

LAFTPAR1

1 UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
SOUTHERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

2 -----x
3 UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

New York, N.Y.

4 v.

19 CR 725 (JPO)

5 LEV PARNAS and ANDREY KUKUSHKIN,

6 Defendants.
7 -----x

October 15, 2021
9:30 a.m.

8 Before:

9 HON. J. PAUL OETKEN,

10 U.S. District Judge
11 And a Jury

12 APPEARANCES

13 DAMIAN WILLIAMS

United States Attorney for the
Southern District of New York

14 BY: NICOLAS ROOS

15 ALINE FLODR
HAGAN SCOTTEN

16 Assistant United States Attorneys

17 LAW OFFICES OF JOSEPH A. BONDY

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23 FAITH FRIEDMAN

24

25

LAFcpar2

Hartsock - recross

1 Q. Do you have a computer database at the FEC that can tell
2 you a person's immigration status, like say at the Customs and
3 Border Protection service?

4 A. No, we do not.

5 Q. Do you happen to know Mr. Muraviev's immigration status?

6 A. No, I do not.

7 MR. BONDY: Thank you.

8 THE COURT: Anything further?

9 MR. ROOS: No, your Honor.

10 THE COURT: Thank you, sir. You may step down.
11 Please put on your mask as you leave.

12 Government, are you prepared for your next witness?

13 MR. SCOTTEN: Your Honor, the government calls Adam
14 Laxalt.

15 THE COURT: Sir, if you can please come up to the
16 witness stand. If you would please come up to the top step,
17 and when you enter the witness box you can remove your mask,
18 remain standing and Mr. Hampton will swear you in.

19 ADAM LAXALT,

20 called as a witness by the Government,

21 having been duly sworn, testified as follows:

22 THE DEPUTY CLERK: Slide forward towards the
23 microphone, please. Please state your full name and spell your
24 last name for the record.

25 THE WITNESS: Adam Laxalt, L-A-X-A-L-T.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 THE COURT: Mr. Scotten, you may inquire.

2 MR. SCOTTEN: Thank you, your Honor.

3 DIRECT EXAMINATION

4 BY MR. SCOTTEN:

5 Q. Good morning, Mr. Laxalt.

6 A. Good morning.

7 Q. Mr. Laxalt, how old are you?

8 A. 43.

9 Q. And how far did you go in school?

10 A. I graduated from law school.

11 Q. Where did you go to law school?

12 A. Georgetown University.

13 Q. What did you do when you graduated law school?

14 A. I went active duty in the United States Navy and served in
15 both Iraq and Europe, European Southwest Asia command, as well
16 as the United States Naval Academy. Then I got out of the
17 Navy, went into a private law firm in Nevada. Then I ran and
18 was elected as the attorney general for the State of Nevada in
19 2014. I am now back in the private sector as a lawyer.

20 Q. So in 2018, you ran for governor?

21 A. 2018 I ran for governor, was the nominee for my party.

22 Q. What party was that?

23 A. The republican party.

24 Q. And I don't mean to bring up maybe an unpleasant memory,
25 but from the fact you said you're back in the private sector,

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 I'm assuming you did not win?

2 A. That's correct.

3 Q. Can you describe briefly the process of running for
4 governor.

5 A. Sure. Of course you could imagine running for the governor
6 of a state is quite a huge endeavor. I had two kids and a
7 newborn child at the time and was the sitting top law
8 enforcement officer of the state, but we received the
9 nomination of our party to run for governor and I was in a
10 very, very large, incredibly competitive governor's race in
11 what you all may hear always as a swing state, Nevada. So it
12 was just a very long, grueling, very intense process. It was
13 well over a year, tens of thousands of people in meetings and
14 very intense schedule.

15 Q. What are some of the things you spent your time on during
16 that year, some of the activities?

17 A. Well, of course, meeting with voters. A lot of events
18 across the state. As you probably heard, fundraising is one of
19 the big challenges and time-consuming things in running for
20 office, especially a big statewide office. So a lot of
21 fundraising, a lot of candidate events, as well as still being
22 the attorney general of the state throughout the entire
23 campaign.

24 Q. In terms of fundraising, what was the largest donation you
25 accepted, not individual, but the amount?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 A. In the State of Nevada, \$10,000 is the state maximum
2 contribution allowed for individuals or corporations.

3 Q. When you say allowed, by what, what prevented you from
4 taking more?

5 A. State law says that a maximum contribution allowed is
6 \$10,000 for either one of those things.

7 Q. What, if anything, did you do to make sure no one gave your
8 campaign more than \$10,000?

9 A. There was a financial side that would keep track of
10 donations as they came in. If anyone exceeded the \$10,000
11 amount, then it would get flagged and the excess amount would
12 be returned to that donor.

13 Q. How did your campaign know which donations came from which
14 donors?

15 A. Well, the whole system kind of relies on the donor that
16 either fills out a form or donates online, they put their
17 information, their address, the amount of their contribution.

18 Q. Were there any individuals you did not accept donations
19 from?

20 A. Not during the campaign, no.

21 Q. Sorry, I don't mean specific people you rejected. Were
22 there any categories?

23 A. Oh, types of donations, sure. So, we are not allowed to
24 accept donations from non-American citizens or non-American
25 companies. So we would not accept any contributions that were

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 from foreign individuals or foreign companies.

2 Q. And to be clear, when you say not allowed, what is it that
3 doesn't allow you to do that?

4 A. Under state law, you are not allowed to accept
5 contributions from foreign individuals or foreign corporations.

6 Q. Do you know if federal law does allow those things?

7 A. I believe federal law does not allow it either.

8 Q. I'm going to show you Government Exhibit 611. Do you
9 recognize this?

10 A. I do.

11 Q. What is it?

12 A. This was our online contribution page.

13 THE COURT: I think this is 711.

14 MR. SCOTTEN: I think so, 711, yes.

15 THE COURT: I thought you said 611.

16 MR. SCOTTEN: Oh, I meant to say 711.

17 Q. Is it a true and accurate copy, as best you recall, of your
18 2018 donation page?

19 A. It is.

20 MR. SCOTTEN: Your Honor, government offers 718.

21 MR. BONDY: No objection.

22 THE COURT: 711.

23 MR. SCOTTEN: I'll get it eventually. 711.

24 THE COURT: 711 is admitted.

25 (Government's Exhibit 711 received in evidence)

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 MR. SCOTTEN: Thank you, your Honor. If we can please
2 put it up.

3 Q. And so, first off, is this the entire page the donor would
4 see if they tried to donate to your campaign?

5 A. Yes, I believe so.

6 MR. SCOTTEN: Ms. Drescher, can we zoom in on the
7 bottom third or quarter.

8 Q. Mr. Laxalt, can I ask you to read the first two paragraphs.

9 A. Contribution limit is \$5,000 per individual or entity for
10 the primary and \$5,000 per individual or entity for the
11 general, \$10,000 total for an individual or entity for the
12 election cycle. Election cycles from 2015 through the end of
13 2018. Contributions to Laxalt for Nevada are not taxable, tax
14 deductible for federal income tax purposes. Contributions from
15 foreign nationals are prohibited.

16 MR. SCOTTEN: Ms. Drescher, could we please now zoom
17 in on the left middle with the blank boxes.

18 Q. Mr. Laxalt, what are we looking at here?

19 A. This is the part of the page where people fill in their
20 personal information.

21 Q. When you say people, who is it that fills out this
22 information?

23 A. The individual that's contributing.

24 Q. What, if anything, does your campaign do to check the truth
25 of what the donor writes here?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 A. Campaigns don't do anything to verify what the individual
2 puts in. We have thousands and thousands of donors, so we have
3 to rely on the person that fills out this information, that it
4 is truthful and accurate.

5 MR. SCOTTEN: If we could please take that down and
6 show the witness Government Exhibit 709.

7 Q. Mr. Laxalt, do you recognize this picture?

8 A. I do.

9 Q. Does it appear to be a true and accurate depiction of the
10 events within it?

11 A. It does.

12 MR. SCOTTEN: Your Honor, the government offers 709.

13 THE COURT: Admitted.

14 (Government's Exhibit 709 received in evidence)

15 MR. SCOTTEN: Can you please publish it.

16 Q. Now that the jury can see it, Mr. Laxalt, can you please
17 tell me whether you recognize anyone in this picture?

18 A. I do. I recognize the gentleman to the right of me, when
19 looking at the picture, as Lev Parnas. I recognize the other
20 gentleman by face, but I'm not familiar with his name.

21 Q. And just for the clear record, who is the individual in the
22 center?

23 A. The individual in the center is me. Thank you. Sorry.

24 Q. No, no problem. Do you recognize where this picture was
25 taken?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 A. I do. We had an event with the then Vice President of the
2 United States, and you can see the podium behind. That's where
3 he spoke on behalf of my candidacy. This was in a Las Vegas
4 casino.

5 Q. Other than the Vice President speaking on your behalf, was
6 there any purpose to this event?

7 A. Yes. This was a fundraiser for my gubernatorial race.

8 Q. And you said, you recognize Mr. Parnas and you recognize
9 the face of the other individual, even though you don't know
10 his name; is that correct?

11 A. Correct.

12 Q. Had you met them before this?

13 A. Yes. I met Lev Parnas, it was only days before this event.
14 I was in D.C. at the Trump Hotel, and the Trump Hotel has kind
15 of this large ballroom. So there is always people walking
16 through, especially at the close of that election cycle in
17 2018. The former Mayor, Rudy Giuliani, walked to the ballroom
18 and we spoke and he invited me back to a balcony where he was
19 sitting with a group of folks. They were smoking cigars and
20 having drinks, so he invited me back there. So I went back to
21 this balcony and I told the Mayor about my race and that we're
22 only a few months out and it was very close. Again, I
23 mentioned before, this is a swing state, has kind of big
24 national significance. And so, at that point in time, Lev
25 Parnas was one of the people that was out there on the balcony.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 He immediately offered to help my campaign, said he had been
2 helping a lot of other campaigns, including President, Vice
3 President, and other elected officials, and that he would like
4 to raise money for me in the final few months.

5 Q. Did Mr. Parnas give you any indication of how much money he
6 might raise for you?

7 A. I mean, he said he'd raise a couple hundred thousand
8 dollars or more for my race.

9 Q. And to be clear, when you say raise, does that mean he's
10 going to give all of it himself?

11 A. No. In campaigns, there is people that, what they call
12 bundle money where they'll ask friends, colleagues, relatives
13 if they'll support a campaign, as well. And so, he offered to
14 throw a fundraiser and get people there and try to raise money
15 for me.

16 MR. SCOTTEN: Your Honor, the government offers
17 Exhibit 37, which is among those subject to the stipulation for
18 the WhatsApp chats.

19 THE COURT: Yes.

20 (Government's Exhibit 37 received in evidence)

21 MR. SCOTTEN: If we can please publish Government
22 Exhibit 37 for everybody.

23 Q. Starting at the top before we look at the body, I see this
24 message is among three people. We see Mr. Parnas's name,
25 Mr. Laxalt's name, and a third name, Maisie Rodolico; do you

L AFCpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 know who that is?

2 A. Yes, my fundraiser. It was my fundraiser for my campaign.

3 MR. SCOTTEN: If we can please scroll down to the
4 body, Ms. Drescher.

5 Q. First off, Mr. Laxalt, what is the date here?

6 A. The date is September 6th, 2018.

7 Q. So when you say in the first line, Lev, it was great to
8 meet you last night, what are you referring to?

9 A. This was referring to the meeting that I just discussed
10 about meeting him on this balcony at the Trump Hotel.

11 Q. And in the second sentence where it refers to the Vegas
12 event, what is that?

13 A. So this is the Vice President fundraiser event that I
14 previously discussed.

15 Q. And then I see the remainder talks about working with
16 Maisie, they need social security numbers, et cetera. What
17 does that mean?

18 A. So if you're going to be in the room with the Vice
19 President or President of the United States, Secret Service is
20 involved. You need social security numbers, they're going to
21 vet, go through the background of everybody that is in that
22 room, especially in this case. So it was 300 people, 200 to
23 300 people, so everything is heavily vetted. So that was
24 saying, I must have said, oh, by the way, you got the Vice
25 President coming to Las Vegas. He must have said, oh, well, we

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 want to come out. In which case, this is this text exchange
2 saying, okay, if you're serious about coming out, the event is
3 only in a few days, you need to start working with the person
4 in charge of the event to get your information and all that to
5 make sure that they clear Secret Service.

6 Q. Do you have an understanding as to whether Mr. Parnas did,
7 in fact, go through that process?

8 A. My understanding is that everyone that went in that room
9 went through that process, yes.

10 MR. SCOTTEN: Could we please take that down and put
11 up Government Exhibit 40-A-4 already in evidence.

12 Q. Mr. Laxalt, do you recognize anyone other than yourself in
13 this picture?

14 A. I recognize this person's face, yes, like the other
15 gentleman. The few times that I was with -- met in public with
16 Lev Parnas, he would be with kind of a different mix of folks.
17 And so, I recognize this guy, but I don't recall his name.

18 Q. Why did you take a picture with him?

19 A. Pretty much everybody at these events, you know, you do a
20 picture line, everyone wants to take a picture with the
21 candidate at the end of a fundraiser.

22 Q. Do you remember whether you spoke with this man, Parnas, or
23 the third man we've seen with Parnas at this event?

24 A. I don't have any specific recollection of any
25 conversations. Like I said, you get hundreds of people,

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 especially with the Vice President, it's very high energy and
2 fast paced. So you're kind of just moving through, thanks for
3 coming, people ask how the race is going, that kind of stuff.
4 I don't have any specific recollection of any conversations at
5 that event.

6 Q. Did there later come a time when you spoke with any of
7 them?

8 A. Well, yes, some weeks later, I ended up doing dinner with
9 Lev Parnas and a handful of his associates.

10 Q. I suppose before we get to that, I want to ask you, did you
11 speak with Mr. Parnas before that, even if not in person, or
12 communicate with him in any way?

13 A. Yeah, so, as I said, Mr. Parnas had promised to try to do a
14 fundraiser and raise a bunch of money for me. As you're
15 closing out a campaign, the numbers are absolutely crazy, we're
16 talking tens of millions of dollars you're having to raise for
17 these campaigns. So you need a lot of people that are willing
18 to help find friends and colleagues and relatives, that's a big
19 part of the process.

20 So, Lev Parnas is one of these people who had said he
21 was going to help me fundraise. So we were back and forth, as
22 you heard from the dates we first met, whatever it was, the
23 beginning of September, the race is two months away. So, in
24 those two months, we're back and forth a little bit on are you
25 going to help, are you going to be able to support my campaign.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 MR. SCOTTEN: Your Honor, the government offers
2 Exhibit 36, another electronic communication record subject to
3 the stipulation.

4 THE COURT: So the one you mentioned before is 37, and
5 I don't know if I formally admitted that, but 37 is received
6 and 36 is received pursuant to stipulation.

7 (Government's Exhibit 36 received in evidence)

8 MR. SCOTTEN: Thank you, your Honor. If we can please
9 publish it.

10 Q. Mr. Laxalt, have you seen this before your testimony?

11 A. I have seen it.

12 Q. Just in general, what is it?

13 A. This is a text exchange with Mr. Parnas.

14 Q. I'm not going to ask you to go through all of it. I do
15 want to ask, in line 3, do you see a reference, your text, Lev,
16 I hope Ron's went well?

17 A. I do.

18 Q. Who is Ron?

19 A. This is Ron DeSantis.

20 Q. And at the time, what was Ron DeSantis doing?

21 A. Ron was also running for governor. He was running for
22 governor in the state of Florida.

23 THE COURT: Hold on one second. Sorry to interrupt.
24 Mr. Laxalt, would you mind pulling the mic a little to the left
25 so -- sometimes when you turn to the left, we can't hear as

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 well when you turn to the right. The acoustics in here are
2 very, very tricky.

3 THE WITNESS: Is this better?

4 THE COURT: That is better. Thank you.

5 Q. What I was asking was, it says, Ron's. Ron's something.
6 Do you know what you were referring to?

7 A. I don't specifically recall. I think it was a fundraiser
8 or some sort of event that was helping his race.

9 Q. In the second line where it says checking in on our
10 potential date, what are you referring to?

11 A. Well, again, from the very beginning, he had promised to do
12 this big successful fundraiser. So, as you can tell now, it's
13 been a month and I'm starting to press of, are you going to
14 deliver on this fundraiser. You know, just so, you know, there
15 is a lot of people that say they're going to help with races
16 and some people do it, a lot of people flake out and don't do
17 it.

18 A big part of what I'm doing in the final stretch of
19 the campaign are following up with what we call pledges, people
20 that say they're going to help with either a fundraiser or
21 donation. You're just kind of continuing to badger of, like,
22 are you going to help, are you going to help. So, clearly,
23 this is like the start of that process of are we actually going
24 to have a fundraiser or not.

25 MR. SCOTTEN: Ms. Drescher, can we please scroll down

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 to capture rows 4 to 11. Great. Thank you.

2 Q. So, there is some more talk about dates here. Same
3 subject?

4 A. Yes. As far as I recall. I don't, of course, remember
5 everything about the close of that campaign, but it certainly
6 looks that way.

7 MR. SCOTTEN: If we can now go to line 15. Thank you.

8 Q. So here, Mr. Laxalt, where Mr. Parnas writes, thinking of
9 coming this weekend, are you available. Do you have an
10 understanding of what he was referring to?

11 A. Yes. There was an announced President Trump rally in my
12 state. It was going to be held in this rural community about
13 seven states north, if you will, geographically 500 miles north
14 of Las Vegas. So it appears that he was texting me that he was
15 going to come to the rally.

16 Q. What was the name of that town? I'm sorry if you mentioned
17 it.

18 A. That's okay. This is -- what's in this text chain, you see
19 the Elko event. So it's in a town called Elko, Nevada.

20 Q. Turning to line 19, do you see where Parnas writes about a
21 plane and says you can go there and back if you want?

22 A. I do.

23 Q. Do you have an understanding of what that refers to?

24 A. He must have been offering for me to fly with him from
25 Vegas to Elko and back.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 Q. Did you fly with him?

2 A. I did not.

3 Q. What is the next line?

4 A. Next line is telling him that I made reservations or
5 someone on my team made reservations for dinner at a restaurant
6 in Las Vegas the evening of that rally.

7 Q. And so in between those events, did you actually attend the
8 rally?

9 A. I did.

10 Q. What happened at the rally, just generally speaking?

11 A. Yeah, I mean, these things were so massive, just giant
12 productions. I flew up there. I was one of the people -- I
13 was part of what they call the preprogram to speak before the
14 President arrives. So I spent a lot of time in this kind of
15 area waiting to go on stage. I spoke, obviously. At some
16 point in time, I walked through this one big set of bleachers
17 and was just saying hi to supporters and kind of shaking hands
18 on one of the, kind of, front rows.

19 Q. Do you recall whether you saw Parnas or the folks with him
20 there?

21 A. They were there and I did see them, as I said, in kind
22 of -- I think they were in one of the front rows of the
23 bleachers directly behind where the speakers were speaking.

24 Q. So to be clear, is that sort of regular seats or VIP seats?

25 A. That, I don't know.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 MR. SCOTTEN: If we could zoom out and --

2 Q. Are you able to see the rest of the page or do we need to
3 try to zoom in?

4 MR. SCOTTEN: Thank you. Perfect. Thank you,
5 Ms. Drescher.

6 A. I'm okay.

7 Q. I'm not going to ask you to go line by line, but what's the
8 general subject of these 10 lines we're looking at?

9 A. Yes. So we go back and forth here clearly of basically
10 meeting at this restaurant and where it is. And I think most
11 people think of Las Vegas, they think of going to restaurants
12 in casinos. This was like a local restaurant right next to the
13 casinos, but it wasn't in a casino. So it's going back and
14 forth on how to get there. Sounds like he was running a few
15 minutes late. So there was just some back and forth along
16 those lines.

17 MR. LEFCOURT: Could he speak into the mic, your
18 Honor.

19 THE COURT: It's hard to hear in here, so if you can
20 speak a little bit closer to the mic.

21 THE WITNESS: I'm trying, your Honor.

22 Q. Mr. Laxalt, do you see in line 22, there is a reference to
23 Wes?

24 A. I do.

25 Q. Who is Wes?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 A. Wes Duncan worked for me. I was running for governor. As
2 you may remember, I was the sitting attorney general and he was
3 running to replace me as the attorney general as I was running
4 for governor.

5 Q. To be clear, when you say to Mr. Parnas, you still 4, what
6 does that mean?

7 A. I guess it was confirming the amount of people he had
8 attending the dinner.

9 Q. So you believed him to have four people in his group?

10 A. Yeah.

11 Q. Can you describe the dinner?

12 A. As I said earlier, the final few months of the campaign to
13 say is a blur is an understatement. So, I remembered going to
14 Piero's and I don't really recall any specifics about the
15 dinner at this point in time, just cranking through event after
16 event after event. And as I explained earlier, I had just
17 flown all the way to the north part of the state, part of this
18 massive event, so I'm sure I was just probably ready to go to
19 bed. But I do remember being in the restaurant and I do
20 remember being in the main room, but that's about all I
21 specifically recall.

22 Q. I'm going to ask you to flip through -- do you have a
23 hardcopy of that up there? If you don't, it's going to take
24 you more time to find it. We'll just scroll down to the next
25 page.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 So I am not going to go line by line here. I just
2 want to ask you, what is the general subject of these messages
3 with Parnas?

4 A. The first part is he's there at the restaurant. Be there
5 in a few minutes, et cetera. Apparently, the next day, he
6 texted me, are you watching Ron, he's doing great. Again, I
7 believe that is Ron DeSantis, and I said no. Then he said he
8 was bringing Rudy Giuliani to Nevada. Clearly, I didn't
9 respond and I didn't do that rally that he's referencing.
10 Again, now we're in the final stretches of the campaign and I'm
11 just -- campaign's got me booked beginning to end.

12 And then we get to -- as I was saying before, I have
13 this pledge list and your final now week of the campaign, and
14 I'm basically repeatedly reaching out to everybody that pledged
15 to donate or pledged to help find somebody to donate. So
16 clearly I'm here now texting him, saying you said you were
17 going to donate, where's the donation, election's -- as I said,
18 the election's almost over. So really kind of bombarding him
19 with, are you going to come through, are you going to support
20 my campaign or not.

21 Q. So there in the very final line on this page, 47, can I
22 just ask you to read what Parnas wrote to you?

23 A. He said, I'm so sorry. I don't understand. I confirmed
24 three people, one for \$10,000, two for \$5,000. Will call them
25 now.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 Q. What did you understand that to mean?

2 A. Of course, I don't have any recollection from the time. It
3 certainly looks like that he's saying I found a few people to
4 support your campaign, I'm not really sure why it hasn't gone
5 through, like they haven't gone online and donated, but he's
6 going to check on it right now.

7 MR. SCOTTEN: Ms. Drescher, if we can blow that up
8 since there is not much left.

9 Q. How did you respond to that?

10 A. Well, I said great. So you aren't wiring money personally.

11 Q. And what is Parnas's response?

12 A. He said I can't personally because of FEC - that would be
13 Federal Election Commission - lawsuits. My attorney won't
14 allow us to do it, otherwise it would have been done already.
15 I even tried to have my wife do it, but he didn't allow it
16 either. That's why I'm relying on other. Let me call them
17 now.

18 Q. Do you recall whether this exchange resulted in any
19 donations to your campaign?

20 A. I mean, I don't have specific recollection of the time.
21 Again, it's the end of the campaign and just donations are
22 pouring in from everywhere. It did result in a \$10,000 online
23 contribution to my campaign.

24 Q. Do you remember who that was from, the name on it, I should
25 say?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - direct

1 A. I don't recall the specific name, but I understood it to be
2 one of Mr. Parnas's colleagues.

3 MR. SCOTTEN: One second, your Honor?

4 THE COURT: Sure.

5 MR. SCOTTEN: I know it's already in evidence, we
6 might as well put it up for everybody. Can we put up
7 Government's 156.

8 THE COURT: Is this in already?

9 MR. SCOTTEN: I believe it is, your Honor. I believe
10 it was with the summary witness yesterday and is also subject
11 to a stipulation if it weren't, but I'm pretty sure it's in.

12 THE COURT: To be clear, 156 is admitted.

13 (Government's Exhibit 156 received in evidence)

14 Q. Looking at this, does it refresh your recollection of the
15 name?

16 A. It does. The name of the contribution came from Igor
17 Fruman.

18 Q. At the time you received this donation, whose money did you
19 believe you had received?

20 A. Well, we assume all donations that come into the campaign
21 are from the person that contributes.

22 Q. If you believed this donation came from another person,
23 what would you have done?

24 A. We would not have accepted it.

25 Q. Had you believed this donation came from someone who was

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 not a U.S. citizen or green cardholder, what would you have
2 done?

3 A. We certainly would not have accepted it.

4 Q. Just yes or no to this question. Did there ever come a
5 time that you came to doubt the source of this donation?

6 A. Yes.

7 Q. What did you do?

8 A. We sought the advice of counsel and we returned the check
9 of the \$10,000 to the United States Treasury.

10 MR. SCOTTEN: No further questions, your Honor.

11 THE COURT: Cross examination, Mr. Bondy.

12 CROSS-EXAMINATION

13 BY MR. BONDY:

14 Q. Good morning, Mr. Laxalt.

15 A. Good morning.

16 Q. We have never met and we have not spoken; correct?

17 A. Correct.

18 Q. Do you recall I sent your attorney a letter asking to speak
19 to you in advance of trial, sir?

20 A. That's correct.

21 Q. And you declined to meet with me; correct?

22 A. We did.

23 Q. Excuse me?

24 A. My attorney did, yes.

25 Q. Now, just to ask you where we left off with Mr. Roos, if a

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 person had given you a contribution in excess of \$10,000, you
2 said you would have returned it; is that right?

3 A. Yes.

4 Q. Now, in the beginning, you told us that the contribution
5 limits in Nevada are \$10,000 per person for the election cycle,
6 yes?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. Or \$10,000 per entity for the election cycle, yes?

9 A. Correct.

10 Q. And an entity, you mean a company like a limited liability
11 corporation or an S-corporation; right?

12 A. Yes. Any entity.

13 Q. So you know that people that own sometimes multiple
14 entities; correct?

15 A. That's correct.

16 Q. And thus, a donor could give you \$10,000 individually per
17 election cycle and \$10,000 for every LLC or entity that they
18 owned; right?

19 A. That's correct.

20 Q. Did you receive donations from people that had multiple
21 entities?

22 A. Yes, I did.

23 Q. And can we agree that those donations from those
24 individuals and their entities well exceeded \$10,000?

25 A. There was certainly people that fit in that category, yes.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 Q. Some of the people in that category, some of the donations
2 in that category exceeded \$100,000, yes?

3 A. I think that's probably true.

4 Q. And there is nothing unlawful about those donations to your
5 campaign; right?

6 A. Nothing unlawful, no.

7 Q. And you don't police them, you said, because you rely upon
8 the donors to provide accurate information on that website in
9 making the donation; right?

10 A. Correct.

11 Q. Do you take checks from people, also?

12 A. The campaign does, yes.

13 Q. And you've taken checks in excess of \$10,000 from that same
14 type of donor, the donor that donates individually and also has
15 multiple entities, yes?

16 A. I'm not sure that's correct. I mean, I don't personally
17 ever take checks anyway, they are sent to the finance team.
18 But I honestly don't know the answer, if they have to be
19 written separate \$10,000 checks or not.

20 Q. Now, you're a candidate, you've been the attorney general;
21 am I correct?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. And you still don't know the answer to that question about
24 election law in Nevada; right?

25 A. That's correct.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 Q. Now, with respect to the practice of bundling, bundling
2 involves a person raising money, as you said, among family or
3 friends or business associates and then putting those donations
4 together to give to you; right?

5 A. Certainly raising from all those people you suggested, yes,
6 but those people send it individually to the campaign.

7 Q. Well, that's not very bundled, is it? The definition of
8 bundling is taking these donations and putting them together
9 and then giving them to you so that a person who's agreed to
10 either raise money or donate money can get credit for having
11 bundled those donations and given them to you; is that fair to
12 say?

13 A. I mean, that may be your definition, but if we're talking
14 about whether there is actually a pile of checks that are put
15 together and sent in together, I'm suggesting that that's not
16 the way we did it. Somebody could round up people to help, but
17 they would all jump online individually or mail their checks in
18 individually. I'm not sure if that's something that you're
19 hanging on. I just wanted to be clear about that.

20 Q. Could they also speak to your fundraiser and say we're
21 going to bundle a number of donations and give you one check
22 that reflects the donations from all those identified donors,
23 if you know?

24 A. No, I don't think that's allowed.

25 Q. Are you sure?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 A. I think each individual and each entity have to write their
2 own individual check.

3 Q. Now, you say that it's a long time ago and you don't really
4 recall the specifics of the campaign; am I right?

5 A. I'm saying that, yes, it was an incredibly busy time and
6 there was an awful lot of activity.

7 Q. You raised \$11 million in your final weeks of campaigning;
8 correct?

9 A. We raised eleven throughout the entire campaign.

10 Q. And so it's safe to say an individual donation would not
11 have been particularly significant to you; is that right?

12 A. No question. It was just a lot of volume and a lot of
13 activity throughout the close of the campaign.

14 Q. So any individual contribution from a Nevadan would not
15 have been particularly significant to you; right?

16 A. I'm obviously grateful for everybody that's helping the
17 campaign and it's all important stuff, but if you're asking
18 whether I was following every single amount or check that came
19 in, no, I'm out campaigning and you have a finance team that's
20 tracking all that stuff.

21 Q. Now you were first interviewed by the FBI almost two years
22 ago in your home on October 29th, 2019; am I right?

23 A. That's correct.

24 Q. Would you agree you remembered the events of the year
25 before more clearly than you do now?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 A. Yeah, I think that the events weren't particularly clear in
2 that FBI interview either.

3 Q. You mean you didn't recall the events as you were telling
4 them to the FBI?

5 A. I told the FBI what I recalled at the time.

6 Q. And then there came a later meeting with the FBI in
7 September of 2021, am I correct, the prosecutors and maybe the
8 case agent?

9 A. I think that's correct. It was two years later, the
10 chronology, I guess just last month or so started speaking with
11 the government again.

12 Q. Do you recall discussing with the FBI in 2019 how you first
13 met Mr. Parnas?

14 A. I don't.

15 Q. Do you recall telling the FBI that you believed --

16 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection. There is no foundation. He
17 just said he does not recall.

18 THE COURT: Sustained.

19 Q. Isn't it true that you were introduced to Mr. Parnas by
20 your friend, Ron DeSantis?

21 A. To my recollection, I was introduced -- I met Parnas at
22 this event at the Trump Hotel.

23 Q. Do you remember telling the FBI that you had met Mr. Parnas
24 and Mr. Fruman through your friend, Ron DeSantis, who was
25 running for the governor of Florida at the same time you were

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 running for governor of Nevada?

2 A. I don't recall if that's what I told the FBI. I certainly
3 recall that they had said that they were supporting his
4 campaign. I think at some point in time I had compared notes
5 that these -- that Mr. Parnas had, in fact, been supportive of
6 his campaign, someone I should consider that would actually
7 help the campaign, but I don't recall either saying to the FBI
8 or, as I sit here today, I don't recall meeting him through
9 DeSantis. I recall meeting him at that particular event at the
10 Trump Hotel.

11 Q. And Ron DeSantis is a friend of yours; am I correct?

12 A. He is.

13 Q. Close friend?

14 A. He is a good friend, yes.

15 Q. Did you tell him you're testifying here today?

16 A. I have not spoken to anyone in anticipation of this
17 hearing.

18 Q. Did you tell Mr. DeSantis you were interviewed by the FBI
19 two years ago?

20 A. I have not discussed this at all with Mr. DeSantis.

21 Q. When was the last time you spoke to your friend, Governor
22 Ron DeSantis about anything?

23 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection. Relevance.

24 THE COURT: Overruled. You can answer.

25 A. I speak to him with regularity.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 Q. Has he ever spoken to you about Mr. Parnas?

2 A. We have not discussed, certainly in the last two years,
3 Mr. Parnas at all.

4 Q. Well, you didn't know Mr. Parnas before then, so you
5 couldn't talk to him about Mr. Parnas before that; right?

6 A. As I said, in the campaign, as we're closing the campaign,
7 I believe we spoke and compared notes on whether he, in fact,
8 was helping him. But that's my only recollection of speaking
9 about Mr. Parnas with Mr. DeSantis.

10 Q. Do you recall saying that Mr. Laxalt advised that -- I
11 should that say that DeSantis described Parnas and Fruman as
12 well known -- as donors in the political community in Florida?
13 Do you recall being told that by your friend, Governor
14 DeSantis?

15 A. I think that's probably accurate, that I checked in with,
16 will these guys really help with the fundraiser, are they
17 really people that are going to come through. As I said
18 before, people say all the time they're going to help with
19 campaigns and raise money. So I think I checked with him
20 through this process because they had name checked certain
21 politicians that they were helping and I believe somewhere
22 along the way, I said, did these guys help you, are they who
23 they say they are as far as saying they'll be able to help the
24 campaign.

25 Q. Do you recall stating that the meeting at this Trump Hotel

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 in Washington D.C. that you referred to as the first time that
2 you had seen Mr. Parnas, do you recall saying previously that
3 that meeting occurred sometime between the Pence event and
4 January of 2019?

5 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection to do you recall saying. No
6 objection to asking about the event itself.

7 Q. Isn't it true that that event occurred after the Pence
8 event, that the meeting at the Trump International Hotel
9 occurred after the Mike Pence event?

10 A. To the best of my recollection, again, this is -- all this
11 is such a jumbled time. To the best of my recollection, this
12 is the chronology that I met him at the hotel. Shortly
13 thereafter, that's where we started communicating about him
14 coming to the Pence event.

15 Q. Are you running for office in the future, do you have
16 something coming up?

17 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection. Relevance.

18 THE COURT: Sustained.

19 Q. Now, Mr. Parnas apparently told you that he would bundle
20 money or raise money for you and you began to chase him when
21 you weren't getting the money; is that correct?

22 A. I was certainly trying to follow up on the pledge, yes.

23 Q. And you have something called a chase list; right?

24 A. There is, as I said before, a pledge list of people that I
25 continue to follow up with to see when they're going to

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 contribute.

2 Q. And do you call it a chase list?

3 A. I'm sorry?

4 Q. Do you call it a chase list?

5 A. I think I call it a pledge list. You could call it a chase
6 list. I'm not really sure.

7 Q. If someone's not paid you that had made a pledge to you,
8 you said that, well, the final weeks of your campaign, you're
9 constantly reaching out for money, yes?

10 A. We are certainly trying to raise as much money at the end
11 of the campaign as possible, yes.

12 Q. And you're asking people where are the donations; am I
13 right?

14 A. That's correct.

15 Q. I think you testified on direct that you bombarded
16 Mr. Parnas and asked if he was going to support you or not;
17 right?

18 A. I continued to follow up to see if he was going to help my
19 campaign, yes.

20 Q. And on direct, you used the word bombarded; remember that
21 10 minutes ago?

22 A. I may have.

23 Q. Now, if I could invite your attention to Government Exhibit
24 906, please. I'm sorry, Government Exhibit 37. The date is
25 9/6. This is a WhatsApp chat; am I right?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 A. No, I believe it's texts.

2 Q. Texts, okay. Mr. Parnas tells you he's going to come out
3 and meet you; right?

4 A. Yes.

5 MR. BONDY: If I could get government 36, GX36 up.

6 Q. This is the following month, is this the same kind of chat
7 exchange between you and Mr. Parnas?

8 A. I'm sorry? Say again?

9 Q. Is this the same kind of chat exchange that we just looked
10 at, it's a month later?

11 A. I think it represents an exchange that we had, yes.

12 Q. And at line 3, 10/4/2018, you are checking in on our
13 potential date. That's a fundraising date or a luncheon date?

14 A. I guess I'm not sure. I think it's a fundraising date, but
15 it could be a -- from my recollection, this was continuing to
16 pin down the fundraising date.

17 Q. So 10/4/2018, you're pinning down fundraising.

18 MR. BONDY: Line 4, please.

19 Q. Following day, you ask again, can my folks start working on
20 a date, we need to get it pinned down as soon as possible with
21 how crazy the schedule is. Again asking for money?

22 A. Again, asking for him to set up this fundraiser, yes.

23 MR. BONDY: Next line, 5.

24 Q. I think the 12 or 13 will finalize soon. Do you know what
25 that means?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 A. I believe he is saying that those would be one of the two
2 dates that the fundraiser would be set for.

3 Q. Did you ever have a fundraiser on the 12th or the 13th with
4 Mr. Parnas?

5 A. We did not.

6 MR. BONDY: If you could take that down.

7 Q. Let's look at line 11, page 1, are we moving forward with
8 the 15th. Another request for money; right?

9 A. Money or a fundraiser, yes.

10 Q. A fundraiser with a lot of other people that would give you
11 more money?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. Page 2, line 13, sorry to keep pressing you, campaign
14 schedule is going crazy. Would you agree you were pressing
15 Mr. Parnas for money at this time?

16 A. I was certainly trying to lock in this event.

17 Q. And you're talking to other people about money, as well,
18 right, same time?

19 A. We had a giant schedule and trying to juggle an awful lot
20 of things, yes.

21 MR. BONDY: Let's continue down the page.

22 Q. You plan a dinner. Let's plan on dinner and we can stay in
23 touch on the Elko event, line 16; right? There is no answer to
24 that; correct?

25 A. Correct.

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 Q. Three days later, Lev, what's happening with you tomorrow.
2 Because you want to know if you're going to be able to see
3 Mr. Parnas and get money from him; right?

4 A. I don't recall about the specifics of what was going on
5 right here.

6 MR. LEFCOURT: You keep moving away from the
7 microphone.

8 THE WITNESS: I'm back. Sorry.

9 THE COURT: Please speak into the mic. Thank you.

10 Q. Line 20, you make reservations at a local establishment
11 named Piero's, a well known local joint not on the strip, yes?

12 A. Yes.

13 Q. You've been there before?

14 A. Yes.

15 Q. Many times?

16 A. Yes.

17 Q. You characterize it as a local spot, an absolute classic,
18 an old mob joint at line 24; right?

19 A. I did.

20 Q. Good food?

21 A. Great Italian food, yes.

22 MR. BONDY: Now let's proceed down the page.

23 Q. You have dinner, it's scheduled for 7:00 p.m.; right?

24 A. Yes.

25 Q. And at 9:53 p.m., Mr. Parnas is on his way to see you for

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 dinner still?

2 A. I think that's just a -- you know, we're three hours back,
3 so I think that's just a time-change deal.

4 MR. SCOTTEN: If we could make clear, if we can
5 stipulate all these times were converted to eastern daylight
6 time. They're all New York time, no matter what the time was
7 in Las Vegas.

8 THE COURT: To be clear, in Vegas, it's three hours
9 earlier than New York; is that right?

10 THE WITNESS: Yes, sir. Yes, your Honor.

11 MR. BONDY: Now I understand. Let's go down the page
12 to 3., little further, line 37.

13 Q. Mr. Parnas tells you -- and this is part of him attempting
14 to support you, would you agree -- hey Adam, I'm bringing Mayor
15 Giuliani next Sunday to Nevada to do a rally for you. Also,
16 let me know if you want him to do a robocall for you.

17 Mr. Parnas wrote that to you in text?

18 A. He did.

19 Q. You respond the following day by saying, Lev, we still
20 haven't received a single contribution. Can you check in on
21 that, please. Right?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. You still haven't received a penny from Mr. Parnas, and at
24 this point you had been chasing him and bombarding him for
25 days; right?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 A. Certainly continued to try to see if he was going to
2 deliver on his pledge, yes.

3 Q. 10/28, line 40, you say to him - this is about a week
4 before the election it - we really need you 20K Monday. We
5 needed to do all our buys last week. You wrote that to
6 Mr. Parnas?

7 A. Yes.

8 Q. And the buys you needed to do were for what, media time?

9 A. For all of the above, to close out our campaign. I'm
10 saying buy -- yeah, that could be digital buys, could be TV
11 buys.

12 Q. So you needed to do them the week before, but you're still
13 asking Mr. Parnas for \$20,000; right?

14 A. Yeah, you're spending right up until the final basically
15 24, 48 hours before the campaign.

16 Q. A few seconds later, you remember to thank him for pushing;
17 correct?

18 A. Yes.

19 MR. BONDY: Down the page.

20 Q. 10/29, you have your fundraiser reach out to him and ask
21 the person, hope the person can wire some money that day;
22 right?

23 A. Yes.

24 Q. Two days later, it's Halloween, and again, Lev, it's
25 Wednesday, the election's almost over, your person still hasn't

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 wired the \$20,000, can you check in on that for me, please.

2 She's not responding to Maisie. When you wrote that, that was
3 the truth; correct?

4 A. As far as I know, yes.

5 Q. November 1st, line 46. Another entreaty by you to
6 Mr. Parnas. Lev, the wires did not hit today, can you check
7 for today. To which Mr. Parnas replies by saying he's so sorry
8 and he doesn't understand; right?

9 A. That's what it says.

10 Q. And he confirms there are three people, one for \$10,000 and
11 two for \$5,000. He tells you he'll call them now; right?

12 A. Uh-huh.

13 Q. And this is consistent with your effort, as you described
14 it, to try to help to you raise funds; correct?

15 A. Correct.

16 Q. Could be three people, one meeting the \$10,000 election
17 cycle limit; right?

18 A. Yes.

19 Q. And the \$5,000 could be somebody just donating the maximum
20 to you for merely the primary election; right?

21 A. Yes. Or the general election, more likely.

22 Q. Well, either, general election?

23 A. Yup.

24 Q. Because the election cycle means both; right? A primary
25 five grand and then the general election, another five grand

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 for the ten in the election cycle?

2 A. Correct.

3 MR. BONDY: Down the page.

4 Q. Then you ask, great, so you aren't wiring money personally,
5 to which he tells you, line 49, I can't personally because of
6 our FEC lawsuits. My attorney won't allow us to do it,
7 otherwise it would have been done already. Do you know if
8 that's true?

9 A. I have no idea if that's true.

10 Q. Do you know if Mr. Parnas had an FEC lawsuit pending at
11 that time?

12 A. I don't know.

13 Q. Do you know if he even tried to have his wife do it?

14 A. I don't know.

15 Q. And so, line 51, just did it, thumbs up; right?

16 A. Correct.

17 Q. We had the GX156, if I could, please. This is the
18 contribution that you received from Igor Fruman to Laxalt for
19 Nevada; am I right?

20 A. Yes.

21 Q. And he's identified as Global Energy Producers? That's the
22 company he is working for; is that correct?

23 A. That's what it says.

24 Q. And this is not a donation from Lev Parnas to you, is it?

25 A. This is -- it says here on the screen a donation from Igor

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 Fruman coming from New York City.

2 Q. And, in fact, you've never received a donation from Lev
3 Parnas at all, have you?

4 A. Not that I'm aware of.

5 Q. Now, at the same time that you're chasing Mr. Parnas and
6 bludgeoning him for money on a daily basis, you believe him to
7 be an odd character, yes?

8 A. Certainly as this progressed.

9 Q. And a novice I think you've referred to him as, yes?

10 A. Yeah, I think I said that. I think I started coming to
11 that conclusion as this time went on.

12 Q. In fact, you even called him a clownish guy with a gold
13 chain; right?

14 A. I believe I said that, yes.

15 Q. Whom you assumed was a guy from Brooklyn with a home in
16 Florida; right?

17 A. I think that's the impression I had, yes.

18 Q. You thought at some point he was really just only there for
19 the pictures, yes?

20 A. I started to doubt whether he was legitimately going to
21 help the campaign.

22 Q. But at the same time that you're thinking he's a clownish
23 guy with a gold chain, some odd character from Brooklyn who has
24 a home in Florida, only there for the pictures, you're chasing
25 him around every day for money; right?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 A. I chased everybody on this pledge list pretty, you know,
2 consistently to close out campaigns.

3 Q. Were there other people that you looked down upon like
4 Mr. Parnas that you were chasing for money every day?

5 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection.

6 THE COURT: Sustained. Rephrase.

7 Q. Were there other people that you viewed as a novice or
8 there for the pictures or clownish or odd that you personally
9 view that way and yet you still chased for money?

10 A. You know, politics is filled with a lot of characters.
11 There is a lot of people that, you know, are involved that, you
12 know, just want to be part of the pictures and these sort of
13 things. So there are some people in the business that are in
14 for that reason.

15 Q. So the answer to my question is yes?

16 A. That's my answer.

17 Q. Do you remember my question?

18 A. I do. My answer is there are some people that are -- just
19 want to be in photos and say they're going to help a lot but
20 don't necessarily help.

21 Q. And are there people that you think of as clownish and odd
22 that you're still asking for money and taking money from?

23 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection. Asked and answered.

24 THE COURT: Sustained.

25 Q. Mr. Parnas never discussed cannabis with you, did he?

LAFcpar2

Laxalt - cross

1 A. Not that I recall.

2 Q. Well, you were opposed to marijuana legalization in the
3 2018 election cycle; right?

4 A. I was.

5 Q. You are still opposed to cannabis legalization, are you
6 not?

7 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection. Relevance.

8 THE COURT: Sustained.

9 Q. Your opponent in that election favored marijuana
10 legalization; am I right?

11 A. Yeah, my opponent received over \$700,000 from the marijuana
12 industry. He was the -- certainly the marijuana proponent
13 candidate.

14 Q. And the \$700,000 your opponent received from the marijuana
15 industry came in the form of donations from various companies;
16 right?

17 A. I don't know the source. I just know that there was a
18 story that tabulated all of it and I wouldn't know where it all
19 came from.

20 (Continued on next page)

21

22

23

24

25

LAFTPAR3

Laxalt - cross

1 BY MR. BONDY:

2 Q. There was a what that tabulated everything?

3 A. A story.

4 Q. A story in what, a paper?

5 A. I believe so.

6 Q. So you're relying on a story in a paper that you know
7 nothing about the underlying facts to tell us that your
8 opponent got \$700,000 from the cannabis industry, right?

9 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection as to form.

10 THE COURT: Sustained.

11 A. I mean I don't know that that's relevant. Let me take a
12 step back and just say my opponent was clearly the person that
13 supported marijuana, he's the candidate that a lot of people in
14 the marijuana industry were supporting his candidacy and hoping
15 he would win the race.

16 Q. And he won?

17 A. He did win the race, yes.

18 Q. And Mr. Duncan didn't win his race either, did he?

19 A. He did not.

20 Q. You went to a dinner with Mr. Duncan and also Mr. Parnas
21 and a couple of other people, am I correct?

22 A. Yes.

23 Q. Do you recall whether you told the FBI in 2019 that you had
24 eaten dinner with Mr. Duncan and Mr. Parnas?

25 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection, I'm not sure if that's -- I'm

LAFTPAR3

Laxalt - cross

1 not sure the basis on which it's being offered, but it sounds
2 like it's calling for hearsay rather than relying on underlying
3 fact.

4 THE COURT: Please rephrase the question.

5 BY MR. BONDY:

6 Q. Do you recall meeting with Mr. Duncan and Mr. Parnas -- as
7 you're sitting here obviously now, but did you discuss that
8 meeting at any point in time with the FBI?

9 A. I don't recall.

10 Q. How many meetings did you have with the members of the
11 prosecution team in preparing your testimony?

12 A. A handful.

13 Q. Five?

14 A. That's about right.

15 Q. And you had the meetings, the one in your home with the
16 FBI, correct?

17 A. Right.

18 Q. That was October 29 of 2019, yes?

19 A. Correct.

20 Q. Then you had this one in September of 2021 that told us
21 about a month ago, correct?

22 A. Correct.

23 Q. There were meetings in between, right?

24 A. No, I don't believe there were meetings in between.

25 Q. You told us you had a handful of meetings, so what are the

LAFTPAR3

1 other parts of hand? We have two here.

2 A. You seem to be suggesting between September of '19 and
3 2021, I don't think there were meetings in between, but there
4 were meetings that started September, that's where we get to
5 five. There was three or four meetings that happened in
6 anticipation of this trial.

7 Q. Are those in New York or in Nevada?

8 A. Most of them were me in Nevada.

9 Q. And you had a lawyer during the meetings, corrected?

10 A. Yes.

11 Q. You signed an agreement called a proffer letter?

12 A. Proffer letter? I don't know if I signed that.

13 Q. Did you sign any kind of agreement before those meetings
14 started with the government?

15 A. No.

16 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection, good faith basis.

17 THE COURT: Sustained.

18 Are you almost done? It's 11:30. We could break now.

19 MR. BONDY: We can break now.

20 THE COURT: Why don't we take a ten-minute break.

21 Folks, we'll take about ten minutes, and please leave
22 your notepads on your chairs and we'll resume in ten minutes.

23 (Jury not present)

24 THE COURT: Court will be in recess for ten minutes.

25 MR. ROOS: Your Honor, there's one small thing that I

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1 want to address with the Court after the witness leaves. We
2 could do it at the very end of the break, whichever your Honor
3 prefers.

4 THE COURT: We'll do it after the break.

5 MR. ROOS: All right.

6 (Recess taken)

7 THE COURT: Mr. Roos.

8 MR. ROOS: Yes, your Honor, thank you. The next
9 witness is Deanna Van Rensburg. I think she'll get called
10 probably before the lunch break.

11 So as your Honor knows, we passed up an immunity
12 application for her yesterday, and we'll defer to your Honor's
13 practice, but typically the order is signed with either the
14 attorney and the witness or just the witness. And then I will
15 certainly raise the immunity while she's testifying, but she
16 would already have the order.

17 So Ms. Van Rensburg is right in the hallway. We could
18 have her come in if your Honor thinks it's appropriate to say:
19 Did you get a subpoena? Are you invoking the Fifth? And then
20 sign the application.

21 THE COURT: That's fine. Is it better with a
22 representation from counsel?

23 MR. ROOS: We'll work on that, too.

24 THE COURT: Defense counsel, do you have any anything
25 to say about either?

LAFTPAR3

1 MR. BONDY: I defer to the court.

2 MR. ROOS: I can call her lawyer if that works for
3 your Honor.

4 THE COURT: Based on a representation from the
5 witness's counsel, I believe that's sufficient for me to accept
6 that as basis for the witness to invoke, and therefore I would
7 sign the order.

8 MR. ROOS: Okay.

9 THE COURT: Unless you think it's better to do it with
10 the witness, I'm fine with that, too.

11 MR. SCOTTEN: I don't want to take too much time, but
12 I think technically you should do it with the witness because
13 it's a springing immunity order, because it doesn't take effect
14 until she invokes. So the representation that she would may
15 not do it, and we don't want her to invoke for the first time
16 before the whole jury.

17 THE COURT: We can do with the witness outside the
18 presence of the jury. We could do it now, if you would like.

19 MR. ROOS: I think it would be great if we could do it
20 now.

21 THE COURT: Sure.

22 Good morning, please come up to the witness stand
23 here.

24 MR. ROOS: Your Honor, this is Ms. Van Rensburg's
25 attorney. If she needs to speak, I could offer her my

LAFTPAR3

1 microphone.

2 THE COURT: Would you go to the podium?

3 MS. KUDMAN: Thank you, your Honor.

4 THE COURT: Would you please -- before you sit down,
5 you can remove your mask now that you're in the plexiglass box.

6 And you are Ms. Van Rensburg?

7 MS. JANSE VAN RENSBURG: Yes.

8 (Deanna Van Rensburg sworn)

9 THE COURT: Please be seated.

10 Please state your name for the record.

11 MS. JANSE VAN RENSBURG: Deanna Janse Van Rensburg.

12 THE COURT: I'm Judge Oetken. Did you receive a
13 subpoena to testify from the government in this trial?

14 MS. JANSE VAN RENSBURG: Yes, sir.

15 THE COURT: And would you indicate who you are,
16 please?

17 MS. KUDMAN: Tama Beth Kudman, attorney for
18 Ms. Van Rensburg.

19 THE COURT: Ms. Van Rensburg, did you speak with your
20 lawyer about the issue of testifying pursuant to that subpoena?

21 MS. JANSE VAN RENSBURG: Yes.

22 THE COURT: And after speaking with your attorney,
23 have you determined that you will refuse to testify on the
24 basis of the privilege against self-incrimination?

25 MS. JANSE VAN RENSBURG: Yes.

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1 THE COURT: All right. Is that sufficient?

2 MR. ROOS: Yes, your Honor. And the government would
3 make its application as stated forth in the written application
4 that we submitted yesterday.

5 THE COURT: All right. I'm going to sign the order
6 based on that.

7 Thank you, you may step down.

8 MS. JANSE VAN RENSBURG: Thank you, your Honor.

9 MR. BONDY: Your Honor --

10 THE COURT: Before the jury is brought back into the
11 courtroom, Mr. Bondy, did you want to raise anything else?

12 MR. BONDY: Yes. Before I continue my
13 cross-examination of Adam Laxalt, I want to confirm that the
14 Court will allow me to question him about misrepresenting or
15 omitting from his bar application, the fact that he was
16 involved in an assault. I think we had a ruling before. I
17 think that's the act that I'm allowed to cross-examine on.

18 MR. SCOTTEN: So we agree. Obviously we're not sure
19 whether that happened or not, but we think there's a good faith
20 basis to ask whether it happened. I actually don't think at
21 this point there is grounds for that cross because in order to
22 attack a witness's credibility you have to actually be
23 attacking their credibility, that so to say, the contention has
24 to be they fabricated something or biased their testimony.

25 Unless I'm mistaken, I don't think Mr. Bondy actually

LAFTPAR3

1 thinks -- you don't attack a witness to attack a witness. If
2 the contention is they said something that is not credible and
3 therefore they want the jury to question their credibility --
4 you can't attack the credibility of someone whose credibility
5 you're not asking about. Maybe Mr. Bondy does think there was
6 something inaccurate said, but I don't see what the basis of
7 attacking his credibility would be at this point.

8 MR. BONDY: I think the basis is frankly what I'm
9 looking at, which is document that the jury doesn't have, the
10 government does as well, but there are a number of
11 inconsistencies in the things that he said to the FBI and
12 things that he said to me and said to the jury. I do want to
13 ask him about that. I would like to probe that, if I may, and
14 that was the ruling that we had.

15 THE COURT: I'll allow it. That is the one thing that
16 I allowed. The others I'm not going to.

17 MR. BONDY: I'm not going to cross-examine on the
18 other three items.

19 THE COURT: Thank you. We can bring the witness in
20 and then the jury.

21 (Continued on next page)

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25

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

1 (Jury present)

2 MR. BONDY: Your Honor, may I continue?

3 THE COURT: Yes, Mr. Bondy.

4 MR. BONDY: Thank you.

5 BY MR. BONDY:

6 Q. Mr. Laxalt, we talked about the \$10,000 limit for corporate
7 contributions before the break. Do you recall those questions?

8 A. Yes.

9 Q. And would you agree that a corporation that has foreign
10 shareholders can still make a \$10,000 contribution to your
11 campaign?

12 A. I'm not sure about that. I don't believe so.

13 Q. A publicly traded company where people purchase shares say
14 through e-Trade or something, you don't think a publicly traded
15 company with thousands of shareholders could donate money to
16 your campaign?

17 A. Yes, that's allowed.

18 Q. And you could have thousands of foreign shareholders that
19 are part of that company and the company still makes a
20 contribution to your campaign no problem, right?

21 A. Honestly, I never addressed the issue, but I am just not
22 sure.

23 Q. You were the Attorney General of the State of Nevada at
24 some point, correct, the top law enforcement guy in the State
25 of Nevada, were you not?

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

1 A. I'm not disputing it, I'm just not categorically positive.
2 It's just I never thought of it. It's never come up.

3 Q. You agree there's some aspect of election law or campaign
4 financing that you have not thought of or hasn't come up,
5 right?

6 A. Absolutely.

7 Q. You told us that there were times that if you had received
8 an excess donation from somebody you would return it to the
9 donor, correct?

10 A. That was the practice of the campaign, as far as I'm aware,
11 yes.

12 Q. And because it was the practice of the campaign, safe to
13 say, this had occurred before, people had over-donated to your
14 campaign previously, right?

15 A. I think it happens, yes.

16 Q. And that's not criminal, it could well be negligent or
17 mistaken or innocent, right?

18 A. Typically it is just negligent.

19 Q. In these cases, that kind of behavior is typically
20 non-criminal, right?

21 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection, calling for legal
22 conclusions, your Honor.

23 THE COURT: Sustained.

24 Q. Now we were talking a little about marijuana, and you had
25 opposed marijuana legalization during the election, right?

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

1 A. I was known to be not supportive of the legalization of --

2 MR. LEFCOURT: Sorry, I couldn't hear the answer.

3 THE COURT: Could you speak a little more closely and
4 repeat the answer?

5 A. I was certainly known to not be supportive of the expansion
6 of recreational marijuana in my state.

7 Q. When you say "known," that was your public position. You
8 were publicly known to oppose cannabis expansion in the State
9 of Nevada, right?

10 A. Recreational, yes.

11 Q. It would, therefore, make no sense for anyone to attempt to
12 use your influence to assist them in a cannabis venture, right?

13 MR. SCOTTEN: Objection.

14 A. It would not makes any sense.

15 MR. SCOTTEN: Calls for speculation.

16 MR. BONDY: It's him. I'm asking about him.

17 THE COURT: I think you answered. You can answer.

18 A. I certainly wasn't the candidate that was supporting the
19 expansion of recreational marijuana.

20 Q. And if someone had attempted to use your influence to
21 assist them in a cannabis venture, it would not work, right?

22 A. It would not.

23 Q. Never?

24 A. I would be the wrong candidate to be supportive of that.

25 Q. Have you ever spoken to Igor Fruman before in your life?

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

1 A. As I said before, every time -- the few times that I met
2 with Lev he would have a couple of people with him. Lev was
3 always the guy that spoke the most and the person that
4 obviously I stayed in touch with as far as supporting my
5 campaign. So I spoke with a number of his associates, but
6 unfortunately I just can't connect names with the people.

7 Q. Lev was also the person that was tied to Mr. Giuliani. He
8 met you with Mr. Giuliani that evening, right?

9 A. Correct.

10 Q. And you did want Giuliani's support in your candidacy,
11 correct?

12 A. We talked about my race. He already said that he was
13 supporting, in general, my race.

14 Q. Now there's been some evidence presented in the case in the
15 form of messages with Mr. Fruman speaking to another person
16 about how they have to get \$250,000 to their guy in Nevada,
17 more or less. Let me ask you: Did you ever receive \$250,000
18 from Mr. Fruman?

19 A. No, sir.

20 Q. You would have remembered if you did, right?

21 A. Not to my knowledge.

22 Q. You never had any kind of pledge or agreement with
23 Mr. Fruman to contribute \$250,000 either, did you?

24 A. Not that I recall.

25 Q. And certainly not to a cannabis venture, right?

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

- 1 A. No.
- 2 Q. And anyone who said that was true would be mistaken, right?
- 3 A. That's correct.
- 4 Q. Do you know if Mr. Fruman is a United States citizen or
- 5 not?
- 6 A. I have no idea.
- 7 Q. And now I just want to ask you, there's been some question
- 8 about it, when were you admitted to practice law?
- 9 A. I was first admitted 2005-ish.
- 10 Q. State of Nevada?
- 11 A. No, the State of Illinois.
- 12 Q. Did you apply for the bar? Was there an application that
- 13 you had to file with the bar examiners to be admitted to
- 14 practice?
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. And is that called a Character and Fitness Committee in
- 17 Illinois, if you know?
- 18 A. I don't have any specific recollection.
- 19 Q. Did you get admitted in the State of Nevada as well at some
- 20 point thereafter?
- 21 A. Yes, sir.
- 22 Q. What year was that?
- 23 A. 2010 or '11.
- 24 Q. Are you admitted to practice in any other states?
- 25 A. I'm admitted to practice in the District of Columbia as

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

1 well.

2 Q. Did you file an application to do that as well or did you
3 waive your admission?

4 A. I believe both.

5 Q. And did you fill out those applications completely and
6 accurately?

7 A. To the best of my knowledge, yes.

8 Q. Did you omit anything?

9 A. Not to my knowledge.

10 Q. Did you get convicted of an assault when you were younger?

11 A. I have been very open about my teenage drinking and
12 problems, and fortunately getting my sobriety, which I still
13 have for over 20 years. And I don't recall specific incidents
14 when I was a teenager. Like I said, I have been very open
15 about it, my entire state knows that's part of my story, but
16 the particular incident you're talking about was an underage
17 drinking party, and I was certainly drinking and don't have any
18 specific recollection of what happened.

19 Q. Were you arrested?

20 A. I don't recall the specifics of the incident.

21 Q. Did you have any interaction with the police when you were
22 a teenager drinking at a party underage?

23 A. As I said, the police came to a party, and that's my
24 recollection of the incident.

25 Q. Do you recall being handcuffed?

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

1 A. I don't recall any specifics of the incident.

2 Q. Do you recall whether you saw a judge in that case or not?

3 A. I don't.

4 Q. Do you recall whether you had a sentence imposed upon you
5 of any sort?

6 A. Not to my recollection.

7 Q. But you do recall having some kind of an interaction
8 involving underage drinking and an assault?

9 A. I don't recall an assault, but I do recall an underage
10 drinking incident.

11 Q. And you did not disclose that to the bar?

12 A. To my knowledge, I did disclose everything truthfully and
13 honestly to the bar.

14 Q. Did you disclose the drinking incident when you were
15 underage to the bar examiners?

16 A. To my knowledge, I disclosed everything on my bar exam. If
17 I forgot anything, it was certainly an accident, but as I said,
18 I don't know what I put in that application. Obviously it was
19 a long time ago.

20 Q. Have you had occasion to check what you put into the
21 application in Illinois or in Nevada or Washington DC in the
22 past couple of years since this issue arose?

23 A. I have not.

24 Q. Have you known that this has been an issue that has arisen
25 in the public in the past?

LAFTPAR3

Lexalt - cross

1 A. Yeah, it's an issue that came up in the closing weeks of my
2 campaign along with tons of other attacks and things that were
3 flying down the pipe in the media, and I have no other -- I
4 didn't do anything beyond that. As I said, I finished the
5 campaign, and you lose the race and we moved on.

6 Q. Any kind of omission would just be a simple mistake if in
7 fact there was an omission, right?

8 A. I certainly filled out the application truthfully and
9 honestly. And again, everybody knows my sobriety, everyone
10 knows it's part of my story, and if I forgot something when I
11 was a teenager it was certainly an accidental omission.

12 Q. So good and honest people can certainly make mistakes,
13 right?

14 A. Absolutely.

15 Q. They can make omissions, yes?

16 A. Certainly. It happens.

17 MR. BONDY: Thank you, Mr. Laxalt.

18 THE COURT: Thank you, Mr. Bondy.

19 MR. LEFCOURT: No question, your Honor.

20 MR. SCOTTEN: No redirect, your Honor, thank you.

21 THE COURT: Thank you, sir, you may step down.

22 And the government may call your next witness.

23 MR. ROOS: Thank you, your Honor. I'm going to offer
24 several exhibits, all of which are pursuant to stipulations
25 previously entered into evidence. So I'm going to offer the