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                      UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                      EASTERN DISTRICT OF VIRGINIA
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                          ALEXANDRIA DIVISION
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                                    : Criminal Action No.:
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    UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
                                     : 1:23-mj-32
 5
            V.
 6
    JAMES GORDON MEEK,
                                     : February 6, 2023
 7
                   Defendant.
 8
 9
                     TRANSCRIPT OF MOTION HEARING
              BEFORE THE HONORABLE ROSSIE D. ALSTON, JR.,
10
                  UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT JUDGE
11
                        APPEARANCES
12
     FOR THE GOVERNMENT: ALEXANDRA ZOE BEDELL, AUSA
                           WHITNEY KRAMER, AUSA
13
                           DOJ-USAO
                           2100 Jamieson Ave
14
                           Alexandria, VA 22314
15
     FOR THE DEFENDANT: EUGENE VICTOR GOROKHOV, ESQ.
                           Burnham & Gorokhov PLLC
16
                           1424 K St NW
                           Suite 500
17
                           Washington, DC 20005
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19
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    OFFICIAL U.S. COURT REPORTER:
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                                     MS. TONIA M. HARRIS, RPR
                                      United States District Court
24
                                      401 Courthouse Square
                                      Tenth Floor
25
                                      Alexandria, VA 22314
                             ----Tonia M. Harris OCR-USDC/EDVA 703-646-1438-
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THE COURTROOM CLERK: Criminal Case No. 2023-mj-32. United States of America versus James Gordon Meek.

6 Counsel, please note your appearances for the 7 record.

MS. BEDELL: Good afternoon, Your Honor. Zoe Bedell and Whitney Kramer for the United States.

MR. GOROKHOV: Good afternoon, Your Honor. Eugene Gorokhov here for Mr. Meek, who is present at counsel table.

THE COURT: Good morning, sir.

This matter comes on today on an appeal of the magistrate judge's release order. Counsel, I will let you know that I've had the opportunity to read all of your accompanying briefs and any letters that have been submitted. So I'm well aware of the positions that the parties have taken in this matter. Having appeared before me before, you all know that I like to try as best I can to get to the real core issue in this case. And the real core issue in this case is — and obviously, applying the applicable standard for whether or not Mr. Meek should be given the privilege of being able to remain out on bond, the Court is going to need to make an inquiry into a couple of things. I'll tell you the things that I'm concerned about both from the government's

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perspective and from the defense perspective. From the government's perspective, the concern that I voice is that apparently Mr. Meek has been at liberty, until recently, hasn't done anything, which would suggest that we know of that he's gotten involved in any behavior which would cause the court concern that he had the ability during those times to actually flee if he had chosen to do so. Obviously, we're not encouraging that, but that opportunity was there. And that he has otherwise appears before the Court with a clean criminal record and no suggestion that he is a person who would not meet his obligation.

From the defense standpoint, the concern is this.

Number one is that, the allegations, and obviously that's what they are right now. Allegations are very serious. There's a presumption of no bond in a case such as this. And based upon the government's position in the matter, this isn't your -- I can use this term -- "typical case," involving child pornography, but apparently, according to the government, it has taken on another level in that there's suggestion that he was having contact with minors and was going through what we say in the market, the grooming process, as part of his criminal behavior.

So those are the two things that jumped out at the Court for consideration from both perspectives. I'll be happy to hear any evidence, then we can go forward. Why don't we go

-United States v. Meek-4 1 ahead. 2 Does the government have any evidence that it wants 3 to offer? MS. BEDELL: Your Honor, we would be offering the 4 5 complaint affidavit as we did last time so we can proceed with 6 that. We do have the agent here, but we would not be offering 7 anything additional. THE COURT: I will tell you I would like to hear 8 9 from the agent because it was somewhat unclear. And I'm going 10 to try to be as delicate as I can, that some of the 11 conversations that were supposedly taking place, allegedly, 12 between Mr. Meek and this presumed minor had some, shall we 13 say, rather indelicate language in it, and I was unable to 14 discern from looking at the complaint as to whether or not 15 that indelicate language was from Mr. Meek or someone that he 16 was speaking with. I was unable to discern that. So if 17 there's any evidence that would help me to understand whether 18 it was Mr. Meek saying these things or whether it was 19 allegedly -- or some other person, that would be helpful. 20 MS. BEDELL: And, Your Honor, is there something 21 specific you're looking at there, one of the specific 22 instances of engagement with minors. I know we have some of 23 the conversations laid out. Was that where the source of 2.4 confusion was? 25 THE COURT: Yes.

-United States v. Meek-1 MS. BEDELL: Okay. We can clarify that, Your Honor. 2 THE COURT: All right. 3 MS. BEDELL: In that case we'll call Tonya Griffith. 4 THE COURT: Come on up, ma'am. Ladies and gentlemen 5 in the courtroom, during the course of this proceeding you may 6 hear some indelicate language. It is necessary for this 7 language to be used in the processing of this case. If this 8 language is offensive to you or if you feel uncomfortable 9 hearing it, you're free to leave the courtroom at this time. 10 (TONYA GRIFFITH, Government's witness, sworn.) 11 DIRECT EXAMINATION 12 BY MS. BEDELL: 13 Good afternoon. Could you please state your name and 14 spell it, please. 15 It's Tonya Griffith. It's T-O-N-Y-A, last name is 16 G-R-I-F-F-I-T-H. 17 How are you employed? 18 I'm an agent with the FBI. How long have you been employed in that position? 19 20 Α. Over 20 years. 21 Could you describe some of your duties? 22 I'm currently assigned to the child exploitation and

23 human trafficking task force. I primarily work child

24 exploitation online. So trading, distributing, online

25 production of child pornography, sextortion, those kinds of

6

1 violations.

- 2 Q. Are you the lead agent assigned to the matter in court
- 3 today?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 Q. And when did you become the lead agent on this matter?
- 6 A. A few months ago.
- 7 Q. Did you prepare an affidavit in support of a criminal
- 8 | complaint in this case?
- 9 A. I did.
- 10 Q. And with the assistance of the court security officer, I
- 11 | will pass up what has been marked as Government's Exhibit 1.
- Do you recognize this exhibit?
- 13 | A. I do.
- 14 | O. What is it?
- 15 A. It is the affidavit that I prepared for the complaint.
- 16 Q. And what does it contain?
- 17 | A. It contains some of the facts known to me regarding this
- 18 investigation.
- 19 Q. And is your signature on this document?
- 20 A. Yes, it is.
- 21 | Q. Is the information contained in Government's Exhibit 1 a
- 22 | true and accurate reflection of the facts as known at the time
- 23 | the affidavit was executed?
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 Q. Do you have any corrections or additions you need to

-United States v. Meek-7 1 make? 2 Α. No. 3 For purposes of today's hearing, do you incorporate and adopt the facts as set forth in the affidavit as part of your 4 5 testimony? 6 Α. I do. 7 MS. BEDELL: At this time, Your Honor, I would like to move to admit this into evidence. 8 9 THE COURT: Without objection. 10 MR. GOROKHOV: No objection. 11 THE COURT: Okay. 12 (Government's Exhibit No. 1 was admitted into evidence.) BY MS. BEDELL: 13 Can you take a look at page 3 of the affidavit and the 14 bottom of that page. 15 16 Yes. Α. 17 And displayed here is a conversation that's between 18 username 2 and Ponny 4 [sic], is that correct? 19 Α. Yes. 20 Which of these is understood to be Mr. Meek's username? 21 Ponny 4. Α. 22 And for username 2, do you know that individual's true 23 identity? 24 Α. No. 25 Do you know -- do you believe they are a minor?

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 1
    Α.
         No.
 2
              MS. BEDELL: Court's indulgence, Your Honor.
 3
              THE COURT: Yes, ma'am.
    BY MS. BEDELL:
 4
    Q. Just a general question about the affidavit.
 5
 6
              The number of individuals are referred to by
 7
    username and then a number, are those individuals understood
    to be minors at this time?
 8
         The ones that say "username" are believed to be adults.
10
               (A pause in the proceedings.)
11
    BY MS. BEDELL:
12
    Q. There's a reference to -- excuse me, username 1.
13
              Do you have any reason to believe that individual is
    a minor?
14
15
        No.
    Q. And at the bottom of page 6 and onto page 7, there's a
16
17
    discussion of username 1 -- a conversation with username 1
18
    regarding a fantasy.
19
              Do you have any reason to believe that happened
20
    while username 1 was a minor?
21
    Α.
       No.
22
              MS. BEDELL: Your Honor, does that address some of
23
    the confusion or --
24
              THE COURT: Somewhat, yes.
25
              MS. BEDELL: Okay. Are there any additional
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    questions you would like to pose to the agent at this time
 2
    because otherwise that would conclude my questions.
 3
              THE COURT: Just a few. Obviously, you can
 4
    follow-up.
 5
              Ma'am, obviously, during the exchange between the
    person alleged to be Mr. Meek and the minor, was there anyone
 6
 7
    else involved in the conversation?
              THE WITNESS: With the minor?
 8
 9
              THE COURT: Yes.
10
              THE WITNESS: No.
11
              THE COURT: So it was a one-on-one conversation?
12
              THE WITNESS: Yes.
13
              THE COURT: Was that the context of most of the
14
    conversations that you were able to discern?
15
              THE WITNESS: With the individuals we believe to be
16
    minors, yes, or we have identified as minors, yes.
17
              THE COURT: Have you actually had personal or direct
    contact with the individual you believe to be a minor?
18
19
              THE WITNESS: One of them, yes.
20
              THE COURT: Okay. And based upon your observation,
21
    was this person indeed a minor?
22
              THE WITNESS: Yes.
23
              THE COURT: Okay. All right. Any questions as a
24
    result of the Court's questions?
25
              MS. BEDELL: No follow-up questions from me, Your
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-United States v. Meek-10 1 Honor. 2 THE COURT: Mr. Gorokhov. 3 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. GOROKHOV: 4 First of all, can you tell the Court -- you said you've 5 6 been involved in this for the last few months. 7 Can you tell the Court when you got involved in this investigation? 8 I don't remember the exact date, but it was a few months ago. Approximately three months ago, two or three months ago. 10 Okay. Is it fair to say this investigation has been 11 12 going on for over a year? 13 Α. That's correct. Now, with respect to your affidavit, do you have that in 14 front of you? 15 16 Α. Yes. 17 The -- sorry, Your Honor. 18 Paragraph -- directing your attention to 19 paragraph 6, do you see there's a reference to an iPhone 8? 20 Α. Yes. That was seized from, allegedly, Mr. Meek's apartment? 21 22 Yes. Α. 23 You did not participate in that search, did you? 24 Α. I did not. 25 Did you participate in the imaging of the phone?

11

1 A. I did not.

- 2 Q. Did you participate in creation of any reports from the
- 3 | imaging of the phone?
- 4 A. No, not the original reports, no.
- 5 Q. Did you review the material from the reports?
- 6 A. Yes.
- 7 Q. Okay. So basically what you're saying is at some point,
- 8 | when you became involved a few months ago, digital data was
- 9 | handed to you and that's what you reviewed?
- 10 A. Yes.
- 11 | Q. And directing your attention to paragraph 24, which is on
- 12 page 8.
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 | Q. There's a reference to an iCloud account there?
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 Q. Did you personally review material from an iCloud
- 17 | account?
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 Q. Okay. Did you participate in the imaging of the account?
- 20 A. No.
- 21 | Q. So you didn't do any of the forensic imaging, any of the
- 22 | actual forensic work involved in this case?
- 23 A. No.
- 24 | Q. By the time you got involved in this case, you were
- 25 | handed something that was done by somebody else and then you

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                                                                  12
    began to review that material?
 1
 2
         That's correct.
 3
              MR. GOROKHOV: Thank you.
              THE COURT: Just a couple of questions from the
 4
    Court.
 5
 6
              Ma'am, were you present when Mr. Meek was arrested?
 7
              THE WITNESS: No, I was not.
 8
              THE COURT: Who was present at that point?
 9
              THE WITNESS: There were other agents from the FBI
    that conducted the arrest.
10
11
              THE COURT: It's alleged that when Mr. Meek was
12
    arrested he said something to the effect of: My life is over.
              I'm paraphrasing, but if I'm incorrect, you can
13
14
    correct me on that.
15
              Have you had any conversations with anyone regarding
16
    that?
17
              THE WITNESS: No, I haven't.
              THE COURT: Any questions as a result of the Court's
18
19
    questions?
20
              MS. BEDELL: One quick question, Your Honor.
21
                         REDIRECT EXAMINATION
22
    BY MS. BEDELL:
23
         Special Agent Griffith, the comment about the life being
    over. Was that made at the time of arrest?
24
25
        My understanding is that it was made during -- at the
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    interview during the search warrant.
 2
              THE COURT: Okay.
 3
              MS. BEDELL: That's all, Your Honor.
 4
              THE COURT: Thank you. You may step down, ma'am.
              Any other witnesses?
 5
              MS. BEDELL: No, Your Honor.
 6
 7
               (Witness excused.)
              THE COURT: Mr. Gorokhov, any witnesses?
 8
 9
              MR. GOROKHOV: No witnesses, Your Honor.
10
              THE COURT: Offer of evidence the way that we'll
11
    handle this is -- the government being the proponent of the
12
    motion, I'm going to allow you to go first. Take as long as
13
    you want. Mr. Gorokhov, you can respond and I'll let you have
    your rebuttal. And you know me, I'm going to ask questions as
14
15
    we go so be prepared.
16
              MS. BEDELL: I'm happy to direct my argument where
17
    you find most useful.
18
              Your Honor, obviously, you have read the affidavit
19
    and you are familiar -- both that this is a presumption
20
    offense and that we have offered significant evidence
21
    detailing very serious harm to the community here.
22
              So obviously, the trafficking conduct is extensive
23
    and extends beyond the one count of transportation of child
24
    pornography, but also goes beyond that to engaging with minors
25
    online and inducing --
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THE COURT: We can all agree that the allegations are very serious and I think Mr. Gorokhov will even agree that this is a presumption case, presumption of no bond. But the concern is, as I articulated earlier, apparently there is at least, from what I can tell, seven, eight, ten months between the time that Mr. Meek was directly implicated in the wrong that the government alleges and where we are today. And from what I've been made to understand, and please correct me if I'm wrong, there's been no suggestion that he's tried to flee, that he's been available, people have known where he is, apparently he is living with his mother, and apparently he has divorced himself from society to great degree and is basically not doing very much at all.

So what has changed between April and now other than the fact that he was formally arrested?

MS. BEDELL: Well, I think that fact is significant, Your Honor. I would say that our focus in this argument is on danger to the community rather than as much on his concern about fleeing. But to address the delay, if you will, as you can tell from the affidavit there were, obviously, numerous devices seized at the execution of the search warrant and there's a large volume of data involved in reviewing the content of those devices.

So, for example, we referenced the 2 Terabyte Hard Drive which is just a tremendous amount of data right there.

1 It was filled primarily with pictures and images and backed up

2 data. So that alone was a significant undertaking to go

3 | through and understand what evidence was there and we had

4 several devices like that.

their actual disposition.

in which we look at 3553(a) factors and all of that and compare sentences received by one person with the sentence that is proposed. And in another case, Mr. Gorokhov is taking the analytical perspective to another level saying that there are people who are similarly situated, every case is different, who had been allowed to remain out on bond pending

What would you say in response to that?

MS. BEDELL: There are also a significant number of cases where people who are similarly situated have been detained. For example, Judge Nachmanoff just detained someone on a revocation or, excuse me, on a motion to revoke, an order approximately a year ago, in a similar situation involving online exploitation. Now, all of these cases have distinguishable factors, that is why it is an individualized assessment, but courts in this district do regularly detain individuals for the trafficking offenses, but we have here is, frankly, more than the trafficking offense. It is the online exploitation of children which is a real harm to the community.

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THE COURT: Mr. Gorokhov has also made reference to his client's standing in the community and I think we can all admire what he has done as far as making sure that our government is transparent, that things that happen are fully divulged, particularly to loved ones, who are impacted directly by the government's involvement in these kinds of things. And Mr. Gorokhov has suggested that that is something that we should consider, not necessarily the things that is going to decide the case, Mr. Meek's standing in the community, which I think is a good standing for what he has done and has proven to be done.

What would be your response to that, ma'am?

MS. BEDELL: Certainly, that is a relevant

consideration of the nature and circumstances of the offense

and the defendant. But we will say that the affidavit details

conduct going back to at least 2014, Your Honor. So he

engaged in all of that admirable conduct, he won those awards,

he was an investigative journalist, he parented his children

while he was engaging in this criminal conduct that's detailed

in the complaint.

So it's clear that while it may be commendable, it just doesn't have an effect on his engagement in criminal activity, and he's proven himself adept at carrying on both facets of his life at the same time and also concealing that from the people around him, which raises concerns about a

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1 third-party custodian regardless of how well-intentioned they

2 may be, their ability to supervise that kind of conduct,

3 because he's been engaging in this as he's carried on that

4 life.

THE COURT: Interestingly enough, and Mr. Gorokhov gets credit for this, Mr. Gorokhov has provided letters of reference from people in law enforcement, which I'm sure you can understand may actually carry a little bit more weight when a person in law enforcement sort of steps up for an individual saying that, I believe that this person is deserving of maintaining his freedom.

MS. BEDELL: Well, if that person were here, Your Honor, I'd wonder if they would have said I understood that he was engaged in that conduct before these allegations became public.

THE COURT: I think that's fair. All of the letters say I don't really know what's really going on here. One of the letters say, I hear it involves child pornography and that's very serious. The person was very, very, shall we say, insightful as to the standard we need to take a look at, but, again, they were willing to put their name out there for him.

MS. BEDELL: And it is wonderful for the defendant that he is in a position where he is able to muster that support and certainly not all the defendants are, but I just don't think it reflects on the danger that he poses because

-United States v. Meek-18 1 these individuals, you know, if this were a character witness 2 that was testifying, the thing you would draw out is you 3 didn't know he was engaged in this behavior in the first place, you don't live with him, you're not observing him on a 4 day-to-day basis, you just don't necessarily know what's going 5 on in someone's life when there's conduct that they're trying 6 7 to conceal. THE COURT: Okay. I'll let you follow-up after 8 9 Mr. Gorokhov. 10 MS. BEDELL: Thank you, Your Honor. 11 THE COURT: Mr. Gorokhov. You've gone a good job 12 presenting the best case you can for your client, but as you 13 understand this is a presumption case and the statutes that we look at basically say it's a super-presumption case. It can 14 15 be rebutted, but there is to be a real strong case to be made 16 to rebut this kind of situation. Again, I think your biggest 17 hurdle to overcome is that the government's allegations 18 suggest grooming, and we all know what that term means. And 19 that is a big concern to the Court and that not only is this 20 individual alleged to have been engaged in the use and 21 solicitation of child pornography, but arguably, if this is 22 indeed true, is taking it a step further by actually having 23 contact with minors. 24 What would be your response? 25 MR. GOROKHOV: Yes, Your Honor. So first of all, I

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1	think it is important to address the standard here, which what
2	presumption means and what presumption doesn't mean. And I
3	think that frequently gets lost and misinterpreted so which is
4	why we had filed, prior to the last detention hearing, we
5	filed an actual memorandum. What the presumption standard
6	says is that Mr. Meek does have a burden, a burden of
7	production which Courts have repeatedly said is a very low
8	burden, a very low burden, a limited burden.
9	If he comes forward to show that there are, based on
10	his background, characteristics, et cetera, conditions of
11	release that are likely, not guaranteed, merely likely to
12	ensure that he's not a danger to the community, the
13	presumption then shifts back to the government and we're back
14	in the world of any normal bail case.
15	And what I submit, Your Honor
16	THE COURT: If that's indeed the case if the
17	analysis was that simple, why did Congress come up with this
18	term, "presumption" and take it a step further and talk about
19	the strong presumption?
20	MR. GOROKHOV: Your Honor, it's never I mean I
21	have the memorandum here and I can quote from it. It is filed
22	on the docket.
23	THE COURT: Sure.
24	MR. GOROKHOV: But the courts have repeatedly said
25	it's limited to a burden of production. I think Congress,

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Your Honor, in creating the scheme understood the liberty stakes that are at interest, the important liberty stakes that are at interest for an individual who's been merely accused by the government. And I do want to talk about the weight of the evidence because I think that's a big problem here for the government.

But an individual who's been merely accused, who on the basis of a complaint affidavit signed by an agent, who only had recent participation in the investigation, now he has to be locked up. That's why Congress placed a very limited burden on defendants, even in presumption cases, merely to come forward with the burden of production to show --

THE COURT: And I agree with you because there has to be some consideration of the concept of innocent until proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. So there needs to be a reasonable balance in that, so I get that.

MR. GOROKHOV: And I think what Mr. Meek has come forward with, Your Honor, meets not merely a burden of production, but I would submit to Your Honor an overwhelming burden that Mr. Meek will follow the conditions of release that he will do what he is told.

THE COURT: Let me ask a general question. If you don't want to answer it, I appreciate it. The agent testified with regard to certain devices that were seized and certain forensic analysis that was done, and again you don't have to

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answer this if you don't want to. Is there anything that you believe as part of your theory of defense that these items were not his?

MR. GOROKHOV: Your Honor, to be honest with you this is a unique situation. I might want to answer that question if I could. But I have not received a shred of discovery. And that's another -- that's, I think that's another one of those major weighty issues, because we're supposedly, in this adversarial world, where, you know, government doesn't just get to make accusations and we sit here with our hands tied behind our back and blindfolded. But that's, in effect, what's happening. They've put on an agent, even here today, who had participation in only a small fraction of the investigation and everything she's reviewed was handed to her by someone else who obtained the evidence, imaged the evidence. And as Your Honor knows, we've been through this before. The devil is in the details when it comes to these forensic reviews.

So quite simply, Your Honor, I'm sitting here with like my hands tied behind my back as to the allegations. What I will say, regarding Your Honor's question on grooming, is that the government can't speak out of both sides of its mouth here. On the one hand, it says the conduct goes to 2014, on the other hand, they come forward with zero evidence and not even an allegation that Mr. Meek ever attempted to meet a

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child, tried to meet a child, you know, had improper physical contact with a child. Grooming, generally, refers to kind of priming a child so that you can then go and have contact with that child.

THE COURT: Unfortunately, both you and I and the representatives of the government have a lot of experience in these kinds of cases and I think we all understand that in these kinds of cases there's a continuum that we tend to see. It starts out with a little something, then it sort of evolves into something else, and then there's a grooming, which from what I understand and the science, can take a period of time, and then you get the meeting, and then you get the act. So it's a process. I'm not suggesting that your client did this, but his — the allegations against him suggest that continuum.

MR. GOROKHOV: Well, Your Honor, but then again if he -- if they say the conduct goes back to 2014 and have absolutely zero evidence and not even an allegation that he tried to meet a child, I think that -- I think the conclusion there is -- it was never his intention to meet a child.

Assuming -- I'm saying these are allegations, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. GOROKHOV: But I think the fair conclusion there is not that he was preparing after nine years to finally go meet a child. I think the conclusion is that that was never his intention, you know, that was never his intention. And I

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- 1 think we have to give a defendant some benefit of the doubt.
- 2 | He can't -- you know, he can't be that the government comes
- 3 here and puts forward a theory and, you know, and he's
- 4 helpless to defend against that.
- 5 THE COURT: But what I'm assuming Ms. Badell is
- 6 going to come back with is that because of the nature of this
- 7 kind of offense that one could argue, again, looking at
- 8 | allegations here, that Mr. Meek, according to the government,
- 9 was starting to begin the process of acting on his fantasies.
- 10 MR. GOROKHOV: Again, Your Honor, I think that's a
- 11 | theory. I think even beyond, you know, accusations that
- 12 | aren't even returned by a grand jury but signed by an agent
- 13 | with limited knowledge of an investigation, to pile on top of
- 14 | that a theory is, you know, a step much too far when you have
- 15 | an individual like Mr. Meek. And I want to address the
- 16 evidence about his life and the way he's lived his life. But
- 17 | to come here and spin out a theory about something he might
- 18 have done, I would say, Your Honor, even beyond --
- 19 THE COURT: And another question that I'm going to
- 20 ask Ms. Bedell when she gets back up is if this case was as
- 21 | sensitive and, I think, developed as is being suggested by the
- 22 | government, why did it take so long to even go to the grand
- 23 | jury to seek an indictment? That's a question that I would
- 24 | have, but, again, we'll hear.
- MR. GOROKHOV: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: Let's hear about your client.

MR. GOROKHOV: Yes, I do want to address the situation with my client. You know, in terms of his background, I have tried to be as both complete and concise as I could, so I'm not going to stand here and repeat everything that I know Your Honor has reviewed in detail. What I will say is I think it's extraordinary that Mr. Meek has an individual like Spike Bowman, you know, a person who was the head of the National Security Law Unit of the FBI and spent his life working in national intelligence and law enforcement. And he knows the allegations against Mr. Meek and he's putting his name forward saying that Mr. Meek will keep his word.

An individual like Raymond Gannon, 28 years in the FBI, Your Honor. An individual like Douglas Kimmy, 27 years a police officer and a former member of the U.S. military. These things should not be taken lightly and I know the Court doesn't take them lightly. And so, when we say "similarly situated defendants," I know the government referred to an individual that had Judge Nachmanoff had considered, I don't think there's really a comparable individual. I would go so far as to say that.

In terms of kind of his record of good works in the community and the people that are willing to stand behind him in the community knowing what they know about the allegations in this case.

The government says --

THE COURT: I think we can all agree the things that Mr. Meek has done are heroic, no doubt about it. But even heroic people can lose their way, and that's, I believe, what the government is suggesting here.

MR. GOROKHOV: I understand that. But what the Bail Reform Act says is we're at a stage where we haven't heard any evidence, all we have are accusations. Right. And in these circumstances, the reason why we considered the background history and, you know, community ties and all of those things is because the Court has to make a determination based on how much faith they can place on an individual. And so, the Bail Reform Act tells us these things matter. These things matter a lot, because the accusations haven't been proven yet but this man's track record, to some degree, proven by among other people, someone like Spike Bowman who is standing by his side.

And I would like to say the government says well all of that is good and well but Mr. Meek was doing these heroic acts and has the support of all these people, but at the same time he was committing horrible crimes. Well, if that argument held any water, Your Honor, if that argument held any water, then it would invalidate an entire section of the Bail Reform Act because every individual who comes before the Court, the Court has to consider their background, history, and characteristics. And if the government's argument were

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true, the Court could simply say, yeah, but he was doing crimes so I'm not going to consider those things. So their argument absolutely makes no sense. It's illogical and it's completely contrary to the way that Congress intended this to work.

THE COURT: I had an opportunity to review the hearing before Judge Vaala, and I actually talked with Judge Vaala to find out what was going on in the case because I needed to prepare quickly.

MR. GOROKHOV: Yes, Your Honor.

THE COURT: And in the, I think, the hearing itself she said something to the effect of "it's a close case." I think those were the terms that she used. If indeed it was a close case, analytically, doesn't that sort of argue against your position?

MR. GOROKHOV: No, Your Honor. I think the question is there's -- it's either a yes or no question. Either there are conditions of release, in which case release is not discretionary, it's mandatory, or there simply aren't conditions of release. And what Judge Vaala said is, Yeah, to me it's a close case, but I think there are conditions of release, and at that point the Bail Reform Act says release at that point is mandatory. The conditions are discretionary. So the extent of supervision and all of that. But once that threshold is crossed that there are conditions that would

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reasonably assure. And I think it's important here, Your Honor. The government kind of pretends that, you know, there has to be a guarantee. And while I submit to Your Honor letters in support from individuals like the ones he has are as close to a guarantee as the Court can get. The cases say otherwise. The cases say there just has to be a reasonable assurance that the conditions of release. There's no guarantees in life and there's no guarantees under the Bail Reform Act. And the courts recognized that it has to be merely a reasonable assurance that he's going to appear.

And I do want to talk, Your Honor, about the evidence, the overwhelming evidence that he's going to appear. And that he's not going to violate the conditions of release. But before I do, I wanted to say also that Your Honor referred to these comparator cases that we cited, and what I want to be clear is these cases are not similar to Mr. Meek's, these cases are worse than Mr. Meek's, because in these cases individuals either had sexual contact with minors, without question, or they were on their way, they were doing the thing that the government is theorizing that maybe Mr. Meek one day might have gotten around to doing.

In those cases, these individuals were either sexually engaging with minors hands on or on their way to do so, and they were stopped by law enforcement. And yet, judges in this court have repeatedly said, well, you know, I look at

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the background and history and characteristics and I find that release is appropriate. So I would say, Your Honor, that, given his background and given that his crime is certainly not as serious as the ones we talked about, certainly there can be conditions of release.

I wanted to address the government's other argument, which is -- I know Your Honor wants to know about Mr. Meek's statement about supposedly his life being over. And I think this one is really an argument that I really didn't expect the government to repeat because --

THE COURT: I think the reason why they're suggesting that is because one of the inquiries that the Court must make is whether or not he's a danger to himself.

MR. GOROKHOV: Yes, Your Honor. And here the evidence, again, is overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Meek that he's not a danger to himself. In April, Mr. Meek's apartment was searched and Mr. Meek realizing that his apartment was being raided by armed federal agents made, I would argue, the accurate observation that his life was, in a sense, over.

Because he was in a high power -- a high profile investigative journalist, and when you're in his position and this kind of thing happens, your professional life is certainly over. And what has Mr. Meek done -- so it's a true statement. And you know it's a statement of an individual whose head is very much in the realm of reality, right. And what has he done since

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the nine months since his apartment was raided? You know the government talks about the fact that he left his job and moved out of his apartment. Well, he left his job because he didn't want to continue working as an investigative journalist at ABC News while he was under federal investigation.

THE COURT: That makes sense. I buy into what you're saying and plus he did something, which I thought was somewhat redemptive in that apparently he was up for an award with another person and did not want to embarrass that person by showing up when he was under federal investigation. That shows something.

MR. GOROKHOV: And he moved in with his mother because he wasn't going to have an income, right. That's a responsible, conscientious thing to do. He notified the government that he was moving in with his mother. He offered to give the government his passport. The government didn't accept his offer. He, you know, all the time I repeatedly told the government if there's anything you need to know about Mr. Meek, where he is, what he's doing, or anything like that, please tell us because we want this to be, you know -- we want there to be no surprises, we want to be --

THE COURT: Transparent.

MR. GOROKHOV: He relinquished his firearms and put them in a storage unit where only his mom and another individual have access. He does not have access.

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He's done all of these things, Your Honor, and I would say these are the things that a person who is responsible and conscientious does. And there's overwhelming evidence that he's going to take orders imposed by this Court very, very seriously.

And you know, Your Honor, I would go so far as to say that if it's not Mr. Meek who is released, you know, what kind of a message does that send. We want people to be cooperative. We want people to behave exactly the way Mr. Meek behaved after he realized that he was being looked at by the government.

And so, I would say, Your Honor, for the government to come up here and twist his actions and his statements into like him being some kind of a danger to himself, I think that kind of hurts more than just Mr. Meek.

The final thing I will say, Your Honor, is the government says that, you know, because the nature of his alleged defenses are computer offense, computer-based offenses we can't monitor what he's doing. And that is a -- again, another extraordinary argument they've brought, because it would --

THE COURT: I have something in common. The Fourth Circuit had a question for me when they remanded a case that we did. I was correct on most of it and they remanded a case to me because they wanted me to explain why I would prevent a

person convicted of child pornography not to have access to adult pornography and video games, which I found a little bit perplexing, but, again, that's the way they look at it. So it's actually to your advantage.

MR. GOROKHOV: And I think for the government to come here and say you can't monitor people who commit crimes online is to write an entire category of people out of the Bail Reform Act. It's inconsistent with the recommendations of pretrial office -- the pretrial office, which says there are conditions that can be imposed.

THE COURT: Answer this for me, Mr. Gorokhov.

Again, I'm not suggesting that your client will do this.

We're talking from a hypothetical standpoint.

MR. GOROKHOV: Yeah.

THE COURT: Suppose there's an order in which I preclude him from having access to the internet and you agree to that and I preclude him from having access to adult pornography and you agree to that, the government and the probation office are going to focus on what is in his home, what he actually has direct access to.

What is to prevent someone from giving him something that he could access through another means that he does not have any real connection to? Where is the check and balance? A probation officer can't be with him 24/7. It can only do random checks.

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MR. GOROKHOV: Well, I think, again, the first if we were just talking about a general person and not Mr. Meek, just, you know, your average defendant, right, I think the answer there would be the law requires reasonable assurance and the pretrial services office believes they can provide reasonable assurance through the measures that they talk about in their report. Right.

Now, we add Mr. Meek into the mix and we add the fact that the way he's conducted himself over the last nine months, we add the fact that the people who know him intimately, not just any old regular people, but law enforcement people, are willing to vouch for him, you add all of that into the mix and basically what it comes down to is that Mr. Meek will keep his word. And Congress, as I've said before, Your Honor, Congress does not require an absolute 100 percent guarantee. Congress requires a reasonable assurance.

THE COURT: But there at least appears to be some tension between the Bail Reform Act and the standard for this kind of case and the presumption of no bond.

Where is the sweet spot?

MR. GOROKHOV: I think the sweet spot is if the defendant can come forward with a low burden, burden of production, now it's back to the government like any old case. And again, Mr. Meek has come forward not just with a burden of

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- 1 | production, Your Honor, but I would say overwhelming evidence.
- 2 | Nine months of evidence at least, arguably 30 years of
- 3 | evidence that he is a man of his word and he will do exactly
- 4 | what this Court tells him to do. And he will abide by these
- 5 | conditions of release to the letter and he knows the
- 6 | consequences, Your Honor, if he does not. He's living those
- 7 | consequences right now in a cell where he's by himself 24
- 8 hours a day.
- 9 THE COURT: Ms. Bedell, you get the last word,
- 10 | ma'am.
- MS. BEDELL: Your Honor, just to address a small
- 12 | point first and then respond more directly to some of the
- 13 | questions and points that were raised. So just to the point
- 14 about discovery, on February 2nd I did inform Mr. Gorokhov
- 15 | that the FBI had evidence available for the defendant's review
- 16 and we were happy to facilitate that. Understandably, he did
- 17 | not take the limited time between now and then, but it was
- 18 | made available, and, frankly, it just does not go to the
- 19 | weight of the evidence. The fact that his cross-examination
- 20 has been limited to questions about when we learned certain
- 21 | information, again, demonstrates that very strong evidence
- 22 here.
- I also want to address, I think, put a little bit of
- 24 | a misperception that seems to be coloring some of the
- 25 discussion here and that the only harm to children is through

physical contact, and also relatedly that grooming is only leading up to physical contact.

Now, it is correct that we do not have allegations in the complaint that relate to meeting up with a child in person, and to me that is not relevant.

of this type of litigation and because of the statutory
framework that Congress came up with that it is clear that the
grooming is one aspect of it. The fact that you victimized
children by subjecting them to being part of the internet
interplay between people of similar desires is the greater
concern in this kind of case, so I get that.

MS. BEDELL: Thank you, Your Honor. And there's the trafficking harm, which in some ways, you know, I think we quoted, is a repetition of the abuse. But the fact is that online exploitation, what we've seen Mr. Meek engaging in, he's the original abuser there. He is an original victimizer. It is not just if he had met up with someone in person. So it sounds like you understand that. I appreciate that, Your Honor.

I also wanted to address something you mentioned at the very beginning that you said we hadn't seen any problematic behavior from him since April. I would agree that's accurate regarding risk of flight, but we can't make that statement when we talk about what he's doing online. The

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fact is that we don't know what he's been doing online since that time. So I don't think we can say that just because we haven't caught him doing something in the last period doesn't mean he's not a continuing harm to the community even in the intervening nine months or whatever the period is.

To answer your question about why it has taken so long, I was addressing the point about the voluminous data, and understandably we have to understand what the evidence is and just because you even get into the phones, some of these phones were password protected. Just because you get in, it doesn't mean the evidence immediately reveals itself.

The other part is that, of course, you're familiar with the timelines in this district. And so, we have a careful line that we have to strike between charging a defendant and making sure we still have the opportunity we — we need to complete our investigation.

To the point about an affidavit versus a complaint, cases in this district are regularly charged by affidavit.

They provide ample evidence for the Court to review more so than what might be available if something had come before this Court for a detention hearing in an indictment posture. And so, I do think that is ample evidence and also certainly not outside the realm of normal practice.

I wanted to address the argument that our approach would invalidate the Bail Reform Act. And I just, obviously,

-United States v. Meek-36 1 don't agree with that. I think the inquiry here is the 2 balancing inquiry, and, you know, just saying that electronic 3 monitoring is sufficient would invalidate in the other 4 direction. There will always be some condition that could satisfy if electronic monitoring suffices. 5 6 So the question here is whether the available 7 conditions are appropriately balanced against the risk of 8 harm. And again, we have a situation here where we have an 9 original abuser. He is engaged in that original harm. And so, I submit, as we've been arguing, and I won't reiterate all 10 11 of those points, but that is not satisfied in this specific 12 instance. 13 And I believe those are all the points I would like to make unless you have additional questions that you would 14 15 like to address. 16 THE COURT: No, ma'am. 17 MS. BEDELL: Thank you, Your Honor. 18 (A pause in the proceedings.) 19 THE COURT: I'm going to state the applicable law 20 and the analytical perspective that the Court is going to provide to justify the conclusion that's reached here. 21 22 A government appeal of a magistrate's release order 23 is governed by 18 U.S.C. 3145(a). The review of the 24 magistrate's decision is de novo as we have conducted here

-Tonia M. Harris OCR-USDC/EDVA 703-646-1438-

under the United States v. Stewart case, a 2001 case out of

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the Fourth Circuit.

In this regard, the Court makes an independent determination of a proper pretrial detention or conditions of release.

To determine that a person should be detained pending trial, a Court must find "no condition or combination of conditions will reasonably assure the appearance of the person as required and the safety of any other person and the community."

If there's probable cause to find that the defendant committed an offense involving a minor, a rebuttal presumption arises that no condition or combination of conditions will reasonably assure the safety of other persons and the community. That is governed by 18 U.S.C. Section 3142(e)(3)(E).

In such a case, a defendant bears the burden of production to come forward with evidence to suggest that the presumption is unwarranted in his or her particular case. If the defendant successfully rebuts the presumption, the burden returns to the government under the *Boyd* case out of this district in 2007.

Even if the defendant bears his burden, the presumption remains a fact in deciding whether to detain a defendant because it reflects Congress's substantive judgment that particular classes of offenders should be detained prior

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to trial. That was articulated in *United States v. King* and several other cases in sister jurisdictions of this court.

If the burden returns to the government, they bear different burdens with respect to the dangerousness and risk of flight. The government must prove by clear and convincing evidence that no condition or combination of conditions will reasonably assure the safety of any other persons and the defendant.

The Court takes a look at under 3142(g) the nature and circumstances of the offense, including whether the offense involves a minor victim, the weight of the evidence against the person, the history and characteristics of the person, including the person's character, physical and mental condition, family ties, employment, financial resources, length of residence in the community, community ties, past conduct, history relating to drug or alcohol abuse, criminal history, and records concerning appearances at court proceedings.

The nature and seriousness of the danger to any person to the community that would be posed by the person's release is tantamount under 3142(g)(4).

In the hearing before Judge Vaala, defense counsel identified four cases where the magistrate released a defendant charged with an offense involving a minor. In the United States v. Delgado, which is distinguishable, there was

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a single victim who knew the defendant. The primary consideration in that case was the safety of the single minor who the defendant was barred from contacting. That is not the case here with multiple victims spread out across the United States and potentially beyond.

The *United States v. Moser* case, which is cited, the defendant in that case occurred in 2008 when the state of the internet was much different. Instagram, SnapChat, and Omegle, which the defendant purportedly or allegedly used to contact his victims, were not even created at that time.

United States v. Sims, there's some also distinguishing characteristics. There was no evidence of actual communication between the defendant and the minor victims at the time, only communication with an undercover agent. The defendant and Sims did not pose to be someone else. Apparently and allegedly this defendant has apparently impersonated teenage girls and engaging in grooming activity.

Also, the defendant and Sims only used one messaging service to contact minors indicating a relatively unsophisticated method of contacting minors. That is juxtaposed with the instant case where the defendant has allegedly used multiple avenues to contact minors, including a level of sophistication as not of the same as in Sims.

And finally, the *United States v. Cheves*, the distinguishing characteristics on possibly two victims who

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lived outside of the United States and the chief concern there was for the safety of the -- of the victims in that case. And there was no indication that China was going to be an avenue or venue where it could be implicated in the defendant's conduct.

Ultimately, in deciding this case the Court looks at the following factors:

Obviously, the Court has the authority to revoke the order of release, and there's a rebuttable presumption of detention that exists. The egregious nature of the alleged offense, the ample evidence in this case at this point, the defendant's lengthy pattern of engaging in conduct and the danger he poses to the community weigh strongly in favor of detention.

Nature and circumstances suggest that the defendant is currently charged with transportation of child pornography. The affidavit reveals that his offense conduct is much more extensive. The transportation events itself involves the distribution and receipt of child pornography with individuals that the defendant apparently sought out online for the purpose of discussing violent sexual fantasies about child abuse and exchanging information.

The defendant was at least a member of one community dedicated to the exchange of this information and it is alleged that he actively contributed to the group. Even more

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concerning, the defendant has a history and pattern of allegedly engaging in and trying to engage in sexual conduct and conversation with minors online. For example, a minor victim told law enforcement that the defendant pressured her to send pictures depicting sexual explicit conduct. Law enforcement is alleged to have found 11 images of this minor on the defendant's phone, including nude images with her breasts and pubic region exposed.

Law enforcement also located the chat, allegedly, between the defendant and the minor in which he manipulated her by offering access to the public figure he knew she, quote, loved most in the world.

In other instances, the defendant concealed his identity allegedly while he engaged in these online exploits with minors. Allegedly, he even posed as an adolescent girl using that person to engage in sexual conversations with other young girls.

The defendant's interests are broad. The evidence reveals, allegedly, a man interested in trading images depicting everything from the rape of infants to the bondage of S&M treatment of prepubescent boys, to the sexual exploitation of late adolescents.

The government alleges that his conduct spans multiple platforms and years. His devices, allegedly, contained conversation with minors on SnapChat, Instagram, and

other devices.

Of course, the defendant does not just view the information, allegedly distributed. As courts have regularly recognized "such images are permanent records of the child's participation and the harm to the child is exacerbated by the circulation. *United States v. Burgess* recognize that Fourth Circuit case in 2012.

These children who "must live with the knowledge that adults like the defendant can pull out a picture or watch a video that has recorded the abuse of them at any time, suffer direct and primary emotional harm when another person possesses, receives or distributes the material."

The weight of the evidence, as it is at this stage, is compelling. The messages and images were located and on devices throughout the defendant's home where he lived alone. At this point, the devices contained numerous indications that they belonged to him, including his personal accounts and data. They had been used to engage in illegal activities in close proximity when he had used them for other business and personal affairs.

As Judge Vaala stated, this case is difficult. It is compelling because this man has done a lot of things which have contributed significantly to the public good. He has done a lot of great things, allowing families to get closure on, things that were very important to them in their lives,

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1	but this has to be considered in balance, more particularly,
2	with the nature of the offense and the circumstances which the
3	government alleges to have been able alleges they are able
4	to prove in the context of this case.
5	So the Court in this matter is going to order that
6	Mr. Meek remain detained. All right.
7	Mr. Meek, I'll say this to you, sir, you have an
8	excellent lawyer. Mr. Gorokhov's reputation with me is
9	outstanding. We have done cases in the three years that I
10	have been here and he is an excellent advocate. He works hard
11	for his clients. So let me encourage you to work with him as
12	best you can to allow yourself to be put in the best position
13	that you can, sir. I know you're disappointed, but I'm sure
14	you understand the analysis that the Court had to go through.
15	Anything else from the government?
16	MS. BEDELL: No, Your Honor. Thank you.
17	THE COURT: All right. Where are we as far as
18	getting this case ready for some sort of disposition? Where
19	are we?
20	MS. BEDELL: Your Honor, that's something we have
21	discussed with defense counsel. I don't think we're in a
22	position to talk about a resolution at this point, but we
23	expect to be here hopefully in the next week or two.
24	THE COURT: Okay. I will tell you a concern about
25	this, I don't want this case to sort of just sit and wait. I

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    want it to move. Obviously, in making a determination that
    Mr. Meek should be detained, it sort of ups the ante as far as
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    the government's obligation to move this case along. So let's
    do all that we can to make sure that we get this case on the
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    docket and expeditiously considered.
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              MS. BEDELL: Absolutely, Your Honor. Thank you.
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              THE COURT: Thank you. We're done.
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                (Proceedings adjourned at 12:57 p.m.)
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1	CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER
2	
3	I, Tonia Harris, an Official Court Reporter for the
4	Eastern District of Virginia, do hereby certify that I
5	reported by machine shorthand, in my official capacity, the
6	proceedings had and testimony adduced upon the Final pretrial
7	conference the case of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA versus
8	JORDAN GORDON MEEK, Criminal Action No.: 1:23-mj-32, in said
9	court on the 6th day of February, 2023.
10	I further certify that the foregoing 45 pages
11	constitute the official transcript of said proceedings.
12	In witness whereof, I have hereto subscribed my
13	name, this February 9, 2023.
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21	/s/ Tonia M. Harris, RPR
22	Official Court Reporter
23	
24	
25	