

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

v.

MICHAEL T. FLYNN,

Defendant

Crim. No. 17-232 (EGS)

**GOVERNMENT’S SURREPLY TO DEFENDANT’S REPLY IN SUPPORT OF
MOTION TO COMPEL THE PRODUCTION OF *BRADY* MATERIAL AND
ORDER TO SHOW CAUSE**

The United States of America, by and through its undersigned counsel, respectfully
this surreply to respond to arguments and claims raised for the first time by defendant M
Flynn in his Reply in Support of His Motion to Compel Production of *Brady* Material a
Hold the Prosecutors in Contempt, *United States v. Flynn*, 17-cr-232 (Doc. 129-2) (“Re
filed on October 22, 2019. Although the defendant ostensibly accepts that *Brady v. Ma*
373 U.S. 83 (1963), and the Court’s Standing Order, pertain to information that is favor
material to his guilt or punishment, his Reply is untethered to that standard. As describ
each new argument or claim is unsupported by fact or law, and does not identify favora
material information that the government has failed to produce. Accordingly, the defen
motion should be denied.

**I. *Brady* Does Not Require the Government to Produce Material to an Uncha
Individual During an Ongoing Criminal Investigation**

preceded his December 1, 2017 guilty plea. *Brady* imposes no such requirement for uncharged individuals. *Brady* requires the government to disclose all evidence that is “favorable to the accused . . . where the evidence is material either to guilt or punishment.” *United States v. Bagley*, 473 U.S. 667, 669 (1985) (quoting *Brady*, 373 U.S. at 87) (emphasis added). *Brady* is rooted in the Constitutional right to due process. “Due process” imposes constraints on governmental decisions that deprive individuals of “liberty” or “property” interests with the meaning of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth or Fourteenth Amendment. *Mathews v. Eldridge*, 424 U.S. 319, 332 (1976). The defendant identifies no court that has found the *Brady* doctrine applicable outside the context of a formally charged criminal case.¹

Here, the defendant alleges that he was “entitled to all the *Brady* evidence in the government’s possession well before November 2017.” Reply at 20. Prior to December 2017, however, the defendant had not been charged with a crime. After communications between the government and the defendant’s counsel, the defendant agreed to meet with the government on five occasions in November 2017 (specifically, on November 16, 17, 20, 21, and 29). Each interview was voluntary. The defendant was represented by counsel, was free to leave at any time, and was afforded protections by the government against his statements during those meetings being used against him. During the entirety of the interviews, the government had not filed criminal

¹ Courts outside of this district have applied *Brady*-type disclosure in civil cases “in certain situations” where a person’s liberty was at stake. *See Brodie v. Dep’t of Health & Human Services*, 951 F. Supp. 2d 108, 118 (D.D.C. 2013), *aff’d sub nom. Brodie v. U.S. Dep’t of Health & Human Services*, No. 13-5227, 2014 WL 211222 (D.C. Cir. Jan. 10, 2014). The three decisions are the only ones that have ever applied *Brady* to a civil case, and none of them found that the government had formally initiated

against the defendant, and a plea agreement had not been signed. In short, the government has no obligation to provide the defendant with any information before or during those voluntary interviews.²

Thereafter, the government disclosed to the defendant multiple pieces of information that the defendant now claims are exculpatory: one of the interviewing agents was under investigation for misconduct relating to certain text messages that showed a preference for one of the candidates for President; the same interviewing agent believed that the defendant had a sure demeanor and did not give any indicators of deception during the January 24 interview; and both interviewing agents had the impression at the time that the defendant was not lying or did not think he was lying. The government also answered various questions from defense counsel. *See* Government's Response to Defendant's Motion to Compel the Production of *Brady* Material, For an Order to Show Cause at 5-6, *United States v. Flynn*, 17-cr-232 (D.D.C. Oct. 1, 2017) (Doc. 122) ("Opposition").

After the government made those disclosures, on November 30, 2017, the defendant signed the plea agreement and the government filed an information with the Court, charging the defendant with one count of "willfully and knowingly" making material false statements about his communications with the Russian Ambassador during an interview with the Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI") on January 24, 2017 ("January 24 interview"). On December 1, 2017, the defendant entered a knowing and voluntary guilty plea. Thereafter, this case was transferred to this Court, which issued its Standing Order. *Id.* at 3-7.

Beginning on March 18, 2018, after the issuance of a protective order, the government provided additional discovery to the defendant. Although the defendant now complains about the pace of that discovery, before December 18, 2018, the defendant was in possession of the information on which he now bases his argument that the case should be dismissed because of government misconduct. *See* Reply at 1-2, 16, 26; Notice of Discovery Correspondence at 1-2; *United States v. Flynn*, 17-cr-232 (D.D.C. Oct. 1, 2019) (Doc. 123). Thereafter, on December 18, 2018, the defendant and his counsel affirmed for this Court that they had no concerns that potentially *Brady* material or other relevant material had not been provided to the defendant. *See* Discovery Transcript at 8-10, *United States v. Flynn*, No. 17-cr-232 (D.D.C. Dec. 18, 2018) (“12/18/18 Hearing Tr.”). The defendant further affirmed, under oath, that he wished to proceed to sentencing because he was guilty of making false statements to the FBI. *See id.* at 16.

II. The Government Did Not Suppress Exculpatory Information Relating to the Creation of the January 24 Interview Report

The defendant now asserts that the government has suppressed exculpatory material pertaining to the January 24 interview report that documents his false statements to the FBI. Reply alleges that the government has suppressed the “original 302” of the January 24 interview and fabricated certain notes and reports of the January 24 interview. Reply at 23-24. The defendant’s arguments appear premised on three contentions: that “material” changes were made to the January 24 interview report after February 10, 2017; that the government hid the fact that the defendant’s interview was a sure demeanor; and that former Deputy Assistant Director (“DAD”) Peter Strzok’s handwritten notes were not taken contemporaneously during the interview. *See* Reply at 10-11, 23-24.

to the agents about his communications with the Russian Ambassador on January 24, 2017. Both interviewing agents' handwritten notes are clear that when they first asked the defendant about his contacts with Russia, the defendant spoke about multiple communications, but not about his communications with the Russian Ambassador about the United Nations ("UN") Vote on U.S. Sanctions. *See* Exhibit 1, DAD Strzok's Handwritten Notes of January 24 Interview ("Strzok Notes") (no mention of U.S. Sanctions or the UN Vote before the agents provided a "reminder" about the UN Vote); Exhibit 2, Other Interviewing Agent's Handwritten Notes of January 24 Interview at 3 ("Other Agent Notes") (same). Both interviewing agents' notes are clear that when they ultimately prompted the defendant about his conversations on the phone with the Russian Ambassador, he repeatedly denied that his efforts were intended to get Russia (or other foreign governments) to change their vote. *See* Other Agent Notes at 3 ("What is your position // No: hey if you do this...;" Question: "Any vote this way, slow down[?]," Answer: "No."); Strzok Notes at 3 ("I don't know where I stood on that vote;" "Wasn't hey if you do this it will be that;" Question: "Do you consider voting this way?," Answer: "No. Where do you stand? What's position."). And both interviewing agents' notes are clear that the defendant maintained that he had "[n]o recollection" of speaking with the Russian Ambassador about U.S. Sanctions, and that the defendant had to have a "long drawn out" conversation with the Russian Ambassador about "don't do something." *See* Other Agent Notes at 4; Strzok Notes at 3 ("Ø recollection? Not really, I don't remember anything;" "Ø long drawn out about don't do something"). The final interview report and every draft of that report document those same false statements, in a clear and consistent manner. *See* Drafts of FD-302 Report of January 24 Interview (Exhibit 3)

statement that the other interviewing agent included in the draft of the report. *See* Exhibit 4. Neither of those sentences pertain to the defendant's false statements. A careful review of the draft of the interview report dated February 10, 2017, details each of the defendant's material false statements—which track the agents' handwritten notes. *Id.* at 1-5. In describing the defendant's communications with Russian officials, including his call with the Russian Ambassador on December 29, 2016, the defendant did not disclose his communications with the Russian Ambassador about the UN Vote or U.S. Sanctions. *Id.* at 1-3. When prompted about the UN Vote, the defendant acknowledged he had such a communication, but falsely stated that the purpose was to “get a sense of where countries stood on the vote.” *Id.* at 4. When the agents asked him if he made any comment to the Russian Ambassador about voting in a particular way, “Flynn answered, ‘No.’” *Id.* With respect to U.S. Sanctions, the defendant specifically “did not” recall such a conversation with the Russian Ambassador (despite having two such conversations). *Id.* at 4. When the agents pressed the matter, and asked whether the defendant encouraged the Russian Ambassador to not engage in a “tit-for-tat,” the defendant false stated, “Not really. I don't remember. It wasn't, ‘Don't do anything.’” *Id.* at 4-5. When the agents pressed the matter again, the defendant stated that “he did not have a long drawn out discussion about ‘don't do anything.’” *Id.* at 5. The final interview report, just like the agent's handwritten notes, contains all of the above material false statements. *See* Notice (Official Record of January 24 Interview Report), *United States v. Flynn*, No. 17-cr-232 (D.D.C. June 6, 2019) (Doc. 85). The defendant's interview report between February 10 and February 15, largely grammatical and stylistic changes, alter the above-described false statements

interview report in its possession. Second, the most “original” interview documents are handwritten notes themselves, which the government provided to the defendant and defendant’s multiple false statements. Third, even if an earlier draft of the interview report existed, there is *no* reason to believe it would materially differ from the interviewing agent’s handwritten notes or the other drafts—all of which state that the defendant made the same false statements to which the defendant admitted guilt. Fourth, the interviewing agents’ statements to FBI and Department of Justice (“DOJ”) officials immediately following the interview on January 24, 2017, confirm that the defendant made multiple false statements. This is why DOJ officials immediately contacted the White House after the interview (the National Security Advisor had just lied to the FBI about his communications with Russia). And the defendant’s false statements to the FBI on January 24, 2017, were the same false statements he made just days earlier to Vice President Michael Pence, White House Chief of Staff John Priebus, White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer, and *The Washington Post*.⁴

The defendant also now adopts the position that DAD Strzok’s handwritten notes were not taken contemporaneously during the interview. *See* Reply at 24-25. However, for the defendant relies on a handwriting expert, whose declaration provides the unremarkable

³ *See, e.g.,* Reply, Ex. 2 at 4 (DAD Strzok described the defendant to former FBI Director James Comey and Lisa Page on January 24, 2017, as “denying it all”).

⁴ *See Face the Nation Transcript January 15, 2017: Pence, Manchin, Gingrich, et al.* (NBC NEWS (Jan. 15, 2017) (Vice President recounting that defendant told the Vice President that defendant did not discuss sanctions with the Russian Ambassador); *Meet The Press* 01/15/17 (NBC NEWS (Jan. 15, 2017) (Priebus recounting defendant told him “[t]he subject matter

conclusion that the expert could render “no conclusion” on whether the notes were written during the interview. Reply, Ex. 16 at 3.⁵ The defendant also does not contest the authenticity of other interviewing agents’ notes, which confirm the defendant’s multiple false statements. Interviewing agents repeatedly attested to the accuracy of the final interview report, which also confirm the defendant’s false statements. *See, e.g.*, FD-302 of Other Interviewing Agents, FD-302 of Jan. 31, 2018 (Exhibit 4) (“all of the information in the FD-302 [of the January 24 interview] is accurate”).

The defendant also places significant weight on DAD Strzok’s remark that the defendant had “a very ‘sure’ demeanor and did not give any indicators of deception.” Strzok 302 of FD-302 of Jan. 31, 2018 (Exhibit 4). Without citation or explanation, the defendant intimates that such words were edited out of an earlier draft of the interview report. *See* Reply at 24. There is no evidence that that occurred or that the government attempted to suppress those statements. It informed the defendant of DAD Strzok’s assessment before the defendant signed the plea agreement and pleaded guilty, and disclosed DAD Strzok’s assessment in a separate interview of DAD Strzok (which it provided to the defendant in discovery). Moreover, DAD Strzok’s assessment does not exonerate the defendant. There is ample public evidence that the defendant also convincingly lied to other government officials about his conversations with the Russian Ambassador. The defendant made those false statements to the Vice President, White House Chief of Staff, and White House Press Secretary, each of whom repeated the defendant’s false statements on national television.

III. The Government Did Not Suppress Exculpatory Text Messages

The defendant further alleges that the government is “suppressing” text messages between DAD Strzok and Page that are “exculpatory and material.”⁶ Reply at 6. They are neither. Specifically, the defendant refers to text messages quoted in a CNN article. One message concerns a January 10, 2017, discussion to conduct interviews based on the potential release of a report from Christopher Steele. There is no indication that Strzok and Page were referring to the defendant. To the contrary, the interview of the defendant was not related to the Steele report, or any such “pretext.” Rather, the interview of the defendant followed even before January 23, 2017, the day before his FBI interview, when the White House Press Secretary Sean Spicer recounted that he had recently spoken with the defendant, and the defendant had again been speaking to the Russian Ambassador about U.S. Sanctions. *See White House Briefing by Sean Spicer – Full Transcript*, Jan. 23, 2017, CBS NEWS. The defendant also refers to text messages that appear to relate to FBI conversations with the media. There is nothing “exculpatory

⁶ The government informed the defendant about the existence of the text messages and their import on November 30, 2017; later informed the defendant that it had learned the existence of additional text messages that it did not have access to at that time; provided a hyperlink to the new text messages when they became available; and provided additional text messages to the defendant when it later came in possession of still more text messages. Opposition at 8-9. For the first time, the defendant claims that text messages from a hyperlink that the government provided on June 24, 2018, can no longer be downloaded. *See Reply*

the messages. They occurred on February 14, 2017—weeks after the defendant had provided false statements to the FBI.⁷

IV. The Defendant’s Lies Were Material Under the Law

The defendant also claims, again for the first time, that his lies to the FBI were not material because the agents asked him “nothing relevant to efforts to interfere in the 2016 election.” Reply at 27-28; *but see* Statement of Offense at 1-2, *United States v. Flynn*, No. 17-232 (D.D.C. Dec. 1, 2017) (Doc. 4) (“FLYNN’s false statements and omissions impeded the FBI’s investigation, which otherwise had a material impact on the FBI’s ongoing investigation into the existence of any links or coordination between individuals associated with the [Trump] Campaign and Russian efforts to interfere with the 2016 presidential election.”). His false statements to the FBI on January 24, 2017, were absolutely material. At the time of the January 24 interview, the FBI was conducting a counterintelligence investigation into whether individuals associated with the campaign of then-candidate Donald J. Trump were coordinating with the Russian government to further its activities to interfere with the 2016 presidential election. *See* SPECIAL COUNSEL ROBERT MUELLER III, REPORT ON THE INVESTIGATION INTO RUSSIAN INTERFERENCE IN THE 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION (Mar. 2019) (“Special Counsel Report”), Vol. I. at 1. The defendant’s conduct and communications with Russia went to the heart of that inquiry. Actions such as the defendant’s communications with the Russian Ambassador about U.S. Sanctions could have been indicative of such coordination.

The Supreme Court has held that a false statement is material if it has “a natural tendency to influence, or [is] capable of influencing, the decision of the decision making body to

was addressed.” *United States v. Gaudin*, 515 U.S. 506, 509 (1995).⁸ The defendant’s false statements during the January 24 interview clearly meet that standard. It was important that the FBI determine whether and why such communications with the Russian Ambassador occurred. The defendant’s false statements inhibited the FBI’s ability to obtain that critical information, raised questions about why the defendant would lie to the FBI about such communications, and fundamentally influenced the FBI’s investigative activity going forward.

V. The Defendant Waived Any Potential Conflict of Interest

For the first time in his Reply, the defendant proclaims that his representation by government counsel presented an “intractable conflict of interest,” and through that conflict “the government sat back and harvested a guilty plea.” Reply at 17-18. The defendant, however, omits to mention that the government had discussions about this issue with his counsel. Whether or not there was a conflict of interest, the government raised the potential issue with the defendant’s counsel before the government ever spoke to the defendant. *See* Brandon L. Van Grack, Memo to File dated November 1, 2017 (Exhibit 5). On November 1, 2017, and November 16, 2017, the government affirmatively flagged the potential issue for the defendant’s counsel. In both instances, the defendant’s counsel indicated that they had “thoroughly discussed” the issue with their client, who stated there was “any such conflict.” *Id.* Additionally, during the scheduled sentencing hearing on December 18, 2018, the defendant declined the Court’s invitation to have the Court appoint “an independent attorney to speak with [the] defendant, review the defendant’s file, and conduct necessary research to render a second opinion for [the] defendant.” 12/18/2018 Hearing Tr. at 9.

VI. The Government Had Ample Justification to Interview the Defendant as Part of an Ongoing Investigation

The defendant also now argues that the information he seeks will prove that there is no factual or legal basis for a criminal investigation.” Reply at 14-16. In support, the defendant cites to the standard necessary to obtain a warrant pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (“FISA”). *See* Reply at 14, n.11. Obtaining a FISA warrant, however, is entirely different from the FBI interviewing an individual as part of an ongoing counterintelligence investigation. Here, there were multiple bases for the FBI to interview the defendant. The defendant’s false statements publicly attributed to him by White House officials about his communications with Russia were alone a sufficient and appropriate basis for conducting the investigative step of interviewing the defendant.

VII. There is No Basis for Sanctions, Including Dismissal

In his Reply, the defendant also seeks a new category of relief, that “this Court should dismiss the entire prosecution for outrageous government misconduct.” Reply at 32; *see* Reply at 3 (“dismiss the entire prosecution based on the outrageous and un-American conduct of law enforcement officials and the subsequent failure of the prosecution to disclose this evidence in a timely fashion or at all”). The defendant does not state under what federal or local law he is seeking such relief, or cite to relevant case law.⁹ In order to provide a response, the government presumes, given the context in which this request for relief arose, that the defendant is s

⁹ In *United Criminal Def. v. U.S. Atty. Gen.*, 2017 WL 1111111, the court stated that “[f]ederal courts should not

dismissal as a remedy or sanction for a purported failure to comply with *Brady* and/or the Court's Standing Order.

There is no basis for the new relief requested, or any sanction. In the first instance, the government has complied with *Brady*, and this Court's Standing Order, as set forth in the government's Opposition and herein. The government tendered more than 22,000 pages of material, including much of the material that the defendant relies upon for its allegations. For example, the defendant's suppression allegations in his Reply (at 5-14, 28) are based on text messages and other materials that the government provided in discovery, or that were publicly available prior to the defendant reaffirming his guilt on December 18, 2018. As described *supra*, there is no merit to the defendant's claims that the government "suppressed exculpatory text messages or an exculpatory "original 302."

Nor did law enforcement officials engage in "outrageous" conduct during the course of the investigation and prosecution of the defendant. On January 24, 2017, when the defendant was interviewed, the FBI was engaged in a legitimate and significant investigation into whether individuals associated with the campaign of then-candidate Donald J. Trump were cooperating with the Russian government in its activities to interfere with the 2016 presidential election. The defendant was not "ambushed" at the interview, and the interviewing agents certainly did not engage in "outrageous" conduct that undermines the fact that he lied. Reply at 1, 7. The documents produced by the government in discovery show that the FBI asked the defendant for permission to conduct the interview, informed the defendant that the questions would cover "contacts with the Russian Ambassador to the United States" interviewed the defendant

quoting from documents. For example, the Reply states that, according to the Strzok 3 agents decided they would not confront the defendant if he did not confirm his statement. Reply at 8. But the Reply omits the sentence in the Strzok 302 preceding that reference. DAD Strzok explained that “if Flynn said he did not remember something they knew he *they would use the exact words Flynn used . . . to try to refresh his recollection.*” Reply (emphasis added).

The interviewing agents’ handwritten notes and report provide further confirmation the defendant was not “trap[ped].” Reply at 1. The interviewing agents repeatedly sought to prompt the defendant to provide a truthful response. When the defendant first failed to discuss his calls with the Russian Ambassador about the UN Vote and U.S. Sanctions, the agents asked him about the topics themselves. When the defendant then denied making a request to the Russian Ambassador about the UN Vote, the agents nevertheless asked him if he made any communication to the Russian Ambassador about voting in a particular way. And when the defendant specifically denied talking at all about U.S. Sanctions, the agents nevertheless asked him whether the Russian Ambassador told him that the Russian government had taken the defendant’s request into account. Such conduct demonstrates that the agents were not in search of a crime, but were trying to determine about what had happened and why—which the defendant failed to provide. Had they not “trap[ped]” the defendant into a false statement charge, they would not have prompted him repeatedly to correct his statements.

For all of the above reasons, it is no surprise that with the same set of facts, the defendant and his prior counsel previously represented to this Court that the circumstances of the

FBI,” he responded, under oath, “No, Your Honor.” 12/18/2018 Hearing Tr. at 8.¹⁰ The Court then asked the defendant if he understood that “by maintaining your guilty plea and cooperating with sentencing, you will give up your right forever to challenge the circumstances under which you were interviewed,” to which the defendant answered, “Yes, Your Honor.” *Id.* And when the Court queried whether the defendant wanted an opportunity to withdraw his plea because the interviewing agents had been investigated for misconduct, the defendant stated “Yes, Your Honor.” *Id.* at 9. His counsel likewise represented to the Court that their client was “entrapped by the FBI,” and that they did not contend “any misconduct by a member of the FBI raises any degree of doubt that Mr. Flynn intentionally lied to the FBI.” *Id.* at 11-12.

The Reply, thus, fails to identify any *Brady* violations or “outrageous” conduct in this criminal case, and certainly no such conduct that is “clear and convincing.” Reply at 3.

¹⁰ See also 12/18/2018 Hearing Tr. at 8 (Court: “At the time of your January 24th, 2018 interview with the FBI, were you not aware that lying to FBI investigators was a federal crime?”; Defendant: “I was not – I was aware.”; Court: “You were aware?”; Defendant: “Yeah.”)

¹¹ Even if the Court were to find that the government had violated *Brady*, which it has not, the relief that the defendant requests for the first time in his Reply would be inappropriate. The baseline remedy for a *Brady* violation in this district is retrial, not dismissal. *United States v. Pettiford*, 627 F.3d 1223, 1228 (D.C. Cir. 2010) (“If we find a *Brady* violation, a new trial is the prescribed remedy, not as a matter of discretion.”) (internal quotation omitted).

VIII. Conclusion

Though rife with new claims, allegations, and arguments, the Reply does not identify information favorable and material to the defendant's guilt or sentencing that the government has not provided. The defendant's protestations of innocence and being misled into a guilty plea are demonstrably false, and do not justify the production of additional material under *Brady* or the Court's Standing Order. Accordingly, the defendant's motions to compel production of additional material should be denied.

Respectfully submitted,

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Dated: November 1, 2019

CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE

I, Brandon L. Van Grack, certify that I caused to be served a copy of the for electronic means on counsel of record for the defendant on November 1, 2019.

/s/

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