	Case 3:06-cv-00672-VRW Docume	ent 232-3	Filed 06/16/2006	Page 1 of 22			
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20 21	TASH HEPTING, GREGORY HICKS, CAROLYN JEWEL, and ERIC KNUTZ On Behalf of Themselves and All Others Similarly Situated,	EN )́ ) ]	Case No.: C 06-0672-V BRIEF OF AMICUS PROFESSORS IN SU	CURIAE LAW			
22	Plaintiffs,	) l	PLANTIFFS' OPPOS NOTICE OF MOTIO	<b>ITION TO</b>			
23	v.		TO DISMISS OR, IN ALTERNATIVE, FO	R SUMMARY			
24			IUDGMENT BY THI OF AMERICA	E UNITED STATES			
25	AT&T CORPORATION, AT&T INCORPORATED, and DOES 1-2,	)		2007			
26	Inclusive,	) ]		n. Vaughn R. Walker			
27	Defendants.	)	Courtroom: 6, 17th	FIOOF			
28	BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' OPPOSITION TO MOTION TO DISMISS Case No. C-06-0672-VRW						

	Case 3:06-cv-00672-VRW Document 232-3 Filed 06/16/2006 Page 2 of 22									
-	TABLE OF CONTENTS									
$\frac{1}{2}$	Page									
3	Page INTEREST OF THE AMICI CURIAE									
4	SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT									
5	ARGUMENT									
6 7	I. EVALUATING PLAINTIFFS' CLAIMS OF UNLAWFUL INTERCEPTION DOES NOT REQUIRE DISCLOSURE OF STATE SECRETS									
8 9	A. Proving Defendants Intercepted Their Subscribers' Communications Does Not Disclose State Secrets									
10	<ul> <li>B. Proving Defendants Have a Valid Defense for Intercepting Their Subscribers' Communications Does Not Require Disclosure of State</li> </ul>									
10	Subscribers' Communications Does Not Require Disclosure of State Secrets									
12	II. ESTABLISHED CONSTITUTIONAL AND STATUTORY LAW MANDATE									
13	JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE									
14	A. Judicial Review of Electronic Surveillance Provides an Essential Check on									
15	Executive Power									
16	B. Careful Scrutiny of the Government's Claimed Privileges May									
17	Demonstrate that this Court Can Review Plaintiffs' Claims Without Endangering State Secrets									
18										
19	CONCLUSION17									
20										
21										
22										
23 24										
24										
26										
27										
28										
	TABLE OF CONTENTS         Case No. C-06-0672-VRW         i									

	Case 3:06-cv-00672-VRW Document 232-3 Filed 06/16/2006 Page 3 of 22									
1	1 TABLE OF AUTHORITIES									
2	Page									
3	CASES									
4	Benanti v. United States, 355 U.S. 96 (1957)									
5	Berger v. New York, 388 U.S. 41 (1967) 11, 12									
6	<i>Ellsberg v. Mitchell</i> , 709 F.2d 51 (D.C. Cir. 1983)									
7	Halperin v. Kissinger, 807 F.2d 180 (D.C. Cir. 1986)									
8	Jacobson v. Rose, 592 F.2d 515 (9th Cir. 1978)									
9	Nardone v. United States, 302 U.S. 379 (1937)									
10	Sterling v. Tenet, 416 F.3d 338 (4th Cir. 2005)									
11	<i>United States v. Biasucci</i> , 786 F.2d 504 (2nd Cir. 1986)									
11	United States v. Donovan, 429 U.S. 413 (1977)									
	United States v. Reynolds, 345 U.S. 1 (1953)									
13	United States v. Rodriguez, 968 F.2d 130 (2nd Cir. 1992)									
14	<i>United States v. Scarfo</i> , 180 F. Supp. 2d 572 (D.N.J. 2001)									
15	<i>United States v. Tortorello</i> , 480 F.2d 764 (2nd Cir. 1973)									
16										
17	Statutes									
18	United States Constitution									
19	Amendment I									
20	Amendment IVpassim									
21	Title 18 United States Code, et seq.									
22	18 U.S.C. App. III, § 1 et seq., (Classified Information Procedures Act)									
23	18 U.S.C. § 2511(1)(a)									
24	18 U.S.C. § 2511(2)									
25	18 U.S.C. § 2511(4)(a)									
26	18 U.S.C. § 2515									
27	18 U.S.C. § 2518(4)									
28	18 U.S.C. § 2520									
_0	18 U.S.C. § 2520(d)									
	TABLE OF AUTHORITIES Case No. C-06-0672-VRWii									

	Case 3:06-cv-00672-VRW Document 232-3 Filed 06/16/2006 Page 4 of 22						
1 2	Title 47 United States Code, et seq. 47 U.S.C. § 605 (Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act)						
3	Title 50 United States Code, et seq.						
4	50 U.S.C. § 1801						
5	50 U.S.C. § 1805						
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13							
14							
15							
16							
17							
18							
19 20							
20 21							
21 22							
22							
23 24							
25							
25 26							
27							
28							
20							
	TABLE OF AUTHORITIES Case No. C-06-0672-VRWiii						

# INTEREST OF THE AMICI CURIAE

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Proposed Amici Curiae Law Professors ("Amici") are law professors whose 2 scholarship, teaching, and practice focus on electronic surveillance and constitutional law. 3 Amici wish to highlight for the Court the historical role the judicial branch has played in 4 regulating surveillance and to show that the information necessary to prove or defend against 5 Plaintiffs interception claims is publicly known and not protected by the state secrets 6 privilege. 7 8 Amici are: 9 **Susan Freiwald** Professor of Law 10 UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO SCHOOL OF LAW 11 Cynthia R. Farina 12 Associate Dean of the University Faculty Professor of Law 13 CORNELL SCHOOL OF LAW 14 Peter M. Shane 15 Director, Center for Interdisciplinary Law and Policy Studies, and Joseph S. Platt, Porter, Wright, Morris & Arthur Professor of Law 16 **OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY** 17 MORITZ COLLEGE OF LAW 18 **Peter Raven-Hansen** 19 Glen Earl Weston Research Professor of Law GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY LAW SCHOOL 20 Erwin Chemerinsky 21 Alston & Bird Professor of Law and Political Science 22 DUKE UNIVERSITY 23 SUMMARY OF ARGUMENT 24 *Amici*, law professors who specialize in electronic surveillance and constitutional law, 25 urge this Court to protect the judicial branch's role in overseeing electronic surveillance and 26 to hold accountable Defendant telecommunications companies for their failure to protect their 27 subscribers' privacy. Federal law strictly prohibits interception of communications without a 28 BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' 1 OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO DISMISS Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

court order. It requires that telecommunications providers refuse to help the government 1 2 listen in to citizens' communications without a court's approval. When it set up the statutory 3 scheme, Congress recognized that telecommunications providers play a critical role in 4 protecting subscribers' privacy interests. In contrast to those whose houses are searched, victims of electronic surveillance rarely learn that someone has listened to their telephone 5 conversations without authorization. For that reason, Congress tasked telecommunications 6 providers with ensuring that any surveillance is properly authorized, and provided strict 7 penalties for ignoring that responsibility. This case is about whether the Defendants violated 8 their obligations under the law. 9

The Government asks this Court to disrupt this statutory scheme and to decline to 10 decide whether the telecommunications companies violated the law because the case 11 implicates state secrets. However, at least the interception claims, and perhaps all the claims, 12 may be decided based on publicly available information. If Defendants intercepted Plaintiffs' 13 conversations without a court order, they violated federal electronic surveillance law. 14 Liability attaches regardless of what Defendants did with the information afterwards. While 15 the government's role in these interceptions may be an important part of the public discourse 16 about this case, the government's actions are not implicated in the interception claims. 17

As we enter a digital era, more and more of citizens' most private information passes 18 through the hands of telecommunications companies like Defendants to whom the 19 government and others will turn when they want information. Constitutional and federal 20 statutory law explicitly requires the judicial branch's engagement in that process – both to 21 pre-approve government requests for information and to remedy situations when the 22 government fails to obtain that approval and the telecommunications companies provide the 23 information nonetheless. In this case, Plaintiffs allege that the government failed to obtain 24 pre-surveillance review, yet the Defendants will avoid liability if this Court dismisses this 25 case. Amici urge this Court to deny the Government's request and reaffirm the role of the 26 judicial branch in oversight of all aspects of electronic surveillance. 27

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### ARGUMENT

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I.

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### EVALUATING PLAINTIFFS' CLAIMS OF UNLAWFUL INTERCEPTION DOES NOT REQUIRE DISCLOSURE OF STATE SECRETS

3 Plaintiffs allege that AT&T Corp. and AT&T Inc. (collectively "AT&T" or 4 "Defendants") unlawfully disclosed wire and electronic communications to the government in 5 violation of 18 U.S.C. § 2511(1)(a). Neither the elements of the statutory offense nor the 6 available defenses require disclosure of material that is currently unavailable to the public. 7 Section 2511(1)(a) prohibits anyone from intentionally intercepting a wire, oral or electronic 8 communication. To defend Plaintiffs' claims that Defendants violated this prohibition, 9 Defendants have three options.<sup>1</sup> They can dispute the evidence provided by Plaintiffs' 10 Declarant Mark Klein and allege that they did not engage in wholesale interceptions of their 11 subscribers' information. Or they can acknowledge the interceptions, but claim that they 12 acted pursuant to a court order obtained pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 2518 or that they relied on an 13 invalid court order in good faith under 18 U.S.C. § 2520(d). The two latter defenses require 14 that there be a "piece of paper" this Court can examine to determine whether the Defendants 15 have a valid defense. If not, they violated the law. This finding, while perhaps requiring an 16 in camera review of the "piece of paper," does not present "a reasonable danger that 17 compulsion of the evidence will expose military matters which, in the interest of national 18 security, should not be divulged." United States v. Reynolds, 345 U.S. 1, 10 (1953).

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### A. Proving Defendants Intercepted Their Subscribers' Communications Does Not Disclose State Secrets

The first question is whether Defendants intercepted their subscribers' communications. An interception happens at the moment a communication is copied. *United States v. Rodriguez*, 968 F.2d 130, 136 (2nd Cir. 1992). The statute is violated when someone intercepts a communication regardless of what they subsequently do with the contents of the

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Amended Notice of Motion and Motion for Preliminary Injunction, April 5, 2006, at 19-22. BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS'

 <sup>27
 &</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Defendants could establish that they fit into one of the statutory exceptions under 18 U.S.C.
 § 2511(2), but none of those applies to the surveillance alleged in this case. See Plaintiffs'
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OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO DISMISS

communication they intercepted. See Jacobson v. Rose, 592 F.2d 515, 522 (9th Cir. 1978); 1 2 United States v. Councilman 418 F.3d 67, 84 (1st Cir. 2005). In this case, Defendants' 3 liability under § 2511(1)(a) arises from their interception of Plaintiffs' communications 4 without a court order. It is irrelevant for purposes of determining Defendants' liability to whom they provided the communications, or what the recipient did with the information. 5 This Court does not need to know what information, if any, was turned over to the 6 government, or how the government used the information, to find Defendants liable under § 7 2511(1)(a). 8

There is significant evidence before the Court that Defendants intercepted some of 9 their subscribers' communications. Plaintiffs' witness Mark Klein describes in his declaration 10Defendants' wholesale surveillance of their subscribers' telephone calls, electronic mail, and 11 internet use. Brief of Amicus Curiae Mark Klein at 4-5. He states that for some subscribers, 12 Defendants' ongoing practice was to copy the entire flow of the communications traffic to 13 which they had access. Id. The activities Klein describes took place on Defendants' premises 14 and were performed by Defendants' employees on Defendants' equipment. The alleged 15 violations occurred at the moment Defendants captured or redirected the contents of the 16 Plaintiffs' communications. As the Second Circuit has explained, "when the contents of a 17 wire communication are captured or redirected in any way, an interception occurs at that 18 time." United States v. Rodriguez, 968 F.2d at 136. Because an interception occurs at the 19 moment a communication is copied, Plaintiffs need do no more than establish copying to 20 make out a viable claim under 18 U.S.C. § 2511.<sup>2</sup> 21

Defendants are liable regardless of what they subsequently did with any of the communications they intercepted. See *Jacobson v. Rose*, 592 F.2d at 522. It is irrelevant to Plaintiffs' interception claims that the National Security Agency ("NSA") was purportedly the

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Amici focus on the Wiretap Act and the Electronic Communications Privacy Act rather than
 <sup>27</sup> FISA because the nature of the plaintiff class, which excludes agents of foreign powers and
 <sup>28</sup> terrorist operatives, is such that Plaintiffs are improper FISA targets. *See* 50 U.S.C. § 1804
 <sup>28</sup> (4) (describing targets as foreign powers or agents of foreign powers).

party that received the copies of the intercepted communications and what the NSA might 1 2 have allegedly done with the communications thereafter. The law asks only if there was an 3 intentional interception of a wire, oral, or electronic communication. For example, in United States v. Councilman, 418 F.3d 67 (1st Cir. 2005), the defendant, an officer who worked for 4 an electronic communications service provider, made copies of his subscribers' emails in 5 order to learn about his competitor's business practices, and stored those emails in a file on 6 company computers. The First Circuit, en banc, held that the defendant violated 18 U.S.C. § 7 2511 because he intercepted his subscribers' communications without either a court order or 8 an applicable exception. Whether or not Councilman subsequently used the communications 9 he obtained was irrelevant to his criminal liability. The violation occurred at the point of 10 unlawful interception. See Councilman, 418 F.3d at 84 (""[E]lectronic communications," 11 which are defined expansively, may not be 'intercepted'.") (quoting 18 U.S.C. § 2511(1)(a)). 12 Similarly, in this case, it does not matter to the interception claim that the Defendants 13 allegedly forwarded the communications to the NSA. It is the capture of the information 14 itself, not the forwarding, which the statute prohibits. 15

The Government's argument that it would be required to confirm or deny the 16 existence, scope and potential targets of its alleged intelligence activities if this Court were to 17 adjudicate Plaintiffs' claims is therefore in error. The Government's involvement in 18 Defendants' activities, if any, is irrelevant to Plaintiffs' ability to establish that Defendants 19 intercepted Plaintiffs' communications. Plaintiffs, the public, and amici are aware that 20 telecommunications carriers like Defendants have both the capability and often the legal 21 responsibility to intercept communications, and that the government often asks them to do so. 22 That is no secret. The issue is whether Defendants did so without authorization here. 23 Defendants could counter Mark Klein's declaration with evidence showing that Defendants 24 did not engage in the particular interceptions alleged in this case. There is no need to disclose 25 state secrets to prove or disprove Plaintiffs' allegations. Therefore, the Court should not 26 dismiss this case as the Government requests. 27

> BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO DISMISS Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

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## **B.** Proving Defendants Have a Valid Defense for Intercepting Their Subscribers' Communications Does Not Require Disclosure of State Secrets

2 If Defendants do not dispute Plaintiffs' allegations that they violated 18 U.S.C. § 3 2511(1)(a), they may defend their actions by establishing that they acted pursuant to a court 4 order under 18 U.S.C. § 2518.<sup>3</sup> In the absence of a valid court order, Defendants may 5 produce an invalid court order that they relied upon in good faith. See 18 U.S.C. § 2520(d). 6 If Defendants are unable to establish either of these, then they are liable to Plaintiffs for 7 damages, subject to injunctive relief, and vulnerable to criminal charges. See 18 U.S.C. §§ 8 2511(4)(a), 2520. Proving either of these defenses requires the Defendants to produce a court 9 order. An *in camera* review of that order would not disclose state secrets, and therefore this 10 case should not be dismissed.

11 Section § 2511(2)(a)(ii) authorizes a provider "to provide information, facilities, or 12 technical assistance to persons authorized by law to intercept wire, oral or electronic communications ... if such provider, its officers, employees, or agents, landlord, custodian, or 13 other specified person, has been provided with -(A) a court order directing such assistance 14 signed by the authorizing judge... setting forth the period of time during which the provision 15 of the information, facilities, or technical assistance is authorized and specifying the 16 information, facilities, or technical assistance required." Government agents may ask the 17 court that grants their interception order under procedures specified in 18 U.S.C. § 2518 to 18 include in the order a direction to the provider to give assistance. Such court orders must also 19 contain detailed information about the nature of the investigation, the target, and the 20communications sought, and must specify the period of time during which the investigation is 21 authorized. See 18 U.S.C. § 2518(4). To the extent the court order contains information that 22 may be considered sensitive, a court could accept it under seal and then redact as necessary to 23 protect against disclosure of that information.<sup>4</sup> 24

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26 <sup>3</sup> They could also produce a court order under FISA, 50 U.S.C. § 1804, but *see* note 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The administration has conceded that its domestic surveillance program has operated without the benefit of court orders, *see* Plaintiffs' Request for Judicial Notice, March 31, 2006, pp. 4-5, so it is unlikely that any court orders authorized the interceptions in this case.

Electronic surveillance law clearly required Defendants to base any interceptions of 1 2 their subscribers' communications on a court order. The court order requirement serves an 3 important function. Telecommunications carriers like the Defendants stand as the only barrier between the government's desire to obtain private communications and their subscribers' 4 right to privacy in those communications. That is why the law places a heavy burden on these 5 companies to permit violations of their customers' privacy only when the government couples 6 its request for an interception with an independent and impartial arbiter's assessment that the 7 privacy violation is warranted. 8

Though the statutory scheme seeks to enforce checks and balances on the executive
branch, the law focuses on the actions of AT&T Corp. and AT&T Inc., not on the actions of
the government. It does not matter whether the government's reason for requesting the
information may implicate state secrets. Defendants still needed to demand a court order, and
whether or not they had one does not implicate state secrets. If Defendants do not rebut the
allegation that they intercepted their subscribers' communications, and if they have no valid
defense, then they should be held liable – as the statute requires. 18 U.S.C. § 2511(1)(a).

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- II. ESTABLISHED CONSTITUTIONAL AND STATUTORY LAW MANDATE JUDICIAL REVIEW OF ELECTRONIC SURVEILLANCE

The Government claims that "no aspect of this case can be litigated without disclosing
state secrets." Government's Response to Plaintiffs' Memorandum of Points and Authorities,
May 24, 2006, p. 1. The Government's assertion of state secrets is implausibly expansive
given that this Court may consider Plaintiffs' interception claims without divulging state
secrets, as discussed in Part I, *supra*. As to Plaintiffs' other claims, however, *amici* cannot
fully address the Government's assertion, because we have limited access to facts the
Government has presented to the Court.<sup>5</sup> Nonetheless, the history of electronic surveillance

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Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

Plaintiffs raise claims pertaining to stored communications and communication records, as well as claims arising under state law, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA), 47
 U.S.C. § 605, and the Fourth and First Amendments. Establishing the constitutional claims,

regulation and established law require that this Court scrutinize closely the Government's
claims of privilege. It may be that the states secret privilege does not apply to most, or even
any, of the Plaintiffs' claims.<sup>6</sup> To the extent the Government demands dismissal based on
other considerations, such as a concern with keeping NSA's operations secret, those policy
concerns should yield, if at all possible, to long established constitutional and statutory
doctrine under which the judicial branch must conduct meaningful review of electronic
surveillance at all stages.

8 This country has a long history of judicial oversight of the executive branch's power
9 to invade the privacy of American citizens. A dismissal here will prevent judicial review of
10 an allegedly vast program that invades the privacy of millions of Americans. This result
11 stands in sharp contrast to the privacy protections the law grants citizens in their
12 conversations.

State secrets doctrine recognizes the radical effect of preventing judicial review when 13 the privilege is invoked. It therefore requires a court to consider the plaintiffs' "showing of 14 necessity" when it determines "how far [to] probe in satisfying itself that the occasion for 15 invoking the privilege is appropriate. Where there is a strong showing of necessity, the claim 16 of privilege should not be lightly accepted .... " United States v. Reynolds, supra at 11. In 17 this case, the showing of necessity could not be stronger – it is the firmly established need for 18 judicial checks and balances on the executive branch's use of electronic surveillance. If there 19 is any way that this case can go forward without compromising state secrets, then it should. 20

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<sup>6</sup> Both Director of National Intelligence Negroponte and Lieutenant General Alexander assert a state secrets privilege as to only certain of the information implicated by Plaintiffs' claims. *See* Declaration of John D. Negroponte at 4, Declaration of Lieutenant General Keith B.
Alexander at 2-3.

<sup>25</sup> for example, requires proving state action. That requires evidence about the Government's role in interception that the section 2511 claim does not..

# A. Judicial Review of Electronic Surveillance Provides an Essential Check on Executive Power

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2 The executive branch has consistently tried to evade any restrictions on its electronic 3 surveillance, since the first federal statute prohibiting interception of communications was 4 passed. When Section 605 of the Communications Act of 1934, which prohibited 5 wiretapping, was enacted, federal agents argued that they were immune from the flat 6 prohibition that "no person not being authorized by the sender shall intercept any 7 communication and divulge or publish the existence contents, substance, purport, effect or 8 meaning of such intercepted communication to any person." Communications Act of 1934, 9 ch. 652, 48 Stat. 1064, 1100 (codified at 47 U.S.C. § 605 (1958) (amended 1968)). The 10 Supreme Court, however, squarely rejected government immunity in Nardone v. United 11 States, 302 U.S. 379, 382 (1937), when the Court rejected the government's use of wiretap-12 derived evidence in court. The Court construed the statute's "plain words" and "clear 13 language" to find that its prohibition applied to the government. Id.

14 Over the next thirty years, government lawyers made other unsuccessful attempts to 15 avoid the law's restrictions. They argued, for example, that so long as state agents provided 16 them with wiretap-derived information, federal agents could use it in court. The Supreme 17 Court renounced that practice in 1957. See *Benanti v. United States*, 355 U.S. 96, 100 (1957). Although the Court during this period issued decisions that reinforced the federal prohibition 18 against wiretapping, some contemporary commentators saw a reversal of Olmstead v. United 19 States, 277 U.S. 438 (1928), that would bring Fourth Amendment protection to surveillance 20targets, as the only way to rein in executive branch surveillance. See Susan Freiwald, Online 21 Surveillance: Remembering the Lessons of the Wiretap Act, 56 Alabama L. Rev. 9, 26-31 22 (2004) (describing the history and current form of electronic surveillance law). 23

When *Katz v. United States*, 389 U.S. 347 (1967), finally found electronic surveillance
to implicate the Fourth Amendment, a protracted public debate raged about how to regulate it.
Many people maintained that the risks of abuse inherent in electronic surveillance required
Congress to ban it entirely. A middle group, including President Johnson, his Attorney
General and twenty-one senators, approved of electronic surveillance, strictly regulated, when

BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO DISMISS Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

used solely to protect national security. The ultimate decision was to permit electronic
 surveillance only for national security and law enforcement purposes in the Wiretap Act of
 1968, Pub. L. No. 90-351, Title III, 82 Stat. 212, subject to a comprehensive scheme that
 carefully circumscribes the use of electronic surveillance by government and private parties
 alike. *See* Freiwald, 56 Alabama L. Rev. at 13-14, 23-24.<sup>7</sup>

Since then, executive branch surveillance has been carefully delimited. For example, 6 when the executive branch advocated the surveillance of domestic threats to national security 7 without a warrant, the Supreme Court rejected that power, although it did not address foreign 8 threats. See United States v. United States District Court, 407 U.S. 297 (1972) ("Keith"). In 9 1978, Congress enacted the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act ("FISA") in response to 10 reports that the executive branch was abusing its power to conduct foreign intelligence 11 surveillance. See 50 U.S.C. §§ 1801-1811. Together, FISA and the Wiretap Act entirely 12 prohibit warrantless electronic surveillance in the United States except for no more than a few 13 days in an emergency, see 50 U.S.C. § 1805(f), 18 U.S.C. § 2518(7), and no more than two 14 weeks in the immediate aftermath of the declaration of war. See 50 U.S.C. § 1811. 15

Despite the long history of the judiciary's statutory and constitutional obligation to 16 police surveillance, the Government asks this Court to take the radical step of dismissing the 17 case and preventing any judicial remedy for the statutory violations alleged. Moreover, when 18 a state actor conducts the surveillance, as alleged in this case, then the requirement of judicial 19 review has the added weight of the Fourth Amendment. Because Plaintiffs' class excludes 20 foreign powers, agents of foreign powers, and "anyone who knowingly engages in sabotage or 21 international terrorism, or activities that are in preparation therefore," (Amended Complaint, 22 Feb. 22, 2006, ¶ 70), Plaintiffs are entitled to the highest protections of the federal 23 surveillance laws and the Constitution. See, e.g., Halperin v. Kissinger, 807 F.2d 180, 185 24 (D.C. Cir. 1986) (Scalia, Circuit Justice). 25

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Courts have upheld the constitutionality of the Wiretap Act. See United States v. Donovan, 429 U.S. 413, 429 n. 19 (1977); United States v. Tortorello, 480 F.2d 764, 773 (2nd Cir. 1973), cert. denied, 414 U.S. 866 (1973).

BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO DISMISS Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

The Supreme Court has clearly established that the Fourth Amendment requires 1 2 judicial review of executive branch surveillance practices. "The historical judgment, which 3 the Fourth Amendment accepts, is that unreviewed executive discretion may yield too readily to pressures to obtain incriminating evidence and overlook potential invasions of privacy and 4 protected speech." Keith, 407 U.S. at 317. In fact, after the majority described the high 5 hurdles executive branch agents would have to overcome before their surveillance could pass 6 constitutional muster in Berger v. New York, 388 U.S. 41 (1967), two dissenters accused the 7 majority of trying to prohibit eavesdropping altogether. See Berger, 388 U.S. at 71 (Black, J., 8 dissenting); id. at 111 (White, J., dissenting) (invalidating a state eavesdropping statute as an 9 unconstitutional general warrant). 10

Electronic surveillance laws require judges to approve electronic surveillance before it 11 starts, review it as it continues and when it ends, and provide a forum for victims of unlawful 12 surveillance. Defendants and the Government have not claimed that they secured judicial 13 approval to conduct the surveillance at issue, even though the evidence suggests the 14 surveillance has spanned several years. If this case is dismissed, no such review will ever 15 take place. When Plaintiffs ask the Court to remedy violations of their established 16 constitutional and statutory rights, they present the Court with the first and last opportunity to 17 review Defendants' surveillance practices. 18

The executive branch cannot rewrite electronic surveillance law, as it asks this Court 19 to do, to prevent judicial oversight of cases where national security issues are at stake. In 20 Berger v. New York, 388 U.S. 41 (1967), the Supreme Court established the constitutional 21 requirements for any statute that purported to authorize law enforcement's use of electronic 22 surveillance. To avoid giving investigators a "roving commission" to search any and all 23 conversations, the *Berger* court required applications for court orders not just to establish 24 probable cause but also to identify both the person targeted and the conversations sought. 25 Berger, 388 U.S. at 59. In addition to the active involvement of a judge in granting court 26 orders, the Court required that the warrant be returned to the granting judge, so that the officer 27 alone would not decide how to use any conversations seized. Overall, the Court emphasized 28

> BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO DISMISS Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

the need for "adequate judicial supervision or protective procedures." *Berger*, 388 U.S. at 60.
 Six months later, in *Katz*, 389 U.S. 347 the Court affirmed that victims of unlawful
 surveillance would be afforded suppression remedies so that after-surveillance review could
 ensure that officers had complied with the Fourth Amendment requirements.

5 When Congress passed the Wiretap Act, it codified and elaborated the constitutional requirements the Supreme Court had just established. The statutory scheme provides for the 6 active involvement of a reviewing court at all stages. Pre-surveillance, the reviewing judge 7 must first determine that "normal investigative procedures" not involving electronic 8 surveillance will be inadequate and that there is probable cause to believe that the surveillance 9 will obtain incriminating evidence about the targets' commission of a particular enumerated 10 offense. During the surveillance, the Court must approve any extensions to the order, which 11 may not last more than thirty days. The reviewing court must receive any recordings of the 12 surveillance when it is terminated and then determine to whom to provide notice, in addition 13 to the target himself. 18 U.S.C. § 2518. Finally, the statute added a statutory exclusionary 14 rule to deter unlawful law enforcement practices. 18 U.S.C. § 2515. Generous civil and 15 equitable remedies and strict criminal penalties further demonstrate Congress' commitment to 16 eradicating unlawful surveillance by the government and private parties. See 18 U.S.C. §§ 17 2511, 2520. 18

The special scheme Congress designed to address electronic surveillance reflects the 19 unusual threat to privacy that such surveillance poses. As the several Courts of Appeals that 20 considered how to regulate silent video surveillance in the mid-1980s and early 1990s 21 explained, electronic surveillance practices require a heightened level of judicial oversight. 22 Compared to one-shot physical searches for which a traditional warrant usually suffices, 23 electronic surveillance is intrusive, continuous, hidden and indiscriminate. In other words, 24 electronic surveillance divulges a wide range of private information over a significant period 25 of time, unbeknownst to the target of that surveillance. For that reason, several federal 26 appellate courts agreed that government video surveillance must be subject to the core 27 protective features of the Wiretap Act to ensure that surveillance practices do not unduly 28

intrude on privacy rights.<sup>8</sup> See, e.g., *United States v. Torres*, 751 F.2d 875, 882-884 (7th Cir.
 1984); *United States v. Biasucci*, 786 F.2d 504 (2nd Cir. 1986); *United States v. Koyomejian*,
 970 F.2d 536 (9th Cir.1992) (*en banc*), *cert. denied*, 506 U.S. 1005 (1992).

4 The surveillance practices that the Plaintiffs allege in this case clearly match the description that the Courts of Appeals used to characterize video surveillance. Whether the 5 surveillance involves the wiretapping of traditional telephone calls, the interception of emails, 6 or the acquisition of information about subscribers' activities online, in each case such 7 surveillance is intrusive, continuous, hidden and indiscriminate. The surveillance the 8 Plaintiffs describe demands more than a traditional warrant and certainly does not qualify for 9 an exception to the warrant procedure. The Government's discussion of cases that dispensed 10 with the warrant requirement is therefore inapposite. 11

It would upset the constitutional balance and flout established federal law to permit the
executive branch to be the sole arbiter of the legality of the surveillance alleged in this case.
In fact, Congress and the courts have cut off the very path that the Government is trying to go
down by having this case dismissed. This Court should fulfill its obligations under the law
and hear this case.

**B.** Careful Scrutiny of the Government's Claimed Privileges May Demonstrate that this Court Can Review Plaintiffs' Claims Without Endangering State Secrets

If Plaintiffs' communications were the targets of surveillance that did not meet
constitutional and statutory requirements, then the Government may not use the state secrets
privilege to conceal those illegal actions. This Court must examine the elements and defenses
of each allegation made by Plaintiffs and parse the Government's state secrets claim to
determine whether state secrets privileged information is necessary to prove or disprove any

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The Courts of Appeal have applied the following requirements of the Wiretap Act to government video surveillance in which the target had a reasonable expectation of privacy: that the surveillance is used as a last resort, that agents minimize the interception of non-incriminating images, and that applications satisfy the particularity requirement. *See*Freiwald, 56 Alabama Law R. at 9, 72-73.

BRIEF OF AMICUS CURIAE LAW PROFESSORS IN SUPPORT OF PLAINTIFFS' OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANTS' MOTION TO DISMISS Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

element or defense. See *Ellsberg v. Mitchell*, 709 F.2d 51, 57 (D.C. Cir. 1983) ("[W]henever
 possible, sensitive information must be disentangled from nonsensitive information to allow
 for the release of the latter.").

The Court should not dismiss this case and leave the Plaintiffs without any recourse
for the Defendants' illegal actions unless the Government can describe exactly how state
secrets will be disclosed by a full airing of the Defendants' actions in regard to Plaintiffs'
communications.

In its publicly available pleadings, the Government expresses concern that litigating 8 Plaintiffs' case risks disclosure of intelligence-gathering sources and methods or capabilities.<sup>9</sup> 9 In particular, the Government states that "[a]djudicating each claim in the Amended 10Complaint would require confirmation or denial of the existence, scope, and potential targets 11 of alleged intelligence activities, as well as AT&T's alleged involvement in such activities." 12 Government's Motion to Dismiss, May 13, 2006, p. 16. Because of the paucity of responsive 13 information from the Defendants and the limitation on *amici's* access to the Government's 14 arguments, amici cannot fully analyze the Government's claim. 15

However, most of the facts that the Government expresses concern about revealing 16 were in the public domain well before this case. The public has long been aware that the NSA 17 conducts signals intelligence on domestic telecommunications systems. It can hardly surprise 18 anyone that the Defendants, two large telecommunications carriers, would be involved in 19 those programs. Top administration officials have conceded the existence of NSA 20 surveillance in general, and the "Terrorist Surveillance Program" in particular. See, e.g. 21 Eggen and Pincus, Campaign to Justify Spying Intensifies, Washington Post, January 24, 22 2006, page A04, available at: http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-23 dyn/content/article/2006/01/23/AR2006012300754.html. In addition, it is difficult to see

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup>
<sup>9</sup> In its public materials, the Government does not claim that Plaintiffs' case risks the disruption of diplomatic relations with foreign governments or otherwise impairs the nation's defense capabilities, which are the other two typical grounds for state secrets. See, e.g., *Ellsberg v. Mitchell*, 709 F.2d 51, 57 (D.C. Cir. 1983).

how Plaintiffs' claims would relate to the scope and targets of any such programs. To make 1 2 out a Fourth Amendment violation, for example, Plaintiffs must demonstrate that a 3 government actor or agent seized communications in which the speaker invested a reasonable 4 expectation of privacy. Who exactly the NSA targeted in its Terrorist Surveillance Program is not relevant to the Plaintiffs' claims. The Government misapprehends its burden of proof to 5 the extent it suggests that it could refute Plaintiffs' evidence that they were victims of 6 surveillance merely by asserting that Plaintiffs were not members of the target group and 7 therefore could not have been surveilled. A mere assertion that Plaintiffs were not 8 contemplated by a particular program's design does not rebut proof that Plaintiffs' 9 constitutionally protected communications were nonetheless intercepted. 10

If the Government raises legitimate concerns about particular technological sources 11 and methods, then an approach similar to that under the Classified Information Procedures 12 Act ("CIPA"), 18 U.S.C. App. III, § 1 et seq., could permit the court to consider classified 13 materials in camera. In United States v. Scarfo, 180 F. Supp. 2d 572 (D.N.J. 2001), the court 14 applied CIPA to learn, ex parte, about the operation of a key logger system ("KLS") that FBI 15 agents had installed to obtain the defendant's passphrases for his encrypted files. The court 16 determined, from the FBI's in camera presentation, attended by persons with top-secret 17 clearance only, that the KLS does not "intercept" under the definition of that term in the 18 Wiretap Act.<sup>10</sup> The court provided defense counsel with an unclassified summary of the 19 technology "sufficient to allow the defense to effectively argue the motion to suppress." 20 Scarfo, 180 F. Supp. 2d at 576. Similar procedures, if needed to protect national security, 21 could be employed in this case. What is not needed is the blanket dismissal of claims just 22 because they may implicate classified sources and methods for their resolution. See *Ellsberg* 23 v. Mitchell, supra at 57. ("Thus the privilege may not be used to shield any material not 24 strictly necessary to prevent injury to national security...."). 25

 $<sup>\</sup>begin{bmatrix} 27 \\ 28 \end{bmatrix}$   $\begin{bmatrix} 10 \\ Amici \\ discuss \\ this \\ case not to approve of its reasoning but to illustrate a procedure for handling classified surveillance methods without disclosing them to the public.$ 

Plaintiff's case differs significantly from the recent state secrets case upon which the 1 2 Government relies. In *El-Masri v. Tenet*, No. 1:05cv1417, (E.D. Va. May 12, 2006), the 3 Government sought "to protect from disclosure the operational details of the extraordinary rendition program" when "a public admission of the alleged facts would obviously reveal 4 sensitive means and methods of the country's intelligence operations." Slip. Op. at 11. In 5 this case, by contrast, the actions of the telecommunications carriers, not the government, are 6 at issue. Unlike the classified and clandestine intelligence program that involved foreign 7 intelligence services at issue in *El-Masri*, Plaintiffs here challenge the actions of domestic 8 telecommunications carriers in the United States. Moreover, it is public knowledge that 9 telecommunications companies cooperate with the government to disclose the contents of 10citizen's communications. Plaintiffs are not looking for operational details that describe how 11 the government is using the information it receives from the Defendants. If Defendants were 12 doing wholesale interception of everyone's calls, then Plaintiffs do not need to know who is 13 targeted, what information the government obtains, how the information is transferred, or 14 what the government does with it in order to succeed in their claims against Defendants. 15

The "secret" nature of the information at issue in this case, contrary to the hyperbolic 16 language that permeates the Government briefs, could, on careful inspection, be quite limited. 17 The interception claim, for example, may be adjudicated without implicating national 18 security. To the extent that the Government asserts a valid state secrets privilege over some 19 aspects of the case, the rest of the case should nonetheless proceed, with procedures to protect 20 classified documents, if necessary. Any lesser claim of privilege should yield in the face of 21 the overwhelming policy favoring judicial review of electronic surveillance.<sup>11</sup> "[I]t is well 22 settled that 'dismissal is appropriate only when no amount of effort and care on the part of the 23 court and the parties will safeguard privileged material." *El-Masri*, slip op. at 12 (quoting 24

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 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The Government appears to claim that a privilege over matters relating to NSA operations requires dismissal. *Amici* point out that if that privilege alone required dismissal, it would open up a giant hole in the electronic surveillance laws. Government agents could immunize their surveillance practices from judicial review by somehow involving the NSA in them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup>|| That cannot be what Congress had in mind.

Case No. C-06-0672-VRW

Sterling v. Tenet, 416 F.3d 338, 348 (4th Cir. 2005)). This Court should not dismiss
 Plaintiffs' case. Instead, it should require the Defendants' actions to undergo the judicial
 scrutiny that history, the Constitution and federal statutes require.

#### CONCLUSION

6 The Court should reject the Government's argument that the Judicial Branch has no role to play in determining whether the telecommunications companies violated the 7 Constitution and federal law as Plaintiffs allege. The weighty interests favoring judicial 8 review and the large scale of the electronic surveillance that Plaintiffs allege require the Court 9 to scrutinize carefully the Government's claim of a state secrets privilege. The claims alleging 10 interceptions, for example, present no state secrets concern. To the extent the Court 11 determines that some information in the case is subject to the state secrets privilege, it must 12 try to disentangle that information from the rest of the case and proceed with what remains. 13 This Court should summarily dismiss the Government's attempt to extend the privilege to 14 cover those aspects of the case that are not state secrets but that merely raise a risk of 15 disclosing confidential information, particularly when the Court could protect that 16 confidential information. Because at least some of Plaintiffs' claims do not implicate state 17 secrets, the Court should reject the Government's request for dismissal. Dismissal of this case 18 would irrevocably compromise the judiciary's role. The Court would not be able to serve as a 19 check on executive surveillance of American citizens or to ensure that telecommunications 20 carriers protect customer privacy as the law requires. 21

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	Case 3:06-cv-00672-VRW	Document 232-3	Filed 06/16/2006	Page 22 of 22			
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