1	IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF FULTON COUNTY
2	STATE OF GEORGIA FILED IN OFFICE
3	AUG 2.5, 2022
4	IN RE:
5	SPECIAL PURPOSE GRAND JURY) FULTON COUNTY, GA
6) CASE NUMBER: 2022-EX-00024
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8	2022-EX-00024
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10	SPECIAL PURPOSE GRAND JURY MOTIONS TRANSCRIPT
11	Before the HONORABLE JUDGE ROBERT C.I MCBURNEY
12	on July 25, 2022, Atlanta, GA 30303
13	
14	APPEARANCES:
15	FOR THE STATE: ADA NATHAN WADE
16	FOR THE STATE: ADA DONALD WAKEFORD
17	FOR THE STATE: ATTORNEY ANNA GREEN-CROSS
18	FOR SENATOR JONES: BILL DILLON & ANNA CLAPP
19	FOR THE JURORS: ATTORNEYS MS. PEARSON & MS. DEBORROUGH
20	
21	HADASSAH J. DAVID, CVR, CCR
22	#4857 8554 6837 1968
23	CERTIFIED COURT REPORTER
24	SUPERIOR COURT OF FULTON COUNTY
25	hadassah.david@fultoncountyga.gov
	HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

PROCEEDINGS

THE COURT: Good afternoon. Let's get on the record in 2022-Ex-000024. This is a special purpose Grand Jury. It is about 2:00 o'clock on the 21st of July, and we are going to work through, this afternoon, a couple of motions that have been filed. A motion filed on behalf of Senator Jones seeking to disqualify the DA's office from handling the case, the case that is Senator Jones and then a motion to quash and disqualify, but to disqualify, I think, is merely an adoption of Senator Jones' motion that was filed on behalf of 11 of the -- for today we'll call them alternate electors.

Those are the two motions I think we are covering. The State has filed, the District Attorney's Office has filed, an opposition to the motion to disqualify. I let them know, because when I received the motion to quash that they didn't need to file a written response motion which is fine, and hopefully you will be able to address it today. It's a lot of moving parts.

We've got a lot of lawyers here, so I want to make sure we get on the record who is here and who will be speaking for the different parties. Before we go any further, though, Rule 22 wise. There were some media outlets that only reached out today to get the green light. If you were able to get equipment in here you are HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

free to use it, but I did not sign your Rule 22 today, because the general Rule 22 is to be signed 24 hours in advance, but you really only need the Rule 22 for purposes of getting in the building with the big cameras, so if you sought Rule 22 approval to record things while you're in here and you've got a handheld device, you are welcome to do that.

Going forward it's 24 hours in advance, and it would really help if you could report back to your Rule 22 people, if you would designate more clearly on the Rule 22 forms what kind of equipment you want to bring in. I am all for having a pool feed rather than four big cameras in here. It gets a little crowded for you all, but I can't tell because everyone who submits a Rule 22 checks everything — I want to bring in every kind of equipment in. I'm bringing in a drone. I know you're not bringing in a drone, but apparently for everyone bringing in the big cameras we only need one, and like I said, I'm happy to have a pool, but it's hard to tell.

With that, let's start with the State. Who will be handling — it can be more than one person, but I just don't want to omit anyone if I'm looking to the District Attorney's Office for answers or responses to concerns raised by some of these witnesses. Who from the DA's office or affiliated from the DA's office should I be

expected to hear from? 1 2 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Good afternoon, Your Honor, 3 I'm Anna Green-Cross. I'm here representing the District Attorney's office on the motion to disqualify prosecutors. 4 THE COURT: So if I have questions about quashal or 5 assertion of Fifth Amendment rights? 6 7 ADA WADE: Good afternoon, Judge. I'm Nathan Wade, special prosecutor from the District Attorney's office as 8 well as Donald Wakeford. 9 THE COURT: So Wade and Wakeford for Fifth Amendment 10 11 quashal and Green-Cross for the disqualification. ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Yes. 12 13 THE COURT: Okay, got it. Thank you. All right. Ιf 14 we pivot over to potential witnesses and counsel, Mr. 15 Dillon, good morning. How are you? ATTORNEY DILLON: Good afternoon. 16 I'm fine, Judge. 17 THE COURT: You are representing Senator Jones. 18 there anyone else? I don't want to ignore anyone. 19 ATTORNEY DILLON: My associate Anna Clapp is also 20 here. 21 THE COURT: Great. Okay. Clapp as in applause or 22 Platt as in . . . 23 ATTORNEY CLAPP: Clapp as in applause, two P's. 24 THE COURT: Got it. Excellent, and then on behalf of 25 the 11 alternate electors, Ms. Pearson and Ms. Deborroughs HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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I see Ms. Deborroughs virtually. She is appearing in Newnan or even further away, but we greenlighted that virtual appearance. It's fine, and we've got Ms. Pearson here.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: You do, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay. Anyone else on behalf of your clients or just the two of you?

ATTORNEY PEARSON: No, Your Honor, just us.

THE COURT: All right. I want to start with a question for either Mr. Dillon or Ms. Clapp, and that is whether you are joining in the motion that Ms. Pearson filed in which Fifth Amendment concerns are raised as opposed to conflict issues?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor. Insofar as Ms. Pearson's motion, I believe at page 7. It raises the fact that these witnesses who have received both subpoenas and target letters should have their appearances waived. join in that portion of her motion.

THE COURT: What is the status of your client? know he's received the subpoena, that is the only part that's been disclosed to me.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Well, in the government's response to our motion, they actually point out that Senator Jones received a target letter in this case.

THE COURT: Okay. Do you disagree with that or . . . HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER 5

ATTORNEY DILLON: No, I do not. It is an irrefutable fact at this point. We publicly acknowledge that it is an irrefutable fact.

THE COURT: Okay, so my thought is that we talk about some of the Fifth Amendment concerns first because it may make moot for practical purposes the conflict concerns that you raise in your motion. Let me simplify my thought process for you. If in the end I determine that Senator Jones need not appear because of Fifth Amendment reasons, I don't know we need to reach the question of disqualification if that would be his only connection to this grand jury.

This Grand Jury is not a Grand Jury that would be voting on a bill of indictment. It is a Grand Jury that has been tasked with generating a report that would contain in it, ideally, a recommendation to the District Attorney as to whether she should pursue charges or not and what those charges might look like, and any other things that that Grand Jury wants to put in there other than a true bill.

So the way the Fifth Amendment analysis plays out is that I conclude that Senator Jones doesn't need to appear, if they state his name or something, and we can work through those logistics probably in a smaller group setting. Do you agree that we don't need to reach the

question of disqualification?

ATTORNEY DILLON: No, Your Honor. I do disagree.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY DILLON: I think that the disqualification issue is right, and I think that it has been exacerbated by the media circus that's been generated out of the Fulton County's DA's office in this case, and that the harm to my client, Senator Jones, is that he's being drug through the mud publicly as a subject of this special Grand Jury.

THE COURT: Well, apparently as a target, not a subject.

who has been affected by this special Grand Jury, particularly as a target, but with the effort and focus being that it's going to have an impact on the Lieutenant Governor's race this fall. And so if the DA's office has a hand in it and they issue a report that says, Well, we're going to recommend an indictment of Senator Jones, it will have a direct impact on the election in November, and that's been reported in the media numerous times.

THE COURT: Okay. So I'll correct a couple of things for you. One, and I may have misunderstood what you were saying, but the District Attorney's Office is not offering any report. That would come from the grand jurors as

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supervised by me. I appreciate that the District Attorney has fashioned herself as the legal adviser to the Grand Jury, and that's an adaptation of the actual language of the role that that office plays, but ultimately it's the Grand Jury's report not the District Attorney's.

Second, and a concern we do need to cover today, regardless of how we approach the disqualification piece would be the timing of the release of the report. Now, I think that's something that everyone ought to leave here today with a better understanding of how that will be managed.

That is within my purview, and it was helpful to have it brought to my attention that timelines could collide, that the Grand Jury might complete Its work in October, and that might not be the best time for Its work product to be shared publicly in the way that many investigative agencies, that's what the Grand Jury is an effect here, they hold off on taking certain steps until an election has passed with a few exceptions, and we need to see what's going on with that report, if it's even ready by then.

The Grand Jury is authorized to continue its work through May 1 of next year, so I don't know that it's right yet to worry about that other than to get a general understanding that I wouldn't be a big fan of an October HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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surprise, so if we talk about when reports would be released and we work through a Fifth Amendment analysis, if that Fifth Amendment analysis is, in light of a target letter, et. cetera, Senator Jones probably doesn't need to — and it's not my analysis yet, but if the end result of that is that Senator Jones does not need to appear before the Grand Jury, that it strikes me that the disqualification piece is moot.

I don't know from what the office would be disqualified if Senator Jones isn't being asked to do anything between now and the release of the report other than the timing of the report, which doesn't necessarily tie into who is investigating. If we were suddenly to switch to the Lowndes County District Attorney's Office, and they finished their work with the Grand Jury in October, we'd be faced with that same chronological challenge.

ATTORNEY DILLON: We would, Your Honor, with the exception of the issue that has to do with the press, and the issue that has to do with the public favoring of my client's opponent for Lieutenant Governor, Charlie Bailey, and the the District Attorney in this case has raised \$32,000 for Charlie Bailey in the headliner that she hosted for him in June. Shortly thereafter, she issued my client a target letter and then shortly after that, in

fact, two days ago when they filed their brief, that was 1 2 the first time that it was publicly known that Senator 3 Jones was a target of this Grand Jury investigation, so on one side we have a public target, and on the other side we 4 5 have a headliner fundraiser raising \$32,000, and we 6 contend that those two things create the appearance of impropriety, that under the Rules of Ethics in the state of Georgia this is prohibited conduct, and then with 8 9 regard to Senator Jones this investigation in Fulton 10 County should be complete at this point, that this District Attorney's Office needs to be disqualified, and 11 12 perhaps some other district attorney can be appointed, and 13 in that case, Senator Jones would would be glad to 14 cooperate with that investigation, because he has 15 indicated and indicated early on that he was willing to 16 cooperate and give a statement and meet with their 17 investigators, and then two weeks later he gets a target 18 letter, and then six days after he gets that target 19 letter, and 'm getting ahead of myself.

THE COURT: Yes, you are. In fact, I'm going to cut you off, because I simply wanted to know whether you thought it was moot and you do not think it is.

ATTORNEY DILLON: I do not think it is, Your Honor. I think it is right at this point.

THE COURT: Okay, and we may get to it. I was HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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expecting a different answer, but I appreciate your answer. I still think we need to start with the Fifth Amendment concerns that were brought to a head in Ms. Peterson's motion, but what I want to do is start with the State on that because your perspective with the District Attorney's Office on that, because your perspective may help me better navigate what to do, and for folks in the room here representatives of the District Attorney's Office and a lawyer for another witness, that witness and I have already had some basic discussions about how we might work through the assertion of Fifth Amendment privilege in certain context, and so we will probably build on that.

So if I'm referring to what we talked about yesterday, that is what I mean in connection with that situation. Mr. Wade or Mr. Wakeford, what I would like to hear from you on is is your overarching reaction to Ms. Deborroughs and Ms. Pearson's motion as we discussed in I don't know that there is a blanket, I don't the past. have to answer any questions that would work here, but insofar as their 11 client's sole connection to the investigation is their participation in the alternate electors scheme, and that was going to be the focus of 99 percent of your questions, if that is determined to be in light of some of the target news that's been shared,

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something that is protected that they don't need to respond to. I'm not sure what the point would be in bringing those folks in on a non-immunized status before the Grand Jury, so help me work through that, please.

ADA WAKEFORD: Yes, Your Honor. I would begin by pointing, Your Honor, to the case of State v. Lampl, that is spelled L-A-M-P-L. Your Honor, may be aware of this case.

THE COURT: Is that Clayton County -- yes?

ADA WAKEFORD: I believe, I'm not sure of the jurisdiction that it began, but it speaks very poignantly to this issue. Specifically what it says is, that "Under Georgia law, the designation as a target without a formal charge being leveled against an individual doesn't change the ability to subpoena someone to appear before a special purpose Grand Jury."

THE COURT: Fair point, and a footnote may have been dropped somewhere with something that was provided, but that was not my question. I don't think the word target is as magical in State proceedings as it is in Federal proceedings, but it certainly has caused the temperature in the room to go up and antennas to go up everywhere, and so whether you you call him target or you call him less of a friend, we now have witnesses who are saying, "I'm not comfortable answering those questions, I think I may be HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

facing criminal liability."

In other words, I assert my Fifth Amendment privilege or protection, whatever you want to call it, and that's what Ms. Pearson and Ms. Deborrough have done on behalf of their 11 clients, so my question isn't doesn't target mean you can't go any further. You may want to think through in the future labeling someone that and then hailing them in because of how this is played out.

Let's just stick to the topics. If my sole connection to the investigation that you are conducting with this Grand Jury is that I was one of the people who agreed or was nominated, or however it happened to be an alternate elector, you're going to ask me about that, and I have a good-faith basis to believe my decision to agree to be an alternate elector exposes me to potential criminal liability, why shouldn't I be able to say I'm not answering any of those questions in the context of a Grand Jury?

ADA WAKEFORD: I understand, Your Honor. Thank you for the clarification. I would say that the 11 individuals identified in the motion are not all situated in exactly the same place, so there may be commonality between them, but there is going to need to be an individual determination with regard to each of them. The level of involvement is necessarily individual, so what I

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think would work is for an individual assessment to be made in each case, since we undoubtedly have the ability under the law under Lampl to ask the witnesses to appear, then there would be ahead of time a discussion between the parties with Your Honor's involvement need be, to discuss areas of inquiry that may lead to an identification of Fifth Amendment rights.

If that is the case, I believe we would be able to work out a procedure where there is not a badgering of a witness, but simply an ability for the special purpose Grand Jury to walk up to an area of inquiry and be told this is going to be foreclosed by the Fifth Amendment and move on if there are other areas to pursue, so each them will require, I believe an individual assessment.

THE COURT: Are there any of the 11 - - I'm gonna make it 12. I'm going to include Senator Jones in the group, so any of those 12 where the only topic of interest is that witness's participation in the alternate elector scheme.

ADA WAKEFORD: The answer to that is no.

THE COURT: Every one of them - - it sounds like it's a very diverse group, and one of the concerns Ms.

Deborrough and Ms. Pearson had brought up was that some of them are remote, some of them have trouble with mobility, but you are saying all of them have some other potential HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

connection to the investigation or area of interest to the investigation.

ADA WAKEFORD: Standing in my place right now, Your Honor, this is an investigative Grand Jury, so we're not at the stage, you know approaching, say a trial, where I can give a statement with the definiteness that you might be seeking. What I can tell you is, right now, can I say unless there's only one thing that we can connect one of these people to, then no, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay, so just to flip it around to the type of questions asked, you envision, or you and your colleagues envision asking each of the 12, including Senator Jones, questions beyond simply why did you decide to be an alternate elector? Tell me more about that. There are other aspects of the 2020 general election that you would be asking each of the 12 about. Mr. Wade.

ADA WADE: Yes, sir, Judge. If I may, much like the witness on yesterday, we have planned categories to touch, and we understand per the Court's instruction, if we can narrow down these buckets, ask the general question about that particular bucket, let the witness assert, at that point ask the witness if they plan to assert their Fifth Amendment privilege to any question concerning that issue, once they say yes, we move on.

THE COURT: Sure.

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ADA WADE: Not a barrage of like 50 questions where they decide to assert, but just to be able to hit the different buckets though and to answer the Court's question directly, that, yes, sir, there are other areas that we plan to attack.

THE COURT: There's more than one bucket for each of the 12 --

ADA WADE: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: --- Is what I'm hearing you say - - well, then we would need to work through that. That helps, I appreciate that, and I think there is ample case law, state and federal, that authorizes witnesses who say up front that I'm going to assert the Fifth Amendment to still be called before the Grand Jury to then assert it.

Bank of Nova Scotia from the US Supreme Court is the earliest one I found where you sometimes need to have those people get in front of the Grand Jury to actually invoke, because they might not when put in that situation, and then the investigators are not forced to rely on a claim that they will, or to your point, Mr. Wakeford and Mr. Wade, there may be areas that come up that aren't properly covered by that protection.

I know we've been bouncing around a lot, but I think it makes sense for me to hear now from Ms. Pearson or Ms. Deborrough about the approach you've taken, which is my HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

client shouldn't have to come in at all, and you may not yet have been able to speak with Mr. Wade and his team to know about these other buckets, to use his terms, but I will just share with you in working with Mr. Wade and his team yesterday and a different witness and lawyer, there are other areas, they may be minor, but they're still areas where even the lawyer agreed that my client doesn't have the Fifth Amendment right not to say, this is my job.

I've had this job for 10 years, and then they move on to what did you have to do with the electors scheme Fifth Amendment, and then they stop. They don't go any further with that topic, but to the District Attorney's offices point it's a broad waterfront, and you have seized upon maybe the big bright lighthouse, vis-a-vis your client's, but there could be some (unintelligible) buildings at that that lighthouse that it's appropriate for questions to be asked and more importantly answered.

So tell me why you think that instead the answers should be, and I mean you, go to the extreme, it's quashed, they shouldn't even have to show up to give (unintelligible)

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Correct, Your Honor. I think the first place to start is, just to correct a few things or to clarify a few things, from my understanding of what you just said, all of my clients are identically situated from

a legal perspective. They were all witnesses, they were all converted to targets, and there has been no differentiation from the DA's office between that.

THE COURT: Let me interrupt you for a second. So, you are saying all 11 of them have received target letters or some communication from the District Attorney's Office that uses the "T" word?

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Yes.

THE COURT: Whatever that may mean in the State context, but just because two of your clients have, you are saying they are similarly situated, it's just a matter of time for the postman to get there.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: I have 11 target letters.

THE COURT: Okay. So in that way they are similarly situated, but it sounds like they are, and you note it in your own motion, they are also very differently situated. You have, and I apologize if I have the title wrong, Mr. Schaffer as the chair of the Republican Party in Georgia, A very, very, different role in connection with the affairs of election then. I don't remember who the elderly individual difficulty with mobility and whatnot. I've never heard of the person.

It is a differently situated individual once you get outside of that lighthouse of, I was an alternate elector.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: That's true, Your Honor, but I HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

don't know what situation you dealt with yesterday or what that person's role was or who they were, but in my client's situation I genuinely cannot think of a single topic or question that they could be asked that would not be either under the Fifth Amendment or a link in the chain.

What's your name under these charges that they have said they are going to do by signing your name, by saying who you are, by putting your signature on something could arguably be, as ridiculous as that sounds, an incriminating fact, so I don't think my clients are similarly situated to these other witnesses that you are dealing with, anything they could be asked.

What's your name? That is incriminating. your job? That could lead to other political links in the chain, that could lead to e-mails where they talked about various issues. It could lead to anything. I don't see any topic that could actually be relevant to the Grand Jury's inquiry, upon which my clients could not invoke their federal, their state, or constitutional rights, and their statutory rights, and I think absence of proffer that there is such a subject that you would agree with that is not incriminating.

Eleven people should not be essentially frogmarched in front of the cameras and the Grand Jury to be forced to HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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invoke their rights, and I echo Mr. Dillon's concerns about publicity, you know, we're not use to that. We are federal prosecutors, there is Grand Jury secrecy. We don't have that here, but the damage is being done and has already been done to all of my 11 clients, and I assume to Senator Jones, is affected, and it's only going to be exacerbated.

I mean the threats that they're getting, the hate mail that they're getting, the hate e-mails they're getting here, Your Honor, for doing, in our view nothing wrong. They are caught up in ambiguous circumstances, which gives them the right under the Supreme Court precedent to invoke their privileges.

THE COURT: We're not going to get into whether they should be surprised or not that they have become the subject of negative attention, based on the decisions they've made, but I'm wondering. You have now tried to put your arm around Mr. Dillon's client, who is in an actively contested election. I am not aware of any of your clients being in that position as well, but again, I don't recognize all of their names.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, Mr. Still, Mr. Sean
Still is a candidate for senate office, and in addition,
Mr. Schafer is the chairman of the GOP, and he is involved
in all of these, and many of these people are involved in

the electoral arm of the Georgia Republican Party for many of these races, so while and I think the point is, Your Honor, so while Mr. Jones is involved in his race, and Mr. Still is involved in his race, a lot of these people are involved in all of these races, and I think the point is, Your Honor, AVA regulations with Georgia Professional Responsibility Rules cite favorably with special prosecutor rules.

They specifically say a target should not be put in a Grand Jury unless they are immunized, and here you know they can't be immunized because they're federal, and under the statute you can't immunize against a federal, so here the burden really should be on them to come forward with some bucket, as you call it, that they can show we can't invoke on it. If we can invoke on all of the buckets they should not be dragged down here in front of the Grand Jury, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay, do I need to check with Ms.

Debrrorogh as well, or do you guys both have an agreement that she will speak up if there's something she wants to add?

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, you know Ms.

Deborrough. If she's got something to add she certainly will, but I think I covered it.

THE COURT: All right. Mr. Wakeford or Mr. Wade, HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

talk to me a little bit about the last, second to last point I heard from Ms. Pearson about an inability to immunize because, of course, one ticket you can punch that you may not want to punch for anyone, but you may for some of the alternate electors whose sole connection or primary connection to what you're investigating may be the alternate elector situation, would be to let them know that nothing you say during a Grand Jury can be used against you.

If you put that in writing then you magically have some compulsory powers, I do, that did not exist before, but if there is not a way to provide sufficient protection you may not have that, and I hadn't processed it the way Ms. Pearson did. Anything you want to add on that? Mr. Wade is shaking his head. As in you disagree or I don't want to add to it?

ADA WADE: I vehemently disagree, and there was no effort or attempt or even any indication that our position would be to offer any type of immunity, if that is what she's looking for.

THE COURT: I didn't hear Ms. Pearson looking for anything. What I heard her say was that even if you wanted to, and you're saying I don't want to, the scope of the District Attorney's offices offer of immunity wouldn't be sufficient in Ms. Pearson's mind to protect her clients HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

such that they could be compelled to testify, but we don't need to work through that if that's nothing that the District Attorney's office is looking at right now.

ADA WADE: Okay.

THE COURT: So then what do you see, and I guess, the vision you have for moving forward with the Fifth

Amendment concerns, Mr.Wade, would be to have the kinds of individualized discussions like we had yesterday, and like you suggested you would have with counsel. I guess it would be Ms. Pearson and Ms. Deborrough for theses 11, Mr. Dillon and Ms. Clapp for Senator Jones to talk about the buckets.

In no way would I be requiring that here are the 112 questions, here is a script, but it would be that these are the categories that we want to explore, and then there are the disagreements between your team and counsel for the witness, then we might need to have a group discussion.

ADA WADE: I think much like the process on last evening, on the day of the witnesses testimony, have that conversation. If we can agree upon the buckets, great. If we can't, then Your Honor would be asked to get involved. I don't think that having a conversation well in advance of 11 people's testimony -- I don't think it's fair. I think it puts the State at a disadvantage.

THE COURT: No, I agree. I wasn't suggesting that you had to map it out in a lot of detail or particularly, far in advance, but more along the lines of what we talked about yesterday.

ADA WADE: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: One more question for one or the two of you. If target letter is not a reason to conclude that a witness shouldn't appear in front of the Grand Jury, this is a two-part question, is it not at least a reason for that witness to have heightened concern, and if not, why send it? What was the purpose of it?

If the purpose was to get them more concerned shouldn't they be more concerned and say wait a minute?

I'm not going to answer these questions in front of a Grand Jury. I might sit down with you and have a proffer if it's protected, if it can be protected enough. I'm trying to understand the thinking.

ADA WADE: Judge, to be transparent with the Court, the discussions that took place with our side and Ms. Pearson and Ms. Deborrough prior to a few of their clients having voluntary interviews, the questions were what is the status of my client at this point? We disclosed the status of the client at that point - -

THE COURT: So it was responsive. It wasn't proactive, it was reactive. You're asking - - HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

ADA WADE: And we said to them at that time, if at any point the status of your client were to change, we'll disclose that as well, and we did that.

THE COURT: So that explains why, but then help me think through what the consequences should be of that elevation in status. I assume it wasn't a downgrade that you've been downgraded from, we've actually already indicted you and we've dismissed it, and now you're only target. Why shouldn't there be the enhanced concern and the beginning of the discussion that it may be that my client is going to invoke his or her Fifth Amendment rights here?

ADA WADE: And certainly this discussion, Judge, from our perspective, is not an attempt to circumvent anyone's rights in terms of a fifth amendment, so I think that what comes up is exactly what we're doing.

THE COURT: Okay.

ADA WADE: It gives Ms. Pearson the right to stand up and say this is not what we want, and it gives the State the right to stand up and cite Lampl, they'll have to come in and do that.

THE COURT: Lampl Bank of Nova Scotia. They need to come in and assert it in front of the Grand Jury as opposed to having a lawyer say or the witness, him or herself, you know what? I'm thinking about it, I'm not HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

comfortable doing that. No matter what you ask me, I'm going to invoke.

ADA WADE: Yes, sir.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, may I respond briefly?

THE COURT: I was just about to ask you that, and there you go.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, that's not what Lampl says, as you accurately pointed out. It says they can subpoena people to a Grand Jury, and if that special Grand Jury abuses its power, you'd better bring it up at the time or there is nothing you can do about it later. We're not going to suppress the evidence. We're not going to do it, so it doesn't have anything to do with this Court's authority, either under the quashal statute or the supervisory ability of this Court to quash and otherwise properly serve a subpoena.

We're not saying they can't subpoena us. We're saying you could quash it, and we're asking you to. It's clear, I don't think, Your Honor, that under these facts it is sufficient to drag 11 people in here and then have them figure out the buckets. I genuinely cannot think of a single question or area of questioning that I would be comfortable allowing them to ask my clients including their names, under these circumstances, and they shouldn't be dragged down here from far away places of the State

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just to be told, you know, either by you or us coming to you for 11 witnesses, however many times that they are not going to answer the questions.

They should have to come forward with at least a bucket list, so to speak, that Your Honor approves before they are dragged down here. That is not too much to ask, and if it can't be done before their appearances next week, then you can quash them and we can revisit it, and we can set them for a different time, but they should not be dragged down here and put on public display for doing, in our view, nothing wrong, but their own ambiguous circumstances being forced to invoke their rights, and it's just not appropriate under the Ethical Standards under the Georgia Professional Standards —

THE COURT: But if they did nothing wrong, why aren't they talking to the Grand Jury?

I mean, Your Honor, we've outlined in our motion why we don't even think there's jurisdiction here, why the law protects what they did, but as you know the Supreme Court has made clear that the main purpose, one of the main purposes of the Fifth Amendment is to protect innocent people who can be bound up in ambiguous circumstances, and I don't think but you're going to find, at least the cases that I've never been in where ambiguous circumstances are

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more ambiguous and politicized and fraught than this, and so, you know, that is why - -

THE COURT: I don't know that politicized makes it ambiguous, but you're using the word ambiguous, and I'll let you use that word.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: We certainly have different views of the facts in the law, Your Honor.

THE COURT: There are entirely different views of certain facts and non facts, I hear you on that, but I don't know if that makes it ambiguous, but I hear you, and I am mindful of an inconvenience factor, if in the end the product of the exercise is to have a witness say I assert the Fifth, and that's it.

Hopefully, folks will exercise discretion, but I don't think there is, other than some rules that apply more in a Federal setting where the word target means something different, not entirely different, not entirely different. I wasn't able to find any legal precedent that says it was improper that the Court should have barred the investigating body from requiring someone to come in and in their face saying I'm not answering any questions. I'm not even going to tell you my name. That may actually be something that the Grand Jury may want to know, that this person won't even give her name under oath. That could be instructive to what the Grand Jury is doing, but they

wouldn't know that if they never met the person.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Well, given that they're not supposed to draw any negative inference from an invocation I wouldn't think that would be evidence, but even if it were, I think the reason you can't find any precedence is because in the Federal system, and then the State system doesn't do Grand Jury work very often, and then the Federal system they don't do this. .

They don't bring targets in and try to force them to testify because they recognize it's unethical, as the AVA has said and as the Georgia Professional Rules have outlined, and we would ask that at a minimum, Your Honor, that you ask them proffer the buckets to you or to us before our people are brought in.

THE COURT: Fair request. I appreciate that.

ADA WAKEFORD: Your Honor, may I address one point?

THE COURT: Hold on. Mr. Dillon, if you're going to talk more about disqualification, not yet. If it's the Fifth Amendment you've been patient, so I'm happy to hear from Senator Jones' perspective.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Keeping quiet my mouth quiet in this whole disqualification thing - -

THE COURT: But go ahead.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Trust me. I call the Court's attention to the Georgia Code, that's 15-12-100. It's a HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

procedure for a special Grand Jury and hours of that Grand Jury, and under Subparagraph C it says, "while conducting any investigation authorized by this part, investigative grand juries may compel evidence and subpoena witnesses." It may inspect records, documents, correspondence, and books, blah, blah, blah, and it specifically excludes subpoena targets, Your Honor, and these are the rules --

THE COURT: You mean it says you may not do that or?

ATTORNEY DILLON: No, it doesn't, but because it is not included in the list, we all know the cannons of constructing statutes. If there is a list and it's not included in the list, it's excluded from the list, and this is the provision under which this Grand Jury was impaneled.

THE COURT: It didn't say subpoena tall people or short people, it says witnesses.

ATTORNEY DILLON: It says witnesses.

THE COURT: You're saying a target is not a witness?

ATTORNEY DILLON: A target is a different category
than a witness, and the case law in the state of Georgia
says that because targets are discussed differently in the
Lampl case, and that's a good case to cite on. A target
is different than a witness, and this doesn't say subpoena
targets. It says subpoena witnesses.

THE COURT: Okay. Mr. Wakeford.

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ADA WAKEFORD: Your Honor, I'll read directly from 1 2 Lampl. Lampl is getting a lot of attention. 3 THE COURT: I right? Is it a Clayton County - - It was some sort of 4 5 city counsel - -ADA WAKEFORD: I think so, Your Honor. 6 THE COURT: Ms. Green-Cross is now nodding her head. 7 She would know. She's the appellate expert. 8 All right. 9 Continue. 10 ADA WAKEFORD: "One who has not been so charged, 11 meaning formally charged, in a formal charging instrument 12 THE COURT: 13 Which would be every single recipient of 14 a subpoena so far? 15 ADA WAKEFORD: Yes. 16 THE COURT: All right. 17 ADA WAKEFORD: -- may be compelled to appear before a 18 Grand Jury that he retains the option during his 19 appearance of invoking his privilege against 20 self-incrimination and refusing to testify regarding the 21 incriminating matters, this is true even if the witness is 22 a target of the grand jury's investigation." 23 THE COURT: So Mr. Dillon stood up first, and he's freshest from saying ha ha, take Lampl that way, State. 24 25 So did he skip a sentence? That's a pretty powerful HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER 31

1 sentence, Mr. Dillon.

ATTORNEY DILLON: A very powerful sentence, and with regard to regular grand juries, I have no doubt that the District Attorney might, but the statute under which the subpoena is issued in this case properly is not that the ordinary Grand Jury, nor the special grand jury, and it's under this chapter in the Georgia code, and the rules are different.

THE COURT: So your argument is that a regular Grand Jury that could indict and would target — Lampl says you can call that person in front of a that Grand Jury who has the ability to indict Lample, and they can invoke his Fifth from which they need to draw no adverse inference, but a special purpose Grand Jury which can indict no one or anything, they can't subpoena a target because they use the word witness instead of target?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Is the word target used in the non-special purpose Grand Jury statute, or is the word witness used?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Interesting question, Your Honor, but I do note that the subpoena is --

THE COURT: What's the answer?

ATTORNEY DILLON: I don't know, but I do note that
the statute under which the subpoenas were supposed to be
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issued in this case is under Title 15, but the subpoena is actually rolled out under the provision of the Georgia code that is not under Title 15, and they were, in fact, technically, improper subpoenas because they were issued under the normal statute and not under this chapter.

THE COURT: So I guess we could republish them and resign them if that is the -

ATTORNEY DILLON: Exactly, and then recognize that this rule applies, but not the Lampl rule that we're citing here.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, we would take a slightly different differentiation of Lample --

THE COURT: A third reading.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: It's actually the same read, and that is the sentence that he read is (unintelligible) What the the Supreme Court is saying in Lampl, we have an individual who didn't take his Fifth in the Grand Jury, the special purpose grand jury, the special purpose Grand Jury used its authority to have a conveyer who was later indicted in an improper Grand Jury.

I'm not suggesting they were improper, but a different regular Grand jury, and then he tried to get evidence suppressed from the special Grand Jury. This is not about whether they can compel people. We're not disputing they can issue the subpoenas, everybody says

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they can. That is the only thing Lample even arguably says. The only issue then is you get to quash them if you want to.

If you believe that you should, and there's nothing that says your authority under the statute, or under supervisory authority is in any way affected by Lampl at all whatsoever, so you clearly have the authority to do what you think is proper with this Grand Jury here, and we're asking you, on behalf of our clients, not to have them frogmarched in front of a cameras and in this courtroom.

THE COURT: Okay.

ADA WAKEFORD: At this point I was going to address the original point I was going to make, which is I believe we've heard the phrase "frog marched" in front of the cameras three times now.

THE COURT: All right.

ADA WAKEFORD: I do not want to talk about this, but I have to at this point. Publicity is a hindrance to the special purpose Grand Jury's work. I believe earlier Ms. Pearson stated that there may have been a witness in here yesterday, but she didn't know who it was or how they appeared, or what they had talked about, which is an indication that the witnesses can come before the special purpose Grand Jury, and no one ever know anything about

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it. If witnesses exercise their First Amendment right to disclose after the fact or before the fact they were called, then they are allowed to do that. That is the source of publicity around this. It is, I think here we are tired of hearing that there is publicity jammed up by the District Attorney's Office in order to create a circus around this when we have actually taken pains to try to create an environment of circus around this, so there is no frogmarching, and there are ways to come before the special purpose Grand Jury without publicity being brought into it. I just wanted to clarify it right after the third time we heard that phrase.

THE COURT: Okay. Well, I appreciate much of what you said. I think it's a little rich to suggest that any particular side that has avoided the cameras. One need look only at basically any major news outlet, and you will see who is talking to the media, and it is not always the lawyers for the witnesses, so I think everyone involved in this has taken full advantage of media coverage.

That said, they're are some things that can be done, I know, because I've been asked to be involved with it to ensure that witnesses can enter into the building and leave the building without much harassment from the media, and we can get to do that.

I don't know that there are many of Ms. Pearson's HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 forward, and we have nothing else to add. 14 THE COURT: 15 16 17 words the Fifth Amendment concerns? 18 19 20 Amendment aspects? 21 22 motion as communicated earlier.

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clients that the media would even recognize when they walked up the front steps of the courthouse if that's how they came in, so I think the concern about putting people on public display is a bit exaggerated for most of her clients, but if there are clients who need special accommodations and ingress and egress we can always accommodate them, we've done it before and can do it again. Anything more from the District Attorney's office on the fifth Amendment concerns raised in Ms. Pearson and Mr. Deborrough's motion as expanded by Mr.Dillon? ADA WAKEFORD: No, your Honor. We have responded to your questions, and we have proposed a method going Thank you. Okay. Ms. Pearson or Ms. Deborrough, anything else on behalf of your 11 clients in connection with the quashal of the requests, in other ATTORNEY PEARSON: I think that's it, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Mr. Dillon, anything more on the Fifth

ATTORNEY DILLON: No, Your Honor, we've got the

THE COURT: Okay. Thank You. So I will not be quashing any of the subpoenas, but I will be asking -- we may need to change some of the timelines. How many of HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

your 11 are coming all at once? Are all 11 supposed to come out the same day or are they spread out, Ms. Pearson?

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, we have - - they are all coming on the 26th, 27th, and the 28th, so that's 3, 4, 5. I allocated over the states maybe 9 exactly.

THE COURT: The process is going to take longer because what will happen, I suspect it will become more regularized and streamlined after the first few of your witnesses, but what will need to happen is that your witness, and you Ms. Pearson and Ms. Deborroughs, if she clears quarantine she can be here too. She can appear virtually, however we need to make it work, however we can make it work.

We'll need to sit down, and it may just be lawyers at first, so you can have your client wherever you want them to be, as long as he or she is in the building, and you're going to have that bucket conversation and see where there is agreement or disagreement, and you've made very clear that you can't think of anything, not even astrological signs because somehow that would be tied to something, or it would be irrelevant, but that conversation needs to happen so that that we can, lawyers and I can have a conversation about is it really a complete impasse, of I may make the ruling, and you can challenge it in whatever way you want, that the witnesses

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will need to go in front of the Grand Jury to answer name, rank, and serial number and then the rest will be Fifth Amendment.

It helps the District Attorney's office has 12 because they know basically that they're going to ask one question beyond name, rank, and serial number, if I get folks passed that because there is not an area that can be explored that I don't think is unprotected by the Fifth Amendment.

ADA WADE: One thing I believe, Judge, from our side that is noteworthy, is the very thing that the District Attorney's office has fought so hard to do, was keep our witnesses secret and out of the public eye. What Ms. Pearson just did was, she gave the dates that her clients were coming in here, that's the exact thing she's complaining about. She gave --

THE COURT: Well, before we draw more attention to this, I did not hear Ms. Pearson say Steve Jones is coming in on this day. She divided it over days and did not identify people, and I mentioned, if there is a concern about letting someone in the building discreetly, we can address that and get someone in the building discreetly.

Most of these folks who walk, as long as they are wearing normal clothes, they can walk right in the courthouse, and those cameras that seem to be glued to our HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

courthouse steps right now wouldn't even pivot on that, so I think the concern is greater than it needs to be, but we can accommodate it. I'm not going to ask someone to be more specifically about who is going to be here when, I just need to know if it's going to take a while for these witnesses because there will be the conference before the witness testifies. .

Testimony may be greatly reduced because of the outcome of the conference may be that testimony is going to be just as long as the District Attorney's Office had forecast, but there's still this lawyer-to-lawyer conference in advance, but that's how we're going to work through it, and as I said, we may develop some guidelines.

A ruling I make with Witness One, isn't going to apply to Witness Two insofar as she is similarly situated. I don't believe all are similarly situated. There's still the overlap. They are all alternate electors, so there are certain commonalities, and I assume that is why they all want to have you and Ms. Deborrough. Similarly, they are all situated in this same situation, but they are not clones, and so there may be areas that are explorable with Witness One that are not explorable with Witness Two, so I'm going to let the parties develop the framework they want to use as we go forward.

I am here to assist when you reach an impasse, but I HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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don't think it's appropriate under the case law Lampl and others to quash the subpoenas, but it may be that these witnesses have very, very, brief appearances in front of the Grand Jury.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, just so that I understand. We aren't going to elaborate on it ahead of time. We will collaborate when the first witnesses come here or in between each witness? I mean, we've got 11 people to get through, so I guess I need some clarity on how that's going to work for each witness.

THE COURT: So I invite early collaboration, but I also understand that if the District Attorney's Office is reluctant to get too specific too far in advance, so they may buckle under the pressure of how long that would take as well, and there may be some basic frameworks that they want to share with you in advance, but if you're now getting into the nuts and bolts that I get to stay out of.

I will get in the mix should an impasse be reached. If that impasse is reached tomorrow, because you're talking about a witness who is coming on an undisclosed date next week, at an undisclosed location, then I could talk with you all tomorrow, but it may well be that the default is let's talk when you're witness is here.

That may mean you won't get to everything next week.

That was - - the reason why I was asking is that if they

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are spread out you four weeks you - - they're all coming in next week. I could see it being that what had been scheduled for Thursday ends up being what was scheduled for Tuesday, because you only got through two people on Tuesday because of the confirming that doesn't occur until Tuesday, so I'm not forcing an answer to your question, what you develop with the District Attorney's Office.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: In light of that, Your Honor, would the Court at all be amenable to to moving our grand jurors, not quashing them but moving them to later so that we can work this process out in advance?

THE COURT: So another really good question for you to explore with the District Attorney's office, they may think that's wise and necessary as well, and it may well be that 6 of the 11 go next week because everything is taking a little bit longer because we are being careful about the concerns raised in your motion, but I have made clear that other than checking on the welfare of the Grand Jury, in other words they are not in session from 8 a.m. to 10:00 p.m.

I don't micromanage who gets called it or when, but I'll let you know that the District Attorney's office has been flexible at having to move things if obstacles come up.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Well, we had asked for that, Your HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER
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Honor, and they refused, that's why I brought that up, but we'll talk to them about it.

THE COURT: Well, things are a lot less streamlined than they were before, so you work through that.

All right. Let's talk about disqualification and this process has moved up to the driver's seat on the DA's side, and I think since Mr. Dillon got in about three quarters of his argument in answering my simple question of do you think it's moot or not, I want to give the DA's office a chance to share some of their perspective about it.

I think the word partisan gets thrown around a lot in this and why they think disqualification doesn't fit or how to manage what I think are some valid concerns that Senator Jones has raised through counsel, but at a minimum pretty clear appearance of conflict, if it's developed not before the investigation started but in the midst of it.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Thank you, your Honor. I think Your Honor has used the phrase appearance of impropriety. There is Mr. Dillon's use of the phrase appearance impropriety or appearance of conflict, and the first place the State is going to direct your attention to is on the law cited in the responsive brief that appearance of conflict is enough.

Under Georgia law, the disqualification of a HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

prosecuting attorney or entity requires an actual conflict, not speculative, not conjecture, but an actual personal interest, and in this case would be the investigation of the special purpose Grand Jury or the prosecution potentially of Senator Jones.

So I think that while optics in this case may be more front and center than in some others, optics doesn't carry the day, it's an actual conflict, and there's just nothing at all that suggests that there is the actual personal interest on the behalf of the District Attorney. I'll note that insofar as the motion target, special prosecutor Wade, there is --

THE COURT: Oh, thank you for that. Pause on that.

Mr. Dillon, do you agree -- originally we were going to
talk about just disqualification and Ms. Deborrough, and
Ms. Pearson arrived on the scene about the Fifth
Amendment. My first question was meant to be that, do you
agree, Mr. Dillon, that Mr. Wade's purported donations,
and I'm not attributing anything to him, but it looks like
from the records that Mr. Wade gave \$2,000 to Mr. Bailey
when Mr. Bailey was running for Attorney General.

No donations of record or any public insofar as the donations is the public because records are made of it, no public donations in support of Charlie Bailey by Nathan Wade since Charlie Bailey switched races, and is instead

trying to be Lieutenant Governor instead of Attorney General; do you agree with that?

ATTORNEY DILLON: I agree with that, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: That was my whole paragraph.

THE COURT: You don't need to cover that, because that was very persuasive.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Thank you.

THE COURT: If that fact is true, I am focused very much on the appearance of the District Attorney. Using that title District Attorney Fani Willis, invites you and encourages you to come to this fundraiser for the political opponent of the target of my investigation. That's what we need to navigate here, and I guess the question is, if there's an actual conflict, is disqualification mandatory or discretionary, and if it's mandatory then does that mean that the appearance of conflict still give the judge the discretion to fashion some form of relief?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Let me start with the last question. No.

THE COURT: No?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I don't think the Court has the discretion law. While I want to give the Court as much discretion as you want to have --

THE COURT: Only what it should have.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Yes. I don't think the law allows the Court to elevate the standard, what the legal standard is an actual conflict. I don't believe that the Court's discretion is broad enough to force a remedy for an appearance of conflict.

THE COURT: And examples of actual conflict that I saw in your pleading were somehow the prosecutor was able to be like a defense attorney at the same -- I mean it was these things where like what were you thinking? Yes, it was kind of crazy. I represent one co defendant and as the defense attorney in a criminal proceeding become the DA and the prosecute the co defendant.

THE COURT: okay.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: That makes no sense, and that is not the situation we've got here, but that is the kind of extreme example of what the law recognizes as an actual conflict for a prosecuting attorney, at one time I represented the victim in a case that is now before me in a divorce preceding who is now before me in a case.

It's that kind of really striking in your face and routine political support for a political ally. It just doesn't make it there. It doesn't go that far.

THE COURT: The routine -- I would interpret as Mr.

Wade strokes a check for the candidate he wants to

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support. Using the title of your office and having a social media that you as this political office holder are holding a fundraiser for the opponent of someone that this political office is investigating. I don't know that it's an actual conflict, but I use that phrase, "what were you thinking," where the prosecutor thought I could prosecute the codefendant of someone I defended.

It's a what are you thinking moment? The optics are horrific. If you are trying to have the public believe that this is a non-partition driven by the facts, and I'm not here to critique decisions. The decision was made, but If we are trying to maintain confidence that this investigation is pursuing facts in a non-partisan sense, no matter who the District Attorney is, we follow the evidence where it goes and ignore that fact that I hosted a fundraiser for the political opponent of someone I just named a target.

That strikes me as problematic. Maybe not from an actual conflict level, but if we are at a cocktail party and people are asking do you think that this is a fair and balanced approach to things, I do. Well, how do you explain this?

I mean, how does one explain? I mean, that is the concern I'm working through is that it is not a lowercase A appearance, it is a capital A with flashy lights

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fundraiser District Attorney for the political opponent of someone I've named a target of my investigation, while I'm a legal adviser of the Grand Jury, and I'm on national medial almost nightly talking about this investigation and That's problematic.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Okay. Not accepting the entirety of the Court's characterization of the series of events. I'm going to explain it in a couple of ways. First, it's still not a legal conflict. It's still not anything within the Court's discretion to remedy in the way that Mr. Dillon has advocated on behalf of Senator Jones. As a legal matter, everybody can talk at cocktail parties all they want and watch the cable news station of their choosing, but no matter what it still doesn't amount to a legal conflict under Georgia law.

Second, I want to direct the Court's attention to the absolute lack of any evidence to the case that any action taken during the course of the investigation has been politically motivated at all. As the Court made reference, and maybe I'm paraphrasing, but it's the Grand Jury's duty to Senator Jones, not the District Attorney's office.

The District Attorney is the legal adviser of the special purpose Grand Jury, and may well have an investigation of their own, but Senator Jones is trying to HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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fight a subpoena to the special purpose Grand Jury, and it was brought under their authority.

THE COURT: It was, and I think technically you are correct. I wouldn't want anyone to be misled, that the special purpose Grand Jury is the only -- meaning those grand jurors are the only source of subpoenas that they say to their legal adviser, where is what we'd like to see next. That can happen, but what can also happen, and it doesn't matter who it happened here because your point is a good one, but I don't want people leaving here thinking oh, it's only the special purpose Grand Jury that decides to come in and. Equally so and perhaps most of the time it's the District Attorney's team that says, here's who we would like to have come before the special purpose Grand Jury next. .

That subpoens comes through the Grand Jury maybe the wrong statute under the subpoens, but it comes through the Grand Jury, but the idea, motivation, and the decision is from the District Attorney's office. I don't know how Senator Jones' subpoens which channel from which it flowed, I've got an inkling, but it doesn't matter. Your point is a good one.

I don't know that it cures the concern about political support for an opponent not having any bearing on how focused or not the special purpose Grand Jury would HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

be on the person I'm supportings political opponent before November X, whenever the election is.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I understand, and I didn't mean to imply otherwise to the public in my report, but I certainly understand the need to clarify that. The larger point being though, I think in this posture is that,

Senator Jones is still in obligation to some action taken during the investigation that is the Court's allegation of a political motivation, and you just haven't seen it here. The -- Yes, sir.

THE COURT: Mr. Dillon will get a chance to say more, but part of his introductory remarks he emphasized a whole lot then this target letter arise, like there was some cause and effect. I am not familiar with the timeline and you mentioned that my description of events may have gotten some of the timeline, and I'm not anchored to any particular timeline other than the correct one.

Hopefully, there is only one set of facts as to the timeline. What was your reaction to the way Mr. Dillon was painting -- it was almost a cause and effect timeline that X happens and as a result of X support for Charlie Bailey then Y happens, something that that in the public eye would be negative to Senator Jones.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I represent to the Court, and
I believe it's accurate that all of the target letters
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went out at the same time.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: So it was not pegged to any event that had any relevance of Lieutenant Governor's race or any other political option was dictated by the terms and the pace of that investigation.

THE COURT: So the 11 that Ms. Pearce and Ms. Deborrough received were issued on the same day, and effectively the same time as Senator Jones?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Yes.

THE COURT: It is not Senator Jones got his on a special day, and it was a broadcasted event, and then the other 11 went out?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: It was a routine issuance of the change of status as Mr. Wade explained in an effort to be transparent to everyone who had been working and talking with the State.

The final point I think I kind of want to make is that, as noted in the brief, we have partisan District Attorneys and partisan elections for those offices, so it should surprise exactly nobody elected District Attorney's should have political affiliations with other individual within the same political party, and I think the post case —— I've got a copy for the Court if you are not familiar with it and a copy for Mr. Dillon.

THE COURT: Is there a cite?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: It is. 298 Georgia 241. It's a 2015 decision. It's post, P-O-S-T. I've got a copy that is highlighted. I'll hand Mr. Dillon the same copies that have been highlighted for the Court. May I approach, please?

THE COURT: Sure. Thank You.

ADA GREEN: On page 5 it is a reference. The case doesn't raise the issue of a prosecuting attorney who has been or sought disqualified by a defendant or target or a subject, or a witness in the case. It's an even higher stand to what a judicial recusal would be, and I think it's instructed as a lower standard -- I'm sorry, a lower burden and a higher standard for a recusal of Court, and in this case it was the situation where the District Attorney had been listed as a campaign official of a Superior Court judge's campaign at one time, and the Court in that case found -- well, that's beyond routine, it's beyond financial, it's beyond what we normally expect.

Although it even -- and so the Court concluded, You know what, when you got that allegation and the affidavit of recusal you should have sent that on. I'll note too though, that once it was sent on, the Court determined that that wasn't an actual (unintelligible), and it went right back, so I bring the language to the Court's

attention because it does draw a focus on these are the things that happen when you have political affiliations for elected offices. It's expected, it's normal, and until or it shows some actual conflict then that is just maybe the upside, maybe the downside, but that's a consequence of the system that we have.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: One more final thing, and I think this could streamline some of our other conversations about remedy. The State is not interested in any summer surprises. I couldn't source that October deadline to anything. I'm unable to determine when that is. I don't believe we have that here. It's especially unlikely.

THE COURT: My understanding from speaking with the Grand Jury directly. My supervisory role is that the timeline is whatever the timeline is. There is no deadline, they like to be done with this soon, but that is only because they are giving much of their life to this process, but they'll follow this process as it unfolds, and as I intimated to Mr. Dillon and I'll make it clearer when I wrap up the disqualification session that if the work is completed such that it lands on or near the election, it will state in the pleading and be in my office until it gets disclosed after the election.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: You won't be hearing any objection about that from the State.

THE COURT: I never I heard any requests to the contrary. What I heard is we don't know when it will end. When will it will be done, when we're done.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I got a passed a note that's going to clear up that timeline. The political event for Mr. Bailey was June 14th, and the target letter was sent to Senator Jones and the others in that July 5th, July 6th timeline.

THE COURT: So three weeks later. All right. Mr. Dillon or Ms. Clapp. I'm happy to hear what you want to share. Don't repeat what you already said because I heard that. I'd like you to start with Ms. Cross's focus, and it is different. I'm very familiar with the judicial requirements and the impact and affect of apparent conflicts, and Ms. Cross's observation is the District Attorney is not a judge.

This is true, but because of that the apparent conflict may be an area of concern that we ought to talk about, but that it would not require me to take any remedial action, only if there were an actual conflict, and even if it was an actual conflict, but I don't disagree with you if you say there is an appearance of a conflict. You don't need to try to convince me of that.

If that's not enough, legally, then we'll all agree that there was an appearance of conflict, hopefully something like that doesn't happen again between now and the conclusion of this electoral cycle, but that is what I need you to start with appearance verses actual and anything else we need to cover that you already didn't.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Your Honor, if I may. My associate has a power point, and we'd like to plug into the screen if that is possible to the Court.

THE COURT: It is, Ms. Clapp is a part of this zoom session, and you're able to share your screen. Is what you're going to share something you shared with Ms. Cross or is this brand new?

ATTORNEY DILLON: We have not shared this with Ms. Cross.

THE COURT: It's not evidence?

ATTORNEY DILLON: It's not evidence, but we do have some exhibits, Your Honor, we do have some evidence here today.

THE COURT: Okay, if there is going to be evidence, let's just make sure Ms. Cross gets a chance to see it before we blast it on the screen.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Absolutely. oh, no. It won't be blasted on the screen. It won't be published before --

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY DILLON: As the initial point, Your Honor,
I'd like to point out that Senator Jones received his
Grand Jury subpoena in late May, and he was set for
testimony in late July.

We won't go into the date because we don't want to create a bottle neck, but he was assured by the DA's office that he was a witness in the case, and he was glad to do his civic duty. We were trying to work out the parameters for a voluntary interview to avoid the reptile marching. I won't use that term. while I like it, I just won't use it.

THE COURT: Simple, but what you are avoiding is answering my question. My question was, appearance of conflict verses actual conflict, what do you think the law is, and where do you think this falls?

ATTORNEY DILLON: I think, based on my reading of the law that controls in this area is that when there is a public perception of a conflict, then there's an issue that this Court has to look at, and the standard is the standard that is layed out in the Young case, the Supreme Court case that the DA cites in their response brief.

THE COURT: Young as in not old?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Young as in not old, and I don't have the cite in front of me.

THE COURT: I'll get it.

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ATTORNEY DILLON: It's also in my brief.

THE COURT: Lampl.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Okay. The DA cites it for the proposition that, "The standard of neutrality for prosecutors is not necessarily astringent as those applicable to judicial or quasi -- judicial offices," and she is correct, direct quote from Young.

It is not astringent, and the Court goes on to say that the different in treatment is relevant whether a conflict is found, however, not to it's gravity once identified. We may require a stronger showing for a prosecutor that a judge in order to conclude that a conflict of interest exists, but once we have drawn that conclusion we have deemed the prosecutor subject to influences that undermine confidence that a prosecution can be conducted in a disinterested fashion.

If this is the case we can not have confidence that a proceeding in which the officer plays the critical role of preparing and presenting the case for the defendant's guilt or hear the defendant's recommendation for a charge.

And so here is the Supreme Court saying that if the confidence is undermined, if the Court is saying, what were you thinking, then the decision is already made, because if we have a what were you thinking factor that even if they recommend discharge, and even if they died,

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and if they go to trial, and even if they win the case, which we submit will never happen, there it has occurred in the Young case.

The bigger issue here is not whether or not they can indict him for submitting a false document, they determine the falsity of all the documents in this case. here is whether or not they can drag Senator Jones down by literally releasing to the press that he's a target. quy get's \$32,000 dollars. This guy get's a publicly disclose target letter.

THE COURT: You're going a little bit off the -- the focus here is disqualification, and I'm not quite sure what you are invoking from the press or who you think said to the press that someone was a target, maybe other than you or your client talking to the press, but that's not what your motion was about. Your motion was about the decision the District Attorney made to support someone in her political party --

ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: -- and how that may create, and it does create the appearance of possible conflict, but is it an actual conflict, and you are helping me process that maybe an appearance would be enough, but that is what I need us to focus on and not your theory that the District Attorney's office is trying to affect someone's political

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career as opposed to revelations about someones connection to a series of events that are particularly controversial in our society right now might prove problematic for that political candidate. I can't help that part. Those were choices that were made. That might elevate that candidate in the eyes of some. They might not elevate that candidate in the eyes of many.

ATTORNEY DILLON: It may, Your Honor, and with regard to those facts, Senator Jones was willing to come in and meet with the prosecutor and sit down and say these are the facts of the case, under oath and maybe not under oath, but then they received this carpet bombing of target letters for everyone who signed the document, it is suddenly 16 witnesses had the door slammed in their face because they were told that they less friends of the investigation or targets.

Can we go to the next slide? Mr. Jones received his target letter on July 6th as the DA indicated. Contrary to their motion where they indicated he was a potential target, he was told he was What? Next slide. advised that you are "A target" of the Grand Jury." This was on July 6th.

Next slide, please. On July the 12th, six days after, I received this target letter, and I will say that we consider this to be highly confidential, and the only HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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two people in the world that knew about the target letter 1 were me and the district Attorney's office. I get this 2 unsolicited e-mail from a reporter with --3 4 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I'm sorry --5 THE COURT: Stop. ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I'm sorry. This isn't a 6 document that I've seen before, so before we publish it, 7 Mr. Dillon can you --8 THE COURT: Can you take that down, Ms. Clapp back to 9 the preceding page? And so, Mr. Dillon, you had assured 10 11 me that --12 ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, I did, Your Honor, and in my zeal I got a little ahead of myself. 13 THE COURT: Well, be less zealous. Represent your 14 client, but let's not slap e-mails for which no foundation 15 has not been laid upon the screen. I thought you said, in 16 fact, I know you said don't worry, the actual exhibits I 17 won't put on the screen, they'll just be in my hands and 18 19 they won't be published. 20 ATTORNEY DILLON: I had a carefully drafted script, and I lost it because we started in the middle of my 21 argument. May I approach and enter before the Court with 22 23 a copy. 24 THE COURT: You may. If it's a copy of Defense 25 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS:

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Exhibit 2 then again, there's no foundation. I haven't 1 2 seen it before. THE COURT: I'll take it. I won't necessarily make 4 it a part of the record --5 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: That was a part of my request. 6 If we're going to have a discussion about 7 it, I need to be able to see it. Thank you. ATTORNEY DILLON: It's an original and one. 8 9 THE COURT: All right. Any way. Your representation 10 is that you previously shared with me what happened in 11 your life, and in your life a reporter out of the blue 12 reached out to you and said hey, I heard that your client 13 is targed in the District Attorney's investigation? 14 ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor. 15 THE COURT: Well, the special Grand Jury's 16 investigation. Okay. 17 ATTORNEY DILLON: Three days later this same reporter 18 broke the story, and we won't publish that either. 19 not an exhibit, and it's on the internet, and we believe 20 the Court -- we'd love to publish the story. 21 THE COURT: You're free to do that, not through the 22 Court's zoom. 23 We'll hold off on that slide ATTORNEY DILLON: Okay. 24 for now, but I will represent to the Court three days 25 later this same reporter broke that everyone who signed on HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER 60

the alternate slate of electors and had received a target letter including Senator Jones.

THE COURT: Assuming for a minute that is exactly how that played out with you and Mr. Isokoff (sp.) where does that get us actual conflict, apparent conflict -- I understand where your client is very frustrated by that. You suggest that, gosh, the only two people on the planet who should know about it would be the District Attorney and you.

Certainly, it's a whole lot more than that. We know the District Attorney alone didn't, in fact, write all these letters by herself. In fact, she didn't sign the letters. It's on the screen right now. Mr. Wade did, so the universe has just grown by 50%. It's three people.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Right.

THE COURT: So somehow --- let me finish. Somehow word got out and the reporting universe knows about it now, and it flows as an unwelcomed development for your client. Actual conflict, appearance for conflict. I need you to bend it back to what I need to work through, which is should I take any remedial action to address an actual conflict or the appearance of conflict, if I have the authority, that's what we're working through and not the trials and tribulations of Senator Jones because there was a leak. Unless you've got proof that it was Charlie

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1 Bailey who leaked it, and then now we have --2 ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor. 3 THE COURT: But we don't have that here. ATTORNEY DILLON: I do not have that. No indication 4 that Mr. Bailey was involved. All I know is that this 5 organization knew and I knew, and of course my client 6 knew, and then six days later this internet reporter knows, and then shortly after that there's an AJC story Я about it. If we could I'd like to publish Exhibit 3, 10 which is a flyer for it. 11 THE COURT: That's in your pleading. 12 ATTORNEY DILLON: It is. 13 THE COURT: You may -- it's already public record. 14 Let me make sure the State can look at it, but if it's in 15 the pleading --16 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: If it is what's in the 17 pleading then we don't have an objection to the 18 authenticity of it. 19 THE COURT: Okav. 20 ATTORNEY DILLON: May I approach, Your Honor. 21 THE COURT: I've got it on my screen. So we have 22 this fundraiser, and it's a blockbuster headlining Fani 23 Willis the District Attorney. In fine print you can see 24 where Mr. Bailey is, in fact, a candidate there, the font 25 is so small that I have to squint to see what it says. HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

This occurs about three weeks before the decision is made to make my client target in this case.

The District Attorney, according to publicly available records, which I have marked as Exhibit 4. This particular document, Your Honor is from the public campaign finance website here in Georgia, so this is publicly available data. It shows during the day of and during the day after this fundraiser \$32,000 made to the office of Mr. Bailey. We submit is a direct result of this fundraiser. I'm told that the custom is, often people show up with a check or they give their regrets and sent a check the next day. During this particular month, Mr. Bailey raised over \$270,000 dollars.

THE COURT: So this was a particularly small fundraiser for him?

ATTORNEY DILLON: This might have been a particularly big one. This might have been the one that caused the avalanche of checks to come in.

THE COURT: Could be for all those people who are checking the ethics website to see what the cash flow looking like for the first couple of weeks were, so I'll put my money behind it.

ATTORNEY DILLON: This is the sort of headline fundraiser that gets people to say, oh, we have a big wheel. We have somebody who is on the nightly news, as HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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this Court knows, who is pulling for Charlie Bailey.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY DILLON: One candidate in the Lieutenant Governor's office or the Lieutenant Governor's race gets a headliner, the other one, three weeks later gets a target letter -- quietly get's a target letter. Now, there were numerous news stories speculating about the existence of target letters on or about the time of the Yahoo news article, and there was a lot of buzz about that.

In fact, there was even an AJC story where DA Wilis was quoted as saying that numerous attorneys had received target letters on their behalf. It didn't name Senator Jones, fortunately. In fact, it wasn't publicly known that Senator Jones received a target letter until the DA filed their brief two days ago.

They were the first people to acknowledge he was a target for this Grand Jury. We had never acknowledged that. It was a mere speculation in the press, but it's that sort of thing that gives the DA the the ability to benefit their friends and harm somebody who is under investigation, and that is really what we're talking about.

The cases that the DA's point to in their motion from 1916 and 1936 are talking about transactions where the financial transactions were \$150, and was that materially, HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

and while those are interesting cases, but once that \$150 was material in the depression, we were talking about \$30,000 and we're talking about swaying an election, a statewide election in Georgia, and that's a significant thing.

This is not something that is being done by accident.

This is being done by design. This fundraiser was pointed at benefiting Senator Jones --

THE COURT: Isn't that the purpose of the fundraiser. I agree -- the point of -- the question is does the District Attorney decision to support someone with whom she is politically aligned, it surprises no one that they are politically aligned. Does that rise to the level of creating -- an appearance of -- , and I've opined on that a little bit an actual conflict, and I understand because you can't climb into someone's mind.

You have to do a little of this through the shadowboxing of, okay -- there is a fundraiser and all of this money came in, and then there was a target letter. Do you have more of a connection of one who proceeded the other?

ATTORNEY DILLON: As far as a direct connection? THE COURT: Any connection.

ATTORNEY DILLON: What is out there in the press,
what is out there in the ether. A part of Senator Jones'
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concern is that this report is going to come out in October. I'm glad to hear there's no October surprise, but there's been this whole series of drips, this whole series of leaks out of the Fulton County DA's office that have tilted benefit towards Mr. Bailey. It pointed to my client as being a presumptive violator of the law, and it's only because the DA has the authority to do that.

So if this Court were to determine that she has a conflict, and this appearance is sufficient, and we go to the Attorney General's office to appoint a new prosecutor with regard to Senator Jones who could sit down with him and say, Well, Senator Jones, we're interested in what happened in December 2020, would you like to talk to us, and just like we did on day one, with the DA's office?

Certainly, we would be glad to. Do we have a target letter from your office? No, you do not, Senator Jones, because we have useful information that would age your investigation, because this is an investigation when it was impaneled that was supposed to gather evidence to see whether or not there was an effort to undermine democracy in this country, and when Senator Jones said, I have a subpoena here, I'm going to talk to these people we said, fine. We prepared our rates, but then we've got this target letter and then everything changed, just like it did for these 11 clients.

So then where initially they indicated where they wanted to gather evidence, now it appears that what they really wanted to do is gather publicity, and they slammed the door on all 16 witnesses who signed the document by giving them target letters, and then they announced that they're all bad people, and in essence they're going to recommend their charges in this report, if and when it comes to you desk.

THE COURT: So the DA's office doesn't write the

THE COURT: So the DA's office doesn't write the report, the Grand Jury does, just to repeat. You mentioned something about the District Attorney's office leaking this and leaking that. Supposition or evidence?

ATTORNEY DILLON: I certainly don't know that the District Attorney's office talked to Yahoo News, but I know that I was the only other person holding a copy of that target letter on that day, and there are numerous daily stories in the AJC, to quote learned sources from inside the investigation are the people who are conducting this special Grand Jury.

THE COURT: I'm focused on your client, and I'm asking you to direct me to anything other than the gentleman from Yahoo who said, I heard X about your client being a target. has there been other outreach from the media to you saying, I heard Y, I heard Z about Senator Jones that you can source only to the District Attorney's

office as opposed to, hey, any witness who comes before that Grand Jury is free to talk to the media afterwards if he or she wants to.

ATTORNEY DILLON: That's absolutely correct, and as you know, that's how the Grand Jury work.

THE COURT: Right.

ATTORNEY DILLON: You're supposed to operate in secrecy, which is what was anticipated when this was founded, but the witnesses are free to go talk, and some of the witnesses probably do talk, but certainly Senator Jones had an interest in the public not knowing that Fulton County considered him a target, so he did not talk; we know that.

The leak of the existence of this target letter and subpoena actually, violate the the (unintelligible) of ethics that the District Attorney operates under, and one of the things that we have with regard to Exhibit 5 is the ethics training that the DA's office gives from their general counsel, Mr. Robert Smith, who is the general counsel for the Prosecuting Attorney's Counsel of Georgia, and with permission of the Court I'd like to mark this as Exhibit 5.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: No objection, Your Honor. ATTORNEY DILLON: I think the District Attorney offered me an affidavit from Mr. Smith earlier today, so I HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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think they rely on him as an expert in regard to ethics.

THE COURT: Okay.

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ATTORNEY DILLON: And so at this time I would offer Exhibit 5 into evidence and request to publish it.

THE COURT: Sure.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Your Honor, I don't object to the submission of the document -- I can't verify it's authenticity. If Mr. Dillon is representing to the Court the source of this information, where he got it, that it's accurate, true, and complete, and that's probably going to take care of my objection. I just can't look at it and know that this is the presentation that Mr. Smith gave.

THE COURT: Right. It's too long for you to do that, just in this setting. Any reason we should be concerned that this has been altered in any way, or is anything other that what Mr. Smith presented to this District Attorney, but presumably all District Attorneys and their processes?

ATTORNEY DILLON: My understanding is that this is his presentation and he does it periodically and that he would have done it during the time period that Ms. Willis was the District Attorney here.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Can I ask for a representation of where you obtained this copy?

1	ATTORNEY DILLON: This was pulled off of the
2	internet.
3	ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Did you pull it from off of
4	the internet?
5	ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, I did.
6	ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Okay. Was it from the PAC
7	website?
8	ATTORNEY DILLON: You have to have access to the PAC
9	website to get it.
10	ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: And I'm wondering how you got
11	it.
12	ATTORNEY DILLON: It's out there in the ethers.
13	THE COURT: He got it from Yahoo.
14	ATTORNEY DILLON: I got it from Yahoo.
15	ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I want to kind of thank you
16	for your candor.
17	ATTORNEY DILLON: Would you like to present it to
18	your client? She would have attended this training, and
19	see if it's complete?
20	ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I would like to preserve
21	publication of the document until I can ascertain whether
22	it is true, accurate, and complete, because I understand
23	that it has been sourced to the internet, and that is not
24	something that I can accept, this authentication.
25	THE COURT: Okay, so it's admitted. I'll take it,
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just don't put it on the screen. I want us to keep moving forward.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Okay. We won't put it on the screen, but it does quote the rules of professional responsibility in Georgia, and so, I think those rules are relevant here, and the fact that the District Attorney's members and the District Attorney herself receives training on this on and gets reminded on a periodic basis of what their responsibilities are for the prosecutors is relevant.

THE COURT: Okay. So are you going to be reminding her now by reading it?

ATTORNEY DILLON: I would love to just read a few snippets, if I may, Your Honor.

THE COURT: If they are truly snippets.

ATTORNEY DILLON: "The DA and Assistant DA's should refrain from making extra judicial comments that have a substantial likelihood of heightening public condemnation of the accused." That is rule 3.8.

THE COURT: This relates to your theory that there was a leak that wasn't necessary -- one, we don't know there was a leak. Two, the District Attorney herself who is the focus of your concern because of the political support she has from someone with whom she is politically aligned, that she somehow has been behind the leak that, I

guess would have been behind the leak that your client is a target, but there is no evidence of that.

ATTORNEY DILLON: There was no evidence that my client was a client was a target until two days ago when they said it in their reply brief, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY DILLON: And that was not inadvertent. That came directly from the mouth of the District Attorney's office, and so we're not talking merely about this runoff. We're talking about the fact that it is publicly confirmed that Senator Jones is a target of this Grand Jury.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Irrefutably.

THE COURT: So your focus is not on a theory that would have got out but the confirmation, if you will, in Ms. Cross's response to your response in your motion to disqualify?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Okay. I'll let her talk about that.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, I understand. That brings us to the juncture that you pointed out where we began, which is on one side, we have this headliner and they raised \$32,000, and on the other side we have this target letter that they publicly disclosed, and we have these series of leaks to the press, and this is an effort to sway the

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outcome of the election for Lieutenant Governor in this case. It really has nothing to do with whether or not they ultimately indict Senator Jones or the other group of 11, or anybody in this case, because once the publicity machine has done it's business, the friends of the District Attorney have won, and so that is really why we're here, and so you ask, is there a real conflict here? It couldn't be more.

THE COURT: Okay. Short of disqualification, what do you view as a remedy? If I conclude that something needs to be done, and I have the authority to do it, but I don't think that it's practical or appropriate to say that the entire District Attorney apparatus for Fulton County has to unplug from any investigation, questioning of, exploration of your client's connection to the interference of the 2020 general election.

What do you see as an intermediate -- one would be for me to say there is an apparent conflict, but I can't do anything about that, because I can only handle actual conflicts. Another would be to say either it's an actual conflict, and I'm going to so something, or I'm going to go out on a limb and do something even though it's only an apparent conflict.

So if I'm going to do something, but it's not disqualify the whole office, what is your second most HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

preferable outcome?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Well, as the Court is aware, there are not numerous special Grand Juries of this magnitude to point to for precedent, so what we suggest in our brief is that the statutory provision that requires, once there's a conflict made apparent, that it be referred to Attorney General Carr's office and he find someone to conduct that portion of that here independent of this special Grand Jury, and it can be as simple as finding a District Attorney that doesn't have to find a good solid democratic District Attorney somewhere who doesn't have a conflict and give him the authority to pursue Senator Jones' issue in this, and we would be glad to sit down with him.

We would be glad to sit down with you. We would be glad to approach this with the same willingness to say let's get to the bottom of this issue and whether or not there was a conspiracy to undermine democracy in this country because that is an important issue, and let's put the media circus behind us. So let's answer the questions and forget it affecting this election for Lieutenant Governor, because there's no way she can keep a hand in it.

THE COURT: She being the District Attorney?

ATTORNEY DILLON: She being the District Attorney.

Forgive me, Your Honor, and not affect the outcome of this HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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election for Lieutenant Governor.

THE COURT: So if Attorney General Carr selected fictional District Attorney X who had also given \$2,000 to Charlie Bailey's campaign for Lieutenant Governor --

ATTORNEY DILLON: It would not be a problem at all. It's an ordinary contribution, and it's exactly what counsel points to. Now, if they had hosted a fundraiser during the time period that they were investigating Senator Jones, I might have to go to that judge and talk about that fundraiser.

THE COURT: What if that District Attorney had already hosted — the District Attorney is not involved in that investigation. She hosted a fundraiser two weeks ago, \$50 grand or even more money than DA Willis, but it's done. It's over and done with, and I'm not going to do anymore fundraisers from here on out, because now I've been tasked with seeing what connection, if any, Senator Jones had to what was going on in November and December.

ATTORNEY DILLON: If every District Attorney in the whole state had hosted a fundraiser for Mr. Bailey then that issue might be apparent, but I suspect, giving the list of good democratic District Attorneys in this state that we can find somebody who doesn't have a conflict and hasn't hosted a fundraiser for either one, because certainly, if somebody that hosted a fundraiser for

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Senator Jones, the Attorney General shouldn't nominate 1 2 that person either. Find somebody who doesn't have a dog in the hunt. Fani Willis has a dog in this hunt. THE COURT: Got it. Thank you, sir. 4 5 ATTORNEY DILLON: Thank you, Your Honor. Oh, can we offer into evidence Exhibits now. 6 7 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Actually, I was going to ask 8 to leave it up. 9 THE COURT: Leave it up? Okay, don't take it down? 10 Too late. Thank you, Ms. Clapp. ATTORNEY DILLON: Can we offer into evidence 1-5? 11 12 THE COURT: If there's no objection, 1-5. Was 5 the 13 one where the province was the internet? 14 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Yes. I was going to object to 15 the authenticity. I believe the foundation has been shown 16 for Exhibit NO. 5, we entered it into evidence so I didn't 17 object to the Court reviewing it, but I do object to it 18 being tendered and admitted. 19 THE COURT: Why don't we do this? I will take 1-5, 20 and then I will give Mr. Dillon to maybe shore up his 21 sourcing of it, and if, in fact, it is pretty clear that 22 Smith was the name of -- Mr. Smith's presentation then 23 I'll add to 5 the other 4. I'll hold on to it, but it 24 won't become part of the record until either Ms. Cross you 25 agree to talk to Mr. Dillon a little bit more and we see HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

the source, or we're substituting to you -- someone can get it off the PACK site.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I do want to raise objections to some of the others, but if they're being tendered now into evidence, Exihibit 1, the letter, I don't have any objection to that.

THE COURT: Okay, 1 is admitted.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Exhibit No. 2 is the e-mail that I do have an objection to that being tendered and accepted into evidence without any providence of it. I do also object to the relevance of it. There's nothing in this e-mail that sources any information to the District Attorney's office insofar as this being offered to show that the leaks are coming from this side of the table. I object to the relevance of that, and I don't think it shows that, and I object to the admission of it into evidence.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: No. 3 is the fundraiser flyer that is up on the screen now, and we don't have any objection to that being tendered and admitted into evidence. Exhibit No. 4. Again, I have an objection to the relevance of this. I don't think it shows what, at least what's been argued. It's been identified and offered for the purpose of establishing how much money was

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raised at the fundraiser, but what the actual document is or appears to be, based on Mr. Dillon's representation, and I don't have any reason to doubt it.

This is publicly available about how much money was donated to mr. Bailey campaign during a 2-day period in this document to the fundraiser, and while w I don't think that is going, and because of that I don't think that we have an objection to the ruling.

THE COURT: Okay, and then 5 is being conditionally admitted, provisionally admitted. I'm assuming you can clear up the source.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Yes, sir.

THE COURT: All right. Anything you want to add, Mr. Dillon?

ATTORNEY DILLON: No, Your Honor.

THE COURT: All right. I will admit Exhibits 1 and 3, and then 5 will be provisionally admitted. We'll see if the loose ends can be tied up there. Last question, Mr. Dillon, and I'll let you sit down. Beyond the Young case, is there a case or are there cases you want me to look at that stand for the proposition that the appearance of a conflict could be sufficient for a Judge to take any of the forms of remedial action that you are seeking?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Your Honor, I rely on the Davenport case, and that is a Georgia case.

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THE COURT: I don't see it in here. You're free to 1 rely on it. It didn't manage to make it's way into your 2 motion. 3 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: It was in mine. It's on page 4 5 4. THE COURT: You guys share very well when it comes to 6 7 cases. ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: The Cite is 170 -- I'm' sorry, 8 it's 157 Georgia Appeals 704, if that's the case you're 9 referring to. 10 THE COURT: Okay. Do you agree, Ms. Cross, that that 11 discusses the Davenport actual vs. apparent conflicts. 12 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I didn't cite it for that 1.3 proposition, and that's not my recollection of discussion 14 15 in the case. THE COURT: Okay. I'll look at it anyway. 16 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Yes, but don't -- yes. 17 ATTORNEY DILLON: Your Honor, I never did get clarity 18 on the basis for the objection to Exhibit 2, other than 19 she objected to it. 20 THE COURT: Relevance was one, and I think it was 21 foundation, although, the recipient, Mr. Dillon, I think 22 he could authenticate it as receiving it, but I'm not sure 23 the relevance you suppose that Mr. Isokoff(sp.) theorized 24 what he did because the District Attorney's office let him 25 HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER 79

1	know about it, as opposed to the witness from the Grand		
2	Jury or the grand juror.		
3	I don't know who's in the circle of discussing who is		
4	going to be a target or not, but you've made your point.		
5	I'm just not going to make it part of the record.		
6	ATTORNEY DILLON: Okay, and with regard to Exhibit 4,		
7	the financial fundraising report. We offer that as to Mr.		
8	Bailey's take over the two days, the day of the fundraiser		
9	and the day after, and we submit that it is relevant.		
10	THE COURT: Okay. I thought it showed his take for		
11	the whole month.		
12	ATTORNEY DILLON: No, no, no. It's just a 2-day		
13	period.		
14	THE COURT: It is before and after the 14th?		
15	ATTORNEY DILLON: It is the day of the 14th and the		
16	day after.		
17	THE COURT: And it is publicly available?		
18	ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, it is, Your Honor.		
19	THE COURT: All right. I'll admit it.		
20	ATTORNEY DILLON: That was Exhibit 4.		
21	THE COURT: Yes.		
22	ATTORNEY DILLON: May I offer a copy to the Court;		
23	I'm not sure I did that, Your Honor.		
24	THE COURT: What you want to make sure is that the		
25	court reporter, ultimately, has them. I've got number 2		
	HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER		
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of -- here when we're done will do that. Just make sure before you go that our court reporter has 1, 3, and 4, and 5 you're going to hold on to until you and Ms. Cross can work out if you we're able to put more to the story to that.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Ms. Cross, your closing thoughts about disqualification.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Very brief ones. Your Honor, we're taking a look now at what has been admitted as Mr. Jones, Exhibit 3. You'll notice that Mr. Jones is not Mr. Bailey's opponent at this point in the Lieutenant Governor's race.

If anybody's got a problem, or was the opponent of Mr. Bailey at that time was Mr. Kwanzaa Hall because at this point, Mr. Bailey was in a run off election, and he was very clearly identified as District Attorney Willis raising money for Mr. Bailey in the runoff fundraiser.

THE COURT: It's the largest font on the page. Even larger than the District Attorney's name.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I understand, insofar, as we're talking about appearances. I think that shifts the focus a little bit. The District Attorney isn't raising money for the opponent of Senator Jones in giving this fund raiser, this is prior to Mr. Bailey becoming the HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

actual Lieutenant Governor nominee for his party, so I want to make that as clear as it can be.

THE COURT: When was the runoff election?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Sometime after June.

THE COURT: Good.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Someone with easier access to google might be able to -- the last week of June.

THE COURT: Late June?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Late June.

THE COURT: All right. Got it.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Mr. Smith is going to be so pleased, because he gets another mention. I shared with Mr. Dillon an affidavit from Mr. Smith, who is actually general counsel of the prosecuting of Georgia. May I approach, Your Honor?

THE COURT: Yes.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I've got an original for the court reporter, but I'll hold onto that until it's been tendered and amended. This is an affidavit, thank you, that I shred with Mr. Dillon not long before the hearing identifying that Mr. Smith is someone who deals with conflict. He routinely advises District Attorney's as far as general and other entities to the inquiry about the legal requirements and that's the legal conflict for individuals, prosecuting attorneys.

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He's reviewed the motion, he's reviewed the response, the motion of Senator Jones, including the runoff fundraiser flyer that we're still looking at, and he determined, in fact, in his opinion that it does not a legal requirement.

I'm not suggesting that Mr. Smith's opinion (undecipherable) the Court's, but insofar as the individual who routinely advises district attorneys about these matters, this is the individual who is saying that there is not an actual conflict. There is also language in their indicating, of course, that he does advise that an actual conflict is required, as opposed to the appearance of one, so we ask that State's Exhibit No. 1 be admitted.

THE COURT: Any objection to State's 1 being admitted, assuming Jones 5 ultimately get's admitted?

ATTORNEY DILLON: Yes, Your Honor. I'm going to object, subject to Jones 5 being admitted along with this.

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY DILLON: I have no reason to doubt the authenticity of this, but Mr. Smith also trains them on an ethical (unintelligible) and so we could be back here next week with a motion for prosecutorial misconduct, which I won't define, but the ethical rules also apply to the District Attorney's office, and in the presentation that I HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

provided the Court, he lays out exactly the rules that DA Willis' office has violated.

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THE COURT: Okay. Sort out Exhibit 5 soon, so I can put that alarm on it. I'm going to admit DA 1 or State's 1, but I'd love to see 5. It seems like it ought to come in. I understand the State's concern.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I think we can work that out. There comes a time when the Court considers Senator Jones' offer of Exhibit No. 5, Mr. Smith's presentation. I believe at least the excerpt that Mr. Dillon read this afternoon was a concern or admonishment, or flagging the extra judicial statements of the District Attorney or prosecuting entity.

You've heard no evidence this afternoon or to my knowledge in the record anywhere that there has been any extra judicial statement from the District Attorney's office about Mr. Jones officer that has played a part in this.

Insofar as the objection this afternoon came to the identification, apparently, for the first time officially, that Senator Jones has received a target letter, of course that was in direct response in the motion to disqualify that was file by Senator Jones on Friday. They raised in that motion equal protection and due process claims. They reference constitutional protections of the Federal and

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State Constitution, and they are essentially saying, hey, look what you're doing. You're investigating me, and you're doing that only because I am a political opponent of someone you like.

That is our whole point to you, that is the whole thrust of this. Friends get rewarded and enemies get punished. The fact of the matter is, and what the District Attorneys represented in that was, no, You're just like everybody else. You're treated exactly like everybody else, similarly situated to you, received the same treatment and you can't show otherwise, and for that reason the legal standard hasn't been met, so I wanted to clear that up too.

Otherwise, I'm happy to address any concern or comment further from the Court that I think the motion — the burden hasn't been satisfied. It is not a legal conflict here and the motion should be denied after I consult very briefly with my table.

THE COURT: Please consult. Can we take the screen share down now?

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: Yes, and apparently we can withdraw our objection to Exhibit 5.

THE COURT: Great.

ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: There's no need to go forward.

THE COURT: Great. So before you leave, Mr. Dillon,

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1 make sure a copy gets to our court reporter, but I'd like 2 a copy of 5 as well. 3 ATTORNEY GREEN-CROSS: I'm handing up the original of the affidavit of Mr. Smith. 4 5 THE COURT: Thanks. Mr. Dillon? 6 ATTORNEY DILLON: Very briefly, Judge. Regarding to 7 the last point raised by the State. 8 THE COURT: Which was? 9 ATTORNEY DILLON: That it is perfectly okay to out 10 the target letter status of Senator Jones in their 11 pleading. 12 I didn't hear that it was perfectly okay. It was an explanation for -- the hand was forced, 13 14 and because an argument was made or treated differently. 15 I didn't hear that it was perfectly okay. I heard that it 16 was a justification. You don't think it's justified 17 because? 18 ATTORNEY DILLON: I think they could have made that 19 argument under (unintelligible) and not further the 20 appearance that they're favoring Mr. Bailey in trying to 21 do what? Hold my client up to public ridicule and 22 increase his shame, and do the things that Mr. Smith's 23 presentation says they should never do. 24 THE COURT: Ms. Pearson, was there anything you 25 wanted to add. Your motion with Ms. Deborrough, the

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motion to quash and disqualify. I mean your focus was quashal, and I get that, but you adopted Mr. Dillon and Ms. Clapp's motion.

You've shared with me that Mr. Still is a political I appreciate that Mr. Shaeffer is politically prominent in the Republican party and you said that all of your client's are active in one way or another. the disqualification argument? They seem to be not in the same category as Mr. Dillon's client.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, I would agree that Senator Jones has the most direct conflict. In our view not to ask for more relief than the senator himself has asked for, in our view that remedy is not sufficient to address that conflict, and the conflict is exacerbated -the evidence, by the politicization of our client's cases and our client's processes.

THE COURT: Again, I'll have to have you explain what you mean by politicization, given that it was your client's were doing? What is politicization their politicizing their activity, their political choices, their connection to a political -- what's politicization about it. other than talking about that which is inherently political; I'm not following.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: I think it's a great distinction, Your Honor. We're not talking about -- although we're HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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talking about political things, we're talking about political motivation by one party against another party, and to actions taken in one uniform direction against republican candidates, prominent republican actors --

THE COURT: Was there a third group of alternate democrat electors in case the democrat electors -- I'm not aware that another group that the special purpose Grand Jury should be investigating in connection with Republican efforts to create republican alternate electors and to challenge the outcome that, at that time, and continues to show that a democrat won. I was going to press Ms. Cross, but she didn't go there about partisan, because partisan has lots of meanings.

I don't think that partisan, the case that she cited was democrat and republican, it was I'm partisan because I'm trying to get this guy prosecuted. I have a stake in the outcome of this prosecution. That is not where her argument went today, but everything about this is inherently political, because two political parties collided, someone appears who have won, and folks who appear to have lost didn't like that outcome and said appearances can be deceiving and took some steps, and the question is where those steps legal, and that's the purpose of this special purpose Grand Jury is investigating, so it seems to me utterly unremarkable that HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER

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your clients are all republicans. What would be remarkable is if they weren't. What's the politicization because I don't want to miss it if there's a reason to be concerned, but you're not asking, I'd hope for, we have to have a Republican District Attorney investigate this because that's the only way it will be fair.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: No, not at all, Your Honor. I think the process, well, I know Mr. Dillon's motion is that the Attorney General would be allowed to designate the replacement, and so we think that should be done, because I think the appearance of impropriety with Senator Jones taints the entirety as office of the entire investigation, not just with regard to him as the remedy for what I'm trying to say, but you are correct that our focus was quashal, and that we are joining in that motion as an add on.

I would also say, Your Honor, that just on behalf of my clients, you asked if there is another slate that they should be investigating, and I would argue under the authorities that I put in our motion to the extent we were contingent electors, and so were the democrats, because there was a pending judicial challenge that made it joint.

And so, yes. The answer to your question is that both electors were contingent about time contingent on the judicial outcome which never came.

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THE COURT: Okay. I appreciate that perspective, but you did say you are seeking — I'm paraphrasing you, more relief or greater relief than Mr. Dillon was seeking, but then I thought you ended it by saying we want what Mr. Dillon recommended, which is push for his client, Senator Jones situation to the Attorney General, and let the Attorney General decide should I, the Attorney General, find another District Attorney in her office to see if it bares having a conversation with Senator Jones, or investigating, or sending a letter, whatever they choose to do. What's the difference between that and what you think I ought to do in terms of disqualification and your clients?

ATTORNEY PEARSON: Your Honor, I think the disqualification, if there is one, it is disqualification to the entire investigation, and the disease cannot be cabin to Senator Jones alone --

THE COURT: Okay.

ATTORNEY PEARSON: -- because it's still the special Grand Jury being advised by this District Attorney, and the report would still be advised by this District Attorney, and so we don't believe that's a sufficient cure, and that if there's a disqualification, it should be from the entire investigation and not just from Senator Jones.

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THE COURT: I follow that, and I thank you so much.

ATTORNEY DILLON: Just as a suggestion, Judge, and my learned counsel points to my own brief at page 6. The Magloclin(sp.) case, Magloclin v. Payne indicates that where the elected District Attorney is totally disqualified from the case, everybody in the office is. Here the special grand jury has two focuses.

One, the focus of the call between the president and the Secretary of State's office, and perhaps other officials that related to finding the votes. That's one aspect of it, and then there's the other aspect of it that could be carved off and sent to Mr. Carr's office to say, let's find a new District Attorney who doesn't have a dog in this hunt and do an investigation, do a proper investigation.

They can still have this other aspect of it, but a new District Attorney could come in and look at the evidence.

THE COURT: So without agreeing that there are only two aspects to what the special purpose Grand Jury is investigating, your creative idea is if I determine that there is going to be disqualification, it could be not as to individuals, but as to subject matter, and so this question of an alternate slate of electors, if that is something that needs to be further investigated, create a

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1 separate entity to do that, that's not supervised by this 2 District Attorney? 3 ATTORNEY DILLON: That's correct, Your Honor. THE COURT: Okay, thank you. All right. 4 5 we've covered everything, but let me find out from Ms. 6 Cross, Mr. Wade, Mr. Wakeford. Anything else from the 7 District Attorney's office? 8 ADA WADE: Nothing, Judge. Thank you. THE COURT: Okay. Mr. Dillon or Ms. Clapp, anything 9 further from Senator Jone's legal team? 10 11 ATTORNEY DILLON: No, Your Honor. 12 THE COURT: Ms. Pearson, Ms. Deborrough, anything 13 else from your clients? ATTORNEY PEARSON: No, Your Honor. Thank You. 14 1.5 THE COURT: All right. So we're clear, some things 16 I'll need to memorialize in writing. I am not quashing 17 the subpoenas. I'm repeating myself, but I will be 18 issuing an order, a written order on the question of 19 disqualification, and it will address, not just Mr. 20 Dillon's client, bur Ms. Pearson and Ms. Deboroughs' 21 clients as well. 22 I'll probably put in there a little bit about the timing of the issuance of the report, but I want to make 23 24 it clear now in front of everyone what I've heard from the 25 District Attorney's office as well, there is no plan for a HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER 92

date right now anyway. It's not available. If the way the investigation flows, insofar as it stays with this District Attorney's office and the special purpose Grand Jury, that Grand Jury disgorges it's final report somewhere near the election, it will not be published and released until after the election.

I'll put that in writing as well, because from my brief conversation with the grand jurors, just to check in on their health and well being, they don't have that light at the end of the tunnel, but things could change, and if suddenly their work is done I will make sure that there is a meaningful time buffer between release and election, and it may well be that we need to publish the plan -- if it's going to be released. If the report is going to be released before the election we make sure when that elected date is, so that if people have concerns or objections we could file those and we could air that out before the release.

I'd be shocked if there is a report before then. I'm trying to prime interim report just for me from them on how things are going. I don't know at all how they do that, so we'll see how that goes. I appreciate everyone's time, so with that you are all free to go.

(This matter has been adjourned.)

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1	Certificate	
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4	STATE OF GEORGIA)	
5	COUNTY OF FULTON)	
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8	I, Hadassah J. David, official court reporter in and for the	
9	state of Georgia, do hereby certify that I did report and take	
10	down the foregoing pages on the 21th day of July 2022, that it	
11	is a true, accurate, and complete transcript of the proceedings	
12	transcribed herein to the best of my skill and ability. I	
13	further certify that the transcript is in conformity with the	
14	judicial counsel of georgia and the georgia board of court	
15	reporting. I hereby witness my hand and official seal this	
16	15th day of August 2022.	
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21	/S/ HADASSAH J. DAVID, CCR	
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23	HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER	
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25	FULTON COUNTY SUPERIOR COURT	
	HADASSAH J. DAVID, OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER 94	

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