite sure that -- I  
18    was pretty sure that the investigation would at some point reach out without, you know,  
19    sort of any prompting because we've been doing sort of thorough research, et cetera.  
20    And so, for that particular moment, it was -- well, no one knew that we had interviewed  
21    her on that day or at that time or what she said.    And so, therefore, I felt is there an  
22    obligation for us to reach out because of that sort of inconsistent testimony.    So there  
23    you go.

24           Q     I know that The New York Times yesterday reported on the substance of  
25    Ivanka -- of the clip that we watched.    Do you know if anyone else has access to this

1 footage that would have shown it to The New York Times?

2 A I know there are plenty of people who have access to the footage.

3 Q But you didn't show it The New York Times?

4 A I did not.

5 Mr. [REDACTED] I don't think I have anything else, just so say thank you for coming  
6 forward and for your cooperation in our investigation. It is very helpful.

7 Mr. Holder. Thank you.

8 Mr. Smith. Thank you for your courtesy.

9 Mr. [REDACTED] Ms. Lofgren, before we wrap up, do you have any questions or  
10 followup that you'd like to add?

11 Ms. Lofgren. No, just thanks for your defense of democracy by doing this.

12 Mr. Holder. Thank you.

13 Mr. [REDACTED] All right. With that, we can go off the record. Thank you.

14 [Whereupon, at 12:02 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