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12	UNITED STAT	ES DISTRICT COURT							
13		TRICT OF CALIFORNIA							
14	SAN FRAN	ICISCO DIVISION							
15									
16	TWITTER, INC.,	Case No. 14-cv-4480							
17	Plaintiff,								
18	V.	COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT, 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201 and 2202							
19	ERIC HOLDER, Attorney General of the								
20	United States,								
21	THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,								
22	JAMES COMEY, Director of the Federal								
23	Bureau of Investigation, and								
24	THE FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION,								
25	Defendants.								
26									
27									
28		COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT							

#### I. NATURE OF THE ACTION

- 1. Twitter brings this action for declaratory judgment pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201 and 2202, requesting relief from prohibitions on its speech in violation of the First Amendment.
- 2. The U.S. government engages in extensive but incomplete speech about the scope of its national security surveillance activities as they pertain to U.S. communications providers, while at the same time prohibiting service providers such as Twitter from providing their own informed perspective as potential recipients of various national security-related requests.
- 3. Twitter seeks to lawfully publish information contained in a draft Transparency Report submitted to the Defendants on or about April 1, 2014. After five months, Defendants informed Twitter on September 9, 2014 that "information contained in the [transparency] report is classified and cannot be publicly released" because it does not comply with their framework for reporting data about government requests under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act ("FISA") and the National Security Letter statutes. This framework was set forth in a January 27, 2014 letter from Deputy Attorney General James M. Cole to five Internet companies (not including Twitter) in settlement of prior claims brought by those companies (also not including Twitter) (the "DAG Letter").
- 4. The Defendants' position forces Twitter either to engage in speech that has been preapproved by government officials or else to refrain from speaking altogether. Defendants provided no authority for their ability to establish the preapproved disclosure formats or to impose those speech restrictions on other service providers that were not party to the lawsuit or settlement.
- 5. Twitter's ability to respond to government statements about national security surveillance activities and to discuss the actual surveillance of Twitter users is being unconstitutionally restricted by statutes that prohibit and even criminalize a service provider's disclosure of the number of national security letters ("NSLs") and court orders issued pursuant to FISA that it has received, if any. In fact, the U.S. government has taken the position that service

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COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT

providers like Twitter are even prohibited from saying that they have received zero national security requests, or zero of a particular *type* of national security request.

6. These restrictions constitute an unconstitutional prior restraint and content-based restriction on, and government viewpoint discrimination against, Twitter's right to speak about information of national and global public concern. Twitter is entitled under the First Amendment to respond to its users' concerns and to the statements of U.S. government officials by providing more complete information about the limited scope of U.S. government surveillance of Twitter user accounts—including what types of legal process have *not* been received by Twitter—and the DAG Letter is not a lawful means by which Defendants can seek to enforce their unconstitutional speech restrictions.

#### II. **PARTIES**

- 7. Plaintiff Twitter, Inc. ("Twitter") is a corporation with its principal place of business located at 1355 Market Street, Suite 900, San Francisco, California. Twitter is a global information sharing and distribution network serving over 271 million monthly active users around the world. People using Twitter write short messages, called "Tweets," of 140 characters or less, which are public by default and may be viewed all around the world instantly. As such, Twitter gives a public voice to anyone in the world—people who inform and educate others, who express their individuality, who engage in all manner of political speech, and who seek positive change.
- 8. Defendant Eric Holder is the Attorney General of the United States and heads the United States Department of Justice ("DOJ"). He is sued in his official capacity only.
- 9. Defendant DOJ is an agency of the United States. Its headquarters are located at 950 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C.
- 10. Defendant James Comey is the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation ("FBI"). He is sued in his official capacity only.

1	11. Defendant FBI is an agency of the United States. Its headquarters are located at					
2	935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C.					
3	III. JURISDICTION					
4	12. This Court has original subject matter jurisdiction under 28 U.S.C. § 1331, as this					
5	matter arises under the Constitution, laws, or treaties of the United States. More specifically, this					
6	Court is authorized to provide declaratory relief under the Declaratory Judgment Act, 28 U.S.C.					
7	§§ 2201–2202, relating to, among other things, Twitter's contention that certain nondisclosure					
8	requirements and related penalties concerning the receipt of NSLs and court orders issued under					
9	FISA, as described below, are unconstitutionally restrictive of Twitter's First Amendment rights,					
10	either on their face or as applied to Twitter, and Twitter's contention that Defendants' conduct					
11	violates the Administrative Procedure Act, 5 U.S.C. § 551, et seq.					
12	IV. VENUE					
13	13. Venue is proper in this Court under 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b) because a substantial part					
14	of the events giving rise to the action occurred in this judicial district, Twitter resides in this					
15	district, Twitter's speech is being unconstitutionally restricted in this district, and the Defendants					
16	are officers and employees of the United States or its agencies operating under the color of law.					
17	V. FACTUAL BACKGROUND					
18	A. NSL and FISA Provisions Include Nondisclosure Obligations					
19	i. The NSL Statute					
20	14. Section 2709 of the federal Stored Communications Act authorizes the FBI to					
21	issue NSLs to electronic communication service ("ECS") providers, such as Twitter, compelling					
22	them to disclose "subscriber information and toll billing records information" upon a certification					
23	by the FBI that the information sought is "relevant to an authorized investigation to protect					
24	against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities." 18 U.S.C. § 2709(a), (b).					
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27	COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT					

- 15. Section 2709(c)(1) provides that, following certification by the FBI, the recipient of the NSL shall not disclose "to any person (other than those to whom such disclosure is necessary to comply with the request or an attorney to obtain legal advice or legal assistance with respect to the request) that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained access to information or records." 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c)(1). This nondisclosure obligation is imposed upon an ECS by the FBI unilaterally, without prior judicial review. At least two United States district courts have found the nondisclosure provision of § 2709 unconstitutional under the First Amendment. *In re Nat'l Sec. Letter*, 930 F. Supp. 2d 1064 (N.D. Cal. 2013); *Doe v. Gonzales*, 500 F. Supp. 2d 379 (S.D.N.Y. 2007), *affirmed in part, reversed in part, and remanded by Doe, Inc. v. Mukasey*, 549 F.3d 861 (2d Cir. 2008).
- 16. Any person or entity that violates a NSL nondisclosure order may be subject to criminal penalties. 18 U.S.C. §§ 793, 1510(e).
  - ii. The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act
- 17. Five subsections ("Titles") of FISA permit the government to seek court-ordered real-time surveillance or disclosure of stored records from an ECS: Title I (electronic surveillance of the content of communications and all communications metadata); Title III (disclosure of stored content and noncontent records); Title IV (provisioning of pen register and trap and trace devices to obtain dialing, routing, addressing and signaling information); Title V (disclosure of "business records") (also referred to as "Section 215 of the USA Patriot Act"); and Title VII (surveillance of non-U.S. persons located beyond U.S. borders).
- 18. A number of authorities restrict the recipient of a FISA order from disclosing information about that order. These include requirements in FISA that recipients of court orders provide the government with "all information, facilities, or technical assistance necessary to accomplish the electronic surveillance in such a manner as will protect its secrecy," 50 U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(B); the Espionage Act, 18 U.S.C. § 793 (criminalizing unauthorized disclosures of

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national defense information under certain circumstances); nondisclosure agreements signed by representatives of communications providers who receive FISA orders; and court-imposed nondisclosure obligations in FISA court orders themselves.

### B. The Government's Restrictions on Other Communication Providers' Ability to Discuss Their Receipt of National Security Legal Process

- 19. On June 5, 2013, the British newspaper *The Guardian* reported the first of several "leaks" of classified material from Edward Snowden, a former government contractor, which have revealed—and continue to reveal—multiple U.S. government intelligence collection and surveillance programs.
- 20. The Snowden disclosures have deepened public concern regarding the scope of governmental national security surveillance. This concern is shared by members of Congress, industry leaders, world leaders, and the media. In response to this concern, a number of executive branch officials have made public statements about the Snowden disclosures and revealed select details regarding specific U.S. surveillance programs. For example, the Director of National Intelligence has selectively declassified and publicly released information about U.S. government surveillance programs.
- 21. While engaging in their own carefully crafted speech on the issue of U.S. government surveillance, U.S. government officials have relied on statutory and other authorities to preclude communication providers from responding to leaks, inaccurate information reported in the media, statements of public officials, and related public concerns regarding the providers' involvement with and exposure to U.S. surveillance efforts. These authorities—and the government's interpretation of and reliance on them—constitute facial and as-applied violations of the First Amendment right to engage in speech regarding a matter of extensively debated and significant public concern.

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- 22. In response to these restrictions on speech, on June 18, 2013, Google filed in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court ("FISC") a Motion for Declaratory Judgment of Google's First Amendment Right to Publish Aggregate Data About FISA Orders. Google then filed an Amended Motion on September 9, 2013. Google's Amended Motion sought a declaratory judgment that it had a right under the First Amendment to publish, and that no applicable law or regulation prohibited it from publishing, two aggregate unclassified numbers: (1) the total number of requests it receives under various national security authorities, if any, and (2) the total number of users or accounts encompassed within such requests. Similar motions were subsequently filed by four other U.S. communications providers: Microsoft (June 19, 2013), Facebook (September 9, 2013), Yahoo! (September 9, 2013), and LinkedIn (September 17, 2013). Apple also submitted an amicus brief in support of the motions (November 5, 2013).
- 23. In January 2014, the DOJ and the five petitioner companies reached an agreement that the companies would dismiss the FISC actions without prejudice in return for the DOJ's agreement that the companies could publish information about U.S. government surveillance of their networks in one of two preapproved disclosure formats. President Obama previewed this agreement in a public speech that he delivered at the DOJ on January 17, 2014, saying, "We will also enable communications providers to make public more information than ever before about the orders that they have received to provide data to the government." President Barack Obama, *Remarks by the President on Review of Signals Intelligence*, The White House Blog (Jan. 17, 2014, 11:15 AM), available at http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/01/17/remarks-president-review-signals-intelligence.
- 24. The two preapproved disclosure formats were set forth in a letter dated January 27,2014, from Deputy Attorney General James M. Cole to the General Counsels for Facebook,Google, LinkedIn, Microsoft and Yahoo!. A copy of the DAG Letter is attached hereto as Exhibit1. Under Option One in the DAG Letter,

1	A provider may report aggregate data in the following separate categories:						
2	1. Criminal process, subject to no restrictions.						
3	2. The number of NSLs received, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.						
5	3. The number of customer accounts affected by NSLs, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.						
6	4. The number of FISA orders for content, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.						
7 8	5. The number of customer selectors targeted under FISA content orders, in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.						
9	6. The number of FISA orders for non-content, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.						
10	7. The number of customer selectors targeted under FISA non-content orders, in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.						
11 12	Exhibit 1 at 2.						
13	25. For FISA-related information, the DOJ imposed a six-month delay between the						
14	publication date and the period covered by the report. In addition, it imposed						
15	a delay of two years for data relating to the first order that is served on a company						
16	for a platform, product, or service (whether developed or acquired) for which the company has not previously received such an order, and that is designated by the						
17 18	government as a "New Capability Order" because disclosing it would reveal that the platform, product, or service is subject to previously undisclosed collection through FISA orders.						
19	<i>Id.</i> at 3.						
20	26. Under Option Two,						
21	[A] provider may report aggregate data in the following separate categories:						
22	Criminal process, subject to no restrictions.						
23	2. The total number of all national security process received,						
24	including all NSLs and FISA orders, reported as a single number in the following bands: 0-249 and thereafter in bands of 250.						
25	3. The total number of customer selectors targeted under all national security process, including all NSLs and FISA orders, reported as a						
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27	COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT						
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Id.

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single number in the following bands, 0-249, and thereafter in bands of 250."

- 27. Under either option, since the permitted ranges begin with zero, service providers who have never received an NSL or FISA order apparently are prohibited from reporting that fact. Likewise, a communications provider that, for example, has received FISA orders under Titles I, III, V and VII of FISA, but not under Title IV, may not reveal that it has never received a Title IV FISC order.
- 28. The DAG Letter cites to no authority for these restrictions on service providers' speech.
- 29. In a Notice filed with the FISC simultaneously with transmission of the DAG Letter, the DOJ informed the court of the agreement, the new disclosure options detailed in the DAG Letter, and the stipulated dismissal of the FISC action by all parties. A copy of the Notice is attached hereto as Exhibit 2. The Notice concluded by stating: "It is the Government's position that the terms outlined in the Deputy Attorney General's letter define the limits of permissible reporting for the parties and other similarly situated companies." Exhibit 2 at 2 (emphasis added). In other words, according to the DOJ, the negotiated agreement reached to end litigation by five petitioner companies is not limited to the five petitioner companies as a settlement of private litigation, but instead serves as a disclosure format imposed on a much broader—yet undefined—group of companies. No further guidance has been offered by the DOJ regarding what it considers to be a "similarly situated" company. Further, the Notice cites no authority for extending these restrictions on speech to companies that were not party to the negotiated agreement.
- 30. Notwithstanding the fact that the DAG Letter purportedly prohibits a provider from disclosing that it has received "zero" NSLs or FISA orders, or "zero" of a certain kind of

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## FISA order, subsequent to January 27, 2014, certain communications providers have publicly disclosed either that they have never received any FISA orders or NSLs, or any of a certain kind of FISA order.

#### C. The DOJ and FBI Deny Twitter's Request to Be More Transparent

- 31. Twitter is a unique service built on trust and transparency. Twitter users are permitted to post under their real names or pseudonymously. Twitter is used by world leaders, political activists, journalists, and millions of other people to disseminate information and ideas, engage in public debate about matters of national and global concern, seek justice, and reveal government corruption and other wrongdoing. The ability of Twitter users to share information depends, in part, on their ability to do so without undue fear of government surveillance.
- 32. Twitter is an ECS as that term is defined at 18 U.S.C. § 2510(15) since it provides its users the ability to send and receive electronic communications. As an ECS and, more generally, as a third-party provider of communications to the public, Twitter is subject to the receipt of civil, criminal, and national security legal process, including administrative, grand jury, and trial subpoenas; NSLs; court orders under the federal Wiretap Act, Stored Communications Act, Pen Register and Trap and Trace Act, and FISA; and search warrants. Compliance with such legal process can be compelled through the aid of a court.
- 33. The ability to engage in speech concerning the nature and extent of government surveillance of Twitter users' activities is critical to Twitter. In July 2012, Twitter released its first Transparency Report. Release of this Transparency Report was motivated by Twitter's recognition that citizens must "hold governments accountable, especially on behalf of those who may not have a chance to do so themselves." Jeremy Kessel, *Twitter Transparency Report*, Twitter Blog (July 2, 2012 20:17 UTC), https://blog.twitter.com/2012/twitter-transparency-report. This Transparency Report listed the number of civil and criminal government requests for account information and content removal, broken down by country, and takedown notices

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- pursuant to the Digital Millennium Copyright Act received from third parties. The report also provided information about how Twitter responded to these requests. The report did not contain information regarding government national security requests Twitter may have received. Subsequent biennial transparency reports have been released since then, including the most recent on July 31, 2014.
- 34. In January 2014, Twitter requested to meet with DOJ and FBI officials to discuss Twitter's desire to provide greater transparency into the extent of U.S. government surveillance of Twitter's users through NSLs and court orders issued under FISA.
- 35. On January 29, 2014, representatives of the DOJ, FBI, and Twitter met at the Department of Justice. At the meeting, Twitter explained why its services are unique and distinct from the services provided by the companies who were recipients of the DAG Letter and why the DAG Letter should not apply to Twitter, which was not a party to the proceedings that resulted in the DAG Letter. Twitter also sought confirmation that it is not "similarly situated" to those companies and that the limits imposed in the DAG Letter should not apply to Twitter. In response, the DOJ and FBI told Twitter that the DAG Letter sets forth the limits of permissible transparency-related speech for Twitter and that the letter would not be amended or supplemented with additional options of preapproved speech.
- 36. In February 2014, Twitter released its Transparency Report for the second half of 2013, which included two years of data covering global government requests for account information. In light of the government's admonition regarding more expansive transparency reporting than that set forth in the DAG Letter, Twitter's February 2014 Transparency Report did not include information about U.S. government national security requests at the level of granularity Twitter wished to disclose.
- 37. In a blog post, Twitter explained the importance of reporting more specific information to users about government surveillance. Twitter also explained how the U.S.

1	government was unconstitutionally prohibiting Twitter from providing a meaningful level of						
2	detail regarding U.S. government national security requests Twitter had or may have received:						
3	We think the government's restriction on our speech not only unfairly						
4	impacts our users' privacy, but also violates our First Amendment right to free expression and open discussion of government affairs. We believe						
5	there are far less restrictive ways to permit discussion in this area while also respecting national security concerns. Therefore, we have pressed the						
6 7	U.S. Department of Justice to allow greater transparency, and proposed future disclosures concerning national security requests that would be more meaningful to Twitter's users.						
8	Jeremy Kessel, <i>Fighting for more #transparency</i> , Twitter Blog (Feb. 6, 2014 14:58						
9	UTC), https://blog.twitter.com/2014/fighting-for-more-transparency.						
10	38. On or about April 1, 2014, Twitter submitted a draft July 2014 Transparency						
11	Report to the FBI, seeking prepublication review. In its transmittal letter to the FBI, Twitter						
12	explained:						
13	We are sending this to you so that Twitter may receive a determination as to exactly which, if any, parts of its Transparency						
14	Report are classified or, in the Department's view, otherwise may						
15	not lawfully be published online.						
16	A copy of Twitter's letter dated April 1, 2014 is attached as Exhibit 3. Twitter's draft						
17	Transparency Report, which will be submitted separately, is Exhibit 4.						
18	39. Through its draft Transparency Report, Twitter seeks to disclose certain categories						
19	of information to its users, for the period July 1 to December 31, 2013, including:						
20	a. The number of NSLs and FISA orders Twitter received, if any, in actual aggregate numbers (including "zero," to the extent that that number was						
21	applicable to an aggregate number of NSLs or FISA orders, or to specific <i>kinds</i> of FISA orders that Twitter may have received);						
<ul><li>22</li><li>23</li></ul>	b. The number of NSLs and FISA orders received, if any, reported						
23 24	separately, in ranges of one hundred, beginning with 1–99;						
24 25	c. The combined number of NSLs and FISA orders received, if any, in ranges of twenty-five, beginning with 1–24;						
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27	-11- COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT						
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total users. In other words, Twitter is permitted to *qualify* its description of the total number of accounts affected by all national security legal process it has received but it cannot *quantify* that description with the specific detail that goes well beyond what is allowed under the January 27th framework and that discloses properly classified information.

*Id.* at 1–2.

41. Since the FBI's response does not identify the exact information in the draft Transparency Report that can and cannot be published, Twitter cannot at this time publish any part of the report. When the government intrudes on speech, the First Amendment requires that it do so in the most limited way possible. The government has failed to meet this obligation. Instead, Defendants simply impose the DAG Letter framework upon Twitter as Twitter's sole means of communicating with the public about national security surveillance.

#### **COUNT I**

#### (Request for Declaratory Judgment under 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201 and 2202 and Injunctive Relief)

- 42. Twitter incorporates the allegations contained in paragraphs 1 through 41, above.
- 43. Defendants have impermissibly infringed upon Twitter's right to publish information contained in Twitter's draft Transparency Report, and Twitter therefore seeks a declaration that Defendants have violated Twitter's First Amendment rights. A case of actual controversy exists regarding Twitter's right to engage in First Amendment protected speech following Defendants' refusal to allow Twitter to publish information about its exposure to national security surveillance that does not conform to either of the two preapproved formats set forth in the DAG Letter. The fact that Defendants have prohibited Twitter from publishing facts that reveal whether and the extent to which it may have received either one or more NSLs or court orders pursuant to FISA, along with the other facts alleged herein, establish that a substantial controversy exists between the adverse parties of sufficient immediacy and reality as to warrant a declaratory judgment in Twitter's favor. Twitter has suffered actual adverse and harmful effects, including but not limited to, a prohibition on publishing information in the draft -13-

- Transparency Report to make it available to the public and Twitter's users, the chilling effect from Defendants' failure to address specific content, and the threat of possible civil or criminal penalties for publication.
- 44. The imposition of the requirements of the DAG Letter on Twitter violates the Administrative Procedure Act because the DAG Letter represents a final agency action not in accordance with law; the imposition of the DAG Letter on Twitter is contrary to Twitter's constitutional rights (namely the First Amendment) as alleged more specifically herein; the imposition of the DAG Letter on Twitter is in excess of statutory jurisdiction, authority, or limitations as alleged more specifically herein; and the requirements set forth in the DAG Letter were imposed on Twitter without the observance of procedure required by law. Twitter is not "similarly situated" to the parties addressed in the DAG Letter.
- 45. Upon information and belief, the restrictions in the DAG letter are based in part upon the nondisclosure provision of 18 U.S.C. § 2709; FISA secrecy provisions, such as 50 U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(B); the Espionage Act, 18 U.S.C. § 793; nondisclosure agreements signed by Twitter representatives, if any; and nondisclosure provisions in FISA court orders issued to Twitter, if any.
- 46. The nondisclosure and judicial review provisions of 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c) are facially unconstitutional under the First Amendment, including for at least the following reasons: the nondisclosure orders authorized by § 2709(c) constitute a prior restraint and content-based restriction on speech in violation of Twitter's First Amendment right to speak about truthful matters of public concern (e.g., the existence of and numbers of NSLs received); the nondisclosure orders authorized by § 2709(c) are not narrowly tailored to serve a compelling governmental interest, including because they apply not only to the content of the request but to the fact of receiving an NSL and additionally are unlimited in duration; and the NSL nondisclosure provisions are facially unconstitutional because the judicial review procedures do

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not meet procedural safeguards required by the First Amendment because they place the burden of seeking to modify or set aside a nondisclosure order on the recipient of an NSL, do not guarantee that nondisclosure orders imposed prior to judicial review are limited to a specified brief period, do not guarantee expeditious review of a request to modify or set aside a nondisclosure order, and require the reviewing court to apply a level of deference that conflicts with strict scrutiny.

- 47. The nondisclosure provisions of 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c) are also unconstitutional as applied to Twitter, including because Defendants' interpretation of the nondisclosure provision of 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c), and their application of the same to Twitter via the DAG Letter, is an unconstitutional prior restraint, content-based restriction, and viewpoint discrimination in violation of Twitter's right to speak about truthful matters of public concern. This prohibition on Twitter's speech is not narrowly tailored to serve a compelling governmental interest, and no such interest exists that justifies prohibiting Twitter from disclosing its receipt (or non-receipt) of an NSL or the unlimited duration or scope of the prohibition.
- 48. Section 2709 is also unconstitutional because 18 U.S.C. § 3511, which sets forth the standard of review for seeking to modify or set aside a nondisclosure order under 18 U.S.C. § 2709, restricts a court's power to review the necessity of a nondisclosure provision in violation of separation of powers principles. The statute expressly limits a court's ability to set aside or modify a nondisclosure provision unless the court finds that "there is no reason to believe that disclosure may endanger . . . national security." 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(2), (3). This restriction impermissibly requires the reviewing court to apply a level of deference to the government's nondisclosure decisions that conflicts with the constitutionally mandated level of review, which is strict scrutiny.
- 49. The FISA statute, the Espionage Act, and other nondisclosure authorities do not prohibit service providers like Twitter from disclosing aggregate information about the number of

1	FISA orders they receive. Instead, these authorities protect the secrecy of particular targets and
2	ongoing investigations, and do not impose an obligation on service providers such as Twitter to
3	remain silent about the receipt or non-receipt of FISA orders generally, nor do they impose an
4	obligation on service providers not to disclose the aggregate numbers of specific ranges of FISA
5	orders received. To the extent that the Defendants read FISA secrecy provisions, such as 50
6	U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(B), as prohibiting Twitter from publishing information about the aggregate
7	number of FISA orders it receives, however, the FISA secrecy provisions are unconstitutional
8	including because they constitute a prior restraint and content-based restriction on speech in
9	violation of Twitter's First Amendment right to speak about truthful matters of public concern.
10	Moreover, this restriction on Twitter's speech is not narrowly tailored to serve a compelling
11	governmental interest, and no such interest exists that justifies prohibiting Twitter from disclosing
12	its receipt (or non-receipt) of a FISA order.
13	50. The FISA secrecy provisions are also unconstitutional as applied to Twitter,
14	including because Defendants' interpretation of the FISA secrecy provisions and their application
15	with respect to Twitter is an unconstitutional prior restraint, content-based restriction, and
16	viewpoint discrimination in violation of Twitter's right to speak about truthful matters of public

#### PRAYER FOR RELIEF

concern. Moreover, this prohibition imposed by Defendants on Twitter's speech is not narrowly

WHEREFORE, Twitter prays for the following relief:

A declaratory judgment that: A.

tailored to serve a compelling governmental interest.

- The draft Transparency Report that Twitter submitted to the FBI may be i. lawfully published in its entirety or, alternatively, certain identified portions may be lawfully published;
- Imposition of the requirements set forth in the DAG Letter on Twitter ii. violate the Administrative Procedure Act;
- The nondisclosure provisions of 18 U.S.C. § 2709 and the review iii. mechanisms of 18 U.S.C. § 3511 are facially unconstitutional under the First Amendment:

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COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT

1		iv.	The nondisclosure provisions of 18 U.S.C. § 2709 are unconstitutional under the First Amendment as applied to Twitter;			
2 3		v.	The review mechanisms established under 18 U.S.C. § 3511 are facially unconstitutional because they violate separation of powers principles;			
4		vi.	The FISA secrecy provisions are facially unconstitutional under the First Amendment;			
5		vii.	The FISA secrecy provisions are unconstitutional under the First Amendment as applied to Twitter;			
6 7		viii.	The DAG Letter's prohibition on reporting receipt of zero of a particular kind of national security process is unconstitutional under the First Amendment;			
8		ix.	The DAG Letter's prohibition on reporting receipt of zero aggregate NSLs or FISA orders is unconstitutional under the First Amendment; and			
9		х.	The DAG Letter's restrictions on reporting ranges of national security process received are unconstitutional under the First Amendment.			
10 11	В.	A pre	liminary and permanent injunction prohibiting Defendants, their affiliates,			
12	agents, employees, and attorneys, and any and all other persons in active concert or participation					
13	with them, fro	m seek	ring to enforce the terms contained in the DAG Letter on Twitter, or to			
14	prosecute or o	therwi	se seek redress from Twitter for transparency reporting that is inconsistent			
15	with the terms	s contai	ned in the DAG Letter.			
16	C.	An av	vard of attorneys' fees and costs to Twitter to the extent permitted by law.			
17	D. Such further and other relief as this Court deems just and proper.					
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#### Case4:14-cv-04480-YGR Document1 Filed10/07/14 Page19 of 19 1 DATED: October 7, 2014 PERKINS COIE LLP 2 3 By: /s/ Eric D. Miller Eric D. Miller, Bar No. 218416 4 EMiller@perkinscoie.com Michael A. Sussmann, D.C. Bar No. 5 433100 (pro hac vice to follow) 6 MSussmann@perkinscoie.com James Snell, Bar No. 173070 7 JSnell@perkinscoie.com Hayley L. Berlin, D.C. Bar No. 1011549 8 (pro hac vice to follow) HBerlin@perkinscoie.com 9 PERKINS COIE LLP 3150 Porter Drive 10 Palo Alto, CA 94304-1212 Telephone: 650.838.4300 11 Facsimile: 650.838.4350 12 Attorneys for Plaintiff 13 Twitter, Inc. 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 -18-27 COMPLAINT FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT 28



## Office of the Deputy Attorney General Washington, D.C. 20530

January 27, 2014

#### Sent via Email

Colin Stretch, Esquire Vice President and General Counsel Facebook Corporate Office 1601 Willow Road Menlo Park, CA 94025

Kent Walker, Esquire Senior Vice President and General Counsel Google Corporate Office Headquarters 1600 Amphitheater Parkway Mountain View, CA 94043

Erika Rottenberg, Esquire Vice President, General Counsel/Secretary LinkedIn Corporation 2029 Stierlin Court Mountain View, CA 94043

Brad Smith, Esquire Executive Vice President and General Counsel Microsoft Corporate Office Headquarters One Microsoft Way Redmond, WA 98052-7329

Ronald Bell, Esquire General Counsel Yahoo Inc. Corporate Office and Headquarters 701 First Avenue Sunnyvale, CA 94089

#### Dear General Counsels:

Pursuant to my discussions with you over the last month, this letter memorializes the new and additional ways in which the government will permit your company to report data concerning requests for customer information. We are sending this in connection with the Notice we filed with the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court today.

In the summer of 2013, the government agreed that providers could report in aggregate the total number of all requests received for customer data, including all criminal process, NSLs,

Letter to Colin Stretch, Kent Walker, Erika Rottenberg, Brad Smith and Ronald Bell Page 2

and FISA orders, and the total number of accounts targeted by those requests, in bands of 1000. In the alternative, the provider could separately report precise numbers of criminal process received and number of accounts affected thereby, as well as the number of NSLs received and the number of accounts affected thereby in bands of 1000. Under this latter option, however, a provider could not include in its reporting any data about FISA process received.

The government is now providing two alternative ways in which companies may inform their customers about requests for data. Consistent with the President's direction in his speech on January 17, 2014, these new reporting methods enable communications providers to make public more information than ever before about the orders that they have received to provide data to the government.

#### Option One.

A provider may report aggregate data in the following separate categories:

- 1. Criminal process, subject to no restrictions.
- 2. The number of NSLs received, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.
- 3. The number of customer accounts affected by NSLs, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.
- 4. The number of FISA orders for content, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.
- 5. The number of customer selectors targeted under FISA content orders, in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.
- 6. The number of FISA orders for non-content, reported in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.
- 7. The number of customer selectors targeted under FISA non-content orders, in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999.

A provider may publish the FISA and NSL numbers every six months. For FISA information, there will be a six-month delay between the publication date and the period covered

As the Director of National Intelligence stated on November 18, 2013, the Government several years ago discontinued a program under which it collected bulk internet metadata, and no longer issues FISA orders for such information in bulk. See <a href="http://icontherecord.tumblr.com/post/67419963949/dni-clapper-declassifies-additional-intelligence">http://icontherecord.tumblr.com/post/67419963949/dni-clapper-declassifies-additional-intelligence</a>. With regard to the bulk collection of telephone metadata, the President has ordered a transition that will end the Section 215 bulk metadata program as it currently exists and has requested recommendations about how the program should be restructured. The result of that transition will determine the manner in which data about any continued collection of that kind is most appropriately reported.

Letter to Colin Stretch, Kent Walker, Erika Rottenberg, Brad Smith and Ronald Bell Page 3

by the report. For example, a report published on July 1, 2015, will reflect the FISA data for the period ending December 31, 2014.

In addition, there will be a delay of two years for data relating to the first order that is served on a company for a platform, product, or service (whether developed or acquired) for which the company has not previously received such an order, and that is designated by the government as a "New Capability Order" because disclosing it would reveal that the platform, product, or service is subject to previously undisclosed collection through FISA orders. For example, a report published on July 1, 2015, will not reflect data relating to any New Capability Order received during the period ending December 31, 2014. Such data will be reflected in a report published on January 1, 2017. After data about a New Capability Order has been published, that type of order will no longer be considered a New Capability Order, and the ordinary six-month delay will apply.

The two-year delay described above does not apply to a FISA order directed at an enhancement to or iteration of an existing, already publicly available platform, product, or service when the company has received previously disclosed FISA orders of the same type for that platform, product, or service.

A provider may include in its transparency report general qualifying language regarding the existence of this additional delay mechanism to ensure the accuracy of its reported data, to the effect that the transparency report may or may not include orders subject to such additional delay (but without specifically confirming or denying that it has received such new capability orders).

#### Option Two.

In the alternative, a provider may report aggregate data in the following separate categories:

- 1. Criminal process, subject to no restrictions.
- 2. The total number of all national security process received, including all NSLs and FISA orders, reported as a single number in the following bands: 0-249 and thereafter in bands of 250.
- 3. The total number of customer selectors targeted under all national security process, including all NSLs and FISA orders, reported as a single number in the following bands, 0-249, and thereafter in bands of 250.

\* \* \*

I have appreciated the opportunity to discuss these issues with you, and I am grateful for the time, effort, and input of your companies in reaching a result that we believe strikes an appropriate balance between the competing interests of protecting national security and furthering transparency. We look forward to continuing to discuss with you ways in which the

Letter to Colin Stretch, Kent Walker, Erika Rottenberg, Brad Smith and Ronald Bell Page 4

government and industry can similarly find common ground on other issues raised by the surveillance debates of recent months.

Sincerely,

James M. Cole

Deputy Attorney General

## UNITED STATES FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE SURVEILLANCE COURT WASHINGTON, D.C.

IN RE MOTION FOR DECLARATORY	
JUDGMENT OF A FIRST AMENDMENT	) Docket No. Misc. 13-03
RIGHT TO PUBLISH AGGREGATE	)
INFORMATION ABOUT FISA ORDERS	)
IN RE MOTION TO DISCLOSE AGGREGATE DATA REGARDING FISA ORDERS	) ) Docket No. Misc. 13-04 )
IN RE MOTION FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT TO DISCLOSE AGGREGATE DATA REGARDING FISA ORDERS AND DIRECTIVES	) ) ) Docket No. Misc. 13-05 )
IN RE MOTION FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT TO DISCLOSE AGGREGATE DATA REGARDING FISA ORDERS AND DIRECTIVES	) ) ) Docket No. Misc. 13-06 ) )
IN RE MOTION FOR DECLARATORY JUDGMENT TO REPORT AGGREGATED DATA REGARDING FISA ORDERS	) ) Docket No. Misc. 13-07 )
	<i></i>

#### **NOTICE**

The Government hereby informs the Court that, pursuant to the terms of the attached letter from the Deputy Attorney General, the Government will permit the petitioners to publish the aggregate data at issue in the above-captioned actions relating to any orders issued pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). The parties are separately stipulating to the

dismissal of these actions without prejudice. The Director of National Intelligence has declassified the aggregate data consistent with the terms of the attached letter from the Deputy Attorney General, in the exercise of the Director of National Intelligence's discretion pursuant to Executive Order 13526, § 3.1(c). The Government will therefore treat such disclosures as no longer prohibited under any legal provision that would otherwise prohibit the disclosure of classified data, including data relating to FISA surveillance. It is the Government's position that the terms outlined in the Deputy Attorney General's letter define the limits of permissible reporting for the parties and other similarly situated companies.

Dated: January 27, 2014

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN P. CARLIN Acting Assistant Attorney General for National Security

TASHINA GAUHAR Deputy Assistant Attorney General National Security Division

J. BRADFORD WIEGMANN Deputy Assistant Attorney General National Security Division

CHRISTOPHER HARDEE Chief Counsel for Policy National Security Division

/s/ Alex Iftimie

**ALEX IFTIMIE** U.S. Department of Justice **National Security Division** 950 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W. Washington, DC 20530 Phone: (202) 514-5600

Fax: (202) 514-8053

Attorneys for the United States of America

#### **CERTIFICATE OF SERVICE**

I hereby certify that a true copy of this Notice was served by the Government via email

on this 27th day of January, 2014, addressed to:

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/9	s/	
Alex	Iftimie	

#### **UNCLASSIFIED**



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April 1, 2014

#### VIA HAND DELIVERY

Mr. Richard McNally Section Chief, NSLB Federal Bureau of Investigation 935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Room 7947 Washington, DC 20525-0001

Re: Classification Review of Twitter 2014 Transparency Report

Dear Mr. McNally:

In a recent meeting with representatives of the Department of Justice, Dave O'Neil offered that the FBI would review proposed communication provider transparency reports for classified information (in conformity with the Deputy Attorney General's letter of January 27, 2014 to the general counsels of Facebook, Google, LinkedIn, Microsoft and Yahoo!), and that it had already conducted such reviews for certain providers. Twitter has prepared a Transparency Report (enclosed) and has asked me to deliver it to you for review.

As Twitter has expressed in person to Mr. O'Neil and others at the Department, it does not see itself as "similarly situated" to the five communications providers who were recipients of the DAG's letter—notwithstanding the Department's view that it is—for purposes of transparency reporting. Therefore, in the attached Transparency Report, Twitter has expressed its uniqueness, both in terms of the nature of its platform and service and regarding the relative amount of government surveillance it has been compelled to provide, in a number of different ways.

We are sending this to you so that Twitter may receive a determination as to exactly which, if any, parts of its Transparency Report are classified or, in the Department's view, otherwise may not lawfully be published online.

#### UNCLASSIFIED

Mr. Richard McNally April 1, 2014 Page 2

Please note that, in an abundance of caution, I have marked the attached Transparency Report "SECRET" pending your classification review, but by that marking (and related handling), Twitter is not taking a position regarding the appropriateness of national security classification as to the whole or any part of the Transparency Report.

Thank you for taking the time for this review. We hope to receive the results of your review on or before April 22, 2014.

Sincerely,

Michael A. Sussmann

Enclosure

cc: David O'Neil, Chief of Staff, Office of the Deputy Attorney General
Tashina Gauhar, Deputy Assistant Attorney General, National Security Division
Steven Hugie, Deputy Section Chief, National Security Division

# Exhibit 4 is Twitter's draft Transparency Report, which will be submitted separately

Exhibit 4



#### U.S. Department of Justice

#### Federal Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C. 20535-0001

September 9, 2014

Michael A. Sussmann Perkins Coie, LLP 700 13<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W. – Suite 600 Washington, D.C. 20005

#### Dear Michael:

Thank you for your letter dated April 1, 2014, and for the opportunity to review Twitter's proposed transparency report. We thought our discussion with Twitter on August 21, 2014, was very productive and we want to thank you and Ms. Gadde and her team for meeting with us. We have carefully reviewed Twitter's proposed transparency report and have concluded that information contained in the report is classified and cannot be publicly released.

As you know, on January 27, 2014, the Department of Justice provided multiple frameworks for certain providers and others similarly situated to report aggregated data under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act, as amended (FISA), and the National Security Letter (NSL) statutes in bands. Twitter's proposed transparency report seeks to publish data regarding any process it may have received under FISA in ways that would reveal classified details about the surveillance and that go beyond what the government has permitted other companies to report. More specifically, it would disclose specific numbers of orders received, including characterizing the numbers in fractions or percentages, and would break out particular types of process received. This is inconsistent with the January 27th framework and discloses properly classified information. The aggregation of FISA numbers, the requirement to report in bands, and the prohibition on breaking out the numbers by type of authority are important ways the framework mitigates the risks to sources and methods posed by disclosing FISA statistics.

As we have discussed, we believe there is significant room for Twitter to place the numbers in context, consistent with the terms of the January 27th framework. For example, we believe Twitter can explain that only an infinitesimally small percentage of its total number of active users was affected by highlighting that less than 250 accounts were subject to all combined national security legal process – including process pertaining to U.S. persons and non-U.S. persons as well as for content and non-content. That would allow Twitter to explain that

Mr. Michael A. Sussmann September 9, 2014 Page 2

all national security legal process received from the United States affected, at maximum, only 0.0000919 percent (calculated by dividing 249 by 271 million) of Twitter's total users. In other words, Twitter is permitted to *qualify* its description of the total number of accounts affected by all national security legal process it has received but it cannot *quantify* that description with the specific detail that goes well beyond what is allowed under the January 27th framework and that discloses properly classified information.

We appreciate Twitter's willingness to work with us to ensure that Twitter's proposed report provides transparency to its customers and the public in a manner that also protects national security, consistent with applicable law.

Sincerely,

James A. Baker General Counsel

Federal Bureau of Investigation

The JS 44 civil cover sheet and the information contained herein neither replace nor supplement the filing and service of pleadings or other papers as required by law, except as provided by local rules of court. This form, approved by the Judicial Conference of the United States in September 1974, is required for the use of the Clerk of Court for the purpose of initiating the civil docket sheet. (SEE INSTRUCTIONS ON NEXT PAGE OF THIS FORM.)

purpose of initiating the civil de	ocket sheet. (SEE INSTRUC	TIONS ON NEXT PAGE O	F THIS FC	ORM.)			
I. (a) PLAINTIFFS Twitter, Inc.  (b) County of Residence of First Listed Plaintiff San Francisco (EXCEPT IN U.S. PLAINTIFF CASES)				DEFENDANTS  Eric Holder, Attorney General of the United States; the Un			
Eric D. Miller, Mich	Address, and Telephone Numbernael A. Sussmann, Jar Perkins Coie LLP, 3150 004 (650) 838-430	mes G. Snell, D Porter Drive,		Attorneys (If Known)			
II. BASIS OF JURISDI	CTION (Place an "X" in O	ne Box Only)			RINCIP	AL PARTIES	(Place an "X" in One Box for Plaintiff
☐ 1 U.S. Government Plaintiff	☐ 3 Federal Question (U.S. Government I	Not a Party)		(For Diversity Cases Only) PT en of This State		Incorporated or Pr of Business In T	
■ 2 U.S. Government Defendant	☐ 4 Diversity (Indicate Citizensh	ip of Parties in Item III)	Citiz	en of Another State	2 🗖 2	2 Incorporated and I of Business In A	
W MATURE OF CUIT	P			en or Subject of a reign Country	3 🗖 3	B Foreign Nation	□ 6 □ 6
IV. NATURE OF SUIT		orts	FO	ORFEITURE/PENALTY	BA	NKRUPTCY	OTHER STATUTES
□ 110 Insurance □ 120 Marine □ 130 Miller Act □ 140 Negotiable Instrument □ 150 Recovery of Overpayment & Enforcement of Judgment □ 151 Medicare Act □ 152 Recovery of Defaulted Student Loans (Excludes Veterans) □ 153 Recovery of Overpayment of Veteran's Benefits □ 160 Stockholders' Suits □ 190 Other Contract □ 195 Contract Product Liability □ 196 Franchise  REAL PROPERTY □ 210 Land Condemnation □ 220 Foreclosure □ 230 Rent Lease & Ejectment □ 240 Torts to Land □ 245 Tort Product Liability □ 290 All Other Real Property	PERSONAL INJURY  □ 310 Airplane □ 315 Airplane Product Liability □ 320 Assault, Libel &	PERSONAL INJUR  365 Personal Injury - Product Liability  367 Health Care/ Pharmaceutical Personal Injury Product Liability  368 Asbestos Personal Injury Product Liability  PERSONAL PROPEF  370 Other Fraud  371 Truth in Lending  380 Other Personal Property Damage Product Liability  PRISONER PETITIO  Habeas Corpus:  403 Alien Detainee  510 Motions to Vacate Sentence  530 General  535 Death Penalty  Other:  540 Mandamus & Oth  550 Civil Rights  555 Prison Condition  Confinement	Y	DRFEITURE/PENALTY 25 Drug Related Seizure of Property 21 USC 881 20 Other  LABOR 10 Fair Labor Standards Act 20 Labor/Management Relations 40 Railway Labor Act 51 Family and Medical Leave Act 20 Other Labor Litigation 21 Employee Retirement Income Security Act  IMMIGRATION 52 Naturalization Application 55 Other Immigration Actions	422 App   423 Wit 28   28   28   28   28   28   28   28	peal 28 USC 158 chdrawal USC 157  ERTY RIGHTS over the demark  L SECURITY A (1395ff) ck Lung (923) WC/DIWW (405(g)) D Title XVI	OTHER STATUTES  □ 375 False Claims Act □ 400 State Reapportionment □ 410 Antitrust □ 430 Banks and Banking □ 450 Commerce □ 460 Deportation □ 470 Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations □ 480 Consumer Credit □ 490 Cable/Sat TV □ 850 Securities/Commodities/ Exchange □ 890 Other Statutory Actions □ 891 Agricultural Acts □ 893 Environmental Matters □ 895 Freedom of Information Act □ 896 Arbitration □ 899 Administrative Procedure Act/Review or Appeal of Agency Decision □ 950 Constitutionality of State Statutes
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VI. CAUSE OF ACTIO	ON 28 U.S.C. §§ 220 Brief description of ca	1 and 2202	ic illing (I	50 noi cue jarisaicuonai siai	uies uniess t	uversuy).	
VII. REQUESTED IN COMPLAINT:	UNDER RULE 2	IS A CLASS ACTION 3, F.R.Cv.P.	N D	EMAND \$		CHECK YES only JURY DEMAND:	if demanded in complaint: : □ Yes □ No
VIII. RELATED CASI IF ANY	E(S) (See instructions):	JUDGE			DOCK	ET NUMBER	
DATE October 7, 201		SIGNATURE OF AT	TORNEY (	OF RECORD /s/ Eric	D. Mil	ler	
IX. DIVISIONAL ASSIGNMEN	T (Civil L.R. 3-2)	_					_
(Place an "X" in One Box Only)	✓	SAN FRANCISCO/OA	KLAND	SAN JOSE E	UREKA		

	IOVCE D. DD AND A		
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12	Attorneys for Defendants the Attorney General, et al.		
13	IN THE UNITED STA	ATES DIS	TRICT COURT
14	FOR THE NORTHERN D	DISTRICT	OF CALIFORNIA
15		)	
	TWITTER, INC.,	)	Case No. 14-cv-4480
16	DI : «'CC	)	
17	Plaintiff,	)	DEFENDANTS' NOTICE
18	v.	)	OF MOTION AND PARTIAL
		)	MOTION TO DISMISS
19	ERIC H. HOLDER, United States	)	Data: March 10, 2015
20	Attorney General, et al.,	)	Date: March 10, 2015 Time: 2:00 p.m.
21	Defendants.	)	Courtroom 1, Fourth Floor
22		)	Hon. Yvonne Gonzalez Rogers
23	PLEASE TAKE NOTICE that, on Mare	ch 10, 201	5, at 2:00 p.m., before Judge
24	Yvonne Gonzalez Rogers, the defendants will a		
25	Complaint pursuant to Federal Rules of Civil P	rocedure 1	12(6)(1) and $12(6)(6)$ and the
26	Declaratory Judgment Act, 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201	-	•
27	defendants' accompany Memorandum of Point	s and Auth	norities. Specifically, defendants will
28	seek dismissal of: 1) plaintiff's challenge to a	January 20	114 letter from the Deputy Attorney
	Twitter, Inc. v. Holder, et al., Case No. 14-cv-4480 Defendants' Notice of Motion and Partial Motion to Dis	mice	1

Defendants' Notice of Motion and Partial Motion to Dismiss

1	General of the United States ("DAG Letter"	"); 2) plaintiff's Declaratory Judgment Act claims	
2	related to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act ("FISA"); and 3) plaintiff's separation-of-		
3	powers challenge to the statutory standards of review of a National Security Letter.		
4	Dated: January 9, 2015	Respectfully submitted,	
5	2 400 40 0 400 400 400 400 400 400 400 4		
6		JOYCE R. BRANDA Acting Assistant Attorney General	
7		MELINDA HAAG	
8		United States Attorney	
9		ANTHONY J. COPPOLINO	
10		Deputy Branch Director	
11		/s/ Steven Y. Bressler	
12		STEVEN Y. BRESSLER JULIA A. BERMAN	
13		Attorneys	
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		Washington, D.C. 20044 <a href="mailto:Steven.Bressler@usdoj.gov">Steven.Bressler@usdoj.gov</a>	
16			
17		Attorneys for Defendants	
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1	JOYCE R. BRANDA	
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3	United States Attorney	
	ANTHONY J. COPPOLINO Deputy Branch Director	
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11	Attorneys for Defendants the Attorney Genera	al, <i>et al</i> .
12	IN THE UNITED ST	ATES DISTRICT COURT
13	FOR THE NORTHERN	DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
14		
15	TWITTER, INC.,	) Case No. 14-cv-4480
16		
17	Plaintiff,	)
18	v.	)
19	ERIC H. HOLDER, United States	) DEFENDANTS' PARTIAL ) MOTION TO DISMISS
20	Attorney General, et al.,	)
21	Defendants.	)
22		)
23		
24		
<ul><li>25</li><li>26</li></ul>		
27		
28	II	

*Twitter, Inc. v. Holder, et al.*, Case No. 14-cv-4480 Defendants' Partial Motion to Dismiss

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*Twitter, Inc. v. Holder, et al.*, Case No. 14-cv-4480 Motion to Dismiss

#### PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Plaintiff Twitter, Inc., an electronic communication service provider, seeks a declaratory judgment that alleged restrictions on its ability to publish information concerning national security legal process it has received from the United States Government are unlawful. Specifically, Twitter alleges that it seeks to publish a "Transparency Report" with certain data about legal process it has received from the Government, including pursuant to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act ("FISA") and National Security Letters ("NSLs"). Twitter claims that certain alleged restrictions on publication imposed by statutory provisions, judicial orders, Government directives, and nondisclosure agreements violate the First Amendment. It also seeks to challenge under the Administrative Procedure Act ("APA") guidance provided in a January 2014 letter from the Deputy Attorney General of the United States ("DAG Letter") to certain electronic communication providers (not including Twitter) that described new and additional ways that providers can publicly disclose properly declassified data concerning requests for customer information without releasing classified information.

Contrary to plaintiff's allegations, the United States Government firmly supports a policy of appropriate transparency with respect to its intelligence activities. Indeed, the letter Twitter purports to challenge is based on a determination by the Director of National Intelligence ("DNI") to *declassify* significant information in order to *increase* transparency by *permitting* companies like Twitter to report to their users and to the public information about national security legal process in a manner that mitigates harm to national security. But the Government must balance the goal of providing information concerning national security investigations with the need to maintain the secrecy of information that could reveal sensitive investigative techniques and sources and methods of intelligence collection. The additional material that Twitter seeks to publish is information that the Government has judged is properly protected classified national security information, the disclosure of which would risk serious harm to national security. The law is clear that the First Amendment does not permit such publication, and any restrictions imposed by statutory authority or judicial order on the publication of

classified information are lawful under the First Amendment, both on their face and as they may have been applied to Twitter.

Before the Court considers the merits of plaintiff's constitutional claims, however, it should dismiss several aspects of Twitter's complaint on threshold grounds.

First as explained below, the Court should dismiss plaintiff's claim that the DAG letter violates the APA. The letter is permissive, advisory guidance; as such, it does not constitute "final agency action" reviewable under the APA, nor does it restrict plaintiff's speech in any way. Rather, any such restrictions stem from other authority, including statutory law such as FISA, applicable orders and directives issued through the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court ("FISC"), and from any applicable nondisclosure agreements. Likewise, for those reasons, the DAG Letter does not cause Twitter any injury-in-fact sufficient to confer standing, and any alleged injury would not be redressable through relief directed against the DAG Letter.

Second, under settled principles of comity, the Court should dismiss plaintiff's Declaratory Judgment Act claims related to the FISA and any orders and directives issued through the FISC. Specifically, the Court should dismiss plaintiff's claims that any FISC orders or FISA-related directives by their terms do not prevent the disclosure of aggregate data, and claims that restrictions on disclosing FISA-related material would violate the First Amendment. Instead, this Court should defer to the FISC to determine the scope, meaning, and legality of its own orders, as well as of the statute that is given effect through those orders.

Third, the Court should dismiss plaintiff's separation-of-powers challenge to the statutory standards of review of an NSL. Twitter, raising an issue currently under consideration in the Ninth Circuit, alleges that the standard of review is too deferential, but its challenge fails as a matter of law. The statutory standard of review for NSL nondisclosure requirements is substantially the same as those that courts have developed in related contexts to review government restrictions on the disclosure of national security information. Deference to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Defendant's discussion of FISA orders or directives that plaintiff could have received, and that could require plaintiff not to disclose the existence of the orders or directives, is not intended to confirm or deny that plaintiff has, in fact, received any such national security legal process.

Executive Branch is entirely appropriate in this context. As courts have repeatedly recognized, the Executive Branch is best situated to assess the risks to national security posed by the disclosure of sensitive information. Accordingly, the separation-of-powers doctrine does not prevent Congress from prescribing the appropriate standard of review for assessing risks to national security, even where that standard is deferential. Thus, if the Court does not await a ruling by the Ninth Circuit, it should proceed to dismiss the claim because the NSL statutory standard of review complies with the Constitution.

For these reasons, as set forth further below, the Court should dismiss plaintiff's claims challenging the DAG Letter, FISA itself, nondisclosure requirements issued or supervised by the FISC, and the standard of review under the NSL statute.

#### **BACKGROUND**

#### A. Statutory Background

The President has charged the FBI with primary authority for conducting counterintelligence and counterterrorism investigations in the United States. *See* Exec. Order No. 12333 §§ 1.14(a), 3.4(a), 46 Fed. Reg. 59941 (Dec. 4, 1981). Today, the FBI is engaged in extensive investigations into threats, conspiracies, and attempts to perpetrate terrorist acts and foreign intelligence operations against the United States. These investigations are typically long-range, forward-looking, and preventive in nature in order to anticipate and disrupt clandestine intelligence activities or terrorist attacks on the United States before they occur.

The FBI's experience with counterintelligence and counterterrorism investigations has shown that electronic communications play a vital role in advancing terrorist and foreign intelligence activities and operations. Accordingly, pursuing and disrupting terrorist plots and foreign intelligence operations often require the FBI to seek information relating to the use of electronic communications, including from electronic communication service providers. *E.g.*, James B. Comey, Remarks at International Conference on Cyber Security, Fordham University (January 7, 2015), *available at* <a href="http://www.fbi.gov/news/speeches/addressing-the-cyber-security-threat">http://www.fbi.gov/news/speeches/addressing-the-cyber-security-threat</a>.

including through various authorities under the FISA and pursuant to FISC supervision, as well

as National Security Letters. Because the targets of national security investigations and others

who seek to harm the United States will take countermeasures to avoid detection by the FBI and

counterterrorism and counterintelligence investigations. The Government therefore protects the

confidentiality of information concerning national security legal process, including pursuant to

other members of the U.S. Intelligence Community, secrecy is often essential to effective

Congress has authorized the FBI to collect such information with a variety of legal tools,

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statutory requirements and judicial orders.

#### 1. FISA

Pursuant to multiple provisions of FISA, the FISC may issue orders that "direct" recipients to provide certain information "in a manner that will protect the secrecy of the acquisition." E.g., 50 U.S.C. §§ 1805(c)(2)(B), 1881a(h)(1)(A). For example, Titles I and VII of FISA provide that FISA orders "shall direct," and FISA directives issued by the Attorney General and Director of National Intelligence ("DNI") after FISC approval of an underlying certification "may direct," recipients to provide the Government with "all information, facilities, or assistance necessary to accomplish the acquisition in a manner that will protect the secrecy of the acquisition." 50 U.S.C. § 1881a(h)(1)(A) (Title VII); see also 50 U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(B) (similar language for Title I). Additionally, the orders "shall direct" and the directives "may direct" that recipients "maintain under security procedures approved by the Attorney General and the DNI any records concerning the acquisition or the aid furnished" that such electronic communication service provider maintains. 50 U.S.C. § 1881a(h)(1)(B) (Title VII); see also 50 U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(C) (similar language for Title I). Consistent with the Executive Branch's authority to control classified information, these provisions explicitly provide for Executive Branch approval of the companies' procedures for maintaining all records associated with FISA surveillance.

Other FISA titles that provide search or surveillance authorities also provide for secrecy under those authorities. *See* 50 U.S.C. § 1824(c)(2)(B)-(C) (requiring Title III orders to require the recipient to assist in the physical search "in such a manner as will protect its secrecy" and to

provide that "any records concerning the search or the aid furnished" that the recipient retains be maintained under appropriate security procedures); 50 U.S.C. § 1842(d)(2)(B) (requiring Title IV orders to direct that recipients "furnish any information, facilities, or technical assistance necessary to accomplish the installation and operation of the pen register or trap and trace device in such a manner as will protect its secrecy," and to provide that "any records concerning the pen register or trap and trace device or the aid furnished" that the recipient retains shall be maintained under appropriate security procedures); 50 U.S.C. § 1861(d)(1) (providing that "[n]o person shall disclose to any other person that the [FBI] has sought or obtained tangible things pursuant to an order under" Title V of FISA).

Accordingly, to the extent that plaintiff has received process pursuant to Titles I and VII of FISA, the Title VII directives would contain the statutorily permitted nondisclosure provisions, while the Title I orders would contain nondisclosure requirements that track the statutory provision.<sup>2</sup> Likewise, Title III, IV, or V orders would be accompanied by the statutory requirements described above.<sup>3</sup>

#### 2. National Security Letters

In 1986, Congress enacted 18 U.S.C. § 2709 to assist the FBI in obtaining information for national security investigations. Section 2709 empowers the FBI to issue an NSL, a type of administrative subpoena. Subsections (a) and (b) of Section 2709 authorize the FBI to request "subscriber information" and "toll billing records information," or "electronic communication transactional records," from wire or electronic communication service providers. In order to issue an NSL, the Director of the FBI, or a senior-level designee, must certify that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Title I orders typically contain language such as: "This order and warrant is sealed and the specified person and its agents and employees shall not disclose to the targets or to any other person the existence of the order and warrant or this investigation or the fact of any of the activities authorized herein or the means used to accomplish them, except as otherwise may be required by legal process and then only after prior notification to the Attorney General." Of course, disclosing the number of Title I orders received would violate such a provision as it would "disclose . . . the existence" of each of the orders.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Electronic communications service providers that receive legal process under FISA typically receive such process through employees who have executed nondisclosure agreements.

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information sought is "relevant to an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities." *Id.* § 2709(b)(1)-(2).

The secrecy necessary to successful national security investigations can be compromised if a wire or electronic communication service provider discloses that it has received or provided information pursuant to an NSL. To avoid that result, Congress has enabled restrictions on disclosures by NSL recipients pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c). A nondisclosure requirement must be based on a case-by-case determination of need by the FBI and thus may be issued only if the Director of the FBI or another designated senior FBI official certifies that "otherwise there may result a danger to the national security of the United States, interference with a criminal, counterterrorism, or counterintelligence investigation, interference with diplomatic relations, or danger to the life or physical safety of any person." Id. § 2709(c)(1). If such a certification is made, the NSL itself notifies the recipient of the nondisclosure obligation. Id. § 2709(c)(2). An NSL recipient may petition a district court "for an order modifying or setting aside a nondisclosure requirement imposed in connection with" the NSL. 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(1). If the petition is filed more than a year after the NSL was issued, the FBI or Department of Justice must either re-certify the need for nondisclosure or terminate the nondisclosure requirement. *Id.* § 3511(b)(3). A district court "may modify or set aside" the nondisclosure requirement if the court finds "no reason to believe" that disclosure may cause any of the statutorily enumerated harms. Id. § 3511(b)(2) & (3). The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit has interpreted this provision to mean a court may modify or set aside a nondisclosure requirement where it is not supported by "good reason." *Doe v. Mukasey*, 549 F.3d 861, 883 (2d Cir. 2008).

#### **B.** Factual Background

As set forth above, the existence of a FISA order or directive imposing obligations on a particular electronic communication service provider may be subject to nondisclosure or sealing obligations and, moreover, is classified national security information. Likewise, the existence of a request for information by NSL is typically subject to a nondisclosure requirement pursuant to the NSL statute. *See* 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c).

On January 27, 2014, the Director of National Intelligence declassified certain aggregate
data concerning national security legal process so that recipients of such process could reveal
aggregate data, not with specific numbers but in ranges, about the orders and other process they
had received. See "Joint Statement by Director of National Intelligence James Clapper and
Attorney General Eric Holder on New Reporting Methods for National Security Orders"
(January 27, 2014) ("While this aggregate data was properly classified until today, the Office of
the Director of National Intelligence, in consultation with other departments and agencies, has
determined that the public interest in disclosing this information now outweighs the national
security concerns that required its classification."), available at
http://icontherecord.tumblr.com/post/74761658869/joint-statement-by-director-of-national. <sup>4</sup>

The Deputy Attorney General ("DAG") described that declassification, and the types of information that an electronic communication service provider can provide pursuant to that declassification, in a January 27, 2014 letter to the general counsels for five other companies. *See* January 27, 2014 Letter from DAG James M. Cole to General Counsels of Facebook, *et al.* ("DAG Letter"), Exhibit 1 to Compl. *See also* Compl. ¶¶ 24-26 (plaintiff's allegations regarding the DAG Letter). The Government also informed the FISC that

[t]he Director of National Intelligence has declassified the aggregate data consistent with the terms of the attached letter from the Deputy Attorney General, in the exercise of the Director of National Intelligence's discretion pursuant to Executive Order 13526, § 3.1(c). The Government will therefore treat such disclosures as no longer prohibited under any legal provision that would otherwise prohibit the disclosure of classified data, including data relating to FISA surveillance.

See Notice, Exhibit 2 to Compl. ("FISC Notice"), also available at
<a href="http://www.justice.gov/iso/opa/resources/422201412716042240387.pdf">http://www.justice.gov/iso/opa/resources/422201412716042240387.pdf</a>. See also DAG Letter

at 1 (noting the letter was sent "in connection with the Notice we filed with the [FISC] today");

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> The DNI has also, for the first time, publicly provided statistical information regarding the use of national security legal authorities including FISA and NSLs, and will continue to do so annually. *See* "Annual Statistics for Calendar Year 2013 Regarding Use of Certain National Security Legal Authorities," *available at* http://icontherecord.tumblr.com/transparency/odni transparencyreport cy2013.

Exec. Ord. 13526, § 3.1(d) (providing for discretionary declassification by the Executive Branch in extraordinary circumstances in the public interest).

The Notice also stated the Government's view that "the terms outlined in the Deputy Attorney General's letter define the limits of permissible reporting for the parties and other similarly situated companies." *See* FISC Notice. By its terms, however, the DAG Letter is permissive, not restrictive. *See* DAG Letter. It does not purport to classify any previously unclassified information, but rather provides guidance for reporting aggregate data regarding national security legal process received by a particular company consistent with a declassification decision issued by the DNI the same day under Executive Order 13526. The letter and FISC notice informed the parties that the Government considered reporting the data, as declassified, not to violate FISC orders and nondisclosure provisions. Any affirmative non-disclosure obligations arise not from the letter but from the orders and authorities discussed above.

The plaintiff in this case, Twitter, Inc., sought review of a draft "Transparency Report" containing specific details regarding any national security legal process received by plaintiff during, *inter alia*, the second half of 2013. *See* Compl. ¶ 39 (characterizing draft Report); ECF No. 21-1 (unclassified, redacted version of draft Report). By letter dated September 9, 2014, following further discussions between defendants and plaintiff, the FBI's General Counsel informed counsel for plaintiff that the draft Report contains information that is properly classified and, therefore, cannot lawfully be publicly disclosed. *See* September 9, 2014 Letter from James A. Baker to counsel for plaintiff, Exhibit 3 to Compl. ("FBI Letter"); *see also* Compl. ¶ 40 (plaintiff's allegations characterizing the letter).

The FBI Letter notes that the law does not permit plaintiff to reveal "specific detail that goes well beyond what is allowed under the January 27<sup>th</sup> framework [*i.e.*, the declassification described in the DAG Letter] and that discloses properly classified information." *Id.* Defendants have informed plaintiff which portions of the draft Report cannot lawfully be published and have provided plaintiff and the Court with a redacted, unclassified copy of the draft Report. *See* ECF No. 21-1.

In its Complaint, Twitter challenges any applicable nondisclosure requirements that stem from statutes, directives and judicial orders issued pursuant to FISA, and nondisclosure agreements.

#### STANDARD OF REVIEW

Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 12(b)(1) requires dismissal when the plaintiff fails to meet its burden of establishing subject-matter jurisdiction. *St. Clair v. City of Chico*, 880 F.2d 199, 201 (9th Cir. 1989). Rule 12(b)(1) dismissal is proper when the plaintiff fails to establish the elements of standing, *Oregon v. Legal Servs. Corp.*, 552 F.3d 965, 969 (9th Cir. 2009), and, in a suit purportedly brought under the Administrative Procedure Act, when it fails to identify a "final agency action" under the terms of that Act. *ONRC Action v. BLM*, 150 F.3d 1132, 1135 (9th Cir. 1998). The Court may consider evidence outside the pleadings and resolve factual disputes, if necessary, to determine whether jurisdiction is present. *See Ass'n of Am. Med. Colls. v. United States*, 217 F.3d 770, 778 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir. 2000).

The Court should grant a motion to dismiss under Fed. R. Civ. P. 12(b)(6) if a plaintiff fails to plead enough facts to "state a claim to relief that is plausible on its face." *Bell Atl. Corp. v. Twombly*, 550 U.S. 544, 570 (2007); *Zucco Partners, LLC v. Digimarc Corp.*, 552 F.3d 981, 989 (9th Cir. 2009). "Dismissal can be based on the lack of a cognizable legal theory or the absence of sufficient facts alleged under a cognizable legal theory." *Balistreri v. Pacifica Police Dep't*, 901 F.2d 696, 699 (9th Cir. 1990). A Rule 12(b)(6) motion thus tests the legal sufficiency of the claims alleged in the complaint. *Ileto v. Glock, Inc.*, 349 F.3d 1191, 1199-1200 (9th Cir. 2003). All allegations of material fact are taken as true and construed in the light most favorable to the plaintiff. *Johnson v. Lucent Techs., Inc.*, 653 F.3d 1000, 1010 (9th Cir. 2011).

Plaintiff brings its FISA-related claims under the Declaratory Judgment Act, and a district court may dismiss claims pursuant to that Act based on prudential considerations such as comity with other courts. *See* 28 U.S.C. § 2201(a); *accord e.g.*, *Wilton v. Seven Falls Co.*, 515 U.S. 277, 288 (1995) (recognizing discretionary nature of declaratory relief); *NRDC v. EPA*, 966 F.2d 1292, 1299 (9th Cir. 1992) (same). That is because "[i]n the declaratory judgment context, the normal principle that federal courts should adjudicate claims within their jurisdiction yields

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to considerations of practicality and wise judicial administration." Wilton, 515 U.S. at 288. In particular, a court should decline to exercise its jurisdiction based on considerations of comity and orderly judicial administration, where, as here, a plaintiff is seeking review of the orders of another court of competent jurisdiction. See, e.g., Principal Life Ins. Co. v. Robinson, 394 F.3d 665, 672 (9th Cir. 2005) (highlighting comity and judicial administration as factors informing a court's discretion); Lapin v. Shulton, Inc., 333 F.2d 169, 172 (9th Cir. 1964) (holding these considerations should lead the non-rendering court to decline jurisdiction over another court's orders).

#### **ARGUMENT**

I. The Court Should Dismiss Plaintiff's Challenge to the DAG Letter for Lack of Subject Matter Jurisdiction.

Plaintiff's APA claim against the DAG Letter fails because the DAG Letter is not subject to APA challenge, and because plaintiff has failed to establish its standing to challenge the letter in any event.

> A. The DAG Letter is Not "Final Agency Action" Subject to Review Under the Administrative Procedure Act.

The APA permits judicial review of "final agency action" for which there is "no other adequate remedy in a court." 5 U.S.C. § 704. Absent these elements, the Court lacks subject matter jurisdiction over an APA claim. Ukiah Valley Med. Ctr. v. FTC, 911 F.2d 261, 163-64 (9th Cir. 1990). If an agency action is subject to review, a court may "set aside agency actions" found to be "arbitrary, capricious, an abuse of discretion, or otherwise not in accordance with law." 5 U.S.C. § 706.

Plaintiff, in challenging the Deputy Attorney General's January 27, 2014 letter, alleges that letter is "final agency action not in accordance with law" with respect to plaintiff. Compl. ¶ 44. Plaintiff also argues that the letter's "imposition . . . on Twitter" thus violates various provisions of law. *Id.* The DAG Letter is not "final agency action" subject to challenge under the APA, however. Moreover, it has not been "imposed" on Twitter; rather, any obligations of plaintiff are to avoid disclosing information that is properly classified, prohibited from disclosure by a FISA order or directive, and/or subject to lawful nondisclosure requirements. Such

obligations stem from other authority including Orders of the FISC, FISA directives, and statutes. They do not stem from the DAG Letter, and plaintiff cannot establish subject matter jurisdiction over its purported claim against that letter in this Court.

To qualify as "final" under the APA, an action must mark the "consummation" of an agency decision-making process, and must be one by which "rights or obligations have been determined" or from which "legal consequences will flow." *Bennett v. Spear*, 520 U.S. 154, 177-78 (1997). Agency actions that have no effect on a party's rights or obligations are not reviewable final actions. *Fairbanks N. Star Borough v. U.S. Army Corps of Eng'rs*, 543 F.3d 586, 593-94 (9th Cir. 2008) (action not cognizable under APA where "rights and obligations remain unchanged."); *Nat'l Ass'n of Home Builders v. Norton*, 415 F.3d 8, 15 (D.C. Cir. 2005) ("[I]f the practical effect of the agency action is not a certain change in the legal obligations of a party, the action is non-final for the purpose of judicial review.").

The DAG Letter is not final agency action as to plaintiff or otherwise. Plaintiff's "rights or obligations" were not determined, and "legal consequences" do not flow, from the DAG's letter. *Bennett*, 520 U.S. 177-78. As noted, those obligations stem from statutes, FISC orders, FISA directives, and nondisclosure agreements. Moreover, the DAG Letter does not purport to restrain plaintiff's behavior in any way. Rather, as noted, it provides guidelines as to *permissible* disclosures that will not reveal classified information, consistent with the DNI's declassification decision. The DAG Letter does not instruct plaintiff to take or refrain from any particular action, and it does not threaten any enforcement proceeding. Therefore, it neither imposes new rights or obligations on plaintiff, nor results in new legal consequences for plaintiff.

In circumstances like these, courts have consistently held that advisory statements by an agency interpreting other, underlying sources of authority are not final agency action subject to APA challenge. *See City of San Diego v. Whitman*, 242 F.3d 1097, 1101-02 (9th Cir. 2001) (letter indicating that a particular statute would apply to a city's application to renew its permit was not a final action); *Independent Equipment Dealers Ass'n v. EPA*, 372 F.3d 420, 426-28 (D.C. Cir. 2004) (letter providing EPA's interpretation of emissions regulations is not final action); *General Motors Corp. v. EPA*, 363 F.3d 442, 449 (D.C. Cir. 2004) (letter stating that

used paint solvents are hazardous waste is not final action); *Dow Chem. v. EPA*, 832 F.2d 319, 323-25 (5th Cir. 1987) (letter attaching EPA's interpretation of a regulation is not final action).

Moreover, there is no final action where a document only "impose[s] upon [a party] the already-existing burden of complying with" applicable law, such as a statute or implementing regulations. *Acker v. EPA*, 290 F.3d 892, 894 (7th Cir. 2002); *see Indep. Equip. Dealers Ass'n v. EPA*, 372 F.3d 420, 427 (D.C. Cir. 2004) (Roberts, J.) (no final action where "an agency merely expresses its view of what the law requires of a party, even if that view is adverse to the party") (quoting *AT&T Co. v. EEOC*, 270 F.3d 973, 975 (D.C. Cir. 2001)). The DAG Letter does not even go that far – as noted, it is a permissive document, clarifying what aggregate data disclosures may be made without revealing classified information. *See Ctr. for Auto Safety v. NHTSA*, 452 F.3d 798, 806-08 (D.C. Cir. 2006) (holding agency guidance letters not to be final agency action based on factors including the permissive language of the document, the agency's "own characterization of the action," and the lack of publication in the Federal Register or Code of Federal Regulations); *Nat'l Ass'n of Home Builders v. Norton*, 415 F.3d 8, 14, 16 (D.C. Cir. 2005) (holding that there was no final agency action where the language of challenged Protocols was permissive and "the scope of a [regulated party's] liability . . . remains exactly as it was before the Protocols' publication").

# B. Plaintiff Has Not Established Article III Standing for its Challenge to the DAG Letter.

Because the DAG Letter is permissive guidance that informs companies what has been declassified without altering the "already-existing burden of complying with" applicable law, *Acker*, 290 F.3d at 894, Twitter has also failed to sufficiently allege Article III standing for its APA claim against that letter. Plaintiff's alleged injury is not fairly traceable to the DAG Letter or redressable by any relief against the DAG Letter. *Allen v. Wright*, 468 U.S. 737, 754 n.19, 757 (1984); *Wash. Envt'l Council v. Bellon*, 732 F.3d 1131, 1146 (9th Cir. 2013); *Nat'l Ass'n of Home Builders v. U.S. Army Corps of Eng'rs*, 663 F.3d 470, 473-74 (D.C. Cir. 2011). If the DAG Letter were somehow "invalidated" by a court, the result would be only that plaintiff and other companies would lack guidance as to what types of information the Government has

declassified. The scope of the DNI's declassification decision (set forth in the DAG Letter), and more specifically the extent to which information *remains* classified, along with relevant statutory provisions, FISA orders and directives, would still prohibit the disclosures.

A declaratory judgment directed at the DAG Letter would therefore not redress any injury allegedly suffered by plaintiff because it would not alter the fact that plaintiff cannot lawfully disclose properly classified information. *See, e.g., Stillman v. CIA*, 319 F.3d 546, 548 (D.C. Cir. 2003) (in prepublication review case, holding there is no First Amendment right to publish properly classified information) (citing *Snepp v. United States*, 444 U.S. 507, 509 n.3 (1980)). Accordingly, while a plaintiff may challenge the application of relevant restrictions on the disclosure of classified information, including through FISA and orders of the FISC, the plaintiff here lacks standing to challenge the DAG Letter under the APA. Indeed, plaintiff alleges, upon information and belief, that what it characterizes as the "restrictions of the DAG Letter" are based on those other authorities. *See* Compl. ¶ 45. The Court should therefore dismiss plaintiff's APA claim pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P 12(b)(1).

II. FISA Nondisclosure Obligations Arise Through FISC Orders or Directives Issued Under a FISC-Approved Program, and Any Challenge Thereto Should Be Considered by the FISC.

It is a settled principle of comity and orderly judicial administration that a challenge to an order of a coordinate court should be heard by that court – especially where, as here, there is a court of specialized jurisdiction and competence. Here, plaintiff seeks to challenge any applicable orders issued under authority of the FISA, as well as provisions of the FISA itself, both of which should be subject to review under the FISC's specialized jurisdiction. Specifically, plaintiff asks this Court to determine that "[t]he FISA statute . . . and other nondisclosure authorities do not prohibit providers like Twitter from disclosing aggregate information about the number of FISA orders they receive." Compl. ¶ 49. Plaintiff further purports to challenge "FISA secrecy provisions" and "requirements in FISA" as unconstitutional both facially and as-applied, *see* Compl. ¶ 18 & Prayer for Relief A(vi) & A(vii). <sup>5</sup> But, as

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Consistent with the Supreme Court's instructions that a court must focus on the application of a statute before considering a facial challenge, *see Bd. of Trustees of the State Univ. of NY v.* 

detailed below, with one exception, FISA's statutory provisions do not operate directly on the recipients of FISA legal process. Instead, recipients of FISA legal process are subject to nondisclosure obligations because of orders issued by the FISC or through directives issued pursuant to a program approved by the FISC and subject to FISC oversight. Thus, a challenge to "FISA secrecy provisions" amounts to a challenge to FISC orders and to directives issued pursuant to a FISC-approved program. This Court should decline to exercise its jurisdiction over such claims, because they should properly be brought before the FISC.

Plaintiff brings its claims under the Declaratory Judgment Act, *see* Compl. ¶¶ 1, 12, and as discussed above, "[t]he Declaratory Judgment Act embraces both constitutional and prudential concerns." *Gov't Employees Ins. Co. v. Dizol*, 133 F.3d 1220, 1222 (9th Cir. 1998). "If [a] suit passes constitutional and statutory muster, the district court must also be satisfied that entertaining the action is appropriate." *Id.* at 1223. The Supreme Court has explained that, "[i]n the declaratory judgment context, the normal principle that federal courts should adjudicate claims within their jurisdiction yields to considerations of practicality and wise judicial administration." *Wilton v. Seven Falls Co.*, 515 U.S. 277, 288 (1995).

Thus, a district court has discretion to decline to exercise jurisdiction over Declaratory Judgment Act claims based on prudential considerations. *See* 28 U.S.C. § 2201(a). This

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Fox, 492 U.S. 469, 485 (1989), the application of the challenged provisions should be adjudicated by the FISC before the facial constitutional challenge is considered. Furthermore, even if a court were to reach plaintiff's facial challenge to provisions of FISA, it would be necessary to examine how the challenged provisions operate in practice under the supervision of the FISC. Plaintiff appears to allege overbreadth – that "the statute seeks to prohibit such a broad range of protected conduct that it is unconstitutionally 'overbroad.'" Members of City Council of LA v. Taxpayers for Vincent, 466 U.S. 789, 796 (1984). To succeed in such a challenge, plaintiff would need to establish that the challenged provisions "will have [a] different impact on any third parties' interests in free speech than [they have] on" the plaintiff. *Id.* at 801. Moreover, plaintiff would need to establish that "a 'substantial number' of [the FISA secrecy provisions'] applications are unconstitutional, 'judged in relation to the [provisions'] plainly legitimate sweep." Wash. State Grange v. Wash. State Republican Party, 552 U.S. 442, 450 n.6 (2008) (quoting New York v. Ferber, 484 U.S, 747, 769-71 (1982) (internal citations, quotations omitted)). Thus, even the instant facial challenge to requirements of the FISA should be heard in the FISC because the adjudication of that challenge would turn on an interpretation of the scope of nondisclosure provisions in any FISC orders or directives issued pursuant to a FISC-approved program that may be at issue.

determination is discretionary because "the Declaratory Judgment Act is deliberately cast in terms of permissive, rather than mandatory, authority." *Dizol*, 133 F.3d at 1223 (internal quotation omitted). "The Act 'gave the federal courts competence to make a declaration of rights; it did not impose a duty to do so." *Id.* (quoting *Public Affairs Assocs. v. Rickover*, 369 U.S. 111, 112 (1962)); *accord, e.g., Wilton*, 515 U.S. 277 (recognizing discretionary nature of declaratory relief); *NRDC v. EPA*, 966 F.2d 1292, 1299 (9th Cir. 1992) (same). The Supreme Court explained in *Wilton* that "a district court is authorized, in the sound exercise of its discretion, to stay or to dismiss an action seeking a declaratory judgment. . . ." 515 U.S. at 288. In doing so, "the district court must balance concerns of judicial administration, comity, and fairness to the litigants." *Principal Life Ins. Co. v. Robinson*, 394 F.3d at 672 (quoting *Am. States Ins. Co. v. Kearns*, 15 F.3d 142, 143 (9th Cir. 1994)) (internal quotations omitted).

Here, the Court should exercise its discretion to decline jurisdiction over plaintiff's FISA-based claims. While either forum would be equally fair to the litigants, considerations of comity and orderly judicial administration weigh in favor of dismissing those claims and requiring plaintiff to bring its challenge to the constitutionality of any orders or directives that may have been issued through the FISC's legal process before the FISC itself. Proceeding in this manner would be consistent with that statutory framework established by Congress and would provide the litigants the benefit of the FISC's expertise as a court of specialized jurisdiction.

Actions challenging the orders of another court are "disfavored." *FDIC v. Aaronian*, 93 F.3d 636, 639 (9th Cir. 1996). Indeed, the Court of Appeals has instructed that "considerations of comity and orderly administration of justice demand that the nonrendering court should decline jurisdiction of such an action and remand the parties for their relief to the rendering court." *Lapin*, 333 F.2d at 172; *see also Treadaway v. Academy of Motion Picture Arts & Sciences*, 783 F.2d 1418, 1422 (9th Cir. 1986) ("When a court entertains an independent action for relief from the final order of another court, it interferes with and usurps the power of the rendering court just as much as it would if it were reviewing that court's equitable decree."). Thus, in *Lapin*, the Court of Appeals affirmed the California district court's refusal to hear a challenge to an injunction issued by a district court in Minnesota. *See* 333 F.2d at 169. The

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Twitter, Inc. v. Holder, et al., Case No. 14-cv-4480

Defendants' Partial Motion to Dismiss

Court of Appeals concluded that "sound reasons of policy support the proposition that relief
should be sought from the issuing court so long as it is apparent that a remedy is available
there," id. at 172, and emphasized its agreement that "it is clear, as a matter of comity and of the
orderly administration of justice, that [a] court should refuse to exercise its jurisdiction to
nterfere with the operation of a decree of another federal court" id. (quoting Torquay Corp. v.
Radio Corp. of Am., 2 F. Supp. 841, 844 (S.D.N.Y. 1932)). See also Delson Group, Inc. v. GSM
Ass'n, 570 Fed. Appx. 690 (9th Cir. Apr. 21, 2014) (relying on Aaronian, Treadaway, & Lapin;
apholding California district court's dismissal of a challenge to the judgment of a Georgia
district court).

The same principles would apply here to any challenge to the alleged application of FISA secrecy obligations. As noted above, although the Complaint refers to "FISA secrecy provisions," and "requirements in FISA," see Compl. ¶ 18 & Prayer for Relief A(vi) & A(vii), it is most often the FISC itself – or government directives issued through programs approved by the FISC – that impose nondisclosure obligations on recipients of legal process. FISA establishes the contours of such orders and directives, and it is primarily through such orders or directives that plaintiff may be bound to protect the secrecy of surveillance conducted pursuant to FISA authority.

For example, the section of FISA that plaintiff highlights in the Complaint, see Compl. ¶ 18 (quoting Section 1805(c)(2)(B)), addresses electronic surveillance orders issued under Title I. That provision, in Section 1805(a), enumerates the findings a FISC judge must make before issuing such an order, while Section 1805(c) lists "specifications and directions" for such an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See also, e.g., Ord v. United States, 8 Fed. Appx. 852, 854 (9th Cir. May 8, 2001) (affirming the California district court's refusal to hear a challenge to a District of Columbia district court's order, and its holding that "if Ord wants to take the D.C. court's order to task, he should seek relief in the D.C. court. He may not upset the principles of judicial comity, fairness and efficiency that underlie the basic rule against horizontal appeals."); Hernandez v. United States, No. CV 14-00146, 2014 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 116921, at \*5–7 (C.D. Cal. Aug. 20, 2014) (declining jurisdiction, as a matter of comity, over a challenge to a Texas district court's order); Zdorek v. V Secret Catalogue Inc., No. CV 01-4113, 2001 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 26120, at \*17-\*18 (C.D. Cal. Aug. 1, 2001) (declining jurisdiction, as a matter of comity, over a challenge to an Ohio court's order).

order. As part of that list, Section 1805(c)(2) states that "[a]n order approving an electronic surveillance under this section shall direct":

that, upon the request of the applicant, a specified communication or other common carrier . . . furnish the applicant forthwith all information, facilities, or technical assistance necessary to accomplish the electronic surveillance in such a manner as will protect its secrecy.

50 U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(B). Thus, if the nondisclosure obligations described by this section apply to plaintiff, they apply through an order that would have been issued to the plaintiff by the FISC.

FISA Title IV also requires orders authorizing pen registers and trap and trace devices – like orders issued under Title I – to incorporate requirements that the recipients of such orders "furnish any information, facilities, or technical assistance necessary to accomplish the installation and operation of the pen register or trap and trace device in such a manner as will protect its secrecy." 50 U.S.C. § 1842(d)(2)(B)(i). Such orders must also require that recipients "not disclose the existence of the investigation or of the pen register or trap and trace device to any person unless or until ordered by the court." 50 U.S.C. §1842(d)(2)(B)(ii). As with Title I, these nondisclosure obligations, to the extent they are applicable in this case, would also be imposed by the FISC orders, rather than by the statute directly.

FISA Title VII – under which the Government may acquire communications of non-U.S. persons located abroad – likewise does not impose a nondisclosure requirement directly on the telecommunications providers from which such communications are acquired. *See* 50 U.S.C. § 1881a. Under Section 702's framework, the Attorney General and the DNI may submit to the FISC a certification that the Government's proposed procedures fulfill certain enumerated statutory requirements. *See* 50 U.S.C. §1881a(g) & (i). If the FISC approves that certification,<sup>7</sup> the Attorney General and DNI may authorize jointly, for up to one year, the "targeting of persons reasonably believed to be located outside the United States to acquire foreign intelligence information," *id.* at §1881a(a), and "may direct . . . an electronic communication service provider

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> If the Attorney General and DNI determine that exigent circumstances exist, they may authorize collection prior to the FISC's certification of approval; that authorization must be submitted to the FISC for its approval within seven days. *See* 50 U.S.C. §1881(g)(1)(B).

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to" facilitate such acquisition "in a manner that will protect the secrecy of the acquisition." *Id.* at §1881a(h)(1). Like the FISC orders discussed above, these directives, rather than the statute itself, impose the nondisclosure obligations on the providers that receive them. The FISC's review of these directives, if they are challenged or if the government moves to compel compliance, is integral to the statute's structure; indeed, the same section of FISA that introduces Section 702 directives sets forth the framework for the FISC's review. *See id.* at §1881a(h) ("Directives and judicial review of directives").

In Section 501 of FISA Title V (sometimes referred to as "Section 215"), which sets forth the procedures for obtaining "access to certain business records for foreign intelligence and international terrorism investigations," *see* 50 U.S.C. §1861, Congress chose to directly impose a nondisclosure obligation. Unlike the other provisions discussed above – where nondisclosure obligations are imposed through the content of the orders or directives – Title V imposes a nondisclosure requirement on the recipients of such orders. *See id.* at §1861(d). But this provision also implicates the FISC's expertise, and provides specific procedures for the FISC's expeditious review of its nondisclosure requirements where such review is requested by the recipient of an order. *See id.* at §1861(f). Moreover, such nondisclosure obligations do not arise unless and until the FISC issues an order requiring production, and notifying its recipient of, *inter alia*, the nondisclosure obligations imposed by Section 1861(d). *See id.* at §1861(c).

In sum, "FISA secrecy provisions" largely do not impose nondisclosure obligations through their text as the Complaint suggests. Rather, they operate through FISC orders and directives subject to the FISC's oversight. Accordingly, plaintiff's challenge to FISA nondisclosure obligations amounts to a challenge of any FISC orders and directives that plaintiff has received. A recipient of FISA legal process, in other words, is enjoined by the FISC (or barred by the government through a process supervised by the FISC) from disclosing information. And just as a party under an injunction in one court cannot normally challenge that injunction elsewhere, *see Lapin*, 333 F.2d at 172, this Court should not permit plaintiff to challenge legal obligations incurred in the FISC. Rather, "as a matter of comity and of the

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orderly administration of justice," *id.*, plaintiff's challenge to orders issued by the FISC or directives issued under a FISC-approved program should be brought before the FISC.

This approach would be consistent with the framework established by Congress, which created the FISC as a court of specialized jurisdiction to administer the provisions of FISA. See 50 U.S.C. § 1803. Indeed, for certain provisions, FISA addresses the particular circumstances and proceedings under which such challenges may be brought. A party receiving a production order under Title V's business records provision, for example, "may challenge the legality of that order by filing a petition with" the FISC. 50 U.S.C. §1861(f)(2)(A)(i). Review of such proceedings must be expeditious, and records must be maintained pursuant to special security measures. 50 U.S.C. §1861(f)(2)(A)(i)-(ii), (f)(4). Likewise, a provider receiving directives from the Government pursuant to section 702 may "file a petition to modify or set aside such directive with the [FISC], which shall have jurisdiction to review such petition." 50 U.S.C. §1881a(h)(4)(A). A judge on the FISC must conduct an initial review within five days and render a ruling within thirty days. 50 U.S.C. §1881a(h)(4)(D)-(E). Moreover, the FISC, like any other federal court, has "inherent authority . . . to determine or enforce compliance with" its "order[s]" and "rule[s]," and with "procedure[s] approved by [the] court." 50 U.S.C. § 1803(h). As part of this authority, the FISC can determine the scope of the obligations imposed by its orders or by directives issued pursuant to FISC process, as well as the constitutionality of those orders or directives. See, e.g., In re Motion for Release of Court Records, 526 F. Supp. 2d 484, 491–97 (F.I.S.C. 2007) (considering whether there is a First Amendment right of access to FISC records).8

Furthermore, requiring plaintiff to bring its FISA-based claims to the FISC would give the parties the benefit of the FISC's expertise, both as to the interpretation of its own orders, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Courts in other contexts have noted that the existence of such alternative proceedings renders deference to an alternative forum with competent jurisdiction particularly appropriate. *See Katzenbach v. McClung*, 379 U.S. 294, 296 (1964) (Declaratory relief ordinarily "should not be granted where a special statutory proceeding has been provided."); *see also*, *e.g.*, *Clausell v. Turner*, 295 F. Supp. 533, 536-37 (S.D.N.Y. 1969) (a suit for declaratory relief cannot be used to attack a criminal conviction; rather, the habeas procedures delineated in 28 U.S.C. §§ 2254, 2255 are specifically designed for that purpose).

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as to the structure of FISA itself. As a general matter, the issuing court "is the best judge of its own orders." *Avila v. Willits Envtl. Remediation Trust*, 633 F.3d 828, 836 (9th Cir. 2011).

Moreover, as the FISC has observed, "FISA is a statute of unique character," and, "as a statute addressed entirely to specialists, it must . . . be read by judges with the minds of specialists." *In re All Matters Submitted to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court*, 218 F. Supp. 2d 611, 615 (F.I.S.C. 2002), *abrogated on other grounds by In re Sealed Case* No. 02-001, 310 F.3d 717 (F.I.S.C.R. 2002). The FISC, along with the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review, "is the arbiter of FISA's terms and requirements" and the members of that court develop "specialized knowledge" in the course of their service. *Id.* The FISC's expertise in the interpretation of both any orders it may have issued and the statutory scheme it administers presents an additional reason why this Court should decline jurisdiction over plaintiff's FISA-based claims.

# III. Plaintiff's Challenge to the National Security Letter Statutory Standard of Review Fails as a Matter of Law.

Plaintiff also challenges the constitutionality of the NSL statute, including the standard of review of an NSL nondisclosure requirement. Those questions are now before the Ninth Circuit in cases argued in October 2014. *See* Appeal Nos. 13-16732, 13-16731, 13-15957 (9th Cir.). Because the outcome of those cases (which are discussed below) is likely to impact, if not control, the outcome of plaintiff's NSL-related claims in this case, judicial economy would be served by the Court's considering those claims after the Court of Appeals has ruled. Nonetheless, the Government is obligated to respond to plaintiff's Complaint and thus now moves to dismiss plaintiff's challenge to the NSL statutory standard of review pursuant to Fed. R. Civ. P. 12(b)(6).

A reviewing court may modify or set aside an NSL nondisclosure requirement "if it finds that there is no reason to believe that disclosure may" lead to an enumerated harm. 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(2). Plaintiff, challenging this provision under the separation-of-powers doctrine,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Plaintiff's Complaint does not challenge or contain allegations regarding any particular NSL it may have received, but rather challenges restrictions on disclosure of aggregate data concerning such NSLs.

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claims it "impermissibly requires the reviewing court to apply a level of deference to the government's nondisclosure decisions that conflicts with the constitutionally mandated level of review, which is strict scrutiny." Compl. ¶ 48. Plaintiff is mistaken, and the Second Circuit has held that this provision may be applied consistent with the Constitution. See Doe, 549 F.3d at 875-76.

Congress routinely and properly mandates deferential standards for judicial review of Executive Branch decisions. The most well-known example is the deferential "arbitrary and capricious" standard of review prescribed by the APA. See 5 U.S.C. § 706(2); Ariz. Cattle Growers' Ass'n v. United States Fish & Wildlife, 273 F.3d 1229, 1235-36 (9th Cir. 2001) ("The arbitrary and capricious test is a narrow scope of review. . . . The court is not empowered to substitute its judgment for that of the agency."). See also, e.g., 2 U.S.C. § 1407(d); 7 U.S.C. § 1508(3)(B)(iii)(II); 12 U.S.C. §§ 203(b)(1), 1817(j)(5); 15 U.S.C. § 78*l*(k)(5). As long as the standard of review is not inconsistent with some substantive constitutional limitation, such as the First Amendment, Congress has plenary authority to decide what standard of judicial review should be employed. And the standard here is consistent with the First Amendment: the federal courts have consistently given deference to reasoned judgments by the Executive Branch regarding the potential harms to national security that may result from disclosures of classified (and even non-classified) information about counterintelligence and counterterrorism programs. See, e.g., Dep't of Navy v. Egan, 484 U.S. 518, 529 (1988); CIA v. Sims, 471 U.S. 159, 179 (1985); Center for Nat'l Security Studies v. Dep't of Justice, 331 F.3d 918, 927 (D.C. Cir. 2003); McGehee v. Casey, 718 F.2d 1137, 1147-49 (D.C. Cir. 1983).

Nor would the application of strict scrutiny (assuming, arguendo, that it applies) preclude judicial deference to executive assessments of national security harms. Indeed, a Court could apply strict scrutiny while complying with the NSL statute. That is what the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit did when it applied strict scrutiny to the NSL statute (assuming without deciding that strict scrutiny was the appropriate level of review) and properly avoided any possible constitutional question by interpreting § 3511(b)(2) as requiring the Government "to persuade a district court that there is a good reason to believe that disclosure may risk one of the

enumerated harms, and that a district court, in order to maintain a nondisclosure order, must find that such a good reason exists." *Doe*, 549 F.3d at 875-76. This Court should follow the Second Circuit's reasonable reading of the statutory language, which gives effect to that language while eliminating constitutional concerns. *See*, *e.g.*, *United States v. Diaz*, 491 F.3d 1074, 1077 (9th Cir. 2007) ("reason to believe," "reasonable belief," and "reasonable grounds for believing" bear the same meaning); *United States v. Gorman*, 314 F.3d 1105, 1111 n.4 (9th Cir. 2002) (same). *Accord Detroit Free Press v. Ashcroft*, 303 F.3d 681, 707 (6th Cir. 2002) (holding national security-related deportation rule was subject to strict scrutiny while deferring to Executive Branch judgments about the potential for public disclosures to harm national security: "we defer to [the government's] judgment. These agents are certainly in a better position [than the court] to understand the contours of the investigation and the intelligence capabilities of terrorist organizations."). <sup>10</sup>

In a decision now on appeal, another judge of this Court ruled that the "reason to believe" standard was not the "searching standard of review" required by the First Amendment, but provided no authority for that conclusion. *In re NSL*, 930 F. Supp. 2d 1064, 1077 (N.D. Cal. 2013) (Illston, J.), *appeal docketed*, No. 13-15957 (9th Cir.).<sup>11</sup> The *In re NSL* Court

In so deferring, we do not abdicate the role of the judiciary. Rather, in undertaking a deferential review, we simply recognize the different roles underlying the constitutional separation of powers. It is within the role of the executive to acquire and exercise the expertise of protecting national security. It is not within the role of the court to second-guess executive judgments made in furtherance of that branch's proper role.

Center for Nat'l Security Studies, 331 F.3d at 932. The same reasoning applies here.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Indeed, it bears noting that adherence to a deferential standard of review like the one Congress prescribed in § 3511(b) does not compel courts to abdicate their institutional responsibilities under Article III:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Judge Illston subsequently found the statute to be lawfully applied and issued orders to enforce multiple NSLs issued to multiple electronic communications service providers. *See In re Matter of NSLs*, Order Denying Petition to Set Aside and Granting Cross-Petition to Enforce, No. 13cv1165-SI (N.D. Cal. August 12, 2013) (enforcing 2 NSLs), *appeal docketed*, No. 13-16732 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir.); *In re Matter of NSLs*, Order Denying Petition to Set Aside, Denying Motion to Stay, and Granting Cross-Petition to Enforce, No. 13mc80089-SI (N.D. Cal. August 12, 2013)

acknowledged that the Second Circuit's construction of the judicial review provision "might be less objectionable," 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1078, but nonetheless adopted a reading of the provision which, in its view, rendered the statute unconstitutional. It did so by assuming that Congress had an unconstitutional intent in enacting the statute, namely "to circumscribe a court's ability to modify or set aside nondisclosure NSLs unless the essentially insurmountable standard 'no reason to believe' that a harm 'may' result is satisfied." *Id.* at 1077.

The Government respectfully submits that the *In re NSL* Court erred in starting with that premise. The doctrine of constitutional avoidance "assumes that Congress, no less than the Judicial Branch, seeks to act within constitutional bounds, and thereby diminishes the friction between the branches that judicial holdings of unconstitutionality might otherwise generate." *FCC v. Fox Television Stations, Inc.*, 556 U.S. 502, 565-66 (2009); *accord Jones v. United States*, 526 U.S. 227, 240 (1999) (courts assume that Congress legislates in light of constitutional limitations). This doctrine is particularly apt here because it would have been unreasonable for

(enforcing 2 NSLs), *appeal docketed*, No. 13-16731 (9<sup>th</sup> Cir.); *In re NSLs*, Order Denying Petition to Set Aside and Granting Cross-Petition to Enforce, No. 13mc80063-SI (N.D. Cal. May 28, 2013) (Amended Order for Public Release enforcing 17 NSLs); *In re NSLs*, Order, No. 13mc80063-SI (N.D. Cal. May 23, 2013) (enforcing 2 NSLs).

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<sup>12</sup> The *In re NSL* Court also faulted § 3511(b)(2) (as did the Second Circuit in *Doe*) for making certifications by senior officials regarding certain potential harms "conclusive" in judicial proceedings in the absence of bad faith. 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1077. The *In re NSL* Court mischaracterized the statute, however, as making any FBI certification regarding any of the statutorily enumerated harms conclusive, and therefore assumed that the certifications at issue there were conclusive under the statute. See id. But, in fact, the statute provides that certifications for FBI-issued NSLs are conclusive only if made by "the Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, an Assistant Attorney General, or the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation" and only if they state "that disclosure may endanger the national security of the United States or interfere with diplomatic relations." 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(2). Certifications by other Government officials, and certifications relating to other statutorily enumerated harms (such as "interference with a criminal, counterterrorism, or counterintelligence investigation," 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c)(1)), are not "conclusive" under the statute. There is no allegation that such a certification is at issue here, or even that there has ever been such a certification. Accordingly, the validity of this statutory provision is irrelevant to this case. Twitter does not appear to have challenged it by its Complaint and, in any event, would lack standing to do so. See, e.g., Get Outdoors II, LLC v. City of San Diego, 506 F.3d 886, 892 (9th Cir. 2007) (overbreadth standing requires that party challenging statute be subject to the specific statutory provision being challenged); Gospel Missions of Am. v. City of L.A., 328 F.3d 548, 554 (9th Cir. 2003) (same).

1 Congress to have proposed enforcing nondisclosure requirements in NSLs based on any reason – 2 including an irrational or wholly unsupportable reason – and therefore the only reasonable 3 reading of the statute is that it requires a "good" reason. See Doe, 549 F.3d at 875-76. The 4 Second Circuit properly interpreted the NSL statute in light of both common sense and the 5 assumption that Congress intends to legislate constitutionally. To the extent it does not await the Ninth Circuit's ruling on the NSL statute, this Court should follow the Second Circuit's 6 reasoning and dismiss plaintiff's challenge to the NSL statutory standard of review pursuant to 7 Fed. R. Civ. P. 12(b)(6). 13 8 CONCLUSION 9 10 For all of the foregoing reasons, the Court should grant this Motion and dismiss plaintiff's claims under Count I of its Complaint concerning FISA, legal process issued under 11 FISA, the January 27, 2014 letter from the Deputy Attorney General, and 18 U.S.C. § 3511. 12 13 Dated: January 9, 2015 Respectfully submitted, 14 JOYCE R. BRANDA 15 Acting Assistant Attorney General 16 **MELINDA HAAG United States Attorney** 17 18 ANTHONY J. COPPOLINO **Deputy Branch Director** 19 /s/ Steven Y. Bressler 20 STEVEN Y. BRESSLER 21 JULIA A. BERMAN Attorneys 22 U.S. Department of Justice Civil Division, Federal Programs Branch 23 24 Attorneys for Defendants

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time.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Plaintiff also challenges the NSL statute and any applicable nondisclosure requirements as applied and on their face. See Compl. ¶¶ 46-47. Those claims do not implicate orders of the FISC, and the Government does not move to dismiss them at this time under Rule 12. Defendants would seek this Court's leave to move for summary judgment on those claims, as well as any others remaining after the Court adjudicates this Motion to Dismiss, at an appropriate

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13	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
14	FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA
15	)
16	TWITTER, INC.,  Case No. 14-cv-4480
17	Plaintiff,
18	v. )
19	ERIC H. HOLDER, United States )
20	Attorney General, et al., [PROPOSED] ORDER
21	Defendants.
22	)
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26	The Court, having considered the defendants' Partial Motion to Dismiss, the plaintiff's
opposition, and any reply thereto, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, that the de	opposition, and any reply thereto, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED, that the defendants' Partial
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	1

1	Motion to Dismiss is GRANTED. The plaintiff's claims contained in Paragraphs 44, 48, 49 and
2	50 of the Complaint shall be and hereby are dismissed.
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4	AND IT IS SO ORDERED.
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7	Dated:
8	HON. YVONNE GONZALEZ ROGERS UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGE
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#### INTRODUCTION

In this lawsuit, Twitter challenges the rules that the government has imposed on Twitter's ability to speak about the number and various kinds of national security related demands for information it may have received. The terms of government-approved speech are set out in a January 27, 2014, letter from Deputy Attorney General James M. Cole to five Internet companies (not including Twitter) that was offered to settle claims brought by those companies (the "DAG Letter"). Twitter seeks a declaration that the DAG Letter is invalid under the Administrative Procedure Act ("APA") and the First Amendment, as well as a declaration that the statutes defendants contend restrict Twitter's speech about national security process violate the First Amendment both on their face and as applied to Twitter. The First Amendment violation is particularly significant with regard to restrictions on Twitter's ability to say "zero," that is, to truthfully deny receipt of *any* national security legal process, or of specific *kinds* of national security legal process. In addition, Twitter seeks an injunction prohibiting the government from enforcing the terms of the DAG Letter against Twitter.

The government has now filed a partial motion to dismiss. That motion is noteworthy for what it does *not* say as much as for what it says.

First, the government does not argue that the promulgation of the DAG Letter satisfied the procedural requirements of the APA; rather, it argues only that the Court should not consider Twitter's APA challenge because, it says, the DAG Letter does not constitute final agency action. In fact, the DAG Letter is final, and therefore reviewable, because the government has repeatedly treated it—including in this case—and described it as prescribing binding legal norms. At a minimum, there are serious factual questions as to exactly what sort of legal directive the DAG Letter is and how the government has treated it, and those questions preclude dismissal at this stage, before Twitter has had an opportunity to take any discovery.

Second, the government does not argue that the nondisclosure provisions of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act ("FISA") are constitutional facially or as applied; rather, it argues that the Court should decline to rule on that question, and that Twitter should pursue that part of its claim in the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court ("FISC"). But the FISC does not have

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exclusive jurisdiction to consider constitutional issues arising from FISA; such issues are routinely considered in district courts; the FISC cannot afford the same relief as Twitter seeks here; and the uneven playing field in the FISC would give the government enormous advantages over Twitter that, at the same time, would serve to further limit Twitter's ability to speak. Further, the interests of judicial economy and comity would not be served by splitting closely related claims and having them proceed, on separate tracks, in this Court and in the FISC.

Third, the government does not argue that the nondisclosure provisions in the national security letter ("NSL") statute are constitutional as applied to Twitter, or even that Twitter's facial challenge to that statute should be rejected; rather, it urges the Court to defer the portion of Twitter's facial challenge that is based on the standard of review prescribed in the statute or to dismiss this portion of Twitter's case. But there is no reason to rule on one part of Twitter's facial challenge now while leaving the rest of it to be litigated later, and in any event, the government fails to show that the statute can be reconciled with the First Amendment.

Fourth, the government does not even mention Twitter's claims that it is unlawfully and unconstitutionally restricted from reporting receipt of "zero" aggregate NSLs or FISA orders, or zero of a particular kind of FISA order. Rather, the government limits its argument to restrictions that relate to actual national security legal process.

The partial motion to dismiss should be denied in its entirety.

#### **STATEMENT**

#### A. Statutory background

This case involves two statutes that the government uses to conduct surveillance in national security investigations.

FISA permits the government to seek court-ordered real-time surveillance or disclosure of stored user records from a communications service provider. Several different statutes restrict the ability of a provider to disclose information about a FISA order it has received. FISA itself requires that a recipient of a court order provide the government with "all information, facilities, or technical assistance necessary to accomplish the electronic surveillance *in such a manner as will protect its secrecy.*" 50 U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(B) (emphasis added). In addition, the Espionage

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Act, 18 U.S.C. § 793, criminalizes unauthorized disclosures of national defense information under certain circumstances. Those statutes do not contain a prohibition on a company's disclosing that it has *not* received a FISA order or a specific kind of FISA order.

Under 18 U.S.C. § 2709, the FBI Director may issue an NSL to a provider, compelling the provider to disclose "subscriber information and toll billing records information" upon a certification that the information sought "is relevant to an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities." 18 U.S.C. § 2709(a), (b)(1). Section 2709(c) authorizes the FBI Director to prohibit the recipient of an NSL from "disclos[ing] to any person (other than those to whom such disclosure is necessary to comply with the request or an attorney to obtain legal advice or legal assistance with respect to the request) that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained access to information or records" by means of an NSL. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c)(1). A person who violates an NSL nondisclosure order may be subject to criminal penalties. 18 U.S.C. §§ 793, 1510(e). Section 2709 does not contain a prohibition on a company's disclosing that it has *not* received an NSL.

#### В. The DAG Letter

The government's approved disclosure framework is set forth in the DAG Letter, which was issued and filed with the FISC on January 27, 2014, contemporaneously with the stipulated dismissal without prejudice of a lawsuit brought by five Internet companies (not including Twitter) seeking to disclose more information about the total number of FISA- and NSL-related requests they receive. In return for the companies' dismissal of the FISC action, the government agreed that the companies could publish information about national security surveillance of their networks in one of two preapproved disclosure formats set out in the DAG Letter. When it informed the FISC of this deal, the government stated that the DAG Letter "define[s] the limits of permissible reporting for the parties and other similarly situated companies." Compl., Ex. 2.

Under option one, a provider may report, in bands of 1000 starting with 0-999, the numbers of NSLs received, customer accounts affected by those NSLs, FISA orders for content, customer selectors targeted under those orders, FISA orders for non-content, and customer selectors targeted under those non-content orders. Compl., Ex. 1. The starting point of zero, rather

than one, is significant because it means that a provider may not disclose that it has *not* received any of the specified kinds of process, nor may it disclose that it has received at least one of those kinds of process (unless it has received 1000 or more).

Under option two, a provider may use smaller reporting bands of 250, again starting at zero (*e.g.*, 0-249). Compl., Ex. 1. But if it chooses option two, a provider may report only the total number of all national security process received, without distinguishing among NSLs, FISA orders for content, and FISA orders for non-content. It may similarly report the total number of all customer selectors targeted under national security process, again without distinguishing among the different types of process.

#### C. Twitter's efforts to provide transparency

Twitter seeks to give its users meaningful information—beyond that permitted by the DAG Letter—about the degree of government surveillance on its network. On April 1, 2014, Twitter submitted to the government a draft transparency report containing information and discussion about the aggregate numbers of NSLs and FISA orders it received in the second half of 2013. Twitter requested "a determination as to exactly which, if any, parts of its Transparency Report are classified or, in the [government's] view, may not lawfully be published online."

Compl., Ex. 3. Five months later, on September 9, 2014, the government informed Twitter that "information contained in the report is classified and cannot be publicly released" because it does not comply with the government's approved framework for reporting data about FISA orders and NSLs. Compl., Ex. 5. The government refused to identify what specific language in the draft transparency report could or could not be disclosed. Twitter filed this lawsuit on October 7, 2014. Six weeks later, on November 17, 2014, the government prepared a redacted version of the draft transparency report that it said could be publicly released. Dkt. No. 21.

The government filed its Partial Motion to Dismiss on January 9, 2015, arguing that Twitter failed to state a claim upon which relief can be granted for its (1) APA claim and (2) facial challenge to the NSL statute concerning the statutory standard of review. The government

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> References in this brief to NSLs and FISA orders should not be taken to confirm (or deny) that Twitter has received any NSLs or FISA orders.

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did not argue that Twitter failed to state a claim with regard to its facial and as-applied challenges to FISA (the government is merely asking the Court to transfer those claims to the FISC), its facial challenge to the NSL statute as a prior restraint on speech, or its as-applied challenge to the NSL statute. The government asked the Court to delay adjudication of Twitter's facial challenges to the NSL statute until the Ninth Circuit ruled on unrelated NSL cases currently on appeal.

#### STANDARD OF REVIEW

On a motion to dismiss, the Court must "accept as true the factual allegations in the complaint and construe those allegations in the light most favorable to the nonmoving party." *Ctr. for Cmty. Action & Envtl. Justice* v. *BNSF Ry. Co.*, 764 F.3d 1019, 1022-23 (9th Cir. 2014). "To survive a motion to dismiss, a complaint must contain sufficient factual matter, accepted as true, to 'state a claim to relief that is plausible on its face." *Ashcroft* v. *Iqbal*, 556 U.S. 662, 678 (2009) (quoting *Bell Atl. Corp.* v. *Twombly*, 550 U.S. 544, 570 (2007)). The grant of a motion to dismiss is appropriate only "where there is either a lack of a cognizable legal theory or the absence of sufficient facts alleged under a cognizable legal claim." *Hinds Invs., L.P.* v. *Angioli*, 654 F.3d 846, 850 (9th Cir. 2011).

#### **ARGUMENT**

#### A. The complaint states a claim under the APA

A major issue in this case is whether the DAG Letter constitutes a substantive "rule" under the APA. If it does, it is invalid: the APA imposes procedural requirements on agencies seeking to adopt rules, and there is no dispute that the government did not follow those procedures in promulgating the DAG Letter. *See* 5 U.S.C. § 553. The government does not address that issue but instead argues (PMTD 10-13) that the DAG Letter is not subject to judicial review because it is not "final agency action." That argument lacks merit.

There is no dispute that the DAG Letter constitutes an "agency action" as that term is defined in the APA, so the only question here is whether that action is "final." *See* 5 U.S.C. § 551(13); *Sackett* v. *EPA*, 132 S. Ct. 1367, 1371 (2012). An agency action is "final" if (1) it "mark[s] the consummation of the agency's decisionmaking process" and (2) it is "one by which rights or obligations have been determined, or from which legal consequences will flow." *Bennett* 

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v. *Spear*, 520 U.S. 154, 177-78 (1997) (internal quotation marks and citation omitted). The government does not appear to question that the first requirement is satisfied—that is, it does not suggest that the DAG Letter is "of a merely tentative or interlocutory nature." *Id.* at 178. Instead, it focuses on the second requirement, arguing (PMTD 11) that the DAG Letter is purely an "advisory statement[]" that does not "impose[] new rights or obligations." That argument is contradicted by the government's own statements about the DAG Letter, which demonstrate that the government views the DAG Letter as legally binding.

"[T]he finality inquiry is a pragmatic and flexible one," and the label that an agency chooses to attach to its action is not determinative. Nat'l Ass'n of Home Builders v. U.S. Army Corps of Eng'rs, 417 F.3d 1272, 1279 (D.C. Cir. 2005) (internal quotation marks and citation omitted). The government emphasizes (PMTD 11) that, on its face, the DAG Letter "does not purport to restrain plaintiff's behavior in any way" but merely "provides guidelines as to permissible disclosures." Not so. By its terms, the DAG Letter "memorializes the new and additional ways in which the government will permit [providers] to report data concerning requests for customer information." Compl., Ex. 5. The necessary implication is that the government does *not* permit other ways of reporting data; it would make no sense to say that providers "may" say some things if there were no prohibition on saying other things. That implication is made explicit in the body of the DAG Letter, which sets out "two"—and only two—"alternative ways in which companies may inform their customers about requests for data." *Id.* If a provider selects option one, which allows reporting the numbers of various different types of process in bands of 1000, it must wait two years before including data relating to a platform or service that has not previously been subject to process, and it is expressly prohibited from "confirming or denying that it has received such new capability orders." *Id.* In short, the DAG Letter reads like a binding rule—"[i]t commands, it requires, it orders, it dictates." Appalachian Power Co. v. EPA, 208 F.3d 1015, 1023 (D.C. Cir. 2000).

Even if the binding nature of the DAG Letter were not apparent on its face, "an agency pronouncement will be considered binding as a practical matter if it . . . is applied by the agency in a way that indicates it is binding." *Gen. Elec. Co.* v. *EPA*, 290 F.3d 377, 383 (D.C. Cir. 2002);

	see Nat'l Mining Ass'n v. McCarthy, 758 F.3d 243, 253 (D.C. Cir. 2014) (Courts have "looked to
	post-guidance events to determine whether the agency has applied the guidance as if it were
	binding on regulated parties."). The government's actions have made clear that the government
	regards the DAG Letter as setting out the limits of permissible disclosure. Significantly, those
	limits are prescribed nowhere else (such as in a statute, executive order, or regulation). In this
	case, for example, the government informed Twitter that "the information contained in" Twitter's
	draft transparency report "is classified and cannot be publicly released." Compl., Ex. 5. That
	conclusion—that the speech in which Twitter wishes to engage "cannot be publicly released"—is
	based entirely on the DAG Letter. The government cited no other legal authority, evidently
	deeming it sufficient to point out that the draft transparency report would "go beyond what the
	government has permitted other companies to report" under the DAG Letter. Id. That reasoning
	demonstrates that the DAG Letter is not merely a general statement of policy, for as the D.C.
	Circuit has explained, when the government applies a policy statement "in a particular situation,
	it must be prepared to support the policy just as if the policy statement had never been issued,"
	something it evidently is not prepared to do here. Nat'l Mining Ass'n, 758 F.3d at 253 (quoting
	Pac. Gas & Elec. Co. v. FPC, 506 F.2d 33, 38 (D.C. Cir. 1974)).
	Similarly, in a letter the government submitted to the Ninth Circuit in In re National
	Security Letter, the government relied on the DAG Letter to explain what disclosures a provider
	may and may not make about NSLs. Letter from Jonathan H. Levy, U.S. Dep't of Justice, Civil
	Div., Appellate Staff, to Molly C. Dwyer, Clerk of Court, In re Nat'l Sec. Letter, No. 13-15957
	(9th Cir. Nov. 6, 2014). In that letter, the government explained that "[t]he fact that a company
	may disclose that it has received 0-249 national security processes or 0-999 NSLs in a given
	period does not, by itself, allow that company to disclose that it has actually received one or more
	NSLs; the lower end of these bands was set at 0, rather than 1, in order to avoid such disclosures."
	Id. at 2. But the DAG Letter would not "avoid such disclosures" unless it prohibited those
	disclosures that it does not allow.
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The government's treatment of providers who have received zero NSLs or FISA orders or zero of a particular kind of FISA order is particularly significant evidence that the government

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treats the DAG Letter as prescribing a binding legal rule. If a provider of email service has *never* received an NSL or FISA order, under the DAG Letter, that provider is prohibited from stating publicly, "We have never received an NSL or FISA order." The government has never explained how the NSL and FISA statutes or any order of the FISC could be construed to prohibit a provider that has *not* received an NSL or FISA order, or a particular kind of FISA order, from publicly revealing that fact. Yet the government takes the position that providers are prohibited from revealing that they have received zero such orders. That prohibition is stated explicitly in the DAG Letter, which sets the lower ends of the permissible reporting bands at zero, not one, but it is found nowhere else.

The DAG Letter and the government's public statements about it sufficiently support Twitter's view that the DAG Letter is a "final agency action" that this Court may properly review in connection with Twitter's APA claim. But even if that were not the case, at a minimum, there is a serious question whether the government is treating the DAG Letter as prescribing binding legal norms, rather than merely setting out advisory guidance. In answering that question, the Court will have to examine the circumstances under which the DAG Letter was adopted—that the DAG Letter was promulgated to settle litigation aimed at clarifying the legal rights of providers is at least some evidence that the government views it as prescribing binding legal norms. In addition, the Court will have to examine "post-guidance events," such as the government's application of the DAG Letter to Twitter and other providers and the government's treatment of the DAG Letter in other contexts. *Nat'l Mining Ass'n*, 758 F.3d at 253. The Court should not decide the issue on a motion to dismiss before Twitter has had any opportunity for discovery into those factual questions. *See Dugong v. Rumsfeld*, No. C 03-4350 MHP, 2005 WL 522106, at \*17 (N.D. Cal. Mar. 2, 2005) (examining "[f]actual information yielded through discovery" in

For similar reasons, the Court should reject the government's suggestion (PMTD 12-13) that Twitter lacks standing, a suggestion that is largely derivative of the government's argument that the DAG Letter lacks legal effect. The government's reliance on the DAG Letter in its refusal to allow Twitter to publish its draft transparency report makes clear that Twitter's injury is

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directly traceable to the DAG Letter. Nor is it correct, as the government argues (PMTD 13), that the prohibition on publication of classified information means that "[a] declaratory judgment directed at the DAG Letter would . . . not redress any injury." The classification decision on which the government relies is itself a product of the DAG Letter, so a determination that the government violated the APA in issuing the DAG Letter would provide meaningful relief.

#### B. This Court should adjudicate Twitter's claims based on FISA

The government does not dispute that this Court has subject-matter jurisdiction over Twitter's FISA claims. *See* 28 U.S.C. § 1331. Nor does it dispute that the Northern District of California is an appropriate venue for this action. *See* 28 U.S.C. § 1391(b). Nor does it argue that this Court could not fairly adjudicate these claims. Instead, it argues (PMTD 14) that "this Court should decline to exercise its jurisdiction over" Twitter's challenge to the prohibition on disclosing aggregate information about the number of FISA orders it receives, if any, because that challenge "should properly be brought before the FISC." That argument lacks merit.

#### 1. Twitter's challenge to FISA is not limited to orders issued by the FISC

The premise of the government's argument (PMTD 14) is that Twitter's "challenge to 'FISA secrecy provisions' amounts to a challenge to FISC orders and to directives issued pursuant to a FISC-approved program." That premise is incorrect.

Twitter's complaint challenges "Defendants' refusal to allow Twitter to publish information about its exposure to national security surveillance that does not conform to either of the two preapproved formats set forth in the DAG Letter." Compl. ¶ 43. It alleges that "[t]he FISA statute, the Espionage Act, and other nondisclosure authorities do not prohibit service providers like Twitter from disclosing aggregate information about the number of FISA orders they receive." Compl. ¶ 49. And it argues that, "[t]o the extent that the Defendants read FISA secrecy provisions, such as 50 U.S.C. § 1805(c)(2)(B), as prohibiting Twitter from publishing information about the aggregate number of FISA orders it receives, . . . the FISA secrecy provisions are unconstitutional." *Id*.

As the complaint thus makes clear, this case is about the government's position that the DAG Letter and related national security statutes restrict the disclosure of aggregate information

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about FISA orders; it is not about secrecy provisions in FISA orders themselves. In the portion of its motion addressing NSLs (PMTD 20 n.9), the government appears to understand that fact, noting that the complaint "does not challenge or contain allegations regarding any particular NSL it may have received, but rather challenges restrictions on disclosure of aggregate data concerning such NSLs." That is equally true of the complaint's treatment of FISA orders, so the government's premise that Twitter is challenging FISC orders and directives issued as part of a FISC-approved program is wrong. Indeed, the complaint does not even allege that Twitter has received any FISA orders. *See* Compl. ¶ 43 (noting that Twitter is prohibited "from publishing facts that reveal *whether* and the extent to which *it may have received* one or more . . . court orders pursuant to FISA") (emphasis added).

Although the government argues that all FISA nondisclosure obligations are the product of FISC orders, it concedes (PMTD 18) that FISA itself imposes nondisclosure obligations directly on the recipients of an important class of FISA orders—those requiring "[a]ccess to certain business records for foreign intelligence and international terrorism investigations." 50 U.S.C. § 1861. And the government does not deny that it construes the Espionage Act to bar at least some FISA-related disclosures, independent of anything in a FISC order. Nor does the government dispute that the DAG Letter categorically prohibits the disclosure of aggregate information about FISC orders except under the two approved disclosure methods. In short, this case involves a challenge to disclosure prohibitions that are not the product of any single FISC order.

#### 2. The FISC is not an appropriate forum for considering Twitter's claims

The government does not suggest that this Court is prohibited from or incapable of adjudicating Twitter's claims related to FISA. To the contrary, it concedes (PMTD 15) that "either forum"—that is, this Court or the FISC—"would be equally fair to the litigants." But it suggests (PMTD 19-20) that the FISC would be a superior forum because of its "expertise" and "specialized knowledge." In fact, the FISC is not an appropriate forum for hearing this case.

The FISC was created by statute in 1978 and afforded limited jurisdiction to issue orders authorizing surveillance or searches under FISA. *See* 50 U.S.C. § 1803; David S. Kris & J.

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Douglas Wilson, 1 *National Security Investigations & Prosecutions* § 5:2, at 128 (2d ed. 2012). It does not have authority to issue a declaratory order or an injunction such as that sought here. The government cites no authority suggesting otherwise. Accordingly, the relief that Twitter seeks, and that this Court is authorized to grant, is not available in the FISC.

The government neglects to mention a number of advantages that the FISC would afford the government. The FISC is a nonpublic court, with certain recent exceptions for public filing of pleadings and other documents, that offers no ability for the public or any nonparty to view FISC proceedings. The FISC offers far greater opportunity than a district court for *ex parte* and classified hearings that are closed to any party but the government. And the government would enjoy significant advantage from its familiarity with the court, judges, and procedures that could not be reproduced by private litigants and their counsel.

Of course, the FISC does have an inherent "supervisory power over its own records and files." *In re Motion for Release of Court Records*, 526 F. Supp. 2d 484, 486 (F.I.S.C. 2007) (internal quotation marks and citation omitted). But that authority would not allow the FISC to enter the relief Twitter seeks in this case because, as explained above, the challenged prohibition on Twitter's speech comes from the DAG Letter and federal statutes, not just FISA orders. More importantly, that aspect of the FISC's authority is not exclusive. To the contrary, in *In re Orders* of this Court Interpreting Section 215 of the PATRIOT Act ("In re Orders"), No. Misc. 13-02 (F.I.S.C. Sept. 13, 2013), the FISC held that a federal district court was the appropriate forum to decide whether to disclose FISC opinions. In that case, the ACLU had previously filed a Freedom of Information Act ("FOIA") lawsuit in the United States District Court for the Southern District of New York, seeking disclosure of FISC opinions relating to Section 215 of the USA PATRIOT Act. ACLU v. FBI, No. 11 Civ. 7562 (S.D.N.Y.). When the ACLU subsequently filed a motion in the FISC for the release of the opinions, the FISC held that "as a matter of comity, and in order to conserve judicial resources and avoid inconsistent judgments," it would defer to the District Court for the Southern District of New York. *In re Orders*, No. Misc. 13-02, slip op. at 13. Specifically, the FISC noted that "[t]he present motion . . . asks the FISC to do the same thing that the ACLU is asking the District Court in New York to do in the FOIA litigation: ensure that the opinions are

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disclosed, with only properly classified information withheld. Having both courts proceed poses the risks of duplication of effort and inconsistent outcomes that the first-to-file rule is intended to avoid." *Id.* at 15. Nowhere in its opinion did the FISC suggest that it was better suited, because of its "expertise" or "specialized knowledge," to handle the issue.

Similarly, in *In re Motion for Consent to Disclosure of Court Records or, in the Alternative, a Determination of the Effect of the Court's Rules on Statutory Access Rights*, No. Misc. 13-01 (F.I.S.C. June 12, 2013), a FOIA requestor had sought the disclosure of FISC records in the government's possession. In litigation in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia, the government argued that the rules of the FISC prohibited the disclosure of a certain FISC opinion. The requestor then sought relief from the FISC, which held that its rules would not prohibit the government's disclosure of the subject FISC opinion in the event it was determined by the district court to be subject to disclosure under FOIA. Again, nowhere in the opinion did the FISC intimate that the FISC would be better suited, because of its expertise or specialized knowledge, to handle any request for the disclosure of FISC records.

Conversely, district courts routinely review the legality of orders entered by the FISC as well as the government's compliance with those orders. For example, whenever the government uses FISA-derived evidence in a criminal proceeding, 50 U.S.C. § 1806(e) permits the target of the surveillance to "move to suppress the evidence obtained or derived from such electronic surveillance [in a district court] on the grounds that . . . (1) the information was unlawfully acquired; or (2) the surveillance was not made in conformity with an order of authorization or approval." And outside the suppression context, district courts have heard challenges to FISA and to orders issued under it. *See*, *e.g.*, *Clapper* v. *Amnesty Int'l USA*, 133 S. Ct. 1138 (2013) (declaratory judgment action filed in federal district court challenging constitutionality of FISA Amendments Act of 2008); *ACLU* v. *Clapper*, No. 14-42 (2d Cir. argued Sept. 2, 2014) (declaratory judgment action arguing that National Security Agency telephony metadata program exceeds statutory authority under FISA and violates the Fourth Amendment); *Klayman* v. *Obama*, No. 14-5004 (D.C. Cir. argued Nov. 4, 2014); *cf. Elec. Frontier Found*. v. *Dep't of Justice*, No.

4:11-cv-05221-YGR (N.D. Cal. Aug. 11, 2014) (FOIA litigation involving FISC orders and related documents). There is no reason for a different result here.

## 3. The interests of judicial economy would not be served by splitting Twitter's claims between this Court and the FISC

Ordinarily, a litigant who believes that a case has been brought in the wrong forum will seek a transfer under 28 U.S.C. § 1404 or 1631. The government has not sought a transfer here, and with good reason: it concedes that many of the issues in this case are appropriate for resolution in this Court. The government does not seek to have this *entire* case heard by the FISC; instead, it seeks to bifurcate the case, so that part of it is heard in this Court and part of it is heard by the FISC. Given the close relationship between the issues the government seeks to have sent to the FISC and those it seeks to have resolved here, such bifurcation would create the possibility of inconsistent adjudication, and it would ill-serve the interests of judicial economy.

The government argues (PMTD 14-15) that the Declaratory Judgment Act confers discretion on this Court. That is true, but the government cites no authority for the proposition that it would be appropriate to exercise that discretion by hearing part of a case while leaving another part to be heard in a different forum. Nor does the government address the portion of the complaint that seeks an injunction against the enforcement of the DAG Letter and related statutes against Twitter. Compl. at 17. The Court does not have discretion simply to ignore an allegation that ongoing governmental activity violates the Constitution and justifies an injunction, and none of the cases cited by the government establishes otherwise.

#### C. The complaint states a claim that the NSL statute is facially unconstitutional

The government asks the Court (PMTD 20) "to dismiss plaintiff's challenge to the NSL statutory standard of review." It does not take issue with Twitter's as-applied challenge to NSL nondisclosure requirements, nor does it seek dismissal of the entirety of Twitter's facial challenge to the statute. Instead, it invites the Court to rule that the statute satisfies the standard of review required by the First Amendment. The Court should decline the invitation.

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## 1. The Court should not stay this litigation to await the Ninth Circuit's decision in *In re National Security Letter*

The government suggests—but does not quite say explicitly—that the Court should decline to consider Twitter's claims related to NSLs while it waits for the Ninth Circuit to rule on *In re National Security Letter*, 930 F. Supp. 2d 1064, 1077 (N.D. Cal. 2013), *appeal pending*, No. 13-15957 (9th Cir. argued Oct. 8, 2014), in which Judge Illston concluded that the NSL statute violates the First Amendment. The government does not expressly ask this Court for a stay pending the Ninth Circuit's decision, but it suggests (PMTD 20) that "[b]ecause the outcome of those cases . . . is likely to impact, if not control, the outcome of plaintiff's NSL-related claims in this case, judicial economy would be served by the Court's considering those claims after the Court of Appeals has ruled." It is unclear precisely what relief the government is seeking, but staying this litigation or otherwise deferring consideration of Twitter's claims is unwarranted.

Although the Ninth Circuit is indeed considering issues similar to some of those presented here, the Supreme Court has observed that "[o]nly in rare circumstances will a litigant in one cause be compelled to stand aside while a litigant in another settles the rule of law that will define the rights of both." *Landis* v. N. Am. Co., 299 U.S. 248, 255 (1936). Instead, before district courts may exercise their "discretionary power to stay proceedings," they must consider "the possible damage which may result from the granting of a stay, the hardship or inequity which a party may suffer in being required to go forward, and the orderly course of justice measured in terms of the simplifying or complicating of issues, proof, and questions of law which could be expected to result from a stay." *Lockyer* v. *Mirant Corp.*, 398 F.3d 1098, 1109-10 (9th Cir. 2005) (internal quotation marks and citation omitted).

Here, deferring consideration of all or part of Twitter's First Amendment claim would result in significant harm because the complaint alleges an ongoing deprivation of Twitter's First Amendment rights, and it seeks declaratory and injunctive relief to remedy that deprivation. *See, e.g., Lockyer*, 398 F.3d at 1112 (recognizing that delay is particularly harmful to a party "seek[ing] injunctive relief against ongoing and future harm"). And the potential for delay is significant: *In re National Security Letter* is a complex case presenting novel constitutional

issues, and the losing party may well file petitions for rehearing en banc and for certiorari once the panel issues its decision. Most importantly, the government has offered no reason beyond judicial economy for why this claim should not move forward. The Ninth Circuit will not necessarily decide *In re National Security Letter* in a way that resolves this case, so the benefits to judicial economy from waiting are doubtful. But in any event, "while it is the prerogative of the district court to manage its workload, case management standing alone is not necessarily a sufficient ground to stay proceedings." *Dependable Highway Express, Inc.* v. *Navigators Ins. Co.*, 498 F.3d 1059, 1066 (9th Cir. 2007). Nor has the government identified any harm it will suffer from litigating this issue while awaiting the Ninth Circuit's decision. *See Lockyer*, 398 F.3d at 1112.

## 2. The Court should not evaluate Twitter's challenge to the NSL statute in the piecemeal fashion that the government suggests

As noted, the government has not sought dismissal of all of Twitter's challenges to the NSL statute. It does not, for example, seek dismissal of as-applied challenges to NSL nondisclosure requirements. PMTD 24 n.13. And it does not even seek dismissal of all facial challenges to that statute, focusing only on the argument that the statute calls for overly deferential review of a nondisclosure requirement in an NSL. But that is just one of the arguments that Twitter intends to present. The statute is also unconstitutional because it imposes a prior restraint on speech and does not provide the procedural safeguards required for prior restraints. It makes little sense to disaggregate the standard-of-review argument from those other closely related arguments. For example, because the procedural requirements for a prior restraint include the availability of expeditious judicial review, *see Thomas* v. *Chi. Park Dist.*, 534 U.S. 316, 321 (2002), the Court could reasonably conclude that the statute is invalid based on some combination of its procedural infirmities and the overly deferential review that it prescribes. Since the government concedes that at least some components of the facial challenge to the statute should go forward, there is nothing to be gained from ruling certain arguments in support of that challenge out of bounds at this early stage of the litigation.

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#### 3. The NSL statute violates the First Amendment because it fails to satisfy strict scrutiny

Under 18 U.S.C. § 2709, the FBI Director has the authority to issue an NSL that not only orders a communications service provider to turn over information about its customers but also prohibits the provider from speaking about the NSL. The government errs in arguing that the statute can survive First Amendment scrutiny.

a. Section 2709 is invalid on its face because an NSL nondisclosure requirement is a prior restraint, and the government cannot satisfy the demanding substantive standards for a prior restraint. In Alexander v. United States, 509 U.S. 544, 550 (1993), the Supreme Court explained that "[t]he term prior restraint is used to describe administrative and judicial orders forbidding certain communications when issued in advance of the time that such communications are to occur." (Emphasis, internal quotation marks, and citation omitted). Section 2709(c) provides for just such administrative orders. Specifically, the statute authorizes the FBI Director or his designee to prohibit the recipient of an NSL from "disclos[ing] to any person (other than those to whom such disclosure is necessary to comply with the request or an attorney to obtain legal advice or legal assistance with respect to the request) that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained access to information or records" by means of an NSL. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c)(1). Under the statute, a party who receives such an NSL containing a nondisclosure requirement and who wishes to speak about an NSL must litigate the validity of the nondisclosure requirement before speaking. 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(1). In other words, while the prior-restraint doctrine recognizes that "a free society prefers to punish the few who abuse rights of speech after they break the law than to throttle them and all others beforehand," Se. Promotions, Ltd. v. Conrad, 420 U.S. 546, 559 (1975) (emphasis added), Section 2709(c) does the exact opposite.

The prior-restraint regime created by Section 2709(c) is particularly troubling because the restraints on speech are issued by an Executive Branch official, not by a court. The Supreme Court has observed that "[b]ecause the censor's business is to censor, there inheres the danger that he may well be less responsive than a court—part of an independent branch of government to the constitutionally protected interests in free expression." Freedman v. Maryland, 380 U.S.

51, 57-58 (1965). That danger is especially acute in this context because the official who decides whether to restrain speech is the same official whose conduct—that is, the issuance of an NSL—would be the subject of the speech, creating the risk that a gag order will be used to conceal government overreaching.

The nature of Section 2709(c)'s prior-restraint regime is illustrated by the government's conduct leading to this litigation. When several large providers sought to be more transparent with their users in describing government requests for data, they had to engage in extensive negotiations with the government *before* they could speak; ultimately, the government directed them to disclose only the information permitted by the DAG Letter. When Twitter sought to provide additional information, the government decreed that the information in Twitter's draft transparency report "cannot be publicly released"—again, *before* Twitter could speak. A regime in which parties who wish to speak about government surveillance requests must first obtain the government's permission, or file a complaint challenging the government's conduct, cannot plausibly be described as anything other than a regime of prior restraint.

"Any system of prior restraints of expression," the Supreme Court has held, is subject to "a heavy presumption against its constitutional validity." *Bantam Books, Inc.* v. *Sullivan*, 372 U.S. 58, 70 (1963); *see New York Times Co.* v. *United States*, 403 U.S. 713, 730 (1971) (Stewart, J., concurring); *Near* v. *Minnesota ex rel. Olson*, 283 U.S. 697, 716 (1931). The government makes no effort to show that the statute could survive the substantive scrutiny accompanying prior restraints, and it cannot.

b. Even if the statute is not viewed as a prior-restraint regime, it at least imposes a content-based restriction on speech and is therefore subject to strict scrutiny, which it cannot survive. Section 2709(c)(1) prohibits the recipient of an NSL from disclosing "that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained access to information or records." Determining whether speech by the recipient falls within the statute's prohibition requires examining the content of that speech. If the speech is about the fact "that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained access to information or records," it is unlawful; if it is about something else, it is not. In other words, the applicability of the prohibition turns on the content of the speech. *In re Nat'l Sec.* 

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Letter, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1071. Because "it is the content of the speech that determines whether it is" prohibited, the statute is content-based. Carey v. Brown, 447 U.S. 455, 462 (1980).

As a content-based restriction on speech, Section 2709 is invalid unless the government "can demonstrate that it passes strict scrutiny—that is, unless it is justified by a compelling government interest and is narrowly drawn to serve that interest." Brown v. Entm't Merchants Ass'n, 131 S. Ct. 2729, 2738 (2011). The narrow-tailoring component of the test requires the government to show that there are no "less restrictive alternatives [that] would be at least as effective in achieving the legitimate purpose that the statute was enacted to serve." Reno v. *ACLU*, 521 U.S. 844, 874 (1997).

There is no doubt that the government has a compelling interest in protecting national security. Haig v. Agee, 453 U.S. 280, 307 (1981). Nor is there any dispute, as the government points out (PMTD 21), that the government's predictive judgments about potential harms to national security are entitled to some measure of deference. Section 2709(c), however, is not narrowly tailored to promote the government's interest in national security. Moreover, because NSLs are not ordinarily classified, the statute is not narrowly tailored to any interest the government may have in preventing the dissemination of classified information to unauthorized persons. The statute permits the FBI Director to prohibit disclosure whenever he finds that "there may result a danger to the national security of the United States, interference with a criminal, counterterrorism, or counterintelligence investigation, interference with diplomatic relations, or danger to the life or physical safety of any person." 18 U.S.C. 2709(c)(1). That language falls short of narrow tailoring in two respects.

First, the statute is satisfied whenever the FBI Director says that the specified harms "may" occur. That imposes hardly any limit at all, as the word "may" requires only a mere possibility. See Black's Law Dictionary 1068 (9th ed. 2009) (defining "may" as "[t]o be a possibility"). Narrow tailoring requires more. See Frisby v. Schultz, 487 U.S. 474, 485 (1988) (narrow tailoring is satisfied "only if each activity within the proscription's scope is an appropriately targeted evil"); NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 438 (1963) ("Broad prophylactic rules in the area of free expression are suspect."); accord In re Nat'l Sec. Letter, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1077-78.

Second, the enumerated harms in the statute cover far more than harm to national security. For example, "interference with a criminal . . . investigation" could refer to even minor interference with an investigation of a misdemeanor offense having nothing to do with national security. Similarly, as the Second Circuit observed in *Doe, Inc.* v. *Mukasey*, 549 F.3d 861, 874 (2d Cir. 2008), the "danger to the . . . physical safety of any person" clause "could extend the Government's power to impose secrecy to a broad range of information relevant to such matters as ordinary tortious conduct."

c. The government relies heavily (PMTD 21-24) on the Second Circuit's decision in *Doe*, but its reliance is misplaced. Having correctly identified the constitutional problems posed by Section 2709(c)'s broad language, the court in *Doe* mistakenly concluded that they could be avoided by reading the statute to require that there be "an adequate demonstration that a good reason exists reasonably to apprehend a risk of an enumerated harm," 549 F.3d at 882, and that the harm be "related to 'an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities," *id.* at 875 (quoting 18 U.S.C. § 2709(b)(1)). Although that reading mitigates the First Amendment problems to some degree, it cannot be reconciled with the statutory text. *See Miller* v. *French*, 530 U.S. 327, 341 (2000) ("We cannot press statutory construction to the point of disingenuous evasion even to avoid a constitutional question.") (internal quotation marks and citation omitted).

In any event, even assuming that the broad statutory language could be read in such a limited way, the Second Circuit's standard, which appears to be akin to the reasonable-suspicion standard of the Fourth Amendment, is not sufficient when strict scrutiny is applicable. To be sure, a prohibition on speech might satisfy strict scrutiny if there were "a good reason . . . reasonably to apprehend a risk" of a very serious harm from the speech. But even as rewritten by the Second Circuit, the statute does not require that the harm be serious—or even more than *de minimis*—only that it be somehow related to a terrorism investigation. That is, it permits speech to be suppressed upon a determination that there is a risk that it might lead to some kind of "interference with [an] investigation" that is in some way related to terrorism, no matter how

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minimal the interference may be. The statute is not narrowly tailored to promote the interest of national security.

d. The highly restrictive nature of Section 2709(c) provides additional reason to conclude that it cannot be the least restrictive means of achieving the government's asserted objective. See Reno, 521 U.S. at 874. The statute prohibits speech on matters of vital public concern: the government's exercise of coercive authority against recipients—or potential recipients—of NSLs. See Mills v. Alabama, 384 U.S. 214, 218 (1966) ("Whatever differences may exist about interpretations of the First Amendment, there is practically universal agreement that a major purpose of that Amendment was to protect the free discussion of governmental affairs.").

The public interest in the speech that Section 2709(c) prohibits is highlighted by the government's many disclosures about its use of NSLs. The government's use of its authority under the NSL statute is a matter of significant public debate, and the government has engaged in that debate by defending its use of the statute. See, e.g., Peter Baker & Charlie Savage, Obama Seeks Balance in Plan for Spy Programs, N.Y. Times, Jan. 9, 2014 (FBI Director James Comey described the NSL statute as "a very important tool that is essential to the work we do"). Some NSL recipients may agree that the government has used the statute appropriately; others may not. Some, like Twitter, while not seeking to disclose individual NSLs they received, have a strong commitment to transparency and want their users to know in the aggregate how many such demands they receive and the number of accounts affected. Together with the DAG Letter, which allows providers to engage only in speech approved by the government, the nondisclosure provisions impermissibly suppress the speech of those who might be best positioned to offer an informed perspective on the government's position. The First Amendment does not permit the government to engage in viewpoint discrimination by silencing key participants in a debate about the government's activities. R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul, Minn., 505 U.S. 377 (1992).

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### Case4:14-cv-04480-YGR Document34 Filed02/06/15 Page27 of 27 1 CONCLUSION 2 The partial motion to dismiss should be denied. 3 DATED: February 6, 2015 Respectfully submitted, 4 PERKINS COIE LLP 5 6 By: /s/ James G. Snell Eric D. Miller, Bar No. 218416 7 EMiller@perkinscoie.com Michael A. Sussmann, D.C. Bar No. 8 433100 (Admitted *pro hac vice*) 9 MSussmann@perkinscoie.com James Snell, Bar No. 173070 10 JSnell@perkinscoie.com Hayley L. Berlin, D.C. Bar No. 1011549 11 (Admitted *pro hac vice*) HBerlin@perkinscoie.com 12 Attorneys for Plaintiff 13 Twitter, Inc. 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

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14	14 SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION	SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION		
15	15 TWITTER, INC., Case No. 14-cv-04480-Y	/GR		
16	Plaintiff, [PROPOSED] ORDER	DENVINC		
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18	ERIC H. HOLDER, JR., Attorney General of the United States, <i>et al.</i> ,			
19	Defendants.			
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21		The Court, having considered the defendants' Partial Motion to Dismiss, the plaintiff's		
22	opposition, any reply, and any other filing in support or opposition of the	Partial Motion to		
23	Dismiss, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED that the defendants' Partial Motion	to Dismiss is DENIED		
24	in its entirety.			
25	25 IT IS SO ORDERED.			
26	26 DATED:			
27 28	27 HON. YVONNE GONZ UNITED STATES DIS			
20				

## Case4:14-cv-04480-YGR Document37 Filed02/17/15 Page1 of 2

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8	11822 011 01 1112 11120					
9	IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT					
10	FOR THE NORTHERN DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA					
11	SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION					
12	TWITTER, INC.,	CASE NO. 14-cv-04480-YGR				
13						
14	Plaintiff,	REQUEST OF THE REPORTERS COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF THE				
15	V.	PRESS FOR LEAVE TO FILE BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE IN SUPPORT OF				
16	ERIC H. HOLDER, JR., Attorney General of the United States, et al.,	PLAINTIFF'S OPPOSITION TO DEFENDANT'S PARTIAL MOTION TO				
17	Defendants.	DISMISS AND BRIEF AMICUS CURIAE				
18	Defendants.	Date: March 31, 2015				
19		Time: 2:00 p.m. Courtroom 1, Fourth Floor				
20		Hon. Yvonne Gonzales Rogers				
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	Twitter Inc. v. Holder et al. Case No. 14 ev 04480 VCP					

Twitter, Inc. v. Holder, et al., Case No. 14-cv-04480-YGR Request for Leave to File Brief Amicus Curiae

Dated: February 17, 2015

#### REQUEST FOR LEAVE TO FILE AMICUS CURIAE BRIEF

The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press ("Reporters Committee") hereby requests permission to file the attached *amicus curiae* brief in support of Twitter, Inc.'s ("Twitter") Opposition to Defendants' Partial Motion to Dismiss this action. The brief of the Reporters Committee will assist the Court in resolving a key issue raised by Defendants (hereinafter the "Government"): whether this Court should decline to exercise its jurisdiction over Twitter's claims.

The Reporters Committee is a voluntary, unincorporated association of reporters and editors dedicated to safeguarding the First Amendment rights and freedom of information interests of the news media and the public. The Reporters Committee has provided assistance, guidance, and research in First Amendment and freedom of information litigation since 1970. The Reporters Committee writes separately to highlight the practical consequences for the public's First Amendment and common law rights of access to court proceedings and documents should this Court decline to exercise its jurisdiction in this case. This issue, which is not fully addressed in the parties' briefs, is of critical importance to the press and the public, and will inform this Court's decision on the Government's Motion. Accordingly, the Reporters Committee respectfully requests leave to file the attached *amicus* brief. The Reporters Committee has informed the parties of its intent to submit the attached *amicus* brief. Twitter has consented to its filing. The Government takes no position on the Reporters Committee's request for leave to file the attached *amicus* brief.

Respectfully submitted,

/s/ Katie Townsend
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#### INTRODUCTION

The complaint filed by Twitter, Inc. ("Twitter") does not seek to challenge a specific order issued under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act ("FISA") or a specific National Security Letter ("NSL"). Rather, Twitter contests governmental restrictions on its ability to disclose the *number* of such orders or NSLs that it receives—even if that number is zero. Defendants (hereinafter, the "Government") have moved to dismiss in part for lack of subject matter jurisdiction and argue that Twitter's constitutional challenge to FISA nondisclosure obligations should be heard before the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court ("FISC"). Defs.' Partial Mot. to Dismiss at 13.

The Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press ("Reporters Committee") agrees with the arguments asserted by Twitter in opposition to the Government's motion. The Reporters Committee writes separately to highlight the adverse practical impact that an order consigning Twitter's claim for declaratory relief to the FISC will have on the press and the public and to emphasize the importance of ensuring that this case and others like it, which present issues of great public interest and concern, are argued and decided in open judicial proceedings.

The public's constitutional and common law rights of access to court proceedings and documents serve as the foundation for public acceptance of the legitimacy and credibility of judicial institutions. While these rights have long been recognized as belonging to the public at large, the news media often necessarily acts as a proxy for the general public, playing an "indispensable representative role in gathering and disseminating to the public current information on trials."

Valley Broad. Co. v. United States Dist. Court, 798 F.2d 1289, 1292 (9th Cir. 1986); see also Richmond Newspapers, Inc. v. Virginia, 448 U.S. 555, 573 (1980) (stating that news media "enjoy the same right of access as the general public"). The Government's contention that this Court ought to decline to exercise its jurisdiction over Twitter's declaratory judgment cause of action should be rejected, not only because exercising jurisdiction over this case is proper, but also because requiring

Twitter's claims to be adjudicated by the FISC would undercut the public's rights of access to court proceedings and documents.

Instead of recognizing the presumptive right of access to court proceedings and documents under the First Amendment and the common law, the FISC has forced individual members of the press and the public seeking access to its documents and proceedings to show that they have a different, and greater, interest in access than the public at large in order to even have standing to pursue a claim. *See*, *e.g.*, Op. and Order Granting Mot. for Reconsideration, *In re Orders of This Court Interpreting Section 215 of the PATRIOT Act* ("*In re Section 215 Orders*"), Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. Aug. 7, 2014), *available at* http://perma.cc/X4U5-PUCC. The Government is well aware of the FISC's refusal to recognize the full thrust of the public's presumptive right of access, because the Government has previously argued—in closed proceedings—that the public has no such right with respect to FISC documents. *See* discussion *infra* at II.A. The public's constitutional right of access to proceedings and documents in this case—which is of substantial public interest and, indeed, implicates the public's First Amendment right to receive information from a willing speaker—would be unacceptably harmed if only the FISC, which operates largely behind closed doors and without public scrutiny, could hear Twitter's claims.

#### INTEREST OF AMICUS CURIAE<sup>1</sup>

The Reporters Committee is a voluntary, unincorporated association of reporters and editors dedicated to safeguarding the First Amendment rights and freedom of information interests of the news media and the public. The Reporters Committee has provided assistance, guidance, and research in First Amendment and freedom of information litigation since 1970. The Reporters Committee frequently represents the interests of the press and the public before Article III courts by pressing for access and by educating the public about how the judicial system operates. The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> No counsel for a party authored this brief in whole or in part, nor did any person or entity, other than *amicus* or its counsel, make a monetary contribution to the preparation or submission of this brief.

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Reporters Committee is concerned that, should this Court decline to exercise jurisdiction to hear this case, it would unacceptably restrict the ability of the press and the public to access court proceedings and court documents in this case.

#### **ARGUMENT**

I. The press and the public have a First Amendment and common law right to access court proceedings and documents.

It is well established that civil court proceedings are presumptively open to the public and the press. Indeed, as the Supreme Court has stated, "[w]hat transpires in the courtroom is public property." Craig v. Harney, 331 U.S. 367, 374 (1947). This presumption of access is grounded in both tradition and necessity. "[H]istorically both civil and criminal trials have been presumptively open." Richmond Newspapers, Inc., 448 U.S. at 580 n.17. And such openness serves important values. See, e.g., Press-Enterprise Co. v. Superior Court of Cal., Riverside County ("Press-Enterprise I"), 464 U.S. 501, 508 (1984) (noting that access "gives assurance that established procedures are being followed and that deviations will become known"). As a result, courts considering access claims founded on the First Amendment must also consider "whether public access plays a significant positive role in the functioning of the particular process in question." Press-Enterprise Co. v. Superior Court of Cal., Riverside County ("Press-Enterprise II"), 478 U.S. 1, 8 (1986). The Ninth Circuit recognizes that the public's right of access to civil proceedings and documents is of constitutional dimension. See Courthouse News Serv. v. Planet, 750 F.3d 776, 787 (9th Cir. 2014). (finding that plaintiff's right of access claim to documents filed in civil cases implicates "fundamental First Amendment interests").

"Because courtroom space is inherently limited, and because the public is dispersed, the media plays an indispensable representative role in gathering and disseminating to the public current information on trials." *Valley Broad. Co.*, 798 F.2d at 1292; *see also Richmond*Newspapers, Inc., 448 U.S. at 573 (stating that "while media representatives enjoy the same right of

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access as the public," they often function as "surrogates" for public participation). Despite this special role, "[t]he First Amendment generally grants the press no right to information about a trial superior to that of the general public." Nixon v. Warner Communications, Inc., 435 U.S. 589, 610 (1978) (emphasis added). Thus, although the news media often leads the fight for public access to court proceedings and records, the right of access inheres in the public at large, and the interests at stake can be vindicated by any member of the public.

Unsurprisingly, the leading Supreme Court authorities addressing the public's right of access to judicial proceedings and documents—Nixon v. Warner Communications, Inc., 435 U.S. 589 (1978), Gannett Co., Inc. v. DePasquale, 443 U.S. 368 (1979), Richmond Newspapers, 448 U.S. 555, Press-Enterprise I, 464 U.S. 501 (1984, and Press-Enterprise II, 478 U.S. 1 (1986)—do not limit that right to a certain type of claimant, but rather ground it in the historical importance of open courts and the necessity of public scrutiny of the legal system. See Globe Newspaper Co. v. Superior Court, 457 U.S. 596, 606 (1982) ("Public scrutiny of a criminal trial enhances the quality and safeguards the integrity of the factfinding process.").

Courts in the Ninth Circuit "start with a strong presumption in favor of access to court records" and proceedings. Foltz v. State Farm Mut. Auto. Ins. Co., 331 F.3d 1122, 1135 (9th Cir. 2003); see also Leigh v. Salazar, 677 F.3d 892, 900–901 (9th Cir. 2012) (remanding to district court to analyze whether the First Amendment right of access applies to "horse gathers"). Although this strong presumption may be overcome given "sufficiently compelling reasons," a court is required to take into account, among other things, "the public interest in understanding the judicial process" when resolving an access claim. *Id.* The importance of considering the public interest in a judicial record or document is rooted in the vital role that transparency and public oversight plays in keeping government accountable. Thus, when CBS, Inc. sought access to judicial records in a postconviction criminal proceeding, the Ninth Circuit found that access was constitutionally required, in

part, because "[t]he penal structure is the least visible, least understood, least effective part of the justice system; and each such failure is consequent from the others." *CBS, Inc. v. United States Dist. Court*, 765 F.2d 823, 826 (9th Cir. 1985).

Open court proceedings date back "beyond reliable historical records." *Richmond Newspapers, Inc.*, 448 U.S. at 564. In *Richmond Newspapers*, the Supreme Court examined at length the history of open trials and the importance of such openness to the public. As the Court concluded, "People in an open society do not demand infallibility from their institutions, but it is difficult for them to accept what they are prohibited from observing." *Id.* at 572. Rather than being based on some specialized interest belonging to the claimant before it—a newspaper company—the Court in *Richmond Newspapers* grounded the First Amendment right of access to criminal proceedings in the importance of public oversight as a larger democratic value and a check on government power. Openness, the Court stated, gives "assurance that the proceedings were conducted fairly to all concerned, and it discouraged perjury, the misconduct of participants, and decisions based on secret bias or partiality." *Id.* at 569 (citations omitted).

Similarly, *Nixon v. Warner Communications*, the seminal Supreme Court case recognizing a common law right of public access to court documents, makes clear that the right of access is not conditional "on a proprietary interest in the document or upon a need for it as evidence in a lawsuit." *Nixon*, 435 U.S. at 598 (citations and footnotes omitted). At issue in *Nixon* was access to audio tapes of President Nixon used during a trial of Watergate conspirators. Although Warner Communications, the entity seeking access to the tapes, was a media organization, *Nixon*'s recognition that a "citizen's desire to keep a watchful eye on the workings of public agencies" underlies the right of access makes clear that the right does not belong to the press alone, but rather to all citizens. *Id*.

## II. In both its approach to standing and its substantive rulings on access, the FISC has failed to follow the requirements of the First Amendment and common law.

Against the backdrop of this long-recognized right of the public to observe the civil and criminal cases that come before its courts, the Government's argument that this Court should decline to exercise jurisdiction over Twitter's First Amendment claims is particularly concerning because the FISC, unlike this Court, is largely shielded from public view. As set forth below, FISC hearings are not open to the public, and the FISC generally moves slowly to release documents, if indeed they are released at all.<sup>2</sup>

As Twitter and the other *amici* demonstrate, Twitter's desire to disseminate the documents and core information at issue in this case—namely, the number of national security requests Twitter receives—is a matter of intense public interest. Twitter's most recent Transparency Report, which it was forced to release in redacted form and is at the center of this litigation, has garnered extensive news coverage. *See, e.g., Twitter sees surge in government requests for data*, BBC.com (Feb. 10, 2015), www.bbc.com/news/technology-31358194; Mike Isaac, *Twitter Reports a Surge in Government Data Requests*, N.Y. Times Bits Blog (Feb. 9, 2015, 10:00 AM), http://nyti.ms/1IDbXVe. The fact that a company has *not* received national security requests is also of public interest. A few weeks ago, Reddit, an internet company, issued its first transparency report, stating that it had never received a national security request; that fact also captured public attention and attracted news coverage. *See* Mike Isaac, *Reddit Issues First Transparency Report*, N.Y. Times Bits Blog (Jan. 29, 2015, 1:00 P.M.), http://nyti.ms/1CQ2Yeu. While Twitter's First Amendment right to disseminate this information is violated by the restraints at issue in this case, the First Amendment rights of the press and the public to "receive information and ideas" are also

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Moreover, since Twitter is challenging the Government's position that it may not disclose the number of FISA orders it has issued, *even if that number is zero*, it is perverse for the Government to try to to force Twitter to litigate— in the secrecy of the FISC— a secrecy obligation that arises in the *absence* of a FISA order. *See* Pl.'s Opp. to Def.'s Partial Mot. to Dismiss at 9–10.

implicated when Twitter is barred from disclosing this information. *Kleindienst v. Mandel*, 408 U.S. 753, 762–63 (1972) (summarizing cases in which the Supreme Court had referred to a listener's First Amendment right to "receive information").

## A. The Government has repeatedly urged the FISC not to recognize the presumption of public access to proceedings and documents.

While the issues raised by Twitter in this case and the information it wishes to disclose are of substantial public concern, FISC proceedings and documents remain, as a practical matter, shrouded in secrecy. For example, when recipients of FISA directives dispute the constitutionality of those directives or any secrecy obligations derived therefrom, the public and the press are barred from attending those proceedings, and are often unaware that any dispute is taking place at all because FISA requires FISC proceedings to occur *ex parte*. *See, e.g.*, 50 U.S.C. §§ 1805(a), 1824(a), 1842(d)(1) & 1861(c)(1) (providing for *ex parte* proceedings).

In November 2007, Yahoo! made a request to the FISC to declare unconstitutional directives issued to it under the Protect America Act of 2007, the predecessor to the FISA Amendments Act of 2008. Yahoo! Inc.'s Mem. In Opp. to Mot. to Compel, *In re Directives to Yahoo! Inc. Pursuant to Section 105B of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act* ("In re Directives"), No. 105B(g) 07-01 (FISA Ct., Nov. 30, 2007), *available at* http://bit.ly/1CiJw8J. The directives compelled Yahoo! to provide the government with the contents of communications of persons reasonably believed to be outside the United States. *Id.* at 4. Yahoo! challenged the constitutionality of the directives under the Fourth Amendment. *Id.* The FISC denied Yahoo!'s request to set aside the directives, and granted the government's motion to compel compliance. Mem. Op., *In re Directives*, No. 105B(g) 07-01 (FISA Ct., Apr. 25, 2008). Yahoo! then appealed to the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review ("FISCR"). Br. of Yahoo!, *Yahoo!* v. *United States*, No. 08-01, at 2–3 (FISA Ct. Rev. May 29, 2008), *available at* http://bit.ly/1AhmZKj. In August 2008, the FISCR denied Yahoo!'s appeal and found that the directives satisfied the Fourth Amendment. *In re Directives*,

551 F.3d 1004 (FISA Ct. Rev. 2008), *available at* http://bit.ly/1DfANW8. A redacted copy of that appellate decision, which omitted Yahoo!'s name, was published later that year.

At the time, the Government strongly opposed the exercise of the right of public access to FISC proceedings and filings. In 2007, according to a published FISC opinion, when the ACLU filed a motion seeking release of documents related to electronic surveillance, the government argued, in its sealed filing, that "there is no right of public access to these records." *In re Mot. for Release of Court Records*, 526 F. Supp. 484, 485–86 (FISA Ct. 2007) (citing the government's response to the ACLU's motion). Indeed, the Government continued to take that position in later litigation as well. In June 2013, the ACLU, this time along with the Media Freedom and Information Access Clinic at Yale Law School (MFIAC), again sought access to FISC decisions. Mot. for Release of Court Records, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. June 12, 2013). In its opposition to the motion, the Government argued that while it intended to unilaterally declassify documents, that intention "does not suggest that this Court should recognize a broadbased constitutional right" of public access to FISC decisions. Opp. to Mot. for Release of Court Records at 12, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. July 5, 2013).

Also in June 2013, nearly five years after the FISCR issued its decision in its case, Yahoo! filed an unclassified motion for publication of the 2007 FISC decision finding that the directives did not violate the Fourth Amendment. Provider's Unclassified Mot., *In re Directives*, No. 105B(g) 07-01 (June 14, 2013), *available at* http://1.usa.gov/1DYhSO3. In response to that motion, the Government took a different tack than it did in the second ACLU case. Citing the "strong presumption in favor of public access to judicial proceedings," the Government agreed that the decision should be published and that Yahoo!'s name was no longer classified "and may be released immediately." Reply in Supp. of Yahoo!'s Mot., *In re Directives*, No. 105B(g) 07-01 (July 9, 2013), *available at* http://1.usa.gov/1vhlFkC. To be clear, just four days after the Government

opposed the mere recognition of the right of access in *In re Section 215 Orders*, it argued in favor of a "strong presumption" in *In re Directives*. The Government then undertook a lengthy declassification review of the docket in the Yahoo! case. The public became aware of Yahoo!'s efforts only in 2014. *See Yahoo v. U.S. PRISM Documents*, Center for Democracy and Technology (Sept. 12, 2014), http://bit.ly/1r0KtyB (providing documents from Yahoo!'s 2008 FISC litigation).

The Yahoo! litigation illustrates the ways that the public would suffer if Twitter were permitted to pursue its First Amendment claims only before the FISC. The Government's willingness to take wholly inconsistent positions on the very *existence* of a presumptive right of access to FISC proceedings and documents suggests that, in any case where the Government perceives public scrutiny to be undesirable, it will view the FISC as a more attractive venue and give public access rights the back of its hand. *Compare* Reply in Supp. of Yahoo!'s Mot., *In re Directives*, No. 105B(g) 07-01 (July 9, 2013), *available at* http://l.usa.gov/lvhlFkC (citing a "strong presumption in favor of public access") *with* Opp. to Mot. for Release of Court Records at 12, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. July 5, 2013) ("[T]his Court should conclude that there is no First Amendment right of access to the requested materials.").

Indeed, while the FISC has a track record of maintaining complete secrecy during the pendency of actions, as well as for years afterward, the efficacy of the public right of access as a check on government depends in large part on it being a *contemporaneous* right,. *See In re Oliver*, 333 U.S. 257, 270 (1948) ("The knowledge that every criminal trial is subject to *contemporaneous* review in the forum of public opinion is an effective restraint on possible abuse of judicial power.") (emphasis added); *see also Associated Press v. United States Dist. Ct.*, 705 F.2d 1143, 1147 (9th Cir. 1983) (holding that even a 48-hour delay in unsealing judicial records is a "total restraint on the public's first amendment right of access"). Particularly in light of the Government's fickle and opportunistic treatment of the right of access when it comes to the FISC, the Government's

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argument that only the FISC should hear Twitter's claims warrants close scrutiny from this Court. The practical secrecy surrounding the FISC could effectively deny the press and public access to information about this case.

#### B. The FISC requires individuals to meet an unduly high threshold to establish standing to assert a First Amendment right of access.

If history is any guide, the litigation of constitutional rights in the FISC is no more open to public access and participation than any of the other matters litigated before the FISC. Despite the Government's eventual pivot in the Yahoo! litigation toward a broad presumption in favor of public access, the FISC has embraced a shrunken standard for public claims of access that strays widely from the high standard Article III courts apply to comport with the requirements of the First Amendment.

The FISC requires claimants to establish that they have standing to make an access claim by showing that they have "suffered an injury that is concrete, particularized, and actual or imminent; fairly traceable to the challenged action; and redressable by a favorable ruling." Op. and Order Granting Mot. for Reconsideration 2, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. Aug. 7, 2014), available at http://perma.cc/X4U5-PUCC. Yet, the Supreme Court does not demand a showing of a particularized injury before determining a claim based on a public right of access, and for good reason: the right belongs to the public, and any harm is suffered by the public as well as the individual asserting the access right. As a result, the mere fact of exclusion is enough to establish standing to assert a right of access. See, e.g., Sacramento Bee v. United States Dist. Ct., 656 F.2d 477, 480 (9th Cir. 1981), cert. denied, 456 U.S. 983 (1982) (finding that newspaper "has standing because it was excluded from a criminal trial and was inhibited from reporting news"). Nevertheless, the FISC has adopted a narrower standard, impeding public access as a result.

In 2013, the FISC sua sponte applied this narrower standard in In re Section 215 Orders to find that the MFIAC lacked standing to pursue its access claim for release of selected opinions of

the FISC. The FISC found that "MFIAC has submitted no information as to how the release of the opinions would aid its activities, or how the failure to release them would be detrimental." Op. and Order 9 n.13, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. Sept. 13, 2013), *available at* http://1.usa.gov/1mjrwX3. MFIAC petitioned for reconsideration, which the FISC granted, though it did not alter the applicable test. Op. and Order Granting Mot. for Reconsideration, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. Aug. 7, 2014).

On reconsideration, the FISC concluded that "the principles of Article III standing require examination of whether a lack of public access to the opinion in question will actually have a particular negative effect on MFIAC's ongoing or planned activities, or whether in some other way it had suffered (or imminently stood to suffer) a concrete and particularized injury in fact, beyond a simple lack of access to the opinion." Op. and Order Granting Mot. for Reconsideration, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 (FISA Ct. Aug. 7, 2014). While the FISC ultimately decided to "exercise its discretion" to accept additional evidence proffered by MFIAC attesting to its activities and the harm it suffered through lack of access to the records in question, and granted standing to MFIAC, this inquiry is a radical departure from the standing requirements in access cases.

The FISC's determination that standing to assert a right of access to court proceedings and documents depends on an individual, particularized injury that is distinct from the injury suffered by the public more generally runs counter to the basic premise of the public access doctrine: that the right of access inheres in the public at large. Because the right belongs to any and all members of the public, requiring an individual to show an injury traceable to the harm of withholding access that is distinct or different from the injury to the general public makes it difficult, if not impossible, to establish standing. Yet the FISC has found the fact that "all members of the American public can say that they are being denied access to the opinion at issue and assert the same claimed right of

public access that MFIAC has" a stumbling block to finding that MFIAC had standing to assert the right of public access to filings in the FISC. *Id.* at 7.

This reluctance to grant standing to citizens asserting a right of public access contravenes basic First Amendment principles, which dictate that the denial of information at the heart of democratic process is a sufficient harm to establish standing. See Broadrick v. Oklahoma, 413 U.S. 601, 611–12 (1973) (explaining that because the First Amendment requires "breathing space," standing rules are relaxed in constitutional challenges of state action, and litigants can sue for violations of others' rights). There is no question that denial or delay of the right of access is a "cognizable injury" for the press as well as the public. *Planet*, 750 F.3d at 776. This initial harm also results in additional First Amendment injuries to the public, which cannot discuss documents or proceedings "about which it has no information." *Id. Broadrick* and *Planet* show that because access to court information is a public right, anyone who wants access has standing to pursue it. Requiring groups to show that access would be of "concrete, particular assistance to them in their own activities," as the FISC does, would be akin to requiring an individual who is barred from the courtroom to prove that his past actions show that he has a specific stake in attending a hearing. Op. and Order Granting Mot. for Reconsideration, *In re Section 215 Orders*, Misc. 13-02 at 7–8. The FISC's requirement that individuals assert rights of access that are different and greater than those of the general public in order to establish standing directly undercuts the *Broadrick* holding that First Amendment litigants may sue for violations of others' rights as well as their own.

Even if the FISC recognizes that a claimant, like MFIAC, has standing, the FISC does not embrace the "strong presumption in favor of access" that the Ninth Circuit and the Supreme Court have recognized. *Id.* at 11; *see also Richmond Newspapers, Inc.*, 448 U.S. at 580 n.17 (finding that civil and criminal trials have long been "presumptively open"). The Constitution requires that this presumption "may be overcome only by an overriding interest based on findings that closure is

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essential to preserve higher values and is narrowly tailored to serve that interest." Press-Enterprise 1 2 II, 478 U.S at 9. 3 The FISC's unconstitutionally restrictive approach to public access makes it all the more 4 important that this Court not decline to exercise its jurisdiction over this case. Requiring Twitter to 5 bring its First Amendment claims before the FISC could severely hamper and delay public access to 6 the proceedings and documents in this case, causing the public's First Amendment rights to suffer, 7 not only during the pendency of this litigation, but perhaps for years to come. 8 9 **CONCLUSION** 10 For the reasons stated above, this Court should deny the Government's partial motion to 11 dismiss and exercise jurisdiction over Twitter's claims. 12 13 Dated: February 17, 2015 Respectfully submitted, 14 /s/ Katie Townsend 15 Katie Townsend Counsel of Record 16 Bruce Brown Hannah Bloch-Wehba 17 THE REPORTERS COMMITTEE FOR FREEDOM OF THE PRESS 18 1156 15th St. NW, Suite 1250 Washington, D.C. 20005 19 Telephone: 202-795-9300 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28

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### Case4:14-cv-04480-YGR Document42-1 Filed02/17/15 Page5 of 19 **FEDERAL RULES CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS OTHER AUTHORITIES** Oxford Dictionary Online, Oxford University Press \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_12

#### STATEMENT OF INTEREST AND INTRODUCTION

Amici <sup>1</sup> Corporations 1 & 2 bring unique insight to the issues before this court and seek to
correct several misstatements made by the government regarding other pending challenges to the
National Security Letter (NSL) scheme. Amici are two recipients of NSLs who brought
constitutional challenges to the National Security Letter statute, 18 U.S.C. §§ 2709, 3511. These
challenges have been consolidated into a single appeal and are currently under submission to the
Ninth Circuit. See Under Seal v. Holder, Nos. 13-15957, 13-16731, 13-16732 (9th Cir. argued
Oct. 8, 2014).

The first *amicus*, "a provider of long distance and mobile phone services." filed a challenge to an NSL it received from the FBI in 2011. In 2013, the district court granted amicus 1's petition to set aside the NSL, holding that the statute violated the First Amendment on its face. In re NSL, 930 F. Supp. 2d 1064, 1081 (N.D. Cal. 2013). The district court stayed its order "for the Ninth Circuit to consider the weighty questions of national security and First Amendment rights presented in this case." Id. at 1067.

The second *amicus*, an Internet company, <sup>3</sup> filed a petition in 2013 to set aside two NSLs that it received from the FBI and the nondisclosure requirements imposed in connection therewith.<sup>4</sup> The district court then issued a stay of its ruling pending the *In re NSL* appeal and denied further petitions, including Nos. 13-16731 and 13-16732, in order to preserve the status quo. *In re Matter* 

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The parties have stipulated to allow *amici* to proceed under the pseudonym "Corporations 1 & 2" See Stipulation accompanying this filing.

<sup>21</sup> <sup>2</sup> Second [Redacted] Brief at 5, Under Seal v. Holder, Nos. 13-5957, 13-16731 (9th Cir. Feb. 28, 22

<sup>2014),</sup> available at http://cdn.ca9.uscourts.gov/datastore/general/2014/03/20/NSL.13-15957.13-16731.SecondofFourBriefs.REDACTED.032014.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See Exs. A and B to Declaration in Support of Petition to Set Aside NSLs, In re Matter of NSLs, No. 13-1165 (N.D. Cal. Mar. 14, 2013), available at https://www.eff.org/files/2014/01/16/003 r 131165 declr iso petition.pdf (NSLs requesting "electronic communications transactional records" related to a list of "email/IP account holders"); Cross-Petition to Enforce NSL, In re Matter of NSLs, No. 13-1165 (N.D. Cal Mar. 26, 2013) ("petitioner offers electronic communication services to its clients").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See Pet. to Set Aside NSLs and Nondisclosure Requirements Imposed in Connection Therewith, In re Matter of NSLs, No. 13-01165 (N.D. Cal. Mar. 14, 2013), available at https://www.eff.org/files/2014/01/16/001 - r 131165 petition to set aside .pdf.

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1	of NSLs, Order Denying Petition to Set Aside and Granting Cross-Petition to Enforce,
2	No. 13cv1165-SI (N.D. Cal. August 12, 2013), appeal docketed, No. 13-16732 (9th Cir.); <i>In re</i>
3	Matter of NSLs, Order Denying Petition to Set Aside, Denying Motion to Stay, and Granting
4	Cross-Petition to Enforce, No. 13-mc-80089-SI (N.D. Cal. August 12, 2013), appeal docketed,
5	No. 13-16731 (9th Cir.).
6	Both amici support Twitter's desire to publish a transparency report that provides more
7	specific information about the number of NSLs Twitter has received. As they explained to the
8	Ninth Circuit, "transparency is a core concern for both [amici] and their customers," and it is
9	therefore "vital to [them] that government requests for data be disclosed to customers and
10	discussed in the public debate, and that in the rare situations where a gag may be appropriate,
11	courts play their necessary and discerning oversight role to ensure that First Amendment and other
12	rights are adequately protected." Appellant's [Redacted] Opening Br. at 6, Under Seal v. Holder,
13	No. 13-16732 (9th Cir. Feb. 28, 2014). <sup>5</sup>
14	This brief will aid the court in understanding amici's pending Ninth Circuit challenge to the
15	NSL statute's gag provision, a proceeding the government characterizes as likely controlling of
16	Twitter's claims. This brief corrects misstatements made by the government in this case regarding
17	amici's cases and the appeal, and will otherwise provide insight to the court regarding amici's
18	cases.
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26	<sup>5</sup> Available at http://cdn.ca9.uscourts.gov/datastore/general/2014/03/20/NSL.13-
27	16732.OpeningBrief.REDACTED.032014.pdf. <sup>6</sup> See Gov't Mot. to Dismiss at 20:18-19. Indeed, the government asks the Court to abstain from considering these claims until after the Ninth Circuit has ruled. <i>Id</i> .

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#### **ARGUMENT**

I. THE GOVERNMENT FAILS TO ADDRESS THE NSL STATUTE'S MOST SIGNIFICANT CONSTITUTIONAL DEFECT—ITS LACK OF THE PROCEDURAL REQUIREMENTS REQUIRED BY FREEDMAN v. MARYLAND.

A. <u>In Ruling on the Government's Motion to Dismiss, This Court Must</u> Consider That the NSL Scheme Is an Unconstitutional Prior Restraint.

In its motion, the government ignores the key issue at stake in Twitter's case: whether the NSL gag order scheme is an unconstitutional prior restraint or otherwise violates the First Amendment. This was also the primary issue in the Second Circuit's decision in *Doe v. Mukasey*, 549 F.3d 861 (2d Cir. 2008). In fact, every court that has considered the NSL statute has held that it must satisfy the procedural requirements for prior restraints in *Freedman v. Maryland*, 380 U.S. 51 (1965). *See, e.g., In re NSL*, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1071; *Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 871.

Thus, this court cannot rule upon the government's motion to dismiss without considering one of the statute's most significant constitutional defects.

This constitutional defect cannot be disregarded, as the government implicitly requests. Motions to dismiss under Federal Rule of Civil Procedure 12(b)(6) are challenges to claims, not theories. And Twitter's separation of powers argument is simply one theory for arguing that the NSL's gag provision is unconstitutional; it is not an independent claim for relief. *See Shroyer v. New Cingular Wireless Servs.*, 622 F.3d 1035, 1041 (9th Cir. 2010) (holding that "dismissal for failure to state a claim is 'proper only where there is no cognizable legal theory or an absence of sufficient facts alleged to support a cognizable legal theory") (citations omitted). The government thus cannot limit its motion to only seeking to dismiss Twitter's separation of powers theory regarding § 3511. *See* Mot. to Dismiss at 24:25-28 n.13. The government may not avoid discussion of the core legal arguments intertwined within Twitter's claim for declaratory relief as to both § 2709 and the § 3511 review process. As discussed in more detail below, the NSL gag order scheme encompasses both § 2709 and § 3511. Thus, the statute's failure to meet the First Amendment's procedural requirements for prior restraints is therefore fatal to both sections.

#### B. The NSL Gag Order Scheme Is an Unconstitutional Prior Restraint.

Section 2709 authorizes the government to prevent NSL recipients from disclosing that they have received an NSL or anything about their interaction with the government, and Section 3511 imposes rules upon any challenge to that authority. Because the statute prevents recipients from speaking in the first instance rather than imposing a penalty after they have spoken, the gags are prior restraints. *Alexander v. United States*, 509 U.S. 544, 550 (1993).

A prior restraint is "the most serious and the least tolerable infringement on First Amendment rights." *Nebraska Press Ass'n v. Stuart*, 427 U.S. 539, 559 (1976). The Supreme Court thus requires rigorous procedural protections in any statutory scheme authorizing prior restraints in order to "obviate the dangers of a censorship system": (1) any restraint imposed prior to judicial review must be limited to "a specified brief period"; (2) any restraint prior to a final judicial determination must be limited to "the shortest fixed period compatible with sound judicial resolution"; and (3) the burden of going to court to suppress speech and the burden of proof in court must be placed on the government. *Freedman*, 380 U.S. at 58-59; *see also FW/PBS, Inc. v. City of Dallas*, 493 U.S. 215, 227 (1990); *Thomas v. Chicago Park District*, 534 U.S. 316, 321 (2002).

Contrary to the government's suggestion that the statute can be "constitutionally applied," every court that has evaluated the NSL statute has faulted it for failing to include the *Freedman* procedures in the statutory scheme itself. *See Mukasey*. 549 F.3d at 877-81; *In re NSL*, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1073-74.

The statute fails to meet each of the *Freedman* requirements. Notably, each of the procedural safeguards mandated by *Freedman* emphasizes the necessity of judicial review. And judicial review is notably lacking from the NSL gag order scheme.

First, the NSL statute permits the imposition of a gag of indefinite duration, with no requirement in either § 2709 or § 3511 that the government ever seek court approval. This violates *Freedman*'s requirement that a potential speaker be "assured" by the statute that a censor "will, within a *specified brief period*, either issue a license or go to court to restrain" the speech at issue. *Freedman*, 380 U.S. at 59 (emphasis added); *see also In re NSL*, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1073.

Second, the NSL gag order scheme does not "assure a prompt final judicial decision." *Freedman*, 380 U.S. at 59. This second requirement reflects the Supreme Court's concern that "unduly onerous" procedural requirements that drive up the time, cost, and uncertainty of judicial review of speech licensing schemes will discourage the exercise of protected First Amendment rights. *Id.* at 58. The Supreme Court has not specified precisely how quickly a final judicial decision must be reached. But it did conclude that four months for initial judicial review and six months for appellate review—the delay in *Freedman*—was too long. *See* 380 U.S. at 55, 61.

Indeed, *amici*'s own experiences challenging NSLs demonstrate the total failure of the statute to ensure a prompt judicial opinion. In *amicus* 1's first case, No. 13-15957, the district court issued its opinion 15 months after a hearing, and the gag has remained in place pending the appeal—now nearly four years after the initial petition was filed. In *amici* 1 & 2's subsequent petitions, Nos. 13-16731 and 13-16732, the gags have been in place for nearly two years and counting.

Finally, the NSL statute violates the third *Freedman* prong—that "the burden of going to court to suppress speech and the burden of proof in court must be placed on the government"—by placing both of these burdens on the NSL recipient. *See Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 871 (citing *Freedman*, 380 U.S. at 58-59). Instead of requiring the government to go to court to seek permission to suppress speech, Section 2709(c) requires the recipient of an NSL to initiate judicial review by petitioning for an order modifying or setting aside the gag order. *See* 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(1) (allowing recipient of an NSL under § 2709 to petition a court "for an order modifying or setting aside a nondisclosure requirement imposed in connection with such a request"). And the NSL statute fails to place the burden of justifying the need for the gag order on the government when the matter is actually brought to court. As this Court held in *In re NSL*, these attempts to shift the burden to the NSL recipient violate the third *Freedman* prong. 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1077 ("[A]s written, the statute impermissibly attempts to circumscribe a court's ability to review the necessity of nondisclosure orders."). The Second Circuit agreed. *Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 883.

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That the statute allows for the recipient to initiate judicial review in some situations does not cure this defect. It is, in fact, part of the problem. Indeed, one of the Supreme Court's explicit goals behind imposing the third *Freedman* factor was to counteract the self-censorship that occurs when would-be speakers are unwilling or unable to initiate judicial review themselves. *See Freedman*, 380 U.S. at 59 ("Without these safeguards, it may prove too burdensome to seek review of the censor's determination.").

Indeed, the statute deprives that court of any meaningful authority to exercise its constitutional oversight duties. Instead, the court may only modify the nondisclosure requirement if it finds there is "no reason to believe that disclosure" may lead to a statutory harm. 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(2). And where senior FBI or DOJ officials certify the need for the gag order, the court has even less discretion: a court is not permitted to evaluate the facts, but instead is required to blindly accept the FBI's representations.<sup>7</sup>

In *amici*'s cases, the government contended that it cures the *Freedman* defects by following a "reciprocal notice" scheme suggested by the Second Circuit in *Mukasey* that allows recipients of an NSL to object to the government and then require the government to initiate judicial review. This procedure would still not meet *Freedman*'s requirements, because it would still not put the burden of initiating judicial review on the government. But even if it did, the Second Circuit suggested a legislative fix to, not a permissible application of, the statute. *See Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 883. The court was unequivocal that there was no possible construction of the NSL statute that could save the nondisclosure provision: "We deem it beyond the authority of a court to 'interpret' or 'revise' the NSL statutes to create the constitutionally required obligation of the Government to initiate judicial review of a nondisclosure requirement." *Id.* 

In any event, the government has not even attempted to follow all of the *Mukasey* suggestions. In particular, the Second Circuit suggested time limits for judicial decision making of "perhaps 60 days." *Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 879. The FBI does not request or require a final judicial

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Such certifications "shall be treated as conclusive unless the court finds that the certification was made in bad faith." 18 U.S.C. § 3511(b)(2). However, there is no procedure for factual review whereby the court could determine whether the certification was made in bad faith.

decision within any set period of time, let alone 60 days. As discussed above, the proceedings in those cases have taken years and are still without a final resolution.

Indeed, this is one of the areas where Twitter's separation of powers and prior restraints arguments intertwine. The prior restraint doctrine requires speedy judicial review. But the FBI cannot require judicial review to be concluded on any sort of timeline—any such requirement must come from Congress.

## II. ADDITIONALLY, THE NSL STATUTE IS A CONTENT-BASED RESTRICTION ON SPEECH THAT MUST, BUT CANNOT, SATISFY STRICT SCRUTINY.

Even if the NSL statute's gag order scheme is not a prior restraint subject to the *Freedman* requirements, it is nevertheless unconstitutional because as a content-based restriction on speech it must, but cannot, survive strict scrutiny.

Importantly, strict scrutiny applies to the entire scheme—both Section 2709 and Section 3511. As Twitter's complaint makes clear, the two sections are inextricably intertwined in the gag order scheme: Section 2709 imposes a content-based restriction on speech, while Section 3511 directs a court reviewing such a restriction to apply a standard of review that is inconsistent with strict scrutiny. Compl. ¶ 48.

Unlike it did in *Mukasey*, 8 the government does not concede that strict scrutiny applies to Sections 2709 and 3511. Gov't Mot. to Dismiss at 21:22.

But strict scrutiny is appropriate because the entire gag order scheme is a content-based restriction on speech. It targets a specific category of speech—speech regarding the NSL—that Twitter, like *amici*, wishes to engage in. The scheme singles out this speech for differential treatment precisely because it seeks to blunt the communicative impact of that speech. *See Texas v. Johnson*, 491 U.S. 397, 412 (1989). As *In re NSL* held, the gag orders apply "without distinction, to both the content of the NSLs and to the very fact of having received one." 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1075.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> In *Mukasey*, the government conceded "for purposes of the litigation . . . that strict scrutiny is the applicable standard." 549 F.3d at 861. The panel itself did not agree on whether strict scrutiny should apply. But it found that the deferential review mandated in § 3511 was unconstitutional under either strict scrutiny or a "less exacting standard." *Id.* at 882.

Under the strict scrutiny standard, content-based restrictions, like the gag order scheme, are "presumptively invalid." *R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul*, 505 U.S. 377, 382 (1992). To survive strict scrutiny, the government must show that a restriction on free speech is "narrowly tailored to promote a compelling Government interest." *United States v. Playboy Entertainment Group, Inc.*, 529 U.S. 803, 813 (2000). This narrow tailoring requires that the restriction on speech directly advance the governmental interest, that it be neither overinclusive nor underinclusive, and that there be no less speech- restrictive alternatives to advancing the governmental interest. *Id.*; *see also Reno v. ACLU*, 521 U.S. 844, 874 (1997).

Both *Mukasey* and *In re NSL* concluded that the gag provision did not survive strict scrutiny. *In re NSL*, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1071; *Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 878.

This Court must likewise find that the whole gag order scheme fails strict scrutiny. The government cannot show that the scheme is narrowly tailored to its goal of preventing targets from being alerted to the existence or progress of counterterrorism or counterespionage investigations. The scheme is both (1) overinclusive and (2) not the least speech-restrictive means of advancing the government's interest. There are obvious alternatives that would be equally effective in protecting the government's national security interests. For example, the gag order could be authorized only when the disclosure of the fact of the NSL would be reasonably likely to, as opposed to potentially, endanger national security. As the *In re NSL* court explained:

[T]he government has not shown that it is generally necessary to prohibit recipients from disclosing the mere fact of their receipt of NSLs. The statute does not distinguish—or allow the FBI to distinguish—between a prohibition on disclosing mere receipt of an NSL and disclosing the underlying contents. The statute contains a blanket prohibition: when the FBI provides the required certification, recipients cannot publicly disclose the receipt of an NSL.

Id. at 1076.

## III. UNDER EITHER STANDARD, SECTION 3511 DOES NOT PROVIDE THE LEVEL OF REVIEW REQUIRED BY THE FIRST AMENDMENT.

The NSL gag order scheme is unconstitutional under either standard set forth above because each standard requires that judicial review of the NSL gag orders must be "searching." *See In re NSL*, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1077. Rather than the required searching, independent review,

Sections 3511(b)(2) and (3) impose an extremely deferential standard of review, and in some cases no substantive review at all. The statute allows the court to dissolve the agency's gag order only if the court "finds that there is *no reason to believe* that disclosure may endanger the national security of the United States, interfere with a criminal, counterterrorism, or counterintelligence investigation, interfere with diplomatic relations, or endanger the life or physical safety of any person." 18 U.S.C. §§ 3511(b)(2), (3) (emphasis added). The statute further requires that if any one of a long list of government officials certifies that disclosure will harm national security or interfere with diplomatic relations, "such certification shall be treated as *conclusive* unless the court finds that the certification was made in bad faith." *Id.* (emphasis added). As the Second Circuit noted, "meaningful judicial review" would be required by the First Amendment even if strict scrutiny or "classic" prior restraint scrutiny did not apply. *Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 882. The cases cited by the government such as *Center for Nat. Security Studies v. DOJ*, 331 F.3d 918, 922 (D.C. Cir. 2003), which sanction more deferential standards of review in other contexts (such as FOIA litigation), have little bearing here.

As the Supreme Court has noted, "deference to a legislative finding cannot limit judicial inquiry when First Amendment rights are at stake." *Landmark Communications v. Virginia*, 435 U.S. 829, 843 (1978). By limiting the reviewing court, the NSL statute "impermissibly threatens the institutional integrity of the Judicial Branch" in violation of separation of powers. *Mistretta v. United States*, 488 U.S. 361, 383 (1989) (quoting *Commodity Futures Trading Com. v. Schor*, 478 U.S. 833, 851 (1986)).

The *In re NSL* court thus rightly concluded that the applicable provisions of Sections 3511(b)(2) and (3) fail to afford this searching review. 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1077-78.

The government misleadingly states that *In re Matter of NSLs* "subsequently found the statute to be lawfully applied[.]" Gov't Mot. to Dismiss at 22:25-27 n.11. But that decision came only after the Court decided that the statute was facially unconstitutional. The court explained that in denying subsequent petitions, it was proceeding with caution pending appeal—hardly a ringing endorsement of the application of the statute. *In re Matter of NSLs*, Order at 2, No. 13-civ-80089

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(N.D. Cal. Aug. 12, 2013) ("Whether the challenged nondisclosure provisions are, in fact, facially unconstitutional will be determined in due course by the Ninth Circuit.").

The government is further mistaken in its assertion that the In re NSL court reached its conclusion by "assuming that Congress had an unconstitutional intent in enacting the statute," thus ignoring the doctrine of constitutional avoidance. Gov't Mot. to Dismiss at 23:3-4, 23:7-13. However, far from simply assuming as much, the court began by looking at the text of the statute and concluded that "as written, the statute impermissibly attempts to circumscribe a court's ability to review the necessity of nondisclosure orders." 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1077. The court noted that the Second Circuit in *Mukasey* had imposed a statutory construction on this language that would require the government to show a "good reason" and "some reasonable likelihood" of harm, and it explained that "the language relied on by the Second Circuit is *not* in the statute and, in this Court's view, expressly contradicts the level of deference Congress imposed under Section 3511(b) and (c)." Id. at 1078.

The canon of constitutional avoidance applies only if there is a "reasonable interpretation" of the statutory language that imputes a valid constitutional intent to Congress. But the court found that no such reasonable interpretation was possible for § 3511. Id. at 1081; see also Gonzales v. Carhart, 550 U.S. 124, 153 (2007). In short, the "multiple inferences required [by the Second Circuit to save the provisions at issue are not only contrary to evidence of Congressional intent, but also contrary to the statutory language and structure of the statutory provisions actually enacted by Congress." Id. at 1080.

The government is also incorrect when it asserts that the *In re NSL* court treated *any* FBI certification as to the statutorily enumerated harms as conclusive in judicial proceedings absent bad faith. Gov't Mot. to Dismiss at 23:19-23 n.12. In fact, the In re NSL court's analysis of the "no reason to believe" standard of review—which it described as "essentially insurmountable"—was independent from its examination of the actually insurmountable "conclusive" certification by a specified FBI official. 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1077-78.

The government acknowledges, as it must, that both courts found the latter "conclusive" certification unconstitutional and that it must be struck down. Gov't Mot. to Dismiss at 23:19-23 n.12. Hence, the only daylight between the two courts' approaches to the judicial review provision in § 3511 was, as discussed above, whether the "no reason to believe" language was subject to a reasonable constitutional statutory interpretation. It is not.

# IV. SECTION 3511 OFFENDS BOTH SEPARATION OF POWERS AND FIRST AMENDMENT PRINCIPLES BY VESTING EXCESSIVE DISCRETION IN EXECUTIVE OFFICIALS, AND COMMANDING THAT REVIEWING COURTS DEFER TO THE EXECUTIVE DETERMINATIONS.

This dispute over the standard of review further highlights how the separation of powers and First Amendment arguments are inextricably intertwined legal theories and are components of the same claim. The strong deference granted the Executive in the gag order scheme violates both constitutional doctrines for interrelated reasons.

With respect to separation of powers, the Second Circuit explained in *Mukasey*: "The fiat of a governmental official, though senior in rank and doubtless honorable in the execution of official duties, cannot displace the judicial obligation to enforce constitutional requirements. 'Under no circumstances should the Judiciary become the handmaiden of the Executive.'" *Mukasey*, 549 F.3d at 882-83 (quoting *United States v. Smith*, 899 F.2d 564, 569 (6th Cir. 1990); *see also In re NSL*, 930 F. Supp. 2d at 1078 (quoting same).

The First Amendment also disfavors unfettered executive discretion for related reasons. Indeed, "[t]he First Amendment prohibits placing such unfettered discretion in the hands of licensing officials[.]" *Seattle Coal. Stop Police Brutality v. City of Seattle*, 550 F.3d 788, 803 (9th Cir. 2008). Rather, the First Amendment requires "narrow, objective, and definite" standards to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> *Mukasey* correctly rejected the conclusive certification provision despite the fact that no certification was made in that case either, finding it unconstitutionally "inconsistent with strict scrutiny standards." 549 F.3d at 882-83. Accordingly, the government's contention that these certifications are irrelevant is meritless. Gov't Mot. to Dismiss at 23:25-26 n.12. This is another way that the Government urges a standard significantly different from the *Mukasey* decision. In any event, even if the Government has not invoked this section, the possibility that it *might* play this trump card has an impermissible chilling effect. Any recipient considering whether to challenge an NSL must do so in the face of Section 3511(b)(2), knowing that the Government may choose to have a top level official certify at an impossible standard.

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147, 150-51 (1969). As the Supreme Court has held pursuant to "many decisions of this Court over the last 30

guide governmental action that restrains speech. See Shuttlesworth v. City of Birmingham, 394 U.S.

years, . . . a law subjecting the exercise of First Amendment freedoms to the prior restraint of a license, without narrow, objective, and definite standards to guide the licensing authority, is unconstitutional." Id. (citations omitted) (rejecting a local ordinance that allowed city officials to refuse a parade permit if "the public welfare, peace, safety, health, decency, good order, morals or convenience" so required).

As the Supreme Court has reasoned, "if the permit scheme involves the appraisal of acts, the exercise of judgment, and the formation of an opinion by the licensing authority, the danger of censorship and of abridgment of our precious First Amendment freedoms is too great to be permitted." Forsyth County v. Nationalist Movement, 505 U.S. 123, 131 (1992) (citations omitted).

The NSL gag order scheme offends both of these constitutional principles. Section 2709(c) gives government officials great discretion—and Section 3511 bars a court from meaningfully questioning the exercise of such discretion.

One feature of the gag order scheme warrants special attention. To gag an NSL recipient, the executive branch need only certify that disclosure "may result" in statutorily enumerated harms. See §§ 2709(c); 3511(b)(3). "May" is used to express possibility—not probability—that something might happen. See Oxford Dictionary Online, Oxford University Press; 10 see also Black's Law Dictionary 1068 (9th ed. 2009) (defining "may" as "[t]o be a possibility"). The inclusion of the word "may" in the statute is thus fundamentally at odds with the sort of certainty required by the First Amendment. See Nebraska Press Ass'n, 427 U.S. at 569-70 (asserting likely harm did not "possess the requisite degree of certainty to justify restraint").

The mere *possibility* of harm occurring is insufficient to support a prior restraint on speech. As Justice Stewart explained in his concurrence in the Pentagon Papers case, the prior restraint at

 $<sup>^{10}\</sup> Available\ at\ http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/american\_english/may\#may\ (last the content of the conten$ visited February 13, 2015).

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issue had to be reversed because the government could not prove that the disclosure of the Pentagon Papers "will surely result in direct, immediate, and irreparable damage to our Nation or its people." New York Times Co. v. United States, 403 U.S. 713, 730 (1971) (Stewart, J., concurring) (emphasis added).

A low standard of likelihood of harm is similarly improper under strict scrutiny. See Brown v. Entertainment Merchants Ass'n, U.S. , 131 S. Ct. 2729, 2738-40 (2011) (under strict scrutiny government "bears the risk of uncertainty" and cannot rely on "ambiguous" proof). The Ninth Circuit's decision in *Burch v. Barker*, 861 F.2d 1149 (9th Cir. 1988), is instructive. In that case, the court considered a policy to censor student speech under a test with the same critical "may result" language as Section 2709: "When there is evidence that reasonably supports a judgment that significant or substantial disruption of the normal operation of the school or injury or damage to persons or property may result." Id. at 1156 (emphasis added). The court held that the mere possibility of injury or damage was not sufficient. Id. at 1158 (expression "cannot be subjected to regulation on the basis of undifferentiated fears of possible disturbances or embarrassment").

The "may" standard vests in the government the precise type of expansive and unfettered discretion that is not allowed for governmental action that directly restricts speech, which is one reason why the Freedman factors are required. See Talk of the Town v. Dep't of Fin. & Bus. Servs., 343 F.3d 1063, 1070 (9th Cir. 2003) amended sub nom. Talk of the Town v. Dep't of Fin. & Bus. Servs., 353 F.3d 650 (9th Cir. 2003) (noting that Freedman's procedural safeguard were, in the Court's view, "essential to cabin the censors's [sic] otherwise largely unfettered discretion to determine what constitutes suitable, non-obscene expression and what does not").

The unduly unfettered nature of this discretion is illustrated by the Deputy Attorney General's letter challenged by Twitter in this case, which licensed service providers to disclose receipt of NSLs in bands of one thousand. The decision to allow service providers to vaguely indicate which "band" they fall within—a decision that occurred after public pressure over the lack of transparency—illustrates the arbitrariness of the government's discretion and illustrates that the government's licensing scheme is not narrowly tailored. The DOJ has simply decided that some

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service providers, who have received 1,000 or more NSLs, can participate—vaguely and 1 partially—in public debates as recipients of NSLs. Meanwhile, providers who receive fewer than 2 1,000 NSLs remain barred from saying definitively whether they have received any NSLs at all.<sup>11</sup> 3 4 As discussed above, such measures are overbroad and intrinsically arbitrary, since they are imposed without any consideration of the specific risks posed by providers' reporting on NSLs 5 they have received. The First Amendment requires more. 6 7 **CONCLUSION** For the foregoing reasons, the Court should deny the government's motion to dismiss. 8 9 Dated: February 17, 2015 Respectfully submitted, 10 11 s/Kurt Opsahl **KURT OPSAHL** 12 ANDREW CROCKER **DAVID GREENE** 13 ELECTRONIC FRONTIER FOUNDATION 14 Counsel for Amici Curiae 15 CORPORATIONS 1 & 2 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 Some recipients have reached stipulations where they can speak publicly about receiving an NSL. See, e.g., Stipulation and Order of Dismissal, John Doe, Inc. v. Holder, Case No. 04-cv-2614 26 (S.D.N.Y. July 30, 2010); Order to Unseal Case, Internet Archive v Mukasey, Case No. 4:07-cv-27 06346-CW (N.D Cal. May 2, 2008); Order, In re National Security Letter, Case No. 2:13-cv-01048-RAJ (W.D. Wa. May 21, 2014) (allowing Microsoft to speak about receiving an NSL). 28

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