Date: December 7, 2022
Case: In Re: Rudolph W. Giuliani


Ace-Federal Reporters, Inc.
Phone: 202-347-3700
Fax: 202-737-3638
Email: info@acefederal.com
Internet: www.acefederal.com

|  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |

Wednesday, December 7, 2022

CONTINUED VIRTUAL HEARING OF

RUDOLPH GIULIANI

Reported by
Kim M. Brantley, C.S.R.

In Re: Rudolph W. Giuliani
December 7, 2022

|  | Page 632 |  | Page 634 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Continued virtual hearing, taken via Zoom, | 1 | APPEARANCES CONTINUED: |
| 2 | commencing at 9:02 a.m., before the Ad Hoc Hearing | 2 | On behalf of Respondent: |
| 3 | Committee, and before Kim M. Brantley, a Court | 3 | HON. JOHN M. LEVENTHAL, (RET.) ESQUIRE |
| 4 | Reporter and Notary Public in and for the District | 4 | HON. BARRY KAMINS, (RET.) ESQUIRE |
| 5 | of Columbia, when were present on behalf of the | 5 | AIDALA, BERTUNA \& KAMINS, PC |
| 6 | respective parties: | 6 | 546 Fifth Avenue - Sixth Floor |
| 7 |  | 7 | New York, New York 10036 |
| 8 |  | 8 | (212) 486-0011 E-mail |
| 9 |  | 9 | Email: judgeleventhal@aidalalaw.com |
| 10 |  | 10 | ALSO PRESENT: |
| 11 |  | 11 | AZADEH MATINPOUR, Paralegal |
| 12 |  | 12 | DC Disciplinary Counsel |
| 13 |  | 13 |  |
| 14 |  | 14 | JOHN ESPOSITO, Esquire |
| 15 |  | 15 | Aidala Bertuna \& Kamins, PC |
| 16 |  | 16 |  |
| 17 |  | 17 | JON ORTIZ, ESQUIRE |
| 18 |  | 18 | DC Disciplinary Counsel Expert Witness |
| 19 |  | 19 |  |
| 20 |  | 20 | JIM PHALEN, ESQUIRE |
| 21 |  | 21 | MEGHAN BORAZZAS, Staff |
| 22 |  | 22 | Office of the Executive Attorney |
|  | Page 633 |  | Page 635 |
| 1 | APPEARANCES: | 1 | I N D E X |
| 2 | Ad Hoc Hearing Committee: | 2 | DISCIPLINARY COUNSEL'S CASE: |
| 3 | ROBERT C. BERNIUS, ESQUIRE | 3 | WITNESSES: DIRECT: CROSS: |
| 4 | Chair | 4 | Daniel Ortiz 637, 708,727 654, 729 |
| 5 | MS. CAROLYN HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL | 5 |  |
| 6 | Public Member | 6 | RESPONDENT'S CASE: |
| 7 | JAY BROZOST, ESQUIRE | 7 | WITNESSES: DIRECT: CROSS: |
| 8 | Attorney Member | 8 | Corey Lewandowski 733 (none) |
| 9 |  | 9 | John Droz 751,785 781 |
| 10 | On behalf of the DC Attorney Disciplinary | 10 | Christina Bobb 790 (none) |
| 11 | System: | 11 | Bernard Kerik 810, 842, 850 |
| 12 | HAMILTON P. FOX, III, ESQUIRE | 12 | 839, 842, 847, 853 (voir dire by Mr. Fox) |
| 13 | Disciplinary Counsel | 13 | Rudolph Giuliani 859943 |
| 14 | JASON HORRELL, ESQUIRE | 14 |  |
| 15 | Assistant Disciplinary Counsel | 15 |  |
| 16 | 515 Fifth Street NW, Ste. A-117 | 16 |  |
| 17 | Washington, DC 20001 | 17 |  |
| 18 | (202) 638-1501 | 18 |  |
| 19 |  | 19 |  |
| 20 |  | 20 |  |
| 21 |  | 21 |  |
| 22 |  | 22 |  |


|  | Page 636 |  | Page 638 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | PR O C E E D N G S | 1 | A. The Third Circuit said that the |
| 2 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Good morning. Is | 2 | plaintiffs had not challenged the district court's |
| 3 | there anything we need to discuss before we begin | 3 | withholding on those issues. |
| 4 | with Mr. Fox's questioning? | 4 | MR. FOX: And if -- if you would put |
| 5 | MR. FOX: Not from me. | 5 | up, please, the -- the second full paragraph on |
| 6 | MR. KAMINS: Mr. Chair, only one | 6 | the second column. If you would highlight that |
| 7 | matter. We were attempting to contact one of our | 7 | for us -- no, down one. That one, that's right. |
| 8 | witnesses last night who was supposed to be the | 8 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 9 | first witness, and he was flying out to Denver. | 9 | Q. And -- and is this the language which |
| 10 | So hopefully he will -- if he's not in the waiting | 10 | the -- that you referred to that the -- where the |
| 11 | room when we get ready for him, then we'll call | 11 | Third Circuit discussed the clause? |
| 12 | Mr. Droz as our first witness. | 12 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, great. | 13 | Q. There's a case there called I guess -- |
| 14 | Mr. Fox, you may proceed. | 14 | I don't know; I suppose it's Bognet; I'm not |
| 15 | MR. FOX: Yeah, I apologize. My | 15 | sure -- vs. Secretary Commonwealth of |
| 16 | background has somehow disappeared on me and I'm | 16 | Pennsylvania. |
| 17 | not mechanically able to put the right one up. | 17 | Are you familiar with that case? |
|  | I'll fix that at a break. So you see my sloppy | 18 | A. Yes, sir. I read it in my original |
| 19 | office. | 19 | preparation for the report back in April. |
| 20 | (Whereupon Daniel Ortiz resumed the | 20 | Q. Okay, and the -- it's cited for the |
| 21 | witness stand.) | 21 | proposition that the campaign concedes that under |
| 22 |  | 22 | our recent decision it lacks standing to pursue |
|  | Page 637 |  | Page 639 |
| 1 | CONTINUED DIRECT EXAMINATION | 1 | alleged violations of those causes? |
| 2 | ON BEHALF OF DISCIPLINARY COUNSEL | 2 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 3 | BY MR. FOX: | 3 | Q. And -- and what did the case hold in |
| 4 | Q. Mr. Ortiz, yesterday when we had just | 4 | that regard? |
| 5 | finished discussing the -- Judge Brann's opinion | 5 | A. The case hold that the campaign did not |
| 6 | for the district court in the case that Mr. | 6 | have an injury in fact. It's one of the three |
| 7 | Giuliani argued, and I now want to switch to the | 7 | required elements of standing in most cases. |
| 8 | opinion of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals in | 8 | Q. And that's just -- that's for the |
| 9 | that same matter. | 9 | Electors and Election Clause counts? |
| 10 | MR. FOX: And I would ask that we put | 10 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 11 | up exhibit -- Disciplinary Counsel Exhibit 16, | 11 | Q. Okay. Now let's talk about the |
| 12 | please. | 12 | argument that Mr. Giuliani discussed as to whether |
| 13 | BY MR. FOX: | 13 | Due Process required the states to have poll |
| 14 | Q. And I think we identified this last | 14 | watchers and observers. |
| 15 | time as the opinion. And I want to go to page | 15 | Did the Third Circuit deal with that |
| 16 | nine, but first I want to ask you, did the Third | 16 | issue? |
| 17 | Circuit rule on whether there was -- did the Third | 17 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 18 | Circuit issue a ruling on the Electors and | 18 | MR. FOX: And if we could put up the |
| 19 | Election Clause claim that had been included in | 19 | paragraph above the one that we just looked at. |
| 20 | the complaint before the district court? | 20 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 21 | A. No, sir. | 21 | Q. Is this the discussion from the Third |
| 22 | Q. Okay. And why was that? | 22 | Circuit? |


|  | Page 640 |  | Page 642 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | A. Yes, sir. | 1 | MR. FOX: And finally let's look at |
| 2 | Q. And just read that to us, please. | 2 | page 12, and the -- the first full paragraph in |
| 3 | A. Sure. "Count seven alleges that | 3 | the second column, if that could be highlighted. |
| 4 | Philadelphia's Board of Elections violated Due | 4 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 5 | Process by obstructing poll watchers and | 5 | Q. And is this the ruling as to whether |
| 6 | representatives, but nothing in the Due Process | 6 | there was the -- the campaign had made a |
| 7 | Clause requires having poll watchers or | 7 | sufficient -- allegations to avoid a motion to |
| 8 | representatives, let alone watchers from outside a | 8 | dismiss? |
| 9 | county or less than 18 feet away from the nearest | 9 | A. Yes, sir. That paragraph is doing |
| 10 | table. | 10 | several things, that among them. |
| 11 | "The campaign cites no authority for | 11 | Q. Okay. First of all, just read that to |
| 12 | those propositions and we know of none; ditto for | 12 | us, if you will. |
| 13 | Notice and Cure procedures. And the campaign | 13 | A. "Seeking to turn those state law claims |
| 14 | litigated and lost that claim under state law, | 14 | into federal ones, the campaign claims |
| 15 | too. | 15 | discrimination. But it's alchemy cannot transmute |
| 16 | "The Pennsylvania Supreme Court held | 16 | lead into gold. |
| 17 | that the election code required only that poll | 17 | "The campaign never alleges that any |
| 18 | watchers be in the room, not that they be within | 18 | ballot was fraudulent or cast by an illegal voter. |
| 19 | any specific distance of the ballot." And then it | 19 | It never alleges that any defendant treated the |
| 20 | cited In Re Canvassing Observation. | 20 | Trump campaign or its votes worse than it treated |
| 21 | Q. Okay. And finally, with respect to | 21 | the Biden campaign or its votes. Calling |
| 22 | this opinion for the Third Circuit, did it discuss | 22 | something 'discrimination' does not make it so. |
|  | Page 641 |  | Page 643 |
| 1 | whether there were -- did it discuss whether the | 1 | "The second appended complaint still |
| 2 | campaign had brought allegations of improper vote | 2 | suffers from these core defects, so granting leave |
| 3 | counting? | 3 | to amend would have been futile." |
| 4 | A. Yes, sir. | 4 | Q. Now would you tell us, Mr. Ortiz, what |
| 5 | MR. FOX: Let's go to the next page and | 5 | is Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 8? |
| 6 | highlight the paragraph right at the very top of | 6 | A. Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 8 is |
| 7 | the page. This will be on page $10-$ nine, | 7 | the rule that, among other things, lays out the |
| 8 | sorry -- 10,10 , sorry. And -- and if you'll just | 8 | requirements for valid pleading. |
| 9 | highlight that top paragraph really. I know it | 9 | Q. And in -- in -- in a non-fraud case, |
| 10 | starts on that page. There we go. Thank you. | 10 | what are those requirements? |
| 11 | BY MR. FOX: | 11 | A. That the -- basically the claim state |
| 12 | Q. And then, beginning after it lays out | 12 | in a plain and concise way the elements of the |
| 13 | the various counts, could you read us the language | 13 | claim. |
| 14 | that begins with the word "none". | 14 | Q. And did the Third Circuit rule as to |
| 15 | A. "None of these counts alleges facts | 15 | whether this complaint -- these complaints met the |
| 16 | showing improper vote counting and none alleges | 16 | standards of Rule 8? |
| 17 | facts showing that the Trump Campaign was singled | 17 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 18 | out for adverse treatment. | 18 | Q. And what did it say about that? |
| 19 | "The campaign cites no authority | 19 | A. It said that they did not meet the |
| 20 | suggesting an act or discriminates by treating | 20 | standards of Rule 8, let alone the standards of |
| 21 | people equally while harboring a partisan motive, | 21 | Rule 9. |
| 22 | and we know of none." | 22 | Q. And there's a citation in the opinion |


|  | Page 644 |  | Page 646 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | to a case called Iqbal, I-q-b-a-l. |  | requirements have to be processed whenever those |
| 2 | A. Yes, sir. | 2 | requirements are not material. And in -- it went |
| 3 | Q. What's the Iqbal case? | 3 | up though the federal court system, and the Third |
| 4 | A. The Iqbal case sat -- lays out -- it | 4 | Circuit, before the election, said that the Notice |
| 5 | follows another case called Twombley, and together | 5 | and Cure -- the Notice and Cure was appropriate |
| 6 | they lay out what the pleading requirements are | 6 | because -- or that -- that these ballots could not |
| 7 | under Rule -- pleading standards are for adequate | 7 | be rejected for these kind of technical defects |
| 8 | pleading under Rule 8. It's known as the | 8 | due to the federal law. And then a stay |
| 9 | plausibility standard. And basically what you do | 9 | application was brought before the Supreme Court, |
| 10 | is you take any allegations that are conclusory | 10 | which was referred to yesterday, and the Supreme |
| 11 | and you just ignore them. They are just read out | 11 | Court refused to issue a stay of that ruling, |
| 12 | of the complaint. And then you look at all the | 12 | which would have a allowed defects to have been |
| 13 | other allegations and you weigh them against other | 13 | noted and ballots to be rejected on that basis. |
| 14 | possible alternative stories that they are | 14 | Then after the election, the Supreme |
| 15 | consistent with, and you decide whether the -- the | 15 | Court issued another order, which was discussed |
| 16 | story that the plaintiff is asserting is the most | 16 | yesterday. This was the one where it granted |
| 17 | plausible one among those. | 17 | certiorari in the case and then vacated the |
| 18 | Q. And so the Third Circuit said it didn't | 18 | decision below as moot. |
| 19 | meet the Rule 8 standards and didn't -- did it | 19 | So, we have this sort of standard at |
| 20 | even reach the Rule 9 issue? | 20 | that point after the election I believe it was. |
| 21 | A. No, sir. | 21 | There the ruling didn't really matter in that case |
| 22 | Q. Okay. All right, that's all I have | 22 | and so a so-called Munson-Ware (phon) order was |
|  | Page 645 |  | Page 647 |
| 1 | about this opinion, but I do want to ask you about | 1 | sought, which leads to the vacator of the opinion |
| 2 | one other case called Ritter vs. Migliori, which | 2 | below when things are moot. And that was what -- |
| 3 | Mr. Giuliani discussed yesterday I guess in his -- | 3 | since the decision no longer made any difference |
| 4 | counsel's examination. | 4 | in that case, that is what the Supreme Court did. |
| 5 | Can you tell us about that case, what | 5 | Q. And there was a dissent that was -- I |
| 6 | the procedural posture was, what the issues were | 6 | think Mr. Giuliani read from yesterday. What was |
| 7 | and so forth? | 7 | that dissent to? |
| 8 | A. It's very complicated, so I will try. | 8 | A. The dissent was to the denial of the |
| 9 | It concerned a -- I believe a judicial | 9 | stay application prior to the election. |
| 10 | election in the State of Pennsylvania and the -- | 10 | Q. All right. I want to turn next to Rule |
| 11 | the judicial election, the plaintiff sought to | 11 | 11 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure. |
| 12 | attack the -- among other things, the Notice and | 12 | Can you tell us, what is Rule 11? |
| 13 | Cure features, procedures, and it was brought in | 13 | A. Rule 11 is a provision that says |
| 14 | federal court and the -- sorry, let me step back. | 14 | whenever a -- an attorney submits a paper outside |
| 15 | It was actually brought by the -- | 15 | of the discovery process, the attorney has to |
| 16 | the -- that case was brought by the -- I'm just | 16 | verify it with his or her signature, and when the |
| 17 | confusing it with another one. That case was | 17 | attorney signs the paper, that is taken as |
| 18 | brought by I believe the democratic party and it's | 18 | attesting to three different things: First, that |
| 19 | individual plaintiffs, and they were seeking a | 19 | the paper, the pleading, or just the paper is not |
| 20 | declaration that, under the federal Voting Rights | 20 | being submitted for any improper purpose, |
| 21 | Act, as amended, which has a provision that says | 21 | secondly, that it is well founded in law, and two |
| 22 | that votes not meeting all the technical | 22 | that it is well founded in fact -- and three is |

December 7, 2022

|  | Page 648 |  | Page 650 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | well founded in fact. | 1 | think would have -- let's see. The initial |
| 2 | Q. And -- and if a lawyer violates Rule | 2 | complaint was filed I believe on November the 9th. |
| 3 | 11 , does the rule under some circumstances allow | 3 | You had 21 days -- after -- you have to wait 21 |
| 4 | for sanctions to be imposed? | 4 | days. So the first day that the motion could be |
| 5 | A. Yes. There are two ways that sanctions | 5 | -- any motion could be filed in the court would I |
| 6 | can be granted: first, if the opposing parties | 6 | believe have been December 1st. |
| 7 | serve on the attorney a motion to basically -- you | 7 | Q. Okay. |
| 8 | know, saying they're seeking -- they're going to | 8 | A. And I believe that everyone in the |
| 9 | be seeking Rule 11 sanctions. After 21 days, if | 9 | litigation, certainly Judge Brann, anticipated |
| 10 | the attorney has not withdrawn or corrected the | 10 | that the proceedings in the district court would |
| 11 | submission, the other side can actually file that | 11 | end before that. In fact Judge Brann issued his |
| 12 | motion in court and initiate court proceedings. | 12 | opinion I believe on the -- was it the 19th? No, |
| 13 | In some circumstances -- judges also | 13 | the 21st of November, which allowed time for Third |
| 14 | have the discretion in some circumstances to sua | 14 | Circuit review. |
| 15 | sponte -- meaning even when a party doesn't ask | 15 | Q. Okay. So even if the defendants had |
| 16 | them to -- initiate Rule 11 sanctioning | 16 | provided notice of an intent to file a Rule 11 |
| 17 | procedures. | 17 | motion on the date that the case was first filed, |
| 18 | Q. So let's turn to the first one where | 18 | there would have been insufficient time, 21 |
| 19 | the -- the party opponent might ask for Rule 11 | 19 | days -- the case was dismissed before the 21 days |
| 20 | sanctions. | 20 | had run. |
| 21 | Can the party opponent do so without | 21 | Is that right? |
| 22 | giving the twenty-one-day notice? | 22 | A. Yes. |
|  | Page 649 |  | Page 651 |
| 1 | A. No. The -- the party can serve the | 1 | Q. Okay. Now with respect to the other |
| 2 | motion, but the party cannot file it with the | 2 | option, the sua sponte option by the judge, was |
| 3 | court. | 3 | there a time when the judge -- judges were |
| 4 | Q. Okay. In this case, the district court | 4 | mandated to make -- impose Rule 11 sanctions? |
| 5 | case in front of Judge Brann, would it have been | 5 | A. Yes. That was after the 1983 |
| 6 | possible for the defendants to have sought Rule 11 | 6 | amendments to Rule 11, before the 1993 amendments |
| 7 | sanctions? | 7 | to Rule 11. |
| 8 | A. Practically not. I believe that no one | 8 | Q. And since 1993, what has the situation |
| 9 | actually anticipated that this case in the | 9 | been? |
| 10 | district court was going to go into December, | 10 | A. The situation since 1993 is that they |
| 11 | since December 8th was the safe harbor deadline | 11 | may, using their discretion, order Rule 11 |
| 12 | under the Electoral Count Act. I think everyone | 12 | sanctions when they see a complaint that is not -- |
| 13 | anticipated that there would be a -- things would | 13 | or sorry, when they see a submission that was |
| 14 | be moved along certainly in the district court | 14 | offered for an improper purpose, is not warranted |
| 15 | quickly enough that there could be at least an | 15 | by law and not warranted by the facts. |
| 16 | appeal to the Third Circuit and maybe a cert | 16 | Q. And has -- is there any data or studies |
| 17 | petition filed for review before the Supreme | 17 | that have been conducted about how frequently |
| 18 | Court. | 18 | judges impose Rule 11 sanctions sua sponte? |
| 19 | Q. And you mean filed within the | 19 | A. I'm only aware of one, which was as a |
| 20 | twenty-one-day period. Is that what you're | 20 | result of this point, which was during this |
| 21 | talking about? | 21 | period, 1983 to 1993, when the federal courts had |
| 22 | A. Yes. No, the twenty-one-day period I | 22 | to actually issue sanctions when they saw a Rule |


|  | Page 652 |  | Page 654 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 11 violation. | 1 | basis in law or fact for Mr. Giuliani's request |
| 2 | Q. And -- and there's -- there's been no | 2 | for the various remedies, including declaring |
| 3 | information -- and do you have any information at | 3 | Trump the winner and thus the recipient of |
| 4 | all about how frequently judges do sua sponte? | 4 | Pennsylvania's electoral vote? |
| 5 | A. Well, it was a survey of five judicial | 5 | A. No, sir. |
| 6 | districts: The District of Arizona, the district | 6 | MR. FOX: Thank you. Those are all the |
| 7 | of the District of Columbia, the district of -- | 7 | questions I have. |
| 8 | sorry, the Northern District of Georgia, the | 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Kamins. |
| 9 | Eastern District of Michigan, and the Western | 9 | MR. KAMINS: Yes, thank you, Mr. Chair. |
| 10 | District of Texas. And the study found that in a | 10 | CROSS-EXAMINATION |
| 11 | two- to two-and-a-half year period it varied from | 11 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT |
| 12 | distinct to district. There were a minimum of | 12 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 13 | five and I believe maybe a maximum of 30 or 35 , | 13 | Q. Professor Ortiz, can you hear me? |
| 14 | somewhere in there, sua sponte Rule 11 occurrences | 14 | A. I sure could, Hank. |
| 15 | in those districts. That study is cited in a | 15 | Q. Good morning or I questions I should |
| 16 | footnote in my report. I believe it's footnote | 16 | say good afternoon where you are, right? |
| 17 | 114,116 , somewhere around there. If you take the | 17 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 18 | total number of cases in those districts over that | 18 | Q. Now in your report you stated that you |
| 19 | period of time -- I and can offer them if you | 19 | published a number of articles on election law. |
| 20 | want -- and then you figure out the percentage of | 20 | Is that right? |
| 21 | cases in which sua sponte orders were given during | 21 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 22 | that period, it comes out by my calculation as | 22 | Q. Many I guess -- or I should say many of |
|  | Page 653 |  | Page 655 |
| 1 | point 1.2 percent of cases. | 1 | them really were on campaign finance issues, were |
| 2 | Q. All right, now I just finally want to | 2 | he they not? |
| 3 | ask you about your opinions on five matters. | 3 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 4 | First, in your opinion, was there any | 4 | Q. And you've litigated in, according to |
| 5 | nonfrivolous basis in law or fact for Mr. | 5 | your report, extensively in federal courts? |
| 6 | Giuliani's claim that the defendants committed | 6 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 7 | election fraud? | 7 | Q. And you've been the attorney I noticed |
| 8 | A. No. | 8 | in a number of criminal matters, correct? |
| 9 | Q. Was there any nonfrivolous basis in law | 9 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 10 | and fact for Mr. Giuliani's claims that the | 10 | Q. And a number of civil litigation other |
| 11 | plaintiffs in this suit had standing? | 11 | than election cases? |
| 12 | A. No. | 12 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 13 | Q. Was there any nonfrivolous basis in law | 13 | Q. A number of campaign finance cases? |
| 14 | or fact where it's claimed that the Notice and | 14 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 15 | Cure procedures violated the plaintiffs' | 15 | Q. But with respect to election disputes |
| 16 | constitutional rights? | 16 | cases, I only notice like there were three cases I |
| 17 | A. No. | 17 | think where you were counsel for amicus curiae? |
| 18 | Q. Is there any nonfrivolous basis in law | 18 | A. I would have to look at my resume for |
| 19 | or fact that the observational boundaries violated | 19 | that, sir, but I have no reason to -- I have no |
| 20 | the plaintiffs' constitutional rights? | 20 | reason to contest that. |
| 21 | A. No, sir. | 21 | Q. And I believe you filed an amicus brief |
| 22 | Q. And finally, was there any nonfrivolous | 22 | for some -- some institute called the Reform |


|  | Page 656 |  | Page 658 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Institute? | 1 | Q. And isn't it correct that in this case |
| 2 | A. Yes, sir. | 2 | the original -- the first original complaint was |
| 3 | Q. And then there was one case you were | 3 | filed only six days after the election? |
| 4 | one of several law professors who served as | 4 | A. It was about that. I have no reason to |
| 5 | counsel for record for Individuals Who Wished to | 5 | contest the exact number. |
| 6 | Become Delegates to the State Republic Convention | 6 | Q. And isn't it correct that the first |
| 7 | to Nominate the Republican Candidate For U.S. | 7 | amended complaint was filed only 12 days after the |
| 8 | Senate in Virginia? | 8 | election on November 3rd? |
| 9 | A. Yes, sir. | 9 | A. Again there was a period about that. I |
| 10 | Q. All right. Other than that, have you | 10 | can't do the exact number of dates. But I have no |
| 11 | personally represented a client in a state or | 11 | reason to contest that. |
| 12 | federal matter in which a client was a candidate | 12 | Q. And isn't it correct that Mr. Giuliani |
| 13 | in an election? | 13 | sought to file the second amended complaint only |
| 14 | A. I don't -- I can't remember, sir. I 00 | 14 | 15 days after the election on November 3rd? |
| 15 | none comes to mind, sir. | 15 | A. Again I -- that sounds in the ballpark, |
| 16 | Q. All right. Have you personally | 16 | but I have no idea the exact number of days. If |
| 17 | represented a client in a state or federal matter | 17 | you want, I could figure it out. |
| 18 | in which a client was challenging another | 18 | Q. Well, I guess we should go to the |
| 19 | candidate in an election? | 19 | timeline. The -- let's see, the first amended |
| 20 | A. No, sir. | 20 | complaint was filed on November 9th, correct? |
| 21 | Q. Have you personally represented a | 21 | A. Correct. |
| 22 | client in a state or federal matter in which a | 22 | Q. And the -- the first amended complaint |
|  | Page 657 |  | Page 659 |
| 1 | client was challenging the results of an election? | 1 | was filed on -- when? |
| 2 | A. No, sir. | 2 | A. The 15th. The 15th. |
| 3 | Q. Have you personally represented a | 3 | Q. So that would be 12 days I believe? |
| 4 | client in a state or federal matter in which a | 4 | A. I don't remember exactly when the |
| 5 | client was filing a petition in an election? | 5 | election was, whether it was November the 2nd or |
| 6 | A. No, sir. | 6 | the 3rd. |
| 7 | Q. And have you personally represented a | 7 | Q. November -- I believe the election was |
| 8 | client in a state or federal matter in which a | 8 | November 3rd. |
| 9 | client was trying to disqualify a candidate? | 9 | A. Okay. Then it would be six days for |
| 10 | A. No, sir. | 10 | the initial complaint, 12 days for the first |
| 11 | Q. Now some general questions... | 11 | amended complaint, and 18 -- sorry. And I don't |
| 12 | Would you agree then, when representing | 12 | actually have the date of the second amended |
| 13 | a client in a federal lawsuit, attorneys often | 13 | complaint. I believe it was the 18th. So that |
| 14 | spend weeks or even months researching the issue | 14 | would make 15 days. |
| 15 | before drafting and then filing a complaint? | 15 | Q. Okay. Isn't it true that Mr. Giuliani |
| 16 | A. Yes, sir. | 16 | argued this motion on the same day that he was |
| 17 | Q. And would you agree that an attorney | 17 | admitted pro hac vice in this matter? |
| 18 | working on an election challenge, such as the one | 18 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 19 | Mr. Giuliani worked on, would have less time to | 19 | Q. And would you agree that, with a much |
| 20 | prepare a complaint than in the typical federal | 20 | shorter window to research and prepare a |
| 21 | lawsuit? | 21 | complaint, there would be a greater chance that an |
| 22 | A. Yes, sir. | 22 | attorney might unknowingly run afoul of the rules |


|  | Page 660 |  | Page 662 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | of pleading? | 1 | about that. |
| 2 | A. Yes, sir. | 2 | And you -- you've reviewed the |
| 3 | Q. And isn't it true that Judge Brann | 3 | decision, correct? |
| 4 | did -- did not sanction Mr. Giuliani under Rule | 4 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 5 | 11 ? | 5 | Q. Isn't it true that at the beginning of |
| 6 | A. Yes, sir. | 6 | Judge Brann's decision he outlined the somewhat |
| 7 | Q. And he had the authority to do so? | 7 | chaotic procedural history of the case? |
| 8 | A. Yes, sir, although -- | 8 | A. He -- he outlined -- he outlined the |
| 9 | Q. Yes -- I'm sorry. Well -- no? | 9 | procedural history of the case for sure. |
| 10 | A. I'm sorry, the standards are | 10 | Q. Right, and he noted that on November |
| 11 | different -- | 11 | 9th the complaint was filed by Mr. Hicks and |
| 12 | Q. I understand -- yeah, but your answer | 12 | Carolyn McGee, of the Porter Wright firm, and also |
| 13 | is that he did not and he had -- and that he did | 13 | Linda Kearns. |
| 14 | have the authority -- | 14 | Is that correct? |
| 15 | MR. FOX: Can the witness complete the | 15 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 16 | answer, please? | 16 | Q. And he noted that on November 12th that |
| 17 | MR. KAMINS: Sure, sorry. | 17 | Mr. Hicks and Ms. McGee moved to withdraw and that |
| 18 | THE WITNESS: The standards are | 18 | the two attorneys, Mr. Scott and Hughes, |
| 19 | different in a case where the judge is sua | 19 | substituted, thus joining Linda Kearns as |
| 20 | sponte -- sua sponte sanctioning people under Rule | 20 | cocounsel? |
| 21 | 11 and has not -- the twenty-one-day period -- | 21 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 22 | it's been -- it hasn't been 21 days and there | 22 | Q. And he noted that on November 15th the |
|  | Page 661 |  | Page 663 |
| 1 | hasn't been any time since the -- very little time | 1 | plaintiffs filed the first amended complaint by |
| 2 | since the judge would have issued a -- I believe | 2 | attorneys Kearns and Scott, correct? |
| 3 | it's a show-cause order. And in those | 3 | A. Correct. |
| 4 | circumstances the test is subjective bad faith, | 4 | Q. And then he noted that on November 16th |
| 5 | not just objective bad faith. | 5 | Ms. Kearns and Mr. Scott and Hughes all moved to |
| 6 | So, under those standards, a -- it is | 6 | withdraw from the litigation, correct? |
| 7 | the standard, which is common, the judge would | 7 | A. I am not -- I don't remember the exact |
| 8 | have to actually conduct an inquiry in the | 8 | date but he did note that they all moved to |
| 9 | attorney's state of mind and be convinced that it | 9 | withdraw. |
| 10 | was not only kind of an empty-headed kind of | 10 | Q. And isn't it correct that Judge Brann |
| 11 | occurrence but also that there was bad intent. | 11 | then granted the motion by Scott and Hughes as |
| 12 | Q. Understood, but notwithstanding, | 12 | they only had been in the case for about 72 hours? |
| 13 | under -- and I appreciate your reviewing the | 13 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 14 | standards, the fact is he did not sanction him, | 14 | Q. But it's true that Judge Brann did not |
| 15 | correct? | 15 | grant Kearns' application as she had been one of |
| 16 | A. Yes. Yes, sir. | 16 | the original attorneys in the litigation and oral |
| 17 | Q. And isn't it true that the Third | 17 | argument was scheduled for November 17th, correct? |
| 18 | Circuit did not sanction Mr. Giuliani under the | 18 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 19 | Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure? | 19 | Q. And isn't it true that Judge Brann kept |
| 20 | A. Yes, sir. | 20 | Kearns on because he wanted to have someone to be |
| 21 | Q. Okay. Now I wanted to go over Judge | 21 | able to answer the questions that would be posed |
| 22 | Brann's decision. I know Mr. Fox questioned you | 22 | in oral argument? |


|  | Page 664 |  | Page 666 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | A. Yes, sir. |  | of questions. I just have a few questions. |
| 2 | Q. And isn't it true that on November 16th | 2 | You -- you have reviewed the |
| 3 | Mr. Scaringi, Mark Scaringi entered a notice of | 3 | transcript? |
| 4 | appearance for the plaintiffs and requested a | 4 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 5 | postponement for the previously scheduled oral | 5 | Q. And didn't Judge Brann acknowledge at |
| 6 | argument for the 17th? | 6 | one point that, as of November 17th, Mr. Giuliani |
| 7 | A. I believe so, sir. | 7 | was just, quote, "settling into the case"? |
| 8 | Q. And isn't it true that the application | 8 | A. I believe so, sir. |
| 9 | was denied, given the emergency nature of the | 9 | Q. And did he note that he was glad Ms. |
| 10 | proceeding and the approaching deadline for the | 10 | Kearns had remained on the case because Mr. |
| 11 | Pennsylvania counties to certify the election | 11 | Giuliani -- Mr Giuliani was just settling into the |
| 12 | results on November 23rd? | 12 | case? |
| 13 | A. Yes, sir. | 13 | A. Yes, he did, sir. |
| 14 | Q. And isn't it true that it was not until | 14 | Q. Isn't it correct that nowhere in his |
| 15 | the 17th that Mr. Giuliani made an application to | 15 | remarks did Judge Brann state that Mr. Giuliani's |
| 16 | appear pro hac vice and entered his notice of | 16 | remarks were frivolous? |
| 17 | appearance on behalf of the plaintiffs? | 17 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 18 | A. Yes, sir. | 18 | Q. And isn't it correct that nowhere in |
| 19 | Q. So would you agree, based on this | 19 | his remarks did Judge Brann say that he was |
| 20 | procedural history, that Mr. Giuliani substituted | 20 | considering sanctions or referring this matter to |
| 21 | at the -- really the last minute for the attorneys | 21 | a professional grievance committee? |
| 22 | who were -- originally were handling this case? | 22 | A. Yes, sir. |
|  | Page 665 |  | Page 667 |
| 1 | A. He certainly substituted in the | 1 | Q. At some point Judge Brann invited the |
| 2 | proceedings before the court, meaning the oral | 2 | plaintiffs to file a second amended complaint, |
| 3 | argument, things like that. There is testimony, | 3 | correct? |
| 4 | which is unclear, about the level of his | 4 | A. I can't remember whether it was by |
| 5 | participation in the overall lawsuit before then. | 5 | invitation -- by invitation or whether they asked |
| 6 | Q. No, but -- | 6 | for -- they indicated that they were planning on |
| 7 | A. There is for example -- | 7 | doing so, and then he accepted that. |
| 8 | Q. I'm sorry. | 8 | Q. Well certainly Judge Brann didn't say, |
| 9 | A. There is for example a statement he | 9 | "Listen, don't bother, it's a waste of time, " or |
| 10 | made in a -- a deposition in a Colorado case that | 10 | something to the effect that it would be futile |
| 11 | he actually was the one who started writing the | 11 | about filing the second amended complaint, did he? |
| 12 | complaint earlier. | 12 | A. No, sir. I'm just -- I was just unsure |
| 13 | But as for his coming up and actually | 13 | about the valence or the meaning of "invited". |
| 14 | arguing it, certainly that was on -- it appears | 14 | Q. Okay. Now with respect to the second |
| 15 | that that was on short notice. | 15 | amended complaint, your report states that "Judge |
| 16 | Q. Okay. And would you agree that there | 16 | Brann's decision was correct in not accepting the |
| 17 | was an unusually short time within which to | 17 | second amended complaint for filing," correct? |
| 18 | research, draft and file this second amended | 18 | A. Correct. |
| 19 | complaint? | 19 | Q. And you agreed with Judge Brann's |
| 20 | A. Certainly a quick turnover. | 20 | reasoning? |
| 21 | Q. Now with respect to the oral argument | 21 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 22 | before Judge Brann, Mr. Fox has asked you a number | 22 | Q. And based on his decision, you came to |

the conclusion that there were no nonfrivolous bases in fact or law for Mr. Giuliani's argument?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. But isn't it correct that Judge Brann never held that there were no nonfrivolous bases in fact or law for Mr. Giuliani's argument, correct?
A. Yes, sir. He was doing something different.
Q. I'm sorry?
A. That wasn't what Judge Brann's remit necessarily was. He was, you know, asked to decide the case, which he did.
Q. But he made no statement about Mr.

Giuliani's arguments being not frivolous, correct?
A. No, no, I -- I agree.
Q. And isn't it true that the fact that Judge Brann did not accept the second amended complaint for filing did not necessarily mean that the arguments in that complaint were frivolous, correct?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. And isn't it true that, even though

Judge Brann did not accept the second amended complaint for filing, Mr. Giuliani could still have had a good-faith basis for making his arguments, correct?
A. He could have.
Q. Correct. And in Judge Brann's decision and his reasons for dismissal, he did not say that accepting the document for filing would -- I'm sorry, withdrawn.

In Judge Brann's decision and his reasons for dismissal, did he not say that accepting the document filing would "unduly delay the resolution of the issues"?
A. That was one of the reasons he gave, yes.
Q. And he did not say it was frivolous, did he?
A. No, sir.
Q. Now Professor Ortiz, how would you
define the term frivolous as it applies to
pleadings or argument?
A. Well, frivolous legal argument would
one -- would be one where there was no justification for thinking it was supported by existing law, or good-faith argument for modification of existing law, or good-faith argument for the overturning of settled law in the other direction.
Q. So basically you --
A. I'm sorry.
Q. No, so you're saying it's a good-faith standard?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. And if it's --
A. But it's -- I'm sorry, it's an
objective good-faith standard. It's not -- it
does not go to what was in the attorney's head when he was making it.
Q. So it's an objective good-faith argument -- standard?
A. Yes, similar to the standard in Rule
11.
Q. If an attorney relies on valid

Page 671
precedent to make an argument but a court does not agree with that argument, would that be a frivolous argument?
A. Not necessarily.
Q. And if an attorney relies on valid precedent to analyze a legal issue, but a court does not agree with that analysis, would you say that's frivolous?
A. Not necessarily.
Q. And would you agree that if an argument is made in a complaint which turns out to be incorrect in its analysis but relies on valid precedence, that would not be a frivolous argument, correct?
A. Not necessarily.
Q. And would you agree that if an argument is made in a complaint which turns out to be incorrect in its analysis of the law, that the attorney could still have a good faith basis for making the argument?
A. Possible.
Q. And would you agree that if an attorney

Page 672
relies on valid precedent to make an argument but is incorrect in relying on that precedent, the attorney could still have a good-faith basis for making the argument?
A. I'm sorry, could you repeat that just a little bit more slowly? I want to make sure I understand it.
Q. Sorry. Would you agree that if an attorney relies on valid precedent to make an argument but is -- is incorrect in relying on that precedent, the attorney could still have a good-faith basis for making the argument?
A. Possible, yes.
Q. Now, Professor Ortiz, you're -- you're not giving any opinion and have not been asked to give any opinion about whether Mr. Giuliani violated any rules of professional conduct, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. And you're not giving any analysis of

Rule 3.1 of the Rules of Professional Conduct or whether Mr. Giuliani violated that rule, correct?

## Page 673

A. Correct. That's beyond my remit.
Q. And in your report you reviewed the second amended complaint and Judge Brann's decision and concluded that you agreed with Judge Brann's decision, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. And then you gave your opinion based on
both your view of the second amended complaint and Judge Brann's decision, correct?
A. Yes, sir. Yes, sir.
Q. And you essentially agree with every -with the reasoning in Judge Brann's decision?
A. I don't disagree with anything in his decision. My own analysis goes further.
Q. If Judge Brann was in error in interpreting a case and your report agreed with that interpretation, would you be in error, as well?
A. Certainly.
Q. And if Judge Brann was in error in his analysis, you would be in error, as well, correct?
A. It would depend upon whether the
analysis was material or not.
Q. And if a case relied upon by Judge

Brann was reversed after his decision, that could mean that his decision in part was in error, correct?
A. It could, yes.
Q. And that could also mean that you would be in error possibly as well?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. Okay, so I wanted to just refer to -under some specific issues in the case with regard to standing.

At the conclusion of your report you stated that "The plaintiffs' lawsuit had no nonfrivolous basis in law and fact for standing," correct?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. And you agreed with Judge Brann's decision which found that "Plaintiffs have not pled the cognizable theory of standing," correct?
A. Yes, sir.
Q. And in their arguments plaintiffs were
attempting to convince Judge Brann that competitive standing has a broader meaning than the one adopted by Judge Brann, correct?
A. One of the plaintiffs was.
Q. And in attempting to convince him, the plaintiffs cited several Ninth Circuit cases that hold that the potential loss of an election is an injury sufficient to give a candidate standing, beyond Judge Brann's more restrictive view that standing is limited to challenging -- challenging a particular candidate's eligibility, correct?
A. Correct.
Q. Is it your position that that was a frivolous argument?
A. I do not believe that that was brought under the category of competitive standing, which is -- I would have to go back and look at those Ninth Circuit opinions, but it is my memory, recollection that they were not brought from that particular theory of standing.
Q. Well, Judge Brann --
A. But I -- sorry, I would need to review

|  | Page 676 |  | Page 678 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | those cases. | 1 | A. Sorry, I'd have to go back and reread |
| 2 | Q. Judge Brann held, did he not, that | 2 | and review all those cases and the new one. |
| 3 | under the Ninth Circuit law "competitive standing | 3 | MR. KAMINS: Well, at 34th 890 this |
| 4 | is strictly limited to the notion that a candidate | 4 | year, the Ninth Circuit did reverse Messinas. I |
| 5 | or its potential party has standing to challenge | 5 | just want to put that on the record. |
| 6 | the inclusion of an allegedly ineligible rival on | 6 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 7 | the ballot," correct? | 7 | Q. Isn't it true that in reversing the |
| 8 | A. Correct. | 8 | Ninth Circuit -- well, you have -- apparently |
| 9 | Q. And do you agree with that? | 9 | you're not familiar with the reversal, correct? |
| 10 | A. It -- it is technically construed, yes. | 10 | A. Correct. |
| 11 | Q. Isn't it correct, though, that the | 11 | Q. If I told you that the Ninth Circuit |
| 12 | Ninth Circuit cases cited by the plaintiffs | 12 | reaffirmed its broad concept of competitive |
| 13 | established that there are other methods through | 13 | standing and specifically rejected the narrow |
| 14 | which competitive standing can occur? | 14 | interpretation that Judge Brann had ascribed in |
| 15 | A. I would have to go back and reread | 15 | its Townley decision with -- as to whether there |
| 16 | those cases. | 16 | was a nonfrivolous basis for the argument? |
| 17 | Q. I'm referring to the Ben Kaiser case, | 17 | A. I'm sorry, you froze there for about |
| 18 | the Fulani case, the Schultz case. Are those the | 18 | four seconds. |
| 19 | ones you'd have to go back and review? | 19 | Q. Oh. I'm sorry. |
| 20 | A. Yes, sir. | 20 | If I told you that the Ninth Circuit |
| 21 | Q. And in attempting to distinguish those | 21 | reaffirmed -- in -- in reversing, the Ninth |
| 22 | cases, Judge Brann cited two Ninth Circuit cases | 22 | Circuit reaffirmed its broad concept of |
|  | Page 677 |  | Page 679 |
| 1 | in holding that the Ninth Circuit cases had | 1 | competitive standing and specifically rejected the |
| 2 | limited the concept of competitive standing, did | 2 | narrow interpretation that Judge Brann had |
| 3 | he not? | 3 | ascribed to Townley, would that change your |
| 4 | A. I believe so, sir. | 4 | opinion as to whether there was a nonfrivolous |
| 5 | Q. And that would be the Townley case and | 5 | basis for the argument? |
| 6 | the Messinas case? | 6 | A. That might change -- I'd have to read |
| 7 | A. I don't remember but I have no reason | 7 | the opinion, but it might change my -- my analysis |
| 8 | to contest that. | 8 | of whether there was a nonfrivolous -- a |
| 9 | Q. Isn't it correct, however, that Townley | 9 | nonfrivolous basis for the competitive standing |
| 10 | did not conclusively state that competitive | 10 | claim. |
| 11 | standing is limited to challenging an ineligible | 11 | Q. And if I told you that the Ninth |
| 12 | candidate? | 12 | Circuit held as follows... "Rather than narrowing |
| 13 | A. I would have to go back and review the | 13 | competitive standing as a basis for injury, in |
| 14 | case, sir. | 14 | fact Townley reasserted this court's long-held |
| 15 | Q. Are you aware -- I'm sorry. Are you | 15 | position that the potential loss of an election |
| 16 | aware that Messinas was reversed by the Ninth | 16 | may give rise to standing"... |
| 17 | Circuit this year? | 17 | Would that change your opinion? |
| 18 | A. I can't -- I can't remember that. I | 18 | A. It would depend whether it was based on |
| 19 | looked at those cases in April. I certainly | 19 | competitive standing in particular, since that was |
| 20 | wouldn't have updated my analysis of those cases | 20 | a theory that was raised, and it would also depend |
| 21 | since then. | 21 | upon the, you know, other -- other bases, yeah, |
| 22 | Q. Well, under 3rd -- I'm sorry. | 22 | what other -- how the law stood in other circuits, |


|  | Page 680 |  | Page 682 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | as well. | 1 | A. Yes, sir -- or I'm sorry, standing. |
| 2 | But it would certainly be -- it would | 2 | Yeah, based on competitive standing in particular, |
| 3 | certainly be cause for going back and looking at | 3 | correct. |
| 4 | the support for competitive standing, that part of | 4 | Q. And Judge Brown -- Brann found that |
| 5 | the -- that part of the finding. | 5 | Marks was inapposite because it did not contain a |
| 6 | Q. And certainly, based on this reversal, | 6 | discussion of competitive standing or any other |
| 7 | it appears that there could be a good-faith basis | 7 | theory of standing applicable in federal court, |
| 8 | for Mr. Giuliani's argument that this case -- that | 8 | did he not? |
| 9 | the Ninth Circuit case law should be extended to | 9 | A. I believe so. |
| 10 | the Third Circuit, correct? | 10 | Q. But didn't the district court in Marks |
| 11 | A. I would have to go back and reread it, | 11 | explicitly find that the candidates had standing? |
| 12 | or read it. | 12 | A. I don't remember that. |
| 13 | Q. Okay. Now Judge Brann noted that the | 13 | MR. KAMINS: If we could go to Exhibit |
| 14 | plaintiffs relied on Marks v. Stinson, a Third | 14 | 18, page 22 -- or Respondent's Exhibit 18. |
| 15 | Circuit case, to argue that the Ninth Circuit case | 15 | MR. LEVENTHAL: May I have a moment, |
| 16 | law it cited was consistent with the law of the | 16 | your Honor, for a second to confer with my |
| 17 | Third Circuit. | 17 | cocounsel? |
| 18 | Isn't that correct? | 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yeah, sure. You may |
| 19 | A. I believe that he -- for standing | 19 | want to mute your microphone. |
| 20 | purposes, that the date in the oral argument was | 20 | (Discussion off the record.) |
| 21 | whether Marks vs. Stinson concerned competitive | 21 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Now you may want to |
| 22 | standing, or indeed standing at all, was pointed | 22 | unmute it. |
|  | Page 681 |  | Page 683 |
| 1 | out by at least one of the attorneys there that it | 1 | MR. LEVENTHAL: It's my fault, your |
| 2 | never used the term "competitive standing," and | 2 | Honor. |
| 3 | that I don't remember there was really that much | 3 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 4 | analysis of standing in Marks vs. Stinson. | 4 | Q. Respondent's Exhibit 18 at page 22, the |
| 5 | Q. Well but didn't Judge Brann in his | 5 | top right. |
| 6 | decision say that the plaintiffs relied on Stinson | 6 | MR. KAMINS: If you can make that |
| 7 | to argue that the Ninth Circuit case law was | 7 | larger. |
| 8 | consistent with the law of the Third Circuit? | 8 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 9 | A. We -- I would have to go look to see | 9 | Q. This is the district court's opinion. |
| 10 | what the statement was. That doesn't come to my | 10 | What is -- it states in Marks v. Stinson, which |
| 11 | mind. I have no reason to contest it. But it is | 11 | states "Plaintiffs have standing to bring claims |
| 12 | certainly true that the plaintiffs were arguing | 12 | regarding violations of the Civil Rights Act and |
| 13 | Marks vs. Stinson as authority for standing. | 13 | the Voting Rights Act," correct? |
| 14 | Q. All right. Did you discuss Marks vs. | 14 | A. Correct. |
| 15 | Stinson in your report in relation to standing? | 15 | Q. Now, isn't it true the Third Circuit's |
| 16 | A. I'm sorry? | 16 | discussion in Marks v. Stinson said nothing about |
| 17 | Q. Did you discuss Marks vs. Stinson in | 17 | standing. |
| 18 | your report in relation to standing? | 18 | Is that correct? |
| 19 | A. No, sir. | 19 | A. That is correct. |
| 20 | Q. All right. The plaintiffs cited Marks | 20 | Q. So would you agree that in -- |
| 21 | as an example of a case involving competitive | 21 | A. I'm sorry? |
| 22 | standing, did -- did they not? | 22 | Q. Would you agree that, in declining to |


|  | Page 684 |  | Page 686 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | dismiss the appeal, didn't the Third Circuit at |  | of, which may, you know, make it possible. |
| 2 | least impliedly determine that Marks had standing? | 2 | Q. But certainly they could have had a |
| 3 | A. They -- to my mind they didn't address | 3 | good-faith basis for making the argument? |
| 4 | it, so I would not want to warrant an opinion upon | 4 | A. Not if the two theories that they were |
| 5 | what they were saying. | 5 | relying on didn't support it. |
| 6 | This is -- this is something that | 6 | Q. Let's go to voter dilution. |
| 7 | Justice Scalia has referred to as perhaps a | 7 | Isn't it true that the plaintiffs in |
| 8 | drive-by jurisdictional shooting when people cite | 8 | this case alleged unlawful voter dilution in the |
| 9 | cases for jurisdictional points when the court did | 9 | second amended complaint? |
| 10 | not specifically address it. | 10 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 11 | So I'm hesitant to actually offer an | 11 | Q. And then Judge Brann then rejected the |
| 12 | opinion. | 12 | plaintiffs' argument by stating that they were |
| 13 | Q. But clearly the district court said | 13 | barred by the Bognet decision? |
| 14 | there was standing? | 14 | A. I can't remember if that was a |
| 15 | A. Yes, sir. | 15 | particular basis for rejecting those complaints. |
| 16 | Q. So, based on this, wasn't it reasonable | 16 | The -- the Bognet -- most of the discussion for |
| 17 | and not frivolous for the plaintiffs to suggest | 17 | Bognet in justice -- in the litigation before the |
| 18 | that it had standing in this case? | 18 | district court concerned standing for the |
| 19 | A. The plaintiffs might have argued a | 19 | independent state legislature or Election and |
| 20 | theory -- might have argued a valid theory of | 20 | Electors Clause claims. |
| 21 | standing. They close associational standing, | 21 | MR. KAMINS: So if we can go to |
| 22 | which the courts said did not apply, and seems | 22 | Disciplinary Counsel's Exhibit 14 at -- at page |
|  | Page 685 |  | Page 687 |
| 1 | to -- seems to be unwarranted for the political | 1 | 19, and it's footnote 37. |
| 2 | campaign. | 2 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 3 | Q. What about the Third -- I'm sorry. | 3 | Q. And the last sentence in that footnote |
| 4 | A. And then they argued competitive | 4 | says, "To the extent that plaintiffs may still |
| 5 | standing, which the district court held was to -- | 5 | argue that votes have been unconstitutionally |
| 6 | was not capacious enough to encompass the claim of | 6 | diluted, those claims are barred by the Third |
| 7 | the political -- the political campaign. Because, | 7 | Circuit's decision in Bognet," correct? |
| 8 | as you have said, it went to the -- the standing | 8 | A. Correct. |
| 9 | to challenge a candidate who was arguably not | 9 | Q. And isn't it true that the plaintiffs |
| 10 | eligible to be on the ballot. | 10 | make clear at the outset of this case that they |
| 11 | Q. But in this case, based upon the | 11 | disagreed with Bognet and were contemplating an |
| 12 | discussion we just had, wouldn't -- wasn't it | 12 | alternate appeal to the United States Supreme |
| 13 | reasonable and nonfrivolous for the plaintiffs to | 13 | Court? |
| 14 | suggest that they had standing? | 14 | A. They certainly indicated their |
| 15 | A. It's possible that they had standing, | 15 | disagreement with Bognet. I don't remember the |
| 16 | but not under the theories that they actually | 16 | plan to seek review in the Supreme Court. |
| 17 | raised. | 17 | MR. KAMINS: If we could go to DC |
| 18 | Q. It was not frivolous, though, correct? | 18 | Exhibit 13, page 17. |
| 19 | A. Well, it is frivolous if you're | 19 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 20 | claiming the basis for standing is X or Y and | 20 | Q. And the highlighted sentence says, |
| 21 | those basis are frivolous, even if you might have | 21 | "Plaintiffs believe Bognet was wrongly decided and |
| 22 | a different theory of the case that you're unaware | 22 | maintain their Electors Clause claim to preserve |


|  | Page 688 |  | Page 690 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | it for appellate review," correct? | 1 | reasoning of Bognet was like so unsettled and that |
| 2 | A. Correct. Could you remind me which | 2 | it was, you know, beyond reproach. And I |
| 3 | document this is? | 3 | certainly don't make that claim. |
| 4 | Q. This is in DC Exhibit 13, which is the | 4 | Q. So it's possible? |
| 5 | Omnibus Reply Memorandum in Support of the Renewed | 5 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 6 | Motion for TRO. | 6 | Q. All right. Now with regard to the |
| 7 | A. Okay. | 7 | Equal Protection argument, you note in your report |
| 8 | Q. Now wasn't this argument -- essentially | 8 | that two specific practices in the 2020 election |
| 9 | that a precedent should be abrogated -- wasn't | 9 | process were challenged as a violation of the |
| 10 | that being made in bad faith? | 10 | federal constitution. That would be the Notice |
| 11 | A. That's -- there's certainly no | 11 | and Cure procedures and the boundary requirements, |
| 12 | indication that was made in bad faith. | 12 | correct? |
| 13 | Q. Well, no indication that it was in bad | 13 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 14 | faith means, I take it, that it was in good faith? | 14 | Q. And with regard to the Notice and Cure |
| 15 | A. Well it depend on whether you have an | 15 | procedure, is it correct that the plaintiffs were |
| 16 | objective or subjective view of good faith. | 16 | arguing that certain counties, that is the |
| 17 | I was -- I wasn't clear. If you're | 17 | democratic counties, utilized a Notice and Cure |
| 18 | talking about objective good faith, you're | 18 | procedure of ballots while the republican counties |
| 19 | certainly right. If you're talking about | 19 | did not do so and that this unequal treatment of |
| 20 | subjective good faith, which goes to what is in | 20 | voters violated the Constitution? |
| 21 | the thought process of the attorney, I can't make | 21 | A. I don't believe that was quite it. |
| 22 | that kind of -- I can't -- you know, I can't | 22 | They said that the seven counties -- I |
|  | Page 689 |  | Page 691 |
| 1 | respond because I am obviously not in a position | 1 | don't know that there was an overarching claim |
| 2 | to know what was in their heads at the time. | 2 | going to all republican- and democratic-controlled |
| 3 | Q. Well, certainly it's true that, because | 3 | counties in the state, but the seven counties that |
| 4 | the appeals had not yet been exhausted in Bognet, | 4 | were defendants were engaging in Notice and Cure |
| 5 | that plaintiffs' argument could not be frivolous, | 5 | in order to help candidate Biden. |
| 6 | correct? | 6 | Q. But it was a disparate treatment of |
| 7 | A. If they plan to over -- if they plan to | 7 | counties, essentially, correct? |
| 8 | seek review of Bognet in their own litigation, | 8 | A. Well, it was that different counties |
| 9 | they were certainly keeping it open. It's not | 9 | were doing different things. |
| 10 | clear whether that's actually what they did before | 10 | Q. Correct, correct. And in making this |
| 11 | the Third Circuit. From the language of the Third | 11 | argument, the plaintiffs relied on a number of |
| 12 | Circuit opinion, it's not clear that they are | 12 | cases, one of which was Pierce vs. Allegheny |
| 13 | preserving that stage for review. | 13 | County, correct? |
| 14 | Q. But it's possible therefore that this | 14 | A. I can't -- I just don't remember that. |
| 15 | was not frivolous? | 15 | Q. All right -- |
| 16 | A. If they -- I mean, if they had an | 16 | A. That particular case. |
| 17 | argument that they wanted to -- that the -- Bognet | 17 | MR. KAMINS: All right. If we can go |
| 18 | was wrong, and they actually properly -- were | 18 | to DC Exhibit 9 at page 100, paragraph 235. Oh, |
| 19 | planning to properly reserve that, did properly | 19 | 101 I guess. Can you make that a little larger. |
| 20 | reserve it for the appeal, and were planning on | 20 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 21 | the possibility of seeking cert in it, that would | 21 | Q. And paragraph 235 states, "Allowing a |
| 22 | be not in bad faith, unless, of course, the | 22 | patchwork of different rules from county to county |


|  | Page 692 |  | Page 694 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | and as between similarly-situated absentee and | 1 | up pages 20 to 21. |
| 2 | mail-in ballots -- mail-in voters in a statewide | 2 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 3 | election involving federal and state candidates | 3 | Q. And this states -- and this, again, |
| 4 | implicates Equal Protection concerns," citing | 4 | this is from the Boockvar case -- "To the extent |
| 5 | Pierce. | 5 | that a voter is at risk for having his or her |
| 6 | Is that correct? | 6 | ballot rejected due to minor errors made in |
| 7 | A. That's correct. | 7 | contravention of those requirements, we agree that |
| 8 | Q. And in Pierce -- well, you -- are you | 8 | the decision to provide a Notice and Opportunity |
| 9 | familiar with the Pierce case? | 9 | to Cure procedure to alleviate that risk is one |
| 10 | A. I read it. I honestly don't remember | 10 | best suited for the legislature". |
| 11 | it in any detail. | 11 | Is that correct? |
| 12 | Q. If I -- in Pierce the district court | 12 | A. That's correct. |
| 13 | found that "Different counties across the state | 13 | Q. And so the plaintiffs made the argument |
| 14 | employed different standards to determine whether | 14 | that this case holds that only the legislature and |
| 15 | an absentee ballot should be counted and | 15 | not the executive branch can implement a Notice |
| 16 | considered". | 16 | and Cure procedure, correct? |
| 17 | Now in relying on that decision, is it | 17 | A. Correct. |
| 18 | your position that the plaintiffs were raising a | 18 | Q. And isn't it correct, however, that |
| 19 | frivolous argument as to equal protection? | 19 | Judge Brann interpreted this opinion differently, |
| 20 | A. Well, it depends upon the basis of the | 20 | that is that the Notice and Cure procedure is at |
| 21 | decision and the reasoning of. If for example it | 21 | the discretion of each county board of election, |
| 22 | were a kind of Bush vs. Gore reasoning, then that | 22 | correct? |
|  | Page 693 |  | Page 695 |
| 1 | wouldn't be supported. There might be other | 1 | A. I'm sorry, I may have misunderstood |
| 2 | possible reasonings for it. I honestly don't | 2 | your prior question. Could you please repeat it. |
| 3 | remember what the reasoning of the court was, | 3 | Q. The prior question about the language? |
| 4 | which might make it nonfrivolous. But I would | 4 | A. Yes. |
| 5 | have to review the -- the reasoning of the case. | 5 | Q. The plaintiffs made the argument that |
| 6 | Q. Well, in Bush v. Gore didn't -- the | 6 | the case holds that only the legislature and not |
| 7 | Supreme Court held that the implementation of | 7 | the executive branch can implement a Notice and |
| 8 | different standards through a statewide recount | 8 | Cure procedure," correct? |
| 9 | procedure was not conducted in compliance with | 9 | A. Can "require" a Notice and Cure |
| 10 | Equal -- Equal Protection and Due Process, | 10 | procedure. |
| 11 | correct? | 11 | Q. Yeah. |
| 12 | A. Correct. | 12 | A. I did mishear you. |
| 13 | Q. And so, is it your position that by | 13 | Q. Right. But Judge Brann did -- Judge |
| 14 | relying on -- which the plaintiffs did in Bush v. | 14 | Brann disagreed, interpreted -- and interpreted |
| 15 | Gore, that the plaintiffs' argument was frivolous? | 15 | this opinion differently, saying that it had -- it |
| 16 | A. Yes. | 16 | could be done at the discretion of each county |
| 17 | Q. Well in -- in raising the Equal | 17 | board of elections, correct? |
| 18 | Protection argument, the plaintiffs also relied on | 18 | A. No. The -- the court -- Pennsylvania |
| 19 | an interpretation of language found in | 19 | Supreme Court opinion held that executive officer, |
| 20 | Pennsylvania Democratic Party vs. Boockvar, which | 20 | the Secretary of State, could not require it, and |
| 21 | is at DC 17 . | 21 | it was not required by the Pennsylvania election |
| 22 | MR. KAMINS: Could we have that -- put | 22 | statute. |


|  | Page 696 |  | Page 698 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | The Pennsylvania Supreme Court did not | 1 | A. In this case the -- you know, the state |
| 2 | say that individual counties could not decide on | 2 | statute doesn't say that. The Pennsylvania |
| 3 | their own. | 3 | Supreme Court didn't say that. The Secretary of |
| 4 | Q. But my point -- | 4 | State didn't take that position. Subsequent for |
| 5 | A. That was something not before the | 5 | Pennsylvania state courts have rejected the |
| 6 | court. | 6 | position. |
| 7 | Q. Right, but my point is Judge Brann | 7 | Q. But clearly it -- withdrawn. |
| 8 | interpreted this language differently than the | 8 | Isn't it correct, though, that the fact |
| 9 | argument made by the plaintiffs, correct? | 9 | that Judge Brann found no Equal Protection |
| 10 | A. I don't believe so. | 10 | violation does not necessarily mean that Mr. |
| 11 | Q. Well, didn't -- aren't the -- weren't | 11 | Giuliani did not have a good-faith basis for |
| 12 | the plaintiffs arguing it was the legislature only | 12 | making this argument, correct? |
| 13 | that could implement -- | 13 | A. No, sir. |
| 14 | A. Oh, oh, sorry. I'm sorry. The -- | 14 | Q. And if the interpretation of -- of this |
| 15 | Judge Brann certainly did interpret it differently | 15 | case or the language in this case is that |
| 16 | than the plaintiffs interpreted it. | 16 | individual counties may but need not allow Notice |
| 17 | Q. Yes, right. | 17 | and Cure, then isn't it true that the state has |
| 18 | A. If that's the question. I'm sorry, I | 18 | failed to provide meaningful procedural guidance |
| 19 | misunderstood. | 19 | to ensure that counties do not impose nonuniform |
| 20 | Q. Right. And they disagreed on the | 20 | procedures? |
| 21 | interpretation, though, of this language, correct? | 21 | A. The state legislature may have -- you |
| 22 | A. Correct. | 22 | know, may want to provide more. There's no |
|  | Page 697 |  | Page 699 |
| 1 | Q. And it's your position, though, that, | 1 | constitutional necessity for it, certainly under |
| 2 | in making this argument, which happens to disagree | 2 | Bush vs. Gore. |
| 3 | with a federal court judge, that that is a | 3 | Q. Well wouldn't that interpretation run |
| 4 | frivolous argument? | 4 | afoul of the language that you were asked about |
| 5 | A. The statute doesn't say that. The | 5 | yesterday in Bush v. Gore? |
| 6 | Supreme Court of Pennsylvania didn't say that. | 6 | A. No, sir. |
| 7 | The subsequent state court decided that it didn't | 7 | Q. Well couldn't it be a reasonable |
| 8 | say that. And that opinion was affirmed by the | 8 | interpretation that differs with your |
| 9 | Pennsylvania Supreme Court just I believe two | 9 | interpretation? |
| 10 | months ago. | 10 | A. No, sir. |
| 11 | Q. So when an -- when an attorney an | 11 | Q. There is no interpretation that could |
| 12 | argument, interpreting language in a decision, | 12 | be reasonable that -- that runs afoul of your |
| 13 | which the court disagrees with, you're saying that | 13 | interpretation? |
| 14 | that is a frivolous argument? | 14 | A. No, certainly, sir, but not in -- not |
| 15 | A. No, not necessarily -- | 15 | in particular on this. I'm -- certainly I'm not |
| 16 | Q. All right. | 16 | claiming to be infallible. That would be |
| 17 | A. But in this case -- no, sorry. | 17 | ridiculous. |
| 18 | Q. So -- so it's possible that you were | 18 | Q. Now with regard to the Due Process |
| 19 | wrong about whether this was a frivolous argument? | 19 | argument, your -- your report also addresses Mr. |
| 20 | A. No. What I said is this is not | 20 | Giuliani's argument regarding the boundary |
| 21 | necessarily a frivolous argument. | 21 | requirements set for candidates and party |
| 22 | Q. Right -- | 22 | representatives observing canvassing and |


|  | Page 700 |  | Page 702 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | pre-canvassing, correct? | 1 | presidential election was made before a -- the |
| 2 | A. Correct, sir. | 2 | federal -- a federal court. It was made |
| 3 | Q. And you note in your report that the | 3 | elsewhere, maybe in Pennsylvania, but this was the |
| 4 | district court did not address this issue since it | 4 | first general occasion for it. I'm unaware of |
| 5 | wasn't presented in the first amended complaint, | 5 | others in other states and other presidential |
| 6 | which was the subject of the motion to dismiss, | 6 | elections. |
| 7 | correct? | 7 | Q. Isn't it true that many civil liberties |
| 8 | A. The -- the district court did not | 8 | cases have been won where counsel argues a novel |
| 9 | address it as a Due Process claim. The -- the | 9 | theory which has no precedent? |
| 10 | district court addressed the -- the positional | 10 | A. This is -- there is -- there may be no |
| 11 | requirements in other ways. | 11 | direct president, but there are usually resources |
| 12 | Q. But clearly there is nothing that Judge | 12 | within the legal territory, particularly other |
| 13 | Brann said about Mr. Giuliani's argument, and more | 13 | precedents that are related, on which people, |
| 14 | specifically he did thought find the Due Process | 14 | lawyers rely. |
| 15 | argument to be a frivolous argument, correct? | 15 | And in this case -- in this -- this |
| 16 | A. Correct. That was not -- the Due | 16 | case, with respect to the positional boundaries, |
| 17 | Process positional boundaries argument was not | 17 | the -- what you might call the collateral |
| 18 | before Judge Brann. | 18 | landscape and the Due Process doctrine, in my |
| 19 | Q. And you also included a paragraph in | 19 | view, was so well settled that this was just a |
|  | your report from the Third Circuit's decision, and | 20 | frivolous claim. |
| 21 | you commented on this morning, in which the court | 21 | Q. Well wouldn't effective advocacy be |
| 22 | held that nothing in the Due Process Clause | 22 | chilled if attorneys could not attempt to extend |
|  | Page 701 |  | Page 703 |
| 1 | mandates these observational boundaries, correct? | 1 | the application of the Due Process Clause to new |
| 2 | A. Correct. | 2 | and unchartered areas? |
| 3 | Q. And in addition, you mentioned that the | 3 | A. If there's good faith. If there's an |
| 4 | court noted that the campaign cites no | 4 | analogous, you know -- if there's an analogy |
| 5 | authority -- I'm talking about the Third Circuit. | 5 | there, for sure. |
| 6 | The Third Circuit said, "The campaign cites no | 6 | If this kind of claim, though, has been |
| 7 | authority for those propositions and we know of | 7 | rejected regularly in other contexts where courts |
| 8 | none," correct? | 8 | have not said the Due Process actually regulates |
| 9 | A. I believe that's right, sir. | 9 | things, or even in the neighborhood of this, then |
| 10 | Q. And that in your report you said that | 10 | no. |
| 11 | this is a "devastating comment" by the Third | 11 | Q. Well, is there precedent to say that |
| 12 | Circuit, correct? | 12 | this has been rejected in this type of situation? |
| 13 | A. I believe so, sir. | 13 | A. With positional boundaries? I don't |
| 14 | Q. Well, isn't it possible that there was | 14 | believe so, except maybe earlier in one of the |
| 15 | no precedent for arguing a Due Process violation | 15 | collateral Pennsylvania cases. |
| 16 | here because this was an unprecedented | 16 | I'm unaware of any successful Due |
| 17 | presidential election and counsel was arguing that | 17 | Process claim challenging the nuts and bolts of |
| 18 | for the first time, Due Process -- a Due Process | 18 | garden-variety election administration. |
| 19 | Clause should be applied? | 19 | Q. But an unsuccessful claim could still |
| 20 | A. It was certainly the -- I believe the | 20 | be a valid good-faith argument, could it not? |
| 21 | first time when that particular type of claim | 21 | A. For sure. It just depends upon how |
| 22 | going to positional boundaries and the | 22 | well settled the law was against it. |



|  | Page 708 |  | Page 710 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | ON BEHALF OF DISCIPLINARY COUNSEL | 1 | I was going to ask you whether -- I was |
| 2 | BY MR. FOX: | 2 | going to decide whether to have you read this or |
| 3 | Q. Mr. Kamins asked you whether you were | 3 | not, but I don't think it's necessary. I think |
| 4 | giving an opinion as to whether the conduct in | 4 | it's in front of the hearing committee at this |
| 5 | this case violated the Rules of Professional | 5 | point, and we read it to them in -- in our opening |
| 6 | Conduct. You said you were not. | 6 | statement. |
| 7 | It is you true, is it not, that I | 7 | So with that, I'm not going to ask you |
| 8 | specifically asked you not to give such an opinion | 8 | any further questions. |
| 9 | because there is an ultimate issue for this | 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Kamins, anything |
| 10 | hearing committee? | 10 | else? |
| 11 | A. Yes, sir. | 11 | MR. KAMINS: Nothing further, your |
| 12 | Q. Okay. And second, Mr. Brann asked you | 12 | Honor -- Mr. -- Mr. Chair. |
| 13 | questions about whether -- sorry. | 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Professor Ortiz, I |
| 14 | Mr. Kamins asked you questions about | 14 | do have -- I do have a couple of questions. |
| 15 | whether Judge Brann had made a statement that the | 15 | You -- you said I think at the |
| 16 | pleadings were frivolous, and you said they did | 16 | beginning of your testimony that "Equal Protection |
| 17 | not. | 17 | in elections presents many complexities". |
| 18 | Had that issue been raised to him | 18 | Do you remember that testimony? |
| 19 | before then? | 19 | THE WITNESS: I believe I was reading |
| 20 | A. No, sir. | 20 | from the opinion in Bush vs. Gore where the |
| 21 | Q. And did he comment on the strength of | 21 | Supreme Court was cautioning -- the way it is |
| 22 | the arguments and facts that Mr. Giuliani and his | 22 | academically interpreted, at least, and I believe |
|  | Page 709 |  | Page 711 |
| 1 | colleagues brought before him? | 1 | so on the ground, the Supreme Court was guiding |
| 2 | A. Yes, sir. | 2 | the lower courts and litigators not to take the |
| 3 | Q. Would you look, please, at Disciplinary | 3 | reasoning of Bush vs. Gore too strongly because of |
| 4 | Counsel Exhibit 14, which is Judge Brann's | 4 | the specific facts of Bush vs. Gore, meaning that |
| 5 | opinion, and I would like to refer you to the | 5 | we were in December, there was chaos on the ground |
| 6 | introduction on page eight. | 6 | in Florida, and there was need for the country to |
| 7 | MR. FOX: If we could highlight the | 7 | settle the presidential election. |
| 8 | introduction in those paragraphs. | 8 | But that I believe -- the part -- the |
| 9 | BY MR. FOX; | 9 | reading -- that was reading you were referring to, |
| 10 | Q. Is this the portion of the opinion on | 10 | not my own. |
| 11 | which Judge Brann commented on the strength of the | 11 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay. |
| 12 | legal arguments and the facts brought forth by Mr. | 12 | THE WITNESS: Yeah. |
| 13 | Giuliani and his colleagues? | 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Would you -- would |
| 14 | A. That is one of the places, certainly. | 14 | you agree, though, that there are -- that Equal |
| 15 | Q. All right. And -- okay -- | 15 | Protection in elections is a -- is a complex |
| 16 | A. I'm sorry, Mr. Fox. You froze. You | 16 | issue? |
| 17 | must have froze there, or were you silent for -- | 17 | THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. |
| 18 | Q. Believe it or not, I was silent. I | 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: How so? |
| 19 | know it's -- | 19 | THE WITNESS: How so? Well there are |
| 20 | A. Oh, okay. | 20 | many different kinds of ways that it's going to |
| 21 | Q. It's hard to imagine, but -- but I was | 21 | come up, many ways that people can argue that |
| 22 | silent. | 22 | there's going to be discrimination. |


|  | Page 712 |  | Page 714 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | The standard that the court applies in | 1 | THE WITNESS: (Continuing answer) all |
| 2 | most election administration cases, for example, | 2 | that has to be covered -- |
| 3 | the Anderson verdict standard involves a kind of | 3 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, it's -- it's |
| 4 | balancing test where you have to take the -- the | 4 | 10:22. I was anticipating breaking at -- |
| 5 | weight of the injury to the particular plaintiff | 5 | Are you back, professor. |
| 6 | and weight that against the -- the state's | 6 | THE WITNESS: I am back. I'm sorry. I |
| 7 | interest. That's always going to be a kind of | 7 | have no idea what happened. |
| 8 | complicated undertaking. | 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay. |
| 9 | Those are just some examples. | 9 | MR. FOX: Oh, there he is, yeah. |
| 10 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Now the Bush against | 10 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yeah, I'm not sure |
| 11 | Gore decision, as is -- to my recollection was | 11 | what my question was, and I'm not sure what your |
| 12 | surprising, wasn't it? | 12 | answer might have been, so let me -- let me try |
| 13 | THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. | 13 | and recreate. |
| 14 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: And -- | 14 | What I'd like to do -- I mean, |
| 15 | THE WITNESS: To many of us. | 15 | you're -- you -- you're a -- you're a law |
| 16 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yes. And it's | 16 | professor, and it seems to me that much of your |
| 17 | been -- it's been highly criticized? | 17 | testimony has been with your law professor hat on |
|  | THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. | 18 | and a scholarly analysis of the cases and the -- |
| 19 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: But it essentially | 19 | and the issues. |
| 20 | deals with the concept of disparate treatment | 20 | But I'd like to -- I'd like you to take |
| 21 | among state municipalities, right, broadly | 21 | your professorial hat off and put your litigator |
| 22 | speaking? | 22 | and technical hat on, if you would, okay? |
|  | Page 713 |  | Page 715 |
| 1 | THE WITNESS: It -- very broadly | 1 | THE WITNESS: Okay. |
| 2 | speaking, but with one very important caveat: it | 2 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: And let's -- |
| 3 | involves a situation where there is one state | 3 | let's -- let's a assume -- and I think it's |
| 4 | actor who is in a position at that moment in time | 4 | supported in the testimony -- that you're -- |
| 5 | to actually assure some higher degree of | 5 | you're called by the president of the Unites |
| 6 | uniformity than is -- than, you know, was | 6 | States, and he says, "I want you to represent me |
| 7 | otherwise possible. | 7 | in connection with challenging what happened in |
| 8 | So for example -- | 8 | this election". |
| 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I'm sorry. Go | 9 | What's your -- and -- and -- and |
| 10 | ahead. I'm sorry. | 10 | your -- your view is -- is much different, isn't |
| 11 | THE WITNESS: So, for example, again, | 11 | it, than someone who's analyzing case law from an |
| 12 | the question in Bush vs. Gore was that Florida's | 12 | objective and -- and law school perspective? |
| 13 | long-standing standard for whether a vote should | 13 | THE WITNESS: For sure, but you're |
| 14 | count or not was whether the quote, unquote intent | 14 | still -- |
| 15 | of the voter was discernable. And that's a -- you | 15 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I'm sorry, go ahead. |
| 16 | know, a perfect standard. It's a little bit vague | 16 | THE WITNESS: But, you know, some of |
| 17 | in people -- | 17 | the constraints would still apply, and the |
| 18 | (Network interference.) | 18 | question is where those constraints are. |
| 19 | MR. FOX: I think he froze. | 19 | I -- you know, for example, if I had |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yes. | 20 | been in the position that you described, I would |
| 21 | MR. FOX: Dan, I don't know if you can | 21 | have drafted a very different kind of lawsuit than |
| 22 | hear us or not, but you froze -- |  | this. So -- |


|  | Page 716 |  | Page 718 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: And -- and you're -- |  | that there -- there's lack of success of, you |
| 2 | you're an expert in election law, so no doubt | 2 | know, Bush vs. Gore claims in the lower court, |
| 3 | your -- your approach would have been somewhat | 3 | since that period of time. There is no -- to my |
| 4 | different, at least from what was done here. |  | knowledge, there has been no case where a court |
| 5 | But if your -- your ultimate objective | 5 | has actually overturned an election under Bush vs. |
| 6 | is to get this case and others before the Supreme | 6 | Gore under circumstances where certainly there was |
| 7 | Court, that's really what you're doing in this | 7 | no central actor who, at that time, could have |
| 8 | case, isn't it? | 8 | assured uniformity. |
| 9 | THE WITNESS: If that were my | 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I guess -- here's |
| 10 | objective, and I assume that that would be my | 10 | where I'm going. I represent a client -- |
| 11 | hope, if I were in that position, I would have | 11 | represented a client who just appointed three |
| 12 | done things differently than here. | 12 | justices to the United States Supreme Court, and I |
| 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: But -- | 13 | want to get my case in front of the Supreme Court |
| 14 | MR. KAMINS: Mr. Chair, could I just | 14 | to -- to test that and see if they will expand the |
| 15 | interject. I don't want to object to the Chair's | 15 | concepts that were articulated in Bush against |
| 16 | questions, except that, if he's giving his opinion | 16 | Gore... |
| 17 | as to his strategy on how he would handle a | 17 | Doesn't that -- doesn't that suggest |
| 18 | particular case, I'm not sure that that impacts on | 18 | that I'm going to be more expansive in the types |
| 19 | whether the plaintiffs here were frivolous or not. | 19 | of claims I'm going to make under the Equal |
| 20 | I mean, he's just giving his opinion | 20 | Protection Clause? |
|  | about what he would do as a federal litigator. | 21 | THE WITNESS: Oh, for sure. You're |
| 22 | And, you know, obviously we -- and as you know, | 22 | going to be presumably very creative, you're going |
|  | Page 717 |  | Page 719 |
| 1 | Mr. Chair, you know, litigators have different | 1 | to try to do the best for your client, but the |
| 2 | views on how to strategize cases and what they | 2 | question is how creative and well warranted can |
| 3 | would put -- and how they would draft complaints, | 3 | the arguments be? |
| 4 | but that doesn't impact negatively on -- on Mr. | 4 | So, you may come up with a very |
| 5 | Giuliani, or shouldn't. | 5 | creative argument but, for example, if it's not |
| 6 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Let me -- let me -- | 6 | well warranted under existing precedent -- |
| 7 | let me finish my line of questions here. | 7 | precedent, it still would be, you know, |
| 8 | I mean, it's -- it's not unreasonable | 8 | insufficient. |
| 9 | to think that this -- this litigation campaign, | 9 | So, yes, I mean, that would be your |
| 10 | one way or the other, would wind up in front of | 10 | job, but you're still -- the question is still |
| 11 | the Supreme Court. | 11 | whether, in doing your best, you may be doing a |
| 12 | THE WITNESS: Correct. | 12 | wonderful job in coming up with the best argument, |
| 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: And -- and -- if -- | 13 | you get over that threshold. |
| 14 | wouldn't you -- wasn't it appropriate for the | 14 | MR. KAMINS: Did he freeze or -- |
| 15 | plaintiffs to -- for -- for -- to assess Bush v. | 15 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yeah, I-- |
| 16 | Gore and say, well, you know, it happened -- "It | 16 | MR. KAMINS: Oh, I'm sorry. |
| 17 | worked for the bush campaign. Let's try -- let's | 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I think, you know -- |
| 18 | try and make some of these arguments to support | 18 | my concern too, here, is the -- you know, the |
| 19 | the Trump campaign". | 19 | independent legislature theory, which, two years |
| 20 | THE WITNESS: Well the facts, your | 20 | ago -- what was -- what was the -- the accepted |
| 21 | Honor, of Bush vs. Gore were so different in the | 21 | view of the independent legislature theory? |
| 22 | specific way the Supreme Court tried to limit it, | 22 | THE WITNESS: The independent -- |


|  | Page 720 |  | Page 722 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | there -- a few justices of the Supreme Court had |  | there still is at a bottom a kind of requirement |
| 2 | made noises about it, but there was a case a few | 2 | for the arguments not just to be the best |
| 3 | years ago concerning the ability of Arizona to | 3 | arguments but to be nonfrivolous. |
| 4 | rely on a redistricting commission in setting the | 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: You've -- you've |
| 5 | boundaries for federal congressional districts in | 5 | talked a little bit with the standing issue and I |
| 6 | Arizona. The voters by initiative had taken it | 6 | think, as I interpreted your -- your testimony, |
| 7 | out of -- the power away from the state | 7 | you said that the plaintiffs were correct on |
| 8 | legislature. And the question whether -- was | 8 | standing but for the wrong reason? |
| 9 | whether that was permissible, and the Supreme | 9 | Is that -- did I misinterpret your -- |
| 10 | Court and opinion said that it was | 10 | THE WITNESS: I said it may be -- no, |
| 11 | constitutionally permissible, and after that point | 11 | no, no. I said it may be that the plaintiffs were |
| 12 | people thought that there were some justices, but | 12 | correct on standing, but not for the reasons that |
| 13 | not a majority of justices, on the Supreme Court | 13 | they argued. |
| 14 | who would basically be -- look in favor on those | 14 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay. And if you |
| 15 | kinds of arguments, but that it was foreclosed by | 15 | are correct on standing but for different |
| 16 | precedent. | 16 | reasons -- if the results -- you're right -- |
| 17 | As I said, though, some versions of | 17 | you're correct with respect to the result but for |
| 18 | those arguments are up before the Supreme Court | 18 | the wrong reasons, that's a frivolous claim? |
| 19 | for argument today. I can't remember if they were | 19 | THE WITNESS: Well it certainly is a |
|  | in the -- the first argument or the second, but | 20 | frivolous claim for the reasons you were arguing |
| 21 | they may be arguing about it as we speak. | 21 | it for, and the responsibility is for the people |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I guess -- I guess | 22 | invoking the jurisdiction of the federal courts to |
|  | Page 721 |  | Page 723 |
| 1 | what I'm saying, professor, is that, you know, | 1 | show that they have standing. And I'm not saying |
| 2 | what -- what appears to be settled law -- settled | 2 | that they definitely had standing. They were just |
| 3 | election law, Equal Protection law, settled | 3 | arguing for the wrong reasons for it. I'm saying |
| 4 | independent state legislature principals -- are | 4 | it's possible that, there was -- I can't -- I |
| 5 | not necessarily settled if you are in unique | 5 | can't -- it wasn't within my remit to actually go |
| 6 | circumstances, unprecedented circumstances and you | 6 | through all the possible bases for standing and |
| 7 | have a new Supreme Court decision that you want to | 7 | categorically reject every one of them. |
| 8 | get before... | 8 | My remit was to look at the arguments |
| 9 | In your view, doesn't that give you | 9 | that were actually made and to see if them were |
| 10 | greater leeway to be creative and to make | 10 | made -- if they were frivolous or not. |
| 11 | unprecedented arguments, perhaps? | 11 | So, it's certainly possible. I would |
| 12 | THE WITNESS: It may give you greater | 12 | assume that the plaintiffs made the best arguments |
| 13 | leeway to be creative. You may be able to strain | 13 | that they thought they could. But in any case, |
| 14 | for precedent more than you would in a | 14 | you know, their -- it may be possible to |
| 15 | garden-variety case. But again you're | 15 | imagine -- I'm not -- I haven't imagined one -- it |
| 16 | ultimately -- if the question is ultimately | 16 | may be possible to imagine a different theory of |
| 17 | whether the arguments get over the frivolous | 17 | the case which would allow that. It's just not |
| 18 | threshold, and in my opinion they don't in -- you | 18 | one of the ones that the plaintiffs were actually |
| 19 | know, in this case. | 19 | arguing. |
| 20 | But certainly, you know, there's -- | 20 | But I'm not saying that such a thing |
| 21 | there's going to be pressure to be more creative, | 21 | exists. I'm just not ruling it out of the realm |
| 22 | you would expect people to be more creative, but | 22 | of possibility, because I go there. |


|  | Page 724 |  | Page 726 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you. |  | enough ahead, and ultimately Rule 11 sanction -- |
| 2 | Mr. Brozost, anything? | 2 | there was plenty of time there. People asked for |
| 3 | MR. BROZOST: Yes, Mr. Bernius. Just | 3 | Rule 11 sanctions, for example, and after 21 days |
| 4 | briefly. I have a couple of clarifying questions | 4 | filed the motion, and in both cases I believe the |
| 5 | for Mr. Ortiz. | 5 | Rule 11 sanctions were granted. |
| 6 | Mr. Ortiz, I believe you testified | 6 | So you can -- you can actually -- if |
| 7 | yesterday that, as to the initial complaint, you | 7 | you can see things coming, then you can actually |
| 8 | learned in a deposition in Colorado about Mr. | 8 | attack them sometimes very far in advance, or, you |
| 9 | Giuliani's involvement. | 9 | know, months in advance. But in some cases, it |
| 10 | Could you expand on that a little bit? | 10 | may be the case that you have to wait until you |
| 11 | THE WITNESS: I believe that in a | 11 | actually see how things settle where there would |
| 12 | deposition in Colorado, a litigation before the | 12 | be a very short time frame. |
| 13 | federal court, Mr. Giuliani said that he started | 13 | MR. BROZOST: Thank you, Mr. Ortiz. |
| 14 | drafting the first amended complaint, not -- this | 14 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Ms. |
| 15 | is -- I believe -- I don't believe it was the | 15 | Haynesworth-Murrell? |
| 16 | initial complaint. I believe it was the first | 16 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: I have no |
| 17 | amended complaint, which suggested in context that | 17 | questions for this -- Mr. Ortiz at this time. |
| 18 | he had some substantial responsibility for it. | 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, any |
| 19 | Then that became, you know, a little bit less | 19 | follow-up? |
| 20 | clear from his testimony where, you know, he said | 20 | MR. FOX: Yeah. Could we put up |
| 21 | that his participation amounted to maybe $10 \%$ to | 21 | Disciplinary Counsel Exhibit 34, which is the |
| 22 | $20 \%$ of the -- of the first amended complaint, | 22 | deposition that Mr. Brozost was asking about. |
|  | Page 725 |  | Page 727 |
| 1 | certain numbers of paragraphs, things -- it was | 1 | REDIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 2 | just unclear to me. | 2 | ON BEHALF OF DISCIPLINARY COUNSEL |
| 3 | MR. BROZOST: Yeah, and what was the | 3 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 4 | context of the deposition in Colorado? | 4 | Q. And let me refer you to page 141 of |
| 5 | THE WITNESS: It was another -- I | 5 | that exhibit. |
| 6 | believe it was another election lawsuit. I didn't | 6 | MR. KAMINS: I'm sorry, Mr. Chair, is |
| 7 | read the full deposition. I read the -- just the | 7 | this in the nature of redirect, or what -- what is |
| 8 | sort of large excerpt and the surrounding bit | 8 | this questioning? |
| 9 | concerning this statement. | 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: It's in the nature |
| 10 | MR. BROZOST: Okay, thank you. One | 10 | of redirect. |
| 11 | other question. | 11 | MR. KAMINS: I'm sorry, I thought Mr. |
| 12 | I guess there was -- Mr. Giuliani did | 12 | Fox had his opportunity to redirect. |
| 13 | have a very compressed time to familiarize himself | 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, he's |
| 14 | and present the case. But I guess that is typical | 14 | following -- he's following up on the questions |
| 15 | of all election cases, isn't it? | 15 | that were asked by the panel. |
| 16 | THE WITNESS: Yes, sir, pretty much all | 16 | MR. KAMINS: I see. |
| 17 | of them. A lot of the ones contesting counting | 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I assume. |
| 18 | and things like that and the administration of the | 18 | MR. FOX: Yeah, if you could blow up -- |
| 19 | canvass, for sure. | 19 | make it a little more visible, lines 18 through |
| 20 | But, there are some cases where, for | 20 | 25. I just want to ascertain whether this is the |
| 21 | example, in Michigan and Arizona the cases were | 21 | portion of the -- I'm sorry, I said 18. I meant |
| 22 | concerning things brought very -- you know, far | 22 | 14, 14, I apologize. |


|  | Page 728 |  | Page 730 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | BY MR. FOX: | 1 | Does that refresh your memory? |
| 2 | Q. And I -- I just want to make sure that | 2 | A. I don't do very much criminal |
| 3 | this was the -- verify this is the portion of the | 3 | procedure, so I'm unfamiliar with that -- |
| 4 | deposition that you were talking about when you | 4 | Q. But you do -- you do -- |
| 5 | were being asked by Mr. Brozost? | 5 | A. -- pair of cases. |
| 6 | A. Yes, sir. | 6 | Q. Okay. And -- and in Crawford v. |
| 7 | Q. Okay. | 7 | Washington, in 1980, they overruled Ohio vs. |
| 8 | A. Yes, sir. | 8 | Roberts and they did away with reliability on -- |
| 9 | Q. And -- and do you recall that this is | 9 | on hearsay and they -- and Justice Scalia |
| 10 | actually the initial complaint instead of the | 10 | convinced all of his nine colleagues to overrule |
| 11 | first amended complaint? | 11 | Ohio vs. Roberts, all with saying that, "The only |
| 12 | A. No. I may have been confused. I | 12 | way we could test cross-examination is not by |
| 13 | assume this was the first amended complaint but | 13 | hearsay reliability, but by the crucible of |
| 14 | I'm not certain about that. | 14 | cross-examination". |
| 15 | Q. All right. Thank you. | 15 | Do you recall that? |
| 16 | MR. FOX: I have nothing further. | 16 | A. Yes, I do, sir. I don't require (sic) |
| 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Kamins, anything | 17 | the dates but I do require -- I do remember the |
| 18 | else? | 18 | overruling. |
| 19 | MR. KAMINS: No, Mr. Chair. | 19 | Q. So the Supreme Court basically reversed |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you, Professor | 20 | its precedent, recent precedent, correct? |
| 21 | Ortiz, you're -- you're excused -- | 21 | A. Yes -- no -- it doesn't happen often, |
| 22 | MR. KAMINS: Oh, I'm so sorry. I'm | 22 | but it does. |
|  | Page 729 |  | Page 731 |
| 1 | sorry, Mr. Chair. Mr. Leventhal had a question he | 1 | MR. LEVENTHAL: All right, thank you. |
| 2 | wanted. | 2 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, I assume |
| 3 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, it's unusual | 3 | you have nothing else? |
| 4 | to have two lawyers working on one witness, but | 4 | MR. FOX: I have nothing else. |
| 5 | I'll let you do it. | 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you, Professor |
| 6 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you. | 6 | Ortiz. |
| 7 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Well, not, it's just -- | 7 | (Witness is excused.) |
| 8 | RECROSS-EXAMINATION | 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: We will take our |
| 9 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT | 9 | morning break and resume at five minutes to 11:00. |
| 10 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL | 10 | MR. FOX: And just for the record, |
| 11 | Q. Mr. Ortiz, are you aware that the | 11 | that's all the evidence I have, so we will be in |
| 12 | Supreme Court themselves have on occasion reversed | 12 | the respondent's case at that point. |
| 13 | themselves within two years, they changed | 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: All right. |
| 14 | precedent within two years? | 14 | MR. KAMINS: In fact, Mr. Chair, if I |
| 15 | A. I can't think of a specific example, | 15 | could just ask Ms. Borazzas -- |
| 16 | but -- | 16 | MR. ESPOSITO: He's in the waiting |
| 17 | Q. I'll give you one -- | 17 | room. |
| 18 | A. -- but it wouldn't be surprised. | 18 | MR. KAMINS: -- if Mr. Lewandowski is |
| 19 | Q. I'll give you one. Brady vs. Corbin, | 19 | in the waiting room. |
| 20 | when double jeopardy, they used the same conduct | 20 | MS. BORAZZAS: Someone with the name NH |
| 21 | test and they changed it to the same elements test | 21 | Add, a-d-d -- |
| 22 | two years later. | 22 | MR. KAMINS: Yeah. I think that's -- |


|  | Page 732 |  | Page 734 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | MS. BORAZZAS: I assume that's him. | 1 | A. I am a consultant. |
| 2 | MR. KAMINS: Yes, thank you. Okay, so | 2 | Q. And what is your -- do you have any |
| 3 | we will be ready when we come back to go forward | 3 | titles or what -- with whom are you affiliated? |
| 4 | with Mr. Lewandowski. | 4 | A. I have no affiliation. I do political |
| 5 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Are they all in the | 5 | consulting work and consulting for some private |
| 6 | waiting room, Ms. Borazzas? | 6 | sector companies. |
| 7 | MS. BORAZZAS: That's the only person | 7 | Q. Are you affiliated at all with |
| 8 | in the waiting room now. | 8 | Strategic Advisors? |
| 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: All right. Thank | 9 | A. Lewandowski Strategic Advisors is the |
| 10 | you. 10:55. | 10 | name of my company. |
| 11 | MR. BORAZZAS: All right, opening up | 11 | Q. Okay, could you -- and what is your |
| 12 | the breakout rooms now. | 12 | position there? |
| 13 | (Recess taken.) | 13 | A. I'm the CEO and president of the |
| 14 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: All right, Mr. | 14 | company. |
| 15 | Kamins, you want to call your first witness, | 15 | Q. And what does Strategic Advisors do? |
| 16 | please. | 16 | A. We give counsel to Fortune 100s as well |
| 17 | MR. KAMINS: Yes. Would you please let | 17 | as political candidates on messaging and execution |
| 18 | in Mr. Lewandowski. | 18 | of political campaigns. |
| 19 | MS. BORAZZAS: All right, I am letting | 19 | Q. And did you hold any former positions |
| 20 | in HN Add. I believe it's him. | 20 | prior to this? |
| 21 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you. | 21 | A. I served in 2015 and 2016 as then |
| 22 | MS. BORAZZAS: You're welcome. | 22 | candidate Donald Trump's campaign manager. I |
|  | Page 733 |  | Page 735 |
| 1 | (Corey Lewandowski on the witness | 1 | severed as the national director of voter |
| 2 | stand.) | 2 | registration for Americans From Prosperity. I |
| 3 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Lewandowski, do | 3 | served as a police officer in the state of New |
| 4 | you solemnly swear or affirm that the testimony | 4 | Hampshire. And then, going back to many, many, |
| 5 | you will give in this proceeding will be the | 5 | many years and many other jobs. I could go |
| 6 | truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, | 6 | through a litany of those, but those would be the |
| 7 | so help you god? | 7 | jobs I had for the last ten years. |
| 8 | THE WITNESS: I do. | 8 | Q. That's quite all right. I just wanted |
| 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: You may proceed, Mr. | 9 | to get your more recent positions. |
| 10 | Kamins. | 10 | Do you -- do you hold any degrees? |
| 11 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you, Mr. Chair. | 11 | A. I have a Master's degree in American |
| 12 | Whereupon, | 12 | political science from American University; I |
| 13 | COREY LEWANDOWSKI, | 13 | attended the Naval War College, and I have an |
| 14 | called as a witness on behalf of the Respondent, | 14 | undergraduate degree from the University of |
| 15 | and after having been first duly sworn, was | 15 | Massachusetts. |
| 16 | examined and testified as follows: | 16 | Q. Thank you. Now after the presidential |
| 17 | DIRECT EXAMINATION | 17 | election on November 3rd, 2020, what if any |
| 18 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT | 18 | connection did you have to the election process in |
| 19 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 19 | Pennsylvania? |
| 20 | Q. Good morning, Mr. Lewandowski. | 20 | A. Immediately following the results for |
| 21 | A. Good morning. | 21 | the -- the election on the 3rd, I received a phone |
| 22 | Q. Are you currently employed? | 22 | call from Eric Trump. I was in my apartment in |


|  | Page 736 |  | Page 738 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Washington, DC. He asked me if I could make my | 1 | A. Pam Bondi is the former Attorney |
| 2 | way Philadelphia to help oversee the continuation | 2 | General for the State of Florida, and she and I |
| 3 | of the counting, which was transpiring at that | 3 | actually traveled from Philadelphia together from |
| 4 | time. | 4 | Washington, DC on that Wednesday morning. |
| 5 | I get in my vehicle -- | 5 | Q. Okay. Now at some point did you go to |
| 6 | Q. All right, let me -- let me just | 6 | the convention center in Philadelphia? |
| 7 | interrupt. | 7 | A. I did. |
| 8 | Did you go to Philadelphia? | 8 | Q. And when was that? |
| 9 | A. I did, yes. | 9 | A. Shortly after arrival at the campaign |
| 10 | Q. When was that? | 10 | office and speaking with the staff, I decided it |
| 11 | A. That next morning. So that would have | 11 | was important to go to the convention center to |
| 12 | been on Wednesday morning. I met with -- | 12 | see firsthand what was transpiring. |
| 13 | Q. I'm sorry, let me -- let me just -- if | 13 | Q. And what happened when you went there? |
| 14 | I could just sort of guide you a little bit. | 14 | A. Upon arrival at the convention center, |
| 15 | And this was November 4th? | 15 | there was a series of protests, both pro and con, |
| 16 | A. Yes, it was. | 16 | to Donald Trump's campaign. I made my way through |
| 17 | Q. All right. And who did you meet with | 17 | that and went into the convention center where |
| 18 | when you arrived there in Philadelphia? | 18 | there were armed sheriff's officers and |
| 19 | A. I -- upon arriving in Philadelphia, I | 19 | magnetometers set up. I went to the registration |
| 20 | went to what was the campaign headquarters and met | 20 | desk to ask for access as a representative of the |
| 21 | originally with the person who was running the | 21 | Trump campaign to be allowed to see what was |
| 22 | campaign team there. | 22 | transpiring in the rooms behind the magnetometers |
|  | Page 737 |  | Page 739 |
| 1 | Q. And who was that? | 1 | and I was denied that access. |
| 2 | A. I believe his name was Mike Roman. | 2 | Q. Now are we talking about the November |
| 3 | Q. And did you meet anyone else there | 3 | 4 th or November 5th? |
| 4 | besides Mr. Roman? | 4 | A. So I went to the convention center on |
| 5 | A. Yes. I asked to meet with the entire | 5 | the 4th and the 5th, as well. |
| 6 | legal team representing the Trump campaign and I | 6 | Q. Now again what role were you playing at |
| 7 | met with a woman who arrived and told me that she | 7 | this point in the campaign? |
| 8 | was the individual on retainer from the Trump | 8 | A. I was a senior advisor to the |
| 9 | campaign to represent them in the City of | 9 | Trump/Pence 2020 campaign. |
| 10 | Philadelphia. | 10 | Q. Now when you were there on the 4th, are |
| 11 | Q. And what was her name? | 11 | you describing events of the 4th or the 5th, that |
| 12 | A. I don't remember her name specifically, | 12 | you just described? |
| 13 | but she was a larger, heavyset woman who I | 13 | A. On the 4th, when I originally attempted |
| 14 | believe -- you know, she gave me her name. I just | 14 | to enter the facility, I met with some individuals |
| 15 | don't recall off the top of my head. | 15 | there and I went to the registration desk to be |
| 16 | Q. Would it refresh your memory if I-- if | 16 | ask them if -- if Pam and I could have access, and |
| 17 | I mentioned the name Linda Kearns? | 17 | we were summarily denied that access. |
| 18 | A. That is her $100 \%$, yes. | 18 | So we did not stay at the convention |
| 19 | Q. Okay. Did you meet a woman by the name | 19 | center. We left and went back to the campaign |
| 20 | of Pam Bondi? | 20 | headquarters. |
| 21 | A. Yes, I did. | 21 | Q. And did you make any calls at that |
| 22 | Q. And who is she? | 22 | point after seeing what the conditions were at the |


|  | Page 740 |  | Page 742 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | center? | 1 | from the campaign to come and help us ensure that |
| 2 | A. I did. Pam and I had a conference call | 2 | the integrity of the process was taking place. |
| 3 | with at the time the campaign manager -- his name | 3 | Q. Okay. So, you've described the events |
| 4 | is Bill Stepien -- the deputy campaign manager, | 4 | of the 4th. What if anything happened on the 5th? |
| 5 | Justin Clark, the political director by the name | 5 | A. To the best of my recollection, on the |
| 6 | of Nick Trainer, and we notified them that we were | 6 | 5th, the campaign attorney had gone into a court |
| 7 | not given access to the convention center. | 7 | and asked for a document that would have provided |
| 8 | Q. At some point on the 4th, did you speak | 8 | us -- meaning the campaign officials -- access to |
| 9 | with Mr. Giuliani? | 9 | the convention center. And upon arriving that |
| 10 | A. I did. | 10 | morning at the convention center, I believe on the |
| 11 | Q. And can you describe those | 11 | 5 th, I was provided a copy of that order from the |
| 12 | circumstances? | 12 | commonwealth court. |
| 13 | A. I believe that Mayor Giuliani and Eric | 13 | Q. So you attempted at that point to go |
| 14 | Trump also came to Philadelphia. There was a | 14 | into the center with this order? |
| 15 | press conference that was originally held | 15 | A. I did. |
| 16 | outside -- | 16 | Q. And tell us what happened. |
| 17 | Q. Excuse me, no. But did you call -- did | 17 | A. At first I began by being outside of |
| 18 | you speak to Mr. Giuliani on the phone that day on | 18 | the center with the order in my hand and having an |
| 19 | the 4th? | 19 | impromptu press conference, which was widely |
| 20 | A. I don't know if I spoke to him on the | 20 | covered. I then walked into the convention center |
| 21 | 4th directly, if it was the 4th or the 5th. | 21 | and again approached the desk with the court order |
| 22 | Q. All right. And where was he when you | 22 | and asked to have access to the facility. I was |
|  | Page 741 |  | Page 743 |
| 1 | called him, if you recall? | 1 | asked to wait until a representative of |
| 2 | A. Oh, I couldn't speak to it directly, | 2 | Philadelphia Sheriff's Department could come down |
| 3 | but I did see Mayor Giuliani at a press conference | 3 | and speak with me. I asked to also have a |
| 4 | outside of the airport with Eric Trump, and I | 4 | conversation with the individual who was |
| 5 | believe that was on the afternoon of the 4th. | 5 | overseeing the facility. |
| 6 | Q. And where was Mr. Giuliani -- Giuliani | 6 | I waited probably 15 to 20 minutes on |
| 7 | coming from? | 7 | the side of the magnetometers where the public was |
| 8 | A. I -- I believe he was in Washington, | 8 | allowed to remain, at which point an individual |
| 9 | DC, because I -- if -- if my memory serves me, I | 9 | with the Philadelphia Sheriff's Office, who had |
| 10 | would have seen him the evening before at the | 10 | three stars on his collar, told me that I would |
| 11 | White House. | 11 | not have access to the facility and that if I |
| 12 | Q. So my question really is, were you | 12 | crossed through the magnetometers I would spend |
| 13 | calling him for assistance of any kind? | 13 | three days in a Philadelphia jail. |
| 14 | A. It -- it wasn't from me to ask for the | 14 | I reminded him that I have an order |
| 15 | assistance, but as someone who was familiar with | 15 | from the commonwealth court, and his response to |
| 16 | the Trump campaign and someone who was familiar | 16 | me was, "They don't have a police department. I |
| 17 | with election law, he was someone I would rely on | 17 | do". |
| 18 | for his advice and counsel. | 18 | Q. So you showed him the order? |
| 19 | Q. And do you know what purpose -- what | 19 | A. I did. |
| 20 | was his purpose in coming to your location? | 20 | Q. And after he told you what you just |
| 21 | A. I believe -- and -- and I couldn't | 21 | said, what did you do? |
| 22 | speak to it directly -- but he was asked to arrive | 22 | A. Pam Bondi turned to me and said -- and |


|  | Page 744 |  | Page 746 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | I'm paraphrasing -- "We're not going to jail so |  | over my phone for taking pictures in that public |
| 2 | we're not going through here". | 2 | facility. And then the individual who I believe |
| 3 | Q. All right. What did you and Ms. Bondi | 3 | was in charge of the facility, who I had spoken to |
| 4 | do at that point? | 4 | the day previously, came over, told the sheriff's |
| 5 | A. Being denied access by a police officer | 5 | department that I was able to take pictures in |
| 6 | in uniform who just threatened me with jail for | 6 | that facility and they chose not to remove me or |
| 7 | accessing the facility, I turned around and walked | 7 | confiscate my telephone. |
| 8 | out of the facility. | 8 | Q. Now, did the order specify what you |
| 9 | Q. Now, this -- this is on November 5th, | 9 | were permitted to do once inside? |
| 10 | correct? | 10 | A. To the best of my recollection, Judge |
| 11 | A. I believe that's correct. | 11 | Canon's order allowed me access to -- |
| 12 | Q. At some point were you eventually able | 12 | Q. No, it wasn't my -- it wasn't my order. |
| 13 | to gain access to the convention center? | 13 | A. Judge Canon. |
| 14 | A. I was. | 14 | Q. Oh, I thought you said Kamins. |
| 15 | Q. And what date was that? | 15 | A. No. I'm sorry. If you were writing an |
| 16 | A. I believe that was the following day. | 16 | order, it would be different. |
| 17 | Q. That was November 6th? | 17 | But to the best my recollection, the |
| 18 | A. I believe that's accurate. | 18 | order allowed me and the affiliates of the |
| 19 | Q. All right. And tell us what happened | 19 | campaign to have access within six feet, due to |
| 20 | then? | 20 | COVID restrictions, of all counting which was |
| 21 | A. Upon arrival at the convention center | 21 | transpiring in that particular room. |
| 22 | that day, I was able to go to the check-in desk | 22 | Q. So what happened at -- at that point? |
|  | Page 745 |  | Page 747 |
| 1 | where I was provided a credential that -- my name | 1 | A. When I entered the room -- I finally |
| 2 | was on a list. I was given access through a | 2 | received the ability and the credentials to get |
| 3 | credential that I -- a laniard, which I put around | 3 | into the room, and entered, I could see no |
| 4 | my neck, and it said something to the effect of, | 4 | additional counting transpiring. So the election |
| 5 | you know, "authorized" or "poll watcher," or | 5 | was on Tuesday. This would have been I believe on |
| 6 | something of that nature. | 6 | Friday, when I finally had access to the facility. |
| 7 | I walked into -- through the | 7 | As I said, the room was extremely |
| 8 | magnetometers and into the large, cavernous area | 8 | large. I was never allowed access past the bike |
| 9 | where the machines were set up, and there was -- | 9 | rack or the makeshift barrier which was |
| 10 | looked to be where the counting had been | 10 | established. There were machines that were |
| 11 | transpiring in the past. I was provided access on | 11 | directly, probably six to eight feet in front of |
| 12 | the far side of the bike rack. So bike rack is | 12 | the bike rack, but nothing was moving through |
| 13 | about four feet high and it segregated out the | 13 | those machines at the time. And so I was never |
| 14 | access to the machines. And in this cavernous | 14 | granted access to anything in that particular room |
| 15 | location, from my vantage point, it was all but | 15 | other than being on the far side of the bike rack. |
| 16 | impossible to see what was transpiring in the back | 16 | Q. All right, and could you determine |
| 17 | of the room. I was -- I was taking pictures on my | 17 | whether the ballots had already been separated |
| 18 | telephone when I was approached by a security | 18 | from the envelopes or not? |
| 19 | guard who said to me, if I didn't turn over my | 19 | A. They sure looked like they had been |
| 20 | phone, they would put me in jail. Again the | 20 | separated, but again, the room is so large, it's |
| 21 | sheriff's department responded. They again | 21 | probably 100,000 square feet. I mean, it's a |
| 22 | threatened me with going to jail if I didn't turn | 22 | monster room. It's -- there's this giant |


|  | Page 748 |  | Page 750 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | convention center. And what I could see very | 1 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: No. |
| 2 | clearly, as close to the bike rack as possible, | 2 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you, Mr. |
| 3 | was a series of machines, which I believe were | 3 | Lewandowski. You are excused. |
| 4 | designed to have throughput to count the ballots | 4 | THE WITNESS: Thank you. |
| 5 | themselves. None of those machines were actually | 5 | (Witness is excused.) |
| 6 | running while I was in that room. There were some | 6 | MR. KAMINS: Is Mr. Droz in the waiting |
| 7 | individuals who were working in the room, but they | 7 | room? |
| 8 | were far enough away from me that I could not see | 8 | MS. BORAZZAS: Yes, he is. |
| 9 | what they were doing and I couldn't identify those | 9 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you. If you could |
| 10 | people. | 10 | let him in, please. |
| 11 | Q. Do you know a gentleman by Mr. -- last | 11 | MS. BORAZZAS: I'm letting him in now. |
| 12 | name Mercer? | 12 | (John Droz on the witness stand.) |
| 13 | A. It's a fairly common name. Is there | 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Droz, can you |
| 14 | anyone more specific? | 14 | hear me? |
| 15 | MR. GIULIANI: Jeremy. | 15 | THE WITNESS: I can. Can you hear me? |
| 16 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 16 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yes. |
| 17 | Q. His first name I believe is Jeremy. | 17 | Do you solemnly swear or affirm that |
| 18 | Just if you would -- well, you don't -- | 18 | the testimony you will give in this proceeding |
| 19 | you don't know Mr. Jeremy Mercer, correct? | 19 | will be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but |
| 20 | A. I don't believe I do. | 20 | the truth, so help you god? |
| 21 | Q. All right. So under those | 21 | THE WITNESS: I do. |
| 22 | circumstances, did you remain in the center or did | 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: You may proceed, Mr. |
|  | Page 749 |  | Page 751 |
| 1 | you leave? | 1 | Kamins. |
| 2 | A. After being in the facility for | 2 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you, Mr. Chair. |
| 3 | probably ten minutes, realizing that there was no | 3 | Whereupon, |
| 4 | counting going on, I couldn't see anything, even | 4 | JOHN DROZ |
| 5 | though I had access now to what I would determine | 5 | called as a witness on behalf of Respondent, and |
| 6 | would be the public area of the facility, I turned | 6 | after having been first duly sworn, was examined |
| 7 | around and left. | 7 | and testified as follows: |
| 8 | Q. All right. And were you involved any | 8 | DIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 9 | further with the election process at that point? | 9 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT |
| 10 | A. My only further response to that would | 10 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 11 | be that I went back to the campaign office, had | 11 | Q. Good morning, Mr. Droz. |
| 12 | some additional meetings and then participated in | 12 | A. Good morning, judge. |
| 13 | a -- a makeshift press conference, which | 13 | Q. You could, no -- it's "Mr. Kamins" -- |
| 14 | transpired I think the following day. | 14 | (Echoing interference interrupts the |
| 15 | MR. KAMINS: All right. I have no | 15 | proceedings.) |
| 16 | further questions. | 16 | MR. KAMINS: Okay. I'm not sure what |
| 17 | MR. FOX: No questions. I have no | 17 | just happened but I thought I was in another |
| 18 | questions. | 18 | universe. |
| 19 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Any -- any questions | 19 | MS. BORAZZAS: It sounds like maybe |
| 20 | from the panel? | 20 | someone had the YouTube channel on, because it's |
| 21 | MR. BROZOST: No, Mr. Chairman. | 21 | delayed slightly. |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Ms. Murrell? | 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Kamins, you may |


|  | Page 752 |  | Page 754 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | proceed. | 1 | Aerospace Electronics in Utica, New York. I was |
| 2 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 2 | in middle management there by the time I retired. |
| 3 | Q. All right. I'll say it again, Mr. | 3 | I also had employment at Monolithic Memories, a |
| 4 | Droz. Good morning. You can you hear me? | 4 | silicon OSI manufacturer in Silicon Valley, and |
| 5 | A. Is this Groundhog Day? | 5 | for a short stint for Mohawk Data Sciences, as |
| 6 | Q. Is that a yes? You can hear me, Mr. | 6 | manager of their components engineering; all |
| 7 | Droz? | 7 | technical jobs. |
| 8 | A. Yes. | 8 | Q. Okay. After your retirement did you |
| 9 | Q. Mr. Droz, can you hear me? | 9 | develop an interest in areas as -- as a science |
| 10 | MS. BORAZZAS: Is his panel on, because | 10 | advocate? |
| 11 | it's delayed slightly? | 11 | A. Yes. It seemed to me that there was a |
| 12 | THE WITNESS: Should I have my volume | 12 | lot of people claiming that they were acting under |
| 13 | on? I have my volume on. Uh-oh. | 13 | the mantle of science when it wasn't actually so, |
| 14 | (Discussion off the record.) | 14 | and I think they were taking advantage of |
| 15 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 15 | people, the average citizen that believes in |
| 16 | Q. Mr. Droz, can you hear me? | 16 | science -- surveys have shown this -- but the |
| 17 | A. Yes, I can. | 17 | dichotomy is that most people don't really know |
| 18 | Q. Okay. Good morning and thanks -- thank | 18 | what science is. |
| 19 | you for being here. | 19 | So I started off with environmental |
| 20 | All right. Mr. Droz, do you hold any | 20 | things. I was a member at the Sierra Club, stuff |
| 21 | degrees? | 21 | like that, trying to fight environmental fights, |
| 22 | A. Yes. I have a -- a BS degree in | 22 | but I got more and more involved in science, |
|  | Page 753 |  | Page 755 |
| 1 | mathematics, a BS degree in physics and an MS | 1 | trying to defend science. |
| 2 | degree in physics. | 2 | So that's probably been my career: |
| 3 | Q. Those are -- and is there a graduate | 3 | trying to defend science. |
| 4 | degree or that -- that's what you just told us, | 4 | Q. Did you work on certain New York |
| 5 | the MS? | 5 | State-based or statewide issues after your |
| 6 | A. Yes, the MS is a graduate degree from | 6 | retirement? |
| 7 | Syracuse University. The BS -- two BS degrees are | 7 | A. Yes, I did. One of the environmental |
| 8 | from Boston College. | 8 | issues I got interested in was water-related |
| 9 | Q. And do you -- are there any areas in | 9 | things. So, for instance, in New York State they |
| 10 | which you have a specific expertise? | 10 | have a large amount of water available, where in a |
| 11 | A. Well, I'm -- I'm involved in quite a | 11 | lot of the rest of the country, water is a |
| 12 | few things. | 12 | scarcity. |
| 13 | Q. No, specifically I -- specifically with | 13 | So, water companies -- people like |
| 14 | regard to physics? | 14 | Nestle -- people like that, were coming into |
| 15 | A. Well, in the area of physics I'm | 15 | upstate New York and drilling or tapping into |
| 16 | involved in energy matters, nationally, climate | 16 | water aquifers and then bottling the water. |
| 17 | change matters, nationally; things of that nature. | 17 | So for my particular community, such a |
| 18 | Q. All right. Are you currently employed? | 18 | project was proposed. Just to give you the size |
| 19 | A. I retired when I was 34. So, no. | 19 | of it, they were talking about building a |
| 20 | Q. Can you describe what you did prior to | 20 | possessing facility in the neighborhood of 1 M |
| 21 | your retirement? | 21 | square feet, an enormous processing facility. So |
| 22 | A. I worked for General Electric, | 22 | the problem was that in New York State there were |


|  | Page 756 |  | Page 758 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | no rules about commercial water extraction, so I | 1 | newsletter goes out every two weeks, and I have |
| 2 | worked with several other environmental groups. | 2 | over 10,000 subscribers on that newsletter. It |
| 3 | We got together and the bottom line was that we | 3 | covers these topics I'm interested from COVID to |
| 4 | were able to pass, for the first time ever, | 4 | climate; to renewables to religion; from education |
| 5 | commercial -- rules, state rules about limiting | 5 | to energy. |
| 6 | commercial water extraction, things of that | 6 | A lot of -- a lot of ground, and -- |
| 7 | nature. | 7 | Q. All right, now getting back to the -- |
| 8 | Q. All right. And over the years have you | 8 | A. Well, I'm getting -- the answer to that |
| 9 | written any books? | 9 | is that I -- so because of these 10,000 plus |
| 10 | A. I have coauthored a variety of books | 10 | subscribers, which is free, I got to know a lot of |
| 11 | but not solely authored. | 11 | people. And a lot of people know me. |
| 12 | Q. And what subject matters have you | 12 | So the answer to your question was, |
| 13 | written on? | 13 | yes. After the election, out of the blue, an |
| 14 | A. Energy things. | 14 | attorney called me, a woman. She identified |
| 15 | Q. And have you written -- or do you write | 15 | herself, but I -- I'm a senior. I forgot what her |
| 16 | any blogs? | 16 | name was. I didn't recognize it. |
| 17 | A. Well, I have a Substact that might | 17 | Q. Did she identify herself as having |
| 18 | be -- you might call "blog," not entirely, where I | 18 | any -- any affiliation? |
| 19 | post things. It's called Critically Thinking on | 19 | A. Well, she said she was working with a |
| 20 | Societal Issues. I do that like once a week. | 20 | group of people who were trying to ascertain |
| 21 | Q. Have you been selected to serve on any | 21 | the -- again, this is two years ago, but ascertain |
| 22 | positions as a scientist? | 22 | the accuracy, the legitimacy, et cetera, et |
|  | Page 757 |  | Page 759 |
| 1 | A. Well, yes, quite -- quite a few variety | 1 | cetera, of the 2020 election. This is within a |
| 2 | from organizations, whatever, but one example is | 2 | week or so of the election. |
| 3 | that I am -- I was appointed to be a commissioner, | 3 | Q. All right. And what did you tell this |
| 4 | North Carolina State commissioner on their Oil and | 4 | person when you spoke to her? |
| 5 | Gas Commission, because of my knowledge about the | 5 | A. Well, she was calling to solicit me. |
| 6 | energy matters. So I've been on that for a couple | 6 | So, what she said was is that, "Are you interested |
| 7 | of years. | 7 | in putting together a team of experts to help in |
| 8 | Q. Have you been appointment as a senior | 8 | this effort?" |
| 9 | fellow? | 9 | Q. And what did you say? |
| 10 | A. There's been so many of these things | 10 | A. I said, "Well, look, I'm -- I'm very |
| 11 | that I don't remember all of them, but probably, | 11 | interested in this topic". I said, "But from what |
| 12 | yes. | 12 | you were asking me" -- she was talking about |
| 13 | Another organization for instance that | 13 | statistical analysis -- I said, "I -- I would need |
| 14 | I'm involved with is called the CO2 Coalition. | 14 | to get some other people who have PhDs in |
| 15 | I have probably too many things on my | 15 | statistics. And I said, but as far as my position |
| 16 | plate, but yes. | 16 | is, I am definitely concerned about it and I'd be |
| 17 | Q. Okay. Now after the presidential | 17 | willing to spend the time. But I would have to |
| 18 | election on November 3rd, 2020, were you contacted | 18 | call up some of these statistics and IT PhDs and |
| 19 | by anyone in connection with the election? | 19 | see if they were. |
| 20 | A. Yes. I get -- I get a lot of contacts. | 20 | "So, if we could put together a team of |
| 21 | One thing I should have mentioned -- maybe you're | 21 | them, yes, I'd be willing to do it." |
| 22 | calling it a blog -- I have a newsletter and that | 22 | Q. And as a result did you make contact |


|  | Page 760 |  | Page 762 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | with these individuals that you were describing? | 1 | data? |
| 2 | A. Yes. I went through my -- my names | 2 | A. Well, what she did was give me a link |
| 3 | that are on my subscribers of the newsletter, and | 3 | to a site where they had this data that was |
| 4 | I picked out four people that I had, you know, | 4 | downloadable. It was, as I recollect, like four |
| 5 | some reasonable conversant knowledge about and, | 5 | gigabits of data. It was pretty disorganized, to |
| 6 | rather than email them something, because this all | 6 | be quite frank with you. She -- so but -- she -- |
| 7 | seemed to be time is of the essence, I called | 7 | and -- and one of the things I -- I was concerned |
| 8 | every one of them on the phone and described what | 8 | about was whether she would be directing me to -- |
| 9 | was asked of me. And the gist of it was, "Are you | 9 | to look for something specific, but she didn't. |
| 10 | interested in volunteering time and effort to put | 10 | She didn't say, "Find problems with Trump or |
| 11 | together a statistical analysis report of some | 11 | Biden". She just said, "We want you to look at |
| 12 | election data?" And (indecipherable) said yes. | 12 | the data and tell us what you conclude". |
| 13 | Q. Excuse me. How many people are we | 13 | Q. Right, so now that you have this team |
| 14 | talking about? | 14 | of four PhDs to work with, what was your role |
| 15 | A. Four -- four people, to start with. | 15 | going forward? |
| 16 | Q. And did these people hold any degrees? | 16 | A. My role was to organize the whole |
| 17 | A. They were all PhDs. | 17 | thing, coordinate the thing. That's what I call |
| 18 | Q. All right. And did you give an initial | 18 | being a team leader. I was the editor, you know, |
| 19 | assignment to this group of individuals? | 19 | the mother, whatever. So, for -- |
| 20 | A. No. The next thing that happened was | 20 | Q. Did you give -- did you give an |
| 21 | is that this -- this woman, this attorney, said | 21 | assignment to each of these experts? |
| 22 | she was going to call me back the following day, | 22 | A. Well, that's one of the challenges we |
|  | Page 761 |  | Page 763 |
| 1 | and she did, and so I reported to her what the | 1 | had. The first challenge is that I had to decide |
| 2 | results of my conversations were. I said, "Okay, | 2 | and that was whether we should do this as a group, |
| 3 | I now have a team, the five of us". I said, "I'll | 3 | in other words to give the same data and work |
| 4 | be the team leader, the editor, so forth, and | 4 | together as a team of five people, or whether I |
| 5 | these people will write up -- do the research and | 5 | should give this data to each of these people |
| 6 | write -- write the analyses of what they come up | 6 | separately and see -- have them come up with their |
| 7 | with". So I said, "We're ready to go". | 7 | own conclusions. |
| 8 | So I said, "What did -- what -- what | 8 | So I decided that we might have more |
| 9 | specifically do you want us to do?" | 9 | interesting and valid results if we worked |
| 10 | Q. Excuse me. Let me just see if we can | 10 | independently. So that's what I did. |
| 11 | get through this. | 11 | Q. And did you give them any type of a |
| 12 | Did the attorney who called tell you | 12 | schedule to complete the assignment? |
| 13 | what she was looking for? | 13 | A. What I did was -- well, okay. I |
| 14 | A. Well, that's what I was just saying. | 14 | skipped over that part here. Thank you. |
| 15 | She -- after I told her we had a team ready to go, | 15 | When I was speaking to this lawyer, |
| 16 | I then said to her, "So now -- now specifically | 16 | after she told me the Pennsylvania data, I said to |
| 17 | what do you want us to do?" Because she didn't | 17 | her, "So what time frame do we have to -- you're |
| 18 | say that before. And she said, "Well, we have | 18 | giving us to write a report here?" And she said |
| 19 | a -- a fair amount of data on Pennsylvania. We'd | 19 | "Two days". |
| 20 | like you to look at that and tell us what you | 20 | And I said, "Give me a break". I said, |
| 21 | see". | 21 | "Look, that's -- that's not possible. We can't do |
| 22 | Q. And did she send you any information or | 22 | something in two days". And that was sort of |

December 7, 2022

|  | Page 764 |  | Page 766 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | indicative of the rush they were in. | 1 | A. We had the five chapters and an |
| 2 | I said, "Look, we'll do the best we | 2 | introduction and a summary -- |
| 3 | can, but I an tell you right now, it's not going | 3 | Q. I'm sorry. I'm sorry. |
| 4 | to be two days". | 4 | A. That was the report. |
| 5 | So, when I got this -- when I started | 5 | Q. Excuse me for interrupting. So the |
| 6 | looking at the -- the data they had on this | 6 | answer to that is yes? |
| 7 | website, I -- I gave that link to each of these | 7 | A. Yes. |
| 8 | four guys. They knew there were other people on | 8 | MR. KAMINS: Okay. So could we have |
| 9 | the team, but they didn't work with them. I gave | 9 | Respondent's Exhibit 11 put up on the screen. |
| 10 | the same link to each of the four people and I | 10 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 11 | said, "Look, do the best you can. Look at this | 11 | Q. Is this the initial report, Mr. Droz, |
| 12 | data. See what -- see what jumps out at you as | 12 | that was -- |
| 13 | far as irregularities or unusual things, | 13 | A. Yes, it is. |
| 14 | statistically or whatever, and write it up to me, | 14 | Q. All right. And did you send this |
| 15 | send it in. I'd like to have it within a few | 15 | initial report to anyone? |
| 16 | days". | 16 | A. The same person that had contacted me, |
| 17 | Q. And was an initial report prepared? | 17 | that I forgot her name, she gave me a list of 12 |
| 18 | A. Yes. After several go 'rounds, they | 18 | people to send it to. And for this -- this |
| 19 | would send me their documents and a lot of times | 19 | particular circumstance, one of the people was an |
| 20 | their -- their write-ups. And quite frankly, a | 20 | associate of Mr. Giuliani: Maria Ryan. |
| 21 | lot of it was, you know, fairly academic. So that | 21 | Q. And was -- was this sent on the -- the |
| 22 | was one of the things I did, was to try to | 22 | date of the report, the 16th? |
|  | Page 765 |  | Page 767 |
| 1 | translate what they were saying here to be | 1 | A. Yes, it was. I just double-checked |
| 2 | understandable by -- more understandable by a | 2 | that, again, and yes it was, the 16 th. |
| 3 | layperson. So there was -- there was a lot of | 3 | Q. Okay, now with respect to this -- |
| 4 | that. | 4 | MR. KAMINS: You could take the report |
| 5 | But after -- after I did it every time, | 5 | down. Thank you. |
| 6 | I went through and did fairly heavy editing on | 6 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 7 | each one of them. I would send it back to the | 7 | Q. Now with respect to this report, can |
| 8 | original author and say, is this fair enough or | 8 | you identify the individuals who contributed to |
| 9 | did I miss anything or mischaracterize something? | 9 | this report? |
| 10 | And so we would go back and forth, and | 10 | A. Well, the authors -- they did more than |
| 11 | it took a while to do that, but the bottom line | 11 | contribute. The authors of each chapter are |
| 12 | was -- and in addition, I wrote an introduction on | 12 | identified in the chapter. The first chapter is |
| 13 | my own, and I wrote a summary at the end. So | 13 | done by Dr. Tony Cox from Colorado, Denver |
| 14 | those two parts I did just by myself. | 14 | Colorado; the second is Dr. Stan Young, PhD from |
| 15 | So there were five chapters. One of | 15 | Raleigh, North Carolina; the third -- third and |
| 16 | the four people decided they got so enthused that | 16 | fourth chapters are done by Dr. Cornell, whose |
| 17 | they wanted to do two chapters -- | 17 | from Austin, Texas, and lastly Dr. William Briggs, |
| 18 | Q. Excuse me. Let me just cut you off. I | 18 | I believe is from New York City. |
| 19 | just wanted to go -- | 19 | Q. Now other than having PhDs , are there |
| 20 | So an initial report was prepared? | 20 | any other credentials you can tell us of -- of |
| 21 | A. Yes. That's what I was telling you. | 21 | each of these individuals? |
| 22 | Q. Okay. | 22 | A. Well, I -- I've written up each one of |


|  | Page 768 |  | Page 770 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | their credentials. They are extensive. So | 1 | said, "Hey, everything looks within the realm of |
| 2 | they're a lot more than just PhDs. They are | 2 | normality," well, that'd be fine. |
| 3 | members of a lot of things and each one is | 3 | But the -- the interesting thing to me |
| 4 | extensive. | 4 | was -- I -- I thought that they'd come back and |
| 5 | Q. All right. Anything specific you'd | 5 | point out the same things that they saw. But it |
| 6 | like to bring to our attention as far as their | 6 | didn't turn out that way. Each one of them picked |
| 7 | expertise? | 7 | on something that was an anomaly that was somewhat |
| 8 | A. Well, every one of them is extensive. | 8 | different from what the others did. |
| 9 | These are -- these are really sophisticated | 9 | MR. FOX: I'm trying to object. |
| 10 | people. | 10 | We are going to get to the substance of |
| 11 | If it were me, if I was conveying this | 11 | the report and I think we need to -- before we do |
| 12 | to a citizen, probably the easiest chapter to read | 12 | that -- I'm not sure what capacity this gentleman |
| 13 | would be chapter two. | 13 | is testifying in, but it appears to be an expert |
| 14 | Q. All right, well, let me -- let me go -- | 14 | capacity, and I think we need to have him |
| 15 | I just wanted to ask that question about their | 15 | qualified as an expert before we get into the |
| 16 | credentials here. | 16 | substance of this report by other people. |
| 17 | You're saying that each of them were | 17 | MR. KAMINS: Well, I think Mr. Droz is |
| 18 | extensively credentialed -- | 18 | reporting on what his role was in preparing the |
| 19 | A. Yes. | 19 | report, rather than the substance of the report. |
| 20 | Q. -- in certain areas? | 20 | THE WITNESS: Well, no. I would say |
| 21 | What areas were they credentialed in? | 21 | we're talking about the substance besides. |
| 22 | A. Well, most of them were in statistics. | 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Is this -- is this |
|  | Page 769 |  | Page 771 |
| 1 | Eric was also involved a lot in computer | 1 | report in evidence? |
| 2 | technology, things of that nature. He had more of | 2 | MR. FOX: No, I've objected to it. |
| 3 | an engineering slant to it, but very much into IT | 3 | MR. KAMINS: Well, we've offered it but |
| 4 | and -- I'm in a senior moment here -- artificial | 4 | it's been objected to by Mr. Fox. |
| 5 | intelligence, AI I started to say. | 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay. Well, if it's |
| 6 | Yeah, essentially that was their main | 6 | not in evidence, I'm not sure it's appropriate at |
| 7 | things, for three of them any =ways. | 7 | this time for him to testify as to its contents. |
| 8 | Q. Now was there an overarching goal in | 8 | So Mr. Kamins, you want to address that |
| 9 | this -- for you in this report? | 9 | issue? Are you going to offer this in evidence? |
| 10 | A. The goal was to come up with an | 10 | MR. KAMINS: Yes. Yes, your Honor, we |
| 11 | accurate assessment of what we saw. So that's | 11 | would offer Respondent's 11 into evidence. |
| 12 | what I assigned them, each one. I said, "Look at | 12 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: For what purpose? |
| 13 | this data. Write up something about what jumps | 13 | MR. KAMINS: For the purpose of |
| 14 | out at you". That's all I told them. | 14 | establishing statistical anomalies that were found |
| 15 | Q. With respect to statistical anomalies, | 15 | by the individuals who prepared the report: the |
| 16 | was there a goal? | 16 | four PhDs as well as Mr. Droz' editing. |
| 17 | A. Not really. | 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: So it's being |
| 18 | Q. Were you attempting to find out whether | 18 | offered for the truth of its contents? |
| 19 | or not there were statistical anomalies? | 19 | MR. KAMINS: Yes. Yes, it is. |
| 20 | A. Well, yes. We were certainly trying to | 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox? |
| 21 | find out whether there was anything unusual. So | 21 | MR. FOX: Obviously it's hearsay. |
| 22 | if -- if each of these guys looked at the data and | 22 | Obviously we don't have the people who wrote the |


|  | Page 772 |  | Page 774 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | report here to testify. We don't know what the |  | relying on others. So -- |
| 2 | data is that it was based on, other than it was | 2 | MR. KAMINS: Well, let me -- |
| 3 | something that was sent to Mr. Droz by a lawyer. | 3 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I'm not going to -- |
| 4 | We don't know anything much about the credentials | 4 | I'm not going to preclude you from trying to |
| 5 | of the people. I can't cross-examine them. Mr. | 5 | rehabilitate him, but... |
| 6 | Droz has not been qualified as an expert... | 6 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 7 | So I oppose the admission of this | 7 | Q. All right. Mr. Droz, after the |
| 8 | report. | 8 | election, did you begin to do more work in the |
| 9 | MR. KAMINS: Well, your -- Mr. -- Mr. | 9 | area of election integrity? |
| 10 | Chair, we're also offering it to establish Mr. | 10 | A. Yes, I did. |
| 11 | Giuliani's state of mind, since he was given this | 11 | Q. And could you describe what work you |
| 12 | information prior to his oral argument on November | 12 | did? |
| 13 | 17th and prior to the preparation of the second | 13 | A. I put up a website that has not only |
| 14 | amended complaint. So the information in here | 14 | this report but I and the team here generated 10 |
| 15 | was -- and as Mr. Giuliani will testify later -- | 15 | total reports. Out of those 10 , three of them |
| 16 | was something that he received. | 16 | were -- I was the primary author. For instance, |
| 17 | So for that purpose we are offering it, | 17 | one that I was the primary author was about |
| 18 | as well. | 18 | post-election audits. No one else in the country |
| 19 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, on that | 19 | has written a report about what forensic |
| 20 | issue? | 20 | post-election audits ought to be. So I am the |
| 21 | MR. FOX: Well, initially I thought the | 21 | expert in the country, as far as that goes, in |
| 22 | chair asked Mr. Kamins if we were -- if this was | 22 | that regard, since no one else has published |
|  | Page 773 |  | Page 775 |
| 1 | being offered for the truth, and he said yes. | 1 | anything about that. I am also on three |
| 2 | If it's being offered -- if it's -- if | 2 | different -- I don't know, what you were calling |
| 3 | it's being offered for Mr. Giuliani's state of | 3 | here -- there's Zoom meetings by three different |
| 4 | mind, Mr. Giuliani can testify about it, but Mr. | 4 | groups: one is Cleta Mitchell and her |
| 5 | Droz doesn't get to testify like an expert about | 5 | association -- her organization. They have been |
| 6 | the contents of the report. | 6 | meeting for a year and a half. I was initially |
| 7 | Mr. Giuliani can testify about how it | 7 | invited to be a member of that very select group |
| 8 | affected his state of mind. | 8 | of 50 people throughout the whole United States. |
| 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I -- I -- I agree. | 9 | So one person per state, I was invited, and I've |
| 10 | I think at this point I'm going to sustain the | 10 | been on that... |
| 11 | objection, Mr. Kamins. Mr. Giuliani -- Mr. | 11 | Second of all, Heritage Foundation has |
| 12 | Giuliani can -- can testify as to the | 12 | a -- a weekly meeting as well. I was also invited |
| 13 | circumstances of his review of the report and its | 13 | to be on that and have been on that for over a |
| 14 | effect on his state of mind. | 14 | year... |
| 15 | MR. KAMINS: Well, Mr. Chair, if I | 15 | Third of all, in North Carolina, I was |
| 16 | could ask Mr. Droz some questions about his work | 16 | one of the cofounders of an organization called |
| 17 | in the election integrity area, perhaps you -- you | 17 | NCIT, which is an election integrity organization. |
| 18 | would revisit the -- the introduction of the | 18 | Now it has over 500 members. They have a weekly |
| 19 | report. | 19 | meeting. So I participate when I'm available on |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, you're free to | 20 | that. |
| 21 | do that, but I've already -- I think he already | 21 | I've written numerous articles about it |
| 22 | said that he's not a statistical expert and he's | 22 | on Substact, et cetera, et cetera, et cetera. |


|  | Page 776 |  | Page 778 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Q. When you say -- | 1 | that. |
| 2 | A. I'd like to clarify one thing. | 2 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 3 | The member of the board there said -- | 3 | Q. So, Mr. Droz, could you just give us |
| 4 | Robert -- said that I wasn't statistically -- I | 4 | generally what the takeaway was from the -- from |
| 5 | don't know exact words here -- I don't have a PhD | 5 | the four experts who wrote their reports? |
| 6 | in statistics, but as a physicist, believe me. I | 6 | A. Well, I wrote the summary, and of |
| 7 | need to know a fair amount about numbers and | 7 | course again, all these materials were passed by |
| 8 | statistics. And that's really what this report's | 8 | these people. So they were in concurrence of it. |
| 9 | about. It's a report about numbers. And | 9 | So if you look at the -- the last page |
| 10 | that's -- I am unequivocally knowledgeable if not | 10 | of it, it says several summarized conclusions, but |
| 11 | an expert on numbers. I have a math degree. | 11 | probably the most significant one that would be |
| 12 | MR. KAMINS: All right, Mr. Chair. I | 12 | generally pertinent here is that -- the conclusion |
| 13 | would renew my application to admit the exhibit. | 13 | was that there was approximately something in the |
| 14 | MR. FOX: Objection. | 14 | order of 300,000 votes in the Pennsylvania 2020 |
| 15 | I -- first of all, he didn't even write | 15 | election that were suspect. |
| 16 | most of it. He wrote -- he wrote an -- an | 16 | Q. And was there any conclusion as to the |
| 17 | introduction. Second, I don't know what his | 17 | statistical anomalies or aberrations in the |
| 18 | expertise is. I mean, what is this being offered | 18 | election in that -- in that state? |
| 19 | for? I mean, is -- is this man an expert and if | 19 | A. Well, that was the sum and substance |
| 20 | so what is his expertise? I haven't heard any -- | 20 | conclusion from these statistical anomalies; that |
| 21 | you know, he's being offered as an expert in what? | 21 | there were some 300,000 votes that were suspect. |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, I'll tell you, | 22 | Q. And were they in certain counties or |
|  | Page 777 |  | Page 779 |
| 1 | let me -- let me short circuit this. The -- this | 1 | all counties? |
| 2 | evidence is going to come in. There's no -- | 2 | A. No, the -- chapter two explains which |
| 3 | there's no hearsay exclusion. And -- and -- so | 3 | counties they were. There's a graph there that |
| 4 | I'll -- I'll admit it for the purpose of state of | 4 | shows every one of the 67 counties, pretty easy to |
| 5 | mind of the -- of the respondent. | 5 | understand, shows which ones are abnormal. And |
| 6 | But I can tell you, Mr. Kamins, to have | 6 | there's about 10 out of the 67 that have a |
| 7 | this witness talk about what the contents of the | 7 | significant statistical abnormality, all in the |
| 8 | report are, I mean, it's our -- it's our judgment | 8 | favor of Biden. |
| 9 | to assess the weight of that evidence, and | 9 | Q. Anything further as to the conclusions? |
| 10 | frankly, based on the -- the testimony so far, | 10 | A. One thing that we said, we tried to be |
| 11 | it's not going to effect much if he goes through | 11 | careful on how we wrote this. One of the authors |
| 12 | with a dramatic reading of this. I don't -- I | 12 | used the term "fraud" a few times. In subsequent |
| 13 | don't see that it's going to move the ball, but | 13 | versions I took that out, with his consent. |
| 14 | you can go ahead and do it if you want. | 14 | Q. Why did you -- why did you take the |
| 15 | MR. KAMINS: Well, I certainly can ask | 15 | word "fraud" out? |
| 16 | some general questions, and then Mr. Giuliani can | 16 | A. Well, because these were written by lay |
| 17 | supplemental this when he testifies, as -- as to | 17 | people. They weren't lawyers. And he was -- he |
| 18 | what he was aware of. | 18 | was writing as a layperson that he thought there |
| 19 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, but, as I | 19 | would be fraud. So I discussed with him, which I |
| 20 | suggested, I wouldn't spend a lot of time with | 20 | should have done in the first place, but again, we |
| 21 | this witness on the contents of the report. | 21 | were under a lot of pressure here to do this |
| 22 | MR. KAMINS: All right. I appreciate | 22 | pretty quickly. |


|  | Page 780 |  | Page 782 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | So I discussed with him and, said, "You | 1 | Q. And are you aware that there was a |
| 2 | know, there's -- there's connotations to that word | 2 | post-election, risk limiting audit in Pennsylvania |
| 3 | that, from a lawyer point of view here, intention, | 3 | that was concluded in February of 2021? |
| 4 | all that kind of other stuff". I said, "We -- we | 4 | A. Well, I want people made to understand |
| 5 | should stick to saying there's anomalies here". | 5 | that, but as I said, I wrote the report on audits. |
| 6 | And so he agreed. | 6 | A risk-limiting audit is a very superficial, not |
| 7 | And so if you look at -- | 7 | very meaningful audit. |
| 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I'm not sure -- I'm | 8 | Q. Well, my question was are you aware |
| 9 | not sure what this line of question is designed | 9 | that there was such an audit? |
| 10 | to -- or what these answers add to the -- to this | 10 | A. I'm not a aware of it, no. |
| 11 | case. | 11 | Q. Okay. And you are not aware that they |
| 12 | MR. KAMINS: I'm attempting -- I'm | 12 | sampled 45,000 random selected ballots from 63 |
| 13 | attempting to establish the impartiality or -- of | 13 | counties? |
| 14 | their -- of their process. But that's -- I'll -- | 14 | A. Again, that's a misleading thing here. |
| 15 | I'll end here, Mr. Chair. | 15 | That's just a -- a number -- it's just like adding |
| 16 | MR. FOX: Is it up to me? | 16 | up the arithmetic on your IRS form. Just because |
| 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I think -- I think | 17 | the numbers add up doesn't mean it's right. |
| 18 | Mr. Kamins said he's done. | 18 | Q. Are you aware that the results mirror |
| 19 | MR. KAMINS: Yes. | 19 | the results of the presidential election to within |
| 20 | MR. FOX: Oh, I apologize. | 20 | a fraction of a percentage point? |
| 21 | CROSS-EXAMINATION | 21 | A. We're not talking about the numbers |
| 22 | ON BEHALF OF DISCIPLINARY COUNSEL | 22 | being added up. The talk -- the question is |
|  | Page 781 |  | Page 783 |
| 1 | BY MR. FOX: | 1 | whether the votes are legitimate: did somebody |
| 2 | Q. Mr. Droz, my name is Hamilton Fox. | 2 | vote twice, for instance, was this person a |
| 3 | A. Hello, Mr. Fox. | 3 | citizen, and so forth. None of those things were |
| 4 | Q. Just a couple questions. | 4 | checked out. |
| 5 | A. Sure. | 5 | Q. Were you aware that the -- that the |
| 6 | Q. You said on page four of your | 6 | limited audit found no evidence of fraud? |
| 7 | introduction that -- that your "Scientific | 7 | A. They didn't look for fraud. So, yes, I |
| 8 | analysis could not identify exactly what happened | 8 | would be aware of that. That's an impossibility. |
| 9 | or prove that fraud was involved. Honest | 9 | They didn't look for fraud. |
| 10 | mistakes, unintentional computer glitches, et | 10 | Q. All right. Now are you aware that |
| 11 | cetera, can and do happen". | 11 | certain republican senators in Pennsylvania have |
| 12 | Am I -- do I have that right? | 12 | announced that they've hired a company to pursue a |
| 13 | A. That's exactly right. | 13 | forensic audit? Are you aware of that? |
| 14 | Q. And your recommendation, in fact you | 14 | A. I've heard a lot of stories. I'm not |
| 15 | say "Our strong recommendation is that each of the | 15 | sure specifically. I know Doug Mastriano was |
| 16 | five Pennsylvania counties has an audited | 16 | talking about that at one point. I'm not sure who |
| 17 | recount". | 17 | you're -- specifically you're talking about. |
| 18 | Is that your recommendation? | 18 | Q. Are you aware that they never published |
| 19 | A. A legitimate audit. We -- we've | 19 | the results of that audit? |
| 20 | qualified that in further and the later courses to | 20 | A. As I said, I'm not -- not aware |
| 21 | say like a forensic audit, not just a -- a number | 21 | specifically of what you're talking about. |
| 22 | audit. But yes. | 22 | MR. FOX: Okay. Could I -- and I've |


|  | Page 784 |  | Page 786 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | forgotten the exhibit number, but if I could ask | 1 | the numbers or any of that. It just says, do the |
| 2 | the trial director to put up the report Lost Not | 2 | numbers add up. That's a fairly meaningless |
| 3 | Stolen. This has been marked as -- for -- for | 3 | audit. |
| 4 | identification as Disciplinary Counsel Exhibit 51. | 4 | Q. Is that different from a forensic |
| 5 | BY MR. FOX: | 5 | audit? |
| 6 | Q. Are you familiar with this report, | 6 | A. Yes. That would be more -- a forensic |
| 7 | "Lost Not Stolen: The Conservative Case That Trump | 7 | audit, that would be more consistent with higher |
| 8 | Lost and Biden Won the 2020 Presidential | 8 | level of IRS audits, where they have an audit |
| 9 | Election"? | 9 | where you go to their office and go through some |
| 10 | A. No, I'm not. | 10 | details, or a full audit where you have to account |
| 11 | MR. FOX: Can you -- can you just blow | 11 | for every single line item on your -- your forms. |
| 12 | up the names of the authors of this report. | 12 | Those are much higher-level audits. |
| 13 | BY MR. FOX: | 13 | And despite that -- the interesting |
| 14 | Q. Are you familiar with any of these | 14 | thing is despite that, there is only $87 \%$ |
| 15 | gentleman? | 15 | compliance with the IRS. So, despite having all |
| 16 | A. Well, I -- I've heard of John Danforth. | 16 | levels of audits, despite having serious financial |
| 17 | Let's see. The other people. I'm not familiar | 17 | and legal complications, if you violate the law, |
| 18 | with any of those other people, no. | 18 | they have only $87 \%$ compliance. |
| 19 | Q. You're not aware -- okay. And you | 19 | So, to say we have better than $87 \%$ |
|  | haven't read their report? | 20 | compliance in election integrity is pie-in-the-sky |
| 21 | A. That's correct. | 21 | talk, but even if it was $87 \%$, that's roughly |
| 22 | Q. And you haven't read specifically the | 22 | one-eighth of the people who would be |
|  | Page 785 |  | Page 787 |
| 1 | portion of the report that relates to | 1 | noncompliant. So out of 160M votes in the United |
| 2 | Pennsylvania? | 2 | States for a presidential election, that would |
| 3 | A. That's correct. | 3 | mean 20 M people vote that are not accurate, 20 M |
| 4 | MR. FOX: I have no further questions | 4 | people. That would be one-eight. That would be |
| 5 | of this witness. | 5 | $87 \%$. |
| 6 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Anything else, Mr. | 6 | Q. I see. Thank you, Mr. Droz. |
| 7 | Kamins. | 7 | MR. KAMINS: I have nothing further. |
| 8 | REDIRECT EXAMINATION | 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox? |
| 9 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT | 9 | MR. FOX: I have nothing further. |
| 10 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 10 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Anything further |
| 11 | Q. Mr. Droz, you were asked about a | 11 | from the panel. |
| 12 | limited audit. In what sense was it limited? | 12 | (Hearing none.) |
| 13 | A. Well, he said it was a risk-limiting | 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you, Mr. Droz. |
| 14 | audit. Basically all it is is adding up the | 14 | You are excused. |
| 15 | numbers. | 15 | (Witness is excused.) |
| 16 | The comparison I tell people is, if you | 16 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Your next witness, |
| 17 | look at the IRS, what they do, they're most basic | 17 | Mr. Leventhal. |
| 18 | audit is, when you send in a 1040, they add up the | 18 | MR. LEVENTHAL: It'll be Christina |
| 19 | numbers to make sure everything adds up. If they | 19 | Bobb. May I have one moment to get a document, |
| 20 | don't, they send you back something. | 20 | your Honor? |
| 21 | That's essentially what a risk-limiting | 21 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Is she in the |
| 22 | audit is. It doesn't look at the legitimacy of |  | waiting room, Meghan? |


|  | Page 788 |  | Page 790 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | MS. BORAZZAS: Yes, she is. | 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: You may proceed. |
| 2 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, well, let's -- | 2 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Thank you. |
| 3 | let's take -- | 3 | Whereupon, |
| 4 | How long will her testimony take, do | 4 | CHRISTINA BOBB |
| 5 | you think? | 5 | called as a witness on behalf of Respondent, and |
| 6 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Maybe 15 minutes and | 6 | after having been first duly sworn, was examined |
| 7 | Mr. -- | 7 | and testified as follows: |
| 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, let's take | 8 | DIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 9 | five minutes to five 'till 12:00, and then we'll | 9 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT |
| 10 | resume with your next witness. | 10 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 11 | MR. KAMINS: All right. Thank you. | 11 | Q. Ms. Bobb, could you tell us what you |
| 12 | MS. BORAZZAS: I will open up the | 12 | currently -- how you're employed? |
| 13 | breakout rooms now. | 13 | A. Sure. I currently work as an attorney |
| 14 | (Recess taken.) | 14 | for the Donald Trump for President 2024 Campaign. |
| 15 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Leventhal, are | 15 | Q. And -- and where are you now? |
| 16 | you going to take this witness? | 16 | A. I'm at my home in Jupiter, Florida. |
| 17 | MR. LEVENTHAL: May I? | 17 | Q. Okay. And do you hold any degrees? |
| 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I -- I don't see Mr. | 18 | A. I do. I have a Bachelor's in English |
| 19 | Kamins anywhere, so. | 19 | linguistics, a masters in business, a JD law |
| 20 | MR. KAMINS: No, I'm sitting right next | 20 | degree, and an LLM, in national security law. |
| 21 | to him. | 21 | Q. Okay, and what were your former |
| 22 | MR. LEVENTHAL: No, no. We're -- we're | 22 | positions before working on the Trump 2024 |
|  | Page 789 |  | Page 791 |
| 1 | switching off, if that's okay. | 1 | Campaign? |
| 2 | MR. KAMINS: I'm right next to him. | 2 | A. Sure. So, I served in the United |
| 3 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Will -- will | 3 | States Marine Corps as a judge advocate. I served |
| 4 | respondent call his next witness, please. | 4 | overseas in Afghanistan as well as Stuttgart, |
| 5 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Mr. Chair, we'd like to | 5 | Germany. I was a defense counsel out of Quantico, |
| 6 | call -- and members of the panel, we'd like to | 6 | Virginia. I worked -- I left -- after I left the |
| 7 | call Christina Bobb. | 7 | military, I went to Higgs Fletcher -- I'm sorry, |
| 8 | MS. BORAZZAS: Just letting her in now. | 8 | rather I was deployed to Afghanistan for a tour, |
| 9 | (Christina Bobb on the witness stand.) | 9 | and then I went to a law firm in San Diego, as a |
| 10 | THE WITNESS: Hello. Can you hear me | 10 | civilian of course, and practiced there litigation |
| 11 | okay? | 11 | for not quite four years; missed the national |
| 12 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Yes, I can hear you. | 12 | security aspect, so I mobilized as a reservist to |
| 13 | Does everyone -- | 13 | Stuttgart, Germany, and then I ended up -- I ended |
| 14 | THE WITNESS: Okay, very good. | 14 | up in Washington, DC and worked in the Trump |
| 15 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Everyone else hears Ms. | 15 | administration as the executive secretary of the |
| 16 | Bobb? | 16 | Department of Homeland Security and then joined |
| 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay. Ms. Bobb, do | 17 | One America News as a journalist after that, and |
| 18 | you solemnly swear or affirm that the testimony | 18 | then recently joined the Trump Campaign. |
| 19 | you will give in this proceeding will be the | 19 | Q. And in One American News you were a |
| 20 | truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, | 20 | reporter, investigative reporter? |
| 21 | so help you god. | 21 | A. Yes. I was a reporter and |
| 22 | THE WITNESS: Yes, I do. | 22 | television -- television show host. |


|  | Page 792 |  | Page 794 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Q. And was that investigative reporting, |  | of days before that. |
| 2 | as well? | 2 | Q. Okay. |
| 3 | A. Yes. | 3 | A. And -- |
| 4 | Q. And when you went to Afghanistan and | 4 | Q. Can you describe -- could describe the |
| 5 | Stuttgart, Germany, was that as a member of JAG | 5 | situation when you arrived? |
| 6 | or -- or as a -- | 6 | A. Yes, sir -- so -- |
| 7 | A. That was as a United States Marine, | 7 | Q. In the office? |
| 8 | yes. | 8 | A. -- when I got there -- |
| 9 | Q. As a -- okay. All right. | 9 | Q. In the office. |
| 10 | Now, how did you come into the Trump | 10 | A. Oh, I'm sorry? |
| 11 | 2020 campaign, not the 2024 ? | 11 | Q. Describe the situation in the office. |
| 12 | A. Sure. So I didn't come in until of | 12 | A. Yes, yes. It was very chaotic. As you |
| 13 | after the election. I was a reporter. I was | 13 | can imagine there were -- not -- not just for the |
| 14 | reporting on the election and then, when we saw | 14 | legal staff, but for the campaign and for |
| 15 | what happened in 2020, I had a lot of questions | 15 | everybody involved, because people weren't sure if |
| 16 | and wanted to investigate further. | 16 | they were sticking around, you know, "Are we going |
| 17 | So I was looking into it and then, you | 17 | to stay and fight it or do we leave?" And some |
| 18 | know, maybe a week or two after -- not quite two. | 18 | people were quitting, and then others were upset |
| 19 | I want to say maybe 10 days after the election I | 19 | that people were packing up. |
| 20 | realized that, you know, a lot of the attorneys | 20 | And then the actual legal situation was |
| 21 | were leaving, across the country. You know, the | 21 | chaotic as well, because you had campaign lawyers: |
| 22 | campaign kind of shut down and it didn't appear | 22 | some were staying; some were leaving; who was |
|  | Page 793 |  | Page 795 |
| 1 | that the apparatus was in place to continue a | 1 | staying; who was leaving. You had people running |
| 2 | legal investigation. | 2 | around trying to get information and actually work |
| 3 | So, through my contacts I got in touch | 3 | the case. |
| 4 | with Mayor Giuliani and volunteered my services. | 4 | You know, in the actual conference room |
| 5 | I -- I cleared it through One America News to make | 5 | where the attorneys that were staying were all |
| 6 | sure they would be okay if I was basically doing | 6 | kind of working together and everything, you had |
| 7 | both, and they were. And so I reached out to him | 7 | the big whiteboard with all of the different |
| 8 | and let him know that if he needed legal | 8 | states put up there and someone charting out, you |
| 9 | assistance, I was an attorney. I had litigated | 9 | know, what was happening in each state and what |
| 10 | and I was willing to participate. So he had me | 10 | could they do, or, you know, what had been tried |
| 11 | come by the office, meet with him and then -- | 11 | and didn't work, and phones ringing, papers |
| 12 | Q. Okay, all right. May I ask. Where was | 12 | flying, couriers running. |
| 13 | that office? | 13 | I mean, my first day there, you know, |
| 14 | A. It was in Arlington, Virginia. I | 14 | it was a little bit hard to tell the difference |
| 15 | believe I was in the Roslyn neighborhood. It was | 15 | between like who was staying and who was going |
| 16 | the RNC campaign headquarters. | 16 | and -- and all that, but, you know, I figured it |
| 17 | Q. And could you describe the situation -- | 17 | out pretty quickly. |
| 18 | when did you arrive at that office. | 18 | So, yeah, I would say -- |
| 19 | A. I don't remember the exact day, but I | 19 | Q. If I may -- |
| 20 | want to say it was about November 12th. I know it | 20 | A. -- it was generally a pretty chaotic |
| 21 | was a few days before the first amended complaint | 21 | moment. |
| 22 | was filed. So whenever that was, it was a couple | 22 | Q. If I may, was it your understanding |


|  | Page 796 |  | Page 798 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | that Mr. Giuliani was the coordinator or running | 1 | A. That's correct. I was primarily |
| 2 | the point on all of the litigations in all the | 2 | focused on Arizona and Michigan, and then New |
| 3 | states, not necessarily that he was the -- the | 3 | Mexico came later. But I was in the room working |
| 4 | lawyer who was litigating -- | 4 | with the same attorneys who were doing |
| 5 | A. Yes. | 5 | Pennsylvania. |
| 6 | Q. -- but he was the coordinator, right? | 6 | So even though I -- I wasn't working on |
| 7 | A. Yes. That was absolutely his | 7 | it -- |
| 8 | responsibility. And -- I think he had come in | 8 | Q. And you were -- |
| 9 | maybe a week before me. I don't remember exactly | 9 | A. -- I was there while they were. |
| 10 | when he started, because obviously it was before I | 10 | Q. I'm sorry. I interrupted you. Excuse |
| 11 | did. But my understanding was that there was | 11 | me. |
| 12 | basically confusion across the country on the | 12 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Did -- did -- did the |
| 13 | legal strategy, because attorneys had been paid | 13 | reporter hear her statement, because I -- I was -- |
| 14 | through the campaign, and technically the campaign | 14 | I was talking at the time? |
| 15 | was over. And so a lot of them thought they were | 15 | THE COURT REPORTER: Yeah, I heard her. |
| 16 | done. And so he came in and stepped in to kind of | 16 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Okay. |
| 17 | be the -- the guiding voice on the direction | 17 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 18 | things were going, because -- honestly nobody else | 18 | Q. So, Ms. Bobb, you said there were |
| 19 | really knew. It was -- it was quite chaotic and | 19 | attorneys in Pennsylvania. Do you remember who |
| 20 | no one knew whether -- I shouldn't say no one | 20 | some of those attorneys were who were there in |
| 21 | knew. It wasn't clear to me anyway, you know, | 21 | Arlington? |
| 22 | were these legal contracts -- were they required | 22 | A. Yeah. So there were a couple different |
|  | Page 797 |  | Page 799 |
| 1 | to stay on, because the campaign, from our | 1 | teams. Some were present in Arlington working on |
| 2 | perspective, wasn't over yet, but technically the | 2 | Pennsylvania. I would say that would have been |
| 3 | election was over. So there were a lot -- a lot | 3 | Joe diGenova, Vicky Toensing, Katherine Friess. |
| 4 | of usual questions, and he stepped up to be the | 4 | Very briefly Matt Story was there, but that was |
| 5 | one to make those decisions basically. | 5 | just for like a couple days. It wasn't a |
| 6 | Q. Okay. And I understand from what you | 6 | lengthy -- he -- he wasn't like the main part. |
| 7 | just said -- I was going to ask you about it -- | 7 | Those were the attorneys working on the |
| 8 | but I understand from what you just said that it | 8 | Pennsylvania case that I specifically remember in |
| 9 | appears that lawyers were stepping off who entered | 9 | the room, and then -- |
| 10 | appearances or who -- | 10 | Q. Do you remember -- do you remember |
| 11 | A. Yes. | 11 | who -- |
| 12 | Q. -- or who were -- were quitting all the | 12 | A. -- I remember Linda Kearns, Bruce |
| 13 | time? | 13 | Marks. I remember an attorney named Hicks. I |
| 14 | A. Yes. That's my understanding. Both | 14 | can't remember his first name. |
| 15 | from being there, I saw the kind of chaos of | 15 | But those were the ones that I |
| 16 | people trying to figure out who was going to be | 16 | understood to be local counsel on the ground in |
| 17 | doing what, as well as I believe I had read it in | 17 | Pennsylvania. |
| 18 | the news, as well. | 18 | Q. Okay. The -- who was giving Mr. |
| 19 | Q. And you weren't directly involved in | 19 | Giuliani information regarding irregularities or |
| 20 | Pennsylvania, right? You were involved in maybe | 20 | potential fraud or -- or what we would call |
| 21 | New Mexico, Arizona and Michigan, or Arizona | 21 | anomalies -- |
| 22 | and -- | 22 | A. Right. |


|  | Page 800 |  | Page 802 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Q. Who was -- | 1 | the panel? |
| 2 | A. Well, there were a lot of people giving | 2 | Mr. Brozost? |
| 3 | him information. Bernie Kerik was the main | 3 | MR. BROZOST: Ms. Bobb, I just have one |
| 4 | investigator, who obviously they have a long | 4 | question. |
| 5 | history. So everybody respected that. So he, in | 5 | You were in that conference room in -- |
| 6 | theory, was kind of the funnel, but it was so | 6 | in Arlington. Were there discussions of |
| 7 | chaotic. I -- I think the mayor was getting it | 7 | coordinating cases across the nation for, you |
| 8 | from a number of different places: from the | 8 | know, a grand multi-jurisdictional scheme? |
| 9 | attorneys on the ground in Pennsylvania directly, | 9 | THE WITNESS: Not that I was aware of. |
| 10 | from the attorneys in the office, from | 10 | I mean, I was working very specifically with |
| 11 | investigators on the ground in Pennsylvania, | 11 | Michigan counsel, with Arizona counsel, and then |
| 12 | investigators in the office. I mean, it was | 12 | eventually with New Mexico counsel, and I never |
| 13 | coming from a million different directions. | 13 | coordinated anything like that. I didn't hear |
| 14 | But -- but Bernie Kerik was the lead | 14 | about that. But again, I wasn't -- you know, I |
| 15 | investigator. | 15 | was only working on what I was working on, so if |
| 16 | Q. So -- so he was one of the mains | 16 | there was something, you know, maybe I just didn't |
| 17 | funnels of information to Mr. Giuliani. In | 17 | know about it. But my cases were very specific on |
| 18 | addition, things were coming in all -- from other | 18 | the specific cases. |
| 19 | people all over the place. | 19 | MR. BROZOST: Thank you. |
| 20 | Is that -- is that a correct | 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Anything else, Mr. |
| 21 | characterization of your testimony? | 21 | Brozost? |
| 22 | A. Yes, sir, it is. | 22 | MR. BROZOST: No. |
|  | Page 801 |  | Page 803 |
| 1 | Q. And if someone were to say that Mr. | 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Ms. Bobb, your |
| 2 | Giuliani only had about 15 affidavits at the time | 2 | responsibilities did not include Pennsylvania, |
| 3 | of November 15th or 17th, would that be your -- | 3 | correct? |
| 4 | would that be your -- your -- | 4 | THE WITNESS: That's correct. |
| 5 | A. No. No, no, no. There were a lot more | 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: And -- but you said |
| 6 | than that. I remember them talking about hundreds | 6 | that there were a number of affidavits and |
| 7 | of affidavits. | 7 | declarations concerning Pennsylvania? |
| 8 | So, no, I-- it was -- it was hundreds | 8 | THE WITNESS: Yes. I was aware of |
| 9 | of affidavits. It was not just 15 . | 9 | that. |
| 10 | Q. And we're talking about Pennsylvania | 10 | Like I said, I mean, we were all in the |
| 11 | now, besides -- I don't want to go into the other | 11 | same room, sitting at the same table. So even |
| 12 | states -- | 12 | though I was working on other states, there was |
| 13 | A. Correct, specifically for Pennsylvania. | 13 | literally someone sitting right next to me who |
| 14 | I had -- I had about 175 affidavits that I was | 14 | would have been working on Pennsylvania. So, I |
| 15 | working on just in Michigan, and I remember | 15 | mean, we all knew what everybody else was doing. |
| 16 | thinking that Pennsylvania was about twice as much | 16 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Did you read any of |
| 17 | as what I had in Michigan. | 17 | those documents? |
| 18 | So it was -- it was a lot. | 18 | THE WITNESS: From Pennsylvania, I did |
| 19 | MR. LEVENTHAL: I have no more | 19 | not. |
| 20 | questions, Mr. Chair. | 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Anything else from |
| 21 | MR. FOX: No questions. |  | the parties? |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Any questions for | 22 | MR. FOX: Not from me. |


|  | Page 804 |  | Page 806 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you, Ms. Bobb. | 1 | going to read it, I'm not sure that it passes the |
| 2 | Anything else, Mr. Leventhal? | 2 | bar, but you can talk about that on the -- |
| 3 | MR. LEVENTHAL: No. I'd like to thank | 3 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Then you can ask me any |
| 4 | Ms. Bobb, though. | 4 | questions you'd like about it. |
| 5 | THE WITNESS: Thank you very much. | 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: It is -- it is -- |
| 6 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: You're excused, Ms. | 6 | you know, you will have the opportunity to file a |
| 7 | Bobb. | 7 | suggested -- a requested findings of fact and |
| 8 | THE WITNESS: Thank you. | 8 | conclusions of law, and that's really the time |
| 9 | (Witness is excused.) | 9 | that -- that you have -- that's really when you |
| 10 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: The next witness is | 10 | get the chance to -- to quote your law. |
| 11 | whom? | 11 | You can talk about it in the -- in the |
| 12 | MR. LEVENTHAL: The next witness is Mr. | 12 | summation, but I'm not sure that, at that point, |
| 13 | Kerik, and he might be a little long -- long. | 13 | it's -- it's all that helpful. |
| 14 | Maybe we want to do that after lunch, your Honor. | 14 | MR. LEVENTHAL: But isn't the findings |
| 15 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay. Let's say | 15 | of fact and conclusion of law after you've made |
| 16 | 1:30. | 16 | your preliminary recommendation? |
| 17 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Thank you. | 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yes, and I will |
| 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Now before we | 18 | be -- |
| 19 | adjourn, what other witnesses besides Mr. Kerik? | 19 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Well, that's why I want |
| 20 | THE WITNESS: Just Mr. Giuliani, and | 20 | to get it in before you make your preliminary |
| 21 | Mr. Kamins will be questioning him. | 21 | recommendation. |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay. So I -- in my | 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: The discussion -- |
|  | Page 805 |  | Page 807 |
| 1 | optimistic view of the world, we're going to wrap |  | the discussion is -- okay. We'll see. Let's -- |
| 2 | up testimony today? | 2 | let's just play things out. |
| 3 | MR. LEVENTHAL: I like your optimism, | 3 | Mr. Fox? |
| 4 | Mr. Chair. | 4 | MR. FOX: Yeah, just one thing. And, I |
| 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: And under those | 5 | don't know for sure, but depending on what exactly |
| 6 | circumstances, my -- my expectation is that we | 6 | Mr. Kerik says, we may have one rebuttal witness. |
| 7 | will finish testimony today, hopefully, and then | 7 | I just want to make that clear. |
| 8 | tomorrow we will have summations on the -- on the | 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, okay. And |
| 9 | proof of the violations. | 9 | like I said, the -- you should be ready -- again, |
| 10 | And Mr. Fox is familiar with -- with | 10 | I'm -- I'm just anticipating, but you should be |
| 11 | the approach that I have used in the past. | 11 | ready if we were to make a finding, preliminary |
| 12 | Respondents be aware or ready for questions, not | 12 | finding, that mitigation and aggravation evidence |
| 13 | just a -- a summation but a -- questions directed | 13 | would be admitted. We -- we'd go right into that |
| 14 | to the issues in the -- in the Specification of | 14 | next stage. |
| 15 | Charges. | 15 | But I think we want to -- we want to |
| 16 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Sure, and Mr. Chair, | 16 | have this -- this summation before we make a |
| 17 | I'll be able to -- I -- I prepared -- remember I | 17 | preliminary finding. I may change my mind on |
| 18 | said, stated earlier I'm going to go deep dive | 18 | that, but that's my -- that's my guess right now. |
| 19 | into the law? I've prepared a -- a comprehensive | 19 | MR. LEVENTHAL: And I'd like to do |
| 20 | statement on the law. I'd like to be able to read | 20 | that. I would implore, Mr. Chair, let me make |
| 21 | it into the record. | 21 | that summation, because I think it -- it might |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, if you're | 22 | influence your preliminary finding. |

December 7, 2022

|  | Page 808 |  | Page 810 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: We'll -- we'll | 1 | Mr. Kerik in, please. |
| 2 | resume at 1:30. Thank you very much. | 2 | MS. BORAZZAS: Yes, letting him in now. |
| 3 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Thank you. | 3 | (Bernard Kerik on the witness stand.) |
| 4 | MS. BORAZZAS: Opening up the breakout | 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Kerik, can you |
| 5 | rooms now. | 5 | hear us? |
| 6 | (Whereupon at 12:14 p.m. a luncheon | 6 | THE WITNESS: Yes, I can. |
| 7 | recess was taken.) | 7 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Do you solemnly |
| 8 |  | 8 | swear or affirm that the testimony you will give |
| 9 |  | 9 | in this proceeding will be the truth, the whole |
| 10 |  | 10 | truth and nothing but the truth, so help you god? |
| 11 |  | 11 | THE WITNESS: I do. |
| 12 |  | 12 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: You may proceed, Mr. |
| 13 |  | 13 | Leventhal. |
| 14 |  | 14 | DIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 15 |  | 15 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT |
| 16 |  | 16 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 17 |  | 17 | Q. Please state your name for record, Mr. |
| 18 |  | 18 | Kerik. |
| 19 |  | 19 | A. Bernard Kerik. |
| 20 |  | 20 | Q. Mr. Kerik, what is your employment now? |
| 21 |  | 21 | A. I'm retired from the New York City |
| 22 |  | 22 | Police Department and I have a private consulting |
|  | Page 809 |  | Page 811 |
|  | A F TERNOON S ESSION |  | group called the Kerik Group, LLC. |
| 2 | (Whereupon at 1:30 p.m. the hearing | 2 | Q. And what's your position in the Kerik |
| 3 | resumed.) | 3 | Group? |
| 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, are we ready | 4 | A. CEO. |
| 5 | to resume, Mr. Leventhal? We're not -- you're on | 5 | Q. And what type of consulting do you do? |
| 6 | mute. | 6 | A. Various security, national security, |
| 7 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Okay. Can I be heard | 7 | legal assistance, criminal justice consultancy, |
| 8 | now? | 8 | things like that. |
| 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Are we ready to | 9 | Q. And are you free to divulge what type |
| 10 | proceed? | 10 | of work that you've done in this -- in this area, |
| 11 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Yes, we are. | 11 | for your -- presently or in the last -- in the |
| 12 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Call your next | 12 | recent past? |
| 13 | witness. | 13 | A. Yeah, some, yeah. |
| 14 | MR. HORRELL: We may be missing Mr. | 14 | Q. Could you -- could you -- could you say |
| 15 | Fox. | 15 | it for the panel. |
| 16 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Good point. | 16 | A. I have -- I've worked for -- for about |
| 17 | MS. BORAZZAS: Looks like his camera's | 17 | five years for His Majesty the King of Jordan as a |
| 18 | just turned off. | 18 | national security advisor. I -- I built Jordan's |
| 19 | (Discussion off the record.) | 19 | super maximum security prison that holds the |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Leventhal, call | 20 | Al-Qaeda operative, so the Committee of the King |
| 21 | your next witness, please. | 21 | of Jordan and from around the region. I also |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, could we let | 22 | created their National Security Crisis Management |


|  | Page 812 |  | Page 814 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Center. | 1 | duty. I received the medal of -- the U.S. |
| 2 | I've done assessments for the Sheikh of | 2 | Presidential Accommodation from President Reagan |
| 3 | Dubai in the Emirates. I've worked in | 3 | for heroism; Ellis Island Medal of Honor. I've |
| 4 | Trinidad-Tobago. I've worked in Guyana. I've | 4 | been knighted, honored by the Queen of England for |
| 5 | worked on a number of criminal justice campaigns | 5 | my service to the country in the aftermath of |
| 6 | and been an advisor in a number of political | 6 | $9 / 11$, and -- and a number of things like that, you |
| 7 | campaigns. | 7 | know, regarding heroic acts during my career. |
| 8 | Primarily focused on criminal justice, | 8 | Q. Did there come a time when you were |
| 9 | prison reform, criminal justice reform, things of | 9 | nominated for Secretary of Homeland Security? |
| 10 | that nature. | 10 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 11 | Q. And could you give us some of your -- | 11 | Q. And what year was that? |
| 12 | your prior employment. | 12 | A. That was in December 2004. |
| 13 | A. I was the -- I was the Interior | 13 | Q. And who was the president at that time? |
| 14 | Minister of the Interior of Iraq under the Bush | 14 | A. President George Bush. |
| 15 | administration, overseeing all the national | 15 | Q. And at that time did you withdraw your |
| 16 | security elements for the Government of Iraq, | 16 | name from consideration? |
| 17 | following the fall of Saddam. Prior to that I was | 17 | A. I did. |
| 18 | the police commissioner of the New York City | 18 | Q. And why was that? |
| 19 | Police Department. I was the commissioner on -- | 19 | A. I had a nanny, a domestic servant, that |
| 20 | on and in the aftermath of September 11th. I -- I | 20 | my wife and I paid cash to over about an |
| 21 | ran Riker's Island in the New York City jail | 21 | eighteen-month to two-year period between 2002 and |
| 22 | system for six years. | 22 | 2004. That came to light -- well, actually it |
|  | Page 813 |  | Page 815 |
| 1 | Q. In what capacity? In what capacity? | 1 | didn't came to light. I brought it to light. And |
| 2 | A. I was the chief of staff elevated to | 2 | as a result I withdraw my name from consideration. |
| 3 | the first deputy commissioner, elevated to | 3 | Q. And did you -- were you charged for |
| 4 | commissioner. That was over a six-year period. | 4 | this? |
| 5 | Prior to that -- I mean, to shorten it | 5 | A. There was -- as a result of my |
| 6 | up, I've been a cop, a correction officer, a | 6 | withdrawal -- the withdrawal, there was a -- there |
| 7 | detective, a warden. I was assigned to the New | 7 | was about a two-year state investigation by the |
| 8 | York Drug Enforcement Task Force with the DEA for | 8 | Bronx District Attorney's office. It was a grand |
| 9 | close to five years I think. | 9 | jury investigation that lasted about two years. |
| 10 | Q. All right. And -- and in doing such, | 10 | In that grand jury investigation they -- they |
| 11 | did you receive any awards in the course of this | 11 | fined me -- I received a fine for two ethics |
| 12 | employment? | 12 | violations. At the conclusion of that, I was then |
| 13 | A. Awards? | 13 | investigated by the Justice Department. As a |
| 14 | Q. Yes, awards or recognition. | 14 | result of that investigation that all started with |
| 15 | A. Yes. | 15 | this nanny thing, I was -- I was then indicted in |
| 16 | Q. In your service to the country and for | 16 | 2007 I think for some of the same conduct that I |
| 17 | public and heroic service, could you mention those | 17 | was charged with statewide, from the state, and I |
| 18 | awards, please. | 18 | eventually pled guilty to eight criminal counts in |
| 19 | A. I earned the Medal of Valor from the | 19 | 2009 I think. |
| 20 | NYPD for a gun battle in which I saved my partner, | 20 | Q. And you surrendered. Is that correct? |
| 21 | who had been shot. I think five commendations, 10 | 21 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 22 | meritorious police duty, 13 exceptional police | 22 | Q. And you -- you were -- how long were |

December 7, 2022

|  | Page 816 |  | Page 818 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | you in prison? |  | confinement, the use of solitary confinement and |
| 2 | A. I was sentenced to 48 months. I served | 2 | things of that nature. |
| 3 | three years and 11 days. | 3 | Q. And did you found any organizations |
| 4 | Q. And after your release, were you | 4 | during this time? |
| 5 | given -- did President Trump give you anything? | 5 | A. Yeah. There was an association that me |
| 6 | A. Yes. Ten years to the day I believe it | 6 | and some others put together that basically I |
| 7 | was, February 18th, 2020 -- I was sentenced in the | 7 | wanted to address some of these issues. I forget |
| 8 | case on February 18th, 2010. On February 18th, | 8 | the name of it. It was back in '14 I think. |
| 9 | 2020 I was granted presidential clemency. | 9 | Q. Could I refresh your memory? |
| 10 | Q. Okay. Now was that a pardon? | 10 | MR. LEVENTHAL: May I refresh his |
| 11 | A. Yes, sir. | 11 | memory, Mr. Chair? |
| 12 | Q. All right. Now after your release from | 12 | MR. FOX: I have no objection. |
| 13 | prison did you -- were you called upon by the | 13 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 14 | government to help them in any way? | 14 | Q. Was it law enforcement -- |
| 15 | A. Yeah. In -- I think I was released | 15 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Yes. |
| 16 | in -- my initial release was in May of 2013. | 16 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 17 | Between May and December of 2013 I -- I had | 17 | Q. Was it Law Enforcement Leaders to |
| 18 | contact -- I was contacted by the U.S. Government | 18 | Reduce Crime and Incarceration? |
| 19 | Accountability Office and they requested me to | 19 | A. Well, that was one, yes. That was one, |
| 20 | come to Washington, DC to meet with them to speak | 20 | and that consisted of federal agents -- that |
| 21 | to their nationwide directors on criminal justice | 21 | consisted of federal agents, correction officials, |
| 22 | and prison reform and to give them my insights on | 22 | U.S. officials and U.S. prosecutors from armed the |
|  | Page 817 |  | Page 819 |
| 1 | and fraud, waste and abuse within the federal | 1 | country, and that was looking at criminal justice |
| 2 | prison system. | 2 | reform and making recommendations to the White |
| 3 | I went to Washington. I briefed them | 3 | House at the time and the -- and the house |
| 4 | for about six hours on my findings or at least | 4 | committees on -- on criminal justice imprisonment. |
| 5 | what I thought I -- I -- I witnessed while in the | 5 | Q. And in -- in 2015 did you publish a |
| 6 | system. | 6 | book? |
| 7 | Q. Did you testify -- | 7 | A. Yes, I did. |
| 8 | A. I was also -- | 8 | Q. And was that your first book or your |
| 9 | Q. Did you ever testify before any Senate | 9 | second book? |
| 10 | or House committees? | 10 | A. No, that was my second book. |
| 11 | A. Yes, on -- on several occasions, both | 11 | Q. And what was this called? |
| 12 | during the Obama administration and the Trump | 12 | A. From Jailer to Jailed. |
| 13 | administration, I was called upon to testify in | 13 | Q. And did it have a subtitle? |
| 14 | various -- in various positions on criminal | 14 | A. You're going to have to refresh my -- |
| 15 | justice and prison reform, from both sides of the | 15 | Q. Was it My Journey From Police and |
| 16 | aisle, democrats and republicans. | 16 | Corrections Commissioner to Inmate? |
| 17 | Q. And were some of your -- some of the | 17 | A. Yes. |
| 18 | topics, were they sentencing reform, mass | 18 | Q. All right. Now what is your |
| 19 | incarceration, et cetera, solitary confinement? | 19 | involvement now at this point on the war on terror |
| 20 | A. Yes, sir. All of those and -- and | 20 | and -- and the nation's military and state law |
| 21 | more. But the primaries was pertaining to my | 21 | enforcement on the war on terror? |
| 22 | views on -- on mass incarceration, on solitary | 22 | A. Well, since the aftermath of -- of |


| Page 820 | Page 822 |
| :---: | :---: |
| September 11th, I've been an avid supporter of the | 1 that evening, and then I took off and went back to |
| 2 war on terror. You know, I -- I think a lot of | DC the next morning to assist him in his |
| 3 people don't realize this. I lived in or worked | investigation. |
| 4 in the Middle East for close to 11 years, I think, | Q. And did your -- did you -- did there |
| 5 and I've worked at positions there where I -- I | come a time on that date when you went to |
| have a pretty good understanding of the -- the | Washington that you went to the campaign |
| radical Islamic views of America and why we were | headquarters in Arlington -- I think it was in |
| 8 attacked prior to September 11th, and what those | Arlington, right? Am I -- or you can correct me. |
| 9 threats are today. So I'm in contact with a | Was it in Arlington, Virginia? |
| 10 number of -- a number of the agencies, a number of | 10 A. Yeah, the -- I met the mayor first at |
| 11 law enforcement agencies to which I -- I consult | 11 the Mandarin Oriental Hotel that mornings, early |
| 12 or advise or give them my insight. And I was also | 12 that morning, and then we --- we left there and |
| 13 on the International Association of Police | 13 went to -- went to the campaign -- the Trump |
| 14 Terrorism Committee years ago with regard to the | 14 campaign headquarters, which was in Arlington, |
| 15 same thing. | 15 where the mayor -- the mayor went and met with |
| 16 Q. Okay. And Mr. Kerik, how did you come | 16 some of the campaign attorneys and other people |
| 17 into the Trump 2020 campaign? How did you become | 17 involved in the campaign and -- |
| 18 involved? | 18 Q. Could you describe -- could you |
| 19 A. I was a supporter of President Trump, | 19 describe the room? |
| 20 you know, from the time he announced. I've known | 20 A. Well, there were a number of rooms but |
| 21 him since, I don't know, in 19-1992 or 1994. | 21 the primary room was a major -- it was a big |
| 22 I've known him a long time. I got to know him | 22 conference room, and they probably had, I don't |
| Page 821 | Page 823 |
| when I was -- when I worked in the city. I knew | know, I want to say 30 seats around the conference |
| him as correction commissioner, police | table. But that was the -- the primary room |
| commissioner long before he ever announced he was | where -- where he had his meetings that morning. |
| running for president. When he did announce, I | There were a number of offset cubicles and rooms |
| was supportive. I campaigned for him around the | that we later used. But that became sort of a |
| country, did a number of different speaking events | base for the investigative team. |
| for him around the country and was a supporter in | Q. And do you recall who was in it -- |
| both campaigns. | could you describe the situation in the room, in |
| Q. Did there come a time when you worked | terms of people, phone calls, et cetera, et |
| 10 for Mr. Giuliani in regard to the Trump 2020 | 10 cetera? |
| 11 campaign? | A. Yeah, I mean, we -- we just got there. |
| 12 A. Yes. | 12 We were -- the campaign people were -- the |
| 13 Q. And what was your role? | 13 campaign people that were there was basically |
| 14 A. In the aftermath of the election, I | 14 collecting data on the election, and it was kind |
| 15 think on the evening of the -- on the evening of | 15 of chaotic when we arrived. They were looking at |
| 16 November 4th, Mayor Giuliani called me, said that | 16 the election results in a number of different |
| 17 he was going to be heading up a legal team to look | 17 states, primarily Georgia, Pennsylvania, Michigan, |
| 18 at the election on behalf of the president and | 18 Wisconsin, Arizona, a few others. But those were |
| 19 wanted me to come back to Washington, DC. | 19 the primary states. |
| 20 I had been -- I was in DC on the night | 20 There were a number of people that were |
| 21 of the election. I went home the morning or early | 21 there when I got there, physically got there, and |
| 22 afternoon of the 4th. The mayor called me I think | 22 campaign people, some of which I didn't know and |



|  | Page 828 |  | Page 830 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | A. Yes. Keep in mind, we -- as I-- I | 1 | Q. All right. Could you tell us how |
| 2 | tried to explain earlier, and I'm -- I know I'm | 2 | this -- this came about? |
| 3 | doing a disservice to this explanation, but we had | 3 | A. Could you scroll up. I can't see -- |
| 4 | documents that were coming in from probably 50 to | 4 | oh, okay. |
| 5 | a hundred different sources. We had investigators | 5 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Can you make it a |
| 6 | in different states; we had our own investigators; | 6 | little bigger, too, please, so he can read it a |
| 7 | we had technical people; we had other lawyers; we | 7 | little better. |
| 8 | had lawyers on site that were in these different | 8 | THE WITNESS: Yeah, I got it, I got it. |
| 9 | states. | 9 | Okay, I got it. |
| 10 | This material was coming in from, I | 10 | Yeah, this -- this document, this isn't |
| 11 | don't know, like a lot of different people. So | 11 | the only document. There was a bunch of documents |
| 12 | when that material would come in, I would look at | 12 | like this that came from investigators that was |
| 13 | it. If it was something that was related to a -- | 13 | collecting raw data from both Pennsylvania and |
| 14 | a part of the litigation that the mayor may have | 14 | Georgia, and -- and that data was coming primarily |
| 15 | been working on or something that he needed, I | 15 | off the secretary of state's website, and the -- |
| 16 | would get it to him directly. | 16 | what the investigators were doing is they were |
| 17 | You know, the mayor had -- not a lot of | 17 | locating, in this case, people that had voted in |
| 18 | people had access to the mayor's email address, so | 18 | multi states -- in Pennsylvania and Georgia -- and |
| 19 | most of the stuff that was emailed to the mayor | 19 | that -- that part of the investigation was sort of |
|  | came to my email or came through me, or it was | 20 | ongoing. |
| 21 | handed to me. If I thought it was important for | 21 | There was other data collected in |
| 22 | the mayor to see it, personally, I would give it | 22 | the -- from the same website that basically had a |
|  | Page 829 |  | Page 831 |
| 1 | to him. If I thought it was something he was | 1 | bunch of improprieties or -- or -- improprieties I |
| 2 | working on, I would refer it to him and then get | 2 | would imagine, where, you know, so many ballots |
| 3 | him what we got. | 3 | went out, yet more ballots came in than went out; |
| 4 | I can't -- I couldn't swear to the | 4 | when they came in versus when they came back. |
| 5 | accuracy of the information. It came from other | 5 | There were 20 different inconsistencies with |
| 6 | people. And we were in the process at the time of | 6 | regard to the material that we were collecting, |
| 7 | investigating and confirming details. | 7 | and at some point we made an inquiry to the |
| 8 | So, could I swear to the accuracy? | 8 | secretary of state's office for more access to |
| 9 | No, I can't. | 9 | that raw data -- |
| 10 | Q. Okay. So you had mentioned -- well, | 10 | Q. If I may -- excuse me, if I can |
| 11 | let me ask you, did you collect any raw data for | 11 | interrupt you. What secretary of state's office? |
| 12 | the campaign? | 12 | A. Pennsylvania. |
| 13 | A. Yeah, we did. We collected a -- a | 13 | Q. And -- and you said there was |
| 14 | bunch of raw data early on, I mean, within the | 14 | investigation between Pennsylvania and Georgia? |
| 15 | first few days. | 15 | A. Yeah, we were collecting data from |
| 16 | Q. Hold on, hold on, hold on. Maybe I | 16 | both. |
| 17 | should give a foundation. | 17 | Q. Okay. And -- and did there come a time |
| 18 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Could you go to Exhibit | 18 | when you had to stop that? |
| 19 | 43, please. | 19 | A. Yeah. Well we -- yeah, there -- |
| 20 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: | 20 | Q. Why? Why? |
| 21 | Q. Do you see that one, Mr. Kerik? | 21 | A. Because the -- the secretary of state, |
| 22 | A. Yes. | 22 | when we started making inquiries about the data |


|  | Page 832 |  | Page 834 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | that they had online and the data we were trying | 1 | Those are the primary -- |
| 2 | to get access to, they shut down their website, | 2 | Q. Was Boris -- was Boris Epshteyn there? |
| 3 | their public website. They took all that data | 3 | A. Yes, he was. |
| 4 | offline. And some of it involved this, and a lot | 4 | Q. And -- okay, and just one thing. Were |
| 5 | of it involved the raw data of -- of voters: | 5 | you involved in the First Step Act getting passed |
| 6 | ballots, dates, times, things like that. | 6 | by President Obama? |
| 7 | Q. Did -- did you -- did you also contact | 7 | A. Yes. The First Step Act was |
| 8 | the Georgia Secretary of State or just | 8 | actually -- it was, it was passed and signed by -- |
| 9 | Pennsylvania? | 9 | by President Trump but I -- yes, I had been |
| 10 | A. No, I think -- I think Georgia too. | 10 | working on the First Step Act and things of that |
| 11 | Q. And could you tell us which site went | 11 | nature under -- under the Obama administration. I |
| 12 | down first? | 12 | had been to the White House I think two or three |
| 13 | A. Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania was the | 13 | times and been working with the -- the counsel for |
| 14 | first to go down. | 14 | the democratic judiciary for about two years prior |
| 15 | Q. No, which site went down first? That's | 15 | to Trump getting elected, and then I continued |
| 16 | what I asked you. | 16 | those efforts with Jared Kushner's office until |
| 17 | A. Pennsylvania. | 17 | the First Step Act was signed. |
| 18 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Okay. Give me one | 18 | Q. Are you familiar with Jenna Ellis? |
| 19 | second -- give me one second, Mr. Chair. | 19 | A. Yes. Oh, she was there. She was with |
| 20 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: | 20 | us at -- at the campaign headquarters. |
| 21 | Q. Oh, when you went into Pennsylvania, | 21 | Q. Okay. What is the First Step Act, and |
| 22 | who were the attorneys in the -- in the office | 22 | then I think that's my last question to you? |
|  | Page 833 |  | Page 835 |
| 1 | that you recall? | 1 | A. The First Step Act is a -- a number of |
| 2 | A. For us? | 2 | incentivized inmate programs for the federal |
| 3 | Q. Yeah. | 3 | prison system that would give federal prisoners |
| 4 | A. On the -- on the -- | 4 | incentivized programs where they could reduce |
| 5 | Q. No, no, I mean, not Pennsylvania, into | 5 | their sentence if they got -- if they committed to |
| 6 | Arlington. You were never -- you didn't go to | 6 | and completed certain programs that would help |
| 7 | Pennsylvania, did you? | 7 | them get jobs and education on the outside. |
| 8 | A. I went to a press conference in | 8 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Mr. Chair, at this time |
| 9 | Pennsylvania on the -- I think on the 7th -- | 9 | I'd like to move into evidence those -- those |
| 10 | Q. You weren't -- you weren't on the | 10 | exhibits, please. |
| 11 | ground in Pennsylvania. Is that correct? | 11 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox? |
| 12 | A. I was on the ground in Philly, yes, | 12 | MR. FOX: I object. There are a number |
| 13 | on -- on November 7th I think -- | 13 | of things. First of all, I didn't hear any |
| 14 | Q. And -- | 14 | explanation -- I heard a little bit of an |
| 15 | A. With the mayor. | 15 | explanation that "they" got the secretary of |
| 16 | Q. Okay. But when you were in Arlington, | 16 | state's office. It wasn't clear to me who the |
| 17 | who were the attorneys in Arlington who -- if you | 17 | actual human beings were that did that, what the |
| 18 | recall, who were working on Pennsylvania? | 18 | database was that they got from the secretary of |
| 19 | A. You had the mayor, Joe diGenova, | 19 | state's office, and indeed -- or -- or when that |
| 20 | Victoria Toensing, Boris Epshteyn, Katherine | 20 | was done. And that -- that's the first thing. |
| 21 | Friess, Bobb -- I forget her -- a female woman -- | 21 | The second -- and that only pertains to the fourth |
| 22 | Christina Bobb, and there may be one or two more. | 22 | exhibit, which is Exhibit 43. |


|  | Page 836 |  | Page 838 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | With respect to the first three |  | things of that nature. |
| 2 | exhibits, I haven't heard any testimony -- | 2 | And the one thing I can tell you, |
| 3 | MR. LEVENTHAL: I couldn't hear you. | 3 | although, you know, I didn't prepare this document |
| 4 | I'm sorry. I couldn't hear you. | 4 | but I know it was adamant -- the mayor was adamant |
| 5 | MR. FOX: With respect to the first | 5 | that they needed confirmation on -- you know, if |
| 6 | three exhibits, I haven't heard any testimony as | 6 | we're saying somebody was dead, if -- if, you |
| 7 | to who compiled this information, where it was | 7 | know, they -- they found that this person was dead |
| 8 | compiled from. Mr. Kerik candidly admits that he | 8 | in one category, was there a way to confirm it in |
| 9 | doesn't vouch for the credibility of it. And -- | 9 | another. And I remember sending back -- sending |
| 10 | and I don't see what it relates to in this issue. | 10 | people back to go do things like that; confirm |
| 11 | It's a list of names and addresses. | 11 | this data, make sure the data is correct. |
| 12 | So, yes, I object. | 12 | You know, we didn't make these names |
| 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Leventhal? | 13 | up. They came out of one of those databases. |
| 14 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: | 14 | Q. And is this absent, only absentee |
| 15 | Q. Mr. Kerik, can you -- | 15 | ballots or mail-in ballots? |
| 16 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Go back to those | 16 | A. This was requested mail-in ballots. |
| 17 | exhibits now, please. | 17 | Q. Okay. And why couldn't you do the same |
| 18 | MR. LEVENTHAL: | 18 | for same-day or early voting in person? |
| 19 | Q. Mr. Kerik. | 19 | A. Well, early -- |
| 20 | A. Yes. | 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. -- Mr. |
| 21 | Q. This exhibit is entitled "People Who | 21 | Leventhal, I'd appreciate if you could address |
| 22 | Voted Over 112 Years Old". Is that correct? | 22 | your questions to this particular exhibit and then |
|  | Page 837 |  | Page 839 |
| 1 | A. Yes. | 1 | I will allow Mr. Fox an abbreviated voir dire on |
| 2 | MR. LEVENTHAL: All right. Go -- go -- | 2 | this exhibit before I make a decision on its |
| 3 | go to the first page, please. Make it bigger, a | 3 | admissibility. |
| 4 | little bigger, please. | 4 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 5 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: | 5 | Q. Yeah, anything further you want to say |
| 6 | Q. What does the first column say? | 6 | how this list was compiled or received, Mr. Kerik? |
| 7 | MR. FOX: Objection. Now we're having | 7 | A. No, not other than I've said: it came |
| 8 | the witness testify about an exhibit without | 8 | from one the investigators. |
| 9 | yet -- I mean, we're dealing -- when we're dealing | 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, do you wish |
| 10 | with the issue of authenticity. | 10 | to voir dire? |
| 11 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Sustained. | 11 | MR. FOX: Yes, briefly. |
| 12 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: | 12 | VOIR DIRE BY MR. FOX: |
| 13 | Q. All right. Mr. Kerik, how did you -- | 13 | Q. What was the name of the investigator? |
| 14 | how did you get this record? | 14 | A. I can't -- I have no idea. There were |
| 15 | A. It came from one of the investigators | 15 | a number of them. |
| 16 | in the legal team. | 16 | Q. What database did you consult? |
| 17 | Q. And do you know how he compiled it? | 17 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Are you frozen, Mr. |
| 18 | A. Yeah, they -- they went into the | 18 | Fox? |
| 19 | various databases that they had -- could have | 19 | MR. FOX: No, I said what database did |
| 20 | access to and collected the information and then | 20 | he consult. |
| 21 | started comparing that information to other | 21 | THE WITNESS: The database was the |
| 22 | records: Social Security records, death records, | 22 | secretary of state's office, I believe, from |


|  | Page 840 |  | Page 842 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Pennsylvania. | 1 | Q. And you don't stand behind the voracity |
| 2 | BY MR. FOX: | 2 | of the information, correct? |
| 3 | Q. And so the secretary -- the secretary | 3 | A. No. It was under investigation at the |
| 4 | of state's office had this list of -- of mail-in | 4 | time. |
| 5 | voters? | 5 | MR. FOX: I -- I object to the |
| 6 | A. That's what I believe, yes. | 6 | admissibility of the exhibit -- this document. |
| 7 | Q. And it had their dates of birth? | 7 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Sustained at -- |
| 8 | A. I believe so. | 8 | sustained at this time. |
| 9 | Q. And this was a database that was | 9 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Well, then this should |
| 10 | available to the public? | 10 | be admitted for the state of mind of Mr. Giuliani |
| 11 | A. It was -- it may have been on their | 11 | having these records. |
| 12 | public database or it may have been another -- | 12 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, you can tie |
| 13 | there may have been another one these guys -- | 13 | that up when he testifies. |
| 14 | these guys acquired it from them, but that's where | 14 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Okay. Can we go to the |
| 15 | they would have to get it. | 15 | next one, please. Can you make it a little |
| 16 | Q. Okay, and you testified a moment ago | 16 | bigger. |
| 17 | that Mr. Giuliani insisted that this be accurate, | 17 | CONTINUED DIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 18 | correct? | 18 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT |
| 19 | A. Oh, yeah. Yeah, yeah, yeah. | 19 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
|  | Q. So what effort -- what efforts were | 20 | Q. Mr. Kerik, do you see this one? |
| 21 | made to verify that these individuals were born on | 21 | A. Yes. |
| 22 | the dates that were shown on these lists? | 22 | Q. Were did you receive this exhibit? |
|  | Page 841 |  | Page 843 |
| 1 | A. I think what they -- what they did is | 1 | A. It would have been around the same |
| 2 | they took the list that they had and then they | 2 | time. And the thing I notice on here, the third |
| 3 | went to corresponding lists. And I say this | 3 | line, defined by the Social Security death index, |
| 4 | because I remember Social Security and death -- | 4 | which is probably what Mr. Fox was just asking me, |
| 5 | death certificates being mentioned at the time, | 5 | the database that he was talking about, that could |
| 6 | how they would confirm some of this stuff. So I | 6 | be where it came from, that specific database |
| 7 | think that's what they were doing. | 7 | title, you know, and this came from some of the |
| 8 | Q. So there's a -- you have a -- a | 8 | same people. |
| 9 | database where you could get people's Social | 9 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Now I move them both |
| 10 | Security numbers? | 10 | into evidence, Mr. Chair. |
| 11 | A. I -- I don't know what they were doing | 11 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, voir dire? |
| 12 | at the time, but that was one of the | 12 | VOIR DIRE BY MR. FOX: |
| 13 | conversations, or how they were doing it. | 13 | Q. I'm not sure what "both" means, but |
| 14 | Q. What's the name of the database where | 14 | with respect to this exhibit, which I understand |
| 15 | you didn't somebody's Social Security numbers? | 15 | to be Exhibit 41, do you notice -- did you notice, |
| 16 | A. I have no idea. | 16 | Mr. Kerik, that the names on this exhibit were |
| 17 | Q. So do you know anything at all about | 17 | fairly generic names? |
| 18 | this, other than that an investigator told you | 18 | A. Okay? |
| 19 | that he got this information from the secretary | 19 | Q. For example -- |
| 20 | of -- a database that the Secretary of State had? | 20 | A. Did I notice? No, I didn't notice. |
| 21 | A. No, not pertaining to the document. | 21 | No. But go ahead. |
| 22 | No. | 22 | Q. For example, the second name is William |


|  | Page 844 |  | Page 846 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Miller. |  | don't think he -- this witness has sufficient |
| 2 | A. Right. | 2 | knowledge -- |
| 3 | Q. The third name is James Williams, | 3 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 4 | correct. | 4 | Q. Again, you don't stand behind the |
| 5 | A. Right. | 5 | voracity of this one either, right? |
| 6 | Q. The next name is John Nichol. | 6 | A. No. No, I can't. |
| 7 | A. Right. | 7 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I continue to |
| 8 | Q. Now we got Charles Brown down a few | 8 | object. |
| 9 | more. | 9 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Sustained at this |
| 10 | A. Right. | 10 | time. |
| 11 | Q. It -- it -- it wouldn't -- it didn't | 11 | MR. LEVENTHAL: All right, the next |
| 12 | surprise you when you saw this that were probably | 12 | exhibit, please. |
| 13 | more than one voter in Pennsylvania with those | 13 | CONTINUED DIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 14 | names, did it? | 14 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 15 | A. Well, it wouldn't surprise me if | 15 | Q. Mr. Kerik, do you see this exhibit? |
| 16 | William Miller, a William Miller, you had two | 16 | A. Yes. |
| 17 | living at 80 Kenrick Avenue. It would surprise me | 17 | Q. Do you see the data sources? |
|  | if they both had the same voter I.D. That would | 18 | A. Yeah. I also see the methodology, |
| 19 | surprise me. | 19 | which is -- I think would -- would answer some of |
| 20 | Q. Did anyone check the Social Security | 20 | Mr. Fox's questions. |
| 21 | numbers, which is the last column that's blacked | 21 | Q. Go ahead. |
| 22 | out, but there are Social Security numbers on the | 22 | A. And -- and, you know, the methodology |
|  | Page 845 |  | Page 847 |
| 1 | original exhibit, correct? | 1 | in this -- in this case, the list was obtained |
| 2 | A. I believe there is, yes, or was, yes, | 2 | searching for two active voters on FindAGrave.com |
| 3 | before it was blocked out. | 3 | as well as Tributes.com. |
| 4 | Q. In fact that's the Social Security | 4 | That's some of the outside sources that |
| 5 | number of Joseph Grec -- the Joseph Greco who | 5 | they were looking at when they were going through |
| 6 | lived at 415 Second Street, Donora, Pennsylvania. | 6 | this stuff. |
| 7 | Anybody check that? | 7 | Q. Okay. And -- well, you see the title |
| 8 | A. I'm sure they did. | 8 | of this. This only mail-in ballots and absentee |
| 9 | Q. Okay. You don't know that. You're | 9 | ballots, right? It's not same-day voting or early |
| 10 | sure they did? | 10 | voting. |
| 11 | A. Right. | 11 | Is that correct? |
| 12 | Q. And who was it that compiled this -- | 12 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 13 | this document? | 13 | Q. And is that true of all these exhibits? |
| 14 | A. Various investigators that worked for | 14 | A. I believe so, yes. |
| 15 | the team. | 15 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Well, I move this |
| 16 | Q. And -- and again, what was the source | 16 | exhibit in as well as 40 and 41 on the basis that |
| 17 | of the database? | 17 | these data sources are now in evidence. |
| 18 | A. This would have been the | 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, you may |
| 19 | Pennsylvania -- one of the -- one of the | 19 | voir dire. |
| 20 | Pennsylvania -- the secretary of state's | 20 | VOIR DIRE BY MR. FOX: |
| 21 | databases, I believe. | 21 | Q. Who was it who compiled this list? |
| 22 | MR. FOX: I continue to object. I | 22 | A. Investigator for the team. |

December 7, 2022

|  | Page 848 |  | Page 850 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Q. All right. And you say it came from | 1 | documents. |
| 2 | FindAGrave.com. Do you know what FindAGrave.com | 2 | MR. FOX: All right. Then -- then |
| 3 | is? | 3 | I'll -- okay. I -- I continue my objection. |
| 4 | A. It's a -- a site you could find people | 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Sustained at this |
| 5 | that have passed. | 5 | time. |
| 6 | Q. It's not a government website, correct? | 6 | MR. LEVENTHAL: All right, let's go to |
| 7 | A. I don't believe so. | 7 | the last exhibit, please. |
| 8 | Q. It's sort of Wikipedia for dead people, | 8 | CONTINUED DIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 9 | right? | 9 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: |
| 10 | A. I can't say that. I don't know. | 10 | Q. Mr. Fox, could you -- I'm sorry, Mr. -- |
| 11 | Q. People go out into cemeteries and they | 11 | not Mr. Fox. I don't want to cross-examine him, |
| 12 | take photographs of graves and they list them on | 12 | even though he was testifying. |
| 13 | this website? | 13 | Mr. -- Mr. Kerik. |
| 14 | A. I don't know that -- | 14 | A. Yes. |
| 15 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Is Mr. Fox testifying? | 15 | Q. Could you tell me about this exhibit. |
| 16 | Is Mr. Fox testifying? | 16 | A. This is the General Election Absentee |
| 17 | BY MR. FOX: | 17 | Multistate Voters, and basically what they did, |
| 18 | Q. Is that what it is, sir? | 18 | it's a list of 214,410 possible cases of the same |
| 19 | A. I don't know -- | 19 | person casting votes in Pennsylvania as well as |
| 20 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Objection, objection. | 20 | Georgia. Every name on the list has requested, |
| 21 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Overruled. He's | 21 | filled out and returned an absentee ballot in the |
| 22 | questioning the witness as to the propriety of | 22 | 2020 election. |
|  | Page 849 |  | Page 851 |
| 1 | admitting the exhibit into evidence. | 1 | Q. And when the litigation -- did you |
| 2 | BY MR. FOX: | 2 | receive this also around the same time? |
| 3 | Q. What about Tributes.com? Do you know | 3 | A. Yes. |
| 4 | what that is? | 4 | Q. And when the litigation was |
| 5 | A. Same type of website, I believe. | 5 | terminated -- before the litigation was |
| 6 | Q. It's not a government website, right? | 6 | terminated -- you -- you have similar names here, |
| 7 | A. Don't think so. | 7 | but you haven't been able to check absolutely |
| 8 | Q. It's a website of -- is it a website of | 8 | whether the person in Pennsylvania and Georgia |
| 9 | someone who goes to various newspapers and looks | 9 | were exactly the same in all instances. |
| 10 | for obituaries and tributes that are published? | 10 | Is that correct? |
| 11 | A. No idea. I said I don't know -- I | 11 | A. That's correct. |
| 12 | don't know their methodology, no. | 12 | Q. But there were on this list 214,410 |
| 13 | Q. Now, what's being recorded here are | 13 | possible cases, and it says "possible cases," |
| 14 | people who died before their mail-in ballots were | 14 | correct? |
| 15 | received, correct? | 15 | A. Yes. Keep in -- can I talk? |
| 16 | A. I believe so. | 16 | Q. Sure. |
| 17 | Q. And does it show how many people died | 17 | A. Can I say something? |
| 18 | before their mail-in ballots were mailed? | 18 | Q. Sure. |
| 19 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, I think | 19 | A. Keep in mind, you know, these -- |
| 20 | you're -- you're getting into the -- | 20 | nothing here, nothing was conclusive when -- in |
| 21 | MR. FOX: Okay. | 21 | these documents. These documents were coming in |
| 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: -- content of the | 22 | to us as an investigative tool for either |


|  | Page 852 |  | Page 854 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | litigation or litigation prep in looking at the | 1 | with the idea of comparing Pennsylvania and |
| 2 | problems within the election. So there was -- | 2 | Georgia? |
| 3 | this was all a continual investigation. | 3 | A. I got to be honest, I don't -- I do not |
| 4 | The documents you see, whether it's | 4 | recall. |
| 5 | this one or the others -- any of the ones that we | 5 | Q. And why Georgia? Is there some -- lots |
| 6 | provided -- I provided at least -- all those | 6 | of Pennsylvanians move to Georgia, or vice versa? |
| 7 | documents were collected and were part of an | 7 | A. Well, we found -- Pennsylvania, Georgia |
| 8 | ongoing investigation. | 8 | wasn't the only problem. We found a number of |
| 9 | So, there's stuff in here that may be | 9 | people coming into Arizona that came from |
| 10 | conclusive, or may not be, but it was all a part a | 10 | California. The number -- |
| 11 | of that litigation prep. | 11 | Q. But I want to talk about Georgia -- |
| 12 | Q. All right. Mr. Fox has stated, implied | 12 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Let him answer the |
| 13 | that someone who might have mailed in their ballot | 13 | question, please, Mr. Chair. |
| 14 | and died after they mailed it in. | 14 | THE WITNESS: So, you know, this was an |
| 15 | You heard that. Is that correct? | 15 | ongoing -- this was an ongoing investigation. |
| 16 | MR. FOX: Objection. This is not -- | 16 | You know, we were looking at |
| 17 | THE WITNESS: I heard, yes. | 17 | improprieties and voter fraud, and that's part of |
| 18 | MR. FOX: This is not even | 18 | the investigation. |
| 19 | (indecipherable) to be about. | 19 | Q. You were trying to find improprieties |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Please, rephrase |  | in voting -- voter fraud, right? |
| 21 | your question, please. | 21 | A. Exactly. |
| 22 |  | 22 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox, could you |
|  | Page 853 |  | Page 855 |
| 1 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: | 1 | address your questions more narrowly to the |
| 2 | Q. All right. Are you aware of any | 2 | exhibit, if you would, at this point. |
| 3 | statute that invalidates a vote of someone who | 3 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 4 | mails in a ballot and dies before Election Day? | 4 | Q. Could you -- did you notice the generic |
| 5 | MR. FOX: Objection. | 5 | names of the people on this exhibit, as well? |
| 6 | THE WITNESS: To my -- to my | 6 | A. No. I got to tell you, Mr. Fox, this |
| 7 | understanding the vote does not count. | 7 | is pretty insulting. What do you think, we made |
| 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I'll allow it. | 8 | this stuff up? |
| 9 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Thank you. | 9 | No. I didn't -- I didn't notice |
| 10 | MR. FOX: Okay, are we voir diring on | 10 | because this was information that we were |
| 11 | this exhibit, or what are we doing? | 11 | gathering from these databases. I didn't create |
| 12 | MR. LEVENTHAL: I moving that into | 12 | those names, nor did the investigators. I can |
| 13 | evidence, as well as the others. If you want to | 13 | assure you. |
| 14 | have the same ruling, you could save -- we could | 14 | Q. Well, Mr. Kerik, does it come as a |
| 15 | save some time if Mr. Fox is going to ask the same | 15 | great surprise to you that there might be a Robert |
| 16 | questions and we're going to have the same result. | 16 | Louis Miller that lives in Georgia and a Robert |
| 17 | MR. FOX: I'd like to make a record, | 17 | Louis Miller that lives in Pennsylvania? |
| 18 | though. | 18 | A. Well, that -- that would not surprise |
| 19 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Make a record, if | 19 | me, but would -- you know, it would also surprise |
| 20 | you would, Mr. Fox. | 20 | me if they had the same dates of birth, or they |
| 21 | VOIR DIRE BY MR. FOX: | 21 | had the same prior address, or they had some other |
| 22 | Q. All right. Who was it that came up | 22 | corresponding information that the investigators |


|  | Page 856 |  | Page 858 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | may have linked to put their names on here. | 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you. |
| 2 | I'm sure they just didn't find a bunch | 2 | Does anybody on the panel have |
| 3 | of people in one state and said, "Oh, I got guys | 3 | questions? |
| 4 | in another state. We're going to put them all | 4 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: No. |
| 5 | together". | 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: The panel has no |
| 6 | Q. Well, did you -- do you see dates of | 6 | questions. Thank you very much, Mr Kerik, you're |
| 7 | birth on this exhibit? | 7 | excused. |
| 8 | A. No. | 8 | THE WITNESS: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. |
| 9 | Q. Do you -- so, do you see Social | 9 | (Witness is excused.) |
| 10 | Security numbers on this exhibit? | 10 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Leventhal, call |
| 11 | A. No, I don't. | 11 | your next witness, please. |
| 12 | Q. Anything to show, for example, that | 12 | MR. LEVENTHAL: Before we do, your |
| 13 | Eric James Moore in Springfield, Pennsylvania is | 13 | Honor, can I just ask Mr. Fox one question... |
| 14 | different or the same as the Eric James Moore in | 14 | Are you going to call a rebuttal |
| 15 | Dawsontown, Georgia -- Dawsonville, Georgia? | 15 | witness? I just want to know the -- no. |
| 16 | A. The specific information, no. | 16 | MR. FOX: None. |
| 17 | Q. What this is is a list of voters in | 17 | MR. LEVENTHAL: That's what I thought. |
| 18 | Georgia and Pennsylvania who had the same names, | 18 | Okay, thank you. |
| 19 | correct? | 19 | I just want to get a time frame, your |
| 20 | A. Yes. | 20 | Honor. |
| 21 | MR. FOX: Okay. I -- I continue my | 21 | MR. KAMINS: Mr. Chair, we call Mr. |
| 22 | objection. | 22 | Giuliani. |
|  | Page 857 |  | Page 859 |
| 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: The objection -- | 1 | (Rudolph Giuliani resumes the witness |
| 2 | MR. LEVENTHAL: May I -- may I cross on | 2 | stand.) |
| 3 | the voir dire -- | 3 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Giuliani, I |
| 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: The objection -- his | 4 | remind you you are still under oath. |
| 5 | objection is sustained at this point. | 5 | DIRECT EXAMINATION |
| 6 | MR. LEVENTHAL: All right. Well, I | 6 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT |
| 7 | don't know if Mr. Kerik is going to question Mr. | 7 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 8 | -- if Mr. Fox is going to question Mr. Kerik, but | 8 | Q. So, Mr. Giuliani, I'd like to go |
| 9 | I have one more question for Mr. Kerik. | 9 | briefly into your past public service and |
| 10 | BY MR. LEVENTHAL: | 10 | concentrate on your service to this country as |
| 11 | Q. Mr. Kerik, at this point you were going | 11 | Associate Attorney General of the United States. |
| 12 | to investigate, if given an opportunity, if these | 12 | Can you tell us what years you were in |
| 13 | people were the same people. | 13 | that position? |
| 14 | Is that correct? | 14 | A. I was Associate Attorney General from |
| 15 | A. Yes. | 15 | 1981 to 1984. |
| 16 | MR. LEVENTHAL: I have no further | 16 | Q. And during that time could you tell us |
| 17 | questions. | 17 | what your major duties were? |
| 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox. | 18 | A. I was the third ranking official in the |
| 19 | MR. FOX: No questions. | 19 | Department of Justice appointed by President |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I'm sorry? | 20 | Ronald Reagan and confirmed by the Senate. |
| 21 | MR. FOX: No questions, no additional | 21 | My duties were to oversee what you |
| 22 | questions. | 22 | would generally describe -- excuse me -- what you |


|  | Page 860 |  | Page 862 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | would generally describe as the criminal division | 1 | I asked for a reduction in rank. Associate |
| 2 | side of the Justice Department. It would be the | 2 | Attorney General is technically the boss of the |
| 3 | criminal division, the '92 United States Attorneys | 3 | U.S. Attorney in the Southern District of New |
| 4 | Office, the ' 92 United States Marshals Offices, | 4 | York, but it was the office I grew up in and it |
| 5 | the Bureau of Prisons, at that time the | 5 | was the one office that I always wanted to serve |
| 6 | Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Pardon | 6 | in, because I just have a tremendous regard for |
| 7 | Attorneys Office, the criminal division of the | 7 |  |
| 8 | civil rights division, the criminal division of | 8 | I -- well, do you want me to give you a |
| 9 | the tax division, the criminal division of the | 9 | little highlights -- |
| 10 | antitrust division, INTERPOL. | 10 | Q. Just -- just briefly the highlights if |
| 11 | I was responsible for guiding the | 11 | you would. |
| 12 | nominations -- that was -- the U.S. attorneys and | 12 | A. I've litigated thousands of cases. I |
| 13 | U.S. marshals. So we were all individually | 13 | think the ones that people would remember the most |
| 14 | confirmed by the United States Senate. In the | 14 | were the Commission of the Mafia. Those are the |
| 15 | first year of the administration, about 180 of | 15 | five -- heads of the five families that operated |
| 16 | them had to be confirmed. | 16 | in New York since 1931 as the head of the -- the |
| 17 | I was also -- I was also in charge of a | 17 | mafia, which unusually has five families in New |
|  | special commission that was put together by | 18 | York, although most other cities are blessed to |
| 19 | President Reagan and Attorney General William | 19 | only have one -- or not blessed, luckily only have |
|  | French Smith. The Attorney General's Task Force | 20 | one, we have five. I prosecuted each one of the |
|  | on Violent Crime that wrote a -- that wrote reform | 21 | individual families themselves; probably |
| 22 | on violent crime, chaired by Professors Blakey and | 22 | prosecuted 300 or 400 members of the American, |
|  | Page 861 |  | Page 863 |
| 1 | Governor Thompson, and held hearings all over the | 1 | Italian-American mafia. I also participated in |
| 2 | country and formed the basis of criminal justice | 2 | the prosecution of 800 members of the Sicilian |
| 3 | reform, right through the 1994 Criminal Justice | 3 | mafia, for which I received several awards from |
| 4 | Reform Bill to President Clinton got through | 4 | the Italian government. |
| 5 | Congress and continued to work on that into the | 5 | I prosecuted two former Nazis, handled |
| 6 | Clinton administration. | 6 | their extradition cases, one of them at the |
| 7 | There were some other -- | 7 | request specifically of President Reagan, because |
| 8 | Q. No, that's fine. | 8 | it was a very controversial case where there was a |
| 9 | A. There was some others, but those were | 9 | great deal of opposition to extraditing him by Pat |
| 10 | the -- those were the main -- the main ones. | 10 | Buchanan and people in the -- there was a great |
| 11 | Q. Okay, and did there come a time when | 11 | division of opinion in the Reagan administration |
| 12 | you were the United States Attorney for the | 12 | about that extradition. The name of the former |
| 13 | Southern District of New York? | 13 | Nazi or Nazi, I guess, Mycofskish (phon). The |
| 14 | A. Yes. I left being associate Attorney | 14 | other one was Linish (phon). One of them was |
| 15 | General, once again appointed by President Reagan | 15 | responsible for 22,000 deaths when he was |
| 16 | and confirmed by the Senate to be United States | 16 | commandant of the concentration camp, the other |
| 17 | Attorney for the Southern District of New York. | 17 | for 12,000. I argued and handled those cases |
| 18 | Q. And can you give us some highlights of | 18 | personally. U.S. attorneys usually don't handle |
| 19 | your tenure there. | 19 | cases personally. |
| 20 | A. Well, I had been assistant U.S. | 20 | I believe I was the last U.S. Attorney |
| 21 | attorney there for the early part of my career. | 21 | in the Southern District to actually try a case |
| 22 | It was -- it was kind of an unusual choice because | 22 | while I was U.S. Attorney, and that was a rather |


|  | Page 864 |  | Page 866 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | famous case that probably had a lot to do with my | 1 | I was also subject of several fatwas, a |
| 2 | being mayor, which is the racketeering case | 2 | threat by the FARC to slit -- slit my throat if I |
| 3 | against members of the then Mayor Koch's | 3 | went to -- if I prosecuted them. |
| 4 | administration, for taking multi millions of | 4 | My family also was threatened while I |
| 5 | dollars in bribes for city contracts. | 5 | was U.S. Attorney. I needed to have Marshal's |
| 6 | I prosecuted 60 Highway commissioners | 6 | protection. I declined it, actually declined it |
| 7 | in the State of New York, about equal number of | 7 | until I had a child. |
| 8 | republicans and democrats. I prosecuted and | 8 | I argued at President Reagan's request |
| 9 | convicted Congressman Biaggi. Early in my career | 9 | the -- the case that was brought to try to enjoin |
| 10 | I prosecuted Congressman Fodel (phon), convicted | 10 | him from deploying cruise missiles. It was |
| 11 | him. | 11 | brought by a large number of members of Congress. |
| 12 | I brought the racketeering case against | 12 | And as a personal request, I argued that case, |
| 13 | the Teamsters Union that imposed a receivership on | 13 | myself in the Second Circuit -- in the Second |
| 14 | the Teamsters Union that removed them from | 14 | Circuit, right. |
| 15 | organized crime, effectively removing them from | 15 | Q. Okay -- |
| 16 | Las Vegas at the same time. That was accompanied | 16 | A. That -- |
| 17 | by letters from 132 members of Congress to have me | 17 | Q. I'm sorry. |
| 18 | removed as United States Attorney, which I was | 18 | A. That's enough. |
| 19 | very happy President Reagan ignored, Vice | 19 | Q. Okay. |
| 20 | President Bush condemned. | 20 | A. There were others, but... |
| 21 | I prosecuted in those days a very well | 21 | Q. Thank you. |
| 22 | known financial -- well, I prosecuted a lot of | 22 | Mr. Giuliani, did there come a time |
|  | Page 865 |  | Page 867 |
| 1 | people on Wall Street, the most prominent ones | 1 | when you were elected mayor City of New York? |
| 2 | being Ivan Boesky and Michael Milken. They're | 2 | A. I left being U.S. attorney in 19 -- in |
| 3 | probably best known as the prototypes for the | 3 | early 1989, right after -- right after President |
| 4 | movie Wall Street. | 4 | Bush was -- became president, not because of that |
| 5 | I prosecuted a significant number of | 5 | but largely because of what I went ahead and did, |
| 6 | members of the Colombian cartels, drug cartels, as | 6 | which was I ran for mayor that year, in 1989, and |
| 7 | well as FARC, which is the terrorist group in | 7 | I lost in a very close election that had |
| 8 | Columbia. | 8 | allegations of voter fraud, and I did not pursue |
| 9 | I prosecuted several -- in those days | 9 | them. |
| 10 | Islamic high-jackers, terrorists that formed -- | 10 | I ran again four years later and I won, |
| 11 | that later became what we know -- what we came to | 11 | and then I served as mayor of New York for eight |
| 12 | know as ISIS and Al-Qaeda. | 12 | years -- |
| 13 | I received the Attorney General's Award | 13 | Q. And can you give me -- |
| 14 | several times for the most successful prosecutor, | 14 | A. -- I was -- I was -- I practiced law. |
| 15 | or whatever. | 15 | I represented AT\&T. I represented two large |
| 16 | I -- I was the subject of several mafia | 16 | antitrust cases. I handled both civil and |
| 17 | contracts to kill me. I was the subject of a vote | 17 | criminal litigation and had about five trials in |
| 18 | by the commission to kill me, which I won, three | 18 | that period of time. Most of the rest was, you |
| 19 | to two; meaning three people voted against killing | 19 | know, civil litigation. |
| 20 | me and two voted in favor of it. That was a | 20 | Q. And can you give us some -- briefly |
| 21 | matter of record that didn't come out until 20 | 21 | some highlights of your tenure as mayor during |
| 22 | years later. | 22 | those eight years. |


|  | Page 868 |  | Page 870 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | A. I was the -- I was only the third | 1 | thank goodness, you know, seven years before 9/11, |
| 2 | republican elected in a hundred years. I reduced | 2 | so that when September 11 happened, we had a large |
| 3 | crime -- reduced overall crime by $65 \%$. I believe | 3 | number of well trained antiterrorism officers, |
| 4 | I reduced homicide by 70 , which was thought to be | 4 | which pretty much no other city had. Chicago and |
| 5 | impossible to do. Nobody else has ever done that | 5 | the State of Florida specifically copied our |
| 6 | before or after. | 6 | offices. Both Mayor Daley of Chicago and Governor |
| 7 | I -- when I -- when I became mayor, | 7 | Bush of Florida asked if they could have members |
| 8 | there was a $10.5 \%$ unemployment rate. If went down | 8 | their administration participate in the task force |
| 9 | to five percent, I'd like to think in part because | 9 | that Governor Pataki and I put together, and then |
| 10 | of the economic reforms that I made. I cut the | 10 | I helped them develop their task forces. |
| 11 | budget of New York City. I produced the first | 11 | I reduced the number of people on |
| 12 | surplus in 35 years for four years in a row. | 12 | Welfare by -- from 1.1 M to 500,000, of which $90 \%$ |
| 13 | Thank goodness when 9/11 happened, we were sitting | 13 | were -- were working; started a Welfare to Work |
| 14 | with a surplus rather than a city with a large | 14 | program. I started a Workfare program, which |
| 15 | hole in the budget -- a large deficit in the | 15 | required people on Welfare to work, which was |
| 16 | budget. | 16 | largely responsible for the turnover. So, by the |
| 17 | I -- I -- I established the -- the | 17 | time we got to 2000 our Welfare rolls were, per |
| 18 | first separate Child Welfare Unit, because up | 18 | capita, one of the lowest in the country, and our |
| 19 | until the time I was mayor, the child welfare | 19 | employment was one of the highest. |
|  | duties were done by the Welfare Department. It |  | New York had traditionally always been |
| 21 | got very, very little attention. It was one of | 21 | behind the U.S. employment rate. In other words, |
| 22 | things I was motivated to do, because of the death | 22 | we always had unemployment rate greater than the |
|  | Page 869 |  | Page 871 |
| 1 | of a young girl very early on when I was mayor, | 1 | United States. While I was mayor, for the last |
| 2 | was to reform that. I received several awards for | 2 | five years, our unemployment rate was much better |
| 3 | that because that was copied in other | 3 | than the United States. It's back to where it |
| 4 | jurisdictions. | 4 | used to be. |
| 5 | I established the first mayor's office | 5 | I -- I reformed the system of selecting |
| 6 | and then set up the position of Commissioner of -- | 6 | principals in the New York City school system. |
| 7 | of Emergency Management; did that largely because, | 7 | They had previously been given tenure and were |
| 8 | the year that I ran for mayor, but before I was | 8 | allowed to stay there forever, no matter how good |
| 9 | mayor, there was an Islamic terrorist attack on | 9 | or bad they were. I was able to negotiate with |
| 10 | the World Trade Center. I had a great deal of | 10 | the -- with the Principal's Union, considered to |
| 11 | knowledge of that because it was only three years | 11 | be the first change, first time any teachers union |
| 12 | after I myself ran the joint -- I'm sorry. I also | 12 | agreed to accountability. I was unable to do that |
| 13 | as U.S. Attorney ran the Joint Terrorism and Task | 13 | with the overall Teachers Union, as my |
| 14 | Force for the years that I was U.S. Attorney, | 14 | predecessors all attempted the same thing but were |
| 15 | which is a combination of the FBI and the New York | 15 | unable to do that. But I do think, in changing |
| 16 | City Police Department. I believe it was the | 16 | the principals, it had something to do with the |
| 17 | first in the country. I didn't establish that. | 17 | improvement of the schools so that the principals |
| 18 | It was established by one of my predecessors as | 18 | who were doing a bad job could be removed; the |
| 19 | U.S. Attorney. But I enhanced it greatly when I | 19 | ones who were doing a good job could get a higher |
| 20 | was U.S. Attorney. And then when I was mayor, I | 20 | salary, which is impossible with the teachers. |
| 21 | put a lot more police officers in it and | 21 | Mr. Kerik mentioned that he -- |
| 22 | established a similar office in New York City, | 22 | mentioned that he was commissioner of the -- of |


|  | Page 872 |  | Page 874 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | the corrections department. I should -- should | 1 | fire commissioner, Tom Von Essen, both of whom |
| 2 | say that, when he began there, Riker's Island was | 2 | were impossible-to-describe heros. |
| 3 | featured on 60 Minutes as the worst, most violent | 3 | During 9/11, Mr. Kerik and I almost |
| 4 | jail in America. Riker's Island has been unusual. | 4 | died. We were locked together in a room that was |
| 5 | New York City puts all of its prisoners in one | 5 | hit by the first tower that came down. Governor |
| 6 | place, because it has a big, isolated island, | 6 | Pataki thought we were missing, had actually drawn |
| 7 | called Riker's Island. You fly over it when you | 7 | up the order for someone to take over the city. |
| 8 | come into LaGuardia Airport. It traditionally has | 8 | And when I called him he was -- he was very happy |
| 9 | been one of the most violent in the country. | 9 | that I was alive. Mr. Kerik and I helped to get |
| 10 | Mr. Kerik and his associates there | 10 | all these people through that. So, I know -- I |
| 11 | changed -- moved it from the most violent in the | 11 | know Bernie Kerik. So when you go through |
| 12 | country to the least. They reduced violence by | 12 | something like that with a man, it creates a |
| 13 | $90 \%$. That was documented by 60 Minutes in a -- in | 13 | special kind of relationship. |
| 14 | a piece they did in the year 1999, when they went | 14 | And -- and he -- he was a remarkable |
| 15 | in there to show how violent it was and found out | 15 | corrections commissioner; $90 \%$ reduction in |
| 16 | it was a model prison. It was then used as a | 16 | violence. I used to go to Riker's Island |
| 17 | model for the next eight to ten years. My | 17 | regularly. Since my background was law |
| 18 | successor, Michael Bloomberg, improved it even | 18 | enforcement, of course I paid more attention to |
| 19 | more, as he did the reduction in crime, by the | 19 | that probably than anything else as mayor, |
| 20 | way. But that has since changed. | 20 | although I did spend a great deal of time learning |
| 21 | And there were a lot of other. | 21 | and memorizing the budget of New York City, so |
| 22 | Q. Okay. | 22 | that I could -- |
|  | Page 873 |  | Page 875 |
| 1 | A. I -- I worked $24 / 7$ as mayor. I love | 1 | Q. Right. |
| 2 | New York City, as I love America, and I devoted -- | 2 | A. -- participate. |
| 3 | devoted my life to making it better than it was. | 3 | Q. Any other major awards from the |
| 4 | I sort of subscribe to the Athenian oath that was | 4 | president or any -- |
| 5 | taken by my most famous predecessor, Fiorello | 5 | A. Yeah, I received one of the highest |
| 6 | LaGuardia, which is that my obligations was to | 6 | awards of the Government of France by Jacques |
| 7 | leave my city better than it was given to me. I | 7 | Chirac, who officially named me "Rudy the Rock". |
| 8 | think I did that. | 8 | Oprah Winfrey named me "America's Mayor" on her |
| 9 | Q. Thank you. | 9 | show. |
| 10 | And, briefly, I know you -- over the | 10 | I -- I received the "G-Man of the Year |
| 11 | years, you've gotten many, many awards, but were | 11 | Award" from the FBI for my lifetime achievements |
| 12 | there any significant awards that you can think of | 12 | for the successful prosecutions with the FBI. |
| 13 | that you received from heads of state or the | 13 | That was about six or eight years ago. |
| 14 | president? | 14 | I received many other -- many other |
| 15 | A. Sure, I was -- I was knighted by -- an | 15 | awards, a lot of them having to do with September |
| 16 | honorary knighthood, and I should correct Mr. | 16 | 11, which really I received because of the heroism |
| 17 | Kerik because, he's a knight, he would have to | 17 | mainly of the people that worked for me. I was |
| 18 | lose his citizenship. You're not allowed to | 18 | very honored to guide them, but they're the ones |
| 19 | accept a knighthood as an American citizen because | 19 | who were the real heros. |
| 20 | it's an honorific title barred by the | 20 | Q. Thank you. |
| 21 | Constitution, and I'm an honorary knight of the -- | 21 | Now, Mr. Giuliani, you represented the |
| 22 | of the king. He was also awarded that, as was my | 22 | plaintiffs in the litigation we've been |


|  | Page 876 |  | Page 878 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | discussing, Donald Trump for President vs. |  | election, I-- I went over to see the president in |
| 2 | Boockvar, correct? | 2 | the Oval Office. I don't exactly remember why, |
| 3 | A. I did. | 3 | maybe to just talk to him, or it may have been on |
| 4 | Q. How did you first become involved in | 4 | a legal matter, because again I was still |
| 5 | your representation of the plaintiffs? | 5 | representing him as a -- as an attorney on the -- |
| 6 | A. Well, starting in March of -- I hope I | 6 | representing him on impeachment. Or it may have |
| 7 | get the year right. I often confuse it. I think | 7 | been just to commiserate with him, because of what |
| 8 | it was 2019, I began representing President Trump | 8 | happened the night before, and during that |
| 9 | as his personal lawyer in I guess what you would | 9 | conversation, which was about other subjects as |
| 10 | call the Russian Collusion investigation. That -- | 10 | well, which I -- I think would be privileged, but |
| 11 | that was the original impeachment investigation, | 11 | unrelated to this, he asked me -- basically he |
| 12 | which remained that way for quite sometime. | 12 | asked me if I would take over the campaign, would |
| 13 | Now -- now it's been very discredited, the Russian | 13 | I go over there and find out what the heck was |
| 14 | Collusion, but at the time it was considered to be | 14 | going on and direct -- and after we discussed it |
| 15 | gospel and almost treason to be denied -- | 15 | back and forth, we agreed that what I would do is |
| 16 | Q. We're going to stick to the -- | 16 | oversee the litigation. |
| 17 | A. Okay. So I began representing him then | 17 | Q. So did you -- at some point -- |
| 18 | along with a team of -- of four lawyers, and I was | 18 | A. Put together -- first of all, find out |
| 19 | technically named the head of that team, but I | 19 | what he had, what resources he had, because he had |
|  | always considered that Jay Sekulow and I together | 20 | been told that they had draft complaints and they |
| 21 | ran that team, but he had as much if not more to | 21 | had teams in all these different states, because |
| 22 | do with it than I did. And he was the | 22 | if you might remember about a month, a month and a |
|  | Page 877 |  | Page 879 |
| 1 | historical -- he had been with -- I replaced John | 1 | half before the election, there was a big article, |
| 2 | Dowd, who left. He had been there from the very | 2 | I think it was in the Washington Post or the New |
| 3 | beginning, Jay had, and I represented him through | 3 | York Times, saying that the democrats had a |
| 4 | the first impeachment. And at -- and at the time | 4 | thousand lawyers they had hired to litigate after |
| 5 | of the election, I was still his lawyer, the legal | 5 | the election and Hillary Clinton had said that Joe |
| 6 | advisor, so I -- although I participated very, | 6 | Biden should never concede. |
| 7 | very heavily in the first election, the 2016 | 7 | Q. All right, so -- |
| 8 | election -- in fact I was -- basically lived with | 8 | A. So -- so, as a result of that, |
| 9 | him for five months -- in the 2020 election my | 9 | President Trump told his campaign to do something |
| 10 | participation was much less, because I was -- I | 10 | similar. I was not involved in that. I'm just -- |
| 11 | was still -- I was representing him, and there was | 11 | I was involved in it tangentially. I was around |
| 12 | the new impeachment inquiry involving Ukraine that | 12 | as his lawyer and I heard it. But then on that |
| 13 | came about. | 13 | day he said to me, "go over and find out if they |
| 14 | Q. All right. So starting with the | 14 | did that". |
| 15 | election now on November 3rd, how did you become | 15 | Q. All right, so we're talking about the |
| 16 | involved in this litigation? | 16 | 4th. At some point on the 4th did you go to -- to |
| 17 | A. Well, I mean, I basically -- it's been | 17 | campaign headquarters? |
| 18 | described. I was -- I -- I believe it was the | 18 | A. I did, but I -- I must -- |
| 19 | morning after the election. | 19 | Q. That was -- and that was in Arlington, |
| 20 | Q. Mm-hmm. | 20 | Virginia? |
| 21 | A. Some people think it was the next day, |  | A. Yeah. I must have called some people, |
| 22 | but I -- I believe it was the morning after the | 22 | because I brought some people with me, so I must |


|  | Page 880 |  | Page 882 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | have called Joe diGenova, and his wife, and Dr | 1 | were there did you get a -- receive a call from |
| 2 | Ryan and several other people that I -- I knew I | 2 | Corey Lewandowski? |
| 3 | would need to help me. Because I didn't know | 3 | A. Once I listened to Corey's testimony, |
| 4 | exactly what I would be doing. I might be going | 4 | it sounds like he -- he thinks he did it the next |
| 5 | back to him and saying "Everything's Fine". | 5 | day. I think he did it that day, but all right. |
| 6 | Q. All right. Can you describe when you | 6 | Q. Well -- |
| 7 | were at the campaign headquarters the arrangements | 7 | A. I did -- I did -- I did receive a call, |
| 8 | that were set up for you in which you were | 8 | it may have been from Pam Bondi. |
| 9 | working? | 9 | Q. Okay. |
| 10 | A. There were none. | 10 | A. They were together. |
| 11 | Q. So how did you develop those? | 11 | Q. Okay. |
| 12 | A. I -- I -- I knew all the people who ran | 12 | A. Pam Bondi was, as Corey Lewandowski |
| 13 | his campaign from prior -- I knew one of them had | 13 | said, the former Attorney General of Florida. She |
| 14 | been my press secretary on my presidential | 14 | was a very active participant in the Trump |
| 15 | campaign; one of them had worked on my | 15 | campaign. |
| 16 | presidential campaign. The others I -- I mean, | 16 | Q. And what did she ask you to do? |
| 17 | they were not people that were known to me, so I | 17 | A. She asked me to come to Pennsylvania |
| 18 | went and got them out of their offices, and I | 18 | and she described the following set of facts to |
| 19 | brought them in -- and it took a little while to | 19 | me. She said that, when -- when the republicans |
| 20 | get them there, and, after some conversation, I | 20 | arrived, a large number of them, to be inspectors |
| 21 | asked them to please give me all this stuff that | 21 | at this gigantic convention center, they weren't |
| 22 | the president thought had been put together, and I | 22 | allowed in. And then when they were allowed in, |
|  | Page 881 |  | Page 883 |
| 1 | basically got nothing. It took a little while. A | 1 | ballot counting had already started and they were |
| 2 | couple of files were produced. They did give me a | 2 | literally -- this is the way she described it -- |
| 3 | lot of names of different lawyers in different | 3 | they were put behind barriers like cows and they |
| 4 | jurisdictions who had litigated pre-Election Day | 4 | weren't allowed to see -- and they had -- up to -- |
| 5 | issues, some in Pennsylvania, but in other states, | 5 | up to this point, they have seen nothing. I said, |
| 6 | too, and it was unclear as to whether they were | 6 | you mean they have -- I had -- way, way back in my |
| 7 | lined up to do post-election litigation or they | 7 | career, I had been an -- an inspector, election |
| 8 | were just lawyers who would handle the case back | 8 | inspector, for the democratic party, and I was |
| 9 | in June, or back in whatever. | 9 | like 22, and I had been involved in several of |
| 10 | These were challenges to -- for | 10 | these and I had remembered watching Bush v. Gore |
| 11 | example, you know the ones in Pennsylvania because | 11 | and the chads... I said, "You mean they're not |
| 12 | challenges to the changes that were made was done | 12 | looking at the -- at the -- they're not looking at |
| 13 | in several different states, maybe five, six. In | 13 | the ballots? How many have been counted so far?" |
| 14 | many of them they were litigated as a violation of | 14 | She said, "I don't know. A couple -- a |
| 15 | the constitution because it was executives making | 15 | couple hundred thousand, I think. |
| 16 | what were state legislative decisions, that kind | 16 | I said, "Can't be. They couldn't have |
| 17 | of -- | 17 | counted a couple hundred thousand". |
| 18 | Q. All right. | 18 | She said, "Well, that's what the number |
| 19 | A. But there were also other contests, | 19 | was given". And she said, "But we haven't gotten |
| 20 | maybe more picayune, but the kind of stuff that | 20 | to see anything". And -- |
| 21 | goes on, you know, in elections. | 21 | Q. So she asked for your help, correct? |
| 22 | Q. All right. So at some point while you | 22 | A. Yeah, but I can't remember the stage |


|  | Page 884 |  | Page 886 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | now it was at. Because she asked and I declined | 1 | Philadelphia -- |
| 2 | I said, "Gee, Pam, I don't -- I dont' have the -- | 2 | A. I drove down. It took six hours. |
| 3 | I don't have the time. Let me send someone, | 3 | Q. You drove down, and you -- and you got |
| 4 | because I got like five other or six other" -- I | 4 | down there -- |
| 5 | don't remember the number at that point; they kept | 5 | A. I brought -- I brought several of my |
| 6 | growing -- "jurisdictions that I have to deal | 6 | people with me. I can't remember exactly who, but |
| 7 | with. Let me send Boris or let me send Jenna". | 7 | I brought two with me. I think I may have brought |
| 8 | Jenna Ellis was really my number two. It was I | 8 | Jenna. I know I brought Boris. I think I left |
| 9 | was the head of the team, and I immediately | 9 | Jenna to run the office, very early on. I mean, I |
| 10 | appointed her as my deputy, so the president would | 10 | think that's when I selected her as number two. I |
| 11 | have someone he could communicate with if it | 11 | said "Okay, you're number two now". |
| 12 | wasn't me, once I realized that this was going to | 12 | I brought Dr. Ryan with me. |
| 13 | be long standing. | 13 | Q. Right. |
| 14 | Q. Was a decision made at some point that | 14 | A. I may have taken Christiani or -- |
| 15 | you were to go? | 15 | Q. So -- |
| 16 | A. Yeah. The decision was made -- I may | 16 | A. I took a third person -- I took a third |
| 17 | have even talked to the -- I don't know if I | 17 | person. I'm not sure. So it was about three or |
| 18 | talked to the president about it, or maybe Mark | 18 | four of us in the car. We drove from |
| 19 | Meadows, his chief of staff. | 19 | Washington -- |
| 20 | I mean, I really didn't want to go | 20 | Q. Right. |
| 21 | because I had so many things to organize and it | 21 | A. -- to Philadelphia and got directions |
| 22 | seemed to me that just one jurisdiction wasn't | 22 | to -- to the convention center. |
|  | Page 885 |  | Page 887 |
| 1 | worth sacrificing getting started in the others, | 1 | Q. So sometime in the afternoon of the 4th |
| 2 | and I was looking at something I never expected. | 2 | you -- you went to Philadelphia. Did you go to |
| 3 | I was looking at nothing. We had no preparation | 3 | the campaign headquarters at that time? |
| 4 | or anything. And I even asked one of them, "Can | 4 | A. No, I went -- I think this is the |
| 5 | you start writing a complaint," and they told me | 5 | order. Could be wrong. Could be the other way |
| 6 | they never wrote a complaint. And that's when I | 6 | around. I think I originally went right to the -- |
| 7 | said, "I'll -- I'll write one. I'll write -- I | 7 | they -- they -- they seemed to be under a lot of |
| 8 | used to do it as a young associate. I think I can | 8 | stress. |
| 9 | remember how to do it, well, damn it," or | 9 | Q. Who is "they"? |
| 10 | something like that. | 10 | A. Corey and Pam and also this gentleman, |
| 11 | Q. So this -- after the decision was made | 11 | Mike Roman, that he -- that Corey mentioned. I |
| 12 | for you to go to -- to Pennsylvania, did you go | 12 | mean, legitimate, they seemed like they were |
| 13 | down that day? | 13 | really in -- and I think -- I think at that point |
| 14 | A. I did. I went -- I -- I finally | 14 | they described this extraordinary conversation |
| 15 | decided -- I mean, they called me back several | 15 | with the sheriff, that the sheriff wouldn't |
| 16 | times and they -- they told me they were being, | 16 | execute a court order. So I said I'd better go |
| 17 | you know, pushed around and -- I don't remember if | 17 | directly there. |
| 18 | they -- at some point along the way, they got the | 18 | Q. Go -- go where? |
| 19 | decision from Judge Cannon -- | 19 | A. To the convention center. |
| 20 | Q. Well let's -- before that decision. | 20 | Q. So at some point you went to the |
| 21 | A. But I don't think they had it yet. | 21 | convention center -- |
| 22 | Q. All right, so -- so you went down to | 22 | A. At some point we -- |


|  | Page 888 |  | Page 890 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Q. In the afternoon? | 1 | it. |
| 2 | A. Yeah. We were originally to go to the | 2 | Q. Right. Now did there come a time -- |
| 3 | campaign headquarters, Philadelphia campaign | 3 | A. So, when I heard that, I went to the |
| 4 | headquarters. Instead we went to the convention | 4 | police, the highest police officer there, because |
| 5 | center. | 5 | I know the Philadelphia Police Department. I |
| 6 | Oh, my goodness. I remember. I | 6 | represented the former FBI Association as a |
| 7 | finally decided to go when Eric Bush -- Eric | 7 | private lawyer, I also represented a lot of police |
| 8 | Bush... Eric Trump called me. Eric Trump called | 8 | departments, and I knew the Philadelphia Police |
| 9 | me from Philadelphia and he said, "You're really | 9 | Department. |
| 10 | needed here". | 10 | So, I said, "What's going on with |
| 11 | Q. So when you went to the -- the | 11 | the -- what's going on with the sheriff?" Well, I |
| 12 | convention center, did you -- what did you see or | 12 | can't repeat his language, but he basically said |
| 13 | hear? | 13 | that, "I -- I don't know. The sheriff is off the |
| 14 | A. It was a -- first I spoke to -- Corey | 14 | reservation," that, yes, they should be allowed |
| 15 | and Pam were both there. | 15 | in, and in fact as campaign officials they should |
| 16 | Q. Mm-hmm. | 16 | be allowed in. Most of them were registered |
| 17 | A. They reiterated pretty much what | 17 | campaign officials, but he's not letting them in. |
| 18 | they -- I had told you and what they had told me | 18 | Then I had a number -- once people |
| 19 | on the phone, that they had gone -- pretty much | 19 | realized who I was, I was surrounded by republican |
| 20 | what Corey testified to. I think I -- I don't | 20 | campaign volunteers, the ones who -- and they |
| 21 | know if Corey and Pam did all the same things | 21 | started explaining to me a lot of the things you |
| 22 | together. Or exactly who did what, but to me it | 22 | see in the affidavits. You know, we -- we -- we |
|  | Page 889 |  | Page 891 |
| 1 | was a joint enterprise. And Pam -- I probably | 1 | weren't allowed to see any ballots. Thank |
| 2 | talked to Pam more because she was a lawyer, but | 2 | goodness we have Mercer. He -- Mercer's organized |
| 3 | only because I was starting to try to figure out, | 3 | it, so I asked to see Mr. Mercer. And I met with |
| 4 | well what -- what kind of legal remedy do we have | 4 | Mr. Mercer. Jeremy Mercer explained to me that he |
| 5 | to this? We -- we've gotten this order from Judge | 5 | came there that day in the morning, ready to do |
| 6 | Cannon and we're still not allowed in. | 6 | what he normally did for years, which is to sit |
| 7 | I talked to -- I talked to the | 7 | down -- you know, he realized there would be space |
| 8 | Philadelphia Police. | 8 | somewhat, but be equally spaced away from the -- |
| 9 | Q. No, the order from Judge Cannon was | 9 | from the official counter so that they could see |
| 10 | issued on the 5th, as far as you know? Or do you | 10 | the ballots, which he said he had done many, many |
| 11 | know what date it was issued? | 11 | times in the past. And instead he was told he |
| 12 | A. I don't know. I mean, it was -- it -- | 12 | wasn't -- first he wasn't allowed in, then when he |
| 13 | I don't know what date it was published. | 13 | was allowed in, 'he was put behind a pen, then he |
| 14 | Q. Mm-hmm. | 14 | never got within $30-30$ yards he said of -- |
| 15 | A. I believe -- I believe she -- she gave | 15 | basically he couldn't see anything, and he kept |
| 16 | the order orally, and then she published -- she | 16 | complaining about it; didn't do any good. Then he |
| 17 | filed an opinion thereafter. Was it the same day | 17 | organized his team, so they could do something |
| 18 | or the next day, I can't tell you that. I didn't | 18 | useful, to just try to keep count of how many |
| 19 | read an opinion. I was told her opinion. I | 19 | ballots were getting -- that they could see. |
| 20 | never -- I read it much later. | 20 | Couldn't see the details on it but they could see |
| 21 | The only thing I -- nor -- nor did I | 21 | the ballots going into the machine, to just try to |
| 22 | see Corey's piece of paper. He just told me about | 22 | keep count of that, so we could see how many |


|  | Page 892 |  | Page 894 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | invalid ballots there were. |  | husband and wife. Joe diGenova, Vicky Toensing. |
| 2 | Q. All right. Did there come a time when | 2 | Toensing is spelled T-o-e-n-s-i-n-g. |
| 3 | a decision was made first, that you made, to | 3 | Q. And were there local lawyers -- |
| 4 | assemble a legal team? | 4 | A. They were the main -- they were the |
| 5 | A. Yeah, well, I went to the campaign | 5 | main group. Christina, who -- who testified |
| 6 | headquarters. It was a very similar description | 6 | earlier, joined us about a week and a half later. |
| 7 | of what happened there and how terrible it was. | 7 | Q. And were there local lawyers there when |
| 8 | Mr. -- I mean, Jeremy gave me the -- a | 8 | you got there who had already been working on the |
| 9 | list. I asked him, "Could you please" -- this was | 9 | case, who had been working on the team? |
| 10 | all very chaotic, and I did have people there | 10 | A. There was no team. |
| 11 | taking notes, people who came with me, and then | 11 | Q. Right. So when -- were there local |
| 12 | some of the people who volunteered to do it. I | 12 | lawyers that were put on the team? |
| 13 | said, "It would be very helpful, Jeremy, if you | 13 | A. Oh, I got -- I was then given the names |
| 14 | gave me a list of who could testify -- who could | 14 | of many, many lawyers. I was in the process of |
| 15 | testify to this, so we can get statements of some | 15 | talking to them when I left to go to Philadelphia, |
| 16 | kind. I don't know exactly what our recourse is, | 16 | some of which seemed to be really on top of what |
| 17 | but we should have this" -- I said, "This is | 17 | was going on, like our lawyer in Michigan, Thor, |
| 18 | chaotic. We should have it recorded as best as | 18 | and some of whom didn't even know they were our |
| 19 | possible". | 19 | lawyers. It was completely -- there was a section |
| 20 | So he said, "Well, the best thing I can | 20 | of issues where we had names down who had never |
| 21 | do, I'll give you the list of my team that I put | 21 | been contacted, names down that quit, names down |
| 22 | together. I have that. I'll check off the people | 22 | that quit then, and names down that sounded to me |
|  | Page 893 |  | Page 895 |
| 1 | who showed up and the people who were registered | 1 | like they didn't know what the hell they were |
| 2 | based on -- | 2 | doing -- or what they were doing, excuse me, and |
| 3 | He took that. He handed it to me. He | 3 | then names that were really highly confident. It |
| 4 | handed one to Dr. Ryan. He handed one to my other | 4 | depended on the jurisdiction, and you had to make |
| 5 | assistant. And then other people told me their | 5 | those decisions quickly. |
| 6 | versions of how they had been pushed out -- | 6 | I distinctly remember the lawyer in |
| 7 | Q. Right. | 7 | Michigan and the lawyer in Wisconsin. I said, |
| 8 | A. -- or not allowed to do what they were | 8 | "Thank god. We've got some real lawyers". |
| 9 | supposed to do. | 9 | Q. So was Mr. Hicks there? |
| 10 | Q. But I was referring to the team of | 10 | A. No, Mr. Hicks was not in Washington. |
| 11 | lawyers that you -- were going to help you down | 11 | Mr. Hicks -- |
| 12 | there. | 12 | Q. No, no. Down in -- in Philadelphia. |
| 13 | A. Well, I was doing that -- I was doing | 13 | A. Oh, did he meet me at the -- |
| 14 | that when I got taken away to -- | 14 | Q. No, was he part of -- was he local |
| 15 | Q. Right. | 15 | counsel down in Philadelphia? |
| 16 | A. Philadelphia. I did it somewhat in the | 16 | A. He was, but I'm not sure I -- I knew |
| 17 | car on the phone. | 17 | that at the point that you're asking me about. |
| 18 | Q. And who was on this -- | 18 | Q. Right. |
| 19 | A. Well, the team -- the team pretty much | 19 | A. The first one that I met was Laura |
| 20 | was assembled as follows... it was myself, Jenna | 20 | Kearns who was there. |
| 21 | Ellis, who was number two, Boris Epshteyn was on | 21 | Q. Was it Laura or Linda? |
| 22 | it, Joe diGenova and Vicky Toensing, they are | 22 | A. Linda, I'm sorry. Linda Kearns. I |


|  | Page 896 |  | Page 898 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | don't know if she was at the convention center or | 1 | started with?" |
| 2 | I met her at the -- at the -- at the campaign | 2 | Q. So this was at the very outset? |
| 3 | headquarters. But she had been doing the | 3 | A. Yeah, it was at the very outset that |
| 4 | immediate litigation involving access, and -- and | 4 | I -- I had a discussion -- could be Ken Starr, I |
| 5 | that's all we talked about. We really didn't talk | 5 | don't remember exactly -- who got this idea, you |
| 6 | about any bigger case. | 6 | know, "You really can't get" -- I think the advice |
| 7 | She did -- she may have been one of the | 7 | was, "Don't get too involved in one case in one |
| 8 | first told me that Hicks was involved in the | 8 | jurisdiction. This is going to have to be a |
| 9 | overall case. | 9 | multi -- it sounds like it's going to have to be a |
| 10 | Q. And was Mr. Hicks working -- when did | 10 | multi-jurisdiction case". |
| 11 | Mr. Hicks begin to work on the case, if you | 11 | So I -- I started thinking, "Well, let |
| 12 | recall? | 12 | me draft up a little language so they'll start |
| 13 | A. It seems to me he was working on it | 13 | thinking that way". |
| 14 | before. | 14 | And that's what I worked on in the car. |
| 15 | Q. Mm-hmm. | 15 | I couldn't do too much of it because I get sick if |
| 16 | A. When I first talked to him, he knew an | 16 | I work in the car. |
| 17 | awful lot about it. I mean, he -- I can't tell | 17 | Q. Okay, now, you already testified about |
|  | you when. He -- he had represented us, meaning | 18 | your role in the first amend complaint, but at |
| 19 | the campaign, in prior cases in Pennsylvania, and | 19 | what point was it decided the second amended |
| 20 | when I spoke to him I immediately said, okay, this | 20 | complaint should be drafted? |
|  | guy knows what he's talking about. | 21 | Well, let me put it this way. How -- |
| 22 | Q. Now you were asked this morning a | 22 | prior to the November 17th argument before Judge |
|  | Page 897 |  | Page 899 |
| 1 | question about a deposition you gave in Colorado? | 1 | Brann, how much earlier in relation to that was |
| 2 | A. Yeah, the Coomer deposition. | 2 | the second amended complaint prepared? |
| 3 | Q. Right. And you were asked I think | 3 | A. The second amended complaint was |
| 4 | about the work you had done on the first | 4 | prepared at the last minute when I was surprised |
| 5 | complaint? | 5 | by the fact that there was a first amended |
| 6 | A. Yeah. I think I have it here. I think | 6 | complaint. I didn't know that. I thought we had |
| 7 | it's important to look at the exact language, | 7 | one complaint. It was the one that I had signed |
| 8 | because I think it was taken out of context. | 8 | off on that -- where I said I made 10- to $20 \%$ of |
| 9 | Yeah, that's -- that's a -- that's a | 9 | the contribution. I don't know how much of the |
| 10 | defamation case by an employee of Dominion Equity | 10 | contribution I made. It wasn't very much. I |
| 11 | who -- who quit -- | 11 | shouldn't have said 10 or 20, because it may have |
| 12 | Q. And can you expand -- | 12 | 15 or 30. What I did was contribute the idea of, |
| 13 | A. -- and was suing the president and just | 13 | let's broaden these allegations so that we could |
| 14 | about everybody that I know for defamation, | 14 | include other jurisdictions, because I'm starting |
| 15 | including me. And in that case what I was | 15 | to get very, very -- and this is like the second |
| 16 | describing is my trip back from -- I said I began | 16 | day, the third day, I'm starting to get eerily |
| 17 | writing a complaint on the way back from | 17 | similar allegations from other districts. It |
| 18 | Philadelphia. I did. | 18 | almost seems like what they're telling me in |
| 19 | Q. What complaint were you referring to? | 19 | Michigan is the same as what they're telling me in |
| 20 | A. The generic complaint. The complaint I | 20 | Wisconsin, which is the same as what they're |
| 21 | was complaining about when I said, "Do you have a | 21 | telling me in Arizona... They all had these pens. |
| 22 | draft, just a draft complaint that we could get | 22 | Republicans claimed they couldn't see any paper -- |


|  | Page 900 |  | Page 902 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Q. Okay. So let's -- let's stick to |  | the 12 th? When did I argue? The 16th, the 17 th? |
| 2 | Pennsylvania. So -- | 2 | Q. The oral argument was in February. |
| 3 | A. In fact they were -- they were counting | 3 | A. It was probably still pretty chaotic |
| 4 | the number of -- some of our people were like | 4 | by them. It was probably our first case. |
| 5 | counting -- they had like a competition, who had | 5 | Q. Right. Now during this time while |
| 6 | more complaints that came in. And we weren't | 6 | you're were getting -- you're preparing the |
| 7 | soliciting these complaints. They were coming to | 7 | documents and your hearing complaints from people |
| 8 | us. | 8 | down there. You're getting information from |
| 9 | Q. Okay, now who worked on drafting the | 9 | various sources I believe. |
| 10 | second amended complaint? | 10 | Is that correct? |
| 11 | A. Well, I -- I worked on that. | 11 | A. Yeah? |
| 12 | Q. No, besides you. Who? | 12 | Q. And who was the people who were |
| 13 | A. My team their: Joe -- Joe and Vicky | 13 | supplying this information to you? |
| 14 | diGenova wrote probably the core -- | 14 | A. My goodness. Fifty people. I don't |
| 15 | Q. Who is Joe diGenova? | 15 | know. I mean -- |
| 16 | A. Joe and Vicky and whoever was the | 16 | Q. Well, was it -- was -- was there |
| 17 | associate working with them. I can't remember. | 17 | someone who -- |
| 18 | Q. Was there local counsel working on it? | 18 | A. As -- as -- Bernie Kerik, Bernie |
| 19 | A. Yeah, there was local counsel working | 19 | Kerik -- really Bernie's responsibility was |
| 20 | on it. | 20 | investigating and trying to make -- and trying |
| 21 | Q. That was -- | 21 | to -- trying to make some sense out of everything |
| 22 | A. That was Mr. Scaringi -- yeah, he came | 22 | that we would get. I mean, what -- half to three |
|  | Page 901 |  | Page 903 |
|  | in at the last name. | 1 | quarters of what you get you just discard. I |
| 2 | Q. Who was that? You started to say his | 2 | mean, I knew that from handling similar situations |
| 3 | name. | 3 | like that, and you try and focus on the ones that |
| 4 | A. Mr. Scaringi. | 4 | have the most possibilities or seem like you could |
| 5 | Q. Scaringi, okay. | 5 | expand on them. And I knew Bernie would have an |
| 6 | A. And he worked on the -- he may have | 6 | instinct to that, because Bernie had done a lot |
| 7 | even come into the office in -- in Arlington, but | 7 | of -- among the other things that he described, |
| 8 | he worked with Joe and Vicky in putting that | 8 | litigation investigation. So that I -- I couldn't |
| 9 | together. And then I -- I couldn't have had more | 9 | look at the documents coming in and saying -- |
| 10 | than an hour with him. | 10 | saying -- "Oh, this one has no chance. Oh, this |
| 11 | Q. And can you -- can you describe the | 11 | one we should follow up on". But Bernie would |
| 12 | atmosphere under which these documents are being | 12 | have an instinct for that. |
| 13 | drafted? | 13 | I asked him to get people like that. |
| 14 | A. Well, for them, they were -- meaning | 14 | He used investigators and he used some paralegals |
| 15 | that team, right there, they were singularly | 15 | and lawyers. And I remember -- |
| 16 | focused on Pennsylvania, and then -- | 16 | Q. Okay. |
| 17 | Q. Well, what was the atmosphere? If you | 17 | A. I know we had a team -- I put my son |
| 18 | could paint a picture of her? | 18 | Andrew in charge of the phones because he had |
| 19 | A. I mean, at the beginning it was | 19 | gotten a lot of complaints that people were being |
| 20 | chaotic. | 20 | treated horribly on the phone. |
| 21 | Q. All right. | 21 | Q. And do you recall -- |
| 22 | A. By the time we get to -- what was it | 22 | A. And he brought me -- he brought me some |


|  | Page 904 |  | Page 906 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | very significant information about another | 1 | MR. KAMINS: All right, if we could put |
| 2 | jurisdiction, and Bernie was taken off it for a | 2 | the respondent's -- |
| 3 | while to have to go out there and investigate | 3 | THE WITNESS: And they affected -- and |
| 4 | that. | 4 | they affected -- |
| 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Kamins, do you | 5 | MR. KAMINS: Wait. |
| 6 | think this might be an appropriate time break -- | 6 | If we could put Respondent's 11 up on |
| 7 | take our mid-afternoon break? | 7 | the screen. |
| 8 | THE WITNESS: I think so. | 8 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 9 | MR. KAMINS: What time -- what time do | 9 | Q. And this is the -- Mr. Droz's report |
| 10 | we resume? | 10 | that was introduced this morning. |
| 11 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Let's take 15 | 11 | Are there -- is there a specific page |
| 12 | minutes, and I would very much like to complete | 12 | that you recall -- |
| 13 | the testimony of the witness today, if you can -- | 13 | A. Yeah, this would be -- this would be -- |
| 14 | MR. KAMINS: I would also. I would | 14 | this would be Biggs -- |
| 15 | also. | 15 | Q. Which -- what page are you referring |
| 16 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: That may be -- | 16 | to? |
| 17 | absent objection from Mr. Fox, I would not be | 17 | A. Well, I have it here. It's page -- I'm |
| 18 | opposed to your leading a little more directly. | 18 | sorry. The page isn't here. But I remember the |
| 19 | MR. KAMINS: Okay, I will do that. | 19 | expert was Biggs. |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you. We'll | 20 | MR. LEVENTHAL: There's an exhibit up. |
| 21 | take a break until 3:30. | 21 |  |
| 22 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you. | 22 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
|  | Page 905 |  | Page 907 |
| 1 | MS. BORAZZAS: Opening up the breakout | 1 | Q. There's an exhibit up. |
| 2 | rooms now. | 2 | A. Oh, well, there it is. Mr. Briggs, |
| 3 | (Recess taken.) | 3 | right. There you go. |
| 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Okay, Mr. Kamins. | 4 | Q. And that's page 25 , is it? |
| 5 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 5 | A. That's page 25. |
| 6 | Q. A few more questions, Mr. Giuliani. | 6 | Q. Right. And could you just describe |
| 7 | So prior to your argument on the 17th, | 7 | what that -- |
| 8 | were you receiving information from various | 8 | A. Yeah, that -- I mean, that interested |
| 9 | sources about the election? | 9 | me because -- and then I did a drawing, which I -- |
| 10 | A. Yes. I -- I don't want to have to | 10 | I lost. It used to be in my papers. I recreated |
| 11 | describe it as a large number of sources. | 11 | it myself. I did a drawing of it because -- what |
| 12 | Q. And was one of the sources a report | 12 | that -- what that demonstrates is that, overnight, |
| 13 | from a -- a John Droz? | 13 | the -- the -- the numbers changed from something |
| 14 | A. Yes. That was given to me the day -- | 14 | like Trump ahead by 650 to Trump ahead by 150 . |
| 15 | day before the argument. Yes. I remember that | 15 | Q. Is that thousand? |
| 16 | distinctly for a particular reason, yeah. | 16 | A. Thousand, from -- and when I went to |
| 17 | Q. And was there any specific page in that | 17 | bed on the night of the election, I thought we had |
| 18 | report that you -- or pages that you relied on for | 18 | won Pennsylvania because he was ahead by 650,000 |
| 19 | purposes of arguing the case or drafting the | 19 | votes -- or 700,000. I remember it was 700,000. |
| 20 | complaint? | 20 | If you look at that casually, it looks more like |
| 21 | A. No -- well, there were two that I | 21 | 650,000. That's the -- that's the red line on |
| 22 | remember. | 22 | top. |

December 7, 2022

|  | Page 908 |  | Page 910 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | The blue line, and you see at the | 1 | A. Yeah, that's the page I'm referring. |
| 2 | beginning, is where Biden was when they suspended | 2 | Q. And this is page number 27? |
| 3 | counting in Philadelphia. And they suspended | 3 | A. Yeah, that's the second one. I -- I |
| 4 | it -- it wasn't -- they weren't supposed to | 4 | did not do my own computations there, but I didn't |
| 5 | suspend it. They decided -- they decided at the | 5 | have to. |
| 6 | time they were going to suspend it. It happened | 6 | Q. Mr. Giuliani, is this page 27 ? |
| 7 | to be the same time they suspended it roughly in | 7 | A. This is page -- maybe I'm going too |
| 8 | Wisconsin, Detroit and Atlanta. | 8 | fast. |
| 9 | Q. All right. | 9 | Q. No, no, no, no. Look at the exhibit. |
| 10 | A. All four at the same time. | 10 | Just look up on the screen. On the screen is that |
| 11 | Q. And in addition to that, so -- | 11 | page 27 ? |
| 12 | A. In that period of time overnight, | 12 | A. Yeah. |
| 13 | that's would -- that's a -- that is a | 13 | Q. Okay. And you relied also on this -- |
| 14 | representation of the raw vote. Because I-- I | 14 | on the information in this page? |
| 15 | went back and had Boris check it and Colonel | 15 | A. Yeah. Now that's an -- that's an |
| 16 | Walton. | 16 | analysis of basically what happened in the days |
| 17 | So basically it was a change of Trump | 17 | after the election, in the three or four days of |
| 18 | ahead by 650 , to Biden ahead by 150 , and it seemed | 18 | counting, where each day, in the five or six |
| 19 | to me, as -- as that kind of points out, that was | 19 | places I was tracking, Biden got closer and closer |
| 20 | statistically some people would say impossible, | 20 | and closer, and then he just got over the top and |
| 21 | others would say improbable. | 21 | one. |
| 22 | Q. And were -- and were there -- | 22 | What that shows is, every time there |
|  | Page 909 |  | Page 911 |
| 1 | A. With evidence like that -- I had read | 1 | were additions, out of a hundred percent of |
| 2 | up enough about election law to know there's | 2 | additions, only $19 \%$ favored Trump. But the total |
| 3 | certain types of evidence that's admissible in | 3 | number is totally wacky. The total number is |
| 4 | election cases that would not be admissible in | 4 | Biden picked up 578,000 votes. Trump picked up |
| 5 | cases I was using. For example, extrapolations | 5 | 33,290 . Now that is, just as a matter of common |
| 6 | are allowed because of the time. Extrapolations | 6 | sense, totally impossible. That means that Trump |
| 7 | are allowed because you don't have all the core | 7 | got -- I think I'm right is the compensation. |
| 8 | data. You don't get the actual voting list until | 8 | $0.04 \%$ to Biden's $99.06 \%$, or six percent. |
| 9 | March. So you're never going to know who actually | 9 | Q. Okay. |
| 10 | voted with great accuracy. | 10 | A. That -- that -- that -- I've shown that |
| 11 | Sometimes the secretary of state can | 11 | to 10 different statisticians who say that is |
| 12 | make an exception, but we didn't take the one, | 12 | totally crazy. And this -- this is an exaggerated |
| 13 | Pennsylvania. | 13 | version of what happened in all the other |
| 14 | Q. In addition -- in addition to page 25 , | 14 | jurisdictions, exaggerated because they had to |
| 15 | was there any other page that you -- | 15 | make up more votes in Pennsylvania than any place |
| 16 | A. Yes, the next one is a -- is a more | 16 | else. |
| 17 | comprehensive analysis of what happened after | 17 | Q. All right. Now in addition to the Droz |
| 18 | they -- they unceremoniously stopped. | 18 | information, were you relying on information from |
| 19 | Q. Is this the page you're referring to? | 19 | a Mr. Navarro? Was that coming in to you also? |
| 20 | A. So what they did -- | 20 | A. That was part of an exchange. Mr. |
| 21 | Q. Excuse me, is this the page you're | 21 | Navarro I know personally and, you know, worked |
| 22 | referring to? | 22 | with him a number of years. |


|  | Page 912 |  | Page 914 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | So we exchanged -- he -- he was doing | 1 | A. To some -- |
| 2 | his own analysis in the very beginning of the | 2 | Q. -- in this case? |
| 3 | data, so, we exchanged quite a bit of information, | 3 | A. To some extent. I'd have to describe |
| 4 | and his chief assistant and mine -- and in this | 4 | the extent. The answer would be yes, I did, and |
| 5 | case it would be Christina, who testified -- they | 5 | no, I didn't. |
| 6 | were almost in daily communication. So I -- I got | 6 | Q. Okay. Explain -- explain that. Well |
| 7 | any number of -- | 7 | do you want to do that individually -- |
| 8 | Q. You're referring to Ms. Bobb? | 8 | A. I'd have to see the documents to |
| 9 | A. Ms. Bobb, yeah. | 9 | explain -- |
| 10 | Q. All right. | 10 | MR. KAMINS: Right, why don't we put up |
| 11 | A. And I -- so I knew his report long | 11 | first -- |
| 12 | before it was published. I received the charts | 12 | THE WITNESS: But basically -- |
| 13 | and made recommendations about them or vice versa. | 13 | MR. KAMINS: Let's put up -- let's put |
| 14 | I would send over -- I may have, for example, what | 14 | up Exhibit 40 for Mr. Giuliani, respondent's. |
| 15 | was just showed you there, I may have sent it here | 15 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 16 | and asked him to go check the raw voter list, | 16 | Q. Now with respect to that document, did |
| 17 | because those numbers you could term, are they | 17 | you rely on that document to prepare any |
| 18 | accurate or not. | 18 | arguments? |
| 19 | Q. Okay. | 19 | MR. FOX: Objection. This is not in |
| 20 | A. And in both cases, you can go back to | 20 | evidence. |
| 21 | the actual vote cast during that period of time. | 21 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Overruled. |
| 22 | Where you're at a disadvantage is, you | 22 | THE WITNESS: Well, I -- I saw that |
|  | Page 913 |  | Page 915 |
| 1 | can't get the names of the people who voted on | 1 | document and it was described to me, as well, |
| 2 | Election Day in most states until March. | 2 | orally, and the only thing that impressed -- I |
| 3 | Q. Okay. | 3 | mean, and I knew, as Mr. -- |
| 4 | A. So those have to -- so you have to | 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I think -- I think, |
| 5 | extrapolate from what you have to what's out | 5 | you know, we ought to answer the questions that |
| 6 | there. | 6 | was posed and then -- |
| 7 | Q. Now in addition -- | 7 | THE WITNESS: I'm sorry. I thought we |
| 8 | A. And you're allowed to -- to do that -- | 8 | were going to -- okay. Sorry. |
| 9 | Q. Right. Additionally -- | 9 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 10 | A. At least that's what the cases that I | 10 | Q. Did you rely on that document in |
| 11 | read said. | 11 | preparing -- |
| 12 | Q. In addition to Mr. Navarro, earlier | 12 | A. In part, only in part. |
| 13 | today you saw on the screen four documents that | 13 | Q. All right. |
| 14 | were not introduced, that they were identified as | 14 | MR. KAMINS: And would -- let's put up |
| 15 | Exhibits 40, 41, 42 and 43. | 15 | document -- |
| 16 | Do you recall that? | 16 | THE WITNESS: Can I tell you the part? |
| 17 | A. Sure. Oh, you mean the documents | 17 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 18 | through Mr. Kerik? | 18 | Q. Well, if you recall the part, sure. |
| 19 | Q. Yes, the report -- | 19 | A. Sure. I relied on it because it's such |
| 20 | A. Yes, I do recall. | 20 | a large number. I didn't -- I didn't think it was |
| 21 | Q. And did you rely on those documents in | 21 | accurate or inaccurate, because there was no time |
| 22 | your investigation or drafting or argument -- | 22 | to. But I assumed that over the course of the |


|  | Page 916 |  | Page 918 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | next couple of weeks we would figure out how many | 1 | knew that was an area where we were going to |
| 2 | of those were actually -- voted that were 112 | 2 | probably get a bunch -- a bunch of dead people who |
| 3 | years old. I think the gross number there was | 3 | voted, which is not uncommon in Philadelphia. |
| 4 | 1,111. This was only, remember, only the mail-in | 4 | MR. KAMINS: Could you put up Exhibit |
| 5 | ballots. That leaves the far larger number of | 5 | 42. |
| 6 | voters on Election Day still out there. So you | 6 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 7 | could extrapolate maybe double this in an | 7 | Q. Now, with -- with respect, Mr. Giuliani |
| 8 | argument. | 8 | to Exhibit 42, did rely in part on information |
| 9 | So what I would have wanted to know was | 9 | from this document? |
| 10 | how many of those were real, and the number 1,111 | 10 | A. For the -- in the same way that I |
| 11 | seemed like it had a large universe to work with. | 11 | described. Fairly significant number, given the |
| 12 | Q. So you relied -- | 12 | limitations, that are explained there. Including |
| 13 | A. That that would have been -- | 13 | here they -- they illustrate the point that I was |
| 14 | Q. Right. So you relied in part on the | 14 | making about extrapolating from -- from the -- |
| 15 | information in this -- | 15 | from the numbers. But they just extrapolated to |
| 16 | A. Yeah, it was a large number. If it | 16 | the -- based on the mail-in ballots. So you'd |
| 17 | turned out they were all inaccurate, or they were | 17 | have to more than double that if you were going to |
| 18 | all accurate... But it looked like it was | 18 | extrapolate that to all the ballots. |
| 19 | starting -- if that had said 100, I would have | 19 | But I -- I knew that one of the areas |
| 20 | thrown it out and said, forget about it, as I did | 20 | that would be fruit for us and that continued in |
| 21 | many things. | 21 | Pennsylvania would have been dead people voting, |
| 22 | MR. KAMINS: Can you put up Exhibit 41, | 22 | which is perennial problem there. |
|  | Page 917 |  | Page 919 |
| 1 | please. | 1 | MR. KAMINS: All right, can you put up |
| 2 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 2 | Exhibit 43. |
| 3 | Q. Now with regard to this exhibit, did | 3 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 4 | you rely in part or at all on this -- the | 4 | Q. Now, Mr. Giuliani, did you rely at |
| 5 | information? | 5 | least in part on information in this report? |
| 6 | A. Pretty -- pretty much the same, the | 6 | A. It was so -- except again the number. |
| 7 | same thing. This was only one of four or five | 7 | That's a -- that's a lot of similar names of -- |
| 8 | different reports I was given either before -- and | 8 | Mr. Fox's point is well taken, that the names are |
| 9 | here I'm sorry, judge, it would be also after the | 9 | similar. So a lot of them are going to turn out |
| 10 | argument about death analysis, and it -- it | 10 | to be probably coincidence. I couldn't believe |
| 11 | changed quite a bit. | 11 | that all of them were coincidence, when you're |
| 12 | Again, that seemed to be a large -- | 12 | talking about 214,410 , but it didn't have any |
| 13 | again, a large number to start with, just for | 13 | instinctual feeling to this. It's something I |
| 14 | absentee ballots. So it seemed to me that that | 14 | would have followed up on. It's -- it's something |
| 15 | was a fruit -- that would be a fruitful area from | 15 | that told me -- all these things together told me, |
| 16 | further investigation and one on which you could | 16 | this was a really screwed up election. Sorry for |
| 17 | make an argument that there certainly were dead | 17 | the vernacular, but that's the way it -- it said |
| 18 | people who voted. | 18 | to me that we were pursuing a legitimate case, |
| 19 | Then I had -- I had experts in addition | 19 | that we weren't making this up, that -- that |
| 20 | to this that looked at different reports like this | 20 | there's a lot of problems here. |
| 21 | and it varied from 2,000 to 10,000 . It was -- so | 21 | And then you know, the 240 affidavits, |
| 22 | I never really used an absolute number. I just | 22 | all of which laid out anywhere from one to 120,000 |


|  | Page 920 |  | Page 922 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | irregularities, said the same thing to me. | 1 | A. Prior, yes, of course. Prior to this |
| 2 | MR. KAMINS: All right, Mr. Chair, | 2 | litigation. Since then I have. |
| 3 | based on Mr. Giuliani's testimony, we would now | 3 | Q. And have you ever been accused of |
| 4 | move into evidence Exhibits 40 through 43. | 4 | filing a frivolous lawsuit -- |
| 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox? | 5 | A. No, sir. |
| 6 | MR. FOX: I don't object as long as | 6 | Q. -- or making a frivolous claim? |
| 7 | they're not admitted for their truth. If they're | 7 | A. No, no, I haven't. |
| 8 | just admitted for the fact that Mr. Giuliani | 8 | Q. Now the chair asked you yesterday to |
| 9 | relied on them, that's fine. | 9 | explain the theory under which the two individual |
| 10 | MR. KAMINS: That is the purpose of the | 10 | plaintiffs sued the seven counties in which they |
| 11 | application. | 11 | did not live rather than the two counties in which |
| 12 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: These exhibits are | 12 | they did live. |
| 13 | admitted solely for the purpose of demonstrating | 13 | A. Could -- sure. |
| 14 | that Mr. Giuliani relied on them and to show his | 14 | Q. Is there anything you'd like to amplify |
| 15 | state of mind. They are not being offered for the | 15 | about that? |
| 16 | truth of their contents. | 16 | A. I would. I would. |
| 17 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you. | 17 | I -- when I analyzed standing in this |
| 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Or they're not | 18 | case, it seemed to me that standing would not be |
| 19 | being -- they're not being admitted for the truth | 19 | an issue because the president of this, committee |
| 20 | of their contents. | 20 | or plaintiffs, they -- and -- and once the |
| 21 | MR. KAMINS: Thank you, Mr. Chair. | 21 | president lost, he stepped into the place of the |
| 22 | BY MR. KAMINS: | 22 | committee and was an injured party. So he surely |
|  | Page 921 |  | Page 923 |
| 1 | Q. Now, Mr. Giuliani, as to the second | 1 | had standing. I didn't -- didn't think we would |
| 2 | amended complaint, did you knowingly make any | 2 | have any problem with his standing. And you can |
| 3 | allegation that you knew or believed -- | 3 | see on page 12, paragraph -- |
| 4 | A. No. | 4 | Q. Where -- where are you reading from? |
| 5 | Q. -- did not -- did not have any basis in | 5 | A. I'm talking about the second amended |
| 6 | law or fact? | 6 | complaint, which is the one that I would be the |
| 7 | A. No, I would never -- no, I would never | 7 | most familiar with and had input into, which |
| 8 | do that. | 8 | specifically alleged on paragraph 21 -- |
| 9 | Q. Have you ever been disciplined by any | 9 | MR. KAMINS: Why don't we put up the -- |
| 10 | grievance committee anywhere? | 10 | the second amended complaint, which is the -- |
| 11 | A. No. Fifty years of practicing law, | 11 | their exhibit. |
| 12 | I've never been disciplined. I've never been | 12 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 13 | cited. I've never been -- complaint, you know. | 13 | Q. Which paragraph? |
| 14 | Q. Have you ever -- | 14 | A. This is what I was referring to |
| 15 | A. Except for people that I convicted who | 15 | earlier. "After the primary election, a candidate |
| 16 | wanted to kill me I guess. | 16 | steps into the shoes of his party". |
| 17 | Q. So the answer is no? | 17 | Q. Identify the paragraph. |
| 18 | A. No, I've never had a disciplinary | 18 | A. It's paragraph 21 , page 12 of the |
| 19 | proceeding of any kind after 50 years of law | 19 | complaint. |
| 20 | practice. | 20 | Q. Of the document? |
| 21 | Q. My question -- yeah, Mr. Giuliani, of | 21 | A. Page 23 of the document. "After the |
| 22 | course was prior to this litigation. | 22 | primary election, a candidate steps into the shoes |


|  | Page 924 |  | Page 926 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | of his party and their interests are identical. | 1 | get... |
| 2 | "A candidate for office in the election | 2 | "The one-plaintiff rule is applied with |
| 3 | at issue acts as a direct and substantial arm | 3 | considerable frequency". I should add this law |
| 4 | sufficient for standing can test the manner in | 4 | review article criticized it and suggested it be |
| 5 | which an election will be conducted, is the direct | 5 | reversed. Maybe it should be. But as his lawyer, |
| 6 | and proximate result of the actions of the | 6 | I'm not going to -- |
| 7 | defendant in that each member of the Trump | 7 | Q. Is there something you remember -- is |
| 8 | campaign has been injured in a way"... et cetera, | 8 | there something -- |
| 9 | et cetera, et cetera. | 9 | A. "The one-plaintiff rule is applied with |
| 10 | So I -- and then the next page, page | 10 | considerable frequency. It has been invoked in |
| 11 | 24. It would be page 24 -- I'm sorry, page 23 , | 11 | more than two dozen supreme court cases and |
| 12 | excuse me, page 23. | 12 | probably a hundred that didn't -- in the local |
| 13 | Q. What paragraph? | 13 | federal courts -- |
| 14 | A. Paragraph 21. | 14 | Q. Slow up, slow up -- |
| 15 | MR. LEVENTHAL: We just did that, | 15 | A. -- "and it's figured in several of the |
| 16 | right? | 16 | highest-profile cases for the last several years. |
| 17 | MR. KAMINS: Yeah. | 17 | Then they go on and list the Travel Ban |
| 18 | THE WITNESS: Yes. So I would have -- | 18 | case, the Obama administration, Deferred |
| 19 | I would have considered that to be, first of all, | 19 | Immigration Action program, the Affordable Care |
| 20 | an assertion of competitive standing of which, to | 20 | Acts case, the Climate Change case, the Same-Sex |
|  | me, was not an a issue because he was a -- a | 21 | Marriage case, and King vs. Burwell, which was the |
| 22 | candidate. A candidate is surely injured when he | 22 | most recent Supreme Court case involving the |
|  | Page 925 |  | Page 927 |
| 1 | loses and he alleges irregularities or wrongdoing | 1 | Affordable Care Act. |
| 2 | in the election of which there were plenty of | 2 | Again, basically the theory is, if one |
| 3 | allegations of that. | 3 | plaintiff has adequate standing, you're not going |
| 4 | And second, there is the almost | 4 | to inquire into the standing of the others. |
| 5 | universal -- it is a universal rule -- criticized | 5 | You're going to litigate it and get it done in |
| 6 | because it's used so much -- of the one -- if one | 6 | federal court. |
| 7 | plaintiff has standing, you don't inquire and you | 7 | So I did not do a detailed analysis of |
| 8 | don't -- the standing of the others is just | 8 | Robert's standing or -- or the other defendant, |
| 9 | assumed. That's been discussed and affirmed in | 9 | who I never really even met -- |
| 10 | about 12 Supreme Court decisions. I can give you | 10 | Q. You mean the plaintiff? |
| 11 | a quick cite to that. This would be -- | 11 | A. The plaintiffs. I -- I -- I did assume |
| 12 | Q. You're referring to -- what are you | 12 | that they were injured parties and probably, if we |
| 13 | referring to, Mr. Giuliani? | 13 | fail here, we fail on the third prong of this |
| 14 | A. I'm referring to a William and Mary | 14 | standing test, which is there wouldn't be a -- a |
| 15 | article that summarizes numerous Supreme Court | 15 | real, practical remedy for that. But I didn't |
| 16 | decisions. | 16 | think that -- I'm sorry, I didn't think that was |
| 17 | Q. So why don't we -- why don't we get the | 17 | a -- I certainly don't allege anything's untrue. |
| 18 | title and the name of the article. | 18 | I voided out who they were, what they did. Didn't |
| 19 | A. One Good Plaintiff is Not Enough, | 19 | pretend they had standing. And the -- and the one |
| 20 | William and Mary Law School, 2017, page 484. | 20 | that I did lay out the standing for is -- it's |
| 21 | I mean, I just -- I just -- this is -- | 21 | perfectly adequate standing and then I had a |
| 22 | this is just one of a hundred documents you could | 22 | perfect right to rely on the one-plaintiff rule, |


|  | Page 928 |  | Page 930 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | even though it's criticized by law reviews, and I |  | point out one -- one other thing, that Mr. Fox |
| 2 | may even find it kind of strange. |  | alleged that we were being deceptive or -- about |
| 3 | Q. All right -- | 3 | the Carter-Baker report where at some point the |
|  | A. We also -- one other thing. |  | word "potential" was left out of a quote. |
| 5 | I also felt pretty secure because he | 5 | I want to point out that page 38 of the |
| 6 | was -- we were -- I thought we would have the day, | 6 | exhibit, paragraph 59 , we quoted accurately. We |
| 7 | would have standing at least against Boockvar, who | 7 | left it out of one of the documents. It was not |
| 8 | was the secretary of state, who really created the | 8 | intended. I want to assure the panel it was not |
| 9 | confusion in the first place with her inconsistent | 9 | intended to mislead anybody. We certainly had |
| 10 | letters about whether you could cure or not. | 10 | alleged it right here in the complaint that it was |
| 11 | And -- we had witnesses that would testify about | 11 | potential voter fraud. It may be a difference |
| 12 | that, including lawyers, republican lawyers who | 12 | between potential voter fraud and voter fraud, but |
| 13 | said they had to revise their committees not to | 13 | the -- the thrust of it was that, of the various |
| 14 | cure because it was a violation -- it was a | 14 | ways of which to vote, mail-in voting has always |
| 15 | violation of the law in the state legislature, | 15 | been considered the most prone to fraud, or |
| 16 | which would prevail over a judicial decision based | 16 | potential fraud. But we certainly quoted it |
| 17 | on the independent legislation -- legislative | 17 | accurately and had no intent to deceive anybody. |
| 18 | theory, which at that point, I don't know of it | 18 | BY MR. KAMINS: |
| 19 | was good law, but it was certainly an option that | 19 | Q. All right. With respect to my question |
|  | might very well be invoked by the Supreme Court, | 20 | on allegations of fraud, would you just cite the |
| 21 | and one that was very much in our mind. | 21 | paragraphs in the second amended complaint for |
| 22 | Q. All right. | 22 | the -- for the panel. |
|  | Page 929 |  | Page 931 |
| 1 | A. So that's standing. | 1 | A. Okay, yeah, I'll do these first. |
| 2 | Q. All right, now, one last -- | 2 | Q. Page? |
| 3 | A. I don't think I made any inaccurate | 3 | A. Well, here -- I mean, here -- |
| 4 | argument, statement, or if I missed one prong of | 4 | Q. A page? |
| 5 | the test, I'm sorry, but I -- I didn't mean to and | 5 | A. A page? Sixty-six. |
| 6 | I certainly didn't make any untrue allegations in | 6 | Q. One second. A paragraph number. |
| 7 | this document. I did the best I could with the | 7 | A. The paragraph number is 128 . |
| 8 | time that I had to be accurate, and I -- | 8 | First of all, I would -- I would use |
| 9 | Q. One last point, Mr. Giuliani. | 9 | that as an example, first of all, a specific |
| 10 | Professor Ortiz this morning was asked by Mr. Fox | 10 | allegation. It's as specific as you can make it: |
| 11 | if the second amended complaint had any -- or I | 11 | "Allegheny County Poll Workers". We had witnesses |
| 12 | think this was yesterday, if the second amended | 12 | who would testify to that. And they would -- they |
| 13 | complaint had any evidence of fraud or alleged | 13 | would say that they were uniformly unable to do |
| 14 | fraud, and he said no. | 14 | what they had done for 20 years, which is to look |
| 15 | To save time, could you give the chair | 15 | at the ballots. |
| 16 | and the panel the paragraphs in which you believe | 16 | Q. Next paragraph. |
| 17 | that those allegations were made? | 17 | A. And -- okay, number 129, "In Centre |
| 18 | A. Sure. | 18 | County, a poll worker reported that persons |
| 19 | Q. Rather -- rather than reading them. | 19 | appearing at the polls and admitting that they |
| 20 | MR. KAMINS: I think we'll put that up | 20 | were New Jersey voters rather than Pennsylvania |
|  | on the screen as an exhibit. | 21 | voters were nonetheless provided provisional |
| 22 | THE WITNESS: I just would like to | 22 | ballots on which to vote". That would clearly be |


|  | Page 932 |  | Page 934 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | fraud. It alleges the place. It alleges the -- | 1 | I would say that's an allegation of |
| 2 | the allegation, itself, and there -- there -- we | 2 | fraud, or from which you can infer fraud -- which |
| 3 | would have provided witnesses. But all we have to | 3 | is the way I always did as a prosecutor -- when |
| 4 | do is allege it at this point. We can't -- the | 4 | you put together a thousand times in which people |
| 5 | complaint is not the place to put evidence. You | 5 | were barred from not seeing paper, you can infer |
| 6 | don't put evidence in a complaint. You put | 6 | fraud. |
| 7 | allegations in the complaint which is deemed to be | 7 | Q. Next paragraph. |
| 8 | true. And this I had support for. I didn't make | 8 | A. Similarly, you can infer when someone |
| 9 | this up. | 9 | invokes the Fifth Amendment in a civil proceeding, |
| 10 | Q. Okay, next paragraph? Number 97. | 10 | you can infer that they're guilty, in a civil |
| 11 | A. Oh, page 97. | 11 | proceeding. That's what an inference is. |
| 12 | Q. Paragraph number? | 12 | The pattern of conduct that we allege |
| 13 | A. This one here is -- | 13 | all throughout here, which I won't bore you with |
| 14 | Q. Paragraph number. | 14 | to go through it, but the pattern of conduct here |
| 15 | A. Paragraph number 224. I would site | 15 | was so extensive that it certainly allowed an |
| 16 | this both for fraud and for a specific allegation | 16 | inference of fraud. |
| 17 | of fraud, or whatever you -- you want to call it. | 17 | Now you can rebut, you can -- we're at |
| 18 | Because we were using fraud, not in a -- we | 18 | the first stage of a proceeding, I would point |
| 19 | weren't trying to convict them of fraud, civilly | 19 | out, not -- we're not even at the hearing. |
| 20 | or criminally. We were using fraud as one of the | 20 | Q. Next paragraph? |
| 21 | ways in which the president, his committee and the | 21 | A. A hundred and thirty-one, "In Delaware |
| 22 | others, were denied Due Process and Equal | 22 | County, an observer of the counting" -- |
|  | Page 933 |  | Page 935 |
| 1 | Protection. There is no fraud claim. It's an | 1 | Q. What page? What page is that? |
| 2 | Equal Protection and Due Process case. | 2 | A. I'm sorry, 67, 131. "In Delaware |
| 3 | So this one mentions the person, | 3 | County, an observer at the county offices" -- |
| 4 | Andrew, George Andrew Gallenthin, who's been a | 4 | MR. FOX: I'm confused. Are we -- is |
| 5 | resident of Pennsylvania for 28 years. "On | 5 | it -- are we going to put this up, and if not -- |
| 6 | November 20th, he was a credentialed observer of | 6 | There, thank you. |
| 7 | vote counting and verification. On November 4, he | 7 | THE WITNESS: I'm sorry, 131, "In |
| 8 | arrived at the convention center to observe city | 8 | Delaware County an observer at the county office |
| 9 | employees count absentee and mail-in ballots. He | 9 | observed issues related to mail-in voting ballots |
| 10 | was barred by city officials from entering the | 10 | being scanned through machines four or five times |
| 11 | area where the vote counting was taking place. | 11 | before finally being counted. |
| 12 | Mr. Gallenthin waited in the lobby at the | 12 | "When a voting machine warehouse |
| 13 | convention center from 10:00 to 4:00 p.m. but was | 13 | supervisor arrived to address this" -- da, da, |
| 14 | never allowed to observe the vote counting and | 14 | da -- "they must be defective". |
| 15 | verification area. | 15 | From that and other allegations like |
| 16 | "Mr. Gallenthin also served as an | 16 | that, of which there were 15,20 , you can allege |
| 17 | official observer for the 2020 Trump campaign in | 17 | that those were multiply counted, which there was |
| 18 | Buck County, Pennsylvania from 10:00 p.m. November | 18 | testimony. This is the allegation. That would |
| 19 | 3rd through 7:00 p.m. on November 4th, when he was | 19 | have been shown at the hearing, which we never |
| 20 | able to observe, without issue, the ballot | 20 | had. But that's the -- that's the function of a |
| 21 | processing in Bucks County, as were Biden campaign | 21 | complaint, and then finally, you present your |
| 22 | watchers". | 22 | evidence at an evidentiary hearing, not in the |


|  | Page 936 |  | Page 938 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | complaint. This is about as specific as I could | 1 | "It has been reported by Project |
| 2 | be. | 2 | Veritas" -- with which I was very familiar. |
| 3 | Q. The next paragraph. | 3 | Project Veritas supports everything it does with |
| 4 | A. Then in -- the next one is very | 4 | tape recorders. |
| 5 | similar, 132. | 5 | "It has been reported by Project |
| 6 | One thirty-three is an entirely | 6 | Veritas in a release of November 5, 2020 that |
| 7 | different area we haven't talked about, and that's | 7 | carriers were told to collect, separate and |
| 8 | the fraud with the U.S. Postal -- the mail | 8 | deliver all mail-in ballots directly to the |
| 9 | carriers, and the Mail Carriers Union, 133... | 9 | supervisor. |
| 10 | "Mail carriers had noted significant | 10 | "In addition, plaintiffs' have |
| 11 | anomalies related to the delivery of mail-in | 11 | information that the purpose of that process was |
| 12 | ballots." | 12 | that the supervisor hand stamp the mail-in |
| 13 | "A mail carrier for the USPS in Erie | 13 | ballots". |
| 14 | County has noted that, during the course of the | 14 | Now I personally confirmed that with |
| 15 | general auditing mail-in ballot delivery period, | 15 | the head of Project Veritas, but I did that after |
| 16 | there were multiple instances in which dozens of | 16 | the complaints, after this was written, because |
| 17 | mail-in ballots were addressed to single | 17 | I -- I was going to add him as a witness but never |
| 18 | addresses, each ballot being in a different name. | 18 | had the opportunity to do it. |
| 19 | "Based on the carrier's experience | 19 | Q. I see there are like only a few more |
|  | delivering mail to these addresses, the carrier is | 20 | paragraphs but we -- we -- we can -- |
| 21 | aware that the people whose names were on the | 21 | A. Yeah, there are other paragraphs, you |
| 22 | ballots are not names of people who live at those | 22 | know, that I had outlined. |
|  | Page 937 |  | Page 939 |
| 1 | addresses. | 1 | Q. Were these a representation -- |
| 2 | "In addition ballots were mailed to | 2 | A. Other counties, very similar |
| 3 | vacant homes, vacation homes, empty lots, and | 3 | allegations of direct fraud, like that, or from |
| 4 | addresses that don't exist." | 4 | which you can infer fraud, given the multitude of |
| 5 | Now I would submit that that is also | 5 | times that it happened, incomprehensible, that |
| 6 | specific, as specific as a complaint can be, | 6 | would just happen coincidentally, that also. Or |
| 7 | particularly Due Process and Equal Protection in | 7 | at least you would argue that as a litigator. |
| 8 | which fraud is one example. You can certainly | 8 | One forty-seven, for paragraph number |
| 9 | infer, if not conclude, fraud if this is true. | 9 | 72, this -- this -- |
| 10 | Q. Mm-hmm. | 10 | Q. Hold on. |
| 11 | A. Which it has be to assumed to be true. | 11 | A. I'm sorry. "Defendants refused to |
| 12 | Q. Next paragraph. | 12 | allow watchers and representatives to be present |
| 13 | A. And I think I did my job correctly | 13 | when the required declarations on envelopes |
| 14 | there, because I had support for that. | 14 | containing official absentee ballots were reviewed |
| 15 | Q. Last one. | 15 | for sufficiency when the ballot envelopes were |
| 16 | A. Now finally, and I had this report. | 16 | opened and when such ballots were counted and |
| 17 | "It has been reported by Project Veritas" -- | 17 | recorded. |
| 18 | Q. What page? | 18 | "Instead, watchers were denied access |
| 19 | A. This is page 57 -- I'm sorry, 68 that | 19 | by security personnel in a metal barricade from |
| 20 | you have. It's 134. | 20 | the area where the review, opening and counting |
| 21 | Q. Paragraph 134? | 21 | were taking place. |
| 22 | A. One thirty-four. | 22 | "Some of the Trump campaign workers |


|  | Page 940 |  | Page 942 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | were threatened with arrest if" -- if -- | 1 | fraud. |
| 2 | Q. Well, read it from the screen. | 2 | If it violated international standards |
| 3 | A. "Some of the Trump campaign watchers | 3 | that it utilized when we evaluate elections -- |
| 4 | were threatened with arrest it they approached the | 4 | if -- if they were to do this in Columbia, and we |
| 5 | counting process area. | 5 | were observing the election, we would cite the |
| 6 | "Consequently, it was physically | 6 | election for fraud, if they had excluded observers |
| 7 | impossible to view the envelopes or ballots that | 7 | who couldn't see the paper and were uniformly |
| 8 | laid out the pattern." | 8 | refused in a concerted effort in which violence is |
| 9 | Q. And I think you have two more | 9 | even threatened, and arrest. I can't see how |
| 10 | paragraphs. | 10 | that's a bad-faith argument. |
| 11 | A. We had -- two more? Okay. | 11 | Q. All right. Thank you, Mr. Giuliani. |
| 12 | This is 82 , page ' 82 . That would be | 12 | A. I certainly didn't say anything untrue. |
| 13 | the first -- 172. I'm sorry, 172 is the theory of | 13 | I didn't -- I don't even think I exaggerated. |
| 14 | dilution that we cited, okay. | 14 | This is all supported by affidavits. If you want |
| 15 | One seventy-three: "Every voter in a | 15 | me to, we've got the -- I'll pull out the |
| 16 | federal election, whether he votes for a candidate | 16 | affidavits that support this. |
| 17 | with little chance of winning or for one with | 17 | Q. Thank you. |
| 18 | little chance of losing, has a right under the | 18 | MR. KAMINS: I have no further |
| 19 | Constitution to have his vote fairly counted | 19 | questions, Mr. Chair. |
| 20 | without its being distorted by fraudulently cast | 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Fox. |
| 21 | votes". | 21 |  |
| 22 | One seventy-four, "Invalid or | 22 | CROSS-EXAMINATION |
|  | Page 941 |  | Page 943 |
| 1 | fraudulent votes that base and dilute the way of | 1 | ON BEHALF OF RESPONDENT |
| 2 | each valid vote cast". | 2 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 3 | And then the final allegation, 175, | 3 | Q. I would like to focus first on the |
| 4 | "Entered on the free exercise of a right or | 4 | report from Mr. Droz, which is Respondent's |
| 5 | privilege impured to him by the laws of the | 5 | Exhibit 11 and -- I don't know we need to put it |
| 6 | Constitution of the United States". | 6 | up. But let's -- you -- you refer to two charts |
| 7 | That's what we were using fraud before. | 7 | in that. |
| 8 | I would also add that, at the beginning | 8 | A. Yes, sir. |
| 9 | of the complaint, we lay out citations from the | 9 | Q. Who was the person that put those |
| 10 | International Standards for Elections that say | 10 | charts together? |
| 11 | that it is universally accepted that, to an | 11 | A. I can only tell you what it says: Mr. |
| 12 | observer at an election count, means to be able to | 12 | Briggs. |
| 13 | see the documents and examine the specifics, and | 13 | Q. Okay. Before we get to that, as I |
| 14 | that this election would have been cited as a | 14 | understood what your testimony was the other day, |
| 15 | failure, given the decision of the Supreme Court | 15 | you received the Droz report you believe -- I |
| 16 | of Pennsylvania of failure under international | 16 | think you said in the car on the way to the oral |
| 17 | standards. That's in the first paragraphs of the | 17 | argument before Judge Brann, correct? |
| 18 | complaint, if you want to look at that. And it | 18 | A. No, I -- well, if I did I -- I |
| 19 | seemed to me that was a very powerful argument, | 19 | corrected it today. I don't think I said that. |
| 20 | certainly creating a good-faith basis on which to | 20 | I think I said I received it the day |
| 21 | argue that at some point there might be a court | 21 | before but I read it in the car. |
| 22 | that would come to that conclusion, that this was | 22 | Q. Oh, I see. I apologize. You read it |


|  | Page 944 |  | Page 946 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | in the car on the way to the oral argument? | 1 | sudden, Biden caught up with him. |
| 2 | A. Yes, sir. | 2 | Is that -- is that right? |
| 3 | Q. And I think your testimony yesterday | 3 | A. Um-um. |
| 4 | also was that you had drafted the second amended | 4 | What they purport to show is anomalies. |
| 5 | complaint before the oral argument? | 5 | They purport to show things that are statistically |
| 6 | A. I had -- I had put in my contribution | 6 | viewed by statisticians as impossible or unlikely. |
| 7 | to it I think before the oral argument. I may | 7 | Q. But -- but the unlikely thing, as I |
| 8 | have done it even in the car. I don't -- I don't | 8 | heard your testimony, was that Trump -- I'm sorry, |
| 9 | remember exactly when I did that. | 9 | Biden could come from so far behind to catch up to |
| 10 | Q. Now -- | 10 | Trump, correct? |
| 11 | A. I assume that I -- just given the | 11 | A. In a short period of time, yes. |
| 12 | timing, I assume that I must have, but it's | 12 | Q. Yeah. |
| 13 | possible I did some work on it after. | 13 | A. And then -- then you -- then you would |
| 14 | Q. Now -- to go -- to go back to the -- | 14 | offer it as testimony and it could be rebutted. |
| 15 | those two charts that we looked -- that you looked | 15 | Q. And -- and -- and you are aware that in |
| 16 | at -- and we can put them up if you need to -- but | 16 | elections, there's something, I think they -- I |
| 17 | do you know anything about the credentials of the | 17 | don't know whether they call it the "blue wave" or |
| 18 | people that wrote those charts, that drew those | 18 | the "blue crest". |
| 19 | charts up? | 19 | Are you -- you familiar with that term? |
| 20 | A. I do not, except what the -- except | 20 | A. I'm not but -- |
| 21 | what I just learned. | 21 | Q. You're not familiar with the term? |
| 22 | Q. What you learned today? | 22 | For example, in -- in most states, |
|  | Page 945 |  | Page 947 |
| 1 | A. Yes. | 1 | cities are more democratic than other areas of the |
| 2 | Q. And did you know anything at all about | 2 | state, correct? |
| 3 | the data on which they based those charts? | 3 | A. Almost always, yes. |
| 4 | A. No. I didn't allege anything about | 4 | Q. Right. And -- and -- and cities, |
| 5 | these charts. I -- I used -- it informed my | 5 | because they're more populus, it generally takes |
| 6 | opinion that this was a screwed up election. | 6 | longer to count the votes in those jurisdiction, |
| 7 | Q. And -- and -- and I was actually going | 7 | correct? |
| 8 | there, but let's get there right now. | 8 | A. Not necessarily. |
| 9 | It is fair to say that in -- the facts | 9 | Q. But in -- you would -- you agree that |
| 10 | that you pled in the complaint, second amended | 10 | in Pennsylvania the votes for Philadelphia and |
| 11 | complaint, and also in your argument before Judge | 11 | Pittsburgh came in later? |
| 12 | Brann, you never alluded to any of that | 12 | A. To me as a prosecutor, late counting is |
| 13 | information, did you? | 13 | always suspicious, but... |
| 14 | A. Not specifically. I -- I did allude | 14 | Q. And it's also the case, is it not, that |
| 15 | to -- I'm not sure if we alleged -- if we alleged | 15 | traditionally democrats have been more willing |
| 16 | dead people voting in the complaint. I don't | 16 | than republicans to vote by mail or absentee? |
| 17 | think we did, but we may have. But it wasn't | 17 | A. Well, that's kind of new. I mean, we |
| 18 | based on this. | 18 | didn't have much mail voting until 2020. I mean, |
| 19 | Q. Okay. Now, as I understand what -- | 19 | there were 200,000 out of 5 M in the election |
| 20 | what you said about those charts, they showed | 20 | before, then there were 2 M out of 5 M . |
| 21 | that, at a certain point in the election, Trump | 21 | Q. Well, would you agree -- |
| 22 | seemed to be comfortably ahead and then, all of a | 22 | A. I would say -- may a finish? |

December 7, 2022

|  | Page 948 |  | Page 950 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | I would say that's a recent -- what | 1 | Q. Now, before we get into Exhibit 40, let |
| 2 | you're saying certainly applies to 2020, where we | 2 | me just say -- make the point that you didn't |
| 3 | have experience with it, and to 2022. | 3 | rely -- none of this specific information that's |
| 4 | Q. Historically it's -- | 4 | contained in either of these four exhibits was |
| 5 | A. Historically, when we had the | 5 | pled in your complaint or argued before Judge |
| 6 | traditional absentee ballot, I don't believe that | 6 | Brann, correct? |
| 7 | was the case. | 7 | A. No, no, sir. No. As I said, it just |
| 8 | Q. But it certainly applied in 2020. | 8 | informed my attitude that I was arguing in good |
| 9 | You've -- we've agreed about that, correct? | 9 | faith that there was a lot of possibilities to |
| 10 | A. It sure seemed that way, yeah. I | 10 | being able to prove that this election was -- was |
| 11 | mean -- | 11 | fraudulent. |
| 12 | Q. And one of the reasons -- one of the | 12 | And I'll remind you that last night |
| 13 | reasons it applied was because President Trump was | 13 | Georgia counted all of its absentee ballots in one |
| 14 | actively discouraging people from voting by mail, | 14 | night. |
| 15 | wasn't he? | 15 | Q. And this exhibit and the other three |
| 16 | A. I'm not disputing it, but I don't | 16 | exhibits that Mr. Kerik testified about were not |
| 17 | remember that. | 17 | included in the materials that you produced to us |
| 18 | Q. All right. And you are also aware, are | 18 | when we asked for all of the evidence that you had |
| 19 | you not, that in Pennsylvania the law prohibited | 19 | relied on. |
|  | the counting of the mail-in ballot until Election | 20 | Is that not true? |
| 21 | Day? | 21 | A. Yes. I didn't know that, but yes. |
| 22 | A. That is true almost everywhere. | 22 | Yes, the answer is yes. |
|  | Page 949 |  | Page 951 |
| 1 | Q. Right. | 1 | Q. And -- and they weren't even included |
| 2 | A. They have changed that subsequently, | 2 | originally in the exhibits that your lawyers |
| 3 | but in 2020 that was pretty much true, everywhere. | 3 | presented. They surfaced sometime after that. |
| 4 | Q. And it takes longer to count mail-in | 4 | Isn't that true? |
| 5 | ballots than it does that ballots are count -- | 5 | A. Yes. They showed it to me sometime |
| 6 | that are cast in person because you've got to open | 6 | after and I said -- yeah, I did see them and I |
| 7 | the outer envelope, you've got to open -- you've | 7 | explained it to them I think pretty much the way I |
| 8 | got to inspect the outer envelope; you've got to | 8 | explained it to you. |
| 9 | open it; you've got to pass it on; somebody's got | 9 | Q. And I don't see any dates on them. Any |
| 10 | to open the secrecy envelope; they got to flatten | 10 | dates on them, to indicate whether they were |
| 11 | the ballots into a pile; and then they got to be | 11 | prepared? |
| 12 | counted. And it takes longer, doesn't it? | 12 | A. I don't -- I don't -- I don't see any |
| 13 | A. Yeah, but not that long. I mean, every | 13 | on that there -- |
| 14 | other state did it in a much faster period of time | 14 | Q. Let's just look at this first one. |
| 15 | than this state, and they had the benefit of | 15 | Unique Voters Over 112 Years -- Unique Voters Over |
| 16 | excluding any observers. They should have been | 16 | 112 Years Old. Just take the first one, Mr. |
| 17 | able to do it a lot faster since nobody was | 17 | Lorenz, he purports -- it purports that he was |
| 18 | looking at them. | 18 | born in 1854. |
| 19 | MR. FOX: Now, let's go to -- can we | 19 | You see that? |
| 20 | put up exhibits 40 through 43. Let's put up | 20 | A. Mr. Lorenz -- I see Mr. Lomanaco is the |
| 21 | Exhibit 40 first. Yes, that's right. |  | first one. |
| 22 | BY MR. FOX: | 22 | Q. Lomanaco, I apologize. I can hardly |


|  | Page 952 |  | Page 954 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | read this, so my -- my fault. | 1 | Q. All right. |
| 2 | Lomanaco; he purports to be -- it | 2 | A. We're going to have to find out. |
| 3 | reports that he was born in 1854, correct? | 3 | Q. Do you have any idea how any of these |
| 4 | A. That's what it says, yeah. | 4 | people voted, whether they voted for Trump or |
| 5 | Q. And -- and -- I don't know. The | 5 | Biden? |
| 6 | computers weren't all that accurate in 1854. | 6 | A. I wouldn't -- you'd never know that. |
| 7 | A. That doesn't mean it wasn't -- I mean, | 7 | Q. Well the older voters tend to favor |
| 8 | look -- I know I get ridiculed for this; this | 8 | Trump, right? |
| 9 | happened to be absolutely true -- Joe Frazier | 9 | A. If they voted in Philadelphia -- if |
| 10 | voted three times in Philadelphia after he died. | 10 | they voted in Philadelphia -- |
| 11 | Q. Well, we -- we come back -- let's just | 11 | MR. FOX: I'll withdraw that question. |
| 12 | stick with Mr. Lomanaco. | 12 | THE WITNESS: Like 86 -- |
| 13 | A. I have those records if you want to see | 13 | MR. KAMINS: He withdrew it. |
| 14 | them. | 14 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 15 | Q. How do you suppose -- and if Mr. | 15 | Q. Now, let's look at the next one -- |
| 16 | Lomanaco had waited until he was a hundred years | 16 | well, no, let's not look at the next one. |
| 17 | old to register to vote, which would have been | 17 | We have already agreed you didn't use |
| 18 | 1954, it still wouldn't have been recorded in a | 18 | these in your pleadings or your arguments. Your |
| 19 | computer database, would it? | 19 | argument -- your case, however, Mr. Giuliani, was |
| 20 | A. Given the condition of their -- of |  | based on -- not on dead people voting. It was |
| 21 | their voter records, it would not be impossible. | 21 | based on the problem -- Notice and Cure and the -- |
| 22 | I -- I have articles here about something like 20\% | 22 | we had -- somebody had a nice term for it. |
|  | Page 953 |  | Page 955 |
| 1 | of the entries in the voter rolls in the United | 1 | Everybody agreed to it and it's now gone out of my |
| 2 | States are totally inaccurate. | 2 | head. The geographical restrictions on the |
| 3 | Q. Do you -- do you remember seeing a | 3 | observers, correct? That's what your case was |
| 4 | declaration that you had gathered -- and I -- I | 4 | based on. |
| 5 | don't have it in front of me; I'll have to pull it | 5 | A. That seems very euphemistic, but it was |
| 6 | out later -- that talked about how there were | 6 | based on the fact that -- that there was -- many |
| 7 | many -- many typographical errors in this database | 7 | examples of fraud in the election of which those |
| 8 | with respect to these birth dates? | 8 | would be two, and -- and of course, this is the |
| 9 | A. Well, I -- that many entries, there | 9 | complaint, when you -- if it went forward, you |
| 10 | must be some typographical errors. | 10 | would add to that other things that you |
| 11 | The only point I was making is, with | 11 | discovered, and one of the things I certainly |
| 12 | this many, it was a fruitful ground for us to | 12 | anticipated was adding dead people voting, |
| 13 | further investigate. I saw -- I saw four or five | 13 | particularly because of the reputation of |
| 14 | other documents similar to this about dead people | 14 | Philadelphia, as I've told you. I could have been |
| 15 | voting. So, all this did was reinforce my sense | 15 | wrong about that but I certainly anticipated it, |
| 16 | that this was a legitimate case that I was | 16 | and I'm just offering that to show you that I did |
| 17 | arguing, (indecipherable), in the case -- in the | 17 | that in good faith, not in the way that you've |
| 18 | light most favorable to my client. That's all. | 18 | alleged. |
| 19 | Q. Okay. | 19 | Q. Mr. Giuliani, did you plead that? |
| 20 | A. I'm not -- I'm not saying -- it may be | 20 | A. No, I didn't, because I wasn't at the |
| 21 | all untrue, it probably isn't, and it probably | 21 | stage yet where I was ready to plead it, which I |
| 22 | isn't all true. | 22 | think shows that I was being responsible. |


|  | Page 956 |  | Page 958 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | Q. You have said several times in the | 1 | the second amended complaint about which you've |
| 2 | course of your testimony that what a lawyer does | 2 | testified in which you identified facts that you |
| 3 | is plead allegations and not evidence. | 3 | pled which you believe supported the allegations |
| 4 | Am I quoting you right on that? | 4 | that you brought. |
| 5 | A. Correct. | 5 | Am I correct about that? |
| 6 | Q. That's not what a lawyer does, is it, | 6 | A. Well, I think I offered them to say |
| 7 | Mr. Giuliani, under Rule 8? | 7 | they're facts that I pled for which I took from |
| 8 | A. "Allegations with reasonable support." | 8 | some document or some person that I had support |
| 9 | Q. What -- what Rule 8 says is you're | 9 | for. |
| 10 | supposed -- | 10 | Q. And would you agree that a number of |
| 11 | A. Mr. Fox, If I may, I think you | 11 | the facts that you pled had nothing to do with |
| 12 | abbreviated what I said. | 12 | Notice and Cure or the geographic location? |
| 13 | I think I've said -- and if I did it | 13 | For example, the first two paragraphs |
| 14 | was only because I abbreviated the remark -- a | 14 | that you talked about were -- that you talked |
| 15 | lawyer pleads allegations for which he has a | 15 | about in your direct testimony, were allegations |
| 16 | basis, which is what I think I gave you with all | 16 | that, in certain jurisdictions, there was a |
| 17 | of those affidavits and what I'm trying to give | 17 | problem with provisional votes. |
| 18 | you with these documents. | 18 | Now provisional votes are situations |
| 19 | Q. All right. | 19 | where people have already been given the |
| 20 | A. I'm trying to show you that I had -- | 20 | opportunity to vote, correct? |
| 21 | even if you disagree with it -- a reasonable basis | 21 | A. Provisional voting in this particular |
| 22 | for the allegations, enough so that an advocate, | 22 | case and in the allegations we made about it are |
|  | Page 957 |  | Page 959 |
| 1 | who has to view it in the light most favorable to | 1 | people who allege that they didn't vote, that a |
| 2 | his client, would allege it. Even with that, | 2 | vote was entered for them, which would be |
| 3 | there are certain things I didn't allege, because | 3 | fraudulent, and when they showed up at the polling |
| 4 | I didn't think we met that standard. This is one | 4 | place -- and the number in Pittsburgh was 17,000. |
| 5 | of them. | 5 | When they showed up at the polling place, they |
| 6 | Q. Mr. Giuliani, does not the federal | 6 | were confronted with the fact that they had |
| 7 | rules require you to plead facts? | 7 | already voted. They say they didn't. Many of the |
| 8 | A. Yes. Yeah, but not evidence, facts. | 8 | declarations say that. There were -- there are |
| 9 | Q. All right. Now, we went -- you just | 9 | considerably more people that said that that |
| 10 | went through, I think I counted one, two, three -- | 10 | aren't even in the declarations. But that was a |
| 11 | A. The only -- the only thing I would | 11 | common complaint in Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. |
| 12 | amend that to, if you define facts as true, then | 12 | People showed up, they wanted to vote, and they |
| 13 | of course you can't know that when you alleged it | 13 | were told, "Oh, you already voted by an absentee |
| 14 | in a complaint. You're alleging what you know at | 14 | ballot". These people said, "No, we didn't. We |
| 15 | the time, you assume it's true, and then you try | 15 | either never got one," or "we never returned one," |
| 16 | to prove it. It's not -- | 16 | or, "Look, I have one here. It's not -- it's |
| 17 | Q. I'm sorry. Are you finished? | 17 | filled out". Then they were required to vote by a |
| 18 | A. Yeah, certain people define facts as | 18 | provisional ballot. |
| 19 | true. Certain people define facts as an item of | 19 | Now some of them -- let me finish -- |
| 20 | information. If you mean item of information with | 20 | the allegation is different. I had quantified |
| 21 | support, that's what you plead. | 21 | them earlier. Some of them they were not |
| 22 | Q. I think I counted seven paragraphs in | 22 | allowed -- they were not allowed to vote. Most of |


|  | Page 960 |  | Page 962 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | them, they were allowed to vote, but many of them | 1 | Q. Well, that's on your direct |
| 2 | went and checked and their vote was never | 2 | examination. Did you discuss that? |
| 3 | registered. | 3 | One of the allegations you talked about |
| 4 | Q. But that was not what you were pleading | 4 | was a single individual who they wouldn't let in |
| 5 | in the provisions that you just cited for the | 5 | as an a observer, right? |
| 6 | hearing committee, was it? | 6 | A. No, I didn't. I didn't talk about one |
| 7 | A. I don't know what you're talking about. | 7 | individual that was not let in as an observer. |
| 8 | Not pleading -- I was pleading that that was | 8 | Q. Page 91. |
| 9 | fraud, and that it was one of the violations of | 9 | A. I said there were many. |
| 10 | Due Process and Equal Protection. | 10 | Q. Page 97, please, paragraph 224. |
| 11 | MR. KAMINS: Could we - if Mr. Fox is | 11 | A. Maybe I don't understand the question, |
| 12 | referring to a specific paragraph, could we have | 12 | Mr. Fox. |
| 13 | him -- | 13 | MR. KAMINS: He's going to put it on |
| 14 | MR. FOX: I -- I -- yes, could we put | 14 | the screen. It's on the screen, 224. |
| 15 | up, please, Disciplinary Counsel's Exhibit 9, page | 15 | BY MR. FOX: |
| 16 | 66, and I believe the two paragraphs that Mr. | 16 | Q. This is what you testified about on |
| 17 | Giuliani referred to were 128 and 129. | 17 | direct examination, wasn't it; Mr. Gallenthin? |
| 18 | BY MR. FOX: | 18 | A. Sure, sure but I also -- |
| 19 | Q. Now these -- these -- this doesn't have | 19 | Q. Well, I'm talking about your direct |
| 20 | anything to do -- neither of these paragraphs have | 20 | examination, sir. |
| 21 | anything to do with persons who claimed they had | 21 | A. I thought you were saying to me I |
| 22 | to vote provisionally because the records showed | 22 | only -- I only talked about one person in |
|  | Page 961 |  | Page 963 |
| 1 | they had already cast an absentee balance ballot, | 1 | Pennsylvania. |
| 2 | right? | 2 | Q. Mr. Giuliani, why don't you listen to |
| 3 | A. Well, most of the complaint doesn't | 3 | my question. I'm asking you what you talked about |
| 4 | have to do with that, just a certain portion of | 4 | on direct examination. |
| 5 | it. I mean, I don't think I have to allege | 5 | A. Mr. Fox, I am trying to listen to your |
| 6 | everything that I alleged earlier in every single | 6 | question. There is no reason to get -- |
| 7 | paragraph. | 7 | Q. This is one of the paragraphs that you |
| 8 | Q. No, that's not the point, Mr. Giuliani. | 8 | cited, correct? |
| 9 | A. I never alleged that. This was a | 9 | A. Yes, I read that. |
| 10 | different part of the complaint. | 10 | Q. And -- and that talks about one person |
| 11 | Q. Mr. Giuliani, when I asked you about | 11 | who says he was denied -- he was credentialed and |
| 12 | provisional voting, you went off into your | 12 | was not allowed to be an observer in Philadelphia, |
| 13 | explanation about these people who said they had | 13 | correct? |
| 14 | to vote provisionally because the records showed | 14 | A. Yes, but he was allowed in the |
| 15 | they voted by absentee. | 15 | republican county. He was there to illustrate |
| 16 | Neither of these complaints -- these | 16 | several points, including Equal Protection. |
| 17 | paragraphs that you testified about that, do they? | 17 | Q. And -- and according to you, that's |
| 18 | A. No, they don't. | 18 | evidence of fraud? |
| 19 | Q. All right. Similarly you -- you | 19 | A. Well, it's a -- it's a fact alleged |
| 20 | discussed the situation where one individual was | 20 | which, in combination with other facts, could |
| 21 | barred as an observer in Philadelphia, correct? | 21 | allow you to argue for it, yes. |
| 22 | A. I allege many individuals were barred. | 22 | I mean, if -- if this happened one |


|  | Page 964 |  | Page 966 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | time, it would -- no, but if it happened 50 times, |  | attach the vote to. |
| 2 | now -- now you have an argument. And we have | 2 | So this was sort of a basis for being |
| 3 | considerably more people that weren't allowed to | 3 | able to put four or five witnesses in, if we had |
| 4 | do it that are alleged -- for -- for example -- | 4 | an evidentiary -- evidentiary hearing. |
| 5 | for example Jeremy Mercer is another one that I | 5 | Q. Well, all those facts that you just |
| 6 | discussed during my direct examination who wasn't | 6 | added aren't in your complaint, are they? |
| 7 | allowed to do it and then gave us a list of a | 7 | A. I -- I mean, the complaint would have |
| 8 | number of other people that weren't allowed to do | 8 | been a thousand pages if I put all my facts in. |
| 9 | it. | 9 | That's what you have the evidentiary -- |
| 10 | Q. Jeremy Mercer is the one who the | 10 | evidentiary hearing for. |
| 11 | Pennsylvania Supreme Court said was given -- found | 11 | Q. But presumably we'll find in those 300 |
| 12 | was given an adequate opportunity to observe, | 12 | declarations, or $100-249$, however many there |
| 13 | correct? | 13 | are, all these other people who had the similar |
| 14 | A. Yeah, his affidavit contradicts that. | 14 | problems with the malfunctioning counting |
| 15 | That -- that -- that is their conclusion, that | 15 | machines, correct? |
| 16 | being in the room is an adequate opportunity to | 16 | A. You'll find some people in there. I |
| 17 | observe. | 17 | can give you the numbers, if you want. |
| 18 | Jeremy Mercer, if you look at his | 18 | Q. Paragraph 132-3, on the same page, 133 |
| 19 | affidavit, both of them, says, "I never saw | 19 | this is -- this is a specific example of a -- of a |
| 20 | anything". So that's a dispute as to whether he | 20 | mail carrier in Erie County who made some |
| 21 | did observe. | 21 | allegations that were in the newspaper. |
| 22 | It's a question of, is it enough that | 22 | Do you remember that? |
|  | Page 965 |  | Page 967 |
| 1 | you sit in a room like a potted plant and see | 1 | A. I -- I -- no, I'm sorry, I don't |
| 2 | nothing relevant, or do you have to see the | 2 | remember -- I -- now that I read it, I kind of |
| 3 | identifying data on the document? | 3 | remember it, yes. |
| 4 | Mr. Mercer quite adamantly says, after | 4 | Q. Do you -- do you also remember that he |
| 5 | four days of begging and pleading and going to | 5 | withdrew the allegations before your complaint was |
| 6 | court, he was never allowed to see anything. | 6 | filed? |
| 7 | That's -- that's -- those are the | 7 | A. I do not. |
| 8 | facts, Mr. -- Mr. Fox. I'm sorry. | 8 | Q. Okay. Let's move on, paragraph 134. |
| 9 | Q. Page 67, paragraph 131. Now this is | 9 | This is the Project Veritas allegation that you |
| 10 | the example you talked about where there was | 10 | talked about. |
| 11 | apparently a malfunction in a machine in Delaware | 11 | A. Correct. |
| 12 | county, and some votes had to be run through the | 12 | Q. It doesn't say anything about where |
| 13 | machine four or five times? | 13 | these carriers were, even if they were in |
| 14 | A. Correct. | 14 | Pennsylvania, does it? |
| 15 | Q. And -- and it's your testimony that | 15 | A. It does -- that's one -- that's one I |
| 16 | that's evidence of fraud, this malfunction of | 16 | followed up on later and got additional |
| 17 | this -- this one machine? | 17 | information. You're correct. |
| 18 | A. I would say not by itself. In | 18 | That's all I had at the time when I |
| 19 | combination with a number of other witnesses that | 19 | alleged that. |
| 20 | observed the same thing and who would say that -- | 20 | Q. Okay, and Project Veritas is a partisan |
| 21 | that -- that during those episodes, there were | 21 | group, correct? |
| 22 | conversations about finding registrations to | 22 | A. Yes, it is, yeah, but it's a group that |


|  | Page 968 |  | Page 970 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | I found that backs up what they do with -- with | 1 | A. There -- as far as I know, the -- the |
| 2 | tape recordings, and I found them to be reliable | 2 | people that were doing the counting were described |
| 3 | in the past. | 3 | to me as all democrats. That a wasn't a |
| 4 | Q. And then I think the next -- I don't | 4 | republican allowed to do any counting or get near |
| 5 | want -- well. The -- the next thing that you | 5 | any votes. |
| 6 | cited was your paragraph 72 on 147. | 6 | Q. Okay. |
| 7 | MR. FOX: We are almost finished, Mr. | 7 | A. That -- that's going to come up -- |
| 8 | Chairman. | 8 | that -- that -- there was no question that the |
| 9 | THE WITNESS: Yeah. | 9 | democrats were counting the votes in Philadelphia, |
| 10 | BY MR. FOX: | 10 | and always counted votes in Philadelphia. |
| 11 | Q. Sorry, I probably had the page wrong | 11 | Q. You know, there may be another |
| 12 | here, paragraph 72. I was writing it down | 12 | paragraph that you -- |
| 13 | quickly. Paragraph 72 would be on 46, 45 and | 13 | A. And the sheriff is a democrat, the one |
| 14 | 46 -- no, I've got it wrong. My apologies. | 14 | who excluded Corey Lewandowski, who had a court |
| 15 | It's page 72, paragraph 147, okay. I | 15 | order, from which you can draw an inference. |
| 16 | apologize. | 16 | Q. The -- the -- there may be another |
| 17 | MR. KAMINS: Paragraph 147, look at the | 17 | paragraph, but if so, I've lost it. So I |
| 18 | screen. | 18 | apologize. |
| 19 | BY MR. FOX | 19 | Are there any other specific facts that |
| 20 | Q. And this is just -- this is your | 20 | you pled, aside from the ones we just talked |
| 21 | observational barrier objection, correct? | 21 | about, that you want to call the hearing |
| 22 | A. Yeah, sure. I mean, it would fit under | 22 | committee's attention to to support your |
|  | Page 969 |  | Page 971 |
| 1 | that category, yeah. | 1 | allegations that there is this widespread fraud? |
| 2 | Q. And -- which you testified and -- and | 2 | A. Yes, but the good judge prevailed upon |
| 3 | candidly and commendably said to Judge Brann | 3 | me to leave out the whole group I had outlined at |
| 4 | applied to democrats as well as republicans? | 4 | the beginning because they're largely -- the ones |
| 5 | A. I did but I also pointed out to the | 5 | I did are illustrative of the ones I would cite. |
| 6 | judge that the people counting the votes were | 6 | Yes, there are a large number of other |
| 7 | democrats, and it didn't uniformly apply to | 7 | facts that I alleged in the complaint, in the |
| 8 | democrats. | 8 | earlier part of the complaint. I have them all |
| 9 | Q. Aren't the board of elections -- | 9 | outlined here. But the good judge got me to -- |
| 10 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Let him answer the | 10 | got them down to that group, which probably are |
| 11 | question. | 11 | illustrative and made the point that we wanted. |
| 12 | THE WITNESS: Where there were | 12 | Q. Okay. |
| 13 | exceptions, there were always to democrats, and in | 13 | MR. FOX: I believe those are all the |
| 14 | fact there's support for that in the affidavits. | 14 | questions I had. |
| 15 | BY MR. FOX: | 15 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Mr. Kamins? |
| 16 | Q. Aren't the board of elections in | 16 | MR. KAMINS: Nothing further, Mr. |
| 17 | Pennsylvania nonpartisan -- well, strike that, | 17 | Chair. |
| 18 | bipartisan? | 18 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Anything from the |
| 19 | A. In Philadelphia? | 19 | hearing committee? |
| 20 | Q. Bipartisan. Yes, isn't it required | 20 | MR. BROZOST: Yes, Mr. Bernius, |
| 21 | that there be a member of the republican party on | 21 | briefly. |
| 22 | that? | 22 | MR. BROZOST: First, by way of |


|  | Page 972 |  | Page 974 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | disclosure, Mr. Giuliani, I -- I must report that | 1 | me out to explain this -- is you said, "Let's -- I |
| 2 | I actually served under you. When you were | 2 | wanted to broaden the allegations so we could |
| 3 | Associate Attorney General, I was a lowly trial | 3 | include other jurisdictions". |
| 4 | attorney in the criminal division. | 4 | THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. |
| 5 | You described with some specificity | 5 | MR. BROZOST: What does that mean |
| 6 | your experience in both criminal and civil cases | 6 | exactly? |
| 7 | during your distinguished career. And I know you | 7 | THE WITNESS: What that meant was -- |
| 8 | did this I believe yesterday, but again, could you | 8 | clarify that, because that's sort of like |
| 9 | summarize for me your experience in election law | 9 | abbreviated. |
| 10 | matters? | 10 | What it meant was to put in the |
| 11 | THE WITNESS: I -- I never litigated -- | 11 | allegations that Mr. Fox is asking about, which |
| 12 | let me think carefully, because it's a long time, | 12 | are the allegations of republicans being excluded |
| 13 | and I've tried many things, odd things really. | 13 | virtually uniformly from seeing any paper, because |
| 14 | I've been a plaintiff in election law | 14 | that was a common allegation that -- that I was |
| 15 | matters as a candidate, many times, or maybe a | 15 | getting from our lawyer in Michigan, our lawyer in |
| 16 | defendant. I'm not sure. I don't think I've | 16 | Wisconsin, our lawyer in Arizona -- I'm sorry, not |
| 17 | litigated an election contest. That's for sure. | 17 | in Arizona. I got it from other people in |
|  | I may have litigated some campaign finance cases, | 18 | Arizona. Our lawyers in Georgia. Every single |
| 19 | like the expert, but I don't think I actually was | 19 | one of those places was almost a mirror image of |
| 20 | trial counsel -- no, I've not been trial counsel | 20 | what I've described to you about in Philadelphia. |
| 21 | in an election case, to answer your question | 21 | So it was not only me but the lawyers I |
| 22 | simply. | 22 | discussed it with. Their advice was make sure you |
|  | Page 973 |  | Page 975 |
| 1 | I mean, I have familiarity with it | 1 | have those allegations in each one of the |
| 2 | because, being a candidate and being involved in | 2 | complaints so that, if you get to that stage, you |
| 3 | politics, I've been a witness, I've been a | 3 | can go before a circuit court and is say, "Look at |
| 4 | plaintiff, I've been a defendant. | 4 | these similar allegations in each one of these |
| 5 | But no, I was not an expert in this at | 5 | complaints in the states I just mentioned. They |
| 6 | all and don't pretend to be. | 6 | raise the same questions of law and fact. You |
| 7 | MR. BROZOST: You were designated to | 7 | should consolidate them into one case". In that, |
| 8 | coordinate this effort by the president. | 8 | we would have a better chance of getting to the |
| 9 | THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. I was -- I was | 9 | Supreme Court if we were able to do that. You |
| 10 | taught by the judge I clerked for that a lawyer, | 10 | would get an expedited appeal and you would get to |
| 11 | you know, has to do many different things. You | 11 | the Supreme Court. That's the advice that I got |
| 12 | got to make yourself an expert, and I think I was | 12 | very early on. Very early on means the first day |
| 13 | selected because he -- he trusted my skills as a | 13 | I was involved. I remember discussing it in the |
| 14 | lawyer and that I would get election law people to | 14 | car that we talked about before going back and |
| 15 | help me, which is what I tried to do, sir. | 15 | forth to Philadelphia. |
| 16 | MR. BROZOST: Okay. This matter was | 16 | So what I was pressing for would have |
| 17 | discussed several times and I'm still a little bit | 17 | put those allegations in about the republicans |
| 18 | confused about the drafting of the first | 18 | being excluded, because they were so -- you |
| 19 | complaint. | 19 | testified in one place as to all of them, you |
| 20 | What I believe you said today, that you | 20 | would be struck by the similarity of what |
| 21 | wanted to draft language for multi-district | 21 | happened, including -- and I didn't have it here, |
| 22 | litigation, and the quote I wrote down -- and help | 22 | because I -- I didn't have that fact at this |


|  | Page 976 |  | Page 978 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | point, and that is that the vote was cut off in | 1 | and see if we could get our witnesses under oath, |
| 2 | those jurisdictions, at almost the same time, when | 2 | as a matter of record, for historical purposes. |
| 3 | it was supposed to go on all night. | 3 | MR. BROZOST: Thank you, Mr. Giuliani. |
| 4 | So, if you had those allegations in | 4 | THE WITNESS: You're welcome. |
| 5 | each one of the complaints: the Pennsylvania, | 5 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Anything else from |
| 6 | complaint, the Michigan complaint. The witnesses | 6 | the hearing committee? Ms. Haynesworth-Murrel, |
| 7 | in Detroit that Ms. Bobb was talking about, pretty | 7 | anything? |
| 8 | much a mirror image of the witnesses in | 8 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: Yes. |
| 9 | Philadelphia. | 9 | Mr. Giuliani, I -- I had a question, |
| 10 | MR. BROZOST: But that -- that wasn't | 10 | and it also was in the line of, what do you mean |
| 11 | included in Pennsylvania, the -- | 11 | about suspending of counting? And I-- I just |
| 12 | THE WITNESS: Pardon me? | 12 | heard you answer my colleague's question, however |
| 13 | MR. BROZOST: That was not included in | 13 | you went on to say they were "put out of the |
| 14 | Pennsylvania, was it, the cutting off at a certain | 14 | room". |
| 15 | hour. | 15 | THE WITNESS: Yes, sir -- yes, ma'am. |
| 16 | THE WITNESS: No, I said I didn't have | 16 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: So was that |
| 17 | that then at the -- at the time I -- we did this. | 17 | republicans put out of the room, the watchers, or |
| 18 | I didn't -- I didn't get that fact -- maybe I did | 18 | was that everyone? |
| 19 | toward the very end and it was too late to put it | 19 | THE WITNESS: Well, it was a little |
| 20 | in that -- in this complaint, and it was -- really | 20 | different in different places, so -- |
| 21 | that developed from our investigation in Georgia | 21 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: And how do |
| 22 | where there was an alleged water main break that | 22 | you -- and how do you know? |
|  | Page 977 |  | Page 979 |
| 1 | cut off the vote and there was never a water main. | 1 | THE WITNESS: Oh, just affidavits, |
| 2 | That was a -- that is a fact that we would show | 2 | witnesses. |
| 3 | was not true. They cut off the voting at almost | 3 | I'll give you an -- an example would |
| 4 | exactly the same time as they cut off the voting | 4 | be -- and the standards in different states are |
| 5 | here, and they threw everyone out. Same thing in | 5 | different. |
| 6 | Detroit. They cut off the voting, anticipated. | 6 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: So only in |
| 7 | Republicans were told to leave. Some of them | 7 | Philadelphia, Pennsylvania -- |
| 8 | remained outside, were not allowed back in, and | 8 | THE WITNESS: In Philadelphia, |
| 9 | they counted all night, without any republicans -- | 9 | Pennsylvania they counted all night, and, as you |
| 10 | even in the words of the -- of the Supreme Court | 10 | see, during the night the vote changed |
| 11 | of Pennsylvania, even in the room. They were just | 11 | dramatically. They were not supposed to -- |
| 12 | thrown out of the room completely, and the | 12 | they -- they were not supposed to count all night. |
| 13 | counting was done. | 13 | They were supposed to stop -- I mean, they were |
| 14 | So stage one was they weren't allowed | 14 | supposed to count all night. They took a break, |
| 15 | to see any paper. That was during the day. Stage | 15 | the republicans left and there were no republicans |
| 16 | two was they got thrown out completely and the | 16 | there from something like 2:00 in the morning |
| 17 | county continued without them there. | 17 | until something like 11:00 o'clock, 12:00 o'clock |
| 18 | Those were common facts and at least we | 18 | the next day. |
| 19 | got some of those facts in here. In the other | 19 | In Atlanta -- |
| 20 | complaints we had more facts, but then eventually | 20 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: Were there |
| 21 | we weren't getting anywhere in the court with | 21 | any -- |
| 22 | hearings, so we decided to go to the legislatures | 22 | THE WITNESS: In Atlanta, I could tell |


|  | Page 980 |  | Page 982 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | you each one if you want. | 1 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Well, I haven't -- I |
| 2 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: No -- | 2 | haven't -- I haven't finished what I'm saying. |
| 3 | THE WITNESS: In Atlanta -- | 3 | MR. KAMINS: Okay, sorry. |
| 4 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: No, I was | 4 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: To -- to help us in |
| 5 | only interested in Pennsylvania. And -- and I | 5 | making that determination, we're going to have |
| 6 | wanted to have you address whether there were | 6 | oral argument tomorrow, and -- and I can tell you |
| 7 | democratic watchers asked to leave as well. | 7 | that the oral argument is going to be akin to an |
| 8 | THE WITNESS: I -- I don't know about | 8 | appellate argument. You should expect to be -- to |
| 9 | Pennsylvania. I do know in one state everybody | 9 | address the facts in this case, and you should |
| 10 | was thrown out. In another state just the | 10 | expect questioning about the facts. |
| 11 | republicans were thrown out. But that -- we're | 11 | Mr. Leventhal's indication before that |
| 12 | talking about Michigan and Georgia, and I never -- | 12 | he intended to read a legal statement or a legal |
| 13 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: But in -- but | 13 | arguments, that is not going to be helpful. I |
| 14 | in Pennsylvania it was only the republicans that | 14 | suppose I can't keep you from doing that, but if |
| 15 | were thrown out. | 15 | you -- if you want to do that, we'll hold it off |
| 16 | Is that what you're stating? | 16 | until the end of the other part of the argument. |
| 17 | THE WITNESS: What I'm saying is that's | 17 | Is that -- does everybody understand |
| 18 | all I know. It could be the democrats were thrown | 18 | what I'm saying? Have I made myself clear? |
| 19 | out, too. I don't know the answer to that. | 19 | MR. KAMINS: Yes. |
| 20 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: Oh, okay. | 20 | MR. LEVENTHAL: As long as we have the |
| 21 | THE WITNESS: I never -- I never really | 21 | opportunity to do that, and -- and I -- and if I |
| 22 | had that in this case. | 22 | can, at the end, I'm going to, you know, work on |
|  | Page 981 |  | Page 983 |
| 1 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: I see. | 1 | it some more tonight. I will send a copy to both |
| 2 | THE WITNESS: Okay. I'm sorry. | 2 | the panel -- |
| 3 | MS. HAYNESWORTH-MURRELL: No. And then | 3 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Here's the -- the |
| 4 | you -- most of the questions that I wrote down | 4 | other point, Mr. Leventhal, is this: If we are |
| 5 | have already been answered on redirect. | 5 | to -- if we do make a preliminary finding, |
| 6 | Thank you. | 6 | nonbinding preliminary finding, then we go on to |
| 7 | THE WITNESS: Thank you, ma'am. | 7 | the sanctions phase of the hearing with mitigation |
| 8 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: Thank you. | 8 | and aggravation evidence, if any. That may be a |
| 9 | Any follow-up from the -- for counsel | 9 | very quick proceeding. Many, many cases there is |
| 10 | for the parties, Mr. Fox, Mr. Kamins? | 10 | no such evidence ordered -- offered. I don't know |
| 11 | MR. KAMINS: No. No, Mr. Chair. | 11 | what would happen here. |
| 12 | (Witness is excused.) | 12 | At the end of that session, whether |
| 13 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: All right. Pursuant | 13 | it's five minutes or -- or two hours or whatever, |
| 14 | to Board Rule XI.11, the hearing committee is now | 14 | then the parties will have an opportunity and will |
| 15 | charged to convene in executive session to decide | 15 | be under an obligation to submit proposed findings |
| 16 | preliminarily whether respondents and Disciplinary | 16 | of fact and conclusions of law. |
| 17 | Counsel has proven a violation of any of the | 17 | So you will have ample opportunity to |
| 18 | charged disciplinary rules. | 18 | present your legal arguments at that time. I'm |
| 19 | MR. KAMINS: Excuse me, Mr. Chair -- | 19 | just giving you the head's up, and frankly I don't |
| 20 | CHAIRMAN BERNIUS: I'm sorry? | 20 | think it's necessary to get into a lot of law. At |
| 21 | MR. KAMINS: Sorry, I thought we were | 21 | this point it may be counterproductive, unless it |
| 22 | going to have -- have prior to your -- | 22 | bears directly on some of the factual issues. |



| A | achievements 875:11 | admits 836:8 | ahead 713:10 715:15 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| A-117 633:16 | acknowledge 666:5 707:8 | admitted 659:17 807:13 | 726:1 777:14 843:21 |
| a-d-d 731:21 | acquired 840:14 | 842:10 920:7,8,13,19 | 846:21 867:5 907:14,14 |
| a.m 632:2 986:12 | act 641:20 645:21 649:12 | admitting 849:1 931:19 | 907:18 908:18,18 |
| abbreviated 839:1 | 683:12,13 834:5,7,10 | adopted 675:3 | 945:22 985:2 |
| 956:12,14 974:9 | 834:17,21 835:1 927:1 | advance 726:8,9 | AI 769:5 |
| aberrations 778:17 | acting 754:12 | advantage 754:1 | Aidala 634:5,15 |
| ability 720:3 747:2 | action 926:19 987:9,1 | adverse 641:18 | airport 741:4 872 |
| able 636:17 663:21 | actions 924:6 | advice 741:18 898: | aisle 817:16 |
| 721:13 744:12,22 746:5 | active 847:2 882:14 | 974:22 975:11 | akin 982:7 |
| 756:4 805:17,20 851:7 | actively 948:14 | advise 820:12 | Al-Qaeda 811:20 865:120 |
| 871:9 933:20 941:12 | activities 704:20 | advisor 739:8 811:18 | alchemy 642: |
| 949:17 950:10 966:3 | actor 713:4 718:7 | 812:6 877:6 | alive 874:9 |
| 975:9 | acts 814:7 924:3 926:20 | Advisors 734:8,9,1 | allegation 921:3 931:10 |
| abnormal 779:5 | actual 794:20 795 | advocacy 702:21 | 932:2,16 934:1 935:18 |
| abnormality 779 : | 835:17 909:8 912:21 | advocate 754:10 791 | 941:3 959:20 967:9 |
| abrogated 688:9 | Ad 631:3 632:2 633:2 | 956:22 | 974:14 |
| absent 838:14 904:17 | adamant 838:4,4 | Aerospace 754:1 | allegations 641:2 642:7 |
| absentee 692:1,15 838:14 | adamantly 965:4 | affidavit 964:14,19 | 644:10,13 867:8 899:13 |
| 847:8 850:16,21 917:14 | add 731:21 732:20 | affidavits 801:2,7,9,14 | 899:17 925:3 929:6,17 |
| 933:9 939:14 947:16 | 780:10 782:17 785:18 | 803:6 890:22 919:21 | 930:20 932:7 935:15 |
| 948:6 950:13 959:13 | 786:2 926:3 938:17 | 942:14,16 956:17 | 939:3 956:3,8,15,22 |
| 961:1,15 | 941:8 955:10 | 969:14 979:1 | 958:3,15,22 962:3 |
| absolute 917:22 | added 782:22 966 | affiliated 734:3,7 | 966:21 967:5 971:1 |
| absolutely 796:7 851:7 | adding 782:15 785:14 | affiliates 746:18 | 974:2,11,12 975:1,4,17 |
| 952:9 | 955:12 | affiliation 734:4 758:1 | 976:4 |
| abuse 817:1 | addition 701:3 765:12 | affirm 733:4 750:17 | allege 927:17 932:4 |
| academic 764:2 | 800:18 908:11 909:14 | 789:18 810:8 | 934:12 935:16 945:4 |
| academically 710:22 | 909:14 911:17 913:7,12 | affirmed 697:8 925 | 957:2,3 959:1 961:5,22 |
| accept 668:18 669:2 | 917:19 937:2 938 | Affordable 926:19 927 | alleged 639:1 686:8 923:8 |
| 873:19 | additional 705:18 747:4 | Afghanistan 791:4,8 | 929:13 930:2,10 945:15 |
| accepted 667:7 719:20 | 749:12 857:21 967:16 | 792:4 | 945:15 955:18 957:13 |
| 941:11 | Additionally 913: | afoul 659:22 | 961:6,9 963:19 964:4 |
| accepting 667:16 669:9 | ad | af | 967:19 971:7 976:22 |
| 669:13 | address 684:3,10 700: | 819:22 821:14 | allegedly 676:6 |
| access 738:20 739:1,16 | 771:8 818:7 828:18 | afternoon 654:16741 | alleges 640:3 641:15,16 |
| 739:17 740:7 742:8,22 | 838:21 855:1,21 935:13 | 821:22 887:1 888:1 | 642:17,19 925:1 932:1 |
| 743:11 744:5,13 745:2 | 980:6 982:9 | 984:21 | 932:1 |
| 745:11,14 746:11,19 | addressed 700:10 936:17 | agencies 820:10,11 | Allegheny 691:12 931:11 |
| 747:6,8,14 749:5 | addresses 699:19 836:11 | agent 824:13 | alleging 957:14 |
| 828:18 831:8 832:2 | 936:18,20 937:1,4 | agents 818:20,21 | alleviate 694:9 |
| 837:20 896:4 939:18 | adds 785:19 | aggravation 807:12 | allow 648:3 698:16 |
| accessing 744:7 | adequate 644:7 927:3,21 | 983:8 | 723:17 839:1 853:8 |
| Accommodation 814:2 | 964:12,16 | ago 697:10 719:20 720:3 | 939:12 963:21 984:22 |
| accompanied 864:16 | adjourn 804:19 984: | 758:21 820:14 840:16 | 984:22 |
| account 786:10 | 86 | 875 | allowed 646:12 650:1 |
| accountability 816:19 | administration 703:18 | agree $657: 12,17659: 19$ $664 \cdot 19665 \cdot 16668 \cdot 16$ | 738:21 743:8 746:11,18 |
| 871:12 | 704:19,20 712:2 725:18 | 664:19 665:16 668:16 | 747:8 871:8 873:18 |
| accuracy 758:22 829:5,8 | 791:15 812:15 817:12 | 671:2,7,10,16,22 672:8 | 882:22,22 883:4 889:6 |
| 909:10 | 817:13 834:11 860:15 | 673:11 676:9 683:20,22 | 890:14,16 891:1,12,13 |
| accurate 744:18 769:11 | 861:6 863:11 864:4 | 694:7 705:1,3 711:14 | 893:8 909:6,7 913:8 |
| 787:3 840:17 912:18 | 870:8 926:18 | 773:9 947:9,21 958:10 | 933:14 934:15 959:22 |
| 915:21 916:18 929:8 | admissibility 839:3 842:6 | agreed 667:19 673:4,16 | 959:22 960:1 963:12,14 |
| 952:6 | admissible 909:3,4 | 674:18 780:6 871:12 | 964:3,7,8 965:6 970:4 |
| accurately 930:6,17 | admission 772:7 | 878:15 948:9 954:17 | 977:8,14 Allowing 691.21 |
| accused 922:3 | admit 776:13 777:4 | 955:1 | Allowing 691:21 |

allows 705:17
allude 945:14
alluded 945:12
alternate 687:12
alternative 644:14
amend 643:3 898:18 957:12
amended 645:21 658:7 658:13,19,22 659:11,12 663:1 665:18 667:2,11 667:15,17 668:18 669:2 673:3,8 686:9 700:5
706:19 724:14,17,22
728:11,13 772:14 793:21 898:19 899:2,3
899:5 900:10 921:2
923:5,10 929:11,12 930:21 944:4 945:10 958:1
Amendment 934:9
amendments 651:6,6
America 791:17 793:5 820:7 872:4 873:2
America's 875:8
American 735:11,12
791:19 862:22 873:19
Americans 735:2
amicus 655:17,21
amount 755:10 761:19 776:7
amounted 724:21
ample 983:17
amplify 922:14
analogous 703:4
analogy 703:4
analyses 761:6
analysis 671:7,12,18 672:20 673:14,21 674:1 677:20 679:7 681:4 714:18 759:13 760:11 781:8 909:17 910:16 912:2 917:10 927:7
analyze 671:6
analyzed 922:17
analyzing 715:11
and/or 706:6
Anderson 712:3
Andrew 903:18 933:4,4
announce 821:4
announced 783:12 820:20 821:3
anomalies 769:15,19 771:14 778:17,20 780:5 799:21 936:11 946:4
anomaly 770:7
answer 660:12,16 663:21

714:1,12 758:8,12
766:6 846:19 854:12
914:4 915:5 921:17
950:22 969:10 972:21
978:12 980:19
answered 981:5
answers 780:10
anticipated 649:9,13
650:9 955:12,15 977:6
anticipating 714:4 807:10
antiterrorism 870:3
antitrust 860:10 867:16
anybody 845:7 858:2
930:9,17 984:11
anything's 927:17
anyway 796:21
apartment 735:22
apologies 968:14
apologize 636:15 727:22
780:20 943:22 951:22
968:16 970:18
apparatus 793:1
apparently 678:8 965:11
appeal 649:16 684:1
687:12 689:20 975:10
appeals 631:1,10 637:8 689:4
appear 664:16 792:22
appearance 664:4,17
appearances 633:1 634:1 797:10
appearing 931:19
appears 665:14 680:7 721:2 770:13 797:9
appellate 661:19 688:1 982:8
appended 643:1
applicable 682:7
application 646:9 647:9 663:15 664:8,15 703:1
704:11 776:13 920:11
applied 701:19 926:2,9 948:8,13 969:4
applies 669:21 712:1 948:2
apply 684:22 715:17 969:7
appointed 718:11 757:3 859:19 861:15 884:10
appointment 757:8
appreciate 661:13 777:22 838:21
approach 716:3 805:11 approached 742:21 745:18 940:4
approaching 664:10 appropriate 646:5
717:14 771:6 904:6
approximately 778:13
April 638:19 677:19
aquifers 755:16
area 704:2,4 745:8 749:6
753:15 773:17 774:9
811:10 917:15 918:1
933:11,15 936:7 939:20
940:5
areas 703:2 707:21 753:9 754:9 768:20,21 918:19 947:1
arguably 685:9
argue 680:15 681:7 687:5 704:21 711:21 902:1 939:7 941:21 963:21
argued 637:7 659:16
684:19,20 685:4 722:13
863:17 866:8,12 950:5
argues 702:8
arguing 665:14 681:12
690:16 696:12 701:15
701:17 720:21 722:20
723:3,19 905:19 950:8
953:17
argument 639:12 663:17
663:22 664:6 665:3,21
668:2,6 669:22 670:1,4
670:6,19 671:1,2,3,10
671:14,16,20 672:1,4
672:10,12 675:14
678:16 679:5 680:8,20
686:3,12 688:8 689:5
689:17 690:7 691:11
692:19 693:15,18
694:13 695:5 696:9
697:2,4,12,14,19,21
698:12 699:19,20
700:13,15,15,17 703:20
704:22 705:4 719:5,12
720:19,20 772:12
898:22 902:2 905:7,15
913:22 916:8 917:10,17
929:4 941:19 942:10
943:17 944:1,5,7
945:11 954:19 964:2
982:6,7,8,16 984:20,21
986:3
arguments 668:15,20
669:5 674:22 708:22
709:12 717:18 719:3
720:15,18 721:11,17
722:2,3 723:8,12
914:18 954:18 982:13

983:18
arithmetic 782:16
Arizona 652:6 720:3,6 725:21 797:21,21 798:2 802:11 823:18 854:9 899:21 974:16,17,18
Arlington 793:14 798:21 799:1 802:6 822:7,8,9 822:14 833:6,16,17 879:19 901:7
$\operatorname{arm}$ 924:3
armed 738:18 818:22
arrangements 880:7
arrest 940:1,4 942:9
arrival 738:9,14 744:21
arrive 741:22 793:18
arrived 736:18 737:7 794:5 823:15 882:20 933:8 935:13
arriving 736:19 742:9
article 879:1 925:15,18 926:4
articles 654:19 775:21 952:22
articulated 718:15
artificial 769:4
ascertain 727:20 758:20 758:21
ascribed 678:14 679:3
aside 970:20
asked 665:22 667:5 668:12 672:15 699:4 706:22 708:3,8,12,14 726:2 727:15 728:5 736:1 737:5 741:22 742:7,22 743:1,3 760:9 772:22 785:11 832:16 862:1 870:7 878:11,12 880:21 882:17 883:21 884:1 885:4 891:3 892:9 896:22 897:3 903:13 912:16 922:8 929:10 950:18 961:11 980:7
asking 726:22 759:12 843:4 895:17 963:3 974:11
aspect 791:12
assemble 892:4
assembled 893:20
asserting 644:16
assertion 924:20
assess 717:15 777:9
assessment 769:11
assessments 812:2
assigned 769:12 813:7
assignment 760:19 762:21 763:12
assist 822:2 824:10
assistance 741:13,15 793:9 811:7
assistant 633:15 861:20 893:5 912:4
associate 766:20 859:11 859:14 861:14 862:1 885:8 900:17 972:3
associates 872:10
association 775:5 818:5 820:13 890:6
associational 684:21
assume 715:3 716:10 723:12 727:17 728:13 731:2 732:1 927:11 944:11,12 957:15
assumed 915:22 925:9 937:11
assuming 706:4
assure 713:5 855:13 930:8
assured 718:8
AT\&T 867:15
Athenian 873:4
Atlanta 908:8 979:19,22 980:3
atmosphere 901:12,17
attach 966:1
attack 645:12 726:8 869:9
attacked 820:8
attempt 702:22
attempted 739:13 742:13 871:14
attempting 636:7 675:1,5 676:21 769:18 780:12 780:13
attended 735:13
attention 768:6 868:21 874:18 970:22 984:7 985:16
attesting 647:18
attitude 950:8
attorney 633:8,10 634:22 647:14,15,17 648:7,10 655:7 657:17 659:22 670:22 671:5,19,22 672:3,9,11 688:21 697:11 738:1 742:6 758:14 760:21 761:12 790:13 793:9 799:13 859:11,14 860:19,20 861:12,14,17,21 862:2 862:3 863:20,22 864:18

865:13 866:5 867:2
869:13,14,19,20 878:5
882:13 972:3,4 987:11
attorney's 661:9 670:16 815:8
attorneys 657:13 662:18 663:2,16 664:21 681:1
702:22 792:20 795:5
796:13 798:4,19,20
799:7 800:9,10 822:16
832:22 833:17 860:3,7
860:12 863:18
audit 781:19,21,22 782:2
782:6,7,9 783:6,13,19
785:12,14,18,22 786:3
786:5,7,8,10
audited 781:16
auditing 936:15
audits 774:18,20 782:5 786:8,12,16
Austin 767:17
authenticity 837:10
author 765:8 774:16,17
authored 756:11
authority 640:11 641:19
660:7,14 681:13 701:5 701:7
authorized 745:5
authors 767:10,11 779:11 784:12
available 704:22 755:10 775:19 840:10
Avenue 634:6 844:17
average 754:15
avid 820:1
avoid 642:7
Award 865:13 875:11
awarded 873:22
awards $813: 11,13,14,18$ 863:3 869:2 873:11,12 875:3,6,15
aware 651:19 677:15,16 729:11 777:18 782:1,8 782:10,11,18 783:5,8 783:10,13,18,20 784:19 802:9 803:8 805:12 853:2 936:21 946:15 948:18
awful 896:17
AZADEH 634:11

## B

Bachelor's 790:18
back 638:19 645:14
675:17 676:15,19
677:13 678:1 680:3,11

714:5,6 732:3 735:4 739:19 745:16 749:11 758:7 760:22 765:7,10 770:4 785:20 818:8 821:19 822:1 831:4 836:16 838:9,10 871:3 878:15 880:5 881:8,9 883:6 885:15 897:16,17 908:15 912:20 944:14 952:11 975:14 977:8 985:11
background 636:16 874:17
backs 968:1
bad 661:4,5,11 688:10,12 688:13 689:22 871:9,18
bad-faith 942:10
balance 961:1
balancing 712:4
ball 777:13
ballot 640:19 642:18 676:7 685:10 692:15 694:6 850:21 852:13 853:4 883:1 933:20 936:15,18 939:15 948:6 948:20 959:14,18 961:1
ballots 646:6,13 690:18
692:2 706:10 747:17
748:4 782:12 831:2,3
832:6 838:15,15,16
847:8,9 849:14,18
883:13 891:1,10,19,21
892:1 916:5 917:14
918:16,18 931:15,22
933:9 935:9 936:12,17
936:22 937:2 938:8,13
939:14,16 940:7 949:5
949:5,11 950:13
ballpark 658:15
Ban 926:17
bar 631:9,11 806:2
barred 686:13 687:6 873:20 933:10 934:5 961:21,22
barricade 939:19
barrier 747:9 968:21
barriers 883:3
BARRY 634:4
base 823:6 941:1
based 664:19 667:22
673:7 679:18 680:6
682:2 684:16 685:11
772:2 777:10 893:2
918:16 920:3 928:16
936:19 945:3,18 954:20
954:21 955:4,6
bases 668:2,5 679:21 723:6
basic 785:17
basically 643:11 644:9 648:7 670:8 720:14 730:19 785:14 793:6 796:12 797:5 818:6 823:13 824:6 830:22 850:17 877:8,17 878:11 881:1 890:12 891:15 908:17 910:16 914:12 927:2
basis 646:13 653:5,9,13
653:18 654:1 669:4
671:19 672:3,12 674:15
678:16 679:5,9,13
680:7 685:20,21 686:3
686:15 692:20 698:11
706:5,17 847:16 861:2
921:5 941:20 956:16,21 966:2
battle 813:20
bears 983:22
bed 907:17
began 742:17 872:2 876:8,17 897:16
begging 965:5
beginning 641:12 662:5 710:16 877:3 901:19 908:2 912:2 941:8 971:4
begins 641:14
behalf 632:5 633:10 634:2 637:2 654:11 664:17 708:1 727:2 729:9 733:14,18 751:5 751:9 780:22 785:9 790:5,9 810:15 821:18 842:18 859:6 943:1

## beings 835:17

believe 645:9,18 646:20 649:8 650:2,6,8,12 652:13,16 655:21 659:3 659:7,13 661:2 664:7 666:8 675:15 677:4 680:19 682:9 687:21 690:21 696:10 697:9 701:9,13,20 703:14 704:3 705:15 709:18 710:19,22 711:8 724:6 724:11,15,15,16 725:6 726:4 732:20 737:2,14 740:13 741:5,8,21 742:10 744:11,16,18 746:2 747:5 748:3,17 748:20 767:18 776:6

| 793:15 797:17 816:6 | 983:3 985:8,13,22 | bolts 703:17 | breakout 732:12 788:13 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 839:22 840:6,8 845:2 | 986:7,10 | Bondi 737:20 738:1 | 808:4 905:1 |
| 845:21 847:14 848:7 | Bertuna 634:5,15 | 743:22 744:3 882:8,12 | bribes 864:5 |
| 849:5,16 863:20 868:3 | best 694:10 719:1,11,12 | Boockvar 693:20 694:4 | brief 655:21 825:13 |
| 869:16 877:18,22 | 722:2 723:12 742:5 | 876:2 928:7 | briefed 817:3 |
| 889:15,15 902:9 919:10 | 746:10,17 764:2,11 | book 819:6,8,9,10 | briefly 724:4 799:4 |
| 929:16 943:15 948:6 | 865:3 892:18,20 929:7 | books 756:9,10 | 839:11 859:9 862:10 |
| 958:3 960:16 971:13 | better 786:19 830:7 | Borazzas 634:21 731:15 | 867:20 873:10 971:21 |
| 972:8 973:20 | 871:2 873:3,7 887:16 | 731:20 732:1,6,7,11,19 | Briggs 767:17 907:2 |
| believed 921:3 | 975:8 | 732:22 750:8,11 751:19 | 943:12 |
| believes 754:15 | beyond 673:1 675:9 | 752:10 788:1,12 789:8 | bring 683:11 768:6 984:7 |
| Ben 676:17 | 690:2 | 808:4 809:17 810:2 | 985:16 |
| benefit 949:15 | Biaggi 864:9 | 905:1 986:8 | broad 678:12,22 |
| Bernard 635:11 810:3,19 | Biden 642:21 691:5 | bore 934:13 | broaden 899:13 974:2 |
| Bernie 800:3,14 874:11 | 762:11 779:8 784:8 | Boris 833:20 834:2,2 | broader 675:2 |
| 902:18,18 903:5,6,11 | 879:6 908:2,18 910:19 | 884:7 886:8 893:21 | broadly 712:21 713:1 |
| 904:2 | 911:4 933:21 946:1,9 | 908:15 | Bronx 815:8 |
| Bernie's 902:19 | 954:5 | born 840:21 951:18 | brought 641:2 645:13,15 |
| Bernius 633:3 636:2,13 | Biden's 911:8 | 952:3 | 645:16,18 646:9 675:15 |
| 654:8 682:18,21 707:20 | big 795:7 822:21 872:6 | boss 862:2 | 675:19 709:1,12 725:22 |
| 710:9,13 711:11,13,18 | 879:1 | Boston 753:8 | 815:1 864:12 866:9,11 |
| 712:10,14,16,19 713:9 | bigger 830:6 837:3,4 | bother 667:9 | 879:22 880:19 886:5,5 |
| 713:20 714:3,8,10 | 842:16 896:6 | bottling 755:16 | 886:7,7,8,12 903:22,22 |
| 715:2,15 716:1,13 | Biggs 906:14,19 | bottom 722:1 756:3 | 958:4 |
| 717:6,13 718:9 719:15 | bike 745:12,12 747:8,12 | 765:11 | Brown 682:4 844:8 |
| 719:17 720:22 722:4,14 | 747:15 748:2 | boundaries 653:19 | Brozost 633:7 724:2,3 |
| 724:1,3 726:14,18 | Bill 740:4 861:4 | 700:17 701:1,22 702:16 | 725:3,10 726:13,22 |
| 727:9,13,17 728:17,20 | bipartisan 969:18,20 | 703:13 704:10,15 705:5 | 728:5 749:21 802:2,3 |
| 729:3 731:2,5,8,13 | birth 840:7 855:20 856:7 | 720:5 | 802:19,21,22 971:20,22 |
| 732:9,14 733:3,9 | 953:8 | boundary 690:11 699:20 | 973:7,16 974:5 976:10 |
| 749:19,22 750:2,13,16 | bit 672:6 713:16 722:5 | 704:4 | 976:13 978:3 |
| 750:22 751:22 770:22 | 724:10,19 725:8 736:14 | Brady 729:19 | Bruce 799:12 |
| 771:5,12,17,20 772:19 | 795:14 835:14 912:3 | branch 694:15 695:7 | BS 752:22 753:1,7,7 |
| 773:9,20 774:3 776:22 | 917:11 973:17 | Brann 649:5 650:9,11 | Buchanan 863:10 |
| 777:19 780:8,17 785:6 | blacked 844:21 | 660:3 663:10,14,19 | Buck 933:18 |
| 787:8,10,13,16,21 | Blakey 860:22 | 665:22 666:5,15,19 | Bucks 933:21 |
| 788:2,8,15,18 789:3,17 | blessed 862:18,19 | 667:1,8 668:4,18 669:2 | budget 868:11,15,16 |
| 790:1 801:22 802:20 | blocked 845:3 | 673:15,20 674:3 675:1 | 874:21 |
| 803:1,5,16,20 804:1,6 | blog 756:18 757:22 | 675:3,21 676:2,22 | building 755:19 |
| 804:10,15,18,22 805:5 | blogs 756:16 | 678:14 679:2 680:13 | built 811:18 |
| 805:22 806:5,17,22 | Bloomberg 872:18 | 681:5 682:4 686:11 | bunch 824:18 829:14 |
| 807:8 808:1 809:4,9,12 | blow 727:18 784:11 | 694:19 695:13,14 696:7 | 830:11 831:1 856:2 |
| 809:16,20,22 810:4,7 | blue 758:13 908:1 946:17 | 696:15 698:9 700:13,18 | 918:2,2 |
| 810:12 818:15 835:11 | 946:18 | 706:7 708:12,15 709:11 | Bureau 860:5 |
| 836:13 837:11 838:20 | board 631:2,5 640:4 | 899:1 943:17 945:12 | Burwell 926:21 |
| 839:9,17 842:7,12 | 694:21 695:17 776:3 | 950:6 969:3 | bush 692:22 693:6,14 |
| 843:11 846:7,9 847:18 | 969:9,16 981:14 | Brann's 637:5 661:22 | 699:2,5 710:20 711:3,4 |
| 848:21 849:19,22 850:4 | Bobb 635:10 787:19 | 662:6 667:16,19 668:11 | 712:10 713:12 717:15 |
| 852:20 853:8,19 854:22 | 789:7,9,16,17 790:4,11 | 669:7,11 673:3,5,9,12 | 717:17,21 718:2,5,15 |
| 857:1,4,18,20 858:1,5 | 798:18 802:3 803:1 | 674:18 675:9 709:4 | 812:14 814:14 864:20 |
| 858:10 859:3 904:5,11 | 804:1,4,7 833:21,22 | Brantley 631:22 632:3 | 867:4 870:7 883:10 |
| 904:16,20 905:4 914:21 | 912:8,9 976:7 | 987:2,16 | 888:7,8 |
| 915:4 920:5,12,18 | Boesky 865:2 | break 636:18 731:9 | business 790:19 |
| 942:20 969:10 971:15 | Bognet 638:14 686:13,16 | 763:20 904:6,7,21 |  |
| 971:18,20 978:5 981:8 | 686:17 687:7,11,15,21 | 976:22 979:14 | C |
| 981:13,20 982:1,4 | 689:4,8,17 690:1 | breaking 714:4 | C 633:3 636:1 |

C.S.R 631:22 987:2,16
calculation 652:22
California 854:10
call 636:11 702:17 732:15 735:22 740:2,17 756:18
759:18 760:22 762:17
789:4,6,7 799:20
809:12,20 858:10,14,21
876:10 882:1,7 932:17
946:17 970:21
called 638:13 644:1,5
645:2 655:22 715:5
733:14 741:1 751:5 756:19 757:14 758:14
760:7 761:12 775:16
790:5 811:1 816:13 817:13 819:11 821:16
821:22 872:7 874:8
879:21 880:1 885:15 888:8,8
calling 642:21 741:13
757:22 759:5 775:2
calls 739:21 823:9
camera's 809:17
camp 863:16
campaign 638:21 639:5
640:11,13 641:2,17,19
642:6,14,17,20,21
655:1,13 685:2,7 701:4
701:6 717:9,17,19
734:22 736:20,22 737:6
737:9 738:9,16,21
739:7,9,19 740:3,4
741:16 742:1,6,8
746:19 749:11 790:14
791:1,18 792:11,22 793:16 794:14,21
796:14,14 797:1 820:17
821:11 822:6,13,14,16
822:17 823:12,13,22
824:18 829:12 834:20
878:12 879:9,17 880:7
880:13,15,16 882:15
887:3 888:3,3 890:15
890:17,20 892:5 896:2
896:19 924:8 933:17,21
939:22 940:3 972:18
campaigned 821:5
campaigns 734:18 812:5 812:7 821:8
candidate 656:7,12,19 657:9 675:8 676:4 677:12 685:9 691:5 734:22 923:15,22 924:2 924:22,22 940:16 972:15 973:2
candidate's 675:11 candidates 682:11 692:3 699:21 734:17
candidly 836:8 969:3
Cannon 885:19 889:6,9
Canon 746:13
Canon's 746:11
canvass 725:19
canvassing 640:20 699:22
capacious 685:6
capacity 770:12,14 813:1 813:1
capita 870:18
car 886:18 893:17 898:14 898:16 943:16,21 944:1 944:8 975:14
Care 926:19 927:1
career 755:2 814:7 861:21 864:9 883:7 972:7
careful 779:11
carefully 972:12
Carolina 757:4 767:15 775:15
Carolyn 633:5 662:12
carrier 936:13,20 966:20
carrier's 936:19
carriers 936:9,9,10 938:7 967:13
cartels 865:6,6
Carter-Baker 930:3
case 635:2,6 637:6
638:13,17 639:3,5
643:9 644:1,3,4,5 645:2
645:5,16,17 646:17,21 647:4 649:4,5,9 650:17 650:19 656:3 658:1 660:19 662:7,9 663:12 664:22 665:10 666:7,10 666:12 668:13 673:16 674:2,11 676:17,18,18 677:5,6,14 680:8,9,15 680:15 681:7,21 684:18 685:11,22 686:8 687:10 691:16 692:9 693:5 694:4,14 695:6 697:17 698:1,15,15 702:15,16 708:5 715:11 716:6,8 716:18 718:4,13 720:2 721:15,19 723:13,17 725:14 726:10 731:12 780:11 784:7 795:3 799:8 816:8 830:17 847:1 863:8,21 864:1,2 864:12 866:9,12 881:8

894:9 896:6,9,11
897:10,15 898:7,10
902:4 905:19 912:5
914:2 919:18 922:18
926:18,20,20,21,22
933:2 947:14 948:7
953:16,17 954:19 955:3
958:22 972:21 975:7
980:22 982:9 984:16,16
cases 639:7 652:18,21
653:1 655:11,13,16,16
675:6 676:1,12,16,22
676:22 677:1,19,20
678:2 684:9 691:12
702:8 703:15 704:14
712:2 714:18 717:2
725:15,20,21 726:4,9
730:5 802:7,17,18
850:18 851:13,13
862:12 863:6,17,19
867:16 896:19 909:4,5
912:20 913:10 926:11
926:16 972:6,18 983:9
cash 814:20
cast 642:18 912:21
940:20 941:2 949:6 961:1
casting 850:19
casually 907:20
catch 946:9
categorically 723:7
category 675:16 838:8 969:1
caught 946:1
cause 680:3
causes 639:1
cautioning 710:21
caveat 713:2
cavernous 745:8,14
cemeteries 848:11
center 738:6,11,14,17 739:4,19 740:1,7 742:9
742:10,14,18,20 744:13
744:21 748:1,22 812:1
869:10 882:21 886:22
887:19,21 888:5,12
896:1 933:8,13
central 718:7
Centre 931:17
CEO 734:13 811:4
cert 649:16 689:21
certain 690:16 725:1
728:14 755:4 768:20
778:22 783:11 835:6
909:3 945:21 957:3,18
957:19 958:16 961:4

976:14
certainly 649:14 650:9
665:1,14,20 667:8
673:19 677:19 680:2,3
680:6 681:12 686:2
687:14 688:11,19 689:3
689:9 690:3 696:15
699:1,14,15 701:20
707:13 709:14 718:6
721:20 722:19 723:11
769:20 777:15 917:17
927:17 928:19 929:6
930:9,16 934:15 937:8
941:20 942:12 948:2,8
955:11,15
CERTIFICATE 987:1
certificates $841: 5$
certify 664:11 987:4
certiorari 646:17
cetera 758:22 759:1 775:22,22,22 781:11 817:19 823:9,10 924:8 924:9,9
chads 883:11
chair 633:4 636:6 654:9 710:12 716:14 717:1 727:6 728:19 729:1 731:14 733:11 751:2 772:10,22 773:15
776:12 780:15 789:5 801:20 805:4,16 807:20
818:11 832:19 835:8 843:10 854:13 858:21 920:2,21 922:8 929:15 942:19 971:17 981:11 981:19
Chair's 716:15
chaired 860:22
Chairman 636:2,13 654:8 682:18,21 707:20
710:9,13 711:11,13,18 712:10,14,16,19 713:9 713:20 714:3,8,10 715:2,15 716:1,13 717:6,13 718:9 719:15 719:17 720:22 722:4,14 724:1 726:14,18 727:9 727:13,17 728:17,20 729:3 731:2,5,8,13 732:9,14 733:3,9 749:19,21,22 750:2,13 750:16,22 751:22 770:22 771:5,12,17,20 772:19 773:9,20 774:3 776:22 777:19 780:8,17 785:6 787:8,10,13,16

| 787:21 788:2,8,15,18 | Charges 805:15 | city 737:9 767:18 810:21 | CO2 757:14 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 789:3,17 790:1 801:22 | Charles 844:8 | 812:18,21 821:1 864:5 | Coalition 757:14 |
| 802:20 803:1,5,16,20 | charting 795:8 | 867:1 868:11,14 869:16 | coauthored 756:10 |
| 804:1,6,10,15,18,22 | charts 912:12 943:6,10 | 869:22 870:4 871:6 | cocounsel 662:20 682:17 |
| 805:5,22 806:5,17,22 | 944:15,18,19 945:3,5 | 872:5 873:2,7 874:7,21 | code 640:17 705:11 |
| 807:8 808:1 809:4,9,12 | 945:20 | 933:8,10 | cofounders 775:16 |
| 809:16,20,22 810:4,7 | check 844:20 845:7 851:7 | civil 643:5,6 647:11 | cognizable 674:20 |
| 810:12 818:15 835:11 | 892:22 908:15 912:16 | 655:10 683:12 702:7 | coincidence 919:10,11 |
| 836:13 837:11 838:20 | check-in 744:22 | 860:8 867:16,19 934:9 | coincidentally 939:6 |
| 839:9,17 842:7,12 | checked 783:4 960:2 | 934:10 972:6 | collar 743:10 |
| 843:11 846:7,9 847:18 | Chicago 870:4,6 | civilian 791:10 | collateral 702:17 703:15 |
| 848:21 849:19,22 850:4 | chief 813:2 884:19 912:4 | civilly 932:19 | colleague's 978:12 |
| 852:20 853:8,19 854:22 | child 866:7 868:18,19 | claim 637:19 640:14 | colleagues 709:1,13 |
| 857:1,4,18,20 858:1,5,8 | chilled 702:22 | 643:11,13 653:6 679:10 | 730:10 |
| 858:10 859:3 904:5,11 | Chirac 875:7 | 685:6 687:22 690:3 | collect 829:11 938:7 |
| 904:16,20 905:4 914:21 | choice 861:22 | 691:1 700:9 701:21 | collected 827:21 829:13 |
| 915:4 920:5,12,18 | chose 746:6 | 702:20 703:6,17,19 | 830:21 837:20 852:7 |
| 942:20 968:8 969:10 | Christiani 886:14 | 705:19 706:1,6,9 | collecting 823:14 830:13 |
| 971:15,18 978:5 981:8 | Christina 635:10 787:18 | 722:18,20 922:6 933:1 | 831:6,15 |
| 981:13,20 982:1,4 | 789:7,9 790:4 833:22 | claimed 653:14 899:22 | College 735:13 753:8 |
| 983:3 985:8,13,22 | 894:5 912:5 | 960:21 | Collusion 876:10,14 |
| 986:7,10 | circuit 637:8,17,18 638:1 | claiming 685:20 699:16 | Colombian 865:6 |
| challenge 657:18 676:5 | 638:11 639:15,22 | 754:12 | Colonel 908:15 |
| 685:9 763:1 | 640:22 643:14 644:18 | claims 642:13,14 653:10 | Colorado 665:10 724:8 |
| challenged 638:2 690:9 | 646:4 649:16 650:14 | 683:11 686:20 687:6 | 724:12 725:4 767:13,14 |
| challenges 762:22 881:10 | 661:18 675:6,18 676:3 | 705:13,18 706:2 718:2 | 897:1 |
| 881:12 | 676:12,22 677:1,17 | 718:19 | Columbia 631:1,10 632:5 |
| challenging 656:18 657:1 | 678:4,8,11,20,22 | clarify 776:2 974:8 | 652:7 865:8 942:4 |
| 675:10,10 677:11 | 679:12 680:9,10,15,15 | clarifying 724:4 | 987:17 |
| 703:17 715:7 | 680:17 681:7,8 684:1 | Clark 740:5 | column 638:6 642:3 |
| chance 659:21 806:10 | 689:11,12 701:5,6,12 | clause 637:19 638:11 | 837:6 844:21 |
| 826:2 903:10 940:17,18 | 777:1 866:13,14 975:3 | 639:9 640:7 686:20 | combination 869:15 |
| 975:8 | Circuit's 683:15 687:7 | 687:22 700:22 701:19 | 963:20 965:19 |
| change 679:3,6,7,17 | 700:20 | 703:1 718:20 826:20 | come 681:10 711:21 |
| 753:17 807:17 871:11 | circuits 679:22 | clear 687:10 688:17 | 719:4 732:3 742:1 |
| 908:17 926:20 | circumstance 766:19 | 689:10,12 724:20 | 743:2 761:6 763:6 |
| changed 729:13,21 | circumstances 648:3,13 | 796:21 807:7 835:16 | 769:10 770:4 777:2 |
| 872:11,20 907:13 | 648:14 661:4 718:6 | 982:18 | 792:10,12 793:11 796:8 |
| 917:11 949:2 979:10 | 721:6,6 740:12 748:22 | cleared 793:5 | 814:8 816:20 820:16 |
| changes 881:12 | 773:13 805:6 | clearly 684:13 698:7 | 821:9,19 822:5 825:18 |
| changing 871:15 | citation 643:22 | 700:12 704:1 748:2 | 826:14 828:12 831:17 |
| channel 751:20 | citations 941:9 | 931:22 | 855:14 861:11 865:21 |
| chaos 711:5 797:15 | cite 684:8 925:11 930:20 | clemency 816:9 | 866:22 872:8 882:17 |
| chaotic 662:7 794:12,21 | 942:5 971:5 | clerked 973:10 | 890:2 892:2 901:7 |
| 795:20 796:19 800:7 | cited 638:20 640:20 | Cleta 775:4 | 941:22 946:9 952:11 |
| 823:15 892:10,18 | 652:15 675:6 676:12,22 | client 656:11,12,17,18,22 | 970:7 |
| 901:20 902:3 | 680:16 681:20 921:13 | 657:1,4,5,8,9,13 718:10 | comes 652:22 656:15 |
| chapter 767:11,12,12 | 940:14 941:14 960:5 | 718:11 719:1 953:18 | comfortably 945:22 |
| 768:12,13 779:2 | 963:8 968:6 | 957:2 | coming 665:13 719:12 |
| chapters 765:15,17 766:1 | cites 640:11 641:19 701:4 | climate 753:16 758:4 | 726:7 741:7,20 755:14 |
| 767:16 | 701:6 | 926:20 | 800:13,18 824:14,17 |
| characterization 800:21 | cities 862:18 947:1,4 | Clinton 861:4,6 879:5 | 828:4,10 830:14 851:21 |
| charge 746:3 860:17 | citing 692:4 | close 684:21 748:2 813:9 | 854:9 900:7 903:9 |
| 903:18 | citizen 754:15 768:12 | 820:4 867:7 | 911:19 |
| charged 815:3,17 981:15 | 783:3 873:19 | closer 910:19,19,20 | commandant 863:16 |
| 981:18 | citizenship 873:18 | Club 754:20 | commencing 632:2 |

commendably 969:3
commendations 813:21
comment 701:11 708:21
commented 700:21 709:11
commercial 756:1,5,6 commiserate 878:7
commission 720:4 757:5 860:18 862:14 865:18 987:21
commissioner 757:3,4 812:18,19 813:3,4 819:16 821:2,3 869:6 871:22 874:1,15
commissioners 864:6
committed 653:6 835:5
committee 631:3 632:3 633:2 666:21 708:10 710:4 811:20 820:14 921:10 922:19,22 932:21 960:6 971:19 978:6 981:14 985:4
committee's 970:22
committees 817:10 819:4 928:13
common 661:7 748:13 911:5 959:11 974:14 977:18
commonwealth 638:15 742:12 743:15
communicate 884:11
communication 912:6
community 755:17
companies 734:6 755:13
company 734:10,14 783:12
comparing 837:21 854:1
comparison 785:16
compensation 911:7
competition 900:5
competitive 675:2,16
676:3,14 677:2,10
678:12 679:1,9,13,19
680:4,21 681:2,21
682:2,6 685:4 924:20
compiled 836:7,8 837:17
839:6 845:12 847:21
complaining 891:16 897:21
complaint 637:20 643:1 643:15 644:12 650:2 651:12 657:15,20 658:2
658:7,13,20,22 659:10 659:11,13,21 662:11 663:1 665:12,19 667:2 667:11,15,17 668:19,20

669:3 671:11,17 673:3 673:8 686:9 700:5
706:19 724:7,14,16,17
724:22 728:10,11,13
772:14 793:21 885:5,6
897:5,17,19,20,20,22
898:18,20 899:2,3,6,7
900:10 905:20 921:2,13
923:6,10,19 929:11,13
930:10,21 932:5,6,7
935:21 936:1 937:6
941:9,18 944:5 945:10
945:11,16 950:5 955:9
957:14 958:1 959:11
961:3,10 966:6,7 967:5
971:7,8 973:19 976:6,6 976:20
complaints 643:15
686:15 717:3 878:20
900:6,7 902:7 903:19
938:16 961:16 975:2,5
976:5 977:20
complete 660:15 763:12 904:12
completed 835:6
completely 894:19
977:12,16
complex 711:15
complexities 710:17
compliance 693:9 786:15 786:18,20
complicated 645:8 712:8
complications 786:17
components 754:6
comprehensive 805:19 909:17
compressed 725:13
computations 910:4
computer 769:1 781:10 952:19
computers 952:6
con 738:15
concede 879:6
concedes 638:21
concentrate 859:10
concentration 863:16
concept 677:2 678:12,22 712:20
concepts 718:15
concern 719:18
concerned 645:9 680:21 686:18 759:16 762:7
concerning 720:3 725:9 725:22 803:7
concerns 692:4
concerted 942:8
concise 643:12
conclude 762:12 937:9
concluded 673:4 782:3
conclusion 668:1 674:13
778:12,16,20 806:15
815:12 941:22 964:15
conclusions 763:7 778:10 779:9 806:8 983:16
conclusive 851:20 852:10
conclusively 677:10
conclusory 644:10
concurrence 778:8
condemned 864:20
condition 952:20
conditions 739:22
conduct 661:8 672:17,21
708:4,6 729:20 815:16
934:12,14
conducted 651:17 693:9 706:10 827:4 924:5
confer 682:16
conference 740:2,15
741:3 742:19 749:13
795:4 802:5 822:22
823:1 833:8
confident 895:3
confinement 817:19 818:1,1
confirm 838:8,10 841:6
confirmation 838:5
confirmed 859:20 860:14
860:16 861:16 938:14
confirming 829:7
confiscate 746:7
confronted 959:6
confuse 876:7
confused 728:12 935:4 973:18
confusing 645:17
confusion 796:12 928:9
Congress 861:5 864:17 866:11
congressional 720:5
Congressman 864:9,10
connection 715:7 735:18 757:19
connotations 780:2
consent 779:13
Consequently 940:6
Conservative 784:7
considerable 926:3,10
considerably 959:9 964:3
consideration 814:16 815:2
considered 692:16 871:10 876:14,20

924:19 930:15
considering 666:20
consisted 818:20,21
consistent 644:15 680:16
681:8 786:7
consolidate 975:7
constitution 690:10,20 873:21 881:15 940:19 941:6
constitutional 653:16,20 699:1
constitutionally 720:11
constraints 704:19 715:17,18
construed 676:10
consult 820:11 839:16,20
consultancy 811:7
consultant 734:1
consulting 734:5,5 810:22 811:5
contact 636:7 759:22 816:18 820:9 832:7
contacted 757:18 766:16 816:18 894:21
contacts 757:20 793:3
contain 682:5
contained 950:4
containing 939:14
contemplating 687:11
content 849:22
contents 771:7,18 773:6 777:7,21 827:19 920:16 920:20
contest 655:20 658:5,11 677:8 681:11 972:17
contesting 725:17
contests 881:19
context 724:17 725:4 897:8
contexts 703:7
continual 852:3
continuation 736:2
continue 793:1 845:22 846:7 850:3 856:21
continued 631:15 632:1 634:1 637:1 834:15 842:17 846:13 850:8 861:5 918:20 977:17
Continuing 714:1
contracts 796:22 864:5 865:17
contradicts 964:14
contravention 694:7
contribute 767:11 899:12
contributed 767:8
contribution 899:9,10

| 944:6 | 696:9,21,22 698:8,12 | 690:17,18,22 691:3,3,7 | 729:12 730:19 742:6,12 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| controversial 863:8 | 700:1,2,7,15,16 701:1,2 | 691:8 692:13 696:2 | 742:21 743:15 798:15 |
| convene 981:15 984:8 | 701:8,12 705:17,20 | 698:16,19 778:22 779:1 | 887:16 925:10,15 |
| 985:18 | 706:2,20 707:5,10,15 | 779:3,4 781:16 782:13 | 926:11,22 927:6 928:20 |
| convention 656:6 738:6 | 707:16 717:12 722:7,12 | 922:10,11 939:2 | 941:15,21 964:11 965:6 |
| 738:11,14,17 739:4,18 | 722:15,17 730:20 | counting 641:3,16 706:9 | 970:14 975:3,9,11 |
| 740:7 742:9,10,20 | 744:10,11 748:19 | 725:17 736:3 745:10 | 977:10,21 |
| 744:13,21 748:1 882: | 784:21 785:3 798:1 | 746:20 747:4 749:4 | court's 638:2 679:14 |
| 886:22 887:19,21 888:4 | 800:20 801:13 803:3,4 | 883:1 900:3,5 908:3 | 683:9 704:18 |
| 888:12 896:1 933:8,13 | 815:20 822:8 833:11 | 910:18 933:7,11,14 | courts 651:21 655:5 |
| conversant 760:5 | 836:22 838:11 840:18 | 934:22 939:20 940:5 | 684:22 698:5 703:7 |
| conversation 743:4 878:9 | 842:2 844:4 845:1 | 947:12 948:20 966:14 | 705:12,12,18 711:2 |
| 880:20 887:14 | 847:11 848:6 849:15 | 969:6 970:2,4,9 977:13 | 722:22 926:13 |
| conversations 761 | 851:10,11,14 852:15 | 978:11 | covered 714:2 742:20 |
| 841:13 965:22 | 856:19 857:14 873:16 | country 711:6755:11 | covers 758:3 |
| convey | 876:2 883:21 902:10 | 774:18,21 792:21 | COVID 746:20 758:3 |
| convict 932:19 | 943:17 946:10 947:2,7 | 796:12 813:16 814:5 | cows 883:3 |
| convicted 864:9, | 948:9 950:6 952:3 | 819:1 821:6,7 859:10 | Cox 767:13 |
| 921:15 | 955:3 956:5 958:5,20 | 861:2 869:17 870:18 | Crawford 730:6 |
| conv | 961:21 963:8,13 964:13 | 872:9,12 | crazy 824:2 911:12 |
| convinced 661:9 730:10 | 965:14 966:15 967:11 | counts 639:9 641:13,15 | create 855:11 |
| Coomer 897:2 | 967:17,21 968:21 | 815:18 | eated 811:22 |
| coordinate 762:17 | corrected 648:10 943: | county 640:9 691:13,22 | reates 874:12 |
| 824:10 973:8 | correction 813:6 818:21 | 691:22 694:21 695:16 | creating 941:20 |
| coordinated 802: | 821:2 | 931:11,18 933:18,21 | creative 718:22 719:2,5 |
| coordinating 802:7 | correction | 934:22 935:3,3,8,8 | 721:10,13,21,22 |
| coordinator 796:1,6 | 874:15 | 936:14 963:15 965:12 | credential 745:1,3 |
| 824:7 825:1 | co | 966:20 977:17 | credentialed 768:18 |
| cop | corresp | couple | 933:6 963:11 |
| copied 869:3 870:5 | 855:22 | 757:6 781:4 793:2 | credentials 747:2 767:20 |
| copy 742:11 983:1 | counsel 633:13,15 634:12 | 798:22 799:5 881:2 | 768:1,16 772:4 944:17 |
| Corbin 729:19 | 634:18 637:2,11 655:17 | 883:14,15,17 916:1 | credibility 836:9 |
| core 643:2 900:14 909:7 | 656:5 701:17 702:8 | couriers 795:12 | crest 946:18 |
| Corey 635:8 733:1,13 | 708:1 709:4 726:21 | course 689:22 778:7 | crime 818:18 860:21,22 |
| 882:2,12 887:10,11 | 727:2 734:16 741:18 | 791:10 813:11 874:18 | 864:15 868:3,3 872:19 |
| 888:14,20,21 970:14 | 780:22 784:4 791:5 | 915:22 921:22 922:1 | criminal 655:8 730:2 |
| Corey's 882:3 889:22 | 799:16 802:11,11,12 | 936:14 955:8 956:2 | 811:7 812:5,8,9 815:18 |
| Cornell 767:16 | 834:13 895:15 900:18 | 957:13 | 816:21 817:14 819:1,4 |
| Corps 791:3 | 900:19 972:20,20 981:9 | courses 781:20 | 860:1,3,7,8,9 861:2,3 |
| correct 655:8 658:1,6,12 | 981:17 984:4 987:8,11 | court 631:1,10 632:3 | 867:17 972:4,6 |
| 658:20,21 661:15 662:3 | counsel's 635:2 645:4 | 637:6,8,20 640:16 | criminally 932:20 |
| 662:14 663:2,3,6,10,17 | 686:22 960:15 | 645:14 646:3,9,11,15 | Crisis 811:22 |
| 666:14,18 667:3,16,17 | count 640:3 649:12 | 647:4 648:12,12 649:3 | Critically 756:19 |
| 667:18 668:4,7,15,21 | 713:14 748:4 853:7 | 649:4,10,14,18 650:5 | criticized 712:17 925 |
| 669:5,7 671:14 672:18 | 891:18,22 933:9 941:12 | 650:10 665:2 671:1,6 | 926:4 928:1 |
| 672:19,22 673:1,5,6,9 | 947:6 949:4,5 979:12 | 682:7,10 684:9,13 | cross 635:3,7 857:2 |
| 673:21 674:5,16,20 | 979:14 | 685:5 686:18 687:13,16 | cross-examination |
| 675:3,11,12 676:7,8,11 | counted 692:15 883:13 | 692:12 693:3,7 695:18 | 654:10 730:12,14 |
| 677:9 678:9,10 680:10 | 883:17 935:11,17 | 695:19 696:1,6 697:3,6 | 780:21 942:22 |
| 680:18 682:3 683:13,14 | 939:16 940:19 949:12 | 697:7,9,13 698:3 700:4 | cross-examine 772:5 |
| 683:18,19 685:18 687:7 | 950:13 957:10,22 | 700:8,10,21 701:4 | 850:11 |
| 687:8 688:1,2 689:6 | 970:10 977:9 979:9 | 702:2 705:22 707:3 | crossed 743:12 |
| 690:12,15 691:7,10,10 | counter 891:9 | 710:21 711:1 712:1 | crucible 730:13 |
| 691:13 692:6,7 693:11 | counterproduc | 716:7 717:11,22 718:2 | cruise 866:10 |
| 693:12 694:11,12,16,17 | 983:21 | 718:4,12,13 720:1,10 | cubicles 823:4 |
| 694:18,22 695:8,17 | counties 664:11 690:16 | 720:13,18 721:7 724:13 | cure 640:13 645:13 646:5 |

## Page 996

| 646:5 653:15 690:11,14 | 658:3,7,14,16 659:3,9 | deemed 707:3 932:7 | depending 807:5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 690:17 691:4 694:9,16 | 659:10,14 660:22 726:3 | deep 805:18 | depends 692:20 703:21 |
| 694:20 695:8,9 698:17 | 743:13 763:19,22 764:4 | defamation 897:10,1 | deployed 791:8 |
| 928:10,14 954:21 | 764:16 792:19 793:21 | defective 935:14 | deploying 866:10 |
| 958:12 | 794:1 799:5 816:3 | defects 643:2 646: | deposition 665:10 724:8 |
| curiae 655: | 829:15 864:21 865:9 | defend 755:1,3 | 724:12 725:4,7 726:22 |
| currently 733:22 753 | 910:16,17 965:5 | defendant 642:19 | 728:4 897:1,2 |
| 790:12,13 | DC 633:10,17 634 | 927:8 972:16 973:4 | deputy 7 |
| cut 765:18 868:10 976:1 | 687:17 688:4 691:18 | defendants 649:6 650: | 884:10 |
| 977:1,3,4,6 | 736:1738:4 741:9 | 653:6 691:4 939:11 | describe 740:11 753:20 |
| cutting 976:14 | 791:14 816:20 821: | defense 791:5 | 774:11 793:17 794:4,4 |
|  | 821:20 822:2 | defer 984:2 | 794:11 822:18,19 823:8 |
| D | DC17 | Deferred 926:1 | 859:22 860:1 880:6 |
| D 635:1 636:1 | DE | deficit 868:15 | 901:11 905:11 907:6 |
| da | dead 838:6,7 | define 669:21 | 914:3 |
| daily 912:6 | 917:17 918:2,21 945:16 | 957:19 | described 715:20 739:12 |
| Daley 870:6 | 953:14 954:20 955:12 | d | 742:3 760:8 877:18 |
| damn 885:9 | deadline 649:11 664:10 | definitely 723:2 759:16 | 882:18 883:2 887:14 |
| Dan 713:21 | deal 639:15 863:9 869:10 | degree 713:5 735:11,14 | 903:7 915:1 918:11 |
| Danforth 784:16 | 874:20 884:6 | 752:22 753:1,2,4,6 | 970:2 972:5 974:20 |
| Daniel 635:4 636:20 | d | 776:11 790:20 | describing 739:11 760:1 |
| data 651:16 754:5 760 | deals 712:20 | degrees 735:10 752:21 | 897:16 |
| 761:19 762:1,3,5,12 | death 837:22 841:4 | 753:7 760:16 790:17 | description 892:6 |
| 763:3,5,16 764:6,12 | 843:3 868:22 917:10 | Delaware 934:21 935:2,8 | designated 973:7 |
| 769:13,22 772:2 823: | deaths 863:15 | 65 | designed 748:4 780:9 |
| 829:11,14 830:13,14,21 | deceive 930:17 | delay 669:13 | desk 738:20 739:15 |
| 831:9,15,22 832:1,3,5 | December 631:13 | delayed 751:21 | 742:21 744:22 |
| 838:11,11 846:17 | 9:11 650:6 711:5 | Delegates 656:6 | despite 786:13,14,15,16 |
| 847:17 909:8 912:3 | 814:12 816:17 986:1 | 8 | detail 692:11 |
| 945:3 965:3 |  | delivering 936:20 | detailed 927: |
| database 835:18 839:16 | decide 644:15 668 | delivery 936:11,15 | details 786:10 829:7 |
| 839:19,21 840:9,12 | 66:2 710:2 763:1 | democrat 970:13 | 891:20 |
| 841:9,14,20 843:5,6 | 981:15 984:4 985:9 | democratic 645 | tective 813 |
| 845:17 952:19 953:7 | decided 687:21 697:7 | 0:17 693:20 83 | determination 98 |
| databases 837:19 838:13 | 738:10 763:8 765:16 | 883:8 947:1 980 | determine 684:2 |
| 845:21 855:11 | 885:15 888:7 898:19 | democratic-controlle | 747:16 749:5 |
| date 650:17 659:12 663:8 | 908:5,5 977:22 | 691:2 | Detroit 908:8 976:7 |
| 680:20 744:15 766:22 | decision 638:22 646:18 | democrats 817:16 864:8 | 977:6 |
| 822:5 827:3 889:11,13 | 647:3 661:22 662:3, | 9:3 947:15 969:4,7,8 | devastating 701:11 |
| dates 658:10 730:17 | 667:16,22 669:7,11 | 969:13 970:3,9 980:18 | develop 754:9 870:10 |
| 832:6 840:7,22 855:20 | 673:4,5,9,12,14 674:3, | demonstrates 907:12 | 880:11 |
| 856:6 951:9,10 953:8 | 674:19 678:15 681:6 | demonstrating 920:13 | developed 976:21 |
| Dawsontown 856:15 | 686:13 687:7 692:17,21 | denial 647:8 | devoted 873:2,3 |
| Dawsonville 856:15 | 694:8 697:12 700:20 | denied 664:9 739:1,17 | dichotomy 754:17 |
| day 650:4 659:16 740:18 | 712:11 721:7 839:2 | 744:5 876:15 932:22 | died 849:14,17 852:14 |
| 744:16,22 746:4 749:14 | 884:14,16 885:11,19,20 | 939:18 963:11 | 874:4 952:10 |
| 752:5 760:22 793:19 | 892:3 928:16 941:15 | Denver 636:9 767:13 | Diego 791:9 |
| 795:13 816:6 853:4 | 986:5,6 | department 743:2,16 | dies 853:4 |
| 877:21 879:13 881:4 | decisions 797:5 881:16 | 745:21 746:5 791:16 | difference 647:3 795:14 |
| 882:5,5 885:13 889:17 | 895:5 925:10,16 | 810:22 812:19 815:13 | 930:11 |
| 889:18 891:5 899:16,16 | declaration 645:20 95 | 859:19 860:2 868:20 | different 647:18 660:11 |
| 905:14,15 910:18 913:2 | declarations 803:7 | 869:16 872:1 890:5,9 | 660:19 668:9 685:22 |
| 916:6 928:6 943:14,20 | 939:13 959:8,10 966:12 | departments 890:8 | 691:8,9,22 692:13,14 |
| 948:21 975:12 977:15 | declaring 654:2 | depend 673:22 679:18,20 | 693:8 711:20 715:10,21 |
| 979:18 985:14 | declined 866:6,6 884:1 | 688:15 | 716:4 717:1,21 722:15 |
| days 648:9 650:3,4,19,19 | declining 683:22 | depended 895:4 | 723:16 746:16 770:8 |


| 775:2,3 786:4 795:7 | 921:18 960:15 981:16 | 720:5 899:17 | drafting 657:15 724:14 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 798:22 800:8,13 821:6 | 981:18 | ditto 640:12 | 900:9 905:19 913:22 |
| 823:16 828:5,6,8,11 | disciplined 921:9,1 | dive 805:18 | 973:18 |
| 831:5 856:14 878:21 | disclosure 972:1 | division 860:1,3,7,8,8,9,9 | dramatic 777:12 |
| 881:3,3,13 911:11 | discouraging 948:1 | 860:10 863:11 972:4 | dramatically 979:11 |
| 917:8,20 936:7,18 | discovered 955:11 | divulge 811:9 | draw 970:15 |
| 959:20 961:10 973:1 | discovery 647:15 | Docket 631:5,7 | drawing 907:9,11 |
| 978:20,20 979:4,5 | discredited 876:13 | doctrine 702:18 | drawn 874:6 |
| differently 694:19 695:15 | discretion 648:14 651:11 | document 669:9,13 688:3 | drew 944:18 |
| 696:8,15 716:12 | 694:21 695:16 | 742:7 787:19 830:10,11 | drilling 755:15 |
| differs 699:8 | discriminates 641 | 838:3 841:21 842:6 | drive-by 684:8 |
| diGenova 799:3 833:19 | discrimination 642:15 | 845:13 914:16,17 915:1 | drove 886:2,3,18 |
| 880:1 893:22 894:1 | 711:22 | 915:10,15 918:9 923:20 | Droz 635:9 636:12 750:6 |
| 900:14,15 | discrimination' 642:22 | 923:21 929:7 958:8 | 750:12,13 751:4,11 |
| dilute 941:1 | discuss 636:3 640:22 | 965:3 | 752:4,7,9,16,20 766:11 |
| diluted 687:6 | 641:1 681:14,17 | documented 872:13 | 770:17 772:3,6 773:5 |
| dilution 686:6,8 940:14 | discussed 638:11 639:12 | documents 764:19 | 773:16 774:7 778:3 |
| dire 635:12 839:1,10,12 | 645:3 646:15 779:19 | 803:17 824:14 826:10 | 781:2 785:11 787:6,13 |
| 843:11,12 847:19,20 | 780:1 878:14 925:9 | 828:4 830:11 850:1 | 905:13 911:17 943:4,15 |
| 853:21 857:3 | 961:20 964:6 973:17 | 851:21,21 852:4,7 | Droz' 771:16 |
| direct 635:3,7 637:1 | 974:22 | 901:12 902:7 903:9 | Droz's 906:9 |
| 702:11 733:17 751:8 | discussing | 913:13,17,21 914:8 | drug 813:8 865:6 |
| 790:8 810:14 842:17 | 975:13 | 925:22 930:7 941:13 | Dubai 812:3 |
| 846:13 850:8 859:5 | discussion 639:21 | 953:14 956:18 | due 639:13 640:4,6 646:8 |
| 878:14 924:3,5 939:3 | 682:20 683:16 685:12 | doing 642:9 667:7 668:8 | 693:10 694:6 699:18 |
| 958:15 962:1,17,19 | 686:16 752:14 806:22 | 691:9 716:7 719:11,11 | 700:9,14,16,22 701:15 |
| 963:4 964:6 | 807:1 809:19 898:4 | 748:9 793:6 797:17 | 701:18,18 702:18 703:1 |
| directed 805:13 | discussions 802: | 798:4 803:15 813:10 | 703:8,16 704:11,18 |
| directing 762:8 | dismiss 642:8 684 | 828:3 830:16 841:7,11 | 706:6 746:19 932:22 |
| direction 670:7 796: | 700:6 | 841:13 853:11 871:18 | 933:2 937:7 960:10 |
| 987:6 | di | 871:19 880:4 893:13,13 | duly 733:15 751:6 790:6 |
| directions 800:13 886:21 | dismissed 650:19 | 895:2,2 896:3 912:1 | duties 859:17,21 868:20 |
| directly 740:21 741:2,22 | disorganized 762 | 970:2 982:1 | duty 813:22 814:1 |
| 747:11 797:19 800:9 | disparate 691:6 712:20 | dollars 864:5 |  |
| 828:16 887:17 904:18 |  | domestic 814:19 | E |
| 938:8 983:22 |  | Dominion 897:10 | 635:1 636:1, |
| director 735:1 740:5 | disputing 948:16 | Donald 734:22 738 | E-mail 634:8 |
| 784:2 | disqualify 657:9 | 790:14 876:1 | earlier 665:12 703:14 |
| directors | dissent 647:5,7,8 | Donora 845:6 | 805:18 828:2 894:6 |
| diring 853:10 | 28: | dont' 884:2 | 899:1 913:12 923:15 |
| disadvantage 912:22 | distance 640:19 | double 729:20 | 959:21 961:6 971:8 |
| disagree 673:13 697:2 | distinct 652:12 | 18:17 | early 821:21 822:11 |
| 956:21 | distinctly $895: 6$ | double-che | 827:3 829:14 838:18,19 |
| disagreed 687:11 695 | distinguish 676 | doubt 716:2 | 847:9 861:21 864:9 |
| 696:20 | distinguished 972: | Doug 783:15 | 867:3 869:1 886:9 |
| disagreement 687:15 | distorted 940:20 | Dowd 877:2 | 975:12,12 |
| 984:7 | district 631:1,9 6 | adable | earned 813:19 |
| disagrees 697:13 | 637:6,20 638:2 649:4 | dozen 926:11 | easiest 768:12 |
| disappeared 636:16 | 649:10,14 650:10 652:6 | dozens 936:16 | East 820:4 |
| discard 903:1 | 652:6,7,7,8,9,10,12 | Dr 767:13,14,16,17 880:1 | Eastern 652:9 |
| discernable 713:15 | 682:10 683:9 684:13 | 86:12 893:4 | easy 779:4 |
| disciplinary 631:7 633:10 | 685:5 686:18 692:12 | draft 665:18 717:3 | Echoing 751:14 |
| 633:13,15 634:12,18 | 700:4,8,10 705:11,12 | 878:20 897:22,22 | economic 868:10 |
| 635:2 637:2,11 686:22 | 815:8 861:13,17 862:3 | 898:12 973:21 | editing 765:6 771:16 |
| 708:1 709:3 726:21 | 863:21 987:17 | drafted 715:21 898:20 | editor 761:4 762:18 |
| 727:2 780:22 784:4 | districts 652:6,15,18 | 901:13 944:4 | education 758:4 835:7 |

eerily 899:16
effect 667:10 745:4
773:14 777:11
effective 702:21
effectively 864:15
effort 759:8 760:10 840:20 942:8 973:8
efforts 834:16 840:20
eight 709:6 747:11 815:18 867:11,22 872:17 875:13
eighteen-month 814:21
either 846:5 851:22 917:8
950:4 959:15
elected 834:15 867:1 868:2
election 637:19 639:9 640:17 645:10,11 646:4
646:14,20 647:9 653:7
654:19 655:11,15
656:13,19 657:1,5,18
658:3,8,14 659:5,7
664:11 675:7 679:15
686:19 690:8 692:3
694:21 695:21 701:17
702:1 703:18 704:20
711:7 712:2 715:8
716:2 718:5 721:3
725:6,15 735:17,18,21
741:17 747:4 749:9
757:18,19 758:13 759:1
759:2 760:12 773:17
774:8,9 775:17 778:15
778:18 782:19 784:9
786:20 787:2 792:13,14
792:19 797:3 821:14,18
821:21 823:14,16
850:16,22 852:2 853:4
867:7 877:5,7,8,9,15,19
878:1 879:1,5 883:7
905:9 907:17 909:2,4
910:17 913:2 916:6
919:16 923:15,22 924:2
924:5 925:2 940:16
941:12,14 942:5,6
945:6,21 947:19 948:20
950:10 955:7 972:9,14
972:17,21 973:14
elections 640:4 695:17
702:6 710:17 711:15
881:21 941:10 942:3
946:16 969:9,16
electoral 649:12 654:4
Electors 637:18 639:9
686:20 687:22
Electric 753:22

Electronics 754:1
elements 639:7 643:12
729:21 812:16
elevated 813:2,3
eligibility 675:11
eligible 685:10
Ellis 814:3 834:18 884:8 893:21
email 634:9 760:6 828:18 828:20
emailed 828:19
emergency 664:9 869:7
Emirates 812:3
employed 692:14 733:22 753:18 790:12 987:8,12
employee 897:10 987:11
employees 933:9
employment 754:3 810:20 812:12 813:12 870:19,21
empty 937:3
empty-headed 661:10
encompass 685:6
ended 791:13,13
energy 753:16 756:14 757:6 758:5
enforcement 813:8 818:14,17 819:21 820:11 874:18
engaging 691:4
engineering 754:6 769:3
England 814:4
English 790:18
enhanced 869:19
enjoin 866:9
enormous 755:21 824:21
ensure 698:19 742:1
enter 739:14
entered 664:3,16 747:1,3 797:9 941:4 959:2
entering 933:10
enterprise 889:1
enthused 765:16
entire 737:5
entirely 756:18 936:6
entitled 707:5 836:21
entries 953:1,9
envelope 949:7,8,10
envelopes 747:18 939:13 939:15 940:7
environmental 754:19,21 755:7 756:2
episodes 965:21
Epshteyn 833:20 834:2 893:21
equal 690:7 692:4,19

693:10,10,17 698:9
706:5 710:16 711:14
718:19 721:3 864:7
932:22 933:2 937:7
960:10 963:16
equally 641:21 891:8
equitable 707:4
Equity 897:10
Eric 735:22 740:13 741:4 769:1 856:13,14 888:7
888:7,8,8
Erie 936:13 966:20
error 673:15,17,20,21 674:4,8
errors 694:6 953:7,10
ESPOSITO 634:14 731:16
Esquire 633:3,7,12,14 634:3,4,14,17,20
Essen 874:1
essence 760:7
essentially 673:11 688:8 691:7 712:19 769:6 785:21
establish 772:10 780:13 869:17
established 676:13 747:10 868:17 869:5,18 869:22
establishing 771:14
et 758:22,22 775:22,22 775:22 781:10 817:19 823:9,9 924:8,9,9
ethics 815:11
euphemistic 955:5
evaluate 942:3
evening 741:10 821:15,15 822:1 986:1
events 739:11 742:3 821:6
eventually 744:12 802:12 815:18 977:20
everybody 794:15 800:5 803:15 897:14 955:1 980:9 982:17
Everything's 880:5
evidence 731:11 771:1,6 771:9,11 777:2,9 783:6 807:12 827:12 835:9 843:10 847:17 849:1 853:13 909:1,3 914:20 920:4 929:13 932:5,6 935:22 950:18 956:3 957:8 963:18 965:16 983:8,10 984:5,5
evidentiary 935:22 966:4

966:4,9,10
exact $658: 5,10,16663: 7$ 776:5 793:19 827:2 897:7
exactly 659:4 704:8 781:8 781:13 796:9 807:5 851:9 854:21 878:2 880:4 886:6 888:22 892:16 898:5 944:9 974:6 977:4
exaggerated 911:12,14 942:13
examination 637:1 645:4 707:22 727:1 733:17 751:8 785:8 790:8 810:14 842:17 846:13 850:8 859:5 962:2,17 962:20 963:4 964:6
examine 941:13
examined 733:16 751:6 790:6
example 665:7,9 681:21 692:21 712:2 713:8,11 715:19 719:5 725:21 726:3 729:15 757:2 843:19,22 856:12 881:11 909:5 912:14 931:9 937:8 946:22 958:13 964:4,5 965:10 966:19 979:3
examples 712:9 955:7
exception 909:12
exceptional 813:22
exceptions 969:13
excerpt 725:8
exchange 911:20
exchanged 912:1,3
excluded 942:6 970:14 974:12 975:18
excluding 949:16
exclusion 777:3
excuse 740:17 760:13 761:10 765:18 766:5 798:10 831:10 859:22 895:2 909:21 924:12 981:19
excused 728:21 731:7 750:3,5 787:14,15 804:6,9 858:7,9 981:12
execute 887:16
execution 734:17
executive 634:22 694:15 695:7,19 791:15 981:15
executives $881: 15$
exercise 941:4
exhausted 689:4
exhibit 637:11,11 682:13 682:14 683:4 686:22 687:18 688:4 691:18 709:4 726:21 727:5 766:9 776:13 784:1,4 825:15 829:18 835:22 835:22 836:21 837:8 838:22 839:2 842:6,22 843:14,15,16 845:1 846:12,15 847:16 849:1 850:7,15 853:11 855:2 855:5 856:7,10 906:20 907:1 910:9 914:14 916:22 917:3 918:4,8 919:2 923:11 929:21 930:6 943:5 949:21 950:1,15 960:15
exhibits $825: 9,10,11,20$ 826:4,15 827:1,11,15 835:10 836:2,6,17 847:13 913:15 920:4,12 949:20 950:4,16 951:2 984:5,6,20 985:4
exist 937:4
existing 670:4,5 719:6
exists 723:21
expand 718:14 724:10 897:12 903:5
expansive 718:18
expect 721:22 982:8,10
expectation 805:6
expected 885:2
expedited 975:10
experience 936:19 948:3 972:6,9
expert 634:18 716:2 770:13,15 772:6773:5 773:22 774:21 776:11 776:19,21 906:19 972:19 973:5,12
expertise 753:10 768:7 776:18,20
experts 759:7 762:21 778:5 917:19
expires 987:21
explain 828:2 914:6,6,9 922:9 974:1
explained 824:19 891:4 918:12 951:7,8
explaining 890:21
explains 779:2
explanation 828:3 835:14 835:15 961:13
explicitly 682:11
extend 702:22
extended 680:9
extensive 768:1,4,8 934:15
extensively 655:5 768:18 extent 687:4 694:4 914:3 914:4 984:18,19 985:3
extraction 756:1,6 extraditing 863:9 extradition 863:6,12 extraordinary 887:14 extrapolate 913:5 916:7 918:18
extrapolated 918:15 extrapolating 918:14 extrapolations 909:5,6 extremely 747:7
F

F 809:1
facility 739:14 742:22 743:5,11 744:7,8 746:2 746:3,6 747:6 749:2,6 755:20,21
fact 639:6 647:22 648:1 650:11 653:5,10,14,19 654:1 661:14 668:2,6 668:17 674:15 679:14 698:8 706:17 731:14 781:14 806:7,15 845:4 877:8 890:15 899:5 900:3 920:8 921:6 955:6 959:6 963:19 969:14 975:6,22 976:18 977:2 983:16
facts $641: 15,17651: 15$ 708:22 709:12 711:4 717:20 882:18 945:9 957:7,8,12,18,19 958:2 958:7,11 963:20 965:8 966:5,8 970:19 971:7
977:18,19,20 982:9,10
factual 983:22
fail 927:13,13
failed 698:18
failure 941:15,16
fair 761:19 765:8 776:7 825:6 945:9
fairly 748:13 764:21 765:6 786:2 843:17 918:11 940:19
faith 661:4,5 671:19 688:10,12,14,14,16,18 688:20 689:22 703:3 950:9 955:17
fall 812:17
familiar 638:17 678:9 692:9 705:10 741:15,16

784:6,14,17 805:10 825:17 834:18 923:7 938:2 946:19,21
familiarity 973:1
familiarize $725: 13$
families 862:15,17,21
family 866:4
famous 864:1 873:5
far 725:22 726:8 745:12
747:15 748:8 759:15
764:13 768:6 774:21
777:10 883:13 889:10
916:5 946:9 970:1
FARC 865:7 866:2
fast 910:8
faster 949:14,17
fatwas 866:1
fault 683:1 952:1
favor 720:14 779:8
865:20 954:7
favorable 953:18 957:1
favored 911:2
FBI 869:15 875:11,12 890:6
featured 872:3
features 645:13
February 782:3 816:7,8 816:8 902:2
federal 642:14 643:5,6 645:14,20 646:3,8 647:11 651:21 655:5 656:12,17,22 657:4,8 657:13,20 661:19 682:7 690:10 692:3 697:3 702:2,2 705:12,14,17 705:22 706:1 716:21 720:5 722:22 724:13 817:1 818:20,21 835:2 835:3 926:13 927:6 940:16 957:6
feeling 919:13
feet 640:9 745:13 746:19 747:11,21 755:21
fellow 757:9
felt 928:5
female 833:21
Fifth 633:16 634:6 934:9
Fifty 902:14 921:11
fight 754:21 794:17
fights 754:21
figure 652:20 658:17 797:16 889:3 916:1
figured 795:16 926:15
file 648:11 649:2 650:16 658:13 665:18 667:2 806:6
filed 649:17,19 650:2,5 650:17 655:21 658:3,7 658:20 659:1 662:11
663:1 726:4 793:22
889:17 967:6
files 881:2
filing 657:5,15 667:11,17
668:19 669:3,9,13
922:4
filled 850:21 959:17
final 941:3 986:5,5
finally 640:21 642:1 653:2,22 747:1,6 885:14 888:7 935:11,21 937:16
finance 655:1,13 972:18
financial 786:16 864:22
financially 987:12
find 682:11 700:14 762:10 769:18,21 848:4 854:19 856:2 878:13,18 879:13 928:2 954:2 966:11,16 985:1
FindAGrave.com 847:2 848:2,2
finding 680:5 807:11,12 807:17,22 965:22 983:5 983:6
findings 806:7,14 817:4 983:15
fine 770:2 815:11 861:8 880:5 920:9 985:2,21
fined $815: 11$
finish 717:7 805:7 947:22 959:19
finished 637:5 957:17 968:7 982:2
Fiorello 873:5
fire $874: 1$
firm 662:12 791:9
first 636:9,12 637:16 642:2,11 647:18 648:6 648:18 650:4,17 653:4 658:2,6,19,22 659:10 663:1 700:5 701:18,21 702:4 720:20 724:14,16 724:22 728:11,13 732:15 733:15 742:17 748:17 751:6 756:4 763:1 767:12 776:15 779:20 790:6 793:21 795:13 799:14 813:3 819:8 822:10 826:20 829:15 832:12,14,15 834:5,7,10,17,21 835:1 835:13,20 836:1,5

| 837:3,6 860:15 868:11 | forget 818:7 833:21 | 847:18,20 848:15,16,17 | froze 678:17 709:16,17 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 868:18 869:5,17 871:11 | 916:20 | 849:2,19,21 850:2,10 | 713:19,22 |
| 871:11 874:5 876:4 | forgot 758:15 766:17 | 850:11 852:12,16,18 | frozen 839:17 |
| 877:4,7 878:18 888:14 | forgotten 784:1 | 853:5,10,15,17,20,21 | fruit 917:15 918:20 |
| 891:12 892:3 895:19 | form 707:8 782:16 | 854:22 855:3,6 856:21 | fruitful 917:15 953:12 |
| 896:8,16 897:4 898:18 | formed 861:2 865:10 | 857:8,18,19,21 858:13 | Fulani 676:18 |
| 899:5 902:4 914:11 | former 734:19 738:1 | 858:16 904:17 914:19 | full 638:5 642:2 725:7 |
| 924:19 928:9 931:1,8,9 | 790:21 863:5,12 882:13 | 920:5,6 929:10 930:1 | 786:10 |
| 934:18 940:13 941:17 | 890:6 | 935:4 942:20 943:2 | function 935:20 |
| 943:3 949:21 951:14,16 | forms 786:11 | 949:19,22 954:11,14 | funnel 800:6 |
| 951:21 958:13 971:22 | forth 645:7 709:12 761:4 | 956:11 960:11,14,18 | funneling 825:3,5 |
| 973:18 975:12 | 765:10 783:3 878:15 | 962:12,15 963:5 965:8 | funnels 800:17 |
| firsthand 738:12 | 975:15 | 968:7,10,19 969:15 | further 673:14 707:3,18 |
| fit 968:22 | Fortune 734:16 | 971:13 974:11 981:10 | 710:8,11 728:16 749:9 |
| five 652:5,13 653:3 731:9 | forty-seven 939:8 | 984:14,17 985:19,21 | 749:10,16 779:9 781:20 |
| 761:3 763:4 765:15 | forward 732:3 762:15 | Fox's 636:4 846:20 919:8 | 785:4 787:7,9,10 |
| 766:1 781:16 788:9,9 | 955:9 | fraction 782:20 | 792:16 839:5 857:16 |
| 811:17 813:9,21 862:15 | found 652:10 674:19 | frame 726:12 763:17 | 917:16 942:18 953:13 |
| 862:15,17,20 867:17 | 682:4 692:13 693:19 | 858:19 | 971:16 987:10 |
| 868:9 871:2 877:9 | 698:9 771:14 783:6 | France 875:6 | futile 643:3 667:10 |
| 881:13 884:4 910:18 | 818:3 838:7 854:7,8 | frank 762:6 |  |
| 917:7 935:10 953:13 | 872:15 964:11 968:1,2 | frankly 764:20 777:10 | G |
| 965:13 966:3 983:13 | foundation 775:11 | 983:19 | G 636:1 |
| fix 636:18 | 829:17 | fraud 653:7 779:12,15,19 | G-Man 875:10 |
| flatten 949:10 | founded 647:21,22 648:1 | 781:9 783:6,7,9 799:20 | gain 744:13 |
| Fletcher 791:7 | four 678:18 745:13 760:4 | 817:1 854:17,20 867:8 | Gallenthin 933:4,12,16 |
| Floor 634:6 | 760:15,15 762:4,14 | 929:13,14 930:11,12,12 | 962:17 |
| Florida 711:6 738:2 | 764:8,10 765:16 771:16 | 930:15,16,20 932:1,16 | garden-variety 703:18 |
| 790:16 870:5,7 882:13 | 778:5 781:6 791:11 | 932:17,18,19,20 933:1 | 721:15 |
| Florida's 713:12 | 867:10 868:12 876:18 | 934:2,2,6,16 936:8 | Gas 757:5 |
| fly $872: 7$ | 886:18 908:10 910:17 | 937:8,9 939:3,4 941:7 | gathered 953:4 |
| flying 636:9 795:12 | 913:13 917:7 935:10 | 942:1,6 955:7 960:9 | gathering 855:11 |
| focus 903:3 943:3 | 950:4 953:13 965:5,13 | 963:18 965:16 971:1 | Gee 884:2 |
| focused 798:2 812:8 | 966:3 | fraudulent 642:18 941:1 | general 657:11 702:4 |
| 901:16 | fourth 767:16 835:21 | 950:11 959:3 | 738:2 753:22 777:16 |
| Fodel 864:10 | Fox 633:12 635:12 636:5 | fraudulently 940:20 | 850:16 859:11,14 |
| follow 903:11 | 636:14,15 637:3,10,13 | Frazier 952:9 | 860:19 861:15 862:2 |
| follow-up 726:19 981:9 | 638:4,8 639:18,20 | free 758:10 773:20 811:9 | 882:13 936:15 972:3 |
| followed 919:14 967:16 | 641:5,11 642:1,4 654:6 | 941:4 984:3 | General's 860:20 865:13 |
| following 707:1 727:14 | 660:15 661:22 665:22 | freeze 719:14 | generally 778:4,12 |
| 727:14 735:20 744:16 | 707:20,21 708:2 709:7 | French 860:20 | 795:20 859:22 860:1 |
| 749:14 760:22 812:17 | 709:9,16 713:19,21 | frequency 926:3,10 | 947:5 |
| 882:18 | 714:9 726:18,20 727:3 | frequently 651:17 652:4 | generated 774:14 |
| follows 644:5 679:12 | 727:12,18 728:1,16 | Friday 747:6 | generic 843:17 855:4 |
| 733:16 751:7 790:7 | 731:2,4,10 749:17 | Friess 799:3 833:21 | 897:20 |
| 893:20 | 770:9 771:2,4,20,21 | frivolous 666:16 668:15 | gentleman 748:11 770:12 |
| footnote 652:16,16 687:1 | 772:19,21 776:14 | 668:20 669:17,21 670:1 | 784:15 887:10 |
| 687:3 | 780:16,20 781:1,2,3 | 671:3,8,13 675:14 | geographic 958:12 |
| force 813:8 860:20 | 783:22 784:5,11,13 | 684:17 685:18,19,21 | geographical 955:2 |
| 869:14 870:8 | 785:4 787:8,9 801:21 | 689:5,15 692:19 693:15 | George 814:14 933:4 |
| forces 870:10 | 803:22 805:10 807:3,4 | 697:4,14,19,21 700:15 | Georgia 652:8 823:17 |
| foreclosed 720:15 | 809:15 818:12 835:11 | 702:20 707:9,15 708:16 | 830:14,18 831:14 832:8 |
| foregoing 987:3 | 835:12 836:5 837:7 | 716:19 721:17 722:18 | 832:10 850:20 851:8 |
| forensic 774:19 781:21 | 839:1,9,11,12,18,19 | 722:20 723:10 922:4,6 | 854:2,5,6,7,11 855:16 |
| 783:13 786:4,6 | 840:2 842:5 843:4,11 | front 649:5 710:4 717:10 | 856:15,15,18 950:13 |
| forever 871:8 | 843:12 845:22 846:3 | 718:13 747:11 953:5 | 974:18 976:21 980:12 |

Germany 791:5,13 792:5 getting 758:7,8 800:7
834:5,15 849:20 885:1
891:19 902:6,8 974:15
975:8 977:21
giant 747:22
gigabits 762:5
gigantic 882:21
girl 869:1
gist 760:9
Giuliani 631:6,16 635:13 637:7 639:12 645:3
647:6 657:19 658:12
659:15 660:4 661:18
664:15,20 666:6,11,11
669:3 672:16,22 698:11
706:4,18,22 708:22
709:13 717:5 724:13
725:12 740:9,13,18
741:3,6,6 748:15
766:20 772:15 773:4,7
773:11,12 777:16 793:4
796:1 799:19 800:17
801:2 804:20 821:10,16
840:17 842:10 858:22
859:1,3,8 866:22
875:21 905:6 910:6
914:14 918:7 919:4
920:8,14 921:1,21 925:13 929:9 942:11 954:19 955:19 956:7 957:6 960:17 961:8,11 963:2 972:1 978:3,9
Giuliani's 653:6,10 654:1 666:15 668:2,6,15 680:8 699:20 700:13 724:9 772:11 773:3 920:3
give 672:16 675:8 679:16 708:8 721:9,12 729:17 729:19 733:5 734:16 750:18 755:18 760:18 762:2,20,20 763:3,5,11 763:20 778:3 789:19 810:8 812:11 816:5,22 820:12 825:11 828:22 829:17 832:18,19 835:3 861:18 862:8 867:13,20 880:21 881:2 892:21 925:10 929:15 956:17 966:17 979:3
given 652:21 664:9 740:7 745:2 772:11 816:5 825:19 857:12 871:7 873:7 883:19 894:13 905:14 917:8 918:11

939:4 941:15 944:11
952:20 958:19 964:11
964:12
giving 648:22 672:15,20
708:4 716:16,20 763:18
799:18 800:2 983:19
glad 666:9
glitches 781:10
go 637:15 641:5,10
649:10 658:18 661:21
670:16 675:17 676:15
676:19 677:13 678:1
680:11 681:9 682:13
686:6,21 687:17 691:17
713:9 715:15 723:5,22
732:3 735:5 736:8
738:5,11 742:13 744:22
761:7,15 764:18 765:10
765:19 768:14 777:14
786:9,9 801:11 805:18
807:13 829:18 832:14
833:6 836:16 837:2,2,3
838:10 842:14 843:21
846:21 848:11 850:6
859:8 874:11,16 878:13
879:13,16 884:15,20
885:12,12 887:2,16,18
887:18 888:2,7 894:15
904:3 907:3 912:16,20
926:17 934:14 944:14
944:14 949:19 975:3
976:3 977:22 983:6
984:13 985:2,6,10,11
985:15 986:6
goal 769:8,10,16
$\operatorname{god} 733: 7$ 750:20 789:21 810:10 895:8
goes 673:14 688:20 758:1
774:21 777:11 849:9 881:21
going 648:8 649:10 680:3 691:2 701:22 710:1,2,7 711:20,22 712:7 718:10 718:18,19,22,22 721:21 735:4 744:1,2 745:22 749:4 760:22 762:15 764:3 770:10 771:9 773:10 774:3,4 777:2 777:11,13 788:16 794:16 795:15 796:18 797:7,16 805:1,18 806:1 819:14 821:17 824:18 825:10 847:5 853:15,16 856:4 857:7 857:8,11 858:14 876:16 878:14 880:4 884:12

## 890:10,11 891:21

893:11 894:17 898:8,9
908:6 909:9 910:7
915:8 918:1,17 919:9
926:6 927:3,5 935:5
938:17 945:7 954:2
962:13 965:5 970:7
975:14 981:22 982:5,7
982:13,22
gold 642:16
$\operatorname{good} 636: 2654: 15,16$ 671:19 688:14,16,18,20 703:3 733:20,21 751:11 751:12 752:4,18 789:14 809:16 820:6 871:8,19 891:16 925:19 928:19 950:8 955:17 971:2,9
good-faith 669:4 670:4,5 670:10,15,18 672:3,12 680:7 686:3 698:11 703:20 704:22 941:20
goodness 868:13 870:1 888:6 891:2 902:14
Gore 692:22 693:6,15 699:2,5 710:20 711:3,4 712:11 713:12 717:16 717:21 718:2,6,16 883:10
gospel 876:15
gotten 873:11 883:19 889:5 903:19
government 812:16 816:14,18 848:6 849:6 863:4 875:6
Governor 861:1 870:6,9 874:5
graduate 753:3,6
grand 802:8 815:8,10
grant 663:15
granted 646:16 648:6
663:11 726:5 747:14
816:9
granting 643:2
graph 779:3
graves 848:12
great 636:13 855:15
863:9,10 869:10 874:20 909:10
greater 659:21 721:10,12 870:22
greatly 869:19
Grec 845:5
Greco 845:5
grew 862:4
grievance 666:21 921:10
gross 916:3
ground 711:1,5 758:6 799:16 800:9,11 833:11 833:12 953:12
Groundhog 752:5
group 758:20 760:19 763:2 775:7 811:1,1,3 865:7 894:5 967:21,22 971:3,10
groups 756:2 775:4
growing 884:6
guard 745:19
guess 638:13 645:3 654:22 658:18 691:19 718:9 720:22,22 725:12 725:14 807:18 863:13 876:9 921:16
guidance 698:18
guide 736:14 875:18
guiding 711:1 796:17 860:11
guilty 815:18 934:10
gun 813:20
guy 896:21
Guyana 812:4
guys 764:8 769:22 840:13 840:14 856:3

| hac 659:17 664:16 |
| :--- |
| half 775:6 879:1 894:6 |
| 902:22 |
| Hamilton 633:12 781:2 |
| Hampshire 735:4 |
| hand 742:18 938:12 |
| handed 828:21 893:3,4,4 |
| handle 716:17 863:18 |
| 881:8 |
| handled 863:5,17 867:16 |
| handling 664:22 903:2 |
| Hank 654:14 |
| happen 730:21 781:11 |
| 939:6 983:11 | 939:6 983:11

happened 714:7 715:7 717:16 738:13 742:4,16 744:19 746:22 751:17 760:20 781:8 792:15 868:13 870:2 878:8 892:7 908:6 909:17 910:16 911:13 939:5 952:9 963:22 964:1 975:21
happening 795:9
happens 697:2
happy 864:19 874:8
harbor 649:11
harboring 641:21

| Page 1002 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| hard 704:20 709:21 | 742:1 750:20 759:7 | HON 634:3,4 | 884:9 896:20 |
| 795:14 | 789:21 810:10 816:14 | honest 781:9 854:3 | Immigration 860:6 |
| hat $714: 17,21,22$ | 835:6 880:3 883:21 | honestly 692:10 693:2 | 926:19 |
| Haynesworth-Murrel | 893:11 973:15,22 982:4 | 796:18 | impact 717:4 |
| 978:6 | helped 870:10 874:9 | Honor 682:16 683:2 | impacts 716:18 |
| Haynesworth-Murrell | helpful 806:13 892:13 | 710:12 717:21 771:10 | impartiality 780:13 |
| 633:5 726:15,16 750:1 | 982:13 984:18,19 985:1 | 787:20 804:14 814:3 | impeachment 876:11 |
| 858:4 978:8,16,21 | 985:4 | 858:13,20 | 877:4,12 878:6 |
| 979:6,20 980:2,4,13,20 | hereto 987:12 | honorary 873:16,21 | implement 694:15 695:7 |
| 981:1,3 | Heritage 775:11 | honored 814:4 875:18 | 696:13 |
| head 670:16 737:15 | heroic 813:17 814:7 | honorific 873:20 | implementation 693:7 |
| 862:16 876:19 884:9 | heroism 814:3 875:16 | hope 716:11 876:6 | implicates 692:4 |
| 938:15 955:2 | heros 874:2 875:19 | hopefully 636:10 805:7 | implied 852:12 |
| head's 983:19 | hesitant 684:11 | HORRELL 633:14 | impliedly 684:2 |
| heading 821:17 | Hey 770:1 | 809:14 | implore 807:20 |
| headings 826:3 | Hicks 662:11,17 799:13 | horribly 903:20 | important 713:2 738:11 |
| headquarters 736:20 | 895:9,10,11 896:8,10 | host 791:22 | 828:21 897:7 |
| 739:20 793:16 822:7,14 | 896:11 | Hotel 822:11 | impose 651:4,18 698:19 |
| 834:20 879:17 880:7 | Higgs 791:7 | hour 901:10 976:15 | imposed 648:4 864:13 |
| 887:3 888:3,4 892:6 | high 745:13 | hours 663:12 817:4 886:2 | impossibility 783:8 |
| 896:3 | high-jackers 865:10 | 983:13 | impossible 745:16 868:5 |
| heads 689:2 862:15 | higher 713:5 786:7 | house 741:11 817:10 | 871:20 908:20 911:6 |
| 873:13 | 871:19 | 819:3,3 824:17 834:12 | 940:7 946:6 952:21 |
| hear 654:13 705:18 706:1 | higher-level 786:12 | Hughes 662:18 663:5,11 | impossible-to-describe |
| 713:22 750:14,15 752:4 | highest 870:19 875:5 | human 835:17 | 874:2 |
| 752:6,9,16 789:10,12 | 890:4 | hundred 828:5 868:2 | impressed 915:2 |
| 798:13 802:13 810:5 | highest-profile 926:16 | 883:15,17 911:1 925:22 | imprisonment 819:4 |
| 835:13 836:3,4 888:13 | highlight 638:6 641:6,9 | 926:12 934:21 952:16 | improbable 908:21 |
| heard 776:20 783:14 | 709:7 | hundreds 801:6,8 | impromptu 742:19 |
| 784:16 798:15 809:7 | highlighted 642:3 687:20 | husband 894:1 | improper 641:2,16 |
| 835:14 836:2,6 852:15 | highlights 861:18 862:9 |  | 647:20 651:14 |
| 852:17 879:12 890:3 | 862:10 867:21 | I | improprieties 831:1,1 |
| 946:8 978:12 | highly 712:17 895:3 | I-q-b-a-1 644:1 | 854:17,19 |
| hearing 631:3,15 632:1,2 | Highway 864:6 | I.D 844:18 | improved 872:18 |
| 633:2 706:1 708:10 | Hillary 879:5 | idea 658:16 714:7 839:14 | improvement 871:17 |
| 710:4 787:12 809:2 | hired 783:12 879:4 | 841:16 849:11 854:1 | impured 941:5 |
| 902:7 934:19 935:19,22 | historical 877:1 978:2 | 898:5 899:12 954:3 | inaccurate 915:21 916:17 |
| 960:6 966:4,10 970:21 | Historically 948:4,5 | identical 924:1 | 929:3 953:2 |
| 971:19 978:6 981:14 | history 662:7,9 664:20 | identification 784:4 | inapposite 682:5 |
| 983:7 986:11 987:3,6 | 800:5 | identified 637:14 758:14 | incarceration 817:19,22 |
| 987:10 | hit 874:5 | 767:12 913:14 958:2 | 818:18 |
| hearings 861:1 977:22 | HN 732:20 | identify 748:9 758:17 | incentivized 835:2,4 |
| hears 789:15 | Hoc 631:3 632:2 633:2 | 767:8 781:8 923:17 | include 803:2 899:14 |
| hearsay 730:9,13 771:21 | hold 639:3,5 675:7 | identifying 965:3 | 974:3 |
| 777:3 | 734:19 735:10 752:20 | ignore 644:11 | included 637:19 700:19 |
| heavily 877:7 | 760:16 790:17 829:16 | ignored 864:19 | 950:17 951:1 976:11,13 |
| heavy 765:6 | 829:16,16 939:10 | III 633:12 | including 654:2 897:15 |
| heavyset 737:13 | 982:15 | illegal 642:18 | 918:12 928:12 963:16 |
| heck 878:13 | holding 677:1 705:7 | illustrate 918:13 963:15 | 975:21 |
| held 640:16 668:5 676:2 | holds 694:14 695:6 | illustrative 971:5,11 | inclusion 676:6 |
| 679:12 685:5 693:7 | 811:19 | image 974:19 976:8 | incomprehensible 939:5 |
| 695:19 700:22 740:15 | hole 868:15 | imagine 709:21 723:15 | inconsistencies 831:5 |
| 861:1 | home 790:16 821:21 | 723:16 794:13 831:2 | inconsistent 928:9 |
| hell 895:1 | Homeland 791:16 814:9 | imagined 723:15 | incorrect 671:12,18 |
| Hello 781:3 789:10 | homes 937:3,3 <br> homicide 868.4 | immediate 896:4 | $672: 2,10$ |
| help 691:5 733:7 736:2 | homicide 868:4 | immediately 735:20 | indecipherable 760:12 |


| 852:19 953:17 | inquiries 831:22 | introduction 709:6,8 | isolated 872:6 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| independent 686:19 | inquiry 661:8 827:4 | 765:12 766:2 773:18 | issue 637:18 639:16 |
| 705:14 719:19,21,22 | 831:7 877:12 | 776:17 781:7 | 644:20 646:11 651:22 |
| 721:4 928:17 | inside 746:9 | invalid 892:1 940:22 | 657:14 671:6 700:4 |
| independently 763:10 | insight 820:12 | invalidates 853:3 | 704:9 708:9,18 711:16 |
| index 843:3 | insights 816:22 | investigate 792:16 | 722:5 771:9 772:20 |
| indicate 951:10 | insisted 840:17 | 857:12 904:3 953:13 | 836:10 837:10 922:19 |
| indicated 667:6 687:14 | inspect 949:8 | investigated 815:13 | 924:3,21 933:20 |
| indication 688:12,13 | inspector 883:7,8 | investigating 829:7 | issued 646:15 650:11 |
| 982:11 | inspectors 882:20 | 902:20 | 661:2 889:10,11 |
| indicative | instance 755:9 757 | investigation 793:2 815:7 | issues 638:3 645:6 655:1 |
| indicted 815:15 | 774:16 783:2 | 815:9,10,14 822:3 | 669:14 674:11 714:19 |
| individual 645:19 696:2 | instances 851:9 936:16 | 824:9 827:3 830:19 | 755:5,8 756:20 805:14 |
| 698:16 737:8 743:4,8 | instinct 903:6,12 | 831:14 842:3 852:3,8 | 818:7 881:5 894:20 |
| 746:2 862:21 922:9 | instinctual 919:13 | 854:15,18 876:10,11 | 935:9 983:22 |
| 961:20 962:4,7 | institute 655:22 656:1 | 903:8 913:22 917:16 | It'll 787:18 |
| individually 860:13 | insufficient 650:18 719:8 | 976:21 | Italian 863:4 |
| 914:7 | insulting 855:7 | investigative 791:20 | Italian-American 863:1 |
| individuals 656:5 739:14 | intake 824:13 | 792:1 823:6 851:22 | item 786:11 957:19,20 |
| 748:7 760:1,19 767:8 | integrity 742:2 773:1 | investigator 800:4,15 | Ivan 865:2 |
| 767:21 771:15 840:21 | 774:9 775:17 786:20 | 824:7 825:1 839:13 |  |
| 961:22 | intelligence 769:5 | 841:18 847:22 | J |
| ineligible 676:6 6 | intended 930:8,9 | investigators 800:11, | Jacques 875:6 |
| infallible 699:16 | intent 650:16 661:11 | 828:5,6 830:12,16 | JAG 792:5 |
| infer 934:2,5,8,10 937:9 | 713:14 930:17 | 837:15 839:8 845: | jail 743:13 744:1,6 |
| 939:4 | intention 780:3 | 855:12,22 903:14 | 745:20,22 812:21 872:4 |
| inference 9 | interest 712:7 75 | invitation 667:5,5 | Jailed 819:12 |
| 970:15 | interested 755:8 758:3 | invited 667:1,13 775:7,9 | Jailer 819:12 |
| influence 807:22 | 759:6,11 760:10 907:8 | 775:12 | James 844:3 856:13,14 |
| information 652:3,3 | 980:5 987:13 | invoked 926:10 928:20 | Jared 834:16 |
| 761:22 772:12,14 795:2 | interesting 763:9 770:3 | invokes 934:9 | JASON 633:14 |
| 799:19 800:3,17 824:15 | 786:13 | invoking 722:22 | Jay 633:7 876:20 877:3 |
| 824:16,17 825:3 827:15 | interests 924:1 | involved 749:8 753:11,16 | JD 790:19 |
| 827:20 829:5 836:7 | interference 713:18 | 754:22 757:14 769:1 | Jenna 834:18 884:7,8 |
| 837:20,21 841:19 842:2 | 751:14 | 781:9 794:15 797:19,20 | 886:8,9 893:20 |
| 855:10,22 856:16 902:8 | Interior 812:13, | 820:18 822:17 824:4 | jeopardy 729:20 |
| 902:13 904:1 905:8 | interject 716:15 | 832:4,5 834:5 876:4 | Jeremy 748:15,17,19 |
| 910:14 911:18,18 912:3 | international 820:13 | 877:16 879:10,11 883:9 | 891:4 892:8,13 964:5 |
| 916:15 917:5 918:8 | 941:10,16 942:2 | 896:8 898:7 973:2 | 964:10,18 |
| 919:5 938:11 945:13 | INTERPOL 860:10 | 975:13 | Jersey 931:20 |
| 950:3 957:20,20 967:17 | interpret 696:15 | involvement 724:9 | JIM 634:20 |
| informed 945:5 950:8 | interpretation 673:17 | 819:19 | job 719:10,12 824:10 |
| initial 650:1 659:10 724:7 | 678:14 679:2 693:19 | involves 712:3 713:3 | 871:18,19 937:13 |
| 724:16 728:10 760:18 | 696:21 698:14 699:3,8 | involving 681:21 692:3 | jobs 735:5,7 754:7 835:7 |
| 764:17 765:20 766:11 | 699:9,11,13 | 877:12 896:4 926:22 | Joe 799:3 833:19 879:5 |
| 766:15 816:16 | interpreted 694:19 | Iqbal 644:1,3,4 | 880:1 893:22 894:1 |
| initially 772:21 775:6 | 695:14,14 696:8,16 | Iraq 812:14,16 | 900:13,13,15,16 901:8 |
| initiate 648:12,16 | 710:22 722:6 | irregularities 764:13 | 952:9 |
| initiative 720:6 | interpreting 673:16 | 799:19 920:1 925:1 | John 634:3,14 635:9 |
| injured 922:22 924:8,22 | 697:12 | IRS 782:16 785:17 786:8 | 750:12 751:4 784:16 |
| 927:12 | interrupt 736:7 831:11 | 786:15 | 844:6 877:1 905:13 |
| injury 639:6 675: | interrupted 798:10 | ISIS 865:12 | joined 791:16,18 894:6 |
| 679:13 712:5 | interrupting 766:5 | Islamic 820:7 865:10 | joining 662:19 |
| inmate 819:16 835:2 | interrupts 751:14 | 869:9 | joint 869:12,13 889:1 |
| input 923:7 | introduced 906:10 | island 812:21 814:3 | JON 634:17 |
| inquire 925:7 927:4 | 913:14 | 872:2,4,6,7 874:16 | Jordan 811:17,21 |


| Jordan's 811:18 | Kamins 634:4,5,15 636:6 | 913:18 950:16 | 854:14,16 855:19 857:7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Joseph 845:5,5 | 654:8,9,12 660:17 | kill 865:17,18 921:16 | 858:15 865:11,12 |
| journalist 791:17 | 678:3,6 682:13 683:3,6 | killing 865:19 | 867:19 870:1 873:10 |
| Journey 819:15 | 683:8 686:21 687:2,17 | Kim 631:22 632:3 987:2 | 874:10,11 880:3 881:11 |
| judge 637:5 649:5 650:9 | 687:19 691:17,20 | 987:16 | 881:21 883:14 884:17 |
| 650:11 651:2,3 660:3 | 693:22 694:2 707:18 | kind 646:7 661:10,10 | 885:17 886:8 888:21 |
| 660:19 661:2,7,21 | 708:3,14 710:9,11 | 688:22 692:22 703:6 | 889:10,11,12,13 890:5 |
| 662:6 663:10,14,19 | 716:14 719:14,16 727:6 | 707:11,13 712:3,7 | 890:13,22 891:7 892:16 |
| 665:22 666:5,15,19 | 727:11,16 728:17,19,22 | 715:21 722:1 741:13 | 894:18 895:1 896:1 |
| 667:1,8,15,19 668:4,11 | 729:6 731:14,18,22 | 780:4 792:22 795:6 | 897:14 898:6 899:6,9 |
| 668:18 669:2,7,11 | 732:2,15,17,21 733:10 | 796:16 797:15 800:6 | 902:15 903:17 909:2,9 |
| 673:3,4,9,12,15,20 | 733:11,19 746:14 | 823:14 861:22 874:13 | 911:21,21 915:5 916:9 |
| 674:2,18 675:1,3,9,21 | 748:16 749:15 750:6,9 | 881:16,20 889:4 892:16 | 919:21 921:13 928:18 |
| 676:2,22 678:14 679:2 | 751:1,2,10,13,16,22 | 908:19 921:19 928:2 | 938:22 943:5 944:17 |
| 680:13 681:5 682:4 | 752:2,15 766:8,10 | 947:17 967:2 | 945:2 946:17 950:21 |
| 686:11 694:19 695:13 | 767:4,6 770:17 771:3,8 | kinds 704:7,19 711:20 | 952:5,8 954:6 957:13 |
| 695:13 696:7,15 697:3 | 771:10,13,19 772:9,22 | 720:15 | 957:14 960:7 970:1,11 |
| 698:9 700:12,18 706:7 | 773:11,15 774:2,6 | king 811:17,20 873:22 | 972:7 973:11 978:22 |
| 708:15 709:4,11 746:10 | 776:12 777:6,15,22 | 926:21 | 980:8,9,18,19 982:22 |
| 746:13 751:12 791:3 | 778:2 780:12,18,19 | knew 764:8 796:19,20,21 | 983:10 |
| 885:19 889:5,9 898:22 | 785:7,10 787:7 788:11 | 803:15 821:1 880:2,12 | knowingly 921:2 |
| 917:9 943:17 945:11 | 788:19,20 789:2 804:21 | 880:13 890:8 895:16 | knowledge 718:4 757:5 |
| 950:5 969:3,6 971:2,9 | 858:21 859:7 904:5,9 | 896:16 903:2,5 912:11 | 760:5 846:2 869:11 |
| 973:10 | 904:14,19,22 905:4,5 | 915:3 918:1,19 921:3 | knowledgeable 776:10 |
| judgeleventhal@aidala... | 906:1,5,8,22 914:10,13 | knight 873:17,21 | known 644:8 820:20,22 |
| 634:9 | 914:15 915:9,14,17 | knighted 814:4 873:15 | 864:22 865:3 880:17 |
| judges 648:13 651:3,18 | 916:22 917:2 918:4,6 | knighthood 873:16,19 | knows 896:21 |
| 652:4 | 919:1,3 920:2,10,17,21 | know 638:14 640:12 | Koch's 864:3 |
| judgment 777:8 | 920:22 923:9,12 924:17 | 641:9,22 648:8 661:22 | Kushner's 834:16 |
| judicial 645:9,11 652:5 | 929:20 930:18 942:18 | 668:12 679:21 686:1 |  |
| 928:16 | 954:13 960:11 962:13 | 688:22 689:2 690:2 | L |
| judiciary 834:14 | 968:17 971:15,16 | 691:1 698:1,22 701:7 | lack 718:1 |
| jumps 764:12 769:13 | 981:10,11,19,21 982:3 | 703:4 704:16 709:19 | lacks 638:22 |
| June 881:9 | 982:19 | 713:6,16,21 715:16,19 | LaGuardia 872:8 873:6 |
| Jupiter 790:16 | Katherine 799:3 833:20 | 716:22,22 717:1,16 | laid 919:22 940:8 |
| jurisdiction 705:13,14 | Kearns 662:13,19 663:2 | 718:2 719:7,17,18 | landscape 702:18 |
| 706:8 722:22 884:22 | 663:5,20 666:10 737:17 | 721:1,19,20 723:14 | language 638:9 641:13 |
| 895:4 898:8 904:2 | 799:12 895:20,22 | 724:19,20 725:22 726:9 | 689:11 693:19 695:3 |
| 947:6 | Kearns' 663:15 | 737:14 740:20 741:19 | 696:8,21 697:12 698:15 |
| jurisdictional 684:8,9 | keep 827:4 828:1 851:15 | 745:5 748:11,19 754:17 | 699:4 890:12 897:7 |
| jurisdictions 869:4 881:4 | 851:19 891:18,22 | 758:10,11 760:4 762:18 | 898:12 973:21 |
| 884:6 899:14 911:14 | 982:14 | 764:21 772:1,4 775:2 | laniard 745:3 |
| 958:16 974:3 976:2 | keeping 689:9 | 776:5,7,17,21 780:2 | large 725:8 745:8 747:8 |
| jury 815:9,10 | Ken 898:4 | 783:15 792:18,20,21 | 747:20 755:10 866:11 |
| justice 684:7 686:17 | Kenrick 844:17 | 793:8,20 794:16 795:4 | 867:15 868:14,15 870:2 |
| 730:9 811:7 812:5,8,9 | kept 663:19 884:5 891:15 | 795:9,10,13,16 796:21 | 882:20 905:11 915:20 |
| 815:13 816:21 817:15 | Kerik 635:11 800:3,14 | 802:8,14,16,17 806:6 | 916:11,16 917:12,13 |
| 819:1,4 859:19 860:2 | 804:13,19 807:6 810:1 | 807:5 814:7 820:2,20 | 971:6 |
| 861:2,3 | 810:3,4,18,19,20 811:1 | 820:21,22 823:1,22 | largely 867:5 869:7 |
| justices 718:12 720:1,12 | 811:2 820:16 829:21 | 824:1,4,4,10,11,19 | 870:16 971:4 |
| 720:13 | 836:8,15,19 837:13 | 826:18,22 828:2,11,17 | larger 683:7 691:19 |
| justification 670:3 | 839:6 842:20 843:16 | 831:2 837:17 838:3,4,5 | 737:13 916:5 |
| Justin 740:5 | 846:15 850:13 855:14 | 838:7,12 841:11,17 | Las 864:16 |
|  | 857:7,8,9,11 858:6 | 843:7 845:9 846:22 | lasted 815:9 |
| K | 871:21 872:10 873:17 | 848:2,10,14,19 849:3 | lastly 767:17 |
| Kaiser 676:17 | 874:3,9,11 902:18,19 | 849:11,12 851:19 | late 947:12 976:19 984:9 |

Laura 895:19,21
law 640:14 642:13 646:8 647:21 651:15 653:5,9 653:13,18 654:1,19 656:4 668:2,6 670:4,5,6
671:18 674:15 676:3 679:22 680:9,16,16 681:7,8 703:22 704:2,3
704:12,13 706:2,8,17
714:15,17 715:11,12 716:2 721:2,3,3 741:17 786:17 790:19,20 791:9 805:19,20 806:8,10,15 818:14,17 819:20 820:11 867:14 874:17
909:2 921:6,11,19 925:20 926:3 928:1,15 928:19 948:19 972:9,14 973:14 975:6 983:16,20
laws 941:5
lawsuit 657:13,21 665:5 674:14 705:20 715:21 725:6 922:4
lawyer 648:2 763:15 772:3 780:3 796:4 876:9 877:5 879:12 889:2 890:7 894:17 895:6,7 926:5 956:2,6 956:15 973:10,14 974:15,15,16
lawyers 702:14 729:4 779:17 794:21 797:9 828:7,8 876:18 879:4 881:3,8 893:11 894:3,7 894:12,14,19 895:8 903:15 928:12,12 951:2 974:18,21
lay 644:6 779:16 927:20 941:9
layperson 765:3 779:18
lays 641:12 643:7 644:4
lead 642:16 800:14
leader 761:4 762:18
Leaders 818:17
leading 904:18
leads 647:1
learned 724:8 944:21,22
learning 874:20
leave 643:2 749:1 794:17 873:7 971:3 977:7 980:7
leaves 916:5
leaving 792:21 794:22 795:1
leeway $721: 10,13$
left 739:19 749:7 791:6,6

822:12 861:14 867:2
877:2 886:8 894:15 930:4,7 979:15
legal 670:1 671:6 702:12
709:12 737:6 786:17
793:2,8 794:14,20
796:13,22 811:7 821:17
824:20 837:16 877:5
878:4 889:4 892:4
982:12,12 983:18
legally 707:9
legislation 928:17
legislative 881:16 928:17
legislature 686:19 694:10
694:14 695:6 696:12
698:21 719:19,21 720:8
721:4 928:15
legislatures 977:22
legitimacy 758:22 785:22
legitimate 781:19 783:1
887:12 919:18 953:16
lengthy 799:6
let's 639:11 641:5 642:1 648:18 650:1 658:19 686:6 715:2,3,3 717:17 717:17 784:17 788:2,3 788:8 804:15 807:1,2 825:15 850:6 885:20 899:13 900:1,1 904:11 914:13,13 915:14 943:6 945:8 949:19,20 951:14 952:11 954:15,16 967:8 974:1 984:10,10 985:14 986:7
letters 864:17 928:10
letting 732:19 750:11
789:8 810:2 890:17
level 665:4 786:8
levels 786:16
Leventhal 634:3 682:15
683:1 729:1,7,10 731:1 732:5 787:17,18 788:6 788:15,17,22 789:5,12 789:15 790:2,10 798:12 798:16,17 801:19 804:2 804:3,12,17 805:3,16 806:3,14,19 807:19 808:3 809:5,7,11,20 810:13,16 818:10,13,16 825:8,14,21 826:1,11 826:13,19,21 827:11,13 829:18,20 830:5 832:18 832:20 835:8 836:3,13 836:14,16,18 837:2,5 837:12 838:21 839:4 842:9,14,19 843:9

846:11,14 847:15 848:15,20 850:6,9 853:1,9,12 854:12
857:2,6,10,16 858:10
858:12,17 906:20 924:15 982:20 983:4
984:12,15 985:6,9,15
Leventhal's 982:11
Lewandowski 635:8
731:18 732:4,18 733:1
733:3,13,20 734:9
750:3 882:2,12 970:14
liberties 702:7
life 873:3
lifetime 875:11
light 814:22 815:1,1 953:18 957:1
limit 717:22
limitations 918:12
limited 675:10 676:4
677:2,11 783:6 785:12 785:12
limiting 756:5 782:2
Linda 662:13,19 737:17 799:12 895:21,22,22
line 705:7 717:7 756:3 765:11 780:9 786:11 843:3 907:21 908:1 978:10
lined 881:7
lines 727:19
linguistics 790:19
Linish 863:14
link 762:2 764:7,10
linked 856:1
list 745:2 766:17 836:11 839:6 840:4 841:2 847:1,21 848:12 850:18 850:20 851:12 856:17 892:9,14,21 909:8 912:16 926:17 964:7
listen 667:9 963:2,5
listened 882:3
lists 840:22 841:3
litany 735:6
literally 803:13 883:2
litigate 879:4 927:5
litigated 640:14 655:4 793:9 862:12 881:4,14 972:11,17,18
litigating 796:4
litigation 650:9 655:10 663:6,16 686:17 689:8 717:9 724:12 791:10 824:5,9 828:14 851:1,4 851:5 852:1,1,11

867:17,19 875:22
877:16 878:16 881:7
896:4 903:8 921:22
922:2 973:22
litigations 796:2
litigator 714:21 716:21 939:7
litigators 711:2 717:1
little 661:1 672:6 691:19
713:16 722:5 724:10,19
727:19 736:14 795:14 804:13 830:6,7 835:14 837:4 842:15 862:9
868:21 880:19 881:1
898:12 904:18 940:17
940:18 973:17 978:19
live 922:11,12 936:22 986:9
lived 820:3 845:6 877:8
lives 855:16,17
living 844:17
LLC 811:1
LLM 790:20
lobby 933:12
local 799:16 894:3,7,11
895:14 900:18,19 926:12
locating 830:17
location 741:20 745:15 958:12
locked 874:4
Lomanaco 951:20,22 952:2,12,16
long 788:4 800:4 804:13 804:13 815:22 820:22
821:3 884:13 912:11
920:6 949:13 972:12 982:20
long-held 679:14
long-standing 713:13
longer 647:3 947:6 949:4 949:12
look 642:1 644:12 655:18 675:17 681:9 704:13,18 709:3 720:14 723:8 759:10 761:20 762:9,11 763:21 764:2,11,11 769:12 778:9 780:7 783:7,9 785:17,22 821:17 826:2 828:12 897:7 903:9 907:20 910:9,10 931:14 941:18 951:14 952:8 954:15,16 959:16 964:18 968:17 975:3
looked 639:19 677:19

| 745:10 747:19 769:22 | 966:20 | Mastriano 783:15 | meaningful 698:18 782:7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 916:18 917:20 944:15 | mail-in 692:2,2 838:15,16 | material 646:2 674:1 | meaningless 786:2 |
| 944:15 | 840:4 847:8 849:14,18 | 828:10,12 831:6 | means 688:14 843:13 |
| looking 680:3 761:13 | 916:4 918:16 930:14 | materials 778:7 950:17 | 911:6 941:12 975:12 |
| 764:6 792:17 819:1 | 933:9 935:9 936:11,15 | math 776:11 | meant 727:21 974:7,10 |
| 823:15 826:6 847:5 | 936:17 938:8,12 948:20 | mathematics 753:1 | mechanically 636:17 |
| 852:1 854:16 883:12,12 | 949:4 | MATINPOUR 634:11 | medal 813:19 814:1,3 |
| 885:2,3 949:18 | mailed 849:18 852:13,14 | Matt 799:4 | meet 643:19 644:19 |
| looks 770:1 809:17 849:9 | 937:2 | matter 631:5 636:7 637:9 | 736:17 737:3,5,19 |
| 907:20 | mails 853:4 | 646:21 656:12,17,22 | 793:11 816:20 895:13 |
| Lorenz 951:17,20 | main 769:6 799:6 800:3 | 657:4,8 659:17 666:20 | meeting 645:22 775:6,12 |
| lose 873:18 | 825:4 861:10,10 894:4 | 705:14 865:21 871:8 | 775:19 |
| loses 925:1 | 894:5 976:22 977:1 | 878:4 911:5 973:16 | meetings 749:12 775:3 |
| losing 940:18 | mains 800:16 | 978:2 985:16 | 823:3 |
| loss 675:7 679:15 | maintain 687:22 | matters 653:3 655:8 | Meghan 634:21 787:22 |
| lost 640:14 784:2,7,8 | Majesty 811:17 | 753:16,17 756:12 757:6 | member 631:8 633:6,8 |
| 867:7 907:10 922:21 | major 822:21 859 | 972:10,15 | 754:20 775:7 776:3 |
| 970:17 | 875:3 | maximum 652:13 811:19 | 792:5 924:7 969:21 |
| lot 725:17 754:12 755:11 | majority 720:13 | mayor 740:13 741:3 | members 768:3 775:18 |
| 757:20 758:6,6,10,11 | makeshift 747:9 749:13 | 793:4 800:7 821:16,22 | 789:6 862:22 863:2 |
| 764:19,21 765:3 768:2 | making 669:4 670:17 | 822:10,15,15 824:7,8 | 864:3,17 865:6 866:11 |
| 768:3 769:1 777:20 | 671:20 672:4,12 686:3 | 824:13 825:3 828:14,17 | 870:7 |
| 779:21 783:14 792:15 | 691:10 697:2 698:12 | 828:19,22 833:15,19 | Memorandum 688:5 |
| 792:20 796:15 797:3,3 | 819:2 831:22 873:3 | 838:4 864:2,3 867:1,6 | Memories 754:3 |
| 800:2 801:5,18 820:2 | 881:15 918:14 919:19 | 867:11,21 868:7,19 | memorizing 874:21 |
| 828:11,17 832:4 864:1 | 922:6 953:11 982:5 | 869:1,8,9,20 870:6 | memory 675:18 730:1 |
| 864:22 869:21 872:21 | malfunction 965:11,16 | 871:1 873:1 874:19 | 737:16 741:9 818:9,11 |
| 875:15 881:3 887:7 | malfunctioning 966:14 | 875:8 | mention 813:17 |
| 890:7,21 896:17 903:6 | $\boldsymbol{m a n} 776: 19$ 874:12 | mayor's 824:22 828:18 | mentioned 701:3 737:17 |
| 903:19 919:7,9,20 | management 754:2 | 869:5 | 757:21 829:10 841:5 |
| 949:17 950:9 983:20 | 811:22 869:7 | McGee 662:12,17 | 871:21,22 887:11 975:5 |
| lots 854:5 937:3 | manager 734:22 | Meadows 884:19 | mentions 933:3 |
| Louis 855:16,17 | 754:6 | mean 649:19 668:19 | Mercer 748:12,19 891:2 |
| love 873:1,2 | Mandarin 822:1 | 674:4,7 689:16 698:10 | 891:3,4,4 964:5,10,18 |
| lower 711:2 718:2 | mandated 651:4 | 714:14 716:20 717:8 | 965:4 |
| lowest 870:18 | mandates 701:1 | 719:9 747:21 776:18,19 | Mercer's 891:2 |
| lowly 972:3 | manner 924:4 | 777:8782:17 787:3 | meritorious 813:22 |
| luckily 862:19 | mantle 754:13 | 795:13 800:12 802:10 | messaging 734:17 |
| lunch 804:14 | manufacturer 754:4 | 803:10,15 813:5 823:11 | Messinas 677:6,16 678:4 |
| luncheon 808:6 | March 876:6 909:9 913:2 | 829:14 833:5 837:9 | met 643:15 736:12,20 |
|  | Maria 766:20 | 877:17 880:16 883:6,11 | 737:7 739:14 822:10,15 |
| M | Marine 791:3 79 | 884:20 885:15 886:9 | 891:3 895:19 896:2 |
| M 631:22 632:3 634:3 | Mark 664:3 884:18 | 887:12 889:12 892:8 | 927:9 957:4 |
| 987:2,16 | marked 784:3 | 896:17 901:19 902:15 | metal 939:19 |
| ma'am 978:15 981:7 | Marks 680:14,21 681:4 | 902:22 903:2 907:8 | methodology 846:18,22 |
| machine 891:21 935:12 | 681:13,14,17,20 682:5 | 913:17 915:3 925:21 | 849:12 |
| 965:11,13,17 | 682:10 683:10,16 684:2 | 927:10 929:5 931:3 | methods 676:13 |
| machines 745:9,14 | 799:13 | 947:17,18 948:11 | Mexico 797:21 798:3 |
| 747:10,13 748:3,5 | Marriage 926:21 | 949:13 952:7,7 957:20 | 802:12 |
| 935:10 966:15 | Marshal's 866:5 | 961:5 963:22 966:7 | Michael 865:2 872:18 |
| mafia 862:14,17 863:1,3 | marshals 860:4,13 | 968:22 973:1 974:5 | Michigan 652:9 725:21 |
| 865:16 | Mary 925:14,20 | 978:10 979:13 | 797:21 798:2 801:15,17 |
| magnetometers 738:19 | mass 817:18,22 | meaning 648:15 665:2 | 802:11 823:17 894:17 |
| 738:22 743:7,12 745:8 | Massachusetts 735:15 | 667:13 675:2 711:4 | 895:7 899:19 974:15 |
| mail 936:8,9,10,13,20 | Master's 735:11 | 742:8 865:19 896:18 | 976:6 980:12 |
| 947:16,18 948:14 | masters 790:19 | 901:14 | microphone 682:19 |

mid-afternoon 904:7
middle 754:2 820:4
Migliori 645:2
Mike 737:2 887:11
military 791:7 819:20
Milken 865:2
Miller 844:1,16,16 855:16,17
million 800:13
millions 864:4
mind 656:15 661:9 681:11 684:3 772:11 773:4,8,14 777:5 807:17 827:5 828:1 842:10 851:19 920:15 928:21
mine 912:4
minimum 652:12
Minister 812:14
minor 694:6
minute 664:21 899:4
minutes 731:9 743:6 749:3 788:6,9 872:3,13 904:12 983:13 984:3
mirror 782:18 974:19 976:8
mischaracterize 765:9
mishear 695:12
misinterpret 722:9
mislead 930:9
misleading 782:14
missed 791:11 929:4
missiles 866:10
missing 809:14 874:6
mistakes 781:10
misunderstood 695:1 696:19
Mitchell 775:4
mitigation 807:12 983:7
Mm-hmm 877:20 888:16 889:14 896:15 937:10
mobilized 791:12
model 872:16,17
modification 670:5
Mohawk 754:5
moment 682:15 713:4 769:4 787:19 795:21 840:16
Monolithic 754:3
monster 747:22
month 878:22,22
months 657:14 697:10 726:9 816:2 877:9
Moore 856:13,14
moot 646:18 647:2
morning 636:2 654:15

700:21 731:9 733:20,21
736:11,12 738:4 742:10 751:11,12 752:4,18 821:21 822:2,12 823:3 877:19,22 891:5 896:22 906:10 929:10 979:16 984:8 985:19 986:2
mornings 822:11
mother 762:19
motion 642:7 648:7,12 649:2 650:4,5,17 659:16 663:11 688:6 700:6 726:4
motivated 868:22
motive 641:21
move 777:13 827:11 835:9 843:9 847:15 854:6 920:4 967:8
moved 649:14 662:17 663:5,8 872:11
movie 865:4
moving 747:12 853:12
multi 830:18 864:4 898:9
multi-district 973:21
multi-jurisdiction 898:10
multi-jurisdictional 802:8
multiple 936:16
multiply 935:17
Multistate 850:17
multitude 939:4
municipalities 712:21
Munson-Ware 646:22
Murrell 749:22
mute 682:19 809:6
Mycofskish 863:13

| $\mathbf{N}$ |
| :---: |
| $\mathbf{N} 635: 1$ 636:1 809:1,1,1 |

name 731:20 734:10 737:2,11,12,14,17,19 740:3,5 745:1 748:12 748:13,17 758:16 766:17 781:2 799:14 810:17 814:16 815:2 818:8 839:13 841:14 843:22 844:3,6 850:20 863:12 901:1,3 925:18 936:18
named 799:13 875:7,8 876:19
names 760:2 784:12 836:11 838:12 843:16 843:17 844:14 851:6 855:5,12 856:1,18 881:3 894:13,20,21,21

894:22 895:3 913:1 919:7,8 936:21,22
nanny 814:19 815:15
narrow 678:13 679:2
narrowing 679:12
narrowly 855:1
nation 802:7
nation's 819:20
national 735:1 790:20 791:11 811:6,18,22 812:15
nationally $753: 16,17$
nationwide 816:21
Naturalization 860:6
nature 664:9 727:7,9
745:6 753:17 756:7
769:2 812:10 818:2
834:11 838:1
Naval 735:13
Navarro 911:19,21 913:12
Nazi 863:13,13
Nazis 863:5
NCIT 775:17
near 970:4
nearest 640:9
necessarily $668: 12,19$ 671:4,9,15 697:15,21 698:10 706:13 721:5 796:3 947:8
necessary 710:3 983:20
necessity 699:1
neck 745:4
need 636:3 675:22 698:16 711:6 759:13 770:11,14 776:7 880:3 943:5 944:16 985:5
needed 793:8 828:15 838:5 866:5 888:10
negatively 717:4
negotiate 871:9
neighborhood 703:9 755:20 793:15
neither 960:20 961:16 987:8
Nestle 755:14
Network 713:18
never 642:17,19 668:5 681:2 747:8,13 783:18 802:12 833:6 879:6 885:2,6 889:20 891:14 894:20 909:9 917:22 921:7,7,12,12,13,18 927:9 933:14 935:19 938:17 945:12 954:6 959:15,15 960:2 961:9

964:19 965:6 972:11 977:1 980:12,21,21
new 634:7,7 678:2 703:1 721:7 735:3 754:1 755:4,9,15,22 767:18 797:21 798:2 802:12 810:21 812:18,21 813:7 861:13,17 862:3,16,17 864:7 867:1,11 868:11 869:15,22 870:20 871:6 872:5 873:2 874:21 877:12 879:2 931:20 947:17
news 791:17,19 793:5 797:18
newsletter 757:22 758:1 758:2 760:3
newspaper 966:21
newspapers 849:9
NH 731:20
nice 954:22
Nichol 844:6
Nick 740:6
night 636:8 821:20 878:8 907:17 950:12,14 976:3 977:9 979:9,10,12,14
nine 637:16 641:7 730:10
Ninth 675:6,18 676:3,12 676:22 677:1,16 678:4 678:8,11,20,21 679:11 680:9,15 681:7
noises 720:2
Nominate 656:7
nominated $814: 9$
nominations 860:12
non-fraud 643:9
nonbinding 983:6
noncompliant 787:1
nonfrivolous 653:5,9,13 653:18,22 668:1,5 674:15 678:16 679:4,8 679:9 685:13 693:4 722:3
nonpartisan 969:17
nonuniform 698:19
normality 770:2
normally 891:6
North 757:4 767:15 775:15
Northern 652:8
Notary 632:4 987:1,17
note 663:8 666:9 690:7 700:3
noted 646:13 662:10,16 662:22 663:4 680:13 701:4 936:10,14

| notes 892:11 | NYPD 813:20 | 738:10 743:9749:11 | 799:18 804:15,22 807:1 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| notice 640:13 645:12 |  | 786:9 793:11,13,18 | 807:8,8 809:4,7,22 |
| 646:4,5 648:22 650: | 0 | 794:7,9,11 800:10,12 | 816:10 820:16 826:5,8 |
| 653:14 655:16 664:3,16 | O 636:1 809:1,1,1 | 815:8 816:19 831:8,11 | 827:10 829:10 830:4,9 |
| 665:15 690:10,14,17 | o'clock 979:17,17 984:2 | 832:22 834:16 835:16 | 831:17 832:18 833:16 |
| 691:4 694:8,15,20 | 985:20 986:2 | 835:19 839:22 840:4 | 834:4,21 838:17 840:16 |
| 695:7,9 698:16 843:2 | oath 859:4 873:4 978:1 | 860:4,7 862:4,5 869:5 | 842:14 843:18 845:9 |
| 843:15,15,20,20 855:4 | Obama 817:12 834:6,11 | 869:22 878:2 886:9 | 847:7 849:21 850:3 |
| 855:9 954:21 958:12 | 926:18 | 901:7 924:2 935:8 | 853:10 856:21 858:18 |
| noticed 655:7 | obituaries 849:10 | officer 695:19 735:3 | 861:11 866:15,19 |
| notified 740:6 | object 716:15 770:9 | 744:5 813:6 890:4 | 872:22 876:17 882:9,11 |
| notify 985:17 | 835:12 836:12 842: | 987:2 | 886:11 896:20 898:17 |
| notion 676:4 | 845:22 846:8 920:6 | officers 7 | 900:1,9 901:5 903:16 |
| notwithstandin | objected 771:2,4 | 870:3 | 904:19 905:4 910:13 |
| novel 702:8 704:16,17 | objection 773:11 776:14 | offices 860:4 870 | 911:9 912:19 913:3 |
| 705:3 | 818:12 837:7 848:20,20 | 880:18 935:3 | 914:6 915:8 931:1,17 |
| November 650:2,13 | 850:3 852:16 853:5 | official 859:18 8 | 932:10 940:11,14 |
| 658:8,14,20 659:5,7,8 | 856:22 857:1,4,5 | 933:17 939:14 | 943:13 945:19 953:19 |
| 662:10,16,22 663:4,17 | 904:17 914:19 968 | officially 875:7 | 967:8,20 968:15 970:6 |
| 664:2,12 666:6 735:17 | objective 661:5 670:15 | officials 742:8 818:21,22 | 971:12 973:16 980:20 |
| 736:15 739:2,3 744:9 | 670:18 688:16,18 | 890:15,17 933:10 | 981:2 982:3 985:13 |
| 744:17 757:18 772:12 | 715:12 716:5,10 | offline 832:4 | old 836:22 916:3 951:16 |
| 793:20 801:3 821:16 | obligation 983:15 | offset 823:4 | 952:17 |
| 827:7 833:13 877:15 | obligations 873:6 | oh 678:19 691:18 696:1 | older 954:7 |
| 898:22 933:6,7,18,19 | observation 640:20 | 696:14 704:3 709:20 | Omnibus 688:5 |
| 938:6 | 706:10 | 714:9 718:21 719:16 | once 746:9 756:20 861:15 |
| number 631:11 652:18 | observational 6 | 728:22 741:2 746:14 | 882:3 884:12 890:18 |
| 654:19 655:8,10,13 | 701:1 704:10 968:2 | 780:20 794:10 826:7 | 922:20 |
| 658:5,10,16 665:22 | observe 933:8,14,2 | 827:12 830:4 832:21 | one-eight 787:4 |
| 691:11 706:17,18 | 964:12,17,21 | 834:19 840:19 856:3 | one-eighth 786:22 |
| 781:21 782:15 784:1 | observed 935:9 96 | 888:6 894:13 895:13 | one-plaintiff 926:2,9 |
| 800:8 803:6 812:5,6 | observer 933:6,17 934:22 | 903:10,10 907:2 913:17 | 927:22 |
| 814:6 820:10,10,10 | 935:3,8 941:12 961:21 | 932:11 943:22 959:13 | ones 642:14 676:19 |
| 821:6 822:20 823:4,16 | 962:5,7 963:12 | 979:1 980:20 | 723:18 725:17 779:5 |
| 823:20 835:1,12 839:15 | observers 639:14 | Ohio 730:7,11 | 799:15 852:5 861:10 |
| 845:5 854:8,10 864:7 | 949:16 955:3 | Oil 757:4 | 862:13 865:1 871:19 |
| 865:5 866:11 870:3,11 | observing 699:22 942:5 | okay 636:13 637:22 | 875:18 881:11 890:20 |
| 882:20 883:18 884:5,8 | obstructing 640:5 | 638:20 639:11 640:21 | 903:3 970:20 971:4,5 |
| 886:10,11 890:18 | obtained 847:1 | 642:11 644:22 649:4 | ongoing 830:20 852:8 |
| 893:21 900:4 905:11 | obviously 689:1 | 60:7,15 651:1 659:9 | 854:15,15 |
| 910:2 911:3,3,22 912:7 | 771:21,22 796:10 800: | 659:15 661:21 665:16 | online 832:1 |
| 915:20 916:3,5,10,16 | occasion 702:4 729:12 | 667:14 674:10 680:13 | open 689:9 788:12 949:6 |
| 917:13,22 918:11 919:6 | occasions 817:1 | 688:7 706:16 707:17 | 949:7,9,10 |
| 931:6,7,17 932:10,12 | occur 676:14 | 708:12 709:15,20 | opened 939:16 |
| 932:14,15 939:8 958:10 | occurrence 661 | 711:11 714:8,22 715:1 | opening 706:9 710:5 |
| 959:4 964:8 965:19 | occurrences 652:14 | 722:14 725:10 728:7 | 732:11 808:4 826:5 |
| 971:6 | October 987:21 | 730:6 732:2 734:11 | 905:1 939:20 |
| numbers 725:1 776:7,9 | odd 972:13 | 737:19 738:5 742:3 | operated 862:15 |
| 776:11 782:17,21 | offer 652:19 684:11 | 751:16 752:18 754:8 | operative 811:20 |
| 785:15,19 786:1,2 | 771:9,11 946:14 | 757:17 761:2 763:13 | opinion 637:5,8,15 |
| 841:10,15 844:21,22 | offered 651:14 771:3,18 | 765:22 766:8 767:3 | 640:22 643:22 645:1 |
| 856:10 907:13 912:17 | 773:1,2,3 776:18,21 | 771:5 777:19 782:11 | 647:1 650:12 653:4 |
| 918:15 966:17 | 920:15 958:6 983:10 | 783:22 784:19 788:2,8 | 672:15,16 673:7 679:4 |
| numerous 775:21 925:15 | offering 772:10,17 | 789:1,11,14,17 790:17 | 679:7,17 683:9 684:4 |
| nuts 703:17 | 955:16 | 790:21 792:9 793:6,12 | 684:12 689:12 694:19 |
| NW 633:16 | office 634:22 636:19 | 794:2 797:6 798:16 | 695:15,19 697:8 708:4 |


| 708:8 709:5,10 710:20 | outer 949:7,8 | 929:16 930:8,22 983:2 | party 645:18 648:15,19 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 716:16,20 720:10 | outlined 662:6,8,8 938:22 | paper 647:14,17,19,19 | 648:21 649:1,2 676:5 |
| 721:18 863:11 889:17 | 971:3,9 | 889:22 899:22 934:5 | 693:20 699:21 883:8 |
| 889:19,19 945:6 | outset 687:10 | 942:7 974:13 977:15 | 922:22 923:16 924:1 |
| opinions 653:3 675:18 | outside 640:8 647:14 | papers 795:11 907:10 | 969:21 |
| opponent 648:19,21 | 740:16 741:4 742:17 | paragraph 638:5 639:19 | pass 756:4 949:9 |
| opportunity 694:8 | 835:7 847:4 977:8 | 641:6,9 642:2,9 691:18 | passed 778:7 834:5,8 |
| 727:12 806:6 857:12 | Oval 878:2 | 691:21 700:19 923:3,8 | 848:5 |
| 938:18 958:20 964:12 | overall 665:5 | 923:13,17,18 924:13,14 | passes 806:1 |
| 964:16 982:21 983:14 | 871:13 896:9 | 930:6 931:6,7,16 | Pat 863:9 |
| 983:17 | ov | 932:10,12,14,15 934 | Pataki 870:9 874:6 |
| oppos | overnight 907:12 908:12 | 934:20 936:3 937:12,21 | patchwork 691:22 |
| opposed 904:18 | overrule 730:10 | 939:8 960:12 961:7 | pattern 934:12,14 940:8 |
| opposing 648:698 | overruled 730:7 848:21 | 962:10 965:9 966:18 | pause 825:13 |
| opposition 863:9 | 914:21 | 967:8 968:6,12,13,15 | PC 634:5,15 |
| Oprah 875:8 |  | 968:17 970:12,17 | pen 891:13 |
| opt |  | paragraphs 709:8 725:1 | Pennsylvania 638:16 |
| optimistic 805:1 | oversee 736:2 85 | 929:16 930:21 938:20 | 640:16 645:10 664:11 |
| option 651:2,2 928:19 | 878:16 | 938:21 940:10 941:17 | 693:20 695:18,21 696:1 |
| oral 663:16,22 664:5 | overseeing 743:5 812:15 | 957:22 958:13 960:16 | 697:6,9 698:2,5 702:3 |
| 665:2,21 680:20 772 | 4-8,8 | 960:20 961:17 963:7 | 703:15 735:19 761:19 |
| 902:2 943:16 944:1,5,7 | overturned | Paralegal 634:11 | 763:16 778:14 781:16 |
| 982:6,7 986:3 | overturning 670:6 | paralegals 903:14 | 782:2 783:11 785:2 |
| orally $889: 1691$ |  | paraphrasing 744:1 | 797:20 798:5,19 799:2 |
| order 646:15,22 651:11 | P | pardon 816:10 860:6 | 799:8,17 800:9,11 |
| 661:3 691:5 742:11,14 | P 633:12 636:1 | 976:12 | 801:10,13,16 803:2,7 |
| 742:18,21 743:14,18 | p.m 808:6 809:2 933 | part 674:4 680:4,5 707: | 803:14,18 823:17 |
| 746:8,11,12,16,18 | 933:18,19 986:1 | 711:8 763:14 799:6 | 830:13,18 831:12,14 |
| 778:14 874:7 887:5, | packing 794:19 | 828:14 830:19 852:7,10 | 832:9,13,13,17,21 |
| 889:5,9,16 970:15 | page 637:15 641:5,7,7 | 854:17 861:21 868:9 | 833:5,7,9,11,18 840:1 |
| ordered 983:10 | 42:2 682:14 683:4 | 895:14 911:20 915:12 | 844:13 845:6,19,20 |
| orders 652:21 | 686:22 687:18 691:18 | 915:12,16,18 916:14 | 850:19 851:8 854:1,7 |
| organization 757:13 | 709:6 727:4 778:9 | 917:4 918:8 919:5 | 855:17 856:13,18 881:5 |
| 775:5,16,17 | 781:6 826:5 837:3 | 961:10 971:8 982:16 | 881:11 882:17 885:12 |
| organizations 7 | 905:17 906:11,15,17,18 | participant 882:14 | 896:19 900:2 901:16 |
| 818:3 | 907:4,5 909:14,15,19 | participate 775:19 | 907:18 909:13 911:15 |
| organize 762:16 884:21 | 909:21 910:1,2,6,7,11 | 793:10 870:8 875 | 918:21 931:20 933:5,18 |
| 984:22 | 910:14 923:3,18,21 | participated 749:12 | 941:16 947:10 948:19 |
| organized | 924:10,10,11,11,12 | 863:1 877:6 | 963:1 964:11 967:14 |
| 891:17 | 925:20 930:5 931:2,4,5 | participation 665 | 969:17 976:5,11,14 |
| Oriental | 932:11 935:1,1 937:18 | 724:21 877:10 | 77:11 979:7,9 980:5,9 |
| original 638:18 658:2,2 | 937:19 940:12 960:15 | particular 675:11,20 | 980:14 |
| 663:16 705:19 765:8 | 962:8,10 965:9 966:18 | 679:19 682:2 686:1 | Pennsylvania's 654:4 |
| 845:1 876:11 | 968:11,15 | 91:16 699:15 701:21 | Pennsylvanians 854:6 |
| originally 664:22 736:21 | pages 694:1 905:18 966:8 | 04:5,15,16 705:6 | pens 899:21 |
| 739:13 740:15 887:6 | paid 796:13 814:20 | 712:5 716:18 746:21 | people 641:21 660:20 |
| 888:2 951:2 | 874:18 | 47:14 755:17 766:19 | 684:8702:13 711:21 |
| Ortiz 634:17 635:4 | paint 901:18 | 838:22 905:16 958:21 | 713:17 720:12 721:22 |
| 636:20 637:4 643:4 | pair 730:5 | particularly 702:12 | 722:21 726:2 748:10 |
| 654:13 669:20 672:14 | Pam 737:20 738:1 739:16 | 937:7 955:13 | 754:12,15,17 755:13,14 |
| 710:13 724:5,6 726:13 | 740:2 743:22 882:8,12 | parties 632:6 648:6 | 758:11,11,20 759:14 |
| 726:17 728:21 729:11 | 884:2 887:10 888:15,21 | 803:21 927:12 981:10 | 760:4,13,15,16 761:5 |
| 731:6 929:10 | 889:1,2 | 983:14 987:9,12 | 763:4,5 764:8,10 |
| OSI 754:4 | panel 727:1 | partisan 641:21 967:20 | 765:16 766:18,19 |
| ought 774:20 915:5 | 752:10 787:11 789:6 | partner 813:20 | 768:10 770:16 771:22 |
| outcome 987:13 | 802:1 811:15 858:2,5 | parts 765:14 | 772:5 775:8778:8 |


| 779:17 782:4 784:17,18 | personnel 939:19 | 910:19 974:19 978:20 | 696:4,7 704:8 710:5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 785:16 786:22 787:3,4 | persons 931:18 960:21 | plain 643:12 | 720:11 731:12 738:5 |
| 794:15,18,19 795:1 | perspective 715:12 797:2 | plaintiff 644:16 645:11 | 739:7,22 740:8 742:13 |
| 797:16 800:2,19 820:3 | pertaining 817:21 841:21 | 712:5 925:7,19 927:3 | 743:8 744:4,12 745:15 |
| 822:16 823:9,12,13,20 | pertains 835:21 985:10 | 927:10 972:14 973:4 | 746:22 749:9 770:5 |
| 823:22 824:14 825:4,5 | pertinent 778:12 | plaintiffs 638:2 645:19 | 773:10 780:3 782:20 |
| 828:7,11,18 829:6 | petition 649:17 657:5 | 653:11 663:1 664:4,17 | 783:16 796:2 806:12 |
| 830:17 836:21 838:10 | PHALEN 634:20 | 667:2 674:19,22 675:4 | 809:16 819:19 831:7 |
| 843:8 848:4,8,11 | phase 983:7 | 675:6 676:12 680:14 | 855:2 857:5,11 878:17 |
| 849:14,17 854:9 855:5 | PhD 767:14 776:5 | 681:6,12,20 683:11 | 879:16 881:22 883:5 |
| 856:3 857:13,13 862:13 | PhDs 759:14,18 760:17 | 684:17,19 685:13 686:7 | 884:5,14 885:18 887:13 |
| 863:10 865:1,19 870:11 | 762:14 767:19 768:2 | 687:4,9,21 690:15 | 887:20,22 895:17 |
| 870:15 874:10 875:17 | 771:16 | 691:11 692:18 693:14 | 898:19 918:13 919:8 |
| 877:21 879:21,22 880:2 | Philadelphia 736:2,8,18 | 693:18 694:13 695:5 | 928:18 929:9 930:1,3,5 |
| 880:12,17 886:6 890:18 | 736:19 737:10 738:3,6 | 696:9,12,16 707:4 | 932:4 934:18 941:21 |
| 892:10,11,12,22 893:1 | 740:14 743:2,9,13 | 716:19 717:15 722:7,11 | 945:21 950:2 953:11 |
| 893:5 900:4 902:7,12 | 886:1,21 887:2 888:3,9 | 723:12,18 875:22 876:5 | 961:8 971:11 976:1 |
| 902:14 903:13,19 | 889:8 890:5,8 893:16 | 922:10,20 927:11 | 983:4,21 |
| 908:20 913:1 917:18 | 894:15 895:12,15 | plaintiffs' 653:15,20 | pointed 680:22 969:5 |
| 918:2,21 921:15 934:4 | 897:18 908:3 918:3 | 674:14 686:12 689:5 | points 684:9 908:19 |
| 936:21,22 944:18 | 947:10 952:10 954:9,10 | 693:15 706:8 707:2 | 963:16 |
| 945:16 948:14 953:14 | 955:14 959:11 961:21 | 938:10 | police 735:3 743:16 744:5 |
| 954:4,20 955:12 957:18 | 963:12 969:19 970:9,10 | plan 687:16 689:7,7 | 810:22 812:18,19 |
| 957:19 958:19 959:1,9 | 974:20 975:15 976:9 | planning 667:6 689:19,20 | 813:22,22 819:15 |
| 959:12,14 961:13 964:3 | 979:7,8 | plant 965:1 | 820:13 821:2 869:16,21 |
| 964:8 966:13,16 969:6 | Philadelphia's 640:4 | plate 757:16 | 889:8 890:4,4,5,7,8 |
| 970:2 973:14 974:17 | Philly 833:12 | plausibility 644:9 | political 685:1,7,7 734:4 |
| people's 841:9 | phon 646:22 863:13,14 | plausible 644:17 | 734:17,18 735:12 740:5 |
| percent 653:1 868:9 | 864:10 | play 807:2 | 812:6 |
| 911:1,8 | phone 735:21 740:18 | playing 739:6 | politics 973:3 |
| percentage 652:20 | 745:20 746:1 760:8 | plead 955:19,21 956:3 | poll 639:13 640:5,7,17 |
| 782:20 | 823:9 888:19 893:17 | 957:7,21 | 745:5 931:11,18 |
| perennial 918:22 | 903:20 | pleading 643:8 644:6,7,8 | polling 959:3,5 |
| perfect 713:16 927:22 | phones 795:11 903:18 | 647:19 660:1 960:4,8,8 | polls 931:19 |
| perfectly 927:21 | photographs 848:12 | 965:5 | populus 947:5 |
| period 649:20,22 651:21 | physically 823:21 940:6 | pleadings 669:22 708:16 | Porter 662:12 |
| 652:11,19,22 658:9 | physicist 776:6 | 954:18 | portion 709:10 727:21 |
| 660:21 718:3 813:4 | physics 753:1,2,14,15 | pleads 956:15 | 728:3 785:1 961:4 |
| 814:21 867:18 908:12 | picayune 881:20 | please 637:12 638:5 | posed 663:21 915:6 |
| 912:21 936:15 946:11 | picked 760:4 770:6 911:4 | 640:2 660:16 695:2 | position 675:13 679:15 |
| 949:14 | 911:4 | 709:3 732:16,17 750:10 | 689:1 692:18 693:13 |
| permissible 707:9,14 | picture 901:18 | 789:4 809:21 810:1,17 | 697:1 698:4,6 713:4 |
| 720:9,11 | pictures 745:17 746:1,5 | 813:18 826:12,12 | 715:20 716:11 734:12 |
| permits 705:22 | pie-in-the-sky 786:20 | 829:19 830:6 835:10 | 759:15 811:2 859:13 |
| permitted 746:9 | piece 872:14 889:22 | 836:17 837:3,4 842:15 | 869:6 |
| person 732:7 736:21 | Pierce 691:12 692:5,8,9 | 846:12 850:7 852:20,21 | positional 700:10,17 |
| 759:4 766:16 775:9 | 692:12 | 854:13 858:11 880:21 | 701:22 702:16 703:13 |
| 783:2 825:2 838:7,18 | pile 949:11 | 892:9 917:1 960:15 | 704:4,15 705:5 |
| 850:19 851:8 886:16,17 | Pittsburgh 947:11 959:4 | 962:10 | positions 734:19 735:9 |
| 933:3 943:9 949:6 | 959:11 | pled 674:20 815:18 | 756:22 790:22 817:14 |
| 958:8 962:22 963:10 | place 742:2 779:20 793:1 | 945:10 950:5 958:3,7 | 820:5 |
| personal 866:12 876:9 | 800:19 872:6 911:15 | 958:11 970:20 | possessing 755:20 |
| 985:11,16 | 922:21 928:9 932:1,5 | plenty 726:2 925:2 | possession 826:15 |
| personally $656: 11,16,21$ | 933:11 939:21 959:4,5 | plus 758:9 | possibilities 903:4 950:9 |
| 657:3,7 828:22 863:18 | 975:19 | point 646:20 651:20 | possibility 689:21 723:22 |
| 863:19 911:21 938:14 | places 709:14 800:8 | 653:1 666:6 667:1 | possible 644:14 649:6 |

671:21 672:13 685:15
686:1 689:14 690:4
693:2 697:18 701:14
713:7 723:4,6,11,14,16
748:2 763:21 850:18
851:13,13 892:19
944:13
possibly 674:8
post 756:19 879:2
post-election 774:18,20 782:2 881:7
Postal 936:8
postponement 664:5
posture 645:6
potential 675:7 676:5
679:15 799:20 930:4,11
930:12,16
potted 965:1
power 720:7
powerful 941:19
practical 927:15
Practically 649:8
practice 921:20
practiced 791:10 867:14
practices 690:8
practicing 921:11
pre-canvassing 700:1
pre-Election 881:4
precedence 671:13
precedent 671:1,6 672:1
672:2,9,11 688:9
701:15 702:9 703:11
705:7 719:6,7 720:16
721:14 729:14 730:20 730:20
precedents 702:13
preclude 774:4
predecessor 873:5
predecessors 869:18 871:14
preliminarily 981:16
preliminary 806:16,20
807:11,17,22 983:5,6
prep 824:9 852:1,11
preparation 638:19 772:13 885:3
prepare 657:20 659:20 838:3 914:17
prepared 764:17 765:20 771:15 805:17,19 899:2 899:4 951:11 985:2
preparing 770:18 902:6 915:11
present 632:5 634:10 725:14 799:1 935:21 939:12 983:18
presented 700:5 951:3
presently 811:11
presents 710:17
preserve 687:22
preserving 689:13
president 702:11 715:5
734:13 790:14 814:2,13
814:14 816:5 820:19
821:4,18 834:6,9
859:19 860:19 861:4,15
863:7 864:19,20 866:8
867:3,4 873:14 875:4
876:1,8 878:1 879:9
880:22 884:10,18
897:13 922:19,21
932:21 948:13 973:8
presidential 701:17 702:1 702:5 711:7 735:16 757:17 782:19 784:8 787:2 814:2 816:9 880:14,16
press 740:15 741:3 742:19 749:13 833:8 880:14
pressing 975:16
pressure 721:21 779:21
presumably 718:22 966:11
pretend 927:19 973:6
pretty 725:16 762:5 779:4,22 795:17,20 820:6 824:1 855:7 870:4 888:17,19 893:19 902:3 917:6,6 928:5 949:3 951:7 976:7
prevail 928:16
prevailed 971:2
previously 664:5 746:4 871:7
primaries 817:21
primarily 798:1 812:8 823:17 830:14
primary 705:15 774:16 774:17 822:21 823:2,19 824:6 825:1 834:1 923:15,22
Principal's 871:10
principals 721:4 871:6,16 871:17
prior 647:9 695:2,3 734:20 753:20 772:12 772:13 812:12,17 813:5 820:8 834:14 855:21 880:13 896:19 898:22 905:7 921:22 922:1,1 981:22
prison 811:19 812:9 816:1,13,22 817:2,15 835:3 872:16
prisoners 835:3 872:5
Prisons 860:5
private 734:5 810:22 890:7
privilege 941:5
privileged 878:10
pro 659:17 664:16 738:15
probably 743:6 747:11 747:21 749:3 755:2 757:11,15 768:12 778:11 822:22 828:4 843:4 844:12 862:21 864:1 865:3 874:19 889:1 900:14 902:3,4 918:2 919:10 926:12 927:12 953:21,21 968:11 971:10
problem 755:22 854:8 918:22 923:2 954:21 958:17
problems 762:10 852:2 919:20 966:14
procedural 645:6 662:7,9 664:20 698:18
procedure 643:5,6 647:11 661:19 690:15 690:18 693:9 694:9,16 694:20 695:8,10 730:3
procedures 640:13 645:13 648:17 653:15 690:11 698:20
proceed 636:14 733:9 750:22 752:1 790:1 809:10 810:12
proceeding 664:10 733:5 750:18 789:19 810:9 921:19 934:9,11,18 983:9
proceedings 648:12 650:10 665:2 751:15 987:4,7
process 639:13 640:5,6 647:15 688:21 690:9 693:10 699:18 700:9,14 700:17,22 701:15,18,18 702:18 703:1,8,17 704:11,18 706:6 735:18 742:2 749:9 780:14 829:6 894:14 932:22 933:2 937:7 938:11 940:5 960:10
processed 646:1
processing 755:21 933:21
produced 868:11 881:2 950:17
professional 631:2 666:21 672:17,21 708:5
professor 654:13 669:20
672:14 710:13 714:5,16
714:17 721:1 728:20
731:5 929:10
professorial 714:21
professors 656:4 860:22
program 870:14,14 926:19
programs 835:2,4,6
prohibited 948:19
project 755:18 937:17 938:1,3,5,15 967:9,20
prominent 865:1
prone 930:15
prong 927:13 929:4
proof 805:9
properly 689:18,19,19
proposed 755:18 983:15
proposition 638:21
propositions 640:12 701:7
propriety 848:22
prosecuted 862:20,22 863:5 864:6,8,10,21,22 865:5,9 866:3
prosecution 863:2
prosecutions 875:12
prosecutor 865:14 934:3 947:12
prosecutors 818:22
Prosperity 735:2
protection 690:7 692:4 692:19 693:10,18 698:9 706:5 710:16 711:15 718:20 721:3 866:6 933:1,2 937:7 960:10 963:16
protests 738:15
prototypes 865:3
prove 781:9 950:10 957:16
proven 981:17
provide 694:8 698:18,22
provided 650:16 742:7 742:11 745:1,11 825:18 852:6,6 931:21 932:3
provides 705:11
provision 645:21 647:13 705:10
provisional 931:21 958:17,18,21 959:18 961:12

| provisionally 960:22 | 704:17 713:12 714:11 | 869:8,12,13 876:21 | reasoning 667:20 673:12 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 961:14 | 715:18 719:2,10 720:8 | 880:12 | 690:1 692:21,22 693:3 |
| provisions 960:5 | 721:16 725:11 729:1 | random 782:12 | 693:5 711:3 |
| proximate 924:6 | 741:12 758:12 768:15 | rank 862:1 | reasonings 693:2 |
| public 632:4 633:6 743:7 | 780:9 782:8,22 802:4 | ranking 859:18 | reasons 669:8,12,15 |
| 746:1 749:6 813:17 | 834:22 852:21 854:13 | rate 868:8 870:21,22 | 722:12,16,18,20 723:3 |
| 832:3 840:10,12 859:9 | 857:7,8,9 858:13 897:1 | 871:2 | 948:12,13 |
| 985:17 987:1,17 | 921:21 930:19 954:11 | raw 829:11,14 830:13 | reasserted 679:14 |
| publish 819:5 | 962:11 963:3,6 964:22 | 831:9 832:5 908:14 | rebut 934:17 |
| published 654:19 774:22 | 969:11 970:8 972:21 | 912:16 | rebuttal 807:6 858:14 |
| 783:18 849:10 889:13 | 978:9,12 984:12 | reach 644:20 | rebutted 946:14 |
| 889:16 912:12 | questioned 661:22 | reached 793:7 | recall 728:9 730:15 |
| pull 942:15 953:5 | questioning 636:4 727:8 | read 638:18 640:2 641:13 | 737:15 741:1 823:7 |
| purport 946:4,5 | 804:21 848:22 982:10 | 642:11 644:11 647:6 | 824:3 833:1,18 854:4 |
| purports 951:17,17 952:2 | questions 654:7,15 | 679:6 680:12 692:10 | 896:12 903:21 906:12 |
| purpose 647:20 651:14 | 657:11 663:21 666:1,1 | 710:2,5 725:7,7 768:12 | 913:16,20 915:18 |
| 741:19,20 771:12,13 | 707:19 708:13,14 710:8 | 784:20,22 797:17 | receive 813:11 842:22 |
| 772:17 777:4 920:10,13 | 710:14 716:16 717:7 | 803:16 805:20 806:1 | 851:2 882:1,7 |
| 938:11 | 724:4 726:17 727:14 | 830:6 889:19,20 909:1 | received 735:21 747:2 |
| purposes 680:20 905:19 | 749:16,17,18,19 773:16 | 913:11 940:2 943:21,22 | 772:16 814:1 815:11 |
| 978:2 | 777:16 781:4 785:4 | 952:1 963:9 967:2 | 826:22 839:6 849:15 |
| Pursuant | 792:15 797:4 801:20,21 | 982:12 | 863:3 865:13 869:2 |
| pursue 638:22 783 | 801:22 805:12,13 806:4 | reading 710:19 711:9,9 | 873:13 875:5,10,14,16 |
| 867:8 | 838:22 846:20 853:16 | 777:12 923:4 929:19 | 912:12 943:15,20 |
| pursuing 919:18 | 855:1 857:17,19,21,22 | ready 636:11 732:3 761:7 | receivership 864:13 |
| pushed 885:17 893:6 | 858:3,6 905:6 915:5 | 761:15 805:12 807:9,11 | receiving 905:8 |
| put 636:17 637:10 638:4 | 942:19 971:14 975:6 | 809:4,9 891:5 955:21 | recess 732:13 788:14 |
| 639:18 678:5 693:22 | 981:4 984:11 | 986:8 | 808:7 905:3 986:12 |
| 714:21 717:3 726:20 | quick 665:20 92 | reaffirmed 678:12,21,22 | recipient 654:3 |
| 745:3,20 759:20 760:10 | 983:9 | Reagan 814:2 859:20 | recognition 813:14 |
| 766:9 774:13 784:2 | quickly 649:15 779:22 | 860:19 861:15 863:7,11 | recognize 758:16 |
| 795:8 818:6 825:10 | 795:17 895:5 968:13 | 864:19 | recollect 762:4 |
| 856:1,4 860:18 869:21 | quit 894:21,22 897: | Reagan's 86 | recollection 675:19 |
| 870:9 878:18 880:22 | quite 690:21 735:8 | real 875:19 895:8 916:10 | 712:11 742:5 746:10,17 |
| 883:3 891:13 892:21 | 753:11 757:1,1 762:6 | 927:15 | recommendation 781:14 |
| 894:12 898:21 903:17 | 764:20 791:11 792:18 | realize 820:3 | 781:15,18 806:16,21 |
| 906:1,6 914:10,13,13 | 796:19 876:12 912:3 | realized 792:20 8 | recommendations 819:2 |
| 915:14 916:22 918:4 | 917:11 965:4 | 890:19 891:7 | 912:13 |
| 919:1 923:9 929:20 | quitting 794:18 797:12 | realizing 749:3 | reconvene 986:2 |
| 932:5,6,6 934:4 935:5 | quote 666:7 707:2 713:14 | really 641:9 646:21 655:1 | record 656:5 678:5 |
| 943:5,9 944:6,16 | 806:10 930:4 973:22 | 664:21 681:3 716:7 | 682:20 731:10 752:14 |
| 949:20,20 960:14 | quoted 930:6,16 | 741:12 754:17 768:9 | 805:21 809:19 810:17 |
| 962:13 966:3,8 974:10 | quoting 956:4 | 769:17 776:8796:19 | 837:14 853:17,19 |
| 975:17 976:19 978:13 |  | 806:8,9 824:19 875:16 | 865:21 978:2 984:13 |
| 978:17 985:5 | R | 884:8,20 887:13 888:9 | 985:7,10,12,15 987:7 |
| puts 872:5 | R 636:1 809:1 | 894:16 895:3 896:5 | recorded 849:13 892:18 |
| putting 759:7 901:8 | rack 745:12,12 747:9,12 | 898:6 902:19 917:22 | 939:17 952:18 |
|  | 747:15 748:2 | 919:16 927:9 928:8 | recorders 938:4 |
| Q | ring 86 | 972:13 976:20 980:21 | recordings 968:2 |
| qualified 770:15 772:6 | radical 820:7 | realm 723:21 770 | records 837:22,22,22 |
| 781:20 | raise 706:5 975:6 | reason 655:19,20 658:4 | 842:11 952:13,21 |
| Quantico 791:5 | raised 679:20 685 | 658:11 677:7 681:11 | 960:22 961:14 |
| quantified 959:20 | -18 | 722:8 905:16 963:6 | recount 693:8 781:17 |
| quarters 903:1 | raising 692:18 693:17 | reasonable 684:16 | course 892:16 |
| Queen 814:4 | Raleigh 767:15 | 685:13 699:7,12 706:5 | recreate 714:13 |
| question 695.2,3 696.18 |  | 760:5 956:8,21 |  |

RECROSS-EXAMIN... 729:8
red 907:21
redirect 707:22 727:1,7 727:10,12 785:8 981:5
redistricting 720:4
reduce 818:18 835:4
reduced $868: 2,3,4870: 11$ 872:12 987:5
reduction 862:1 872:19 874:15
refer 674:10 709:5 727:4 829:2 943:6 984:19
referred 638:10 646:10 684:7 960:17
referring 666:20 676:17 711:9 893:10 897:19 906:15 909:19,22 910:1 912:8 923:14 925:12,13 925:14 960:12
reform 655:22 812:9,9 816:22 817:15,18 819:2 860:21 861:3,4 869:2
reformed 871:5
reforms 868:10
refresh 730:1 737:16 818:9,10 819:14
refused 646:11 939:11 942:8
regard 639:4 674:11 690:6,14 699:18 704:9 753:14 774:22 820:14 821:10 831:6 862:6 917:3
regarding 683:12 699:20 799:19 814:7
region 811:21
register 952:17
registered 890:16 893:1 960:3
registration 735:2 738:19 739:15
registrations 965:22
regularly 703:7 874:17
regulates 703:8
rehabilitate 774:5
reinforce 953:15
reiterated 888:17
reject 723:7
rejected 646:7,13 678:13 679:1 686:11 694:6 698:5 703:7,12
rejecting 686:15 rejection 704:18
related 702:13 704:19 705:19 706:2 828:13

935:9 936:11 987:8 relates 785:1 836:10 relation 681:15,18 899:1 relationship 874:13 relative 987:11 release 816:4,12,16 938:6 released 816:15 relevant 965:2 reliability 730:8,13 reliable 968:2
relied 674:2 680:14 681:6 691:11 693:18 905:18 910:13 915:19 916:12 916:14 920:9,14 950:19
relief $707: 2,3,9,11,12,13$
relies 670:22 671:5,12 672:1,9
relieve 707:1
religion 758:4
rely $702: 14$ 720:4 741:17
913:21 914:17 915:10
917:4 918:8 919:4 927:22 950:3
relying 672:2,10 686:5 692:17 693:14 774:1 911:18
remain 743:8 748:22
remained 666:10 876:12 977:8
remark 956:14
remarkable 874:14 remarks 666:15,16,19 remedies 654:2 706:18
remedy 889:4 927:15
remember 656:14 659:4 663:7 667:4 677:7,18 681:3 682:12 686:14 687:15 691:14 692:10 693:3 710:18 720:19 730:17 737:12 757:11 793:19 796:9 798:19
799:8,10,10,12,13,14
801:6,15 805:17 838:9
841:4 862:13 878:2,22
883:22 884:5 885:9,17
886:6 888:6 895:6
898:5 900:17 903:15
905:15,22 906:18
907:19 916:4 926:7
944:9 948:17 953:3
966:22 967:2,3,4
975:13
remembered 883:10
remind 688:2 859:4
950:12 984:1
reminded 743:14
remit 668:11 673:1 723:5 723:8
remove 746:6
removed 864:14,18 871:18
removing $864: 15$
renew 776:13
renewables 758:4
Renewed 688:5
repeat 672:5 695:2 890:12
rephrase 852:20
replaced $877: 1$
Reply 688:5
report 638:19 652:16 654:18 655:5 667:15 673:2,16 674:13 681:15 681:18 690:7 699:19 700:3,20 701:10 706:16 707:8 760:11 763:18 764:17 765:20 766:4,11 766:15,22 767:4,7,9 769:9 770:11,16,19,19 771:1,15 772:1,8 773:6 773:13,19 774:14,19 776:9 777:8,21 782:5 784:2,6,12,20 785:1 905:12,18 906:9 912:11 913:19 919:5 930:3 937:16 943:4,15 972:1
report's 776:8
reported 631:21 761:1 931:18 937:17 938:1,5
reporter 632:4 791:20,20 791:21 792:13 798:13 798:15
reporting 770:18 792:1 792:14
reports 774:15 778:5 917:8,20 952:3
represent 715:6 718:10 737:9
representation 876:5 908:14 939:1
representative 738:20 743:1
representatives 640:6,8 699:22 939:12
represented 656:11,17,21 657:3,7 718:11 867:15 867:15 875:21 877:3 890:6,7 896:18
representing 657:12 737:6 876:8,17 877:11 878:5,6
reproach 690:2

Republic 656:6 republican 656:7 690:18 783:11 868:2 890:19 928:12 963:15 969:21 970:4
republican- 691:2
republicans 817:16 864:8
882:19 899:22 947:16 969:4 974:12 975:17 977:7,9 978:17 979:15 979:15 980:11,14
reputation 955:13
request 654:1 707:11,13 863:7 866:8,12 requested 664:4 706:19 806:7 816:19 838:16 850:20
require 695:9,20 730:16 730:17 957:7 required 639:7,13 640:17 695:21 796:22 870:15 939:13 959:17 969:20
requirement 722:1
requirements 643:8,10 644:6 646:1,2 690:11 694:7 699:21 700:11 704:5
requires 640:7
reread 676:15 678:1 680:11
research 659:20 665:18 761:5
researching 657:14
reservation 890:14
reserve 689:19,20
reservist 791:12
resident 933:5
resolution 669:14
resources 702:11 704:22 878:19
respect 640:21 651:1 655:15 665:21 667:14 702:16 705:5 722:17 767:3,7 769:15 836:1,5 843:14 914:16 918:7 930:19 953:8
respected 800:5
respective 632:6 respond 689:1
responded 745:21
respondent $631: 7$ 634:2
654:11 729:9 733:14,18
751:5,9 777:5 785:9 789:4 790:5,9 810:15 842:18 859:6 943:1
respondent's 635:6

| 682:14 683:4 731:12 | 681:20 683:5 688:19 | Robert 633:3 776:4 | S |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 766:9 771:11 906:2,6 | 690:6 691:15,17 695:13 | 855:15,16 | S 636:1 809:1,1,1 |
| 914:14 943:4 | 696:7,17,20 697:16,22 | Robert's 927:8 | sacrificing 885:1 |
| respondents 805:12 | 701:9 704:6 709:15 | Roberts 730:8,11 | Saddam 812:17 |
| 981:16 | 712:21 722:16 728:15 | Rock 875:7 | safe 649:11 |
| response 743:15 749:10 | 731:1,13 732:9,11,14 | role 739:6 762:14,16 | salary 871:20 |
| responsibilities 803:2 | 732:19 735:8 736:6,17 | 770:18 821:13 824:5,6 | same-day 838:18 847:9 |
| responsibility 631:2 | 740:22 744:3,19 747:16 | 898:18 | Same-Sex 926:20 |
| 722:21 724:18 796:8 | 748:21 749:8,15 752:3 | rolls 870:17 953:1 | sampled 782:12 |
| 902:19 | 752:20 753:18 756:8 | Roman 737:2,4 887:11 | San 791:9 |
| responsible 860:11 | 758:7 759:3 760:18 | Ronald 859:20 | sanction 660:4 661:14,18 |
| 863:15 870:16 955:22 | 762:13 764:3 766:14 | room 636:11 640:18 | 726:1 |
| rest 755:11 867:18 | 768:5,14 774:7 776:12 | 731:17,19 732:6,8 | sanctioning 648:16 |
| restrictions 746:20 955:2 | 777:22 781:12,13 | 745:17 746:21 747:1,3 | 660:20 |
| restrictive 675:9 | 782:17 783:10 788:11 | 747:7,14,20,22 748:6,7 | sanctions 648:4,5,9,20 |
| result 651:20 722:17 | 788:20 789:2 792:9 | 750:7 787:22 795:4 | 649:7 651:4,12,18,22 |
| 759:22 815:2,5,14 | 793:12 796:6 797:20 | 798:3 799:9 802:5 | 666:20 726:3,5 983:7 |
| 853:16 879:8 924:6 | 799:22 803:13 807:13 | 803:11 822:19,21,22 | sat 644:4 |
| results 657:1 664:12 | 807:18 813:10 816:12 | 823:2,8 874:4 964:16 | save 853:14,15 929:15 |
| 722:16 735:20 761:2 | 819:18 822:8 826:11 | 965:1 977:11,12 978:14 | saved 813:20 |
| 763:9 782:18,19 783:19 | 830:1 837:2,13 844:2,5 | 978:17 | saw 651:22 769:11 770:5 |
| 823:16 | 844:7,10 845:11 846:5 | rooms 732:12 738:22 | 792:14 797:15 844:12 |
| resume 655:18 731:9 | 846:11 847:9 848:1,9 | 788:13 808:5 822:20 | 913:13 914:22 953:13 |
| 788:10 808:2 809:5 | 849:6 850:2,6 852:12 | 823:4 905:2 | 953:13 964:19 |
| 904:10 | 853:2,22 854:20 857:6 | Roslyn 793:15 | saying 648:8 670:10 |
| resumed 636:20 809:3 | 861:3 866:14 867:3,3 | roughly 786:21 908:7 | 684:5 695:15 697:13 |
| resumes 859:1 | 875:1 876:7 877:14 | rounds 764:18 | 721:1 723:1,3,20 |
| RET 634:3,4 | 879:7,15 880:6 881:18 | row 868:12 | 730:11 761:14 765:1 |
| retainer 737:8 | 881:22 882:5 885:22 | Rudolph 631:6,16 635:13 | 768:17 780:5 827:22 |
| retired 753:19 754:2 | 886:13,20 887:6 890:2 | 859:1 | 838:6 879:3 880:5 |
| 810:21 | 892:2 893:7,15 894:11 | Rudy 875:7 | 903:9,10 948:2 953:20 |
| retirement 753:21 754:8 | 895:18 897:3 901:15,21 | rule 637:17 643:5,6,7,14 | 962:21 980:17 982:2,18 |
| 755:6 | 902:5 906:1 907:3,6 | 643:16,20,21 644:7,8 | says 645:21 647:13 687:4 |
| returned 850:21 959:15 | 908:9 911:7,17 912:10 | 644:19,20 647:10,12,13 | 687:20 715:6 778:10 |
| reversal 678:9 680:6 | 913:9 914:10 915:13 | 648:2,3,9,16,19 649:6 | 786:1 807:6 851:13 |
| reverse 678:4 | 916:14 919:1 920:2 | 650:16 651:4,6,7,11,18 | 943:11 952:4 956:9 |
| reversed 674:3 677:16 | 924:16 927:22 928:3,22 | 651:22 652:14 660:4,20 | 963:11 964:19 965:4 |
| 729:12 730:19 926:5 | 929:2 930:10,19 940:18 | 670:20 672:21,22 726:1 | Scalia 684:7 730:9 |
| reversing 678:7,21 | 941:4 942:11 945:8 | 726:3,5 925:5 926:2,9 | scanned 935:10 |
| review 649:17 650:14 | 946:2 947:4 948:18 | 927:22 956:7,9 981:14 | scarcity 755:12 |
| 675:22 676:19 677:13 | 949:1,21 954:1,8 956:4 | rules 647:11 659:22 | Scaringi 664:3,3 900:22 |
| 678:2 687:16 688:1 | 956:19 957:9 961:2,19 | 661:19 672:17,21 | 901:4,5 |
| 689:8,13 693:5 706:8 | 962:5 981:13 985:6,14 | 691:22 708:5 756:1,5,5 | schedule 763:12 |
| 773:13 926:4 939:20 | 986:7 | 957:7 981:18 | scheduled 663:17 664:5 |
| reviewed 662:2 666:2 | rights 645:20 653:16,20 | ruling 637:18 642:5 | scheme 802:8 |
| 673:2 939:14 | 683:12,13 860:8 | 646:11,21 723:21 | scholarly $714: 18$ |
| reviewing 661:13 | Riker's 812:21 872:2,4,7 | 853:14 | school 715:12 871:6 |
| reviews 928:1 | 874:16 | run 650:20 659:22 699:3 | 925:20 |
| revise 928:13 | ringing 795:11 | 886:9 965:12 | schools 871:17 |
| revisit 773:18 | rise 679:16 | running 736:21 748:6 | Schultz 676:18 |
| ridiculed 952:8 | risk 694:5,9 782:2 | 795:1,12 796:1 821:4 | science 735:12 754:9,13 |
| ridiculous 699:17 | risk-limiting 782:6 | runs 699:12 | 754:16,18,22 755:1,3 |
| right 636:17 638:7 641:6 | 785:13,21 | rush 764:1 | Sciences 754:5 |
| 644:22 647:10 650:21 | Ritter 645:2 | Russian 876:10,13 | Scientific 781:7 |
| 653:2 654:16,20 656:10 | rival 676:6 | Ryan 766:20 880:2 | scientist 756:22 |
| 656:16 662:10 681:14 | RNC 793:16 | 886:12 893:4 | Scott 662:18 663:2,5,11 |


| screen 766:9 906:7 | 891:1,3,9,15,19,20,20 | set 699:21 738:19 745:9 | silicon 754:4,4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 910:10,10 913:13 | 891:22 899:22 908:1 | 869:6 880:8 882:18 | similar 670:20 851:6 |
| 929:21 940:2 962:14,14 | 914:8 923:3 938:19 | setting 720:4 | 869:22 879:10 892:6 |
| 968:18 | 941:13 942:7,9 943:22 | settle 711:7 726:11 | 899:17 903:2 919:7,9 |
| screwed 919:16 945:6 | 951:6,9,12,19,20 | settled 670:6 702:19 | 936:5 939:2 953:14 |
| scroll 830:3 | 952:13 965:1,2,6 | 703:22 704:2,3,10,12 | 966:13 975:4 |
| searching 847:2 | 977:15 978:1 979:10 | 704:13 721:2,2,3,5 | similarity 975:20 |
| seats 823:1 | 981:1 | settling 666:7,11 | Similarly 934:8 961:19 |
| second 638:5,6 642:3 | seeing 739:22 934:5 | seven 640:3 690:22 691:3 | similarly-situated 692:1 |
| 643:1 658:13 659:12 | 953:3 974:13 | 870:1 922:10 957:22 | simply 972:22 |
| 665:18 667:2,11,14,17 | seek 687:16 689:8 | seventy-four 940:22 | single 786:11 936:17 |
| 668:18 669:2 673:3,8 | seeking 642:13 645:19 | seventy-three 940:15 | 961:6 962:4 974:18 |
| 682:16 686:9 706:19 | 648:8,9 689:21 | severed 735:1 | singled 641:17 |
| 708:12 720:20 767:14 | seen 741:10 827:6,6 | Sheikh 812:2 | singularly 901:15 |
| 772:13 775:11 776:17 | 883:5 | sheriff 887:15,15 890:11 | sir 637:21 638:12,18 |
| 819:9,10 825:12 832:19 | segregated 745:13 | 890:13 970:13 | 639:2,10,17 640:1 |
| 832:19 835:21 843:22 | Sekulow 876:20 | sheriff's 738:18 743:2,9 | 641:4 642:9 643:17 |
| 845:6 866:13,13 898:19 | select 775:7 | 745:21 746:4 | 644:2,21 653:21 654:5 |
| 899:2,3,15 900:10 | selected 756:21 782:12 | shoes 923:16,22 | 654:17,21 655:3,6,9,12 |
| 910:3 921:1 923:5,10 | 886:10 973:13 | shooting 684:8 | 655:14,19 656:2,9,14 |
| 925:4 929:11,12 930:21 | selecting 871:5 | short 665:15,17 726:12 | 656:15,20 657:2,6,10 |
| 931:6 944:4 945:10 | Senate 656:8 817:9 | 754:5 777:1 946:11 | 657:16,22 659:18 660:2 |
| 958:1 986:6 | 859:20 860:14 861:16 | shorten 813:5 | 660:6,8 661:16,20 |
| secondly 647:21 | senators 783:11 | shorter 659:20 | 662:4,15,21 663:13,18 |
| seconds 678:18 | send 761:22 764:15,19 | Shortly 738:9 | 664:1,7,13,18 666:4,8 |
| secrecy 949:10 | 765:7 766:14,18 785:18 | shot 813:21 | 666:13,17,22 667:12,21 |
| secretary 638:15 695:20 | 785:20 884:3,7,7 | show 723:1 791:22 | 668:3,8,22 669:19 |
| 698:3 791:15 814:9 | 912:14 983:1 | 825:21 826:7,11,12 | 670:12 673:10,10 674:9 |
| 830:15 831:8,11,21 | sending 824:15,16 838:9 | 849:17 856:12 872:15 | 674:17,21 676:20 677:4 |
| 832:8 835:15,18 839:22 | 838:9 | 875:9 920:14 946:4,5 | 677:14 681:19 682:1 |
| 840:3,3 841:19,20 | senior 739:8 757:8 | 955:16 956:20 977:2 | 684:15 686:10 690:5,13 |
| 845:20 880:14 909:11 | 758:15 769:4 | show-cause 661:3 | 698:13 699:6,10,14 |
| 928:8 | sense 785:12 902:21 | showed 743:18 893:1 | 700:2 701:9,13 706:3 |
| section 894:19 | 911:6953:15 | 912:15 945:20 951:5 | 706:21 707:6 708:11,20 |
| sector 734:6 | sent 766:21 772:3 912:15 | 959:3,5,12 960:22 | 709:2 711:17 712:13,18 |
| secure 928:5 | sentence 687:3,20 835:5 | 961:14 | 725:16 728:6,8 730:16 |
| security 745:18 790:20 | sentenced 816:2,7 | showing 641:16,17 | 794:6 800:22 814:10 |
| 791:12,16 811:6,6,18 | sentencing 817:18 | shown 754:16 840:22 | 815:21 816:11 817:20 |
| 811:19,22 812:16 814:9 | separate 868:18 938:7 | 911:10 935:19 | 825:7 847:12 848:18 |
| 837:22 841:4,10,15 | separated 747:17,20 | shows 779:4,5 910:22 | 922:5 943:8 944:2 |
| 843:3 844:20,22 845:4 | separately 763:6 | 955:22 | 950:7 962:20 973:9,15 |
| 856:10 939:19 | September 812:20 820:1 | shut 792:22 832:2 | 974:4 978:15 |
| see 636:18 650:1 651:12 | 820:8 870:2 875:15 | sic 730:16 | sit 891:6 965:1 |
| 651:13 658:19 681:9 | series 738:15 748:3 | Sicilian 863:2 | site 762:3 828:8 832:11 |
| 718:14 723:9 726:7,11 | serious 786:16 | sick 898:15 | 832:15 848:4 932:15 |
| 727:16 738:12,21 741:3 | servant $814: 19$ | side 648:11 743:7 745:12 | sitting 788:20 803:11,13 |
| 745:16 747:3 748:1,8 | serve 648:7 649:1 756:21 | 747:15 860:2 | 868:13 |
| 749:4 759:19 761:10,21 | 862:5 | sides 817:15 | situation 651:8,10 703:12 |
| 763:6 764:12,12 777:13 | served 656:4 734:21 | Sierra 754:20 | 713:3 793:17 794:5,11 |
| 784:17 787:6 788:18 | 735:3 791:2,3 816:2 | signature 647:16 | 794:20 823:8 961:20 |
| 807:1 826:4,5,5,6 | 867:11 933:16 972:2 | signed 834:8,17 899:7 | situations 903:2 958:18 |
| 828:22 829:21 830:3 | serves 741:9 | significant 778:11 779:7 | six 658:3 659:9 746:19 |
| 836:10 842:20 846:15 | service 813:16,17 814:5 | 865:5 873:12 904:1 | 747:11 812:22 817:4 |
| 846:17,18 847:7 852:4 | 859:9,10 860:6 | 918:11 936:10 | 875:13 881:13 884:4 |
| 856:6,9 878:1 883:4,20 | services 793:4 | signs 647:17 | 886:2 910:18 911:8 |
| 888:12 889:22 890:22 | session 981:15 983:12 | silent 709:17,18,22 | six-year 813:4 |

Sixth 634:6
Sixty-six 931:5
size 755:18
skills 973:13
skipped 763:14
slant 769:3
slightly 751:21 752:11
slit 866:2,2
sloppy 636:18
slow 926:14,14
slowly 672:6
Smith 860:20
so-called 646:22
Social 837:22 841:4,9,15 843:3 844:20,22 845:4 856:9
Societal 756:20 solely 756:11 920:13 solemnly 733:4 750:17 789:18 810:7
solicit 759:5
soliciting 900:7
solitary 817:19,22 818:1
somebody 783:1 838:6 954:22
somebody's 841:15 949:9
somewhat 662:6 716:3 770:7 891:8 893:16
son 903:17
sophisticated 768:9
sorry 641:8,8 645:14 651:13 652:8 659:11 660:9,10,17 665:8 668:10 669:10 670:9,14 672:5,8 675:22 677:15 677:22 678:1,17,19 681:16 682:1 683:21 685:3 695:1 696:14,14 696:18 697:17 708:13 709:16 713:9,10 714:6
715:15 719:16 727:6,11
727:21 728:22 729:1
736:13 746:15 766:3,3
791:7 794:10 798:10
836:4 850:10 857:20
866:17 869:12 895:22
906:18 915:7,8 917:9
919:16 924:11 927:16
929:5 935:2,7 937:19 939:11 940:13 946:8 957:17 965:8 967:1 968:11 974:16 981:2,20 981:21 982:3 985:8 sort 646:19 725:8 736:14 763:22 823:5 824:20,22 830:19 848:8 873:4

966:2 974:8
sought 645:11 647:1 649:6 658:13 707:3
sounded 894:22
sounds 658:15 751:19 882:4 898:9
source 845:16
sources 828:5 846:17 847:4,17 902:9 905:9 905:11,12
Southern 861:13,17 862:3 863:21
space $891: 7$
spaced 891:8
speak 720:21 740:8,18 741:2,22 743:3 816:20 speaking 712:22 713:2 738:10 763:15 821:6
special 860:18 874:13
specific 640:19 674:11 690:8 704:17 711:4 717:22 729:15 748:14 753:10 762:9 768:5 802:17,18 843:6 856:16 905:17 906:11 931:9,10 932:16 936:1 937:6,6 950:3 960:12 966:19 970:19
specifically 678:13 679:1 684:10 700:14 708:8 737:12 753:13,13 761:9 761:16 783:15,17,21 784:22 799:8 801:13 802:10 863:7 870:5 923:8 945:14
Specification 805:14
specificity $972: 5$
specifics $941: 13$
specify $746: 8$
spelled 894:2
spend 657:14 743:12 759:17 777:20 874:20
spoke 740:20 759:4 888:14 896:20
spoken 746:3
sponte 648:15 651:2,18 652:4,14,21 660:20,20
Springfield 856:13
square 747:21 755:21
staff 634:21 738:10 794:14 813:2 884:19
stage 689:13 807:14 883:22 934:18 955:21
975:2 977:14,15
stamp 938:12
Stan 767:14
stand 636:21 733:2 750:12 789:9 810:3 842:1 846:4 859:2
standard 644:9 646:19 661:7 670:11,15,19,20 712:1,3 713:13,16 957:4
standards 643:16,20,20 644:7,19 660:10,18 661:6,14 692:14 693:8 941:10,17 942:2 979:4
standing 638:22 639:7 653:11 674:12,15,20 675:2,8,10,16,20 676:3 676:5,14 677:2,11 678:13 679:1,9,13,16 679:19 680:4,19,22,22 681:2,4,13,15,18,22 682:1,2,6,7,11 683:11 683:17 684:2,14,18,21 684:21 685:5,8,14,15 685:20 686:18 722:5,8 722:12,15 723:1,2,6 884:13 922:17,18 923:1 923:2 924:4,20 925:7,8 927:3,4,8,14,19,20,21 928:7 929:1
Starr 898:4
stars 743:10
start 760:15 825:15 885:5 898:12 917:13
started 665:11 724:13 754:19 764:5 769:5 796:10 815:14 831:22 837:21 870:13,14 883:1 885:1 890:21 898:1,11 901:2
starting 876:6 877:14 889:3 899:14,16 916:19
starts 641:10
state 640:14 642:13
643:11 645:10 656:6,11 656:17,22 657:4,8 661:9 666:15 677:10 686:19 691:3 692:3,13 695:20 697:7 698:1,4,5 698:17,21 706:2,8,11 712:21 713:3 720:7 721:4 735:3 738:2 755:9,22 756:5 757:4 772:11 773:3,8,14 775:9 777:4 778:18 795:9 810:17 815:7,17 819:20 831:21 832:8 841:20 842:10 856:3,4 864:7 870:5 873:13

881:16 909:11 920:15 928:8,15 947:2 949:14 949:15 980:9,10
state's 712:6 830:15
831:8,11 835:16,19
839:22 840:4 845:20
State-based 755:5
stated 654:18 674:14 706:16 805:18 852:12
statement 665:9 668:14 681:10 708:15 710:6 725:9 798:13 805:20 929:4 982:12
statements 892:15
states 639:13 667:15
683:10,11 687:12 691:21 694:3 702:5 705:11 715:6 718:12 775:8 787:2 791:3 792:7 795:8 796:3 801:12 803:12 823:17 823:19 824:15 828:6,9 830:18 859:11 860:3,4 860:14 861:12,16 864:18 871:1,3 878:21 881:5,13 913:2 941:6 946:22 953:2 975:5 979:4
statewide 692:2 693:8 755:5 815:17
stating 686:12 980:16
statistical 759:13 760:11 769:15,19 771:14 773:22 778:17,20 779:7
statistically 764:14 776:4 908:20 946:5
statisticians 911:11 946:6
statistics 759:15,18 768:22 776:6,8
statute 695:22 697:5 698:2 706:11 853:3
stay 646:8,11 647:9 739:18 794:17 797:1 871:8
staying 794:22 795:1,5 795:15
Ste 633:16
stenotype 987:5
step 645:14 834:5,7,10,17 834:21 835:1
Stepien 740:4
stepped 796:16 797:4 922:21
stepping 797:9
steps 923:16,22
stick 780:5 876:16 900:1

952:12
sticking 794:16
Stinson 680:14,21 681:4 681:6,13,15,17 683:10 683:16
stint 754:5
Stolen 784:3,7
stood 679:22 986:12
stop 831:18 979:13
stopped 909:18
stories 644:14 783:14
story 644:16 799:4
strain 721:13
strange 928:2
Strategic 734:8,9,15
strategize 717:2
strategy 716:17 796:13 824:5
Stream 986:9
Street 633:16 845:6 865:1,4
strength 708:21 709:11
stress 887:8
strictly 676:4
strike 969:17
strong 781:15
strongly 711:3
struck 975:20
studies 651:16
study $652: 10,15$
stuff 754:20 780:4 828:19 841:6 847:6 852:9 855:8 880:21 881:20
Stuttgart 791:4,13 792:5
sua 648:14 651:2,18 652:4,14,21 660:19,20
subject 700:6 705:14
756:12 865:16,17 866:1
subjective 661:4 688:16 688:20
subjects 878:9
submission 648:11 651:13
submit 937:5 983:15
submits 647:14
submitted 647:20
subscribe 873:4
subscribers 758:2,10 760:3
subsequent 697:7 698:4 779:12
subsequently 949:2
Substact 756:17 775:22
substance 770:10,16,19 770:21 778:19
substantial 724:18 924:3
substantially 705:19
706:1
substituted 662:19
664:20 665:1
subtitle 819:13
success 718:1
successful 703:16 865:14 875:12
successor 872:18
sudden 946:1
sued 922:10
suffers 643:2
sufficiency 939:15
sufficient 642:7 675:8 846:1 924:4
suggest 684:17 685:14 718:17
suggested 724:17 777:20 806:7 926:4
suggesting 641:20
suing 897:13
suit 653:11
suited 694:10
sum 778:19
summarily 739:17
summarize 972:9
summarized 778:10
summarizes 925:15
summary 765:13 766:2 778:6
summation 805:13
806:12 807:16,21
summations 805:8
super 811:19
superficial 782:6
supervisor 935:13 938:9 938:12
supplemental 705:12 706:7 777:17
supplying 902:13
support 680:4 686:5 688:5 717:18 932:8 937:14 942:16 956:8 957:21 958:8 969:14 970:22
supported 670:3 693:1 715:4 942:14 958:3
supporter 820:1,19 821:7
supportive $821: 5$
supports $938: 3$
suppose 638:14 952:15 982:14
supposed 636:8 893:9 908:4 956:10 976:3 979:11,12,13,14 984:2
supreme 640:16 646:9,10

646:14 647:4 649:17
687:12,16 693:7 695:19
696:1 697:6,9 698:3
710:21 711:1 716:6
717:11,22 718:12,13
720:1,9,13,18 721:7
729:12 730:19 925:10
925:15 926:11,22
928:20 941:15 964:11
975:9,11 977:10
sure 638:15 640:3 654:14
660:17 662:9 672:6
682:18 703:5,21 714:10
714:11 715:13 716:18
718:21 725:19 728:2
747:19 751:16 770:12
771:6 780:8,9 781:5
783:15,16 785:19
790:13 791:2 792:12
793:6 794:15 805:16
806:1,12 807:5 838:11
843:13 845:8,10 851:16
851:18 856:2 873:15
886:17 895:16 913:17
915:18,19 922:13
929:18 945:15 948:10
962:18,18 968:22
972:16,17 974:22
surely 922:22 924:22
surfaced $951: 3$
surplus 868:12,14
surprise 844:12,15,17,19
855:15,18,19
surprised 729:18 899:4
surprising 712:12
surrendered 815:20
surrounded 890:19
surrounding 725:8
survey 652:5
surveys 754:16
suspect 778:15,21
suspend 908:5,6
suspended 631:8 908:2,3 908:7
suspending 978:11
suspicious 947:13
sustain 773:10
sustained 837:11 842:7,8 846:9 850:4 857:5
swear 733:4 750:17 789:18 810:8 827:14 829:4,8
switch 637:7
switching 789:1
sworn 733:15 751:6 790:6

Syracuse 753:7
system 633:11 646:3
812:22 817:2,6 835:3 871:5,6

## T

T 809:1
T-o-e-n-s-i-n-g 894:2
table 640:10 803:11 823:2
take 644:10 652:17
688:14 698:4 711:2
712:4 714:20 731:8
746:5 767:4 779:14
788:3,4,8,16 848:12
874:7 878:12 904:7,11
904:21 909:12 951:16 986:9
takeaway 778:4
taken 632:1 647:17 720:6
732:13 788:14 808:7
873:5 886:14 893:14
897:8 904:2 905:3
919:8 987:3,4,10
takes 947:5 949:4,12
talk 639:11 777:7 782:22
786:21 806:2,11 851:15
854:11 878:3 896:5 962:6
talked 722:5 884:17,18
889:2,7,7 896:5,16
936:7 953:6 958:14,14
962:3,22 963:3 965:10
967:10 970:20 975:14
talking 649:21 688:18,19
701:5 728:4 739:2
755:19 759:12 760:14
770:21 782:21 783:16
783:17,21 798:14 801:6
801:10 843:5 879:15
894:15 896:21 919:12
923:5 960:7 962:19
976:7 980:12
talks 963:10
tangentially 879:11
tape 938:4 968:2
tapping 755:15
task 813:8 824:21 860:20
869:13 870:8,10
taught 973:10
$\boldsymbol{t a x} 860: 9$
teachers $871: 11,13,20$
team 736:22 737:6 759:7
759:20 761:3,4,15
762:13,18 763:4 764:9
774:14 821:17 823:6

| 824:20 827:21 837:16 | 825:19 837:8 892:14,15 | 762:7 764:13,22 768:3 | 886:16,16 899:16 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 845:15 847:22 876:18 | 928:11 931:12 | 769:2,7 770:5 783:3 | 927:13 |
| 876:19,21 884:9 891:17 | testifying 770:13 848:15 | 796:18 800:18 807:2 | rty-four 937:22 |
| 892:4,21 893:10,19,19 | 848:16 850:12 | 811:8 812:9 814:6 | thirty-one 934:21 |
| 894:9,10,12 900:13 | testimony 665:3 710:16 | 818:2 832:6 834:10 | thirty-three 936:6 |
| 901:15 903:17 | 710:18 714:17 715:4 | 835:13 838:1,10 868:22 | Thompson 861:1 |
| teams 799:1 878:2 | 722:6 724:20 733:4 | 884:21 888:21 890:21 | Thor 894:17 |
| Teamsters 864:13,14 | 750:18 777:10 788:4 | 903:7 916:21 919:15 | thought 688:21 700:14 |
| technical 645:22 646:7 | 789:18 800:21 805:2,7 | 946:5 955:10,11 957:3 | 720:12 723:13 727:11 |
| 714:22 754:7 828:7 | 810:8 836:2,6 882:3 | 972:13,13 973:11 | 746:14 751:17 770:4 |
| technically 676:10 | 904:13 920:3 935:18 | think 637:14 647:6 | 772:21 779:18 796:15 |
| 796:14 797:2 862:2 | 943:14 944:3 946:8,14 | 649:12 650:1 655:17 | 817:5 828:21 829:1 |
| 876:19 | 956:2 958:15 965:15 | 710:3,3,15 713:19 | 858:17 868:4 874:6 |
| technolog | Texas 652:10 767:17 | 715:3 717:9 719:17 | 880:22 899:6 907:17 |
| telephone 745:187 | thank 641:10 654:6,9 | 722:6 729:15 731:22 | 915:7 928:6 962:21 |
| television 791:22,22 | 705:9 724:1 725:10 | 749:14 754:14 770:11 | 981:21 |
| tell 643:4 645:5 647:12 | 726:13 728:15,20 729:6 | 770:14,17 773:10,21 | thousand 879:4 883:15 |
| 742:16 744:19 759:3 | 731:1,5 732:2,9,21 | 780:17,17 788:5 796:8 | 883:17 907:15,16 934:4 |
| 761:12,20 762:12 764:3 | 733:11 735:16 750:2,4 | 800:7 807:15,21 813:9 | 966:8 |
| 767:20 776:22 777:6 | 750:9 751:2 752:18 | 813:21 815:16,19 | thousands 862:12 |
| 785:16 790:11 795:14 | 763:14 767:5 787:6,13 | 816:15 818:8 820:2,4 | threat 866:2 |
| 830:1 832:11 838:2 | 788:11 790:2 802:19 | 821:15,22 822:7 824:12 | threatened 744:6 745:22 |
| 850:15 855:6 859:12,16 | 804:1,3,5,8,17 808:2,3 | 826:9,9 827:8 832:10 | 866:4 940:1,4 942:9 |
| 889:18 896:17 915:16 | 853:9 858:1,6,8,18 | 832:10 833:9,13 834:12 | threats 820:9 |
| 943:11 979:22 982:6 | 866:21 868:13 870:1 | 834:22 841:1,7 846:1 | three 639:6 647:18,22 |
| telling 765:21 899:18,19 | 873:9 875:20 891:1 | 846:19 849:7,19 855:7 | 655:16 718:11 743:10 |
| 899:21 | 895:8 904:20,22 920:17 | 862:13 868:9 871:15 | 743:13 769:7 774:15 |
| Temporar | 920:21 935:6 942:11,17 | 873:8,12 876:7 877:21 | 775:1,3 816:3 826:3 |
| ten 735:7 749:3 816:6 | 978:3 981:6,7,8 | 878:10 879:2 882:5 | 834:12 836:1,6 865:18 |
| 872:17 | thanks 752:18 | 883:15 885:8,21 886:7 | 865:19 869:11 886:17 |
| tend 954:7 | th | 886:8,10 887:4,6,13,13 | 902:22 910:17 950:15 |
| tenure 861:19 867:21 | theories 685:16 | 888:20 897:3,6,6,8 | 952:10 957:10 |
| 871:7 | theory 674:20 675:20 | 898:6 904:6,8 911:7 | threshold 719:13 721:18 |
| term 669:21 681 | 679:20 682:7 684:20,20 | 915:4,4,20 916:3 923:1 | threw 977:5 |
| 779:12 912:17 946 | 685:22 702:9 719:19,21 | 927:16,16 929:3,12,20 | throat 866:2 |
| 946:21 954:22 | 723:16 800:6 922:9 | 937:13 940:9 942:13 | throughput 748:4 |
| terminated 851:5,6 | 927:2 928:18 940:13 | 943:16,19,20 944:3,7 | thrown 916:20 977:12,16 |
| terms 823:9 |  | 945:17 946:16 951:7 | 980:10,11,15,18 |
| terrible 892: | thing | 955:22 956:11,13,16 | thrust 930:13 |
| territory 702:12 | 760:20 762:17,17 770 | 957:4,10,22 958:6 | hursday 986:12 |
| terror 819:19,21 820:2 | 776:2 779:10 782:14 | 961:5 968:4 972:12,16 | tie 842:12 |
| Terrorism 820:14 869:13 | 786:14 807:4 815:15 | 972:19 973:12 983:20 | Ill 788:9 98 |
| terrorist 865:7 869 | 820:15 834:4 835:20 | thinking 670:3 756:19 | time 637:15 650:13,18 |
| terrorists 865:10 | 838:2 843:2 871:14 | 801:16 898:11,13 | 651:3 652:19 657:19 |
| test 661:4 712:4 718:14 | 889:21 892:20 915:2 | 985:18 | 661:1,1 665:17 667:9 |
| 9:21,21 730:12 924:4 | 917:7 920:1 928:4 | thinks 882:4 | 689:2 701:18,21 713:4 |
| 927:14 929:5 | 930:1 946:7 957:11 | third 637:8,16,17 63 | 718:3,7 725:13 726:2 |
| testified 724:6 733:16 | 965:20 968:5 977:5 | 638:11 639:15,21 | 726:12,17 736:4 740:3 |
| 751:7 790:7 840:16 | 984:1 | 640:22 643:14 644:18 | 747:13 754:2 756:4 |
| 888:20 894:5 898:17 | things 642:10 643:7 | 646:3 649:16 650:13 | 759:17 760:7,10 763:17 |
| 912:5 950:16 958:2 | 645:12 647:2,18 649: | 661:17 680:10,14,17 | 765:5 771:7 777:20 |
| 961:17 962:16 969:2 | 665:3 691:9 703:9 | 681:8 683:15 684:1 | 797:13 798:14 801:2 |
| 975:19 | 704:7 716:12 725:1,18 | 685:3 687:6 689:11,1 | 806:8 814:8,13,15 |
| testifies 777:17 842:13 | 725:22 726:7,11 753:12 | 700:20 701:5,6,11 | 818:4 819:3 820:20,22 |
| testify 771:7 772:1,15 | 753:17 754:20 755:9 | 767:15,15 775:15 843:2 | 821:9 822:5 825:18 |
| 773:4,5,7,12 817:7,9,13 | 756:6,14,19 757:10,15 | 844:3 859:18 868:1 | 826:14 829:6 831:17 |


| 835:8 841:5,12 842:4,8 | tower 874:5 | 876:8 879:9 882:14 | types 718:18 909:3 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 843:2 846:10 850:5 | Townley 677:5,9 678:15 | 888:8,8 907:14,14 | typewriting 987:6 |
| 851:2 853:15 858:19 | 679:3,14 | 908:17 911:2,4,6 924:7 | typical 657:20 725:14 |
| 859:16 860:5 861:11 | tracking 910:19 | 933:17 939:22 940:3 | typographical 953:7,10 |
| 864:16 866:22 867:18 | Trade 869:10 | 945:21 946:8,10 948:13 |  |
| 868:19 870:17 871:11 | traditional 948:6 | 954:4,8 | U |
| 874:20 876:14 877:4 | traditionally 870:20 | Trump's 734:22 738:16 | U.S 656:7 814:1 816:18 |
| 884:3 887:3 890:2 | 872:8 947:15 | Trump/Pence 739:9 | 818:22,22 860:12,13 |
| 892:2 901:22 902:5 | trained 870:3 | trusted 973:13 | 861:20 862:3 863:18,20 |
| 904:6,9,9 908:6,7,10,12 | Trainer 740:6 | truth 733:6,6,6 750:19,19 | 863:22 866:5 867:2 |
| 909:6 910:22 912:21 | transcript 666:3 | 750:20 771:18 773:1 | 869:13,14,19,20 870:21 |
| 915:21 929:8,15 946:1 | translate 765:1 | 789:20,20,20 810:9,10 | 936:8 |
| 949:14 957:15 964:1 | transmute 642:15 | 810:10 920:7,16,19 | U.S.C 705:15 |
| 967:18 972:12 976:2,17 | transpired 749:14 | try 645:8 714:12 717:17 | Uh-oh 752:13 |
| 977:4 983:18 984:3 | transpiring 736:3 73 | 717:18 719:1 764:22 | Ukraine 877:12 |
| 985:5,17 | 738:22 745:11,16 | 863:21 866:9 889:3 | ultimate 708:9 716:5 |
| timeline 658:19 | 746:21 747:4 | 891:18,21 903:3 957:15 | ultimately 721:16,16 |
| times 764:19 779:12 | Travel 926:17 | trying 657:9 754:21 | 726:1 |
| 832:6 834:13 865:14 | traveled 738:3 | 755:1,3 758:20 769:20 | Um-um 946:3 |
| 879:3 885:16 891:11 | treason 876:15 | 770:9 774:4 795:2 | unable 871:12,15 931:13 |
| 934:4 935:10 939:5 | treated 642:19,20 903:20 | 797:16 832:1 854:19 | unaware 685:22 702:4 |
| 952:10 956:1 964:1 | treating 641:20 | 902:20,20,21 932:19 | 703:16 |
| 965:13 972:15 973:17 | treatment 641:18 690:19 | 956:17,20 963:5 | unceremoniously 909:18 |
| timing 944:12 985:11 | 1:6 712:20 | Tuesday 747:5 | unchartered 703:2 |
| title 843:7 847:7 873:2 | tremendous 862:6 | turn 642:13 647:10 | unclear 665:4 707:12 |
| 925:18 | trial 784:2 972:3,2 | 648:18 745:19,22 770:6 | 725:2 881:6 |
| titles 734:3 | 87:17 | 919:9 | uncommon 918 |
| today 720:19 805:2,7 | tributes 849:10 | turned 743:22 744:7 | unconstitutionally 687:5 |
| 820:9 904:13 913:13 | Tributes.con | 749:6 809:18 916:17 | undergraduate 735:14 |
| 943:19 944:22 973:20 | 849:3 | turnover 665:20 870:16 | understaffed 824:20 |
| Toensing 799:3 833:20 | tried 717:22 779:10 | turns 671:11,17 | understand 660:12 672:7 |
| 893:22 894:1,2 | 795:10 828:2 972 | twenty-one-day 648 | 779:5 782:4 797:6,8 |
| told 678:11,20 679:11 | 973:15 | 649:20,22 660:21 | 843:14 945:19 962:11 |
| 737:7 743:10,20 746:4 | Trinidad-To | twice 783:2 801:16 | 982:17 |
| 753:4 761:15 763:16 | trip 897:16 | two 647:21 648:5 662: | understandable 765:2,2 |
| 769:14 841:18 878:20 | TRO 688:6 | 676:22 686:4 690:8 | understanding 795:22 |
| 879:9 885:5,16 888:18 | true 659:15 660:3 661:17 | 697:9 707:21 719:19 | 796:11 797:14 820:6 |
| 888:18 889:19,22 | 662:5 663:14,19 664:2 | 729:4,13,14,22 753:7 | 853:7 |
| 891:11 893:5 896:8 | 664:8,14 668:17 669:1 | 758:1,21 763:19,22 | understood 661:12 |
| 919:15,15 938:7 955:14 | 678:7 681:12 683:15 | 764:4 765:14,17 768:13 | 799:16 943:14 |
| 959:13 977:7 | 686:7 687:9 689:3 | 779:2 792:18,18 815:9 | undertaking 712:8 |
| Tom 874:1 | 698:17 702:7 706:6 | 815:11 833:22 834:12 | unduly 669:13 |
| tomorrow 805:8 982:6 | 707:7 708:7 827:15,16 | 834:14 844:16 847:2 | unemployment 868:8 |
| 984:20 986:2 | 847:13 932:8 937:9,11 | 863:5 865:19,20 867:15 | 870:22 871:2 |
| tonight 983:1 | 948:22 949:3 950:20 | 884:8 886:7,10,11 | unequal 690:19 |
| Tony 767:13 | 951:4 952:9 953:22 | 893:21 905:21 922:9,11 | unequivocally 776:10 |
| tool 851:22 | 957:12,15,19 977:3 | 926:11 940:9,11 943:6 | unfamiliar 730:3 |
| top 641:6,9 683:5 737:15 | 987:7 | 944:15 955:8 957:10 | uniform 744:6 |
| 894:16 907:22 910:20 | Trump 641:17 642:20 | 958:13 960:16 977:16 | uniformity 713:6 718:8 |
| topic 759:11 | 654:3 717:19 735:22 | 983: | uniformly 931:13 942:7 |
| topics 758:3 817:18 | 737:6,8 738:21 740:14 | two-652:1 | 969:7 974:13 |
| total 652:18 774:15 911:2 | 741:4,16 762:10 784:7 | two-and-a-half 652:11 | unintentional 781:10 |
| 911:3 | 790:14,22 791:14,18 | two-year 814:21 815:7 | union 864:13,14 871:10 |
| totally 911:3,6,12 953:2 | 792:10 816:5 817:12 | Twombley 644:5 | 8711,13936.9 |
| touch 793:3 | 820:17,19 821:10 | type 701:21 703:12 | unique 721:5 951:15,15 |
| tour 791:8 | 822:13 834:9,15 876:1 | 763:11 811:5,9 849:5 | Unit 868:18 |

United 687:12 705:11 718:12 775:8 787:1 791:2 792:7 859:11 860:3,4,14 861:12,16 864:18 871:1,3 941:6 953:1
Unites 715:5
universal 925:5,5
universally 941:11
universe 751:18 916:11
University 735:12,14 753:7
unknowingly 659:22
unlawful 686:8
unmute 682:22
unprecedented 701:16 721:6,11
unquote 713:14
unreasonable 717:8
unrelated 878:11
unsettled 690:1
unsuccessful 703:19
unsure 667:12
untrue 927:17 929:6 942:12 953:21
unusual 729:3 764:13 769:21 861:22 872:4
unusually 665:17 862:17
unwarranted 685:1
updated 677:20
upset 794:18
upstate 755:15
use 818:1 931:8 954:17
useful 891:18 984:21
USPS 936:13
usual 797:4
usually 702:11 863:18
Utica 754:1
utilized 690:17 942:3
V
v 680:14 683:10,16 693:6 693:14 699:5 717:15
730:6 883:10
vacant 937:3
vacated 646:17
vacation 937:3
vacator 647:1
vague 713:16
valence 667:13
valid 643:8 670:22 671:5
671:12 672:1,9 684:20 703:20 763:9 941:2
Valley 754:4
Valor 813:19
vantage 745:15
varied 652:11 917:21
variety 756:10 757:1
various 641:13 654:2
811:6 817:14,14 824:15 837:19 845:14 849:9 902:9 905:8 930:13
Vegas 864:16
vehicle 736:5
verdict 712:3
verification 933:7,15
verify 647:16 728:3 827:20 840:21
Veritas 937:17 938:2,3,6 938:15 967:9,20
vernacular 919:17
versa 854:6 912:13
version 911:13
versions 720:17 779:13 893:6
versus $831: 4$
vice 659:17 664:16 854:6 864:19 912:13
Vicky 799:3 893:22 894:1 900:13,16 901:8
Victoria 833:20
view 673:8 675:9 688:16 702:19 705:2 715:10 719:21 721:9 780:3 805:1 940:7 957:1
viewed 946:6
views 717:2 817:22 820:7
violate 786:17
violated 640:4 653:15,19 672:17,22 690:20 708:5 942:2
violates 648:2
violation 652:1 690:9 698:10 701:15 706:11 881:14 928:14,15 981:17
violations 639:1 683:12 805:9 815:12 960:9
violence 872:12 874:16 942:8
violent 860:21,22 872:3,9 872:11,15
Virginia 656:8 791:6 793:14 822:9 879:20
virtual 631:15 632:1
virtually 974:13
visible 727:19
voice 796:17
voided 927:18
voir 635:12 839:1,10,12
843:11,12 847:19,20
853:10,21 857:3

Vol 631:9
volume 752:12,13
volunteered 793:4 892:12
volunteering 760:10
volunteers 890:20
Von 874:1
voracity 842:1 846:5
vote 641:2,16 654:4
713:13 783:2 787:3
853:3,7 865:17 908:14
912:21 930:14 931:22
933:7,11,14 940:19
941:2 947:16 952:17
958:20 959:1,2,12,17
959:22 960:1,2,22
961:14 966:1 976:1
977:1 979:10
voted 830:17 836:22
865:19,20 909:10 913:1
916:2 917:18 918:3
952:10 954:4,4,9,10
959:7,13 961:15
voter 642:18 686:6,8
694:5 713:15 735:1
844:13,18 854:17,20
867:8 912:16 930:11,12
930:12 940:15 952:21
953:1
voters 690:20 692:2
720:6 832:5 840:5
847:2 850:17 856:17
916:6 931:20,21 951:15
951:15 954:7
votes 642:20,21 645:22
687:5 778:14,21 783:1
787:1 850:19 907:19
911:4,15 940:16,21
941:1 947:6,10 958:17
958:18 965:12 969:6
970:5,9,10
voting 645:20 683:13
838:18 847:9,10 854:20
909:8 918:21 930:14
935:9,12 945:16 947:18
948:14 953:15 954:20
955:12 958:21 961:12
977:3,4,6
vouch 836:9
vs 638:15 645:2 680:21
681:4,13,14,17 691:12
692:22 693:20 699:2
710:20 711:3,4 713:12
717:21 718:2,5 729:19
730:7,11 876:1 926:21
W
wacky 911:3
wait 650:3 726:10 743:1 906:5
waited 743:6 933:12 952:16
waiting 636:10 731:16,19 732:6,8 750:6 787:22
walked 742:20 744:7 745:7
Wall 865:1,4
Walton 908:16
want 637:7,15,16 645:1 647:10 652:20 653:2 658:17 672:6 678:5 682:19,21 684:4 698:22 715:6 716:15 718:13 721:7 727:20 728:2 732:15 761:9,17 762:11 771:8 777:14 782:4 792:19 793:20 801:11 804:14 806:19 807:7,15 807:15 823:1 825:18 839:5 850:11 853:13 854:11 858:15,19 862:8 884:20 905:10 914:7 930:5,8 932:17 941:18 942:14 952:13 966:17 968:5 970:21 980:1 982:15 984:1 985:12
wanted 661:21 663:20 674:10 689:17 729:2 735:8 765:17,19 768:15 792:16 818:7 821:19 862:5 916:9 921:16 959:12 971:11 973:21 974:2 980:6
war 735:13 819:19,21 820:2
warden 813:7
warehouse 935:12
warrant 684:4
warranted 651:14,15 719:2,6
Washington 633:17 730:7 736:1 738:4 741:8 791:14 816:20 817:3 821:19 822:6 879:2 886:19 895:10
wasn't 668:11 684:16 685:12 688:8,9,17 700:5 705:7 712:12 717:14 723:5 741:14 746:12,12 754:13 776:4 796:21 797:2 798:6 799:5,6 802:14 835:16 854:8 884:12,22 891:12

| 891:12 899:10 908:4 | welcome 732:22 978:4 | 636:21 660:15,18 | 901:6,8 911:21 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 945:17 948:15 952:7 | welfare 868:18,19,20 | 710:19 711:12,17,19 | worker 931:18 |
| 955:20 962:17 964:6 | 870:12,13,15,17 | 712:13,15,18 713:1,11 | workers 931:11 939:22 |
| 970:3 976:10 | went 646:2 685:8 736:20 | 714:1,6 715:1,13,16 | Workfare 870:14 |
| waste 667:9 817:1 | 738:13,17,19 739:4,15 | 716:9 717:12,20 718:21 | working 657:18 729:4 |
| watcher 745:5 | 739:19 749:11 760:2 | 719:22 721:12 722:10 | 748:7 758:19 790:22 |
| watchers 639:14 640:5,7 | 765:6 791:7,9 792:4 | 722:19 724:11 725:5,16 | 795:6 798:3,6 799:1,7 |
| 640:8,18 933:22 939:12 | 817:3 821:21 822:1,5,6 | 729:4 731:7 732:15 | 801:15 802:10,15,15 |
| 939:18 940:3 978:17 | 822:13,13,15 831:3,3 | 733:1,8,14 750:4,5,12 | 803:12,14 828:15 829:2 |
| 980:7 | 832:11,15,21 833:8 | 750:15,21 751:5 752:12 | 833:18 834:10,13 |
| watching 883:10 | 837:18 841:3 866:3 | 770:20 777:7,21 785:5 | 870:13 880:9 894:8,9 |
| water $755: 10,11,13,16,16$ | 867:5 868:8 872:14 | 787:15,16 788:10,16 | 896:10,13 900:17,18,19 |
| 756:1,6 976:22 977:1 | 878:1 880:18 885:14,22 | 789:4,9,10,14,22 790:5 | world 805:1 869:10 |
| water-related 755:8 | 887:2,4,6,20 888:4,11 | 802:9 803:4,8,18 804:5 | worse 642:20 |
| wave 946:17 | 890:3 892:5 907:16 | 804:8,9,10,12,20 807:6 | worst $872: 3$ |
| way 643:12 705:7 710:21 | 908:15 955:9 957:9,10 | 809:13,21 810:3,6,11 | worth 885:1 |
| 717:10,22 730:12 736:2 | 960:2 961:12 978:13 | 830:8 837:8 839:21 | wouldn't 677:20 685:12 |
| 738:16 770:6 816:14 | weren't 696:11 779:17 | 846:1 848:22 852:17 | 693:1 699:3 702:21 |
| 838:8 872:20 876:12 | 794:15 797:19 824:4 | 853:6 854:14 858:8,9 | 706:13 717:14 729:18 |
| 883:2,6,6 885:18 887:5 | 833:10,10 882:21 883:4 | 858:11,15 859:1 904:8 | 777:20 844:11,15 |
| 897:17 898:13,21 | 891:1 900:6 908:4 | 904:13 906:3 914:12,22 | 887:15 927:14 952:18 |
| 918:10 919:17 924:8 | 919:19 932:19 951:1 | 915:7,16 924:18 929:22 | 954:6 962:4 |
| 934:3 941:1 943:16 | 952:6 964:3,8 977:14 | 935:7 938:17 954:12 | wrap 805:1 985:14 |
| 944:1 948:10 951:7 | 977:21 | 968:9 969:12 972:11 | Wright 662:12 |
| 955:17 971:22 | Western 652:9 | 973:3,9 974:4,7 976:12 | write 756:15 761:5,6,6 |
| ways 648:5 700:11 | White 741:11 819 | 976:16 978:4,15,19 | 763:18 764:14 769:13 |
| 711:20,21 769:7 930:14 | 824:16 834:12 | 979:1,8,22 980:3,8,17 | 776:15 885:7,7 |
| 932:21 | whiteboard 795:7 | 980:21 981:2,7,12 | write-ups 764:20 |
| we'll 636:11 764:2 788:9 | widely 742:19 | 986:4 | writing 665:11 746:15 |
| 807:1 808:1,1 826:7 | widespread 971:1 | witnessed 817:5 | 779:18 885:5 897:17 |
| 904:20 929:20 966:11 | wife 814:20 880:1 8 | witnesses 635:3,7 636:8 | 968:12 |
| 982:15 985:13,14,15 | Wikipedia 848:8 | 804:19 928:11 931:11 | written 756:9,13,15 |
| 986:2 | William 767:17 843:22 | 932:3 965:19 966:3 | 767:22 774:19 775:21 |
| we're 744:1,2 761:7 | 844:16,16 860:19 | 976:6,8 978:1 979:2 | 779:16 938:16 |
| 770:21 772:10 782:21 | 925:14,20 | woman $737: 7,13,19$ | wrong 689:18 697:19 |
| 788:22,22 801:10 805:1 | Williams 844:3 | 758:14 760:21 833:21 | 722:8,18 723:3 887:5 |
| 809:5 825:10 837:7,9,9 | willing 759:17,21 793:10 | won 702:8 784:8 865:18 | 955:15 968:11,14 |
| 838:6 853:16 856:4 | 947:15 | 867:10 907:18 | wrongdoing 925:1 |
| 876:16 879:15 889:6 | wind 717:10 | wonderful 719:12 | wrongly 687:21 |
| 934:17,19 954:2 980:11 | window 659:20 | word 641:14 779:15 | wrote 765:12,13 771:22 |
| 982:5 984:2 | Winfrey 875:8 | 780:2 824:12 930:4 | 776:16,16 778:5,6 |
| we've 771:3 781:19 | winner 654:3 | words 763:3 776:5 | 779:11 782:5 860:21,21 |
| 875:22 889:5 895:8 | winning 940:17 | 870:21 977:10 | 885:6 900:14 944:18 |
| 942:15 948:9 | Wisconsin 823:18 895:7 | work 734:5 755:4 762: | 973:22 981:4 |
| website 764:7 774:13 | 899:20 908:8 974:16 | 763:3 764:9 773:16 |  |
| 830:15,22 832:2,3 | wish 839:9 | 774:8,11 790:13 795:2 | X |
| 848:6,13 849:5,6,8,8 | Wished 656:5 | 795:11 811:10 861:5 | X 631:4,12 635:1 685:20 |
| Wednesday 631:13 | withdraw 662:17 663:6,9 | 870:13,15 896:11 897:4 | XI. 11 981:14 |
| 736:12 738:4 | 814:15 815:2 826:19 | 898:16 916:11 944:13 |  |
| week 756:20 759:2 | 954:11 | 982:22 | Y |
| 792:18 796:9 894:6 | withdrawal 815:6,6 | worked 657:19 717:17 | Y 685:20 |
| weekly $775: 12,18$ | withdrawn 648:10 | 753:22 756:2 763:9 | yards 891:14 |
| weeks 657:14 758:1 | 669:10 698:7 | 791:6,14 811:16 812:3 | yeah 636:15 660:12 |
| 916:1 | withdrew 954:13 96 | 812:4,5 820:3,5 821:1,9 | 679:21 682:2,18 695:11 |
| weigh 644:13 | withholding 638:3 | 845:14 873:1 875:17 | 711:12 714:9,10 719:15 |
| weight 712:5,6 777:9 | witness 634:18 636:9,12 | 880:15 898:14 900:9,11 | 725:3 726:20 727:18 |


| 731:22 769:6795:18 | 0.04 911:8 | 1367 705:16 | 2004 814:12,22 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 798:15,22 807:4 811:13 | 00 656:14 | 14 686:22 709:4 727:22 | 2007 815:16 |
| 811:13 816:15 818:5 |  | 727:22 818:8 | 2009 815:19 |
| 822:10 823:11 826:4,9 | 1 | 141 727:4 | 2010 816:8 |
| 827:17 829:13 830:8,10 | 1,111 916:4,10 | 147 968:6,15,17 | 2013 816:16,17 |
| 831:15,19,19 833:3 | 1.1M 870:12 | 15 658:14 659:14 743:6 | 2015 734:21 819:5 |
| 837:18 839:5 840:19,19 | $1.2653: 1$ | 788:6 801:2,9 899:12 | 2016 734:21 877:7 |
| 840:19,19 846:18 875:5 | 1:30 804:16 808:2 809:2 | 904:11 935:16 | 2017 925:20 |
| 879:21 883:22 884:16 | 10 641:7,8,8 774:14,15 | 150 907:14 908:18 | 2019 876:8 |
| 888:2 892:5 897:2,6,9 | 779:6 792:19 813:21 | 15th 659:2,2 662:22 | 202 633:18 |
| 898:3 900:19,22 902:11 | 899:11 911:11 | 801:3 827:7 | 2020 690:8 735:17 739:9 |
| 905:16 906:13 907:8 | 10-899:8 | 16 637:11 | 757:18 759:1 778:14 |
| 910:1,3,12,15 912:9 | 10\% 724:21 | 160M 787:1 | 784:8 792:11,15 816:7 |
| 916:16 921:21 924:17 | 10,000 758:2,9 917:21 | 16th 663:4 664:2 766:22 | 816:9 820:17 821:10 |
| 931:1 938:21 946:12 | $10.5868: 8$ | 767:2 827:7 902:1 | 850:22 877:9 933:17 |
| 948:10 949:13 951:6 | 10:00 933:13,18 | 17 687:18 | 938:6 947:18 948:2,8 |
| 952:4 957:8,18 964:14 | 10:22 714:4 | 17,000 959:4 | 949:3 |
| 967:22 968:9,22 969:1 | 10:55 732:10 | 172 940:13,13 | 2020-D253 631:8 |
| year 652:11 677:17 678:4 | 100 691:18 916:19 | 175 801:14 941:3 | 2021 782:3 |
| 775:6,14 814:11 860:15 | 966:12 | 17th 663:17 664:6,15 | 2022 631:13 948:3 |
| 867:6 869:8 872:14 | 100\% 737:18 | 666:6 772:13 801:3 | 986:13 |
| 875:10 876:7 | 100,000 747:21 | 898:22 902:1 905:7 | 2024 790:14,22 792:11 |
| years 719:19 720:3 | 10036 634:7 | 18 640:9 659:11 682:14 | 987:21 |
| 729:13,14,22 735:5,7 | 100s 734:16 | 682:14 683:4 727:19,21 | 20M 787:3,3 |
| 756:8 757:7 758:21 | 101 691:19 | 180 860:15 | 20th 933:6 |
| 791:11 811:17 812:22 | 1040 785:18 | 1854 951:18 952:3,6 | 21 648:9 650:3,3,18,19 |
| 813:9 815:9 816:3,6 | 11 647:11,12,13 648:3,9 | 18th 659:13 816:7,8,8 | 660:22 694:1 726:3 |
| 820:4,14 834:14 836:22 | 648:16,19 649:6 650:16 | 19 687:1 867:2 | 923:8,18 924:14 |
| 859:12 865:22 867:10 | 651:4,6,7,11,18 652:1 | 19-820:21 | 212 634:8 |
| 867:12,22 868:2,12,12 | 652:14 660:5,21 670:21 | 19\% 911:2 | 214,410 850:18 851:12 |
| 869:11,14 870:1 871:2 | 726:1,3,5 766:9 771:11 | 1931 862:16 | 919:12 |
| 872:17 873:11 875:13 | 816:3 820:4 870:2 | 1954 952:18 | 21st 650:13 |
| 891:6 911:22 916:3 | 875:16 906:6 943:5 | 1980 730:7 | 22 682:14 683:4 883:9 |
| 921:11,19 926:16 | 984:3 | 1981 859:15 | 22-BD-027 631:6 |
| 931:14 933:5 951:15,16 | 11:00 731:9 979:17 | 1983 651:5,21 | 22,000 863:15 |
| 952:16 | 985:20 986:2,12 | 1984 859:15 | 224 932:15 962:10,14 |
| yesterday 637:4 645:3 | 112 836:22 916:2 951:15 | 1989 867:3,6 | 23 923:21 924:11,12 |
| 646:10,16 647:6 699:5 | 951:16 | 1992 820:21 | 235 691:18,21 |
| 724:7 922:8 929:12 | 114 652:17 | 1993 651:6,8,10,21 | 237255 631:11 |
| 944:3 972:8 | 116 652:17 | 1994 820:21 861:3 | 23rd 664:12 |
| York 634:7,7 754:1 755:4 | 11th 812:20 820:1,8 | 1999 872:14 | 24 924:11,11 |
| 755:9,15,22 767:18 | 12 642:2 658:7 659:3,10 | 19th 650:12 | 24/7 873:1 |
| 810:21 812:18,21 813:8 | 766:17 923:3,18 925:10 | 1M 755:20 | 240 919:21 |
| 861:13,17 862:4,16,18 | 12,000 863:17 | 1st 650:6 | 249 966:12 |
| 864:7 867:1,11 868:11 | 12:00 788:9 979:17 |  | 25 727:20 907:4,5 909:14 |
| 869:15,22 870:20 871:6 | 12:14 808:6 | 2 | 27 910:2,6,11 |
| 872:5 873:2 874:21 | 120,000 919:22 | 2,000 917:21 | 28 705:15 933:5 |
| 879:3 | 128 931:7 960:17 | 2:00 979:16 | 2M 947:20 |
| young 767:14 869:1 | 129 931:17 960:17 | 20 694:1 743:6 831:5 | 2nd 659:5 |
| 885:8 | 12th 662:16 793:20 902:1 | 865:21 899:11 931:14 |  |
| YouTube 751:20 | 13 687:18 688:4 813:22 | 935:16 | 3 |
|  | 131 935:2,7 965:9 | 20\% 724:22 899:8 952:22 | $3631: 9$ |
| Z | 132 864:17 936:5 | 200,000 947:19 | 3.1 672:21 |
| Zoom 632:1 775:3 | 132-3 966:18 | 2000 870:17 | 3:30 904:21 |
|  | 133 936:9 966:18 | 20001 633:17 | 30 652:13 823:1 891:14 |
| 0 | 134 937:20,21 967:8 | 2002 814:21 | 891:14 899:12 |

In Re: Rudolph W. Giuliani
December 7, 2022
Page 1023


