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     UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
     EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
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     UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
                                           18 CR 204 (NGG)
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                                           U. S. COURTHOUSE
     versus
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                                           225 Cadman Plaza East
                                           Brooklyn, New York
    CLARE BRONFMAN,
 5
                                          September 30th, 2020
                   DEFENDANT.
                     ----X 11:00 a. m.
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              TRANSCRIPT OF CRIMINAL CAUSE FOR SENTENCING
                 BEFORE THE HONORABLE NICHOLAS GARAUFIS
 8
                      UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE
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                              APPEARANCES
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     Representing the Government:
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     SETH DUCHARME
     UNITED STATES ATTORNEY
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     EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK
     271 CADMAN PLAZA EAST
1.3
    BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11201
     BY: TANYA HIJJAR, ESQ.
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         MARK LESKO, ESQ.
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    Representing the Defendant:
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    New York, New York 10169
     BY: DUNCAN LEVIN, ESQ.
20
    ALSO PRESENT: SPECIAL AGENT MICHAEL WENIGER, FBI
21
                   ANGELICA DANIZ, USPO
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    Reported by:
     LISA SCHMID, CCR, RMR
23
    OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER
     225 Cadman Plaza East, Room N377
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    Brooklyn, New York 11201
     Proceedings recorded by mechanical stenography. Transcript
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     produced by Computer-Aided Transcription.
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               THE COURT: Please be seated.
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               COURTROOM DEPUTY: Criminal Cause for Sentencing,
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     United States versus Bronfman.
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               Counsel, just state your appearances.
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               MS. HAJJAR: Good morning, Your Honor.
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               Tanya Hajjar and Mark Lesko for the Government, and
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     we're joined by Special Agent Mike Weniger of the Federal
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     Bureau of Investigation.
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               THE COURT: Yes. Good morning.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: Good morning, Your Honor.
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               Ronald Sullivan and Duncan Levin here on behalf of
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     Ms. Clare Bronfman, who is present.
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               THE COURT: Good morning.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: Good morning.
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               THE COURT: Good morning, Ms. Bronfman.
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               MR. LEVIN: Good morning, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: Please be seated.
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               Before we begin with the proceedings, let me say
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     that we have made every effort, as you can tell, to establish
     some protocols and maintain protocols for social distancing,
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     wearing masks, and attempting to use this particular courtroom
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     in a way that will minimize any risk to the participants, to
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     the court staff, to the members of the public, members of the
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     press. And we have established two overflow courtrooms across
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     the hall and we are maintaining social distancing in those
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locations as well and we're also using the cafeteria seating area and maintaining social distancing there and the use of masks. So we are doing everything that we can, in view of the defendant's wish to conduct this sentencing in person, in the courthouse.

And I'd like to thank our staff, in particular, our district executive and our clerk of court, and the entire staff for arranging this in a way that would be protective of everyone's good health and well-being.

So, let's proceed with the sentencing.

The first step to be taken is for the Court to identify the sentencing materials, and I'll go over the sentencing materials.

Oh, and at some point, we will take -- we will take a break at some point along the way at around lunchtime, I think, for about half an hour and at other times when the parties believe that we should take a break. In other words, if you need a break, let me know, because this sentencing is going to take a good deal of time to complete; and I'm more than willing to take a break as required.

So, counsel, do let me know.

The sentencing materials the Court has reviewed for Ms. Bronfman's sentencing include a Pre-sentence Investigation Report, dated December 13th, 2019; an addendum to the Pre-sentence Report, dated March 24th, 2020; defendant's

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     sentencing memorandum and character letters ascribing to the
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     defendant's good character, which were submitted on
     August 28th of 2020; the Government's sentencing memorandum,
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     dated September 14th, 2020; defendant's replied memorandum,
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     dated September 22nd, 2020; and a letter from the defense with
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     attachments of September 28th, 2020.
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               Let me just double-check something.
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               There was a -- the defense filed objections to the
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     Pre-sentence Report. I'm looking for the probation officer.
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               MS. DANIZ:
                          I'm right here, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT:
                          Oh, good morning. Could you just state
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     your appearance?
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               MS. DANIZ: Sure. Angelica Daniz from United States
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     Probation.
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               THE COURT: And when was the -- that was before your
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     amendment to the Pre-sentence Report, because it responded to
     the -- it responded to the defense objections?
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               MS. DANIZ: Correct, Your Honor.
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               MS. HAJJAR: Your Honor, it was dated February 10th,
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     2020, prior to the addendum.
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               MS. DANIZ: Thank you.
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               THE COURT: All right. So, the Court also took that
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     into account.
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               So, is there anything else that is part of the
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     actual sentencing cache of materials?
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               MR. LEVIN: No, Your Honor.
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               MS. HAJJAR: Not from the Government, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: All right. At this point the Court will
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     go over the calculation of the offense level and guidelines
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            Before I do, are there other objections to the
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     Pre-sentence Investigation Report as it was amended by the
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     Probation Department?
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               I'll hear from the defense about that.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you, Your Honor.
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               Everything we have outlined in writing already.
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               THE COURT: All right. Thank you.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: Very well.
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               THE COURT: And the Court has considered all of the
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     objections which have not otherwise been granted, and it
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     affirms the report as amended.
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               And you have your objection.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: Very well, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: Thank you. Thank you, sir.
               Okay. I'm going to go over the calculation of the
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     Guidelines.
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               The Probation Department recommends that I calculate
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     the total offense level for Ms. Bronfman as a 17.
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               Ms. Bronfman challenges two aspects of the Probation
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     Department's suggested calculation. First, she argues that a
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     three-level increase pursuant to Sentencing Guidelines Section
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2L1.1(b)(2)(A) is not warranted because the offense of conviction on Count 1 did not, quote, involve the smuggling, transporting, or harboring of six or more unlawful aliens, end quote. Second, she argues that a two-level increase pursuant to Sentencing Guideline Section 3B1.1(c) is not warranted because her role in the offense of conviction on Count 1 was not as, quote, an organizer, leader, manager, or supervisor in criminal activity, end quote. Ms. Bronfman suggests that the total correct offense level is a 16.

The Government agrees with Ms. Bronfman that the

two-level enhancement for holding a leadership role is not warranted, but agrees with the Probation Department that a three-level enhancement for participation in the smuggling of six similar aliens is appropriate. And so the only issue is on that second element, which would increase the calculation.

Is there anything that has not been stated in your submissions that the Court should take into account now?

Anything further on that?

MR. LEVIN: No, Your Honor. The only objection that is outstanding is that one three-level enhancement.

THE COURT: Okay. All right. Thank you.

The Government agrees with Ms. Bronfman that the two-level enhancement for holding a leadership role is not warranted, but agrees with the Probation Department that a three-level enhancement for participation in the smuggling of

six or more aliens is appropriate. 1 2 And I agree with Ms. Bronfman that the total offense 3 level is a 16, but for the following reasons: Under Count 1, 4 Ms. Bronfman pleaded quilty to conspiracy to conceal and 5 harbor illegal aliens for financial gain. Sentencing 6 Guidelines 2L1.1(a)(3) provides that the base offense level 7 for this offense of conviction is 12. At issue is whether I should apply either or both of 8 the two possible enhancements to the base offense level, a 9 10 three-level enhancement under Sentencing Guideline 11 2L1.1(b)(2)(A) or a two-level enhancement under Sentencing 12 Guideline 3B1.1(c). 1.3 I decline to apply the three-level enhancement for 14 smuggling or harboring six or more aliens. 15 Ms. Bronfman pleaded quilty to the offense of 16 conviction in Count 1 based on charged conduct concerning Jane 17 Doe 12. As the Probation Department described in the PSR, 18 evidence presented at the trial of Ms. Bronfman's 19 co-defendant, Keith Raniere, suggested that Ms. Bronfman also 20 participated in conspiracies to conceal and harbor five 21 additional noncitizens. 2.2. While the law is clear that the Court may consider 23

this evidence in determining a defendant's sentence, see
United States v. Cacace, C-A-C-A-C-E, 796 F 3d, 176, Second
Circuit, 2015.

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I decline to consider it for the narrow issue of determining whether to apply this particular offense level enhancement under the Guidelines. Because the charged conduct to which Ms. Bronfman pleaded encompassed only one victim,

Jane Doe 12, I will not apply the enhancement as set forth in Sentencing Guideline 2L1.1(b)(2)(A). I also declined to apply the two-level enhancement under 3B1.1(c) on the theory that

Ms. Bronfman acted in a leadership, manager, or a supervisory role.

Section 3B1.1(c) of the Guidelines indicate that this enhancement applies when the defendant was, quote, the organizer, leader, manager, or supervisor of one or more other participants, end quote, in the offense of conviction.

The commentary to the guidelines specifies:

"Noncitizens who are smuggled, transported, or harbored by the defendant are, quote, not considered participants, end quote, for purposes of this enhancement, unless they play an active role in the smuggling, transporting, or harboring of additional noncitizens."

I agree with the Government's characterization of Jane Doe 12 as a victim of the offense of conviction rather than a co-participant in the offense. Accordingly, I find that Ms. Bronfman did not have a supervisory role in the commission of this offense, insofar that she did not manage or direct the conduct of other participants in the conspiracy to

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conceal and harbor Jane Doe 12. I, therefore, find that the adjusted offense level on Count 1 is 12.

Moving on to Count 2, under Count 2, Ms. Bronfman pleaded guilty to fraudulent use of identification. Ms. Bronfman, the Government, and the Probation Department are all in agreement regarding the calculation of the offense level on Count 2; and I agree with your reading of the guidelines.

Subject to Sentencing Guidelines 2B1.1(a)(2), the base offense level for this offense is six. An eight-level enhancement applies because the loss amount exceeds \$95,000. An additional two-level enhancement applies because a substantial part of the fraudulent scheme was committed from outside the United States. I, therefore, find that the adjusted offense level for Count 2 is 16.

We have two counts of conviction, one with an adjusted offense level of 12 and the other with an adjusted offense level of 16. According to Section 3D1.4 of the guidelines, which addresses multiple counts of conviction, I must take the highest offense level and increase it by two levels based on the unit calculations under this provision.

The highest adjusted offense level is 16, and a two-level increase yields a subtotal of 18. Because Ms. Bronfman pleaded guilty, she is entitled to a two-level reduction for acceptance of responsibility. A two-level reduction from 18 leaves us with a total offense level of 16.

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               Having determined the total offense level, I will
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     now calculate the Guidelines range.
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               Ms. Bronfman's Criminal History Category is 1, and
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     her total offense level is 16. Using the Guidelines table, I
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     calculate the applicable guidelines range as 21 to 27 months
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     in the custody of the Attorney General.
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               Is there any comment?
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               MS. HAJJAR: Not from the Government.
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               Thank you, Your Honor.
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               MR. LEVIN: Not from the defense.
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               Thank you, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: All right. So just to review the
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     calculations, in Count 1, the base offense level is a 12; and
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     adjusted offense level is, therefore, 12. On Count 2, the
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     base offense level is a six, with eight levels added for the
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     specific offense characteristic and two levels added for --
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     because a substantial part of the fraudulent scheme was
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     committed from outside the United States, for a total adjusted
     offense level of 16. And once we use the multiple-count
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     adjustment, the combined adjusted offense level is an 18, less
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     two levels for acceptance of responsibility.
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               The Pre-sentence Investigation Report should be
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     revised to reflect those changes.
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               MS. DANIZ: Yes, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT:
                           Thank you very much.
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The next step in sentencing is to hear from victims who wish to speak and, while there may be victims here who are not going to speak in person, there are three victims who have recorded their victim statements and we will now hear -- we will hear from them first by video transmission. Now, with regard, though, to those victims who wish to speak in person -- we have one of those individuals who's not yet arrived. We're going to go on and hear from everyone else. And you'll let me know when the other victim arrives, please. MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor. THE COURT: So as to those who wish to speak in person, I'm limiting you to ten minutes per person. Mr. Reccoppa, my courtroom deputy, has a timer which he will use. At the end of nine minutes, if the victim is still speaking, you will hear a sound and at the end of ten minutes, you will hear two sounds, I think, at which point please just finish your sentence, and your statement will be completed. And we have a court reporter who will take everything down. The first video is of Sarah Edmondson. MS. EDMONDSON: Hi there. My name is Sarah Edmondson, and I have known Clare Bronfman for the entire 12 years that I was involved in NXVIM. I'm here today because I want to reiterate something that's very important.

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When I came forward with what had happened to me, Clare did not call me, as you may expect a friend or a compatriot in a so-called humanitarian organization might. Instead, she flew to Vancouver and used her connections and her resources and her Bronfman name to work with the VPD, the Vancouver Police Department, to try to get me arrested on completely trumped-up charges.

This was probably one of the most scary moments of my entire life. Thank God it was proven very quickly that this was complete made up. And the \$12,000 it cost me to hire a criminal defense lawyer to protect myself is one thing, but the stress and the trauma that that did to me and my entire family is irreparable.

Never mind on top of that, the lies that she told the community, people who came to our wedding, that I was a thief, that I was a criminal, people who still to this day do not talk to me because they believe those lies.

The thing that concerns me the most is that at this point, as far as I know, Clare Bronfman does not renounce

Keith Raniere and the fact that she thinks that he is a good man and is still willing to vouch for him.

I'm always going to be looking over my shoulder, if that's the case, because as soon as she gets out prison, she will use her money to continue to attack people, to continue to use her money as a weapon.

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Keith and Clare, neither of these people are humanitarians. If Clare was truly a humanitarian as she claimed to be, she would be looking to see how all of these women, all of the victims, how their stories were true, instead of trying to attack them and destroy them. Please keep in mind that if Clare Bronfman had her way that I would be in prison right now, that I would be in prison and that my children would not have a mother with them to raise them. That's what would happen if Clare Bronfman had her way. Please keep this in mind. Thank you very much for your time. THE COURT: All right. The next video presentation will be Ivy Nevares. MS. NEVARES: Your Honor, my name is Ivy Nevares. Thank you for providing this space for me to share this statement I've prepared for Clare Bronfman's sentencing hearing. Clare came to ESP at the height of her privilege, but sorely lacking as a woman in her early 20s, uneducated, socially inept, insecure, and practically friendless. met her, she was timid, but she was kind. No one would ever guess she was an heiress to the 'Seagrams fortune, not by the way she looked or interacted with others. Like many of us, Keith Raniere exploited her

vulnerabilities, yet because of her wealth, he took her for a

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much longer ride, giving her another position, illegitimate status, and inclusion in a select group she so desperately craved but hardly deserved. She never earned the power she was given, not by title, skill, or performance, and in return, she used her power to abuse others, especially those of us in Raniere's, quote, inner circle.

I would like to address her directly for a few moments.

Clare, after all the evidence, after countless victims whom you considered amongst your friends, how can you remain loyal to your Vanguard? No matter how hard you try, you cannot be principled if the person you follow is a sociopath and a convicted criminal.

Your Honor, when Raniere raised Clare to power in 2009, she began using her position to exploit me through indentured servitude. As soon as Clare supplanted Nancy Salzman as NXIVM's de factor decision-maker on the executive board, Clare lowered my pay, removed what insignificant privileges the company afforded me, and raised my rent, all punishments for my supposed ethical breach against Raniere. In truth, she punished me for disobeying him. Salzman would later tell me Clare did these things of her own volition.

Twice she caused me to go into financial debt, together with Raniere, Salzman, and Kathy Russell. She subjected me to forced labor as soon as she was given the

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chance. She also participated in the myriad of lies told to me to keep me from defecting.

My starting salary with ESP was \$36,000 a year. This was back in 2002. By the time I stopped working for the company in early 2017, I never earned more than \$48,000 a year. I was NXIVM's hardest-working employee, always filling two or more roles at once and sometimes working up to 20 hours a day, yet I was provided no benefits, no health insurance, no 401K, no workers' comp, nothing. The only so-called benefit was a 5-dollar credit per hour worked that could only apply towards EPS's curriculum. Instead of recognizing Raniere's and others' abuses against me and righting them, Clare enacted her own with exceptional cruelty.

She had me teach two intensive trainings at her Fiji resort, where students paid \$20,000 each, yet she didn't pay me a cent for the work that I performed. I had to pay over \$5,000 out-of-pocket to even be able to teach the second training because she refused to take care of my travel and immigration expenses. This happened after she threatened to have another person teach the curriculum that had taken me years to write and develop. It's important to note she leveraged that entire situation before I was fully recovered from an emergency shoulder surgery that I, of course, paid for out-of-pocket.

This is how she treated NXIVM's most loyal workers:

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Demanding, underpaying, or not paying at all. But when it came time to put down hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars for lawsuits and PR firms, Clare would do so without a second thought.

One of the most cruel and reckless things she ever did was hire me to care for a woman who I later learned had suffered a psychotic break during JNESS training that Clare was attending at the time. She also tasked the now-former Dr. Brandon Porter to care for her. She, Raniere, and Salzman were frightened that if that woman was taken to the hospital, it would implicate the company in wrongdoing, and that was not the first case.

I took 12-hour night shifts for a week, caring for this women. I still remember running across a field after she suddenly took off in the middle of the night. I thrashed through two feet of snow, screaming into the phone as I asked Salzman what to do, horrified of the possibility that she might kill herself and others by running into traffic.

Clare risked Porter losing his medical license by not taking her to a hospital. She risked this woman's life by not allowing her to be cared for by trained professionals. She risked my life by putting me in an impossible situation, knowing I needed the money.

While payment for these services is a most trivial point by comparison, it demonstrates her callousness and

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She paid me the going rate for babysitting a punitive nature. child, \$12 an hour. I protested then, citing my measly 17-an-hour wage as a minimum standard, but she refused to pay the difference because of my so-called ethical breach. Your Honor, Clare could have led the company toward just rule. She had the power and she had the chance. could have done so much good. Instead, she and her sister, Sara became Raniere's primary enablers. I'm not alone in my belief that without their money, he could have never harmed as many people as he did. Clare claims that she did not bankroll Raniere or his organizations, that she did not know what was going on behind the scenes, and that she bears no responsibility in what he did. Again, I would like to address her. Clare, you paid millions of dollars to him. you never asked what he did with it, you're still responsible for exponentially amplifying his abuses. You were and are the propellent to his unyielding fire. Not knowing doesn't relieve us of responsibility. Remember that? So why do you refuse to see your part in all of these damages?

In addition to exploiting many of us and facilitating Raniere's trafficking of women, she has crippled helpless others through vindictive litigiousness. She even sacrificed her relationship with her beloved father. I ask Clare: Would he be proud of you, knowing that you are going

to prison for following the very monster he was trying to protect you from?

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I would like the Court to know I see no indication that Clare has any remorse about what she's done, not her guilty plea, not her funding Raniere's defense and cohorts, not the letter to the Court, nor her recent filings claiming she has been unjustly targeted because of her wealth. If I may, again, address her.

Clare, you are being held accountable for your crimes. Sylvie wasn't your only victim. I'm one of them, as are a number of women whom I spoke with and heard their direct account of how you exploited them until the government forced you to stop.

The fact that you want to persuade the Court and the public to think otherwise demonstrates you have no remorse whatsoever over what you've done, over what you're still doing, and over what you will continue to do if you keep supporting and funding Raniere.

In our last face-to-face before I left Albany in 2018, I asked Clare point-blank, "Clare, you've spent your entire life and resources defending Raniere. Are you willing to spend the rest of your life defending him?" Not a moment had passed before she turned and said, "Absolutely."

When I read her last court filing, where her lawyers adamantly urged the Court to prohibit other victims from

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speaking at this hearing, I took it as a statement of a woman who refuses at all costs to see and hear the extent of the damage she has done.

Your Honor, all of Raniere's organizations preyed

upon well-intentioned people, begging them with promises of success and mobility. He hasn't stopped. He will not stop.

Clare's money will simply amplify the harm Raniere and she can do together. For this reason, I not only consider her a menace to me and her other perceived enemies, but to society at large.

I would like to address Clare one final time.

Raniere often said the most sacred and valuable thing you have in the world is time, because that is the only thing that can never be replaced. Clare, I hope during the years you sit in prison, you reflect on this. Your minutes, hours, and days are only a fraction of what you, Raniere, and his women stole from me.

THE COURT: Okay. Jane Doe 14. Jane Doe 14?

JANE DOE 14: I am very grateful to have the opportunity to be heard. I hope you understand that I would like to be referred to as Jane Doe, because even though she is being sentenced, I am still afraid of retaliation by Clare Bronfman and Keith Raniere.

I was recruited into DOS and groomed for Keith Raniere; and both my experience and what I know now from all

the information that has become public, I believe Clare Bronfman played a role in that.

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Throughout the ten years that I actively participated in NXIVM, Clare's influence was a turn-in for me to believe that I was in an honorable and good place. She convinced me that the organization was an important humanitarian management, and I was convinced to believe in and fully commit to what I now know to have been a lie.

Clare invited me personally to Wakaya Island in Fiji, telling me that it was Keith's desire to have me participate in a training there, and that it was a big honor for me to receive such an invitation. She said that it was unusual for Keith to specifically ask for someone to be there, which I now know also to be a lie.

But this strategy played out over and over again. She invited me a second time to Wakaya Island, but this time supposedly as a member of an exclusive private lifetime VIP Club of friends who shared common visions and values, but that was way beyond my financial ability because I had already spent most of my resources in what was supposed to be my personal growth.

Clare also persuaded me to economically sponsor different projects of Keith, to give video testimony or to take trainings to attend V-Week, which I did for nine years in a row. The last V-Week before Keith was arrested, I paid for

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fully in advance, and when it was clear that things were falling apart and I would not be attending, Clare firmly refused to give me a refund. She pretended to be my friend for a long time, when all along, I was just being manipulated and groomed for Keith. Clare says she has nothing to do with any of that, but I don't believe her. Why else would she have put so much time and effort into persuading me to do things for Keith and to be in places for Keith? I thought Clare was my friend, and even though the toughest part by far was my DOS/Keith experience, it is devastating to find out that all those years of my life and all my money was spent serving a bogus and 1.3 criminal organization. Thank you for giving me this time to speak. THE COURT: All right. Jane Doe, in person. Jane Doe 12? JANE DOE 12: I came to work in EXO/ESO because I believed in the mission. THE COURT: And just speak slowly, please. JANE DOE 12: Yes. I came to work in EXO/ESO because I believed in the mission. I thought I was hired for my special skills, but, sadly, I found out that I was one of 23 many who will be misled. I was hired to work as a management consultant for EXO/ESO, LLC, in October, 2015. I got my TN visa and my

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contract signed by Ms. Clare Bronfman, which stated that I would be compensated as an independent contractor at the rate of \$3,600 a month. During my time in EXO/ESO, I never received my salary because my visa was seen as a privilege, and I needed to earn that privilege by some unknown internal metric that was not stated in our work agreement. expectation to receive my payment was portrayed as "entitled." I never understood how my visa needed to be earned if I already had it when I was hired to perform the job that I was doing. So I was encouraged to find different jobs with the people in this commune so I could pay for my basic expenses like housing, transportation, and food, et cetera. It was a different dynamic than the one I was used to, where you provide the service and you get paid for it. The argument was that NXIVM bills companies in a different way, an ethical way. I believed it, and I continue to agree under that scheme. It was burdensome to achieve goals because every proposal, idea, or initially was tied to a personal growth plan. So reaching the work objectives could delay and never became the priority, which is one reason -- which is one reason why the company needed didn't move forward nor succeed. It was the personal issues that got in the way. So it became more important to fix the personal issues than to move the company forward as a business. The destruction of

personal issues didn't allow us to focus a hundred percent on

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the developing the company. And because there were no salesmen in EXO/ESO, there was no money to get paid. So I was told that why should I feel entitled to receive my payment if the company wasn't succeeding. This was a fast look that they kept making.

No matter how much we were pushed, it was never enough. Instead, we wound up overworked, burned out, with low self-esteem and no income.

Ms. Bronfman also mentioned that Keith wanted to work with me in the right to enrollment for EXO/ESO. He was the creator of all the companies, the smartest man in the world, and many more amazing titles and, of course, naturally, I wanted to learn from the best, but that never happened. When you get hired as an immigrant to work in a company with which your visa is contingent on and it is your only way to make money by law, how was I supposed to survive safely without making any money?

I have many, many questions that I will ask, but the one that I can't get out of my head is: Why did you lie to me? If you were not planning to pay my salary or if I was not the person who you wanted to hire, why did you lie? I believed you. I believed in the company, and its mission. I had no idea what was going on behind the curtains. Knowing that you didn't have any intention to uphold my contract broke my heart. Mostly, it was a low blow.

1 In ESP, we have our mission statement by saying we 2 will help to make the world a better place to live. I still 3 cannot understand this incongruency. 4 I can spell. I know my accent is difficult. 5 I want to mention that in December, 2017, Ms. 6 Bronfman released a statement, a public statement, 7 characterizing DOS as a sorority, stating that it has truly benefited the lives of its members and those so frail. 8 no fault in a group of women or men for that matter, freely 10 taking of all loyalty and friendship, with no other to feel 11 safe, while pushing back against their fears that have stifled 12 their personal and professional growth. 1.3 Clare, I must say from personal experience that I 14 was part of that group; and not in anyway was my life 15 benefited from it, nor did I feel free. 16 The naked posts, the horrible tasks, and pressure to 17 count calories were all overwhelming. I didn't feel like a 18 friendship; and instead of pushing against my fears, it was 19 exactly the opposite. When I was told by my master that I 20 needed to tell Keith Raniere about my sexual encounters with 21 my boyfriend, now my husband, the last thing that I felt was 2.2. safety or personal growth. I grew not because but in spite of 23 that man's emotional and financial abuse. 24 Lastly, I take responsibility for not seeing the red 25 flags sooner. It cost me in many areas including money,

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     emotionally, my self-esteem, and time. However, that doesn't
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     excuse them from the abuse and manipulation and injustice.
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               I hope this case empowers people to learn to say no
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     when they don't feel like something is correct. I hope I can
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     learn from these that if it doesn't feel right, saying no
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     doesn't make me less and I don't have to betray my values to
 7
     accommodate others if I don't feel it's right and I hope
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     people can see it sooner, so they can stop abuse.
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               Thank you for your time.
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               THE COURT:
                           Thank you.
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               (Continued on the next page.)
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(Continuing.) 1 2 THE COURT: Toni Natalie. 3 MS. NATALIE: Good morning, your Honor. 4 If not for a chosen few, the money, the power 5 inherent in the Bronfman name, this criminal enterprise would 6 never have existed. Clare Bronfman was a pivotal part of 7 trying to destroy my life. If not for her, I would not be 8 standing in this courtroom today. 9 I'd like to introduce myself to Clare as we never 10 formally met. Clare, my name is Toni Natalie, otherwise known 11 within Nxivm as a suppressive, someone that needed to be 12 destroyed, as testified to in this very courthouse. 1.3 I was not part of Nxivm. I'm not involved in any 14 capacity with you and any of your businesses, yet I and my 15 family felt the weight of your power for almost two decades. 16 As I stand here I say I never met Clare. And the 17 last time I spoke to Keith Raniere, her Vanguard, is when I 18 fled Albany in 1999 with Nancy Salzman by his side the last 19 words set to me were: The next time I see you, you'll be dead 20 or in jail. 2.1 He was half right, only he was the one in jail. 2.2. The relentless litigation did not end until multiple arrests. And would have not never been possible without the 23 24 funding Clare has admittedly provided. 25 In the fall of 2014 I lost both my paren. My Mom

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died on October 17. She was the strongest person I've ever known, losing two children in her lifetime, dying from pancreatic cancer, fearing are we going to jail on false charges or being sued for millions, both brought and funded by Clare Bronfman.

Before she passed she looked at me and said: Toni, you're not crazy, don't make them think you are. I'll always be with you.

My Dad died 21 days after losing my Mom. Our conversation was about Keith, the cult, the power, the Bronfman money, the relentless pursuit of me. And how with their unlimited funds would we ever stop them.

Even the end of their lives they were still being controlled by this cult, supported by Clare Bronfman.

On February 27, 2015, I was indicted on four false felony counts of computer trespassing. And I was alone. The insurance money from their death was the only way I could afford to hire a former federal prosecutor, William Dreyer, for a second time. Bill could not be bought off, bribed off, or scared off but that didn't stop them. They had a lot of money to prove their ethics.

I'm trying to keep myself together as I write this, as it seems like for the hundredth time, but you never see it coming. Every time you think it's over, there it is, that crack in the plate. You're triggered. They are back again

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with a different name or different spin, but with the same goal, destruction in the name of humanity. Same play book, different players, as seen in the latest move, make justice blind. Like a Freudian slip, make justice blind, something you've attempted to do with your relentless litigation against anyone who spoke out against your organization or your Vanquard. My litigation started in 1999 with an eight-and-a-half year battle in bankruptcy court. The judge granting my discharge in 2003 wrote: This matter smacks of jilted fellow's attempt at revenge retaliation from his former girlfriend with many attempts of tripping her up along with the way. Influenced and financed by Clare, the litigation continued until 2008. Appeals going all the way up to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second District. In 2003 I spoke to Forbes and your father, Edgar Bronfman, Sr., desperate to expose the dangers of this cult. Get your girls out, I told him. Clare knowingly used terror by litigation to try to silence Nxivm's perceived enemy. My name was also in the box found in Nancy Salzman basement. In 2005 a knock on the door by the FBI. A dossier created by Nxivm made its way into the FBI's office. With the

help of my parents, we hired a local Albany attorney. In 2006

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an invoice from 2005, a retainer for 10,000-plus to conduct a discreet confidential investigation on me and my family, Juval Aviv, former officer in the Mossad, Israeli's equivalent to the CIA, the same organization hired to go after cult expert Rick Ross.

In 2007 a 20-page dossier was sent to a reporter by Nxivm. 260 counts of my criminal violation. He had never seen anything like that before, and suggested I sue for defamation. I thanked him. And once again prayed you would go away, knowing I could never win against Nxivm's high-paid hired guns that were trying to, quote, control the legal system and now the media.

In 2007 a letter from an Albany attorney saying take a big breath they want to move forward with the charges. A trial will cost \$150,000-plus. And you should take a plea deal, possibly a short stint in a federal prison, or at best home confinement and a fine but I'd be able to work.

Hadn't I put my parents through enough? They lost their home in Saratoga and so much more. With my Mom's support, we declined. And as a suggestion we hired Bill Dreyer. In my meeting with Bill he said to me, you don't look like Genghis Kahn. Not even the math adds up, and this has political written all over it, who did you piss off.

Bill understood the underlining influence within the organization. It had been made public that Nxivm hired Roger

I followed his guidance, held my 1 Stone to assist them. 2 breath, and waited for my time to be up at least this time. 3 In 2007 it was stated on camera that Nxivm had 4 scorched earth policue pursuing their enemies. I wasn't just 5 scorched; I was incinerated. 6 In 2010 someone claiming to an FBI agent showed up 7 at my work. A group of nine women left Nxivm and they were 8 desperate to scare and silence everyone. 9 Notwithstanding was the legal pursuit of my mother, 10 going as far as buying a creditors position in her bankruptcy. 11 And my brother, a brother who I lost on March 12, 12 2009, to an apparent suicide, according to the autopsy. My 1.3 brother was in communications with Keith, as explained to me 14 in heart-wrenching detail. John was desperate to stop the 15 ongoing litigation that was destroying our family, pulling us 16 apart. I don't believe my brother woke up that day and 17 decided to take his own life. I believe people who died, deal 18 with this type of relentless pursuit do things to ease the 19 pain, you drink, you take drugs, you over medicate, you stop 20 caring for yourself as you should. Nxivm teaches in one of 21 their modules that suicide is honorable if you're not bringing 2.2. value to your family. 23 Clare claims she never participated with illegal 24 activities. This is not true. What is true was she never

charged with any of her illegal activities until now.

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why, the question better answered by the district that let this cult run rampant for decades.

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In 2012 I was invited to Mexico by a reporter, a free trip, to discuss his story. I declined.

In October of 2013 my home was raided, searched for anything Nxivm or Keith Raniere related. The police I had been giving information to about illegal activities, including under age girls and the girls from Mexico, were now at my home for a warrant for me. This was followed by civil suit for millions.

September 2015, a civil case, the civil case was thrown out. Judge Kahn's ruling stated: Ms. Bronfman, a member of Nxivm's executive board, acknowledged during an unrelated bankruptcy more than two years before the lawsuit was filed, that she suspected intrusions of her computer system. The judge noted with some troubling facts, but ultimately declined to impose Rule 11 sanctions. That, however, was purely an issue of law. And did not alter the fact that Clare had lied in order to continue her litigation; nor did it stop her from pursuing bogus criminal charges.

In 2015, a patent, I was unaware I owned, until a lawsuit filed by Mr. Raniere and funded as stated by Ms. Bronfman against AT&T and Microsoft for patent infringement in excess of \$20 million. The Court ruled I was the only one that could bring the claim, yet in the midst of

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the criminal litigation I barely had taken a breath before I was served by AT&T, Microsoft and Keith Raniere in the state of Washington, with little time to respond and clearly not the resources needed to defend the actions.

In February of 2016, broken and exhausted I reached an ACOD. They say an ACOD returns you to your prior life. If that be true, I'd like my life back. I miss my child, my parents, my home, my reputation, my work, my life, and what it should have been.

The most difficult thing in my life was losing my Mom. The second, were the seven weeks of this trial. It was like watching a parallel universe run through my mind, as timelines collided with so many witnesses.

In 2004 I was diagnosed with PTSD and fibromyalgia, then filed by CPTSD, Complex Post Traumatic Stress.

I live alone with my dog since 2010. The pressure destroyed my marriage. My life is difficult to explain to anyone, and I feel safer for people to keep a distance. I jump each time the door rings. I live where I can all around me. I don't allow my dog to go outside unless I watch her; my last dog was poisoned. I look over my shoulder always.

My son lives with his dad in a different state.

Each time I felt it was safe to bring my child back into my world, it would implode again. My world was never safe place to raise a child. He's a grown man now. I missed most of his

childhood fighting legal battle after legal battle. Working 2 to stay alive, funded by you. 3 I believe it's just a matter of time before it 4 starts all over again; if it hasn't already. And I don't know 5 how much more fight I have left in me. 6 I'm sorry, your Honor, this is so long and 7 disjointed. 8 Clare's response to the Court suggested to me that 9 she has absolutely no remorse. I feel it's only appropriate 10 that she now stand before this Court to be sentenced to 11 prison. And there is no amount of time that will give me back 12 my family or the many years of my life I fought these monsters 1.3 off to stay alive. I hope everyone day she's behind bars, 14 Clare reflects on the evil and damage she inflicted on so many 15 others. And brings back to the world something other than the 16 destructive force she has brought so far. 17 In closing, I ask for one more thing, as a favor to a family, truth for Kristen Snyder, someone knows something. 18 19 I'm grateful for the Court for their time and 20 consideration. Thank you. 21 Thank you. Sally Brink. THE COURT: 2.2. MS. BRINK: Thank you for the opportunity and the 23 time to speak. I didn't plan on reading today, but this is a 24 quite intense venue to say the least. In February 2016 I decided to leave ESP after 13 25

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years of involvement, ranging from very little, to my life was completely incapsulated in ESP. It was a feeling that something was deeply wrong, but I couldn't figure out what it was, I couldn't pinpoint it. I just knew I needed to leave and I was scared. So scared I didn't tell anyone, not even my partner, my husband who I had been with since 1995.

While I was transitioning out of the companies, I was in many, many roles. I was diagnosed in January of 2017 with Stage Two breast cancer. That night I was in the shower, so my son couldn't hear my sobbing. Why am I so sick? How did this happen? I'm only 45 years old with no history of breast cancer in my family.

I started looking at my thoughts about myself and it was like I was in a movie screen and everything was negative and self-deprecating. I started to think do I really think these things about myself? Do I really believe this? And I realized I didn't.

It was all feedback from ESP. All the things that they said to me about my self-esteem, I didn't earn anything, and I had no right to anything, I felt entitled, I was a princess.

A lot of this came from Clare. We were very close at certain points. I lived on her farm as a property manager with my husband. And I worked in many roles and she was my supervisor in many of the roles. And I thought we were

friends.

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In that moment I knew when I was in the shower that I needed to rid myself of all the negatives associations with ESP or that I would die. Between the stress of the indoctrination, my body being in a constant state of fight or flight or freeze. My body broke down like many before me who died of cancer in ESP.

Within weeks the cancer took over my body and I was told I was going to die. I had gone from Stage Two to Stage

Three or Four within five weeks. They didn't know if it was

Three or Four, they said it didn't matter. They were going to create me the same way.

Ninety days later I was cancer free. That's when DOS was exposed.

A few days after DOS was exposed I was sitting in the FBI Albany telling them what I knew, asking for help. I didn't even know what I was asking help from. It was like this monster that had no face, no name.

I had a panic attack in July 2018 after Clare was arrested. I again was told I was going to die. But here I am.

I'm here today as part of my healing journey and because I thought that I needed to look at Clare. I needed to be here because I think it's only fair to you that I say these things to you. And I would like to address Clare now.

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I was reading some of my old e-mails between us.

And one of e-mails I wrote -- excuse me -- that I loved you.

And I was grateful for you. And yesterday when I read about your illness, I felt very sad for you, and scared. Wondering what it would be like managing your fear in this moment, what you're going through. I know this, in part, because of how sick I've been over the years. But I'm wondering if you can imagine what it was like for me to be told that I was going die. The pain about thinking about leaving my son motherless, and not having the resources to chose the best doctors.

I was completely broke. When I joined ESP and I moved to Albany, I had a fantastic resume, I had six figure line of credit, I had a lot of money in the bank, I had health insurance. And I left with none of that.

And here I am involved in this community that I really believed in and now some of the higher ranks were telling people not to help me. This community, a lot of the higher ranks they turned their back on me. I was shunned for being sick.

The deep emotional pain that you and many others were not my friend and did not love or care about me still resonates with me today.

When I resigned from coaching in September 2016 we had our last walk. You didn't speak to me again until you called me in April 2017 to tell me I was going beat cancer.

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And I was beating cancer. I was on the hardest chemotherapy that they can give to breast cancer patients.

I now know that your friendship and your love was completely dependent on my involvement in ESP. Have you ever thought about your impact in my life? How you directly participated in the destruction of all aspects of my life. I can tell you that you're not going to heal with KR in your life. You have to take back your power. This is, of course, if you're not his evil understudy but a victim. And I do believe you're a good person.

I'm sad that your choices and mine have brought us to this space. If you had put down your pride and were open to feedback from others besides KR, and I hadn't abnegated my personal power to you and ESP, perhaps none of this would ever have happened.

My pain is, where were you ever my friend? I am holding that space. As long as you support KR there is no forgiveness for you. The damage and the destruction that you caused in my life can only be healed if you can disavow him and see him for what he is.

After reading your letters I believe that this is all because of KR. There is no Clare. It is crystal clear that you have no sense of self without him. You do all his bidding, and that's what makes you dangerous.

If you go to jail, my hope is that you can finally

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experience yourself without any expectations from the outside When you leave jail you can finally do the good you wanted to do in the world. You've caused so much destruction in so many lives but you'll have the opportunity to heal the damage that you caused. The choice is yours. It is light over darkness, and I hope one day you see the light. Thank you so much for your time. THE COURT: Thank you. Susan Dones. Thank you, Judge, for letting me speak. MS. DONES: Ms. Bronfman, I read your letters to the Judge where you explained how you were ashamed of your wealth, you wanted to be accepted by others. How Nxivm gave you a sense of belonging and you overcame your patterns of self-loathing, insecurities and fears. A place where you felt most passionate about and fulfilled by and deeply cared about. you ever consider that they just wanted your money? And what would happen if you just stopped giving your money. Would you be that important to them? Especially to Keith Raniere. You might want to try that and find out where you lie with his love and affection. You talked about the last two years have been immensely painful and how many people's lives have been up heaved. A community where many thrived, felt purposeful and really enjoyed their lives, and then everything fell apart.

How this is caused tremendous pain for them in their families.

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You stated in the last two years you spent time reflecting how all of this happened. Where you participated and why. How you tried to understand your bad choices and overcome the struggles driving you to chose them.

Then you mentioned you read the victim's statements. How you became aware of many of your, but you never mentioned any of those blindspots; so it's interesting, they remain blind to us. Reading these letters you said that some of them you still care deeply about; but what about the other victims. You say it has been immensely painful, helpful for you to understand your actions and that you perceived how people experience you and felt effected by you and how — but you never explained how.

In my opinion, these are just empty words and they mean nothing to me as your victim and I wonder about the other victims. So why should any of us care how our letters impacted your awareness. In my opinion you're just being selfish. If you really cared, you would find ways to heal the wounds that you have caused with every one of your victims and you wouldn't leave it up to the courts to decide how to heal those wounds.

Ms. Bronfman, it's your soul, it's your karma. And if you want, to use a Nxivm term, you would heal your ethical breach with each one of us. If you leave them unhealed, you'll eventually have to heal them with your maker.

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As a result, you say you believe you stand here as a better person, a person with a deeper understanding of humanity, the difference between people and the gravity of how it effects you. I say, well, bravo to you, Ms. Bronfman. Good for you. You stand here as a better person with a deeper understanding of yourself; again, this is all about you. Again, what a selfish thing to say. In my opinion, you're a predator. Let that sink in. These past two years haven't been a life skill class. broke the law. And breaking the law has legal ramifications. If its true that you did a deep dive into your behavior the last couple of years, you should feel shame, self-loathing, insecure, and fearful of your actions that you've done and the behaviors that the end of the sentencing hearing -- that the hearing of today. And not just try to sell yourself to the judge of what a better person you are and what might happen in the sentencing. Have you ever considered the pain that you have caused us when you went after us legally for your master, Keith Raniere? How you up-ended our lives and how our lives fell apart when you went after us. The pain that you've caused us and our families. Or did you leave that out of yourself reflection these last couple of years? You should understand there are lives that you've

destroyed using your wealth by allowing Keith Raniere and

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Nancy Salzman and yourself, by doing nothing but -- by doing nothing but by allowing us to tell the truth of what has unraveled in Nxivm. If you would have allowed that truth to come to the surface, DOS might have never happened.

You willingly opened your checkbook and spent millions of dollars to destroy me and others all without giving a thought of what we were saying was true. To this day I don't think you considered that, what we were saying might have been true. I don't think you sought any information outside of what Keith Raniere and Nancy Salzman told you what was true. There was plenty of information out there. I don't even know if in the last two years you've even gone outside to look outside to see if what we were saying was true.

written about you, but those are people who never stood up to the criminal enterprise that was running behind the training. Well, that wasn't me. I was one of the people who stood up and told the truth about the criminal enterprise. How did I know the truth? Nancy Salzman spilled the beans to me one night. She told me all the illegal activities that Nxivm was up to. I was horrified. She said: What are you going to about it? I said: It's my word against yours. And shortly after that I left.

So it was you, Clare Bronfman, that claim after me with orders of the man, Keith Raniere, to this day that you

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refuse to denounce and you refuse to denounce what you called the organization of Nxivm that doesn't even exist, the owns that organization. And so what you call the humanity of Nxivm is just lipstick on a pig. There is no humanity of Nxivm, not when you look outside in the destruction that's happened.

So I remember after myself and eight other people left you, and the other leaders made it impossible for us to have a relationship with our friends in Nxivm. If you remember, Ms. Bronfman, it was called shunning.

So when I resigned I asked for my commissions owned in the value of the business that I built in the Pacific Northwest that Nxivm continued to profit off of for decades until Nxivm was shut down by the DOJ. I was called an extortionist for this.

I received a letter while still in Albany, New York. I had to hire an attorney in Albany. I had to call my sister that let her know I might need some bail money. I asked her not to tell me mother because she was sick, I didn't want her to worry about me. After meeting with the attorney, and in Albany I found out that asking for money that I believed was owed to me is not extortion and no charges were ever filed with me. But to this day there are many people left in the inner circle of Nxivm that believe I was an extortionist.

But this is not what you told the Nxivm people or the judge in my case. So when you filed charges against me,

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when you sued me, you told the judge I was an extortionist. After I closed my center I was warned by people that you would punish me by speaking out, by suing me. If it wasn't bad enough that I had to file bankruptcy due to the center, you guys sued me. You entered into my bankruptcy as adversaries and claimed over 230 claims against me, knowing that I couldn't afford an attorney, which was the worst. Ms. Bronfman, you paid for seven attorneys to come after me at the cost of over \$500,000 to sue me, when I asked for less than half of that. Nxivm knew full well that I was going to open a center in Vancouver BC, that I had been working on for almost a decade to build, and they would profit off of those efforts of my labor for years to come. You also testified at my trial, telling one lie after another because you had no evidence against me, only that I showed a portion of a video that I owned. So I'm going to -- I'm running out of time -- I'm going to get to the end of this. To this day I suffer from PTSD, anxiety. I'll never recover the loss of my investment into Nxivm, or the two years that I couldn't work because I had to learn how to defend myself, and the loss of the building that we bought to built the center. Through the 11 years of my therapy I've learned anger is my poison, so I'm not angry at you, Ms. Bronfman. Ι

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pray for you every day. I pray that you will take the claws
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     of Keith Raniere out of you and you will learn who Clare
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     Bronfman really is, because he's killing you. And I hope you
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     find out who you really are. But I hope the judge will
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     sentence you to prison time so you can find out that you never
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     ever want to go back to prison; and if you stay with him, you
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     will end up committing more crimes. Thank you.
                                                        Do you want
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               THE COURT:
                          We're up to Kristin Keeffe.
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     to wait until we hear from someone else so you can get
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     settled?
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               MS. KEEFE:
                          Yes, your Honor.
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               THE COURT:
                          Okay, please be seated.
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               Barbara Bouchey.
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               MS. BOUCHEY: Thank you. Is it okay if I move this?
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               THE COURT: You can move it, just don't remove the
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     little cover.
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               MS. BOUCHEY: That's better. Thank you.
18
               Hi, Clare.
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               Unlike Clare, I was not born into a life of
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     privilege, power, wealth and prominence. Nor having the
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     liberty to not finish high school or not go to college,
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    because I inherited a fortune. Rather I grew up in low-income
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     housing project. We were poor. My Mom died when I was eight.
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    My father was a severe alcoholic. And I have two special
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     needs brothers that he then put into institutions and forbid
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me to see. But being a very determined young woman, I disobeyed him and two years later, at age of 11, we called a truce and negotiated with my father that I want to still see my two brothers he abandoned. And my father agreed as long as I never mentioned their names in this life again, which I vowed to do.

College was never mentioned in our household, nor even a dream. It wasn't spoke in the house. My only aspiration was to be a secretary, and a really good secretary.

It wasn't until somewhere in my early 20s that I stopped one day and thought, I can be more than this, I can be more than a secretary. And that's when I started to waiting tables 40 hours a week and I put myself through college.

At the age of 24 I began my career in the financial planning industry. And through hard work I built a reputation of being honest, responsible, ethical and integrous. And by the age of 40 I had become a self-made millionaire, generated 1 million a year in annual renewable fees, had a net worth of \$5 million, was a leader respected by my peers and a pillar of my community. And yet, still only owned one pair of black shoes and blue shoes and wore Ann Taylor suits. Because instead of spending my money on things that were frivolous, I gave it instead to help others and I prudently saved my money.

Here is a snapshot of my life, Clare, that you may not be aware of. Within the 12 months before entering Nxivm,

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I was featured as a keynote speaker for the Women's Leadership
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     Forum. I co-chaired an event with Marylou Whitney Vanderbilt.
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     I was quoted in the newspapers constantly about the market.
 4
     My annual --
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               THE COURT: Excuse me, please slow down a little.
 6
     want to absorb your words.
 7
               MS. BOUCHEY: I'm just nervous.
 8
               THE COURT:
                          Take a deep breath and slow down.
 9
               MS. BOUCHEY: My annual client parties, my Christmas
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     party, and believe it or not the opening day of the Saratoga
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     race track party was the biggest event at my office.
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               All this from a girl that I call came up from white
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     trailer trash, the wrong side of the track. And there I was,
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     40 years old, having achieved what they would call the
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     American Dream and I beat all the odds.
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               Here is a snapshot of my life now, after leaving
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     Nxivm.
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               I have been smeared by Keith Raniere who very
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     carefully two years before I quit and after the behind scenes
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     smear campaign because I broke off my intimate relationship
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     with him, and then lied to you and everybody else that I had
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     some big ethical breach. And then when I left, he then
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     falsely told you and other people that $1.7 million of my life
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     savings that he actually owed me and Nancy, and vowed to pay
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     my every year, and every year they made an excuse. And then
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guilted me and shamed me, and said you're just so selfish, you must have an attachment to money, how much money do you need to make, you're still making a million a year.

They wouldn't pay me back. Because I needed to sacrifice for you and the community. And I didn't have millions; but what I had I gave.

And then I had to suffer being trying to be arrested for extortion.

You say that you never lied or that you've never wrongly accused anybody, when this is the letter that proved the first lie that you told. You went through my hometown district attorney and told them that you fired me as your adviser for ethical violations. And that I then tried to extort \$2 million from you in revenge and retaliation, saying that you're on the executive board and you got my letter that only went to Keith and Nancy asking them to pay me back my \$1.7 million that they rightfully owed me.

And here is the proof. This is an Nxivm communication dated May 10, two weeks after I left, where you were appointed to the board and strategically did so that you can go then go to Saratoga DA and tell them that you were on the board and you got this letter. But you never got that letter.

And this letter launched a thousand court filings. From this letter you then sued me three times in two different

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2.2.

states. You launched year-long investigation on my financial planning board accused me of twenty-nine salacious lies, including that I was a commodities broker for an account you never had, and lent money to Keith. And I never traded accommodate in my entire lifetime.

And so my life after this is I have been headline news. I've been dragged into 14 lawsuits that lasted eight years, in front of eight judges, in four states. My illegal fees have been \$700,000.

Because I'm a local town girl, prominent business woman in Albany where the local headquarters was, I endured hundreds of headline news stories that all portrayed me as the evil banker from the dark side. That I must be corrupt because I was a financial planner, and I must have been Nxivm's financial director, which I was never allowed in the accounting office.

And I have been ridiculed and shunned. And after six years of this non-stop headline news I lost two-thirds of my clients, millions in revenues, and my reputation was totally destroyed.

The one thing you need as a financial adviser is trust. My integrity and my character was assassinated for years in hundreds of headline news stories. And I was innocent. And I was the one that was being accused of having done wrongs to you and to Nxivm. And all I did was decide to

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breakup with Keith Raniere, get punished, then leave and try to tell people, and just tell the truth. And this is what I have endured. It is has been 4,197 days that my character has been assassinated every single day. I can't get new clients. you Google me, the top three stories that come up is local financial planner arrested for felony for a criminal complaint that you signed. You had me arrested wrongfully. You had my passport removed for an entire year. I was handcuffed on Christmas Eve and arraigned. It was the scariest, worst day of my life. And the Times Union ran a Sunday front page news that I was a criminal. When your lawsuits against me that were 50,000 a I filed Chapter 11, not at a rate of paying anybody, I filed 100 percent repayment plan on Chapter 11. And that was Sunday front page news, news local financial planner files bankruptcy.

And then when you sued me because you're Seagram's heiress, for ethical, alleged, ethical violations, that was Friday night headline news.

How does a financial planner of my caliber survive, ever, with those kind of headline news? I can't tell you how humiliating and ashamed and degraded I felt with those just three headline news. And yet I was innocent. And you want to

know how I'm innocent? 1 2 My financial planning board that you brought a 3 complaint to, had eight financial planners who were also 4 attorneys. And they scoured my records for an entire year, 5 and they know what they are looking for. And by preponderance 6 of the evidence that I provided and proved, they closed that 7 case against me. I was innocent, but it didn't stop. 8 I don't have time to read everything, so I'm just 9 going to skip to the last page. 10 How do you encompass 20 years of abuse and 11 years 11 that you have funded lawsuits against me that is still going 12 on to this day? 1.3 You reached out a mere three weeks ago. I, like 14 Susan, read your character reference because I want to know 15 more about the person that you are, so that I can craft my 16 statement. I have a letter -- I'm so nervous -- I have a letter 17 18 here that you submitted a letter of your attorney. And in 19 this letter, a mere three weeks ago, you allowed your attorney 20 to falsely accuse me, defame me, and slander me. And the 21 entire world is devouring your court filings. 2.2. You've been under house arrest for two years, and 23 yet, you have not stopped. You have not stopped damaging me. 24 When I read this I was immediately terrified. Will you never

stop? Is it not bad enough that my damage is submitted in

this courtroom was \$14 million, 14 million. 1 2 How is it possible that I'm the one that you sued 3 more than anyone else, for longer, was more publicly 4 humiliated and headline news than anybody else. And suffered 5 \$14 million, which may be more than anybody else. And yet I'm 6 not viewed at a victim. I'm called a bitch, a whore, a 7 prostitute, an evil banker, a corrupt financial planner. And 8 yet, I'm innocent. 9 I can't even begin to tell you what I want. What I 10 want, Clare, is my reputation. I want my reputation. 11 decades it was unblemished and impeccable and held in a high 12 regard in my industry. A leader, a pioneer, a pillar of my 1.3 community. And I'm still that person that earned that at age 14 40 to stand next to Marylou Whitney Vanderbilt and co-chair an 15 event. Yes, me, from Bristol Heights, the income housing 16 projects. I earned and deserve everything that I did. 17 I didn't inherit my wealth or my achievement. I 18 just want my reputation back. I want my good name back. And 19 I want you to please stop, stop accusing me, slandering me, 20 defaming me, even to this day. 21 And I would encourage you, your Honor -- I want to 2.2. stay something. Kristin, who just came in, had a profound 23 effect on my life. 24 Five years after I quit she called me at

1:00 o'clock in the morning. And I thought, oh, my God, she's

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     playing a double agent. Because she was cleared and Nxivm's
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     legal liaison. And I thought, holy crap. She said to me, I
 3
     left. In that I said to her, Aren't you afraid to call me?
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     Everybody is terrified to be me and talk to me. And she said,
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     no because I know the truth. And I never once saw you do one
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     thing in all of those years that I questioned.
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               Clare, do you realize that they lied to you?
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               (Continued on next page.)
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(Continuing.)

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MS. BOUCHEY: Kristen -- and they told me, barred from the day you walked through the door, Keith pitted us against you. He knowingly directed us to lie to you, conspire to conceal things. You thought you were in the inner circle. You were six layers out, because that's what we wanted you to think.

It— Your Honor, I believe that there are some of us, like Kristen did for me that fateful night — and it was painful to hear, you know, he labeled me mentally retarded because I have two special needs brothers and not to pay attention to me, because I, too, was mentally retarded. You know, there are things that Clare has no idea that Keith said and did to her behind her back, and there are some of us, not many, me, Kristen, Karen, there's a number of us that could share with you what we know was kept from you that you don't know about, that he used you; he conned you; he manipulated you; he made you feel special just like he did to me, just like he did to Kristin. It's the same playbook you sued, just words, just played on you. You just haven't had that defining moment that I did yet. That's all.

But I know you're a good person. As your financial advisor for a brief time, I saw the goodness in your heart. I know you wanted to be a humanitarian. I know, and I helped teach you how to spend your money and be responsible and how

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not to feel guilty and ashamed of it and to be proud that you
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     had the opportunity to be a true humanitarian. And I know
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     that resides deep within you. And you could truly be that and
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     go on to do more of that.
 5
               THE COURT: Ms. Bouchey?
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               MS. BOUCHEY: Yes.
 7
               THE COURT: Time's up.
 8
               MS. BOUCHEY: Thank you.
 9
               So I will be praying for you, Clare. I know, I know
10
     you can do this. You can.
11
               THE COURT: Thank you.
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               Ms. Keeffe, you have ten minutes, ma'am.
13
                           Your Honor, there's a couple instances
               MS. KEEFFE:
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     where I'm going to use initials for people that were other
15
     victims in the case. I just want to point that out so it
16
     doesn't give us some confusion.
17
               THE COURT:
                           So you're just going to use initials?
18
               MS. KEEFFE: Just one or two times.
19
               THE COURT: That's fine.
               MS. KEEFFE: Your Honor, this is a difficult thing
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21
     for me to read.
2.2.
               Clare Bronfman has caused me unimaginable pain.
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     have a 13-year-old son with Keith Raniere named Gaelyn.
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     Throughout Gaelyn's life, Keith had never paid us child
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     support. When Gaelyn was born, Keith convinced me to lie and
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not tell anyone that I was Gaelyn's mother and Keith his He told me to tell everyone that I had adopted Gaelyn. Keith had me convinced that Edgar Bronfman, Clare's father, would harm Gaelyn if he found out Keith was his father. When Clare found out about Gaelyn, she concurred to this with Keith. I never would have believed those lies. was so scared. Clare Bronfman insisted repeatedly over many, many years that her father was a evil, wicked man capable of orchestrating a wide variety of crimes and violence, and he was after Keith and NXIVM. I believe I had to live this lie to protect my son. Being a mother is the most important thing in my life, my most treasured experience. Keith and Clare made me lie about them. My own mother I lied and distorted. All my relationships and all my experiences, it was extremely deflating for me and you can't imagine the grief and distress that I felt and the fear that I had for my son. Keith and Clare used to -- there's a story as the base to justify Keith not wanting paternity of my son and not paying his child support. Clare told me her father was checking on her finances. I met Clare in 2003 shortly after I was hired by Nancy Salzman and Keith to assist with NXIVM's legal affairs. I worked with Clare closely for the next 11 years --

THE COURT:

I'm sorry. Are you a lawyer?

1 MS. KEEFFE: No, paralegal. 2 THE COURT: I see. 3 MS. KEEFFE: So I worked with Clare the next 11 4 years, the last five of which she was my direct boss. 5 time Clare used my fear of her father to manipulate me and 6 took control of every aspect of my life. She used it as an 7 excuse to persuade Keith to forego his role with childcare and 8 to justify Keith not paying his child support. She also 9 fronted other expenses of Keith's that were enormous so we 10 didn't have to take a salary from NXIVM or claim he had any 11 assets. So the Court understands the true scope of what Clare 12 did, in a very short period of time from 2003 through 2006, I 1.3 witnessed her and her sister make cash distributions of 14 approximately \$100 million to NXIVM and NXIVM-related 15 endeavors, despite the -- despite the fact that NXIVM as a 16 business was only grossing about \$4 million a year. Clare has 17 stated and continues to state these distributions were loans, 18 despite that neither Clare nor Keith ever expected this money 19 to be repaid, nor could it be repaid. They both told me as 20 much. 21 Eventually I fled NXIVM in 2014 out of sheer terror 2.2. arising from the fallen. This is not an exhaustive list. 23 NXIVM was rapidly and most obviously becoming a sex cult in 24 2012 to 2013, and I didn't want my son to be raised in such an 25 environment. Keith was sleeping with almost every woman in

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the higher ranks of the company and his behavior was growing increasingly and quite publicly out of control.

Clare was publicly engaging in wide-spread deeds of fraught involving MS and Sylvie, some of which involved women who were providing childcare to my son, KK and BM, while Nancy and Keith were openly embezzling cash from the various companies and storing it at Nancy's house, some of which was seized by the Government after their arrest. I know Nancy and Keith were not claiming these monies as income. And I thought this in combination with Clare's phony loans and her abusive fraud could lead to serious criminal charges filed some day. I was quite sure Clare, Nancy and Keith might end up in prison and I told them as much. I saw Clare mentally descending over several years into a type of dangerous megalomania. I never met the humble aesthetic Clare that supporters speak of now. While I worked for Clare various times she wrote a million dollars worth, bought a 6500 square-foot mansion and flew around in her 11 million-dollar private jet, all a matter of public record.

Clare's illegal conduct was never about money for her, it was about her having control of people, including myself. This caused me extreme psychological duress. Clare demoted me and refused to pay me a liveable wage. I went from making a modest 56 to \$55,000 a year to being paid \$13,000 a year after I protested the continuing litigating of Barbara

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Bouchey because I thought it was wrongful. I could not support myself and my son alone on this. I started to feel like her prisoner and I was her prisoner. My car was repossessed, my townhouse of NXIVM-owned property and I had lived in it from three to five years. I know when Clare sent me a bill for \$5,000 saying I owed back rent, knowing full well I couldn't pay it. She was trying to psychologically break me and she almost did.

I realize the real reason Clare was funding a large portion of Keith's expenses was to keep Keith -- keep Keith safe, judgment-proof, to disempower me and make it impossible for me to obtain child support for my son. I felt very powerless.

I saw many people around me whose lives fell apart mentally and financially while under Clare's supervision, and she exhibited zero conscience about this. I was sure NXIVM would end in some type of violence. I was terrified of this. I knew something bad would happen and it did. I became sick with worry about the state of Daniella. I couldn't stop thinking about her. I felt I had to report what happened to her to the police, which I did. I finally recognized that Clare was attempting to prove her father was behind this wide-spread illegal conspiracy to destroy Keith and NXIVM and anyone close to Keith was borne outside of vindictiveness on Clare's part and might not be true. She had spent millions of

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dollars to prove her father's crime, including \$1.1 million to Cavco. She hacked her computer to have his emails read.

When Edgar's health started to seriously fail in September of 2013, Clare showed up at his home with a film crew to interview him to get him to confess his crimes on camera before he died, and actually he didn't confess. Then a month before Edgar died Clare told me, Oh, I made up with my father. Just like that, like the past ten years of her threatening me hadn't happened and she was completely indifferent to all the lies I had to tell about my only son's life. After all of that, I knew it was all happening, I had no choice but to flee NXIVM in Clifton Park, New York, and report everything I did to the authorities, which I did.

We had to give up our homes, our beloved pets, everything. I had so much fear about what Keith and Clare would do to my son and what revenge she might take on me. I made several reports to the authorities and I easily — eagerly cooperated with the prosecution team here in the Eastern District of New York. I don't have any ill feelings. You can't imagine the loneliness and fear itself to have to give up everything I own and every single friend that I had and completely disrupt my son's life to protect us and do the right thing for others so there would be no harm. It's been a long, hard struggle but it was the only choice to make.

Unfortunately for me and my son, Clare continues to

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harm him to this day. In March of this year in the wake of
COVID-19, I spoke directly to my attorney through a private
settlement for child support with Keith Raniere once and for
all --
          THE COURT: I'm sorry. Can you take your mask off
while you make the rest of your statement, if you don't mind?
         MS. KEEFFE: I don't mind.
          THE COURT: Okay. Because I'm having trouble
understanding you.
         MS. KEEFFE: Okay.
          THE COURT: Just remove your mask.
         MS. KEEFFE: Did you understand what I said so far?
          THE COURT: No, no just finish up.
         MS. KEEFFE: Okay.
          In March of this year in the wake of the COVID-19
pandemic, I went directly to my attorneys to enter into a
private settlement agreement for child support with Keith
Raniere once and for all. I was worthy and deserving of child
support from Keith and we were always worthy and deserving and
we should have been paid.
          With COVID-19 I worry it's not soon enough, fast
enough to rebuild the life for my son and me. I worry about
the fragility of my long-term health. What will happen to my
son if I died?
          Through Keith's attorneys and my attorney we came to
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an agreement for a lump-sum payment by Keith to settle child support payments due in full. I knew that Keith had inherited money from Pamela Cafritz when she died in 2016, and I learned the sum of the amount was \$8 million. Keith continues to represent child support will be paid from his interest in Pam's estate. So just recently I learned through Matthew Dorsey, the attorney for Pam Cafritz's estate, the horrifying The sole reason the estate was not issued to Keith was because Pam Cafritz's personal tax returns had never been filed to substantiate the income from the basis of her estate, and the funds might never issue into Keith's name or it could be months or years before they do. This was a huge wake-up call and the fragile thing for me to deal with because of Clare Bronfman, more secrets and lies. I am crushed and this has caused me enormous emotional pain, which I'm trying to hide from my son. Clare conspired with Keith to deliberately not pay the settle Pam's estate, and it's still not settled. Instead, Clare fraudulently used Pam's identity to funnel money to Keith and us and their baby together that Keith would otherwise claim as income to avoid taxes, which Clare pled quilty to. The simultaneous consequence of Keith and Clare's tax avoidance of their crime is depriving my son of proper financial support from his otherwise extremely wealthy father.

Moreover, Clare established the \$500,000 KR Trust for Keith's

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other son's benefit.
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               I'm asking the Court to make Clare responsible for
     her crime and the damages to my son's life as a result. We
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     really need to be made whole.
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               I would also like to have any of our personal
 6
     things --
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               (Pause in proceedings.)
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               THE COURT: I'm sorry. Repeat what you just said.
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               MS. KEEFFE: Okay.
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               THE COURT: And just slow down and finish up,
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     please.
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               MS. KEEFFE: I would also like to have any of our
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     things that we were forced to leave behind in Clifton Park
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     attorneys, if Clare still has them somewhere. And especially
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     -- I'm sorry -- and especially my son's baby pictures, which I
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     don't have them.
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               Thank you.
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               THE COURT: Thank you, ma'am.
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               We'll resume at 1:45 to complete sentencing. I will
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     first hear from the defense as to the 3553(a) factors and then
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     the Government as to the 3553(a) factors that the Court should
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     consider in reaching a sentence that is sufficient but not
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     greater than that necessary to fulfill the purposes of
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     sentencing.
                 Then I'll hear from the defendant if she has
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     anything to say, and then I'll issue my decision as to the
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1 sentence. 2 I would like to thank all the victims who spoke 3 today. I understand how difficult it has been for the victims 4 to come forward and make their statements in public. And I 5 want to give my appreciation to all of you who came forward to 6 provide your statements. 7 You are not obligated to discuss anything that you 8 said or anything that you know with anybody in this courthouse today or at any other time, and I just want you to be aware 9 10 that you were here to discuss your comments for the Court, and 11 that if you do not wish to talk to anyone else about your comments, you should understand that that is your right. 12 13 And, of course, if you wish to discuss with others, 14 that is also your right. 15 All right? Thank you. 16 THE COURTROOM DEPUTY: All rise. 17 THE COURT: We will resume at 1:45. 18 (Recess taken.) 19 (Continued on the next page.) 20 21 22 23 24 25

1 AFTERNOON SESSION 2 (Time noted: 2:05 p.m.) 3 THE COURT: At this time the Court will hear from 4 counsel in connection with the factors under 18 United States 5 Code Section 3553(a) that the Court could take into 6 consideration in order to impose a sentence that is 7 sufficient, but not greater than that necessary, to fulfill 8 the purposes of sentencing. We will begin with the defense, 9 Mr. Sullivan. 10 MS. HAJJAR: Your Honor I apologize, I wanted to put 11 on the record one thing before we proceeded. 12 THE COURT: Go ahead. 13 MS. HAJJAR: I wanted to note for the record that 14 the Court also received 92 additional victim impact statements 15 in writing, that the Court had also received -- in addition to 16 the prerecorded video statements and from the victims that 17 Your Honor heard from today. Lastly, there was one additional 18 statement from Sylvie, who was not able to come today. It's 19 very brief if the Court would like to hear it now or --20 THE COURT: Let me hear it now, but the 92 were not 21 solely regarding this defendant, were they? 2.2. MS. HAJJAR: Yes. The 92 reflect impact statements 23 in connection with this case in general. 24 THE COURT: In general, right. 25 MS. HAJJAR: Yes. But I'm saying with regard to

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     many of those statements which were focused primarily on other
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     defendant's particularly Mr. Raniere.
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               MS. HAJJAR: That's true, yes.
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               THE COURT: Have you provided those to the other
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     side?
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               MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor.
 7
               MR. SULLIVAN yes, Your Honor.
 8
               THE COURT:
                           Thank you very much.
 9
               Now, this statement is from whom?
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                                   Sylvie, Your Honor, a witness at
               MS. HAJJAR: From:
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     Mr. Raniere's trial.
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               THE COURT: You are going to read the statement?
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               MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor.
14
               THE COURT: Okay, proceed.
15
               MS. HAJJAR: "Whether Clare intended to hurt me, my
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     family and many other people who were affected by her actions
17
     is irrelevant. The impact of the psychological, emotional and
18
     physical abuse I and many other experienced at the hands of
19
     Nxivm has been devastating. My family deals with this pain on
20
     a daily basis and, yet, we are so incredibly grateful for all
21
     of the love, support and healing we have received since
2.2.
     leaving Nxivm behind. We will never be able to fully convey
     our gratitude to the Government for their tireless
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     investigation of this case in their pursuit of justice. I
25
     personally hope that Clare Bronfman can find peace and
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repentance by facing the dark truth of Nxivm."
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               THE COURT:
                           Thank you very much.
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               MS. HAJJAR: Thank you, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: We will now proceed with the 3553(a)
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     discussion.
 6
               Mr. Sullivan.
 7
               MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you very much, Your Honor.
                                                                 And
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     if I may briefly, I think that I do need to preserve an
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     objection without argument, but I want to preserve it for the
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     record that we made in our briefs that Jane Doe 12 is the
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     victim in this case, given the charges that Ms. Bronfman
12
     pleaded to and to the extent statements that Your Honor heard
13
     introduced new conspiracies, crimes and the like, but that's
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     outside the scope. So we will reincorporate by reference what
15
     we wrote.
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               THE COURT: You have your objection.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: If it please the Court, may I be
18
     heard on the 3553(a)?
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               THE COURT: Please.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you, Your Honor. We certainly
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     appreciate the opportunity to be heard on this. We, as we put
2.2.
     in our papers, are asking the Court to issue a sentence below
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     guidelines of three years probation. We're asking the Court
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     this based on several factors which I would like to discuss
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     and we think it is appropriate. But first and foremost with
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regard to the victim in this case, Jane Doe Number 12, you will hear from Clare later, Your Honor, but through counsel she would like to express her deep, deep, sorrow for any and all pain caused to Jane Doe 12. She considers, present tense, Jane Doe 12, a friend, a person who grew up through the Nxivm program with her, growing together in certain very important aspects of life and she is deeply, deeply sorry, and begs the Court's pardon, begs Jane Doe 12's pardon for everything that she did to cause her pain; no excuses, just a flat-out apology to someone whom she cares deeply about.

Your Honor, as you know, Clare Bronfman who I have had the honor of representing is a 41-year-old woman who before this had absolutely no criminal history. She spent her youth as a professional athlete and then was introduced through her family member, her sister and father to Nxivm, where she began to find a purpose in her life. Clare Bronfman has wanted to and still wants to help people, and plain and simple, that has been her mission. She has made mistakes and we're going to talk about that, but her mission in life has been to help people.

She is privileged and has unearned wealth which she freely admits through inheritance and she thought and thinks she ought to use that in a way to help humanity. That is what appealed to Clare when she was introduced to Nxivm. She and some 17 or 18,000 additional people found success through

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Nxivm in terms of being a better person an ethical person, a humanitarian. That was her goal. That's what she wanted to do with the gifts that she had and in very many respects, Your Honor, Clare was successful in helping people for a long time. We would ask Your Honor to consider that as Your Honor fashions a sentence.

So, with no criminal history prior to this,

Ms. Bronfman has been on house arrest as Your Honor knows for

26 months. No problems. She has been perfect with respect to
her pretrial reporting. Indeed she may report today because
the bracelet was engaging and she's been right here in open

court. She's been diligent including up to today in terms of
abiding by everything that this court ordered. She is a good

risk, Your Honor, to abide by anything that this court decides
to order, should Your Honor grant this probationary term that
we are requesting.

We mention the 26 months because we're asking Your Honor to make an equitable consideration in fashioning an opinion. We know as a technical matter or a statutory matter it doesn't count against any time, but we're asking for an equitable consideration for that fact that she's been on house arrest now for over two years with her liberty already severely restricted, as appropriate and as ordered by this court, and she has had absolutely no problems with that.

We also ask, Your Honor, to keep in mind and take

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into consideration the fact that we are in the midst of a global health pandemic and to sentence someone to a prison term with the COVID-19 virus so rampant that even we here are with shields and face masks and so forth and that that should be a consideration Your Honor should take in deciding what is an appropriate and what is a fair and what is a just decision with respect to Clare.

Now, Your Honor, if I may, I just want to speak very directly about a few of the things that are really two categories of areas where Clare simply had no involvement and I think that's important; both because of mentions in open court and because of what Your Honor has read.

We are delighted and relieved that the September 24th letter from the Government, that the Government at a minimum admitted that it, quote, had not argued that DOS victims disclose their membership in DOS, in quotes, to Clare. So it's not just me screaming it to the mountaintops that Clare knew nothing about DOS. The Government has now said that they're not even arguing that people told Clare about DOS. It was a secret society.

As we said in our papers and we will say it again

Clare Bronfman denounces and renounces in all of its forms any
sex trafficking, any human trafficking, or any sort of sex

cult, whatever the terms are. Clare Bronfman absolutely

denounces that, as we said, at several points in our papers.

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It was a secret organization. She was not told about it and because she wasn't told about it, there is no way she would know about the branding and so many pages, page after page after page in both the Government's submission and in the pre-sentence report were related to DOS and when DOS was a secret organization. There may be some argument about DOS but everything having to do with DOS, including the branding, was secret. We made the representation, the Government now makes the representation and I would even draw Your Honor's attention to Ms. Bouchey, who said that many were directed, and I'm quoting, to lie to Clare: You thought you were in the inner circle, you were six layers out, end quote.

People were directed to lie to Clare to keep certain things from Clare and all of the issues about DOS simply were kept from Clare. And, indeed, when Clare learned about them like the rest of the world when there was a newspaper article, the Government's own witness, Ms. Saltzman at the hearing at which Your Honor presided, said they were further directed to lie to Clare about the scope of what was going on and they were further directed to lie to the investigators that Clare hired in her position as essentially a board member in order to investigate what in the world was going on and that's what Clare wanted to know.

But the Government's own witnesses told Your Honor that they were lying, still then, and Clare did not know the

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full scope and maybe as she sits here today maybe not even the full scope, until the trial. So, I just wanted to make that point with respect to DOS.

Next, with respect to the money that Clare spent over the years, I fear that Your Honor may be left with an impression that Clare just sort of willy-nilly gave money to Mr. Raniere to do as he places and, indeed, the submissions make very sweeping claims that Ms. Bronfman enabled Mr. Raniere in all sorts of ways with the funds.

The truth of the matter, Your Honor, is that the money can be separated into three distinct areas. It's provable. It's calculable. The Government knows this. There are records and there are receipts and I will just mention as well, not one dime of Ms. Bronfman's money went to DOS, there's no wire transfer, no check, no cash, nothing, zero. But the three categories are demonstrable.

The first category, about \$67 million went to paying calls on commodity trades, not as the Government puts it, 67 million to Keith Raniere to go and play in the commodities market. These were calls on previous investments. 67 million went to that. That had nothing to do with the operation of Nxivm. Nxivm had, as I mentioned, 17 or 18,000 people. It made millions of dollars, even tens of millions of dollars over the years so that was one category of money, a big chunk.

THE COURT: So whose trades were they?

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MR. SULLIVAN: Some were Keith Raniere's and others were friends. They were involved in Nxivm, but friends of Clare who were investing in the commodities market. My colleague can help put together a list, if Your Honor wants. I don't have it off the top of my head but trades of friends. And she covered them fully expecting, as the way calls work, fully expecting that he would recoup, but --THE COURT: Well, Mr. Raniere didn't have a job, as far as I can tell. He wasn't earning a big, big paycheck and he had \$67 million worth of calls at one point on commodities trades? MR. SULLIVAN: No, Your Honor. Not as I understand it. THE COURT: It's a diversion in a sense, but let's try to find a point on it. Wouldn't that tell someone, a person of means, a multimillionaire, that something is wrong here; that someone invested all of this money and now they owe \$67 million in commodities trading? What does that tell you? That is a rhetorical question. What does that tell you about the individual who you are doing business with or who you are associated with? I think it is strange. MR. SULLIVAN: It could be, very well. The first point is that it wasn't all calls from Mr. Raniere. were other people involved. The second point is that as far as Clare knew, that Mr. Raniere was supported by his longtime

1 life partner who was a woman of independent means. 2 How those people involved invested in the market was 3 not Clare's doing, but they were in the market. There were 4 If calls are met and if it works out, as Your Honor 5 knows, she would have gotten her money back. She didn't. She 6 lost a lot of money. She was not happy about that at all. 7 THE COURT: What year was that. I do not recall? 8 MR. SULLIVAN: '05. 9 THE COURT: She was upset, but she continued to have 10 a relationship with Mr. Raniere until 2018 when they were 11 arrested. I wanted to understand what's at play here. I am 12 just following up on your issue. 13 MR. SULLIVAN: Indeed. Perhaps he and others were 14 not good commodity investors. She also made more money than 15 she lost in that period investing and other things personally. 16 THE COURT: I see. Go ahead. 17 MR. SULLIVAN: Yes. But to say that he and others 18 may have been bad investors in the commodities market is not 19 to say that she was aware of a RICO enterprise in Nxivm per 20 se. \$30 million, Your Honor, went to the Ethical Science 21 If Your Honor has had a chance to look at the My Foundation. 2.2. Tourette's documentary that we submitted, from Clare's vantage point, she was able to see how her investment in a scientific 23 24 endeavor played out. Viewing the video, which I have 25 certainly done many times, the results were incredible. These

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were people with severe Tourette's Syndrome who -- Clare is not a doctor. She didn't do the doctoring part of it. She was an investor, but these are people with severe Tourette's Syndrome who, in the end, were speaking more fluently than I am speaking today. It was simply, simply an incredible change. And that's the bulk of the money; responding to calls and the money for the Ethical Science Foundation.

Now, there were -- the remaining had to do with litigation and I certainly don't think it's appropriate now and I don't intend to go litigation by litigation and talk about that, but, yes, she did fund lawyers in her capacity as a board member of Nxivm where she thought that intellectual property and the like of Nxivm was stolen.

The only thing I would say --

THE COURT: There is nothing in this record in particular about the advice that she was given by attorneys as to whether these cases were serious cases that — where the rights of the plaintiffs were significantly affected which would cause a mature, wealthy individual to provide funding for an extended litigation. I mean, all we've got is they brought this case and they brought that case and then we hear from victims of these lawsuits which may or may not be significant in the sentencing here, but there is nothing —

I have never been provided with any kind of

professional statement of counsel as to the kind of advice

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that was given to Ms. Bronfman. They don't have to. saying they should, but if you are saying that these were bona fide lawsuits against people who had done wrong, civilly or otherwise, then this was an opportunity to clarify that; and you have not clarified that because these lawyers have not come forward to tell me, like the lawyer in Mexico, to tell me that this lawyer counseled Clare that there was something awry that caused her to bring -- to threaten litigation against people who she used to have relationships with. So why are we even talking about it other than she paid for a litigation? I heard that. MR. SULLIVAN: I will make three points in response to Your Honor's concerns. First, with respect to every jurisdiction of which I'm aware, an attorney has an ethical obligation that prohibits him or her to bring suits or institute legal proceedings just to vex an innocent. I'm not aware of any jurisdiction that allows that. That's an inference that Your Honor can draw. THE COURT: I do not draw that inference without evidence --MR. SULLIVAN: The second --THE COURT: -- because you are asking me to believe that there was a bona fide reason for, you know, writing a check which had an adverse effect on certain people for years and years and years and that it was a -- that it was done in

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good faith, all right? The question of good faith is something that I can take into account. I can take good faith into account, but there is no way for me to infer that there was good faith here because no effort was made by your client to associate her actions with the claim of good faith. all I'm saying. But it doesn't matter. It is what it is. have what we have. Let's just move on. MR. SULLIVAN: May I just clarify the record with my final two points? THE COURT: Sure. MR. SULLIVAN: The second point is we put in our initial submission that most of the litigation claimed to be vexatious was, in fact, successful in courts of competent jurisdiction; another basis for the Court to draw an inference. And, third and finally, to the extent that the Court is not moved by any of those two inferences, then it's certainly not Clare who didn't bring it forward. It's me as her counsel and I'm ineffective in that respect and I will --I certainly will live with that, but my representation is that these cases were filed in good faith. I'm happy to provide --THE COURT: Well, Mr. Sullivan, you are just the third in a series of very capable lawyers who have been counseling Ms. Bronfman over the course of this litigation. You are not alone.

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MR. SULLIVAN: Very well, I guess I'm not that capable if we didn't prove up that point sufficiently. But that's the final category, a large category, of where the monies went. But that's -- almost 100 million went to two things clearly unassociated with Nxivm as an organization. And I just think that is an important aspect to at least highlight for Your Honor. THE COURT: Counsel, Raniere was Nxivm and if your client was bailing out Mr. Raniere, she was in effect bailing out Nxivm, no? MR. SULLIVAN: I don't agree with that as I understand the corporate structure of Nxivm, Mr. Raniere could have issues. He certainly was the founder and the charismatic leader and, yes, if he failed, I suppose Nxivm would have failed. My simple point was that 100 million didn't go to the corporate entity itself; that it was quite well self-sustained and, to my knowledge, none of the earnings from the corporate entity went to the commodities or anything like that. know, the 30 million for Ethical Science Foundation was a group within Nxivm, but it was self-funded for that and, of course, no one has ever claimed that that money didn't go to that research. So that's --THE COURT: Okay. Go ahead. MR. SULLIVAN: So, the final section here, Your Honor, we submitted as well a number of character letters

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about Clare. Because of the rules of court and federal statutes they obviously do not have the opportunity to make the claims in front of Your Honor in open court but we ask Your Honor to consider these as well. These are people who have known Clare, some dated back to her pre-Nxivm days, people within Nxivm who certainly had a very different understanding and appreciation of the value or of the organization and some people who may not be fond of Nxivm anymore, but are still extraordinarily fond of Clare Bronfman and these letters weren't sort of created out of whole cloth because of the range.

People who have even encountered Clare on somewhat of a random basis, her acupuncturist, for example, all see within her a desire to do good and be helpful. Indeed some of the character witnesses that Your Honor heard from even mentioned that this seems to be at the core of Clare's personality; that she wants to do good, wants to be a humanitarian. If Your Honor finds that that desire was misused or somehow corrupted through this vehicle of Nxivm, that just doesn't speak to what is deep within Clare's character and what she understood herself to be doing in an attempt to help people in an organization whom she cared deeply for and to help an organization that she and others, for some long periods of their lives, cared deeply for.

Now, I certainly grant that Your Honor heard a

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six-week trial and there is a lot that came out about Nxivm as one witness, Ms. Bouchey pointed out, was absolutely behind the curtain, was absolutely just hidden and specifically hidden to Clare Bronfman. I think that was one of the most significant statements that came out to date, explicitly directed was the word that was used, directed, to lie to Clare Bronfman about things going on behind the curtain.

So, to the extent Your Honor is thinking through how to fashion an appropriate sentence, what was motivating Clare to spend her resources versus what was not and one thing that clearly was not was recruiting people for sex slavery or bondage or DOS and all of that that has occupied just so much paper and has been the result of at least me having to spend so much time on an issue that, you know, six days before trial, the Government said we're not even -- we're not arguing that anymore.

But it is so colored, Your Honor, the perception of Clare as an heiress funding a sex cult, when it's just not true. Clare's actions after the arrest and so forth have become a matter of dispute here and I will just say very briefly that at the trial of Mr. Raniere, Your Honor heard that key persons were told to lie to Clare about what was going on and her statement about it being a sorority, not unlike a fraternity, was simply a function of what people whom she loved and trusted -- Nancy Saltzman, as Your Honor knows

was the witness, people whom she loved and trusted told her 2 and she -- and she gave voice to that --3 THE COURT: Lauren Saltzman or Nancy Saltzman? 4 MR. SULLIVAN: I'm sorry. It was Lauren. 5 daughter, Lauren Saltzman. If I said the wrong name, forgive 6 me. 7 THE COURT: I wanted to correct the record. 8 MR. SULLIVAN: Lauren Saltzman. And that's the 9 Government's witness who said that and so to in any way, in 10 any way, impute a certain knowledge to Clare when she was 11 relying on people who she loved and trusted, strikes me as 12 unfair. And, so, in that sense, you know, this is the basis 1.3 of why we are asking for a probationary term. 14 Clare -- the thing -- the entity that many have 15 claimed through very vivid imagery used Clare in a way that 16 aided in things that it was doing outside the scope of its 17 charter is no more. That was a very garbled way of saying, 18 Your Honor, that Nxivm as an institution doesn't exist. 19 isn't a reason then to think that Nxivm is going to in any way 20 use Clare's wealth even unknowingly, even use it in a way that 21 is problematic and troubled. 2.2. With that behind us, Your Honor, the two matters for 23 which Clare pleaded to were -- the first, of course, Your 24 Honor had to do with Jane Doe Number 12 and it's the harboring 25 an illegal alien. Clare was wrong and she apologizes

profusely for doing that.

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She indeed violated the immigration laws in attempting to get Jane Doe 12 back into the -- or keep her, I should say, in the country. We've laid out context in our papers. I won't be repetitive. But, yes, she was absolutely wrong for that and stands ready to be judged by Your Honor for that.

The second use of a credit card in violation to the applicable statute. Once again, Your Honor, that violated the law. Clare Bronfman is remorseful. Clare Bronfman is very sorry that she did that and, indeed, and indeed, as we put in our papers once she figured out that that was improper, she stopped it. It's not like it was part of a diabolical plan to continue in perpetuity. Once she found out that this is not the way to do it, it's improper, it's illegal, she stopped it.

Now, the Government claims that this was in some way in order to shield Keith Raniere from showing income and that claim seems inconsistent with everything else about this matter. Her purpose was to get income and care for MF. That was her purpose. Now, the Government has erected a theory that this is to shield Keith Raniere from tax liability and so forth, but again that doesn't seem to follow because Clare understood that Keith Raniere was inheriting all of Pam's wealth and that's why she, again mistakenly and wrongfully, used the credit card and continued paying those bills because

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she thought, well, it was going to him in a way and the paperwork would get done at some point and it would all be his. So she can't both think that Pam's wealth, and I heard a figure of \$8 million, I have no idea, but Pam's wealth was going to Keith, but yet she's using a credit card to -- in this way so that his -- so that he can avoid taxes on something that she thought was going to him? It's inconsistent, Your Honor.

She was helping MF. That's what she pled to and that's what she allocuted to and that was her desire. It violates the law. Clare is very sorry. She should have done her due diligence up front. She should never have used the credit card, continued to authorize the use of the credit card to a person who has passed away, and for that she is sorry. The point I am simply trying to express to Your Honor is that her doing so was not part of some grand scheme to shield money from Keith. It was part of what is illegal and intentioned to keep funding a dear friend, MF.

So, Your Honor, this case has been briefed even -perhaps even more than Your Honor even likes with 80 pages
here, 60 pages there, another 50 pages in response and letters
flying back and forth. I'm going to adopt by reference all
the arguments made in our submissions and all the responses to
everything that Your Honor -- that Your Honor included. I
made a note, Your Honor, and I apologize that I was slow on

the draw, but there were two letters exchanged on September 24th that I think were fairly part of the sentencing submission as well and the one letter is the one I referenced where — from the Government on September 24th where in a footnote the Government said that it is not arguing that DOS victims disclosed their membership in DOS to Clare. I think it's an important part given the pages and pages about DOS.

THE COURT: Thank you.

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 $$\operatorname{MR.}$ SULLIVAN: So forgive me if I was slow on that but I wanted to add that.

And in conclusion, Your Honor, if permitted a period of probation as we are asking for, Clare will continue to attempt to use whatever wealth she has left to do some good in this world. If nothing else, she has learned tremendously from this experience about how to take ownership of what she has and make independent decisions with -- and using advisors to help inform her decisions, but to make decisions that just comply with not only law but rules and norms. She is a deeply, highly scheduled person; an individual who wants to dot every I and cross every T and to just use a colloquial phrase, do the right thing, Your Honor.

That's the Clare Bronfman that sits here before you right now, an individual who has always been committed to being in the service of humanity and now has even recommitted to being in the service of humanity. Things obviously over

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the last few years got distorted in a way that we can never turn back. But what she can do and what she's committed to do and what she will do going forward is to take the same desire that got her to do the Ethical Science Foundation, the one that got her to think about how to help people suffering from, in this case, a neurologic disorder, but suffering is what -when Clare sees someone suffer, she steps in. As Your Honor knows, she's a business owner. when COVID hit, like every place else, it went from an income to zero; to zero, to closed down, shut down. Clare did not fire, did not lay off a single employee, but rather used what resources she had to continue to pay those families so that they can eat and feed their children and educate them and so forth. When Clare sees hurt and suffering, she attempts to step in. And that she has caused hurt and suffering is deeply upsetting to her, I mean down to the marrow of her bone and her core, Your Honor, deeply upsetting that she could be the cause of suffering when all she wanted to do was to help people. THE COURT: Thank you. MR. SULLIVAN: With a brief indulgence, Your Honor, in case I neglected something. (Pause in proceedings.) MR. SULLIVAN: Thank you very much.

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THE COURT: I will hear from Ms. Bronfman after I have heard from the Government.

MS. HAJJAR: Thank you, Your Honor. The Government respectfully requests that the Court impose a sentence of 60 months. Based on everything that's before the Court; the exhibits, the memoranda the victim impact statements, the testimony at Ms. Bronfman's co-defendant's trial, such a sentence is warranted and it's necessary to accomplish the goals of sentencing. Every factor the Court must consider under Section 3553(a) weighs in favor of a significant custodial sentence, not a sentence of probation.

Turning first to the history and characteristics of this defendant and the nature of the offenses, this is no ordinary alien smuggling case. Clare Bronfman recruited individuals into Nxivm and promised to pay them a professional salary as required by immigration law. And then once they were here in the United States, Clare Bronfman exploited her victims for free labor by dangling that salary in front of them without painting them.

Starting with Jane Doe 12, whom the Court heard from today, Clare Bronfman promised to pay Jane Doe 12 \$3,600 a month or over \$43,000 a year as a management consultant in order to get her a work visa, but the defendant never planned on paying her that salary. Instead, she paid Jane Doe 12 a little over \$4,000 for over a year of work, which is less than

a third of the annual salary of a minimum wage worker.

Defense counsel in his remarks referred to context in terms of the communications between the defendant and Jane Doe 12. The only context that's reflected in the e-mails between Jane Doe 12 and the defendant was that Jane Doe 12 was in a desperate financial situation. She sent e-mails to the defendant asking her to approve a check for money that she had earned and that check was less than \$200. She said it was an emergency, that her health was suffering, that she needed the money to see a doctor and Clare Bronfman refused to approve the payment. That's the context of their communications.

Now, the defendant has asked the Court to consider only part of her conduct, only as to Jane Doe 12, but as all of the e-mails in Exhibit A of the Government's sentencing submission show, this happened again and again; that Clare Bronfman had no respect for the law, that she repeatedly lied and created false letters of employment.

(Continued on the following page.)

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MS. HAJJAR: And then in doing so, she secured a workforce of people who were dependent on her and dependent on NXIVM for legal status and for money.

And as just one other example, the defendant recruited a woman from South Africa by writing a letter purporting to award her a scholarship for her academic talents. Instead, the woman earned a living by baby-sitting children, by taking care of Bronfman's dogs, by cleaning the defendant's house and by doing all kinds of other menial and unpaid work. And as indicated in the woman's impact statement, she had to beg Bronfman to pay her tuition each semester. And each time she did, the defendant asked her, "Do think you do enough to earn it?

In the government's view, the guidelines don't begin to take into account the gravity of the defendant's conduct. This was not simply helping someone across the U.S. border. This was a sophisticated operation. Claire Bronfman used lawyers and falsified letters of employment to secure visas for people who genuinely wanted to work in the United States and believed they were coming here to earn a living. Instead, the defendant exploited them by making them pay back the cost of the visa through uncompensated work for her and for NXIVM.

I don't know what to make of defense counsel's argument that as to the other count, the identity theft count,

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that the defendant was unaware that this was in service of attempted tax evasion. That is what is charged in the information and that is what the defendant pled to, commission of that crime in connection with attempted tax evasion.

Now, I want to address two of the points, the main points that counsel made in his remarks to the Court. first relates to DOS, which the defendant's sentencing submissions focus on. And from the beginning, the government's arguments about DOS have been based on the evidence, the e-mails that the defendant does not dispute she received and she does not dispute she wrote. After the existence of DOS became known to members of the NXIVM community, the defendant received letters from DOS victims requesting the return or the destruction of their collateral. These letters were not ambiguous. They specifically identified the collateral. They described it as naked photographs, videos of branding, videos of paddling, and confessions of devastating secrets. The DOS victims made clear they were lied to in providing this collateral and they said they wanted it back and they wanted it destroyed. Bronfman didn't respond to these letters, she didn't undertake any genuine investigation of what had happened. Instead, she and Raniere drafted threatening letters to DOS victims that were sent by attorneys in Mexico. The defendant also tried to have criminal charges filed against Sarah Edmondson, one of

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the most vocal of the DOS victims, which Your Honor heard from today. And I just briefly want to address the defendant's explanation of this conduct in the reply memorandum. This is on pages 14 and 15 of the reply filing.

First, Claire Bronfman argues the fact that she received these requests for collateral shouldn't be held against her because they were also sent to other members of the NXIVM executive board and those people weren't charged. And that's simply not true. Keith Raniere, Lauren Salzman, and Nancy Salzman also received those letters, all of whom were criminally charged. But more significantly, that argument completely misses the point. We are not talking about the culpability of other members of the NXIVM executive board, we are talking about what the defendant did after receiving those letters.

On page 15 of the defendant's reply memorandum, she discusses her efforts to send threatening letters to DOS victims, and this was alluded by counsel today, a couple of minutes ago. She says that she would never try to silence crime victims. She was in possession of evidence that NXIVM's computers had been hacked into and that the NXIVM client roster was being contacted in Mexico, and that misusing NXIVM's client list to cause harm to the company was properly against the law in Mexico and the attorneys in Mexico took action based on that. That argument is completely

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contradicted by the facts. These letters were drafted by the defendant and by Raniere, not by any lawyers. The DOS victims who received these letters had no involvement with NXIVM Mexico. They had nothing to do with misusing NXIVM's client list.

And I'd like to point the Court to the actual letters, which are in Exhibit B of the government's sentencing memorandum. And those letters make clear that they have nothing to do with misusing NXIVM's client list or that they were genuine cease—and—desist letters from Mexican attorneys. They read, "You are currently connected to several criminal investigations involving fraud, coercion, extorsion and a series of other crimes. I strongly suggest that you cease and desist, undo, reverse, cancel and retract participation in all past, present and future conversations, conference calls, meetings, news media, social media, blogs or web sites."

This wasn't about misusing NXIVM client lists, this was about, quote, "news media, social media, blogs and web sites." Bronfman wanted to scare these victims and make sure they didn't go to the New York Times, like Sarah Edmondson did, to make sure they didn't speak up about their abuse. And this was a pattern of behavior in which the defendant used the threat of criminal charges to silence those she perceived to be hostile to Keith Raniere. And all of the e-mail communication with Stephen Herbits in Exhibit C illustrate

those efforts.

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Now, as the Court knows, sex crimes can be difficult to investigate and prosecute, in part because victims are often reluctant to speak about what happened to them. And Bronfman used her position of power and her attorneys to try to intimidate these victims into silence, and this, too, warrants a significant upward departure.

Next, the Court should consider the need to promote respect for the law and the need to afford adequate deterrence. And what is especially concerning to the government in this regard is that even now Bronfman continues to unequivocally support Raniere. The defense suggests that the defendant didn't know the details about DOS or every detail about all of Raniere's crimes, but she knows now. And even though Raniere has been convicted by a jury of sex trafficking, forced labor and exploitation of a child, the defendant still does not acknowledge that his conduct was unlawful or wrong. And that's significant because it suggests the defendant, who has supported Raniere without question or limitation for decades, will continue to do so.

Now, in remarks today, counsel tried to re-characterize some of Ms. Bronfman's financial support of Raniere. And I don't want to belabor this, but I do briefly want to respond to their argument about the \$67 million that were provided to Raniere. Your Honor, the defendant's own

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objections to the PSR -- this is on page 25 -- acknowledge that she made the \$67 million investment to, quote, "allow Raniere to invest in the commodities market." That language could not be clearer. This was the defendant's own objections filed by prior counsel. But the truth doesn't change just because Ms. Bronfman has new counsel. This was in this objection to the PSR.

And what's more, in a lawsuit, in a trial in 2011, Claire Bronfman testified under oath that this was a loan to Keith Raniere. I have copies of the transcript for the Court and for the defense. But this is the portion of — the relevant portion of the transcript:

"Question: So the \$65 million that Mr. Raniere borrowed and lost in the commodities markets, he never had to sign any loan document form, correct?

"Answer: Correct."

These arguments about the loan to Keith Raniere, about funding ESF, which the Court has heard about as a vehicle to provide visas for those who were coming into the United States to work for a different -- a NXIVM entity. They attempt to minimize the defendant's behavior in ways that suggest that she has not fully accepted responsibility for this conduct. And counsel's argument that Raniere was not NXIVM or not DOS simply misses the boat. There is no check in which the defendant wrote Claire Bronfman to DOS that was not

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a corporate entity, but she supported Raniere in full without limitation or restriction, and that is what the government respectfully asks the Court to consider in terms of deterrence.

And lastly, Your Honor, there also is a strong need for general deterrence in this case. The fact that the defendant used attorneys to commit these crimes makes them particularly difficult to investigate and to prosecute. significant sentence will deliver a much needed message that this conduct will have serious consequences. The government respectfully submits that there are no mitigating factors that warrant the sentence of probation that is requested by the The defendant's compliance with the terms of her defendant. pretrial release is not a basis for probation. The COVID-19 pandemic, the defendant has provided no basis to impose a sentence of probation on that ground. The government urges the Court to impose a sentence of no less than 60 months, because that is what is necessary to accomplish the goal of sentencing.

THE COURT: Anything else from you, Mr. Sullivan?

MR. SULLIVAN: Nothing else, Your Honor.

And we're ready for Ms. Bronfman when the Court is.

THE COURT: Yes. At this time, Ms. Bronfman, if there is anything you would like to say before I sentence you, please stand up, if you feel up to it, and make your

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     statement.
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               THE DEFENDANT:
                               Thank you, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT:
                           If you are reading, read slower, please.
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               THE DEFENDANT:
                               Thank you, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT:
                           Okay.
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               THE DEFENDANT: I'm sorry, my bracelet, it keeps
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     going off.
               THE COURT: Your what?
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               THE DEFENDANT: My ankle bracelet keeps going off.
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     I apologize.
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               THE COURT:
                           Oh.
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               MR. SULLIVAN: That's the noise, if Your Honor hears
     it.
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                            Just go ahead, please.
               THE COURT:
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               THE DEFENDANT: Your Honor, I'm immensely grateful
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     and privileged because all over the world today people are
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     praying for me because they know my goodness. I'm saying this
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     because, one, I'm grateful that they're praying for me and,
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     two, because I hope you will see a glimmer of what they see in
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          It doesn't mean I haven't made mistakes, because I have
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     made mistakes. I'm standing here before you today because of
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    my mistakes and my wrongful choices, and for that I am deeply
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     sorry.
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               I would also like to apologize to my friend who came
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     here today who is sitting in the room. I am truly sorry for
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all of your hardship and any pain that I caused you and I truly hope you can forgive me and that you can live a very happy life. Sorry.

Your Honor, lastly, I'm sorry for the time and the resources that I have taken from this court and from yourself for my actions. Thank you.

THE COURT: Please be seated.

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The Court is going to make a sentencing statement at this time. A copy of the statement will be placed on ECF immediately following this proceeding for anyone who wishes to access it.

All right. Having calculated the guidelines range,

I now turn to the sentence I will impose. It is

well-established law that the sentencing guidelines are merely
advisory rather than binding under this court. Accordingly,
Supreme Court and Second Circuit precedent require that I

determine an independently reasonable sentence based on an
individualized application of the statutory sentencing factors
in Title 18, United States Code, Section 3553(a). And while
as the Second Circuit has noted, that in the overwhelming
majority of cases a guideline sentence will fall comfortably
within the broad range of sentences that would be reasonable
in the particular circumstances, that is not always the case.
That is particularly true in a case such as this one where the
crimes of conviction standing alone do not fully encompass the

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larger pattern and misdeeds perpetrated by Ms. Bronfman. This case is not about an isolated incident of credit card fraud or the run-of-the-mill case of harboring of illegal aliens for financial gain. To the contrary, the crimes to which Ms. Bronfman has pleaded guilty exist in the larger context of the crimes committed by her codefendants, including Keith Raniere. A brief description of that context is therefore necessary before turning to an analysis under Section 3553(a) factors.

NXIVM, a self-styled executive coaching and self-help organization that functioned as a pyramid scheme in which members paid thousands of dollars for various workshops and new members were recruited via the promise of payments or services for enrolling others into the scheme. Raniere made members of NXIVM call him, quote, "the Vanguard," end quote, and he maintained a rotating group of 15 to 20 female NXIVM members with whom he maintained sexual relationships. These women were not permitted to have sexual relationships with anyone but Raniere or to discuss with others their relationship with Raniere.

From at least 2009 to 2018, Ms. Bronfman served on NXIVM's executive board. In 2015, Raniere created a secret society called DOS, D-O-S, or the VOW. As the PSR explains, quote, "DOS was comprised of all female masters who were NXIVM

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members who recruited and commanded groups of all female In identifying prospective slaves, masters often targeted women who were experiencing difficulties in their lives, including dissatisfaction with the pace of their advancement in NXIVM. Each DOS slave was expected to recruit slaves of her own, who in turn owed service not only to their masters but also to masters above them in the DOS pyramid. Raniere alone formed the top of the pyramid as the highest master. Other than Raniere, all participants in DOS were women. Raniere's status as head of the pyramid was concealed from all newly recruited slaves, other than those directly under Raniere. DOS masters persuaded slaves to join DOS by falsely describing it as a secret women's empowerment group and that the goal of DOS was to eradicate weaknesses in its members. Prospective slaves were required to provide collateral to prevent them from leaving the group or disclosing its existence to others. Collateral included sexually explicit photographs and videos of themselves, rights to financial assets, and videos or letters of true or untrue confessions that would be damaging to the prospective slave's family members and friends. After joining DOS, slaves were required to provide additional collateral, including sexually explicit photographs and to pay tribute to their masters, including by performing tasks that would otherwise be compensable. In addition, several DOS slaves were directed to have sex with Raniere to maintain membership." End quote.

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And I would point out that adequate proof beyond a reasonable doubt of this information was provided at Raniere's trial by victims who took the witness stand and to my satisfaction, as well as to the jurors.

As the PSR addendum notes, Ms. Bronfman objects to this paragraph of the PSR because the discussion of DOS, quote, "creates a false impression that the defendant was aware of or even a participant of DOS." End quote. While I will discuss the extent of Ms. Bronfman's knowledge of DOS in the context of Section 3553(a) factors, I note that this paragraph does not state that Bronfman was aware of or involved with DOS or that she directly funded it.

DOS operated to abuse and exploit young women for sex, labor and financial gain. There are too many example to name. To pick one, when a DOS slave developed feelings for another man, Raniere told her parents that she had committed an, quote, "ethical breach," end quote, and ordered that she be confined to her room in her parents home without human contact. Many DOS slaves were to be branded with a symbol which, unbeknownst to the slaves, represented Raniere's initials. At Raniere's instruction, the DOS victim being branded was held down by other DOS slaves and required to state, quote, "Master, please brand me. It would be an honor." End quote.

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Following a six-week jury trial over which I presided, Raniere was convicted of racketeering, racketeering conspiracy, wire fraud conspiracy, forced labor conspiracy, sex trafficking conspiracy and two counts of sex trafficking. To be crystal-clear, Ms. Bronfman was not convicted of any of those crimes, Ms. Bronfman was not convicted of participating in any racketeering activity, and there were many aspects of Mr. Raniere's crimes in which Ms. Bronfman very well may have not have been familiar. Ms. Bronfman vigorously disputes the proposition that she was aware of either DOS or any sex trafficking that Raniere engaged in and she vigorously disputes the proposition that she knowingly funded DOS or sex trafficking activity. I agree with Ms. Bronfman that the available evidence does not establish that she was aware of DOS prior to June 2017 or that she directly or knowingly funded DOS or other sex trafficking activities. However, I believe that this background about not only Raniere and NXIVM in which she held a leadership role, but also DOS in which there is no evidence that she directly participated, is relevant context for my analysis of the appropriate sentence for Ms. Bronfman. Ms. Bronfman's crimes were not committed in a vacuum, they were committed in connection with a role in NXIVM and a close relationship with Raniere, and I believe it would be inappropriate for me to consider them divorced from that context.

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Before turning to an analysis of Section 3553(a) factors, it is important to say a word about what I will be considering in that analysis. First, I have reviewed the parties' sentencing submissions, I have read the 67 letters submitted in support of Ms. Bronfman, as well as the many victim letters that have been submitted. I have listened carefully to the victims' statements made here today in court and I have heard and considered counsels' arguments. also considered testimony adduced at Raniere's trial to the extent that it is relevant and has been proven in my view by a preponderance of the evidence. It is well settled that the scope of the sentencing judge's inquiry when analyzing the Section 3553(a) factors is largely unlimited as to the kind of information the district court may consider and it is free to consider evidence of uncharged crimes, dropped counts of an indictment and criminal activity resulting in an acquittal in determining sentence. I am not bound by rules of evidence that would pertain to at a trial and I am not limited to considering admissible evidence in determining an appropriate sentence. Particularly relevant here, the Second Circuit has repeatedly held that a sentencing court is entitled to rely on information gleaned from a trial in which the person to be sentenced was neither a defendant nor represented by counsel. I now turn to the Section 3553(a) factors. Section 3553(a), I must consider several factors in imposing a

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sentence, including the nature and circumstances of the offense, the defendant's history and characteristics, the need for the sentence to reflect the seriousness of the offense, to promote respect for the law and to provide just punishment for the offense, the need for the sentence to afford adequate deterrence and the need to protect the public.

Ms. Bronfman argues that a below guidelines noncustodial sentence is appropriate because there are no aggravating factors and because her actions were, quote, "never ill-intentioned," end quote. The evidence suggests, however, that Ms. Bronfman's conduct underlying her conviction on Count One was particularly egregious because it was not only dishonest with respect to the United States Government, but it was also dishonest and damaging with respect to the individuals whom she harbored. Ms. Bronfman helped Jane Doe 12 to obtain a visa by representing that she would make \$3600 per month as a, quote, "management consultant," end quote, for a NXIVM-affiliated fitness company Exo/Eso, E-x-o-/-E-s-o. Instead, Jane Doe was barely compensated for her work.

Her e-mail correspondence with Ms. Bronfman shows that she repeatedly made Ms. Bronfman aware that Ms. Bronfman's failure to deliver on the terms of the employment agreement had left her in dire financial straits. In November 2015, for example, Jane Doe 12 e-mailed Ms. Bronfman that, quote, "with no money involved," end quote,

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she was, quote -- it was, quote, "very difficult to support herself and to keep pace with no income and with the uncertainty of not knowing how I will live each day." End quote.

The following month, in December 2015, Jane Doe 12 e-mailed Ms. Bronfman that because Exo/Eso was not paying her the contractually specified wage she was owed, she needed to find another source of income, quote, "to support myself here."

Jane Doe 12's victim impact statement makes clear that she felt tremendous pressure from Ms. Bronfman, who led her to believe that she did not deserve the salary provided for her in her employment letter because any business difficulties that Exo/Eso endured were attributable to Jane Doe's, quote, "personal issues." End quote.

According to Jane Doe 12's statement, Ms. Bronfman, despite her financial needs and earlier commitments to the contrary, explained that she, quote, "couldn't pay her," end quote, because she had failed to enroll enough participants in Exo/Eso to generate sufficient revenue.

Ms. Bronfman also used Jane Doe's immigration status as a means of pressuring her to continue working without compensation. When Jane Doe 12 e-mailed Ms. Bronfman to ask if she could look for another job, Ms. Bronfman replied that it, quote, "would impact the work agreement," end quote, and

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cause possible visa issues. Those visa issues just popped up whenever it was inconvenient for Ms. Bronfman to fulfill her obligations, and that is a sword to force people to do things and not get paid to do them. This is the same Ms. Bronfman who, according to paragraph 183 of the presentence report, had gross taxable income in the range of 26 million to over \$30 million a year in the last four years that are reported.

Several months later, Ms. Bronfman e-mailed Jane Doe 12 that in order to, quote, "stay here," end quote, she needed to address, quote, "one fundamental question yet to be answered, what are you going to do to earn your visa?" End quote.

Importantly, none of these facts are disputed.

Ms. Bronfman does not contend that she provided Jane Doe 12

with adequate or consistent compensation or honor the terms of
the employment agreement, rather she merely suggests that she
was surprised to learn that Jane Doe 12 was unhappy with the
circumstances of her employment and she thought their
relationship was, quote, "caring," end quote, and a, quote,
"friendship," end quote. But her characterization is belied
by Jane Doe 12's victim impact statement and by the e-mail
correspondence between Ms. Bronfman and Jane Doe 12.

In short, I find by a preponderance of the evidence that Ms. Bronfman refused to honor the terms of Jane Doe 12's employment agreement, demanded work from Jane Doe 12 without

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compensation and emotionally manipulated Jane Doe 12 into believing that her own personal failures and job performance, not Ms. Bronfman's refusal to pay her, were the cause of her precarious financial situation.

I think that part of Ms. Bronfman's statement was directed this afternoon at Jane Doe 12, and it would appear to me that Jane Doe 12 was affected by that. I saw it on her face today. At this very moment in this very courtroom,

Ms. Bronfman is doing again what she did then. This judge is not blind, Ms. Bronfman. I saw what you just did and I'm speechless.

And all of this emotional and financial pressure came with severe cost to the victim, a cost greater than the sum of its parts. Jane Doe 12 was eventually recruited into DOS, Raniere's secret society in which she was pressured into giving up, quote, "collateral," end quote, and becoming a, quote, "slave," end quote. I am not suggesting that

Ms. Bronfman had a direct role in Jane Doe 12's recruitment into DOS or even if she was aware of it. The evidence before me does not support such a proposition. But I do find that the kind of pressure and mistreatment that Jane Doe 12 was subjected to by Ms. Bronfman put her in a very vulnerable state, the kind of state that could make a person more susceptible to be recruited into an organization like DOS.

Moreover, the evidence suggests that this kind of

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conduct was part of a pattern. Ms. Bronfman obtained a visa for another noncitizen so that she could supposedly earn \$3600 per month as a management consultant at Exo/Eso. Three months later, that woman e-mailed Ms. Bronfman to say that she had not been, quote, "prepared for no income," end quote. Despite this individual's financial predicament, e-mails between her and Ms. Bronfman demonstrate that Ms. Bronfman's main concern was that the individual, quote, "go above and beyond," end quote, to pay her back plus interest.

Ms. Bronfman helped obtain a visa for another noncitizen, a woman from India, and actually paid her a salary but then required that the woman to pay her back when the work responsibilities she was given were less than full time.

Adrian, the brother of Jane Does 2, 3 and 4, submitted a victim impact statement in which he states that Ms. Bronfman, quote, "told me she was going to help me with my immigration problem, but she never did," end quote, and that she repeatedly talked him out of returning to Mexico, but, quote, "made sure I never got my visa so she would always have something to hold over my head." End quote. Ms. Bronfman's sentencing submissions suggests that she considered Adrian, quote, "akin to a younger brother." End quote. Apparently, the feeling is not mutual.

And at least one other woman who worked for Ms. Bronfman and who was in the United States pursuant to a

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visa that Ms. Bronfman helped to obtain was recruited into DOS. As a DOS slave, she was coerced into an unwanted and nonconsensual relationship with Raniere.

What is clear to the Court from all this is that

Ms. Bronfman made promises to immigrants that she did not

keep, exacted labor that she did not pay for and took

advantage of these individuals' financial straits and

immigration statuses in a manner that exacerbated both their

financial and emotional vulnerability and made them more

reliant on her and the NXIVM community, sometimes with very

harmful consequences.

Ms. Bronfman's conviction on Count Two for fraudulent use of identification must also be considered in the context of her relationship to Raniere and his history and conduct. The charged conduct concerns Ms. Bronfman's use of credit card and bank account information belonging to a deceased individual who had been a close associate of hers and Raniere's. Over the 15 months that followed this woman's death, Ms. Bronfman paid approximately \$135,000 in bills charged to the deceased's credit card. Additionally, approximately \$320,205 in checks and \$736,856 total disbursements were withdrawn from the deceased's account. The government suggests that this conduct was consistent with Raniere's habit of keeping expenses out of his name in an effort to avoid tax liability, while Ms. Bronfman

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characterizes her actions as a mere misunderstanding and a victimless crime since the deceased had left the entirety of her estate to Raniere. She also suggests that her only involvement in the scheme was that her office handled the bookkeeping for the deceased's account and that her role was therefore minimal and indirect. Ms. Bronfman denies that she engaged in any effort to intentionally help Raniere keep money out of his name. I agree with her that the preponderance of the evidence available to me does not suggest what her specific intentions were in authorizing expenditures of a deceased woman's money, but I do find by a preponderance of the evidence that the facts underlying this offense are consistent with a pattern of facts suggesting that Raniere attempted to minimize money that was in his name. And I find by a preponderance of the evidence that Ms. Bronfman's conduct in committing this offense helped to facilitate those efforts on Raniere's part, regardless of whether or not that is what Ms. Bronfman understood herself to be doing. This crime, like the crime in Count One, was committed within a larger context of more serious crimes and alarming behavior by Ms. Bronfman's codefendants and was consistent with the hallmarks and aims of that behavior. That does not necessarily mean that Ms. Bronfman shared in those aims, but it is still a relevant context and I can take it into consideration. Ms. Bronfman is a person of considerable privilege

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and wealth, so much so, in fact, that she was able to give NXIVM and other Raniere-associated endeavors more than \$100 million. There is nothing wrong with being wealthy, of course, but I am troubled by the evidence suggesting that Ms. Bronfman repeatedly and consistently leveraged her wealth and social status as a means of intimidating, controlling and punishing individuals whom Raniere perceived as his adversaries, particularly NXIVM'S detractors and critics. For example, in 2008, in a 2008 e-mail to Stephen Herbits, H-e-r-b-i-t-s, a friend of Ms. Bronfman's father whom she believed to have political connections, Ms. Bronfman inquired whether criminal indictments could be brought against NXIVM critic Rick Ross. She wrote that the, quote, "Ross camp needs to be fearful, back down and look to fix the damage they have done, " end quote, " and that, quote, "the thought of criminal charges may help inspire this." End quote. separate e-mail, she indicated that she hoped Mr. Herbits would, quote, "rapidly facilitate Mr. Ross's indictment and conviction." Mr. Herbits testified at Raniere's trial that Ms. Bronfman also asked him to contact the Attorneys General of New York and New Jersey to request that they prosecute Mr. Ross. Furthermore, Ms. Bronfman's efforts to intimidate and silence NXIVM's critics were not limited to its prominent

and powerful detractors. In 2017, for example, she e-mailed a

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Mexican lawyer photographs of three of Raniere's former partners along with descriptors that seemed to be aimed at facilitating the former partners' contemporaneous identification. According to the government, all three of these women had become vocal critics of Raniere. It is not clear from the record why Ms. Bronfman wanted this lawyer to be able to visually identify these women, but it is hard to imagine an innocuous explanation.

Numerous victim impact statements from other individuals corroborate the fact that Ms. Bronfman was forceful and aggressive in her efforts to use the legal system to silence NXIVM's critics. One woman wrote that Ms. Bronfman and Raniere, quote, "put a lot of pressure on her to sue her mother because she was publicly speaking out about NXIVM and they wanted to silence her." End quote. The parents of a young woman whom NXIVM sued for publishing its course materials online wrote that it is, quote, "not possible to overstate," end quote, the significance of Ms. Bronfman's financial support for the litigation against their daughter, calling her, quote, "the very fuel that powered the NXIVM engine of vengeance and cruelty." End quote.

It was one thing to believe in NXIVM's mission and methods and to adhere to its teachings. As Ms. Bronfman points out, she was far from alone in that respect. But the record is clear that she used her incredible wealth and

attempted to use her social status and connections not only to 1 2 support NXIVM's work, but also was a means of intimidating, 3 threatening and exacting revenge upon individuals who dared to 4 challenge its dogma. 5 This culture of stifling and threatening dissenters, 6 a culture that Ms. Bronfman clearly participated in and 7 perpetuated, is the same culture that gave rise to the darkest 8 and most horrific crimes that Raniere and others committed. This was one of the mechanisms by which Raniere exerted and 9 10 retained power over his victims. And even if Ms. Bronfman did 11 not knowingly facilitate Raniere's worst crimes, as a general 12 matter she was his accomplice in the effort to intimidate and 1.3 silence detractors, using her wealth and privilege as a sword on Raniere's and NXIVM'S behalf. 14 15 (Continued on the next page.) 16 17 18 19 20 21 2.2. 23 24 25

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THE COURT: Ms. Bronfman's comfort with using her wealth and status to attack perceived enemies is evidenced in further ways. The first involves her role in hacking into a computer of her father, Edgar Bronfman. In October 2003

Forbes Magazine published an article in which Mr. Bronfman was quoted as calling Nxivm a "cult." From that point on, Raniere reportedly considered Mr. Bronfman to be on the "enemy side." as a result, Raniere told Jane Doe 4 that it would be good to gain access to Mr. Bronfman's e-mail.

Initially the plan to access Mr. Bronfman's e-mails was that Ms. Bronfman, given her relationship with her father, would send him e-mail messages containing a link to software that when opened would infect his computer and provide Jane Doe 4 access to his e-mail. Jane Doe 4 testified that she handed Ms. Bronfman a USB with a file on it that she would send to her father as an attachment. Ms. Bronfman sent multiple e-mails with the attachment to the father; but the plan was stymied because for whatever reason, Mr. Bronfman did not open the e-mails. To overcome this obstacle, Ms. Bronfman ended up physically plugging a USB drive given to her by Jane Doe 4 into her father's computer, clicking on the necessary software, and infecting the computer locally. Ms. Bronfman was successful, and Jane Doe 4 was able to monitor

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request" of Raniere. Ms. Bronfman's attempts to downplay this incident as an "unproven" and a mere "family dispute" notwithstanding. I find that Jane Doe 4's testimony credibly establishes Ms. Bronfman's role in this scheme by a preponderance of the evidence. And I am troubled by Ms. Bronfman's dismissive characterization of this incident as a "family dispute." This is serious conduct, and it became more of a family dispute the moment that Ms. Bronfman gave access to her father's e-mail account to individuals that were outside the family and who in fact considered her father to be an "enemy." Ms. Bronfman was not finished helping Raniere spy on his perceived enemies. According to the testimony of FBI Special Agent Michael Weniger, Ms. Bronfman paid "upwards of \$400,000" to a Canadian company called can Canaprobe to spy on Raniere's enemies, including Rick Ross. In the face of this testimony, Ms. Bronfman now argues that she was "led to believe that Canaprob's work was legal because Canada had different laws than the United States." While, I find it difficult to imagine that Ms. Bronfman thought that this kind of surveillance would be legal in Canada but not in the United States, that debate is purely academic. Ms. Bronfman concedes that she was aware that Canaprob specialized in "tracking global asset movement and concealment, " and the testimony of Special Agent Weniger,

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supported by substantial documentary proof, establishes by a preponderance that Ms. Bronfman spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on Canaprob services in an attempt to gain information about Raniere's so-called enemies. I find this behavior to be yet another example of a consistent theme of Ms. Bronfman: At every turn she was a willing partner to Raniere in his efforts to intimidate and silence perceived enemies or threats.

Perhaps the most troubling of this theme concerns Ms. Bronfman's actions when she was confronted with the information about DOS. Ms. Bronfman is adamant comment that DOS was a secret society that she "neither participated nor knew anything about it." To be clear, the fact that some "commodities," a "few loans," and "patents," translated to Ms. Bronfman giving Raniere and Raniere-associated endeavors more than \$100 million, yet again, an almost unshakeable commitment to Raniere on the part of Ms. Bronfman. Yet, I discuss DOS not because the evidence establishes, for example, that Ms. Bronfman funded specific DOS activities or even knew about specific DOS rituals in real time. I do not find that the Government has proven by a preponderance of the evidence that Ms. Bronfman knowingly funded particular criminal activities. I do not find that Ms. Bronfman knowingly funded a sex cult.

There is ample evidence, however, that as

Ms. Bronfman was confronted with information about DOS, and,

therefore, necessarily became aware of it, she doubled down on 1 2 her support of Raniere and pursued her now familiar practice of attacking his critics. 3 4 In June 2017, the existence of DOS started to become 5 known within the larger Nxivm community when the husband of 6 Sarah Edmondson, a DOS "slave," publicly confronted a DOS 7 First Line member, Lauren Salzman, about the cult. 8 Subsequently Ms. Salzman began to receive requests by DOS 9 slaves, many of whom were longtime Nxivm members who 10 Ms. Bronfman knew, that their collateral be returned to them. 11 When asked what she did when she received those requests, Ms. Salzman testified that "I forwarded them to Clare" because 12 1.3 "Clare was heading up our legal initiatives." One such e-mail from a DOS victim that Salzman 14 15 forwarded to Ms. Bronfman began as follows: "I am requesting 16 the immediate return and/or destruction of the collateral I 17 provided to you, as well as the nude photographs and videos of 18 me that were produced within DOS under your direction." It 19 continued, "My participation in DOS and all material provided 20 or created during that time was based on false information you 21 gave me end." It concluded, "I don't want to worry about my 2.2. collateral being exposed and I absolutely have that right." 23 Ms. Bronfman protests what she considers to be the 24 Government's assertion that her receipt of these e-mails 25 imputes to her foreknowledge of DOS's activities. That is not

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what I find to be true, and I do not base Ms. Bronfman's sentence on the assumption that she knew about DOS prior to receiving these e-mails. What it does impute, however, and what I do consider relevant is Ms. Bronfman's awareness, in that moment, of DOS victims urgently reaching out to cover their "collateral," including as Ms. Bronfman now knew, nude photographs and videos and expressing obvious fear that this collateral would be exposed.

With this knowledge Ms. Bronfman could have begun to distance herself from Raniere in an attempt to help those who were clearly in need. Instead, she chose to double down on her support for Raniere, even helping to facilitate further intimidation of DOS victims. For example, shortly after learning that the New York Times would be publishing an article about DOS in September 2017, Raniere sent an e-mail to Ms. Bronfman with the subject line, "What are your thoughts" containing a draft of a threatening letter to be sent to DOS victims.

The Government has quoted I think part of that letter and I'm not going to quote it again, but I'm placing it in the record as part of my statement.

Less than 30 minutes later, Ms. Bronfman e-mailed the text of the e-mail to an associate in Mexico. The next day the DOS victim referenced in the draft e-mail received an e-mail from a Mexican attorney, Ricardo Olmedo, with an

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attachment of a Microsoft Word document containing nearly word for word the text of the e-mail sent by Raniere to Ms. Bronfman. Metadata of the Word document received by the DOS victim reflects that the creator of the document was Ms. Bronfman. Raniere sent further drafts of threatening e-mails to Bronfman who passed them along to Olmedo, who sent them to DOS victims. In other words, here we have Ms. Bronfman in September 2017 working hand-in-hand with Raniere to intimidate and silence victims of Raniere's a brutal campaign of sexual abuse and exploitation. I frankly find Ms. Bronfman's explanation of this behavior deeply disingenuous. Ms. Bronfman argues that she was "informed individuals associated with Nxivm Mexico company were being called, scared and persuaded to leave Nxivm." As a result, and supposedly out of magnanimous sense of duty to people who were reliant on Nxivm for their income and whose livelihoods might be put at risk if Nxivm members were talked into leaving. Ms. Bronfman explained that she "sought legal counsel to help stop what she was told was criminal behavior based in Mexican law," and "together with Nxivm Mexico lawyers aggressively tried to stop the damage." Such an argument flies in face of the facts. Raniere specifically sought out Ms. Bronfman to review and

forward his threatening letters, which she then ensured were

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sent to Raniere's victims. She cannot now seek to pawn off the entire chain of events on counsel. Ms. Bronfman further avers that she merely engaged counsel in Mexico out of a concern that Nxivm's client list was being misused. suggestion is belied by the language of the letter, which is plainly written in a manner designed to threaten its recipient. In lieu of any mention of the Nxivm client list the letter accuses its recipient of being "connected to several criminal investigations involving fraud, coercion, extortion, harassment, stalking, theft, larceny, hate crime, criminal conspiracy, breaking and entering, computer crimes, wire fraud, criminal enterprise, and corporate espionage." That is a threat. And not surprisingly, recipients of these e-mails felt threatened. One DOS victim who received a threatening letter writes to the Court that "words can not describe" the experience of receiving a "threatening letter from a lawyer in Mexico that basically warned me that I better keep my mouth shut about DOS or I would suffer the consequences." Another DOS victim who received such a letter writes that the letter represented "underhanded intimidation to scare me into remaining silent." The victim's statement continues, "When I was at my most vulnerable, Clare Bronfman traumatized me." The trend continued for Ms. Bronfman. December 2017, Ms. Bronfman issued a public statement in which

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she falsely characterized DOS as a "sorority" that "truly benefited the lives of its members and does so freely." Ms. Bronfman is adamant that at the time she made the statement "she was acting with limited information" and that she "did not understand the full scope of DOS until Keith Raniere's trial." What Ms. Bronfman did not know at the time, however, was that DOS victims were reaching out to Lauren Salzman asking for their -- sorry. What Ms. Bronfman did know at the time, however, was that DOS victims were reaching out to Lauren Salzman and asking her for their "collateral" of nude photographs and videos to be returned. She knew that Raniere had sent threatening letters to DOS victims, letters she helped draft and send. She knew in October 2017 the New York Times published an expose on DOS, in which, for example former DOS "slave" Sarah Edmondson describes getting branded and saying as instructed, "Master, please brand me. It would be an honor." Yet, Ms. Bronfman was too concerned with, as she put it in her December 2017 statement, the potential "tragedy" of losing the "innovative and transformational ideas and tools" of Nxivm to acknowledge the horrors that had occurred within

take action on behalf of those who had been badly hurt.

the community to which she both belonged and helped lead or

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To the contrary, she acted against their interests and in defense of Raniere, yet again, by seeking to have criminal charges brought against Ms. Edmondson in Vancouver. She subsequently traveled to Mexico to live with Raniere, during which time Raniere invited First Line DOS members to participate in a "recommitment ceremony." And After Raniere's arrest, Bronfman funded his legal defense, including an initial deposit of approximately \$5 million to the fund from which her co-defendants' legal fees were paid. To date, Ms. Bronfman has contributed \$13,800,000 to an irrevocable trust to pay the legal fees of Raniere and other co-defendants. I find this behavior indicative of Ms. Bronfman's allegiance to Raniere, whatever the cost, whomever it hurts, and highly relevant to the application of the Section 3553(a) factors to Ms. Bronfman's sentence. Ms. Bronfman came to learn details about DOS and faced a choice as to whose interests she would protect: Raniere's or his victims. She chose Raniere unequivocally, and to this day she has not clearly apologized for that choice, admitted her actions were harmful, or conceded that her loyalty was misplaced. Ms. Bronfman repeatedly argues that she knew nothing about and never funded DOS. As I said earlier, I do not base my sentence on a finding that contradicts either of those claims. However, I do find it relevant that Ms. Bronfman

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seems to have a pattern of willful blindness when it comes to Raniere and his activities. As Lauren Salzman testified,

Ms. Bronfman "didn't want to know anything about DOS that she didn't need to know."

I find that the testimony particularly credible because it would not be the first time that Ms. Bronfman exuded the sense that she wanted to participate in Raniere's world while remain unaware of uglier aspects. For example, when she tried to get Stephen Herbits to convince authorities to bring criminal charges against Raniere-enemy Rick Ross, Bronfman told Herbits, "I don't need to know who is funding the efforts, how you stop that from continuing. In fact, I don't want to know. It just needs to be done and quickly."

I also find it relevant that Ms. Bronfman's allegiance to Raniere shines through again and again. She has paid his legal fees and to this day, maintains that he "greatly changed her life for the better." That is consistent with both her actions as described above and from what others have said about.

Raniere and his adherents appear to understand
Ms. Bronfman's continued loyalty, even after his trial and
conviction during which all the details of his sexual abuse
and exploitation became known to the world. For example, in a
post-conviction call between Raniere and Jane Doe 3, Jane Doe
3 reported that Ms. Bronfman is "very good with you," to which

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Raniere responded, "I don't think her view of me has changed at all, if anything it's gotten stronger." Later in the conversation when discussing whether Jane Doe 3 could share with Ms. Bronfman an op-ed about DOS authored by Raniere, Raniere explained "Yeah, oh, absolutely, yeah, anything with Clare."

Raniere's view that Bronfman remains loyal to him to this day only buttresses my conclusion that Ms. Bronfman was concerned first and foremost with protecting Raniere and attacking his enemies. That she personally feels like Raniere changed her life for the better is beside the point. And while she might not have known about DOS before receiving the collateral e-mails in September 2017, I had find it clear that in her own words, she did not want to know either.

In determining an appropriate sentence I also considered the need for a sentence that I impose to reflect the seriousness of the offense, promote respect for the law and provide just punishment. As I mentioned, the offenses of conviction, particularly Count One, were more serious here than those crimes might ordinarily be under other circumstances. The immigration-related offense is serious because Ms. Bronfman's dishonesty and misrepresentations were harmful, not only to the federal Government but to the immigrants like Jane Doe 12, who were taken advantage of and put in a position of having to work for little or no pay.

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Likewise, Ms. Bronfman's conduct with respect to Count Two had the effect of facilitating Raniere's efforts to keep money out of his name.

With respect to promoting the respect for the law,

I'm mindful of Ms. Bronfman's history of seeking to manipulate

the legal system to her advantage, both in her execution of

the offenses of conviction, and for example, by seeking to

leverage her social connections to have criminal charges

brought against Raniere's critics. This is not a defendant

who has shown great respect for the law amount, am a just

punishment must take that into account.

I also need to consider the extent to which the sentence will operate as a deterrent. Ms. Bronfman's circumstances are rather unique. I don't know how many other multi-millionaires are out there, ready to devote limitless resources at their disposal to pyramid schemes run by dangerous criminals and stifling the voices of their victims. But in another sense, her circumstances are not so unique. She maintains that she was an innocent bystander to Raniere's abhorrent conduct, completely blind to Raniere's crimes and the sex trafficking that occurred within the Nxivm community. As I have said, I find that any such blindness was willful and cultivated, and Ms. Bronfman's sentence can and should serve to deter other people who find themselves in situations in which they can chose to either confront or avert their gaze

from the harm brought by their actions and the actions of those to whom they are close.

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I also need to consider whether the sentence will protect the public from further crimes committed by

Ms. Bronfman. I believe that Ms. Bronfman has been chastened by this experience, and she expressed remorse for the crimes to which she pleaded guilty. I don't doubt her sincerity. It does, however, concern me that she continues to stand by Raniere and believe in his work, even as he stands convicted of heinous conduct. Nonetheless, I don't expect her to commit further crimes of this nature, regardless of the sentence that I imposed.

I've considered the range of sentences by the Sentencing Guidelines. There is no minimum mandatory sentence for the offenses of conviction, and Ms. Bronfman requests a non-custodial sentence. I've considered that possibility, but given the nature and circumstances of the offenses and the context in which they were committed, my view is that a non-custodial sentence would be insufficient. I have considered the sentences that are below the Guidelines range, and the sentences that are within the range, and I have considered sentences that are above that range, up to and statutory maximums of ten years on Count One and 15 years on Count Two. Because these sentences may be imposed either concurrently or consecutively, the combined statutory maximum

I sentence Ms. Bronfman to is 25 years.

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I've considered the need to avoid unwarranted sentence disparities between Ms. Bronfman and other defendants who have been convicted of similar conduct. But I find for the reasons I have explained, that the context of Ms. Bronfman's criminal conduct places her in and all together different category from other defendants convicted of the same offenses; and, therefore, her circumstances defy easy comparison. I've also considered the threat that Covid-19 poses to incarcerated persons and the humanitarian need to minimize our prison populations in light of the pandemic.

Neither Ms. Bronfman's age nor health condition place her in the category of high-risk individuals, and I find that her conduct warrants custodial sentence even during the pandemic.

Finally I have considered the appropriateness of imposing a fine, as I am obligated to do subject to 18 United States Code, Section 3571, unless I find Ms. Bronfman unable to pay. Section 3571(b) permits me to impose a fine on each count of up to \$250,000, for a total of \$500,000. In addition to the factors I have noted already, Section 3572(a) sets out additional factors that I must consider in determining whether to impose a fine; and if I do, what the amount should be. These factors include Ms. Bronfman's ability to pay and the financial burden that a fine impose on her or anyone else. They also include the expected cost to the Government of her

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sentence. The Guidelines fine range for Ms. Bronfman offense is between 10,000 and \$95,000. Ms. Bronfman points out that I may not impose an excessive fine as punishment, and that I should not increase the fine above the suggested range simply on the basis of her ability to pay.

In light of Ms. Bronfman's wealth there is no question that she can afford to pay any fine that I might impose, up to and including the statutory maximum. As I've already explained, I find that the seriousness of her offenses viewed in the context of her other conduct and the conduct of her co-defendants to whom she remains loyal justifies a serious sentence. As one aspect of that sentence, I'm imposing the statutory maximum fine of \$500,000. I select this find amount not because Ms. Bronfman is wealthy, but because I believe the nature and seriousness of her conduct warrants such a substantial fine. And because I find that her personal financial circumstances do not preclude from imposing it.

In determining an appropriate sentence I am guided by the Second Circuit's instruction that I use the Guidelines as an initial benchmark and then make an informed an individualized sentencing determination, taking into account all the statutory factors. Applying the statutory factors to this case I find that a substantial upward variance is appropriate. As the foregoing has made clear, I find that the

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nature and circumstances of Ms. Bronfman's offenses exacted a harm not reflected in the Guidelines and placed her conduct outside the ordinary realm of these offenses. I also find that a fair appreciation of her history and characteristics, including her repeated attempts to leverage her wealth and status as a sword against Raniere's enemies, and her decision as she became aware of DOS to remain steadfast in her support of Raniere, lead to the conclusion greater than the upper limit of a Guidelines is warranted. The remaining statutory factors, likewise, reflect the above guideline sentence. The defendant will stand. I sentence you, Ms. Bronfman -- are you ready to be sentenced? THE DEFENDANT: Yes, your Honor. THE COURT: I sentence you, Ms. Bronfman, as A prison sentence of 81 months in the custody of the Attorney General, which is three times the high end of the Guidelines range, and which takings into account the severity of your illegal behavior. A fine in the amount of \$500,000 the statutory maximum, payable immediately. A \$200 special assessment, also due immediately. Three years' post-incarceration supervised release on each count to be served concurrently, restitution in the amount of \$96,605.25 to Jane Doe 12 on Count One. And finally I also enter and order forfeiture money judgment of \$6 million, which you have consented to in your plea agreement, payable within 30 days.

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You have the right to appeal your sentence to the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit if you believe the Court has not properly sentenced you. Your time to appeal is extremely limited, so you should consult with your attorneys at once whether an appeal would be worthwhile. You may be seated. I'm prepared to remand the defendant. MR. SULLIVAN: We ask that you allow Ms. Bronfman to surrender herself, get her affairs in order, particularly given some of the money judgments that we need her present in order to help facilitate quickly, so a reasonable amount of time for surrender. She's been compliant and has 100 million bond existing already, so we ask for a reasonable amount of time. THE COURT: Well, the application is denied. Ms. Bronfman has attorneys and investment advisers and others who she can direct to take care of her financial obligations to the Court and she can do that while she's awaiting the Bureau of Prisons' determining where she will be spending most of her time, at least initially. The application is denied. The Court is remanding the defendant to the custody of the Attorney General. MR. SULLIVAN: We'll make an oral note and submit appeal papers to follow. THE COURT:

Yes.

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PROBATION OFFICER: Probation would request that you read the special conditions of supervised release on the record.

THE COURT: Let me read the conditions of supervised release, the defendant's special conditions of supervised release.

The defendant shall comply with the fine and restitution orders. Upon request, the defendant shall provide U.S. Probation Department full disclosure of her financial records, including co-mingled income, expenses and assets, and liabilities, to include yearly income tax returns, with the exception of a financial accounts reported and noted within the presentence report. The defendant is prohibited from maintaining and/or opening any additional individual and/or joint checking, savings or other financial accounts for either personal or business purposes without the knowledge and approval of the U.S. Probation Department.

The defendant shall cooperate with the Probation

Office in the investigation of her financial dealings. And she'll provide truthful monthly statements of her income and expenses. The defendant shall cooperate in the signing of any necessary authorization to the release the information permitting the U.S. Probation Department access to financial information and records.

The defendant shall not associate in person through

1 e-mail, through mail, electronic mail, telephone with any 2 individual any affiliation through Executive Success Programs, 3 Nxivm, DOS or any other affiliated Nxivm organizations. 4 shall the defendant frequent any establishment or locale where 5 these groups may be, pursuant to but not limited to 6 prohibition list provided by the U.S. Probation Department. 7 Defendant shall not contribute to the Bureau of 8 Prisons commissary accounts of any co-defendants or participants in Executives Success Programs, Nxivm, DOS or any 9 10 other Nxivm affiliated organizations. 11 I've already discussed the special assessment. All the standard conditions of supervision are included. 12 1.3 (Continued on next page.) 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25

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(Continuing.)
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               THE COURT: Anything else from the probation
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     officer?
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               PROBATION OFFICER: No, Your Honor.
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               THE COURT: And I'd like to thank the probation
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     officer for her excellent work in providing the Court and the
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     parties with the pre-sentence report and the addendum to the
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     pre-sentence report.
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               MS. DANIZ:
                           Thank you.
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               THE COURT: Anything further from the Government?
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               MS. HAJJAR: Just one matter, Your Honor.
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               The Government continues to receive restitution
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     requests, some of which may or may not be directed at this
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     particular defendant. So pursuant to 18 USC, 3664(d)(5),
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     should there become a restitution request directed at the
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     defendant, the Government will submit it to the Court with a
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     submission in the event that the Court wishes to amend the
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     judgment to add additional restitution.
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               THE COURT: Well, how long will this take? Because
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     I'd like to -- I'm interested in closing the door on these
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     defendants' cases and I don't want to keep the door open any
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     longer than I absolutely have to.
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               MS. HAJJAR: If at all possible, for it to track
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     with Ms. Bronfman's co-defendant, Keith Raniere, I suspect
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     that may of the claims for restitution may be directed at one
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or the other.
              The government wants to make sure the Court has
all of these restitution requests and can then make that
determination. So if that's possible to do, the government
will provide those requests.
          THE COURT:
                      I think it's important for defense
counsel to understand that we're going to close this out.
          MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor.
          THE COURT: And I'm sentencing Mr. Raniere on
October 27th.
              So, I'll give you 90 days from October 27th to
provide that information for both defendants.
         MS. HAJJAR: Thank you, Your Honor.
          THE COURT: And I'll only hold the matter open as to
any additional terms of the judgment, restitution, until 90
days from October 27th.
         MS. HAJJAR: Yes, Your Honor. Thank you.
          THE COURT: And then I also, as long as we're here,
I'm interested in getting the other sentencings on the
schedule. There are five other defendants, and I think that
we need to move the matter along and resolve the sentencing of
the other five defendants as well.
         MS. HAJJAR: Okay.
          THE COURT:
                      Thank you very much.
          Anything else from the defense?
          MR. SULLIVAN: Nothing.
          THE COURT: All right. Thank you very much,
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     everyone.
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                 (Whereupon the proceedings adjourned.)
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