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OPINION

DECISION AND ORDER

I. INTRODUCTION

Plaintiffs in this case challenge the constitutionality of 18 U.S.C. § 2709 ("§ 2709"). That statute authorizes the FederalBureau of Investigation ("FBI") to compel communications firms, such as internet service providers ("ISPs") or telephonecompanies, to produce certain customer records whenever the FBIcertifies that those records are "relevant to an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities." The FBI's demands under § 2709 are issued in the form of national security letters ("NSLs"), which constitute a unique form of administrative subpoena cloaked in secrecy and pertaining to national security issues. The statute bars all NSL recipients from ever disclosing that the FBI has issued an NSL.²

The lead plaintiff, called "John Doe" ("Doe")³ forpurposes of this litigation, is described in the complaint as aninternet access firm that received an NSL. The other plaintiffs are the American Civil Liberties Union ("ACLU") and the American Civil Liberties Union Foundation, which is also acting as counsel to Doe (collectively with Doe, "Plaintiffs"). Plaintiffs contend that § 2709's broad subpoena power violates the First, Fourth and Fifth Amendments of the United States Constitution, and that the non-disclosure provision violates the First Amendment. They argue that § 2709 is unconstitutional onits face and as applied to the facts of this case. Plaintiffs main complaints are that, first, § 2709 gives the FBI extraordinary and unchecked power to obtain private information without any form of judicial process, and, second, that § 2709's non-disclosure provision burdens speech categorically and perpetually, without any case-by-case judicial consideration of whether that speech burden is justified. The parties have cross-moved for summary judgment on all claims.

For the reasons explained below, the Court grants Plaintiffs'motion. The Court concludes that § 2709 violates the FourthAmendment because, at least as currently applied, it effectivelybars or substantially deters any judicial challenge to the propriety of an NSL request. In the Court's view, readyavailability of judicial process to pursue such a challenge isnecessary to vindicate important rights guaranteed by the Constitution or by statute. On separate grounds, the Court also concludes that the permanent ban on disclosure contained in § 2709(c), which the Court is unable to sever from the remainder of the statute, operates as an unconstitutional prior restraint on speech in violation of

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theFirst Amendment.

The Court's ruling is about the process antecedent to the substance of any particular challenge, and in that vein, it is both narrow and broad. This determination is narrow in two respects. First, although the Court recognizes hypothetically that some aspects of the interpretation of § 2709 as proferred by the Government here may be plausible, the Court's analysis of the legislative record reveals grounds at least as compelling to cast substantial doubt upon such a reading of the statute. Given its strong reservations about the sufficiency of the statutory basis upon which the Government's theory is founded, the Court in the final analysis deems it unnecessary to rule upon Plaintiff's facial challenge to § 2709 on Fourth Amendment grounds.

Second, the Court declines Plaintiffs' invitation to decide themeasure of Fourth Amendment protection demanded when the Government makes NSL requests generally or in any particular case. The Court decides only that those rights, as well as other rights attaching to protected speech content that may be revealed to the Government as a result of an NSL, are implicated to some extent when an individual receives an NSL, thus necessitating the practical availability of some form of access to the judicial system to challenge the NSL. On the record before it, the Court finds that in practice those rights are substantially curtailed by the manner in which the FBI administers § 2709.

The Court's ruling is broad in that even if § 2709 could befairly construed in accordance with the Government's proposedreading to incorporate the availability of some judicial review, and putting aside the impairment of Fourth Amendment protections the Court finds countenanced by § 2709 as applied, otherstructural flaws inherent in the statute as a whole render itinvalid on its face. In particular, the Court agrees with Plaintiffs that § 2709(c), the non-disclosure provision, isunconstitutional. In simplest terms, § 2709(c) fails to passmuster under the exacting First Amendment standards applicablehere because it is so broad and open-ended. In its all-inclusives weep, it prohibits the NSL recipient, or its officers, employees, or agents, from revealing the existence of an NSL inquiry the FBI pursued under § 2709 in every case, to any person, in perpetuity, with no vehicle for the ban to ever belifted from the recipient or other persons affected, under any circumstances, either by the FBI itself, or pursuant to judicial process. Because the Court cannot sever § 2709(c) from § 2709(a) and (b), the Court grants the remedy Plaintiffs request enjoining the Government from using § 2709 in this or any other case as a means of gathering information from the sources specified in the statute.

Considering the implications of its ruling and the importance of the issues involved, the Court will stay enforcement of its judgment for 90 days, pending appeal or measures by the Government otherwise to address the flaws in the structure and implementation of § 2709 described here.

II. BACKGROUND

Like most of our constitutional law's hardest cases, this dispute is about two fundamental principles:



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values and limits. It centers on the interplay of these concepts, testing the limits of values and the values of limits where their ends collide.

National security is a paramount value, unquestionably one ofthe highest purposes for which any sovereign government isordained. Equally scaled among human endeavors is personalsecurity, an interest especially prized in our system of justicein the form of the guarantee bestowed upon the individual to befree from imposition by government of unwarranted restraints on protected fundamental rights. Efficiency, too, counts as a basic value, though it essentiallyserves as a tool in the service of other interests. To performits national security functions properly, government must beempowered to respond promptly and effectively to publicexigencies as they arise, and in pursuit of those necessaryactions to maintain a reasonable measure of secrecy surroundingits operations and methods.

When pushed to their outer limits, these values may clash, giving rise to another form of interaction among vital societal principles. Inevitably, the resultant forces entail, from exercise of the powers assigned to the different branches of government, judgments about how and by whom to resolve which value may have exceeded its designated bounds. This choice is always demanding, and its outcome is not always plain at first sight. But, throughout the ages when the weighing has had to be done, time, wisdom and hard experience, aided by the inherent soundness of our underlying values, have steered resolution on a fairly consistent course. One guiding principle in that path is clearly marked in tried and proved results: that, by definition, efficiency invariably serves as the quickest and most expedient way to get from here to there; but, in the protection of fundamental values, the race is not always to the swiftest or cheapest means. So the Constitution counsels.

On this point, the United States Supreme Court has imparted consistent guidance, drawn on each occasion from adjudications of the some of the most intense crises in the nation's history. Recently, for example, in addressing the reach of the President's authority to combat terrorism, the Supreme Court declared: "We have long . . . made clear that a state of war is not a blank check for the President when it comes to the rights of thenation's citizens." This pronouncement echoes other like counsel issued when the Court has been called upon to settle conflicts of equally high moment. In another prominent case inpoint the Court remarked: "[E]ven the war power does not remove constitutional limitations safeguarding essential liberties."

The Supreme Court's doctrine governing these occasions embodiesa value judgment not hard to comprehend in the context of apractical consideration common to most instances in which constitutional tensions affecting individual rights come intoplay, as is evidenced in the case before this Court. In a sense, the conflict between government efficiency interests and personal liberty is strictly not one among equals. Efficiency is a multi-edged sword; it can cut many ways. Government ordinarily possesses more than one effective means toachieve a given public end. Thus, legitimate efficiency interests can be accommodated by various alternatives, whether legislative administrative, generally at the government's disposal. Personal freedoms, on the other

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hand, are far more unique. Asindividualized by constitutional ideals to embody our sense ofhuman dignity, decency, and fair play, they attach to eachindividual by promise of the very government which creates thosebasic rights and is charged to protect them, and upon whosefaithful adherence to their underlying principles and aims theirenduring enjoyment depends. By reason of this contingency, individual rights may operate one way, or not at all when their exercise is unduly restricted or prohibited by measures of that constituted authority. Worse still is another risk. Sometimes aright, once extinguished, may be gone for good. Few satisfying means may then be available to truly restore to the particular victim or to the larger society the value of the loss.

One concluding observation cannot be overlooked as aconsideration in this case. Between the dispute and its resolution hangs a large reality, here the backdrop against which the actuating events have played out. Call it anatomospheric pressure, a heavy weight that, foglike, has loomeddensely over every aspect of these proceedings. On September 11,2001, the United States became the target of a murderous attackof international terrorism, unparalleled in its magnitude, and unprecedented in America's national experience. Losses and remembrances of that violence are still fresh in the minds of the American people. The wounds they suffered from it have not yethealed. The Court is not unmindful of the contextual relevance of those circumstances, serving as they do as impulse for some of the Government concerns and measures that gave rise to this litigation, suffusing the legal theories elaborated in the parties papers, and stoking the fervor and immediacy animating the arguments urged before the Court.

In consequence, the Court's ruling not only takes due account of the force and poignancy of that history but, as this Courtnoted on another occasion similarly grounded,⁷ represents an expression of several critical implicationsnecessarily flowing from it. First, cases engendering intensepassions and urgencies to unencumber the Government, enabling itto move in secrecy to a given end with the most expedient dispatch and versatile means, often pose the gravest perils topersonal liberties. As the Supreme Court admonished in connection with another event similarly momentous: it is "under the pressing exigencies of crisis[] that there is the greatest temptation to dispense with fundamental constitutional guarantees which, it is feared, will inhibit governmental action." Second, it is these conditions that best put the strength of our principles and convictions to the test, and measure our resolve and commitment to them. Third, it is precisely times like these that demandheightened vigilance, especially by the judiciary, to ensure that, as a people and as a nation, we steer a principled course faithful and true to our still-honored founding values. The highstakes here pressing the scales thus compel the Court to strike the most sensitive judicial balance, calibrating by delicate increments toward a result that adequately protects national security without unduly sacrificing individual freedoms, that endeavors to do what is just for one and right for all. A. DOE'S RECEIPT OF AN NSL⁹

After receiving a call from an FBI agent informing him that hewould be served with an NSL, Doe received a document, printed on FBI letterhead, which stated that, "pursuant to Title 18, United States Code (U.S.C.), Section 2709" Doe was "directed" to provide certain information to the Government. As required by the terms of § 2709, in the NSL the FBI "certif[ied] that the information sought [was]

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relevant to an authorized investigation protect against international terrorism or clandestineintelligence activities." Doe was "further advised" that § 2709(c) prohibited him, or his officers, agents, oremployees, "from disclosing to any person that the FBI hassought or obtained access to information or records under these provisions." Doe was "requested to provide records responsive to [the] request personally" to a designated individual, and to not transmit the records by mail oreven mention the NSL in any telephone conversation.

After a subsequent conversation with the same FBI agent, Doe decided to consult ACLU lawyers. The parties dispute thenature of Doe's exchange with the FBI agent, though it isultimately immaterial to this motion. Doe contends that the agentgave him permission to speak with an attorney; the agent claimsthat Doe merely informed the agent that he (Doe) would beconsulting an attorney. Doe has not complied with the NSLrequest, and has instead engaged counsel to bring the presentlawsuit.

B. § 2709 IN GENERAL

As stated above, § 2709 authorizes the FBI to issue NSLs tocompel communications firms to produce certain customer records whenever the FBI certifies that those records are relevant to anauthorized international terrorism or counterintelligenceinvestigation, and the statute also categorically bars NSLrecipients from disclosing the inquiry. ¹⁴ In relevantpart, it states: (a) Duty to provide. — A wire or electronic communication service provider shall comply with a request for subscriber information and toll billing records information, or electronic communication transactional records in its custody or possession made by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation under subsection (b) of this section. (b) Required certification. — The Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or his designee in a position not lower than Deputy Assistant Director at Bureau headquarters or a Special Agent in Charge in a Bureau field office designated by the Director, may - (1) request the name, address, length of service, and local and long distance toll billing records of a person or entity if the Director (or his designee) certifies in writing to the wire or electronic communication service provider to which the request is made that the name, address, length of service, and toll billing records sought are relevant to an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities, provided that such an investigation of a United States person is not conducted solely on the basis of activities protected by the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States; and (2) request the name, address, and length of service of a person or entity if the Director (or his designee) certifies in writing to the wire or electronic communication service provider to which the request is made that the information sought is relevant to an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities, provided that such an investigation of a United States person is not conducted solely upon the basis of activities protected by the first amendment to the Constitution of the United States. (c) Prohibition of certain disclosure. — No wire or electronic communication service provider, or officer, employee, or agent thereof, shall disclose to any person that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained access to information or records under this section. 15 Subsection

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(d) limits the FBI's ability to disseminate information collected from an NSL, and subsection (e) requires the FBI to periodically report to Congress about its use of NSLs. 16

Section 2709 is one of only a handful of statutes authorizingthe Government to issue NSLs. The other NSL statutes authorize Government to compel disclosure of certain financial and credit records which it certifies are relevant to international terrorism or counterintelligence investigations, and to compeldisclosure of certain records of current or former government employees who have (or have had) access to classified information. In each case, the NSL statutes categorically bar the NSL recipient or its employees or agents from ever disclosing the Government's inquiry. Asstated, NSLs are distinguished from other administrative subpoenas in that NSLs pertain to national security issues and are cloaked in secrecy. The Court discusses other administrative subpoenas in more detail below in Section LD.1.

C. LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Section 2709 was enacted as part of Title II of the ElectronicCommunications Privacy Act of 1986 ("ECPA"), 19 which sought to "protect privacy interests" in "stored wire and electronic communications" while also "protecting the Government's legitimate law enforcement needs." Congress modeled Title II of the ECPA upon the Right to Financial Privacy Act ("RFPA") of 1978, 21 which espoused similar privacy goals for financial records. 22 The RFPA was "intended to protect the customers of financial institutions from unwarranted intrusion into their records while at the same time permitting legitimate law enforcement activity." 23

The RFPA was an explicit "response to the Supreme Courtdecision in United States v. Miller which held that a customerof a financial institution has no standing under the [FourthAmendment] to contest government access to financialrecords." In passing Title II of the ECPA eight yearslater, Congress feared that customers of electroniccommunications services would likewise find little FourthAmendment protection from Government access to their records, thus creating the need for privacy legislation. ²⁵

Generally speaking, Title II (as amended) allows the Governmentto obtain stored electronic communications information without the subscriber's permission only through compulsory process, suchas a subpoena, warrant, or court order. Section 2709 is a notable exception to these privacy protections because itpermits the FBI to request records upon a mere self-certification— issued to the ISP or telephone company, not to the subscriberor to any court—that its request complies with the statutoryrequirements. As first enacted, § 2709 requiredelectronic communication service providers to produce "subscriberinformation," "toll billing records information," or "electronic communication transactional records," upon the FBI's internal certification that (1) the information was "relevant to anauthorized foreign counterintelligence investigation" and that(2) there were "specific and articulable facts giving reason tobelieve that the person or entity to whom the information soughtpertains [was] a foreign power or an agent of a foreign power." Before the

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ECPA, the FBI had been issuing non-mandatory NSLs tocommunications providers, who, in most cases, compliedvoluntarily.²⁹ However, because carriers in states withstrict privacy laws had recently been resisting those requests, the FBI sought to have mandatory, preemptive federal legislationsupporting its issuance of NSLs.³⁰ The SenateIntelligence Committee agreed that federal law should mandate NSL compliance, but the Committee concluded that the FBI's mandatory NSL power should be more limited in scope than whatthe FBI had been seeking under voluntary NSLarrangements.³¹ Whereas communications service providershad been volunteering to produce records which the FBI certifiedwere merely "relevant to FBI counterintelligence activities," the Intelligence Committee's reported version of § 2709 limited the FBI's mandatory authority to "only obtain records where there are specific and articulable facts giving reason to believe that the person or entity to whom the information sought pertains is or may be a foreign power or an agent of a foreignpower."32 The Committee stated that it believed that the strict standards of the proposed statute were consistent withboth the First and Fourth Amendments and concluded that the "federal courts have not required either a judicial warrant or aprobable cause standard for access to telephone subscriberinformation or toll billing record information."33 TheCourt notes, however, that the version of § 2709 considered bythe Intelligence Committee did not authorize the FBI to obtainelectronic communication transactional records; that provisionwas added to the statute when it was integrated into the ECPA bythe Judiciary Committee.³⁴

In 1993, Congress broadened § 2709 by relaxing the required nexus to a foreign power.³⁵ The amended statuteallowed the FBI to obtain records "where: (1) there is a contactwith a suspected intelligence officer or a suspected terrorist, or (2) the circumstances of the conversation indicate . . . thatit may involve spying or an offer of information."³⁶ Theoriginal version of the statute had required the FBI to certify that the communications servicesubscriber whose records were sought was himself a foreignagent or power, thereby preventing the FBI from issuing mandatoryNSLs to obtain the records of, for example, persons who merelycommunicated with foreign agents regarding terrorism orclandestine intelligence information.³⁷ The Committeerecognized that "the national security letter is an extraordinarydevice" and that "new applications are disfavored," but it "concluded that [the] narrow change in § 2709 to meet the FBI'sfocused and demonstrated needs was justified."³⁸

The next and most recent major revision to § 2709 occurred inOctober 2001, as part of the USA PATRIOT Act of 2001 ("PatriotAct").³⁹ In short, the Patriot Act removed the previous requirement that § 2709 inquiries have a nexus to a foreign power, replacing that prerequisite with a broad standardof relevance to investigations of terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities.⁴⁰ In hearings before the HouseJudiciary Committee on September 24, 2001, the Administration submitted the following explanation for the proposed change: NSL authority requires both a showing of relevance and a showing of links to an "agent of a foreign power." In this respect, [it is] substantially more demanding than the analogous criminal authorities, which require only a certification of relevance. Because the NSLs require documentation of the facts supporting the "agent of a foreign power" predicate and because they require the signature of a high-ranking official at FBI headquarters, they

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often take months to be issued. This is in stark contrast to criminal subpoenas, which can be used to obtain the same information, and are issued rapidly at the local level. In many cases, counterintelligence and counterterrorism investigations suffer substantial delays while waiting for NSLs to be prepared, returned from headquarters, and served. The section would streamline the process of obtaining NSL authority. . . . ⁴¹The House Judiciary Committee agreed that "[s]uch delays areunacceptable" and stated in its October 11, 2001, report that the Patriot Act would "harmonize[]" § 2709 "with existing criminallaw where an Assistant United States Attorney may issue a grandjury subpoena for all such records in a criminal case."

D. NSLs AND OTHER INFORMATION-GATHERING AUTHORITY

It is instructive to place the Government's NSL authority in the context of other means by which the Government gathersinformation of the type covered by § 2709 because Congress (inpassing and amending the NSL statutes) and the parties here (incontesting § 2709's constitutionality) have drawn analogies to those other authorities as grounds for or against its validity. The relationship of § 2709 to other related statutes supplies abackdrop for assessing congressional intent and judging the validity of the law on its face and as applied. In addition, ananalysis of these analogous information-gathering methods indicates that NSLs such as the ones authorized by § 2709 provide fewer procedural protections to the recipient than any other information-gathering technique the Government employs to procure information similar to that which it obtains pursuant to § 2709.

1. Administrative Subpoenas

The most important set of statutes relevant to this case arethose authorizing federal agencies to issue administrative subpoenas for the purpose of executing the particular agency'sfunction. Ordinary administrative subpoenas, which are far morecommon than NSLs, may be issued by most federal agencies, asauthorized by the hundreds of applicable statutes in federal law. For example, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) may issuesubpoenas to investigate possible violations of the taxcode, and the Securities Exchange Commission (SEC) may issue subpoenas to investigate possible violations of these curities laws. More obscure examples include the Secretary of Agriculture's power to issue subpoenas ininvestigating and enforcing laws related to honeyresearch, and the Secretary of Commerce's power to issue subpoenas in investigating and enforcing halibut fishinglaws.

There is a wide body of law which pertains to administrative subpoenas generally. According to the Government's central theoryin this case, those standing rules would presumably also apply to NSLs, even if not so explicitly stated in the text of the statute. Where an agency seeks a courtorder to enforce a subpoena against a resisting subpoenarecipient, courts will enforce the subpoena as long as: (1) theagency's investigation is being conducted pursuant to alegitimate purpose, (2) the inquiry is relevant to that purpose, (3) the information is not already within the agency's possession, and (4) the proper procedures have beenfollowed. The Second Circuit has described these standards as "minimal." Even if an administrative subpoena meets these initial criteria to be enforceable,

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itsrecipient may nevertheless affirmatively challenge the subpoenaon other grounds, such as an allegation that it was issued withan improper purpose or that the information sought isprivileged.⁴⁹

Unlike the NSL statutes, most administrative subpoena lawseither contain no provision requiring secrecy, or allow for onlylimited secrecy in special cases. For example, someadministrative subpoena statutes permit the investigating agency to apply for a court order to temporarily bar disclosure of the inquiry, generally during specific renewable increments orfor an appropriate period of time fixed by the court, where such disclosure could jeopardize the investigation.⁵⁰

Even absent a particular secrecy statute, someone who, with theintent to obstruct an investigation, alerts the target of aninvestigation that a subpoena has been issued could theoreticallyface criminal obstruction of justice charges under a federal statute that imposes criminal sanctions upon any person who,among other things, "corruptly . . . endeavors to influence, obstruct, or impede the due and proper administration of the lawunder which any pending proceeding is being had before any department or agency of the United States." ⁵¹

2. Subpoena Authority in the Criminal Context

In its role as a party to a federal criminal proceeding (including a grand jury proceeding), the Government has broadauthority to issue a subpoena to obtain witness testimony or "any books, papers, documents, data, or other objects the subpoena designates." Although such subpoenas "are issued in the name of the district court over the signature of the clerk, they are issued pro forma and in blank to anyone requesting them," and the "court exercises no prior control what so ever upon their use." ¹⁵³

The court becomes involved in the subpoena process only if the subpoenaed party moves to quash the request as "unreasonable oroppressive," or if the Government seeks to compelcompliance with the subpeona. The reasonableness of a subpoenadepends on the context. For example, to survive a motion toquash, a subpoena issued in connection with a criminal trial "must make a reasonably specific request for information thatwould be both relevant and admissible at trial." Bycontrast, a grand jury subpoena is generally enforced as long asthere is a "reasonable possibility that the category of materialsthe Government seeks will produce information relevant to the general subject of the grand jury sinvestigation." Considering the grand jury's broadinvestigatory power and minimal court supervision, it is accurate to observe, as the Second Circuit did long ago, that "[b]asicallythe grand jury is a law enforcement agency."

While materials presented in a criminal trial setting aregenerally public,⁵⁸ the federal rules impose stringentsecrecy requirements on certain grand jury participants,including the attorneys, court reporters, and grandjurors.⁵⁹ Those secrecy rules make no mention of asubpoena recipient or a witness, both of whom are ordinarily freeto disclose to anyone the fact that a subpoena was issued or the contents of any information supplied.⁶⁰ Some courts havenevertheless permitted the Government

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to impose a secrecyobligation upon witnesses in cases of compelling need. The Eleventh Circuit, for example, has held that a district court's authority to protect the integrity of grand jury process gave itpower to prevent witnesses from disclosing materials prepared foror testimony given in grand jury proceedings. As an exception to this rule, officers of financial institutions and insurance companies face criminal penalties for disclosing, with the intent to obstruct a judicial proceeding, either the fact that a grand jury subpoena has been issued or its contents. More generally, a subpoena recipient who, with the intent to obstruct a criminal investigation, alerts the target of an investigation that a subpoena had been issued could theoretically face criminal obstruction of justice charges.

In certain contexts, the Government may issue subpoenas related to criminal investigations even without initiating a formal criminal proceeding. For example, the United States AttorneyGeneral is authorized to issue administrative subpoenas, without convening a grand jury, to investigate federal narcotics crimes, ⁶⁴ racketeering crimes, ⁶⁵ health care related crimes, ⁶⁶ and crimes involving the exploitation of children. ⁶⁷ In each of these instances, the administrative process is governed by the general rules described above, providing safeguards of judicial review. ⁶⁸

3. Background Rules Governing Disclosure of Stored ElectronicCommunications

Title II of the ECPA, in which § 2709 was enacted, sets forthan intricate framework by which electronic communicationsproviders, such as ISPs and phone companies, may be compelled to disclose stored electronic information to the Government. The framework described below operates independently of the rules governing NSLs issued pursuant to § 2709, but may aid within terpretation of § 2709.

The Government may obtain basic subscriberinformation⁶⁹ merely by issuing an authorizedadministrative subpoena, trial subpoena, or grand jury subpoena, and the Government need not notify the subscriber of therequest.⁷⁰ If the Government gives prior notice to the subscriber, orotherwise complies with certain delayed noticeprocedures,⁷¹ the Government may also subpoena thecontents of electronic communications which are either (1) retained on a system for storage purposes (e.g., opened emailwhich remains on an ISP's server), or (2) retained, for more than 180 days, in intermediate or temporary storage (e.g., unopened email on an ISP's server).⁷² For the Government to obtain the contents of electronic communicationskept for 180 days or less in intermediate or temporary storage (e.g., unopened email on an ISP's server), it must obtain asearch warrant under Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure 41, orthe state equivalent.⁷³ In other words, the Government would have to appear before a neutral magistrate and make ashowing of probable cause.⁷⁴ The Government may also obtain a court order requiring an electronic communications service provider to turn over transactional and content information by setting forth "specific and articulable facts showing that there are reasonable grounds to believe that "the information sought is "relevant and material to an ongoing criminal investigation."⁷⁵

The ECPA permits the Government to seek a court orderprohibiting the communications provider

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from revealing the Government's inquiry "for such period as the court deemsappropriate" if the court determines that such disclosure, amongother things, would result in "destruction of or tampering withevidence" or "seriously jeopardizing an investigation or undulydelaying a trial."⁷⁶

4. Mail

Government law enforcement agencies are authorized to request the Postal Inspector to initiate a so-called "mail cover" toobtain any information appearing on the outside of a particular piece of mail. ⁷⁷ Among other grounds, the law enforcementagency can obtain a mail cover by "specify[ing] the reasonable grounds to demonstrate the mail cover is necessary" to "[p]rotect the national security" or to "[o]btain information regarding the commission or attempted commission of a crime." There is no requirement that the mail sender or recipient be notified of the mail cover.

The Government must obtain a warrant based upon probable causeto open and inspect sealed mail because the contents of mail areprotected by the Fourth Amendment.⁷⁹ As the Supreme Courtestablished long ago: "Whilst in the mail, [a person's papers]can only be opened and examined under like warrant, issued uponsimilar oath or affirmation, particularly describing the thing tobe seized, as is required when papers are subjected to search inone's own household."⁸⁰

5. Pen Registers and Trap and Trace Devices

Pen registers and trap and trace devices record certainelectronic communications data indicating the origins anddestinations of various "dialing, routing, addressing, orsignaling information," e.g., the phone numbers dialed to andfrom a telephone. In criminal investigations, the Government must apply for a court order, renewable in 60-dayincrements, to install or collect data from such devices, thoughthe standard for issuing such an order is relatively low. Prove Government need only show that "the information likely to be be be ained by such installation and use is relevant to an ongoing criminal investigation."

The person owning the communications device is prohibited, unless otherwise directed by court order, from disclosing the fact that a pen register or trap and trace device is ineffect.⁸⁴

6. Wiretaps and Electronic Eavesdropping

The Fourth Amendment protects against warrantless Governmentwiretapping. ⁸⁵ Federal legislation specifies the procedures by which law enforcement officials may obtain a courtorder to conduct wiretaps and other forms of electroniceavesdropping. ⁸⁶ The requirements are rigorous. Amongother things, the Government must show that: (1) "there is probable cause for belief that an individual is committing, has committed, or is about to commit" one of a list of enumerated crimes; (2) "there is probable cause for belief that particular communications concerning that offense will be obtained through such interception"; and (3) "normal investigative procedures have been tried and have failed

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orreasonably appear to be unlikely to succeed if tried or to be toodangerous."⁸⁷ Such orders are not available "for anyperiod longer than is necessary to achieve the objective of theauthorization," subject to a renewable maximum of 30days. The communications provider is prohibited from disclosing that a wiretap or electronic surveillance is in place, "except as may otherwise be required by legal process and thenonly after prior notification" to the appropriate law enforcementauthorities. On the appropriate law enforcementauthorities.

7. Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act

The Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 ("FISA") establishes standards for the Government's domestic electronic surveillance of foreign governments and their agents. OThe Government may conduct such surveillance, even without acourt order, as long as the Attorney General certifies, amongother things, that: (1) the communications at issue would be exclusively between or among foreign powers or involve theacquisition of technical intelligence, other than the spokencommunications of individuals, from property or premises under the open and exclusive control of a foreignpower; (2) there is no substantial likelihood that the surveillance will acquire the contents of any communication towhich a United States person is a party; and (3) the Governmentwill apply certain so-called "minimization procedures" to limitthe possibility of impermissible collateral surveillance. In such circumstances, the Attorney General may direct the communications provider to cooperate "insuch a manner as will protect [the] secrecy of the surveillance.

To conduct any broader types of surveillance, the Governmentmust obtain a formal order from a special FISA-createdcourt. The application must specify, among otherthings, the type of surveillance proposed, the facts supporting Government's belief that the surveillance pertains to aforeign power, and the minimization procedures which would betaken. The Government must also certify "that asignificant purpose of the surveillance is to obtain foreignintelligence information" and that the "information cannotreasonably be obtained by normal investigative techniques. Before issuing the surveillance order, the FISA court must find, among other things, that there is "probable cause to believe that the surveillance target is a foreign power or a foreignagent, that the proposed minimization procedures meet the statutory requirements, and, if the target is a United Statesperson, that the facts in the Government's certification are not clearly erroneous.

FISA surveillance orders are issued only "for the periodnecessary to achieve [the] purpose" of the application, with anextendable maximum of either 90 days, 120 days, or one year, depending on the nature of the surveillance target. The court's order may direct a communications provider to cooperate in such a manner as will protect [the] secrecy of the surveillance. 98

The FISA also authorizes the Government to apply to the FISAcourt "for an order requiring the production of any tangiblethings (including books, records, papers, documents, and otheritems) for an investigation to obtain foreign intelligenceinformation not concerning a United States person or

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to protectagainst international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities. . . . "99 Such an applicationneed only specify that the inquiry is part of an authorized investigation and in accordance with the appropriate guidelines. 100 Recipients of such an order are prohibited from disclosing to anyone (except those whose assistance is necessary to comply with the subpoena) that the inquiry was made. 101

Finally, FISA authorizes the Government to apply to the FISAcourt for a an order, renewable in 90-day increments, to installa pen register or trap and trace device as part of "anyinvestigation to obtain foreign intelligence information notconcerning a United States person or to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities." The Government need only certify to the court that it will likely obtain information relevant to a proper inquiry. Just as in the criminal context, the personowning the communications device is prohibited, unless otherwisedirected by court order, from disclosing the fact that a penregister or trap and trace device is in effect. III. SUMMARY JUDGMENT STANDARD

The Court may grant summary judgment only if "there is nogenuine issue as to any material fact and that the moving partyis entitled to a judgment as a matter of law." Here, the Court concludes that no facts material to the disposition of the case are in dispute and that this case presents pure legalquestions ripe for decision on summary judgment.

IV. DISCUSSION

A. SECTION 2709, AS DRAFTED, RAISES SERIOUS CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

Besides placing in full context the parties' conflicting arguments relating to statutory construction of § 2709, thelegislative history and grid cross-referencing otherinformation-gathering laws Congress has enacted is described above in such detail to serve another purpose. The contrast of the statutory scheme reveals some similarities amid strikingdifferences among the laws. It depicts comparable provisions inserted in some legislation but omitted from others; secrecy, enforcement and judicial review rules incorporated more in somelaws, less in others; enactments reflecting mere clarifications in some instances, manifestly substance in others; and someoverall requirements sometimes overlapping, sometimes at odds. The large divergence brings to light a substantial quandaryaffecting the task of judicial interpretation. Are the various differences between § 2709 and other analogous statutes, extensive as the discrepancies are, simply the product of poor orhasty congressional drafting? Are the apparent gaps inadvertentor deliberate, legislative nuances or simply oversight? Or dosuch diverse textual approaches embody Congress's consideredintent to achieve distinct objectives by varying means, whilefully cognizant of the similarities among the statutes? Do the conflicts and omissions pertain to details that, as the Government here argues, can be readily filled in by the Court byapplication of canons of statutory construction? Or, to the contrary, as Plaintiffs contend, do the legislative distinctionsimplicate provisions far too substantive and fundamental to bereconciled by valid exercise of judicial power?

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The very existence of such an intricate matrix of rulescodified in separate statutes governing similar multidimensionalissues suggests congressional design that this Court hesitates topass judgment upon if not necessary to a sufficient adjudication this dispute. The Court does not feel at ease with simplyascribing the disparate legislative treatment of secrecy, enforcement and judicial review procedures in these various enactments to innocuous drafting error, or to distinctions with no discernible purpose. However, the Court cannot fairly infer clear congressional intent in the enactment of § 2709 solely by comparing it with other complex, analogous statutes. 106

The NSL statutes, particularly § 2709, present interpretive challenges in at least three respects, the first two of whichhave a direct bearing on the motions now before the Court. First, while two of the NSL statutes explicitly state that an NSL recipient may disclose the Government's inquiry to persons whose assistance is necessary to comply with the demands of the NSL, the other statutes, including § 2709, appear by their telltalesilence on that point, to preclude any disclosures. None of the statutes explain whether consulting an attorney constitutes disclosure, even where an attorney's assistance may be necessary for a recipient to comply with an NSL, and none of the statutes states whether the ban on disclosure may ever be lifted by a court. Second, the statutes contain no explicit provision for the Government to seek judicial enforcement of an NSL against arecipient who refuses to comply, nor is there any provision expressly authorizing an NSL recipient to affirmatively challenge, administratively or judicially, the propriety of an NSL request. Third, there is no explicit provision in the statutes imposing penalties against a person who fails to comply with an NSL. 109

The absence of clear enforcement mechanisms has led the Chairman of the House Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security to express the concern that the currentversions of § 2709 and other NSL statutes may be considered hortatory, and to declare the intent of H.R. 3179, a billcurrently in committee, to be to cure that deficiency. Significantly, it is precisely the Government's ability to seek judicial enforcement of the subpoena, together with its corollary— the reverse side of the same coin, the ability of the recipient to seek judicial review of the FBI's issuance or enforcement of an NSL — that the Government contends in this case the Courtcould fairly infer to already exist under current law. It

Several bills pending in Congress, including H.R. 3179,demonstrate Congress's and the Government's recognition that the NSL statutes could have been drafted with greaterparticularity and uniformity. H.R. 3179 would address two of theissues listed above by explicitly providing for judicialenforcement of NSLs and by imposing criminal penalties of up tofive years' imprisonment for persons who unlawfully disclose thatthey have received an NSL. 112

Also pending in Congress is a bill, H.R. 3037, which wouldpermit the Attorney General to issue NSLs whenever, in his judgment, the information sought would be "relevant or material" to "any investigation concerning a Federal crime ofterrorism." That bill avoids all of the interpretive problems associated with § 2709 detailed above. Like H.R. 3179, H.R. 3037 would authorize judicial enforcement and imposepenalties upon persons who wrongfully disclosed the

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Government'sinquiry.¹¹⁴ The bill would also permit an NSL recipientto disclose the inquiry to "those persons to whom such disclosureis necessary in order to comply" with the NSL, and to "anattorney to obtain legal advice." ¹¹⁵

A third bill now proceeding through the Senate, entitled the "Judicially Enforceable Terrorism Subpoenas Act of 2004," also provides clarity where § 2709 is nowmurky. It does so by specifically authorizing the recipient of anadministrative subpoena issued pursuant to the proposed statuteto consult with an attorney and "those persons to whom such disclosure is necessary in order to comply with the subpoena," and by specifically stating that judicial review is available toenforce or modify the subpoena, or to modify the nondisclosure equirement imposed under the statute. 117

As explained below, even if the Court were to agree with the Government that § 2709 should be read to allow: (1) an NSL recipient to consult with an attorney and others necessary toenable compliance with the letter; and (2) an NSL recipient tochallenge, or the Government to enforce, an NSL in court, the Court would still hold that the statute, as currently applied by the FBI, exerts an undue coercive effect on NSL recipients. The form language of the NSL served upon Doe, preceded by an FBI phone call, directed him to personally provide the information to the FBI, prohibited him, his officers, agents or employees from disclosing the existence of the NSL to anyone, and made nomention of the availability of judicial review to quash orotherwise modify the NSL or the secrecy mandated by the letter. Nor did the FBI inform Doe personally that any such judicial review of the issuance of the NSL or these crecy attaching to it was available. The Court concludes that, when combined, these provisions and practices essentially forcethe reasonable NSL recipient to immediately comply with the request. This lack of effective process, at least as applied, entails issues far too fundamental for the Court to read ashaving been sufficiently addressed in the operation of § 2709 in this case. In the Court's judgment, as further elaborated below, that absence renders § 2709, as applied, unconstitutional, inviolation of the Fourth Amendment.

B. AS APPLIED HERE, SECTION 2709 LACKS PROCEDURAL PROTECTIONSNECESSARY TO VINDICATE CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS

1. Section 2709 And The Fourth Amendment¹¹⁸ The Fourth Amendment prohibits the Government from conducting "unreasonable searches and seizures," which generally means thatany search or seizure must be performed pursuant to a validwarrant based upon probable cause. ¹¹⁹ As the SecondCircuit has declared: "It is fundamental that governmentalsearches and seizures without warrant or probable cause are perse unreasonable under the Fourth Amendment unless they fallwithin one of the Amendment's few established and well-delineated exceptions. ¹¹²⁰ The Fourth Amendment's protection against unreasonable searches applies to administrative subpoenas, eventhough issuing a subpoena does not involve a literal physical intrusion or search. ¹²¹ In so doing, the Supreme Courtexplained that the Fourth Amendment is not "confined literally to searches and seizures as such, but extends as well to the orderly taking under compulsion of process." ¹¹²²

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However, because administrative subpoenas are "at best, constructive searches," there is no requirement that they be susported by probable cause. Instead, an administrative subpoenaneeds only to be "reasonable," which the Supreme Court hasinterpreted to mean that (1) the administrative subpoena is "within the authority of the agency;" (2) that the demand is "nottoo indefinite;" and (3) that the information sought is "reasonably relevant" to a proper inquiry. In a proper inquiry.

While the Fourth Amendment reasonableness standard ispermissive in the context of administrative subpoenas, the constitutionality of the administrative subpoena is predicated on the availability of a neutral tribunal to determine, after asubpoena is issued, whether the subpoena actually complies with the Fourth Amendment's demands. In contrast to an actual physicalsearch, which must be justified by the warrant and probable causer equirements occurring before the search, an administrative subpoena "is regulated by, and its justification derives from, [judicial] process" available after the subpoena is issued. 125

Accordingly, the Supreme Court has held that an administrative subpoena "may not be made and enforced" by the administrative agency; rather, the subpoenaed party must be able to "obtain judicial review of the reasonableness of the demand prior to suffering penalties for refusing tocomply." In sum, long standing Supreme Court doctrine makes clear that an administrative subpoena statute is consistent with the Fourth Amendment when it is subject to "judicial supervision" and "surrounded by every safeguard of judicial restraint."

Plaintiffs contend that § 2709 violates this Fourth Amendmentprocess-based guarantee because it gives the FBI alone the powerto issue as well as enforce its own NSLs, instead of contemplating some form of judicial review. Although Plaintiffsappear to concede that the statute does not authorize the FBI toliterally enforce the terms of an NSL by, for example, unilaterally seizing documents or imposing fines, Plaintiffscontend that § 2709 has the practical effect of coercing compliance.

Specifically, Plaintiffs stress that the statute has noprovision for judicial enforcement or review, and thattheoretically any judicial review an NSL recipient sought wouldviolate the express terms of the non-disclosure provision. Forexample, if an NSL recipient thought that an NSL request wasunreasonable or otherwise unlawful — because, for instance, theunderlying investigation was not duly "authorized," was initiated "solely on the basis of activitiesprotected by the first amendment to the Constitution of theUnited States," or did not involve "international terrorism orclandestine intelligence activities," as § 2709demands — he would have no specific statute under which tochallenge the request. More fundamentally, the literal terms of the non-disclosure provision would bar the recipient from evenconsulting an attorney to file such a challenge. Even if he wereto challenge the NSL on his own, the recipient would necessarily have to disclose the fact of the NSL's issuance to the clerk of court and to the presiding judge, again, in violation of the literal terms of the non-disclosure provision.

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Rather than dispute the Plaintiffs' interpretation of therelevant constitutional doctrine, the Government's response to these arguments endeavors to heavily repair the statute, essentially by splicing together a string of judicially-sanctioned implications, glosses, or outright patchwork of the various gaps Congress left in the statute, whether inadvertently or purposefully. First, as discussed above, the Government claims that the statute implicitly affords an NSL recipient the opportunity to challenge an NSL on the same terms as would be available to any other subpoena recipient, i.e., to either resist the Government's enforcement action, or to affirmatively file a motion to quash. Second, the Governmentreads the statute to implicitly permit disclosure to an attorneyin connection with such a challenge. Third, the Government would recognize an additional exception for disclosure to other officers, employees, or agents whose assistance may be reasonably necessary for the recipient to comply with the NSL request.

The path that, according to the Government, would lead to theabove "correct" reading of § 2709 is as follows. First, concerning the judicial enforcement issue, § 2709 isconspicuously silent on how the Government's demand for recordsis to be enforced. Plaintiffs concede that § 2709 does notauthorize the FBI to resort to "self-help" in enforcing the statute, thus leaving the possibilities that enforcement falls toeither the court system, to no one at all, or, worse yet, toother forms of administrative pressures and extra-legal methods that such congressional silences and statutory lacunae may be prone to invite. Following the Government's theory, it is inconceivable that Congress intended compliance with § 2709 to be a mere courtesy in light of § 2709's mandatory phrases, such as "duty" and "shall comply." The obvious purpose of the statute — to obtain important records quickly — would be eviscerated, the argumentgoes, if an NSL recipient could treat the NSL as if it were apiece of junk mail to be tossed in the trash can and ignored without consequence. Furthermore, courts have long recognized the "sharp distinction between agency power to issue subpoenas and judicial power to enforce them." Accordingly, the Government concludes that it would make sense that an NSL, which is in the family of administrative subpoenas, would follow that ordinary course.

Second, regarding the disclosure issue, the Government pointsout that the duty the statute imposes upon the NSL recipient toproduce information to the FBI falls upon the designated "wire orelectronic communication service provider," which inthe typical case is likely to be a corporate entity, as opposed an individual. Because "a corporation must act throughagents," it is fair to assume that the various agentsof a corporation, including its attorneys, would be involved infulfilling the corporation's duty. The Government thus stressesthat nothing in § 2709 suggests that the duty falls uniquely to the individual who happens to be in immediate receipt of the NSL. In this view, in parallel with this collective duty to produce information, by the very terms of the statute the prohibition upon disclosure is also apparently directed at more than one person: "No wire orelectronic communication service provider, or officer, employee, or agent thereof, shall disclose to any personthat the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained access to information or records under this section." The statute's reference to officers, employees and agents again suggests that those people (as opposed to merely the individual recipient) would be aware that the NSL was

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issued, presumably because some of those people could have involvement in fulfillingthe request.

Invoking practicalities and common sense, the Governmentsuggests that it would be unable to precisely identify the personwithin a company who would be capable of complying with the NSL request and thus would expect certain employees or agents, including attorneys, to play a role in gathering the informationsought. To illustrate this point, assuming an executive at atelephone company is served with an NSL requesting that he produce detailed records of a particular subscriber, and that, asis likely, the executive is not familiar with the mechanics of sophisticated data retrieval, and that the statute actually barred the recipient's communication with anyone, the executive would be in the impossible position of being incapable of complying with what the law demanded. On this basis, the Government contends that it is doubtful Congress would have intended such a rigid reading of §2709(c).

The Government notes that its interpretation of § 2709 (c)finds at least some support in the legislative history, as well. Congress added NSL authority pertaining to credit records in 1996, and that statute explicitly permits disclosure to persons "necessary to fulfill" the NSL request. Congress considered that language as a "clarification" of (as opposed to as ubstantive change from) the parallel NSL statutes because "practicalities would dictate that the provision not be interpreted to exclude such disclosure." In the provision of the provision of the provision not be interpreted to exclude such disclosure.

Finally, in support of its construction of § 2709, the Government points to two cases that have interpreted wiretap lawsto implicitly permit an accused unlawful wiretapper to disclose the contents of the wiretap to his attorneys for the purpose of preparing a defense. Addressing this point, for example, the Sixth Circuit stated that the so-called "defense exception" was a "necessary element of wiretap law." In another case, a district court observed that to construe the wiretapping laws to prevent an accused from using the intercepted communications in his own defense "would be so incompatible with basic notions of fairness in adversary proceedings that it might well raise questions regarding the statute sconstitutionality." Closing its argument on this point, the Government concludes that these cases recognize both that disclosures to attorneys are unique and that statutory interpretations producing absurd and unworkable results should be avoided.

The Court accepts that it should recognize a plausible interpretation of § 2709 that would salvage the statute. As the Supreme Court has instructed: "if an otherwise acceptable construction of a statute would raise serious constitutional problems, and where an alternative interpretation of the statute is fairly possible, [courts] are obligated to construe the statute to avoid such problems." Conceivably, these aspects of the Government's construction of § 2709 may be deemed fairly possible," and thus the ordinary rule for rescuing constitutionally dubious statutes from facial invalidity may come into play at this point. Application of this doctrinehere poses severe difficulties, however, because the anchoring of the Government's theory in the legislative scheme is far from clear and convincing, raising tensions with other countervailing principles of statutory interpretation and, more fundamentally, inviting risk to the proper functioning of the judiciary in these paration of powers our

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nation's governance constitutionally demands. As the Supreme Court has also instructed, the courts" cannot press statutory construction `to the point of disingenuous evasion' even to avoid a constitutional question." ¹⁴⁰

In examining the Government's construction of § 2709, the Courtmakes several preliminary observations as backdrop for its strongreservations to endorse it outright, even if in theory that reading were plausible. First, the suggested interpretation does not relate to a reading of particular words or provisions actually expressed in the statute. Rather, it requires listening to the law's "sounds of silence" 141 to decipher themeaning of what is unsaid; in other words, it is about specificterms not contained in § 2709 at all, though expressly provided for in other laws within the family of legislation dealing with government information-gathering insupport of national security investigations and general lawenforcement. This Court must base its interpretation of the statute primarily in the actual text of the statute, on whatthe statute explicitly says rather than on what it fails tosay. 142 Second, to fully reach and give effect to the Government's proposal entails inserting into the law not justone, but several distinct terms the Government seeks toincorporate by implication: that the statute permits disclosureby the recipient for the purposes of seeking the assistance ofcounsel; that disclosure is also permitted to other officers, employees and agents; and that judicial process is availableeither to challenge or to enforce an NSL. Moreover, as will be discussed later, to save the statute the Court would need to gofurther and rule by similar means that the interpretive stretchdoes not embrace a vital term the Government's theory expresslyrejects: that the non-disclosure ban cannot be categorical and perpetual, and that a mechanism must exist to permit judicialmodification of the absolute, indefinite secrecy § 2709(c)imposes. In this respect, the Court must note that the more andthe deeper the interstices in a law a judge is called upon tofill, the more what the enterprise demands is not construction of a statute but its emendation by the court, effectively an exercise of judiciallegislation in order to repair and rescue the enactment byfurnishing through this back channel the missing terms Congressitself did not provide.

More significantly, the Court's interpretation of § 2709, inany faithful observance of the canons of statutory construction, cannot consider that provision strictly in isolation. As madeclear above in the lengthy overview of the rules pertaining to the Government's information-gathering authority, § 2709 does not represent a discrete, stand-alone instance of legislation. Rather, it is but one point in a constellation of other laws, apart and pattern of a larger congressional design generally interrelated by the common purpose of facilitating various forms of investigations and law enforcement proceedings. As is apparent from the statutes' diverse subjects, policy aims and textual differences, however, there is no compelling evidence that Congress has intended to blend the national policy and security interests implicated in the whole body of these laws and to view them all as necessarily demanding a uniform degree of secrecy or procedural safeguards. In this sense, the methods and process Congress has authorized the FBI to undertake in administering NSLs cannot be strictly equated with those traditionally associated with the investigation or prosecution of the ordinary criminal proceeding. In this case, therefore, the effect of inserting by judicial interpretation the substantial procedural and individual rights protections palpably absent from § 2709 — the task

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the Governmentwould have the Court assume — would be to conform the statutewith the requirements of legislation belonging to the same genus, but not altogether the same species, thus essentially converting§ 2709 into a mirror image of other laws Congress has enacted or contemplates in which it did see fit to explicitly include the precise terms the Government seeks to engraft onto § 2709 byjudicial grace.

The course the Government urges poses several conceptual difficulties for the Court. First, it is at odds with statutoryconstruction principle and caselaw, cited above, dealing with comparable competing interpretations deriving from different statutes. If Congress took affirmative steps to legislate the provisions in question in other statutes, it may have been aware of them and of their implications when it enacted and later amended § 2709 with those standards omitted.

Second, the Government's theory may not be supported by analternate reading of congressional intent that could reasonablybe drawn from the enactment of § 2709. In light of the sensitivity and overarching national priority associated withthe purposes of the NSL statutes — international terrorism and counter-intelligence investigations — as well as the gravity of the events that supplied the propelling force and context for the passage and recent amendments of § 2709, one might fairly inferthat the absence of any reference to judicial review is the product of Congressional intent. Specifically, § 2709 may convey that Congress meant the statute to serve as a more stringent lawenforcement tool, one affording greater investigative powers, leeway and flexibility to the FBI, providing for far more secrecy rather than less, and not necessarily to be substantively or procedurally conflated with related statutes not serving comparably heightened national security concerns. Conversely, for the same reasons and in contradistinction with other information-gathering laws not arising out of national exigencies quite as extreme, the statute could be read to signal Congress's contemplation that less weight be given to protections of personal liberties in conflict with the acute national security interests § 2709 fosters.

Third, for the Court to give effect to the Government's construction in the face of apparently conflicting, or at bestvery ambiguous legislative designs, would implicate severeconcerns over the proper separation of powers. Such a complex andvariable statutory scheme renders it extremely difficult for this Court to find that the absence of particular terms from§ 2709 was merely inadvertent or non-substantive, or that even if Congress left holes in § 2709 that it took pains to plug in othersimilar laws, it falls within the legitimate domain of the Courtto function as a legislative repair shop entrusted to perform Congress's labors, and fix Congress's purported errors oromissions at the Government's bidding.

No more compelling evidence exists underscoring the Court's quandary than the various remedial proposals now pending in Congress, discussed above, designed to rectify some of the shortcomings of the NSL statutes, including § 2709. Were the Court to accept the Government's invitation to read § 2709 as the Government proposes, the bills under consideration essentially would be rendered largely moot by the measure of this Court's ruling: NSLs would be read to be judicially enforceable,

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and disclosures to attorneys and other agents that would beauthorized by pending bills would be read into the existing statute. What message would that decision convey to Congress? Ineffect, such a ruling would risk beating Congress to the punchthrough the exercise of judicial power, and would signal that Congress would not need to further consider corrective action on this score, since the legislative business and public policy ends Congress had openly contemplated would already have been dispatched by judicial decree. The very articulation of the proposition supplies its answer. It should suffice to state that this is not atask even the most intrepid court should lightly countenance.

Despite these severe reservations, in the final analysis theCourt need not resolve Plaintiffs' facial challenge to § 2709 onFourth Amendment grounds for two reasons. First, even if theCourt were to accept that the FBI's authority to issue andenforce NSLs pursuant to § 2709 means what the Government saysit means, the Court's inquiry would not end there with a rulingin favor of the Government. Investing those provisions with thereading the Government accords them does not address thePlaintiffs' distinct claim that in practice § 2709 in all orthe vast majority of actual cases, by virtue of the statute'sunwarranted application by the FBI, operates otherwise. TheCourt concludes that the operation of § 2709 renders itunconstitutional, notwithstanding that, at least in a theoreticalsense, a possible reading of portions of the statute as theGovernment propounds, through extensive judicial tinkering withits silences, may be posited to withstand a Fourth Amendmentfacial challenge. In particular, deficiencies in the application of § 2709 pertain to the very core issues — access to legaladvice and availability of judicial process to enforce and contest the law — upon which Plaintiffs' Fourth Amendment facial challenge is grounded. Because the Court agrees that those protections are vital to satisfy Fourth Amendment standards, it finds the manner in which§ 2709 has been applied unwarranted.

The crux of the problem is that the form NSL, like the oneissued in this case, which is preceded by a personal call from anFBI agent, is framed in imposing language on FBI letterhead andwhich, citing the authorizing statute, orders a combination of disclosure in person and in complete secrecy, essentially coerces the reasonable recipient into immediate compliance. Objectively viewed, it is improbable that an FBI summons invoking the authority of a certified "investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities," and phrased in tones sounding virtually as biblical commandment, would not be perceived with some apprehension by an ordinary person and therefore elicit passive obedience from a reasonable NSL recipient. The full weight of this ominous writ is especially felt when the NSL's plain language, in a measure that enhances its aura as an expression of public will, prohibits disclosing the issuance of the NSL to "any person." Reading such strictures, it is also highly unlikely that NSL recipient reasonably would know that he may have a rightto contest the NSL, and that a process to do so may exist through a judicial proceeding.

Because neither the statute, nor an NSL, nor the FBI agentsdealing with the recipient say as much, all but the most mettlesome and undaunted NSL recipients would consider themselves effectively barred from consulting an attorney oranyone else who might advise them otherwise, as well as bound to absolute silence about the very existence of the NSL. Furthermore, it is doubtful that an NSL

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recipient, notnecessarily a lawyer, would be willing to undertake any creative exercises in statutory construction to somehow reach the Government's proposed reading of § 2709, especially because that construction is not apparent from the plain language of the statute, the NSL itself, or accompanying government communications, and any penalties for non-compliance or disclosure are also unspecified in the NSL or in the statute. For the reasonable NSL recipient confronted with the NSL's mandatory language and the FBI's conduct related to the NSL, resistance is not a viable option.

The evidence in this case bears out the hypothesis that NSLswork coercively in this way. The ACLU obtained, via the Freedomof Information Act ("FOIA"), and presented to the Court in thisproceeding, a document listing all the NSLs the Government issuedfrom October 2001 through January 2003. Although the entiresubstance of the document is redacted, it is apparent thathundreds of NSL requests were made during that period. Because §2709 has been available to the FBI since 1986 (and its financial records counterpart in RFPA since 1978), the Court concludes that there must have been hundreds more NSLs issued in that long time span. The evidence suggests that, until now, none of those NSLs was ever challengedin any court. First, the Department of Justice explicitly informed the House Judiciary Committee in May 2003 that there had been no challenges to the propriety or legality of any NSLs. Second, the Government's evidence in this case conspicuously lacks any suggestion either that the Government has ever had to resort to a judicial enforcement proceeding for any NSL, or that any recipient has ever resisted an NSL request in such a proceeding or via any motion to quash.

To be sure, the Court recognizes that many other reasons mayexist to explain the absence of challenges to NSLs: the communications provider who receives the NSL ordinarily would have little incentive to contest the NSL on the subscriber's behalf; the standard of review for administrative subpoenassimilar to NSLs is so minimal that most such NSLs would likely be upheld in court; litigating these issues is expensive; and many citizens may feel a civic duty to help the FBI's investigation and thus may willingly comply. Nevertheless, the Court finds it striking that, in all the years during which the FBI has been serving NSLs, the evidence suggests that, until now, no single NSL recipient has ever sought to quash such adirective. The Court thus concludes that in practice NSLs are essentially unreviewable because, as explained, given the language and tone of the statute as carried into the NSL by the FBI, the recipient would consider himself, in virtually every case, obliged to comply, with no other option but to immediately obey and stay quiet.

The Government responds that Doe's arguments on this point areundermined by the very fact that Doe himself consulted anattorney and brought this challenge. The Court disagrees forseveral reasons. First, so far as the evidence shows, Doe's decision to challenge the NSL is a lone exception in theotherwise consistent record. The constitutional bar marking the limits the Government can permissibly reach in curtailing personal freedoms in the name of national security should not beraised to heights at which all but the most powerfully endowedwould feel impelled to remain cowered or content, and none butthe well-heeled could stand tall enough to take on a lawenforcer's coercive order. If the Court were to take up the Government's invitation and reject Doe's asapplied

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challenge to the statute until one of the NSL recipients whoactually felt intimidated enough by the NSL was moved to bringsuit, such a day may never arrive. Moreover, in such a prospectthe NSL recipient would presumably have already turned over therequested information to the FBI, further defeating the purpose of subsequent resistance.

Second, the Court finds support for its analysis in caselawwhich, in testing the validity of a Government policy or law,recognizes the importance of appreciating its practical effect ona reasonable person, especially as evidenced by the methods and terms the Government employs to convey what it demands and toelicit the desired compliance. In Bantam Books, Inc. v.Sullivan, 147 the Rhode Island legislature created anadministrative commission to determine whether publications wereobscene or objectionable to minors, and where appropriate, torecommend cases to the authorities for prosecution. In accordance with its practice, the commission sent to a book distributor anotice which ordered that the distributor cease disseminating certain publications to minors and which reminded the distributor of the commission's duty to recommend prosecutions to the Attorney General. The notice thanked the distributor for hisanticipated cooperation. The Supreme Court found that the commission's practice of informal censorship violated the First Amendment, as incorporated against the states by the Fourteenth Amendment. 148

Important for purposes of this case, the Supreme Court inBantam Books deemed it irrelevant that the commission did nothave any actual authority to prosecute anyone. The Court recognized that the distributor "was `free' to ignore the Commission's notices, in the sense that his refusal to `cooperate' would have violated no law, but the Courtdid not countenance that technical point in light of therealities of the situation: People do not lightly disregard public officers' thinly veiled threats to institute criminal proceedings against them if they do not come around. . . . The Commission's notices, phrased virtually as orders, reasonably understood to be such by the distributor, invariably followed up by police visitations, in fact stopped the circulation of the listed publications ex proprio vigore. It would be naive to credit the State's assertion that these blacklists are in the nature of mere legal advice, when they plainly serve as instruments of regulation independent of the laws against obscenity. Here, the Court concludes it would be similarly naive to conclude that § 2709 NSLs, given their commandeering warrant, do anythingshort of coercing all but the most fearless NSL recipient into immediate compliance and secrecy. 152

In another case along these general lines,¹⁵³ the FirstCircuit considered whether it was proper for the United StatesAttorney's Office in Puerto Rico to issue to grand jury subpoenarecipients letters which stated: You are not to disclose the existence of this subpoena or the fact of your compliance for a period of 90 days from the date of the subpoena. Any such disclosure could seriously impede the investigation being conducted and, thereby, interfere with the enforcement of the federal criminal law.¹⁵⁴The Court held that the letter violated Federal Rule of CriminalProcedure 6, which bars secrecy obligations upon subpoenarecipients.¹⁵⁵ The First Circuit explicitly rejected thecontention "that the letter did not impose any `obligation' but simply stated the United States Attorney'sbelief that disclosure would be harmful to the investigation": The document at issue, after all, is from the

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United States Attorney's office informing its recipient that a particular course of action could "impede" a criminal investigation "and, thereby, interfere with the enforcement of the federal criminal law." Absent a clear showing to the contrary, we fail to see how a reasonable, law-abiding person who received such a letter would think anything other than that he was being told that he was legally obligated not to engage in that course of action. ¹⁵⁶The First Circuit thus invalidated what was, in practice, anobligation of secrecy, even though the letters at issue did nothave the force of law.

Similarly, the Court here concludes that what is, in practice, an implicit obligation of automatic compliance with NSLs violatesthe Fourth Amendment right to judicial access, even if hypothetically the law were construed to imply such access. In this regard, the Court notes that even stronger grounds exist in the record before this Court to support a finding of coercive effect of the NSLs than was the case of the government agency sletters involved in both Bantam Books and Grand Jury Proceedings. In Bantam Books, the Rhode Island statute at issue made clear that the commission it created had no power toprosecute those who violated the "recommendations" in its letters, and in Grand Jury Proceedings, the Government's ability to require the secrecy sought by the letter at issue was specifically foreclosed by a Federal Rule of Criminal Procedure. By contrast, in issuing the NSL in the formemployed here, the FBI's order carried out the express terms of §2709 and, as the reference to the law reminded the recipient, directed precisely the conduct the statute mandated. An NSL recipient would be unable to learn from the text of § 2709 that the letter was not actually coercive.

That the form NSL and the FBI's actions were based on aplausible reading of § 2709 does not save these practices frominvalidation. In Bantam Books, the Supreme Court nullified thecommission's practices without reaching the question of whetherthe vague and open-ended statute creating the commission wasitself constitutional, ¹⁵⁷ and in Grand JuryProceedings, the First Circuit had no occasion to reachconstitutional questions because it found that the United StatesAttorney's Office had violated a Federal Rule of CriminalProcedure.

Recognizing from the preceding discussion the reality that §2709 effectively keeps § 2709 NSLs out of litigation altogether, the Court concludes that supplying a judicial gloss to § 2709 butfailing to address the practical effects of the unparalleledlevel of secrecy and coercion fostered by the FBI's implementation of the statute would be completely academic. That is, the Court is reluctant to fashion a "remedy" which has no effect beyond being printed in the Federal Supplement.

The Court notes that, conceivably, the Government couldendeavor to remedy the defects in § 2709 by alerting all NSLrecipients as to what the Government now claims is implicit in §2709 — that they are entitled to consult an attorney and otherpersons necessary to facilitate compliance, and to move to quashthe NSL. However, accepting as implicit in the statute theprotections the Government contends may be inferred does not remedy another deficiency that serves as independent grounds for the statute's facial invalidation: the categorical, indefinite non-disclosure provision § 2709(c), which is not amenable to a "fairly possible" construction that would save it from invalidation.

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The Court explains below why categorical, indefinite, andunreviewable non-disclosure was intended by Congress and why anyjudicial interpretation intended to save this provision of §2709, e.g., by requiring judicial determination of the need forsecrecy in each case, or by making judicial review available tochallenge the categorical ban or speech at particular times, would be entirely unmoored from anything in the text, structureor legislative history of the statute, and would grossly exceed the judicial function. Such a ruling wouldessentially amount to judicial arrogation of legislative power, an outright statutory re-write, rather than a "fairly possible" statutory construction. On this point, however, the Government's argument defends the statute as drafted, and presumably would oppose a construction that would recognize the availability of judicial review to mitigate the consequences of the permanent non-disclosure mandate. Here, then, is the nub of this case. The Government does not accept that § 2709's non-disclosure provision may be modified by judicial review — nor could it, given the plain text of the statute — and the Court, which deems such an omission from the law fatal, would be unable, for the same reason, to cure it by interpretation.

Accordingly, the Court concludes that § 2709, as applied here, must be invalidated because in all but the exceptional case ithas the effect of authorizing coercive searches effectively immune from any judicial process, in violation of the FourthAmendment. The Court next turns to other reasons that compel themore drastic conclusion that § 2709 must be invalidated on its face. First, however, the Court examines Plaintiffs' arguments that § 2709 violates communications service subscribers' FirstAmendment rights. It concludes that the absence of meaningfuljudicial review created by § 2709's coercive implementation may also lead to violations of subscribers' own constitutional rights.

2. NSLs May Violate ISP Subscribers' Rights.

Plaintiffs have focused on the possibility that § 2709 could beused to infringe subscribers' First Amendment rights of anonymousspeech and association. Though it is not necessary to preciselydefine the scope of ISP subscribers' First Amendment rights, theCourt concludes that § 2709 may, in a given case, violate asubscriber's First Amendment privacy rights, as well as otherlegal rights, if judicial review is not readily available to anISP that receives an NSL. This conclusion buttresses the Court'sholding that, at least as applied, § 2709 does not permitsufficient judicial review to preserve individual subscribers'rights, where impairment of such rights may be implicated by agiven NSL. ¹⁶⁰

The Supreme Court has recognized the First Amendment right toanonymous speech at least since Talley v.California, ¹⁶¹ which invalidated a California lawrequiring that handbills distributed to the public containcertain identifying information about the source of thehandbills. The Court stated that the "identification requirement would tend torestrict freedom to distribute information and thereby freedom of expression." ¹⁶² The Supreme Court has also invalidated identification requirements pertaining to persons distributing campaign literature, ¹⁶³ persons circulating petitions for state ballot initiatives, ¹⁶⁴ and persons engaging indoor-to-door religious advocacy. ¹⁶⁵

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In a related doctrine, the Supreme Court has held that "compelled disclosure of affiliation with groups engaged inadvocacy" amounts to a "restraint on freedom of association" where disclosure could expose the members to "publichostility." Laws mandating such disclosures will be be be only where the Government interest is compelling. Laws mandating such disclosures will be upheld only where the Government interest is compelling.

The Court concludes that such First Amendment rights may beinfringed by application of § 2709 in a given case. For example, the FBI theoretically could issue to a political campaign's computer systems operator a § 2709 NSL compelling production of the names of all persons who have email addresses through the campaign's computer systems. The FBI theoretically could also issue an NSL under § 2709 to discern the identity of someone whose anonymous online web log, or "blog," is critical of the Government. Such inquiries might be beyond the permissible scope of the FBI's power under § 2709 because the targeted information might not be relevant to an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandest in eintelligence activities, or because the inquiry might be conducted solely on the basis of activities protected by the First Amendment. These prospects only highlight the potential danger of the FBI's self-certification process and the absence of judicial oversight.

Other rights may also be violated by the disclosurecontemplated by the statute; the statute's reference to "transactional records" creates ambiguity regarding the scope of the information required to be produced by the NSL recipient. If the recipient — who in the NSL is called upon to exercise judgment in determining the extent to which complying materials constitute transactional records rather than content in the mail header information, including subjectlines, for example, some disclosures conceivably may reveal information protected by the subscriber's attorney-client privilege, e.g., a communication with an attorney where the subject line conveys privileged or possibly incriminating information. Indeed, the practical absence of judicial review maylead ISPs to disclose information that is protected from disclosure by the NSL statute itself, such as in a case where the NSL was initiated solely in retaliation for the subscriber's exercise of his First Amendment rights, as prohibited by §2709(b) (1)-(b) (2). Only a court would be able to definitively construe the statutory and First Amendment rights at issue in the "First Amendment retaliation" provision of the statute, and tostrike a proper balance among those interests.

The Government asserts that disclosure of the informationsought under § 2709 could not violate a subscriber's rights (andthus demands no judicial process) because the information which a§ 2709 NSL seeks has been voluntarily conveyed to the ISP whoreceives the NSL. According to the Government, an internetspeaker relinquishes any interest in any anonymity, and anyprotected claim to that information, as soon as he releases hisidentity and other information to his ISP. In support of itsposition, the Government cites the Supreme Court's holding that, at least in the Fourth Amendment context involving the Government installing a pen register or obtainingbank records, when a person voluntarily conveys information tothird parties, he assumes the risk that the information will beturned over to the Government.¹⁶⁹

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The Court rejects the Government's reasoning. Every court thathas addressed the issue has held that individual internetsubscribers have a right to engage in anonymous internet speech, though anonymity may be trumped in a given case by otherconcerns. 170 No court has adopted the Government's argument here that anonymous internet speech or associational activity ceases to be protected because a third-party ISP is inpossession of the identifying information. 171 Moreover, the Court notes that the implications of the Government's position are profound. Anonymous internet speakers could be unmasked merely by an administrative, civil, or trial subpoena, or by any state or local disclosure regulation directed at their ISP, and the Government would not have to provide any heightened justification for revealing the speaker. The samewould be true for attempts to compile membership lists by seeking the computerized records of an organization which uses athird-party electronic communications provider. Considering, asis undisputed here, the importance of the internet as a forum for speech and association, the Court rejects the invitation topermit the rights of internet anonymity and association to be placed at such grave risk.

The Court reaches this conclusion by determining that NSLsissued pursuant to § 2709 may seek information about orindirectly obtained from subscribers that may be protected from disclosure by the First Amendment or other rights-protecting constitutional provisions or statutes. Echoing the SupremeCourt's observation that "differences in the characteristics of new media justify differences in the First Amendment standardsapplied to them," the Court concludes that even though Smith and Miller might suggest that there is no First Amendment interest at stake in compelling the disclosure by telephone companies and banks of certain transactional information derived from customer records, in deciding this case the Court must take account of the unique features of internet communications that may warrant application of different rules. The Court is persuaded that, for First Amendment purposes, internet records of the type obtained via a § 2709 NSL could differ substantially from transactional bank or phone records.

The evidence on the record now before this Court demonstrates that the information available through a § 2709 NSL served uponan ISP could easily be used to disclose vast amounts of anonymousspeech and associational activity. For instance, § 2709 imposes aduty to provide "electronic communication transactional records," a phrase which, though undefined in the statute, certainly encompasses a log of email addresses with whoma subscriber has corresponded and the web pages that a subscribervisits. Those transactional records can reveal, among otherthings, the anonymous message boards to which a person logs on orposts, the electronic newsletters to which he subscribes, and theadvocacy websites he visits. Moreover, § 2709 imposes a duty on ISPs to provide the names and addresses of subscribers, thus enabling the Government to specifically identify someone who has written anonymously on the internet. The As discussed above, given that an NSL recipient is directed by the FBI to turn over allinformation "which you consider to be an electronic communication transactional record, The § 2709 NSL could also reasonably be interpreted by an ISP to require, atminimum, disclosure of all e-mail header information, including subject lines.

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In stark contrast to this potential to compile elaboratedossiers on internet users, the information obtainable by a penregister is far more limited. As the Supreme Court in Smith wascareful to note: [Pen registers] disclose only the telephone numbers that have been dialed — a means of establishing communication. Neither the purport of any communication between the caller and the recipient of the call, their identities, nor whether the call was even completed is disclosed by pen registers. ¹⁷⁷The Court doubts that the result in Smith would have been thesame if a pen register operated as a key to the most intimate details and passions of a person's private life.

The more apt Supreme Court case for evaluating the assumption of risk argument at issue here is Katz v. UnitedStates, ¹⁷⁸ the seminal decision underlying both Smithand Miller. Katz held that the Fourth Amendment's privacyprotections applied where the Government wiretapped a telephonecall placed from a public phone booth. ¹⁷⁹ Especiallynoteworthy and pertinent to this case is the Supreme Court's remark that: "The Government's activities in electronically listening to and recording the petitioner's words violated the privacy upon which he justifiably relied while using the telephone booth and thus constituted a `search and seizure' within the meaning of the Fourth Amendment. ¹¹⁸⁰ The Supreme Court also stated that a person entering a phone boothwho "shuts the door behind him" is "surely entitled to assume that the words he utters into the mouthpiece will not be broadcast to the world," and held that, "[t]o read the Constitution more narrowly is to ignore the vital role that the public telephone has come to play in private communication." ¹¹⁸¹

Applying that reasoning to anonymous internet speech and associational activity is relatively straightforward. A person who signs onto an anonymous forum under a pseudonym, for example, is essentially "shut[ting] the door behindhim," and is surely entitled to a reasonable expectation that his speech, whatever form the expression assumes, will not be accessible to the Government to be broadcast to the world absent appropriate legal process. To hold otherwise would ignore the role of the internet as a remarkably powerful forum for private communication and association. Even the Government concedes here that the internet is an "important vehicle for the free exchange of ideas and facilitates associations." 183

To be sure, the Court is keenly mindful of the Government's reminder that the Internet may also serve as a vehicle for crime. The Court equally recognizes that circumstances exist in which the First Amendment rights of association and anonymity mustyield to a more compelling Government interest in obtaining records from Internet firms. To this end, the Court re-emphasizes that it does not here purport to set forth the scope of these First Amendment rights in general, or define them in this or anyother case. The Court holds only that such fundamental rights are certainly implicated in some cases in which the Government may employ § 2709 broadly to gather information, thus requiring that the process incorporate the safeguards of some judicial review to ensure that if an infringement of those rights is asserted, they are adequately protected through fair process in an independent neutral tribunal. Because the necessary procedural protections are wholly absent here, the Court finds on this ground additional cause for invalidating § 2709 as applied.

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C. CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE NON-DISCLOSURE PROVISION

Finally, the Court turns to the issue of whether the Governmentmay properly enforce § 2709(c), the non-disclosure provision, against Doe or any other person who has previously received anNSL. Section 2709(c) states: "No wire or electronic communicationservice provider, or officer, employee, or agent thereof, shalldisclose to any person that the Federal Bureau of Investigationhas sought or obtained access to information or records underthis section." ¹⁸⁴

A threshold question concerning this issue is whether, as Plaintiffs contend, § 2709(c) is subject to strict scrutiny aseither a prior restraint on speech or a content-based speechrestriction, or whether, as the Government responds, § 2709(c) issubject to the more relaxed judicial review of intermediatescrutiny. The difference is crucial. A speech restriction whichis either content-based or which imposes a prior restraint onspeech is presumed invalid and may be upheld only if it is "narrowly tailored to promote a compelling Government interest." If "less restrictive alternatives would beat least as effective in achieving the legitimate purpose thatthe statute was enacted to serve," then the speech restriction isnot narrowly tailored and may be invalidated. Underintermediate scrutiny, a speech restriction may be upheld as longas "it advances important governmental interests unrelated to thesuppression of free speech and does not burden substantially morespeech than necessary to further those interests."

In the Court's judgment, a blanket permanent prohibition onfuture disclosures is an even purer form of prior restraint thana licensing system in which the speaker may at least potentiallyobtain government approval and remain free to speak. In fact, ablanket proscription on future speech works identically to themost severe form of a licensing system — one in which nolicenses are granted, and the speech at issue is maximallysuppressed.

Second, the Court considers § 2709(c) to be a content-based speech restriction. The Court finds particular guidance on this point from Kamasinski v. Judicial Review Council, 191 acase which also figures prominently in addressing the question of whether § 2709(c) survives strict scrutiny. In

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Kamasinski, the plaintiff challenged certain Connecticut laws mandating thatjudicial ethics proceedings be kept confidential unless and untilthe relevant administrative authorities determined that there was probable cause to believe that judicial misconduct had occurred, after which a public hearing would be held. During thein vestigatory phase, the Connecticut statutes, much like §2709(c), categorically prohibited witnesses and complainants from even disclosing that an investigation was underway. One purpose of Connecticut's nondisclosure rule (again, much like § 2709 (c)) was to protect the integrity of the investigation. The Second Circuit held that the restrictions at issue were "content-based, and that strict scrutiny [was] the correct standard." The Court finds Kamasinski controlling and thus concludes that § 2709(c) functions as a content-based restriction.

The Government nevertheless argues that § 2709(c) iscontent-neutral because it prohibits certain disclosuresirrespective of any particular speaker's views on NSLs,terrorism, or anything else. The Government emphasizes that a"fundamental principle" underlying judicial skepticism ofcontent-based restrictions is that the Government should notsilence "less favored" or "controversial views" while permitting the "views it finds acceptable." Section2709 does not trigger that concern, the argument goes, becausethe Government's aim in enforcing § 2709(c) is not to "disagree with the message," or to "select which issues areworth discussing or debating in public," but instead to apply a neutral ban on disclosures that are potentially harmful to Government investigations.

The Government's argument is unpersuasive. It fails torecognize that even a viewpoint-neutral restriction can becontent-based, if the restriction pertains to an entirecategory of speech. 196 The Supreme Court has clearly expressed this principle: "The First Amendment's hostility tocontent-based regulation extends not only to restrictions onparticular viewpoints, but also to prohibition of publicdiscussion of an entire topic."197 Section 2709(c)prohibits any discussion of the first-hand experiences of NSL recipients, and of their officers, employees, and agents, and thus closes off that "entire topic" from publicdiscourse. 198 Those persons are forever barred from speaking to anyone about their knowledgeand role in the underlying events pertaining to the issuance of an NSL, however substantively limited or temporally remote thatrole may be, even at a time when disclosure of the occurrence of the investigation may have ceased to generate legitimate national security concerns and instead may hold historical or scholarlyvalue then bearing relatively greater interest to the generalpublic. The restriction would also categorically bar therecipient and its agents from ever discussing their roles even ifother persons may be free to do so — because, for example, thematter may have become public or the FBI itself may have revealed the information or publicly brought the investigation to closure. The absolute and permanent ban on disclosure § 2709(c) commands forecloses an objective weighing of these competing public policyinterests by a neutral arbiter even as the relative merits of therespective claims may alter over time.

Moreover, the Government's argument is foreclosed by Kamasinski. In that case, the Connecticut non-disclosure lawswere likewise neutral as to the message conveyed by the disclosure and likewise broadly prohibited the mere fact of disclosure. The Second Circuit applied strict scrutiny, as the Court

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will do here. As stated, § 2709 (c) may survive strictscrutiny if it is "narrowly tailored to promote a compelling Government interest," and there are no "lessrestrictive alternatives [which] would be at least as effective in achieving the legitimate purpose that the statute was enacted to serve." The Supreme Court has instructed that, in the courts' assessment of these considerations, "[p]recision of regulation must be the touchstone" of the inquiry. On the inquiry.

In applying that test, the Court first acknowledges that the Government's interest in protecting the integrity and efficacy of international terrorism and counterintelligence investigations is a compelling one. The Supreme Court has so acknowledged: "This Court has recognized the Government's 'compelling interest' inwithholding national security information from unauthorized persons in the course of executive business." A suspected terrorist or foreign intelligence operative who is alerted that the Government is conducting an investigation may destroy evidence, create false leads, alert others, or otherwise take steps to avoid detection. More generally, such disclosures can reveal the Government's intelligence-gathering methods, from which foreign intelligence operatives or terrorists could learn better how to avoid detection. Nonetheless, Plaintiffs contend that § 2709(c)'s categorical, perpetual, and automatic ban on disclosure is not an arrowly-tailored means to advance those legitimate public interests. Plaintiffs suggest that a more precisely-calibrated statute, which would equally advance the Government's compelling interests, would prohibit disclosure only on a case-by-case basis, for a limited time, and with prior judicial approval. Without detailing the degree of narrow tailoring which the First Amendment demands with respect to § 2709, the Court concludes that § 2709 is not sufficiently narrow.

The question of how narrow is narrow enough is not amenable toscientific measurement, nor can it be reduced to articulablefacile tests. Rather, it depends largely on context and perspective. When focusing only upon the universe of speech towhich § 2709(c) pertains, the restriction appears very narrow. Acommunications provider is prohibited only from disclosing "that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has sought or obtained accessto information or records under [§ 2709]."²⁰³ Anythingoutside this bare fact may be fair game. For example, the NSL recipient may speak freely about his objection to (or support of)the FBI and its NSL power; he may alert his subscribers to the fact that the FBI has NSL authority under § 2709; he may petitionCongress to repeal § 2709 altogether; and, other privacy laws aside, he would not bebarred by § 2709(c) from disclosing the substance of theinformation disclosed to the FBI. Furthermore, a third partyunaffiliated with the provider who somehow learned from othersources about the issuance of an NSL would not be precluded from disclosing its existence. Speech restrictions of this general nature — prohibiting the holder of information from a disclosurewhich could jeopardize a Government investigation — arecommonplace in federal law, as discussed above in Section I.D.

Viewed from another perspective, however, the restraint imposedunder § 2709(c) is as thorough as is conceivable. The statutepermanently prohibits not only the recipient but its officers, employees or agents, from disclosing the NSL's existence to "any person," in every instance in which an NSL is issued andirrespective of the circumstances prevailing at any given pointin time. ²⁰⁴ In this respect, §

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2709(c) as well as theother NSL statutes, are uniquely extraordinary. As explained morefully earlier in Section II.D., when the Government conducts asserte investigation, it ordinarily must apply for a court orderbefore restricting third-party participants from revealing theinquiry, and those restrictions are generally temporary.

The Court has been able to locate only three statutory provisions even arguably analogous to the automatic, categoricaland permanent scope of the NSL statutes' nondisclosure rules. First, communications firms are categorically barred, unlessotherwise ordered by a court, from ever disclosing that a pen register or trap and trace device is in effect. Second, communications firms are categorically barred, subject to a similar exception "as may otherwise be required by legal process," from ever disclosing that a wiretap or electronic surveillance is in place. Third, recipients of asubpoena under FISA are categorically prohibited from everdisclosing to any person, "other than those persons necessary toproduce" the records sought, that the subpoena wasissued.

Furthermore, these provisions are not quite as severe as thosecontained in the NSL statutes because, with one narrow exceptionfor certain FISA surveillance orders, 208 they apply incontexts in which a court authorizes the investigative method in the first place.²⁰⁹ Thus, even in these statutes, the silenced party, at least theoretically, would almost always have a forum in which to contest the continuing validity of the non-disclosure obligation or to seek a modified secrecy order. ²¹⁰ The FISA limits the potential for abusein yet another way by requiring a clear connection to a foreignpower and by sharply limiting the degree to which any UnitedStates citizen may be subject to surveillance under a secret FISAorder; such protections are not present in § 2709, 211 particularly after the significant broadening of the statute's scope effectuated by the Patriot Act.²¹² The NSL statutes, including § 2709(c), thus stand virtually alone inproviding for blanket secrecy entirely outside the context of judicial process. In synthesizing the broad and narrow features of § 2709(c) explained above, and in considering how closely those features are tailored to the Government's compelling interests, the Government makes convincing points in showing that it would be consistent with the First Amendment to impose a certain amount oflimited secrecy in many cases involving a § 2709 NSL. The Government also persuasively demonstrates how that secrecy, undercertain circumstances, might continue for longer periods of time, consistent with the First Amendment. The Court acknowledges those arguments so far as they go, but concludes in the end that the Government cannot cast § 2709 a blunt agent of secrecy applying in perpetuity to all persons affected in every case asnarrowly-tailored.

The Government first argues, correctly, that courts generallyuphold secrecy statutes in connection with officialinvestigations in recognition of two vital considerations: theimportance of secrecy and that the secrecy is limited (as here)to facts learned only by virtue of a given person's participation in the proceedings. The Court examines this doctrine in detail tounderscore both its relevance and its limits.

The evolution of this doctrine begins with Seattle Times Co.v. Rhinehart. 213 There, the spiritual

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leader of areligious group sued a newspaper which had run negative storiesabout him and his members. The trial court issued a protective order toprevent the newspaper from publishing articles about or otherwisedisseminating private information it gained only throughdiscovery, and the Supreme Court held that such a discoveryrestriction was consistent with the First Amendment. The Courtreasoned that, because a litigant generally has no FirstAmendment right to obtain access to such discovery information inthe first place, "court control over the discovered informationdoes not raise the same specter of government censorship thatsuch control might suggest in other situations." ²¹⁴ Itwas also crucial to the Court's reasoning that the protective order pertained to "only that information obtained through theuse of the discovery process," and thus permitted the newspaperto "disseminate the identical information covered by the protective order as long as the information [was] gained throughmeans independent of the court's processes."

The next relevant case, Butterworth v. Smith, 216 distinguished Rhinehart, but, by negative implication, sharpened the theory underlying the doctrine upon which the Government relies here. In that case, a Florida newspaperreporter, who had testified before a grand jury about alleged state corruption, sought a declaratory judgment that he could lawfully publish, after the grand jury term ended, an account of his grand jury testimony. The Supreme Court invalidated Florida's grand jury secrecy law "insofar as the Florida law prohibit[ed] agrand jury witness from disclosing his own testimony after the term of the grand jury has ended."217 The Court explained that the reasons for grand jury secrecy (e.g., keepinginformation from the target, preventing witness tampering, protecting an exonerated target from ridicule) were severely diminished by the end of a grand jury term. 218 Againstthat weak interest, the Court explained that the impact on thereporter's free speech rights was "dramatic."219 Whereasthe reporter was previously "free to speak at will" about thetopics at issue, his participation in the grand jury proceeding rendered it unlawful under Florida law for him to communicate even the "content, gist, or import" of his testimony. 220 The Court concluded that "the interests advanced by the [relevant] portion of the Florida statute . . . are notsufficient to overcome [the reporter's] First Amendment right tomake a truthful statement of information he acquired on his own."221

The Court distinguished Rhinehart on the ground that theissue in Butterworth involved "respondent's right to divulgeinformation of which he was in possession before he testifiedbefore the grand jury, and not information which he may haveobtained as a result of his participation in the proceedings ofthe grand jury."²²² To further mark the bounds of itsholding, the Court noted that the "part of the Florida statutewhich prohibits the witness from disclosing the testimony of another witness remains enforceable under the ruling the Courtof Appeals."²²³

In a lone concurrence, Justice Scalia underscored the important distinction between prohibiting the disclosure of information which a witness "kn[ows] before he enter[s] the grand jury room" (the issue then before the Court) and prohibiting "a witness' disclosure of the grand jury proceedings" (an issue not then before the Court). The latter form of prohibition involves "knowledge [the witness] acquires not `on his own' but only by virtue of being made a witness," and "is in a wayinformation of the

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State's own creation."²²⁵ Justice Scalia suggested that there mightbe separate and compelling reasons to prohibit disclosing state-created information, but he noted that the issue was "notpresented by the narrow question" of the case. ²²⁶

The Second Circuit embraced Justice Scalia's distinction inKamasinski, cited above. As already stated, Kamasinski rejected a First Amendment challenge toConnecticut's secrecy laws surrounding judicial misconductinquiries. The Circuit Court explained that the disclosures of aparticipant in such proceedings fall into three categories: (1)"the substance of an individual's complaint or testimony;" (2)"the complainant's disclosure of the fact that a complaint wasfiled or the witness' disclosure of the fact that testimony wasgiven;" and (3) "information that the individual learns by interacting with" the other participants. The SecondCircuit, citing Justice Scalia's concurrence, held that Butterworth addressed only the first category of information. As for the latter two categories, the Court held that the "limited ban on disclosure" was justified in light of Connecticut's substantial interests in the secrecy of those proceedings. Substantial interests in the secrecy of those proceedings.

In an analogous case, the Third Circuit drew the samedistinction in determining the extent to which Pennsylvania's confidentiality laws for judicial ethics proceedings were constitutional. The Third Circuit held that, although the First Amendment required that a witness be permitted to reveal his own testimony, Pennsylvania's secrecy requirement was constitutional "insofar as it would prevent a person," including a witness, "from disclosing proceedings taking place before" thereviewing body. 232

Finally, in Hoffman-Pugh v. Keenan, the housekeeper of Johnand Patsy Ramsey, whose daughter JonBenet was the victim of ahigh-profile, unsolved murder, sought a declaration that shecould publish an account of her experiences before the grand jury investigating JonBenet's murder, in spite of aColorado law prohibiting grand jury witnesses from disclosingtheir testimony. The Tenth Circuit upheld the secrecyrequirement, noting that the Colorado statute was careful to "notprohibit disclosure of information the witness already hadindependently of the grand jury process." The Courtstated: "Reading Butterworth in light of Rhinehart, we are convinced a line should be drawn between information the witnesspossessed prior to becoming a witness and information the witnessgained through her actual participation in the grand juryprocess."

A basic principle emerging from these cases is that laws whichprohibit persons from disclosing information they learn solely bymeans of participating in confidential government proceedingstrigger less First Amendment concerns than laws which prohibitdisclosing information a person obtains independently. Statedanother way, the Government has at least some power to controlinformation which is its "own creation," and to whichthere is otherwise "no First Amendment right ofaccess." The theory behind this principle is that, where an individual learns information to which heordinarily would have no right of access, the individual takesthat information subject to the statutory scheme (confidentialityrules included) which made the information available in the firstplace. As Judge Wilkey of the District of Columbia Circuitexpressed this concept: "The First Amendment interest oflitigants in the dissemination of [materials obtained]

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throughdiscovery] is necessarily qualified or conditioned by the potential restrictions that are part of the system through which the materials have been obtained."²³⁸

The principle Rhinehart and its progeny represent is directlyapplicable to the present case in the following way. An NSLrecipient or other person covered by the statute learns that anNSL has been issued only by virtue of his particular role in theunderlying investigation, and, as the case law demonstrates, itpresumptively does little violence to First Amendment values tocondition the issuance of an NSL upon the recipient's returnobligation of at least some secrecy.

The relevance of this doctrine reaches its limit, however, whenthe Court considers that the NSL statutes, unlike otherlegislation cited above, impose a permanent bar on disclosurein every case, making no distinction among competing relative public policy values over time, and containing provision for lifting that bar when the circumstances that justify it may no longer warrant categorical secrecy. Courts haverecognized the significance of these considerations in FirstAmendment inquiries. In Hoffman-Pugh, for example, the EighthCircuit explained that Colorado law "provides a mechanism for[the plaintiff] to free herself of the restriction on herdisclosure of her grand jury testimony at such time as theinvestigation is truly closed and the state no longer has alegitimate interest in preserving the secrecy of thattestimony." Similarly, the Second Circuit noted inKamasinski that secrecy rules are only consistent with theFirst Amendment during the investigatory phase of a judicialethics proceeding. This feature of § 2709(c) is extraordinary in that the breadth and lasting effects of its reach are uniquely exceptional, potentially compelling secrecyeven under some decidedly non-sensitive conditions or where secrecy may no longer be justifiable under articulable nationalsecurity needs.

The Government's claim to perpetual secrecy surrounding the FBI's issuance of NSLs, by its theory as advanced here anauthority neither restrained by the FBI's own internal discretionnor reviewable by any form of judicial process, presupposes a category of information, and thus a class of speech, that, for reasons not satisfactorily explained, mustforever be kept from public view, cloaked by an official sealthat will always overshadow the public's right to know. Ingeneral, as our sunshine laws and judicial doctrine attest, democracy abhors undue secrecy, in recognition that publicknowledge secures freedom.²⁴¹ Hence, an unlimitedgovernment warrant to conceal, effectively a form of secrecyper se, has no place in our open society. Such a claim isespecially inimical to democratic values for reasons borne out bypainful experience.²⁴² Under the mantle of secrecy, theselfpreservation that ordinarily impels our government to censorship and secrecymay potentially be turned on ourselves as a weapon of self-destruction. When withholding information from disclosure is no longer justified, when it ceases to foster the proper aimsthat initially may have supported confidentiality, a categorical and uncritical extension of non-disclosure may become the coverfor spurious ends that government may then deem too inconvenient, inexpedient, merely embarrassing, or even illicit to ever exposeto the light of day. At that point, secrecy's protective shieldmay serve not as much to secure a safe country as simply to saveface.

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The Government does not deny that there are plausible situations in which little or no reason may remain for continuing the secrecy of the fact that an NSL was issued. To cite anexample, a case may arise in which the Government's investigation has long since been completed and information about it has become public through Government sources or otherwise, in which thematerial obtained through an NSL revealed that there was no basiswhatsoever to pursue the subject or target of the Government's investigation, or in whichthe disclosure may have been made by a person in the chain ofinformation, such as an employee or agent of the NSL recipient, who was not informed in any way of the secrecy requirement. Section 2709(c) does not countenance the possibility that the FBIcould permit modification of the NSL's no-disclosure order evenin those or any other similar situations no longer implicatinglegitimate national security interests and presenting factual orlegal issues that any court could reasonably adjudicate. Bluntlystated, the statute simply does not allow for that balancing of competing public interests to be made by an independent tribunalat any point. In this regard, it is conceivable that "lessrestrictive alternatives would be at least as effective inachieving the legitimate purpose that the statute was enacted toserve."243 For instance, Congress could require the FBIto make at least some determination concerning need before requiring secrecy, and ultimately it could provide a forum anddefine at least some circumstances in which an NSL recipient could ask the FBI or a court for a subsequent determination whether continuing secrecy was still warranted.

As mentioned above, pending legislation authorizing broad NSLpowers in terrorism cases fully outlines some less restrictive alternatives along these lines. House lines. House and Senate would require the AttorneyGeneral to certify, before ordering secrecy, that disclosurewould present a "danger to the national security," and thenon-disclosure order could later be terminated by the AttorneyGeneral or a court, if the danger expires. That such protective procedures were indeed incorporated in somewhatanalogous statutes, and are the subject of corrective bills nowpending in Congress, confirms some level of congressional recognition that § 2709(c) as now written is severely flawed, andthat other means may be available to protect secrecy while still preserving First Amendment rights.

The Government acknowledges that § 2709(c) was intended byCongress to impose a permanent ban on disclosure, but maintainsthat any less restrictive alternative, such as H.R. 3037, wouldnot be as effective because it would put the Government to anunwelcome choice each time it considered issuing an NSL. That is,the Government would have to weigh the risk of court-ordereddisclosure against the need for the information sought. The Government argues that it should not bediscouraged from seeking all relevant information in thesehighly important and sensitive investigations. This argument, asif using the edge of the hammer to hit the nail, strikes thecentral point only tangentially. The issue raised by theindefinite secrecy which the § 2709(c) non-disclosure provision countenances has little or nothing to do either with the Government's ability or its reach to freely gather as muchinformation as it deems necessary, assuming the means and safeguards it employs are otherwise proper. The Court discerns noquarrel here on that score. Rather, the question is the Government's need to maintain the secrecy of discrete information, and thus a restriction on freedom of speech, longafter the investigation has gathered whatever it needs and thematerial

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presumably has been put to its intended purposes. Atthat point, instances may arise in which the justification forconcealment may have attenuated and the rights of both the NSLrecipient and the public to disclosure may have correspondinglyacquired greater weight and deserve heightened consideration in the balancing of pertinent public values by a neutral arbiter.

Though mindful of the Government's concerns, the Court remainsskeptical of the contention that a narrower statute could notmeet the Government's needs just as effectively. As an initialmatter, the Court makes clear that, where a blanket rule swearing everyone concerned to secrecy forever certainlywould be the easier and most efficient course for the Government, that is of no moment here. Striking at speech with anall-encompassing prophylactic rule will always demand lessGovernment effort than a more considered, case-by-case approach. Recognizing, as suggested earlier, that the most efficient coursedoes not necessarily equate to the one which is most equitableand protective of fundamental rights, the issue here, therefore, is whether some uniquely exceptional reason in this case compelsthe categorical preclusive rule of § 2709 to be absolutely essential to effect uating the Government's legitimate interests in some measure of secrecy. Importantly, it is the Government'sburden to make that showing.²⁴⁷ As the Supreme Court hasinstructed: "When a plausible, less restrictive alternative isoffered to a content-based speech restriction, it is theGovernment's obligation to prove that the alternative will beineffective to achieve its goals."248 The Court concludes that the Government has failed to carry its burden to show that the extraordinary scope of § 2709(c) is alwaysnecessary. 249 In response to this standard, the Government's main contention, quite understandably, is that international terrorism and counterintelligence investigations justify more secrecy thanother types of investigations. The Court agrees with that basicpoint so far as it goes. However, under the exacting demands of the First Amendment, the argument does not carry far enough.

The Government correctly states that international terrorismand counterintelligence investigations are generally differentfrom investigations of past crimes in that the latter proceedingsusually contemplate a logical endpoint (i.e., trial or hearing)where the Government publicly presents the evidence it hasgathered related to allegations of a discrete, past wrongdoing. By contrast, international terrorism and counterintelligenceinvestigations seek to uncover and disrupt future activities oftypically large, long-term and expansive conspiracies. So muchhas been acknowledged by the Supreme Court, which has aptlyobserved that, in contrast to investigations of "`ordinarycrime,'" intelligence surveillance "is often long range andinvolves the interrelation of various sources and types ofinformation," and that its emphasis "is on the prevention of unlawful activity or the enhancement of the Government'spreparedness for some possible future crisis oremergency." Also, the Government often decides topursue the fruits of international terrorism orcounterintelligence investigation via interdiction or diplomacy, as opposed to through formal and public criminal processes. In such cases, the Government could theoretically have a much greater interest in continuing secrecybecause certain elements of the investigation may remain in placefor longer periods of time.

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The Court also agrees, insofar as relevant, with the Government's contention that it is sometimes very difficult to determine whether an isolated disclosure implicates national security. International terrorism and counterintelligenceinvestigations may involve continuously expanding orever-changing players. Hence, determining whether something is sensitive in such a fluid and necessarily broad and indeterminate context may not be simple. As the Supreme Court has observed, "bits and pieces of data may aid in piecing together bits of other information even when the individual piece is not of obvious importance in itself," and thus, "what may seem trivial to the uninformed, may appear of great moment to one who has abroad view of the scene and may put the questioned item of information in its proper context." 253

Consequently, particular institutional limitations come intoplay when the judiciary is asked to make such determinations. Ordinarily, judges do not have national security expertise. Noris the institution of the judiciary well-equipped to understandthe sensitivity of an isolated piece of information in the context of the entire intelligence apparatus. As one Circuit Court remarked in addressing this point: "Things that [o] not make sense to the District Judge would make all too much sense to a foreign counter-intelligence specialist who could learn much about this nation's intelligence-gathering capabilities from what these documents revealed about sources and methods." These institutional concerns explain the well-settled doctrine that courts grant substantial deference to the political branches innational security matters. The Supreme Court has recognized that in cases of "terrorism or other special circumstances" courts might afford "heightened deference to the judgments of the political branches with respect to matters of national security." 1256

In this Court's judgment, these authorities persuasivelyconfirm that the Government should be accorded a due measure ofdeference when it asserts that secrecy is necessary for nationalsecurity purposes in a particular situation involving particular persons at a particular time. Here, however, the Government cites no authority supporting the open-endedproposition that it may universally apply these general principles to impose perpetual secrecy upon an entire category offuture cases whose details are unknown and whose particular twists and turns may not justify, for all time and all places, demanding unremitting concealment and imposing a disproportionate burden on free speech.

In fact, all the cases cited above involved some judicialprocess pertaining to contemporary circumstances, and, forobvious reasons, the general propositions articulated in thoseopinions cannot always be tailored to every forthcoming orunforeseen set of facts. Thus, the central flaw in the Government's argument is that it invites the Court to "assumethat [§ 2709] will always advance the asserted [Government]interests sufficiently to justify its abridgment of expressive activity." The Court cannot uncritically embrace that proposition because there are undoubtedly circumstances in which the need for secrecy either has expired or simply no longerexists with the same compelling force that once warranted itsimposition. Section 2709(c) provides no mechanism to account foror exclude any unjustifiable denial of speech in these cases. Norhas the Government persuasively shown that it cannot provide suchsafeguards by less burdensome means. As the Sixth Circuitcommented, in rejecting the Government's attempt to imposeblanket closure upon a wide class of immigration

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cases, acase-by-case evaluation of the need for secrecy "does not meanthat information helpful to terrorists will be disclosed, onlythat the Government must be more targeted and precise in itsapproach." The Court cannot, consistent with its constitutional powers, fix the shortcomings of this provision of the statute to make it more "targeted and precise." That is a legislative function. Accordingly, § 2709(c) must be invalidated on its face on this ground.

The Government also makes the independent argument that §2709(c) pertains to only one of the "few limited areas" of proscribable speech, such as obscenity and threats of violence, "which are `of such slight social value as a step to truth thatany benefit that may be derived from them is clearly outweighedby the social interest in order and morality." The Government conceives of an entirely proscribable area of speechcovering disclosures which would implicate national security concerns. Without deciding whether such a category should be deemed generally proscribable, the Court rejects the Government's argument as question-begging. For that argument to have any force, the Court would have to assume that § 2709(c) pertains only to disclosures which are invariably and perpetually harmfulto national security, a dubious assumption that is a highly disputed issue in this lawsuit. ²⁶¹

Because the Court concludes that § 2709(c) is facially unconstitutional, it must also determine whether the remainder of the statute can be severed from it. 262 "The inquiry intowhether a statute is severable is essentially an inquiry intolegislative intent."263 Though the Court is mindful of its duty to save as much of a statute as possible when it finds aportion of it unconstitutional, ²⁶⁴ the Court must strikedown additional provisions of a statute in the face of theunconstitutionality of particular elements of it when "it is evident that the legislature would not have enacted those provisions which are within its power, independently of that which is not."265 The Court concludes here that Congresscould not have intended §§ 2709(a) and (b), the provisions authorizing the FBI to issue NSLs seeking information from wire and electronic communication service providers, to operate absent the non-disclosure provisions contained in § 2709(c). Asthe Court has described above, Congress intended the statute to function as a secret means of gathering information from communications service providers; other, non-secret means of obtaining information are already available to law enforcementofficials for procuring the same material covered by § 2709. Inaddition, the Court recognizes that the NSL regime cannot function in accordance with Congress's intent if the fact of anNSL's issuance could be immediately disclosed to a communications subscriber who is the target of a § 2709 NSL. Absent the secrecyprovisions of the invalidated § 2709(c), however, there is novehicle in the statute to preserve a more narrowly-tailoreddegree of secrecy necessary to effectuate the important purposes of the statute consistent with First Amendment values. Because "Congress could not have intended [§ 2709(c),] a constitutionallyflawed provision[,] to be severed from [§§ 2709(a) and (b)] if[§§ 2709 (a) and (b) are] incapable of functioning independently,"266 the Court concludes that §§ 2709(a) and (b) must be invalidated as non-severable from § 2709(c).

V. STAY OF JUDGMENT

Considering the implications of its ruling and the importance of the issues involved, the Court will



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stayenforcement of its judgment pending appeal, or for the Governmentotherwise to pursue any alternate course of action, for 90 days. The Court is aware that several material issues in this caseinvolve uncharted legal terrain. The stay will give the Government the opportunity to move this Court, or the Court of Appeals, for whatever appropriate relief it may seek to maintain the confidentiality of any information implicated by the Court's ruling. To this end, the Court is aware that invalidating §2709(c) on its face may carry the potential to compromise legitimately confidential information. The Court declares unequivocally that it is not its intention to cause any suchinformation to fall into the wrong hands.

The seal governing this case thus remains in effect, with thefollowing exception. Throughout this litigation, the Governmenthas maintained that the Court should conceal the identity of Doe, as well the mere fact that an NSL was issued to Doe (and anyother fact which would suggest as much). But, in the course ofrendering this decision the Court unavoidably has revealed portions of that information. The Court cannot perceive anycompelling basis for continuing to conceal narrow fact of the existence of the NSL. The disclosure amounts to only that, atsome unspecified time and place, the Government issued a § 2709NSL to some unnamed internet firm. Even if not explicitly stated, that much is readily apparent to any interested or discerning observer from the publicly available complaint and other documents on file. The revelationamounts to little more than a statement that the Government has, at some time, made use of a statutory power granted to it — as itmanifestly and by its own admission has done on so many otheroccasions during the life of the statute. Without anything toconnect the NSL in this case to the particular NSL recipient involved, and without offering any details about the NSL itselfthat would help link it to its recipient, the Court concludes that the extent of the additional information disclosed here isnegligible, and, in any event, not conceivably harmful tocompelling Government interests. 267

VI. CONCLUSION

To summarize, the Court concludes that the compulsory, secret, and unreviewable production of information required by the FBI'sapplication of 18 U.S.C. § 2709 violates the Fourth Amendment, and that the non-disclosure provision of 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c) violates the First Amendment. The Governmentis therefore enjoined from issuing NSLs under § 2709 or fromenforcing the non-disclosure provision in this or any other case, but enforcement of the Court's judgment will be stayed pendingappeal, or if no appeal is filed, for 90 days.

VII. ORDER

For the reasons discussed above, it is hereby:

ORDERED that the motion of John Doe, the American CivilLiberties Union, and the American Civil Liberties UnionFoundation (collectively, "Plaintiffs") for summary judgment inthis case is granted. Defendants John Ashcroft, in his official capacity as Attorney General of the United States,

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RobertMueller, in his official capacity as Director of the FederalBureau of Investigation, and Marion Bowman, in his officialcapacity as Senior Counsel to the Federal Bureau of Investigation(collectively "Defendants"), are hereby enjoined from issuingnational security letters under 18 U.S.C. § 2709, or fromenforcing the provisions of 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c); it is further

ORDERED that Defendants' motion to dismiss, or in thealternative, for summary judgment, is denied; it is further

ORDERED that Plaintiffs' motion to exclude Defendants' ex parte affidavit is denied as moot; it is further

ORDERED that the Clerk of Court shall file this Decision and Order on the public docket; and is finally

ORDERED that the Clerk of Court shall enter judgmentaccordingly but stay enforcement of the judgment pending anyappeal, or, if no appeal is filed, for 90 days from the date of this Order.

SO ORDERED.

- 1. 18 U.S.C. § 2709.
- 2. Id. § 2709(c).
- 3. By Order dated May 12, 2004, the Court granted the Government's motion to seal the record of this proceeding so asto preclude the disclosure of Doe's identity and other facts relating to Doe's role in this controversy that might identify Doe or otherwise interfere with the underlying FBI activities giving rise to this case.
- 4. See U.S. Const. amend. IV ("The right of the people tobe secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not beviolated. . . . ") (emphasis added).
- 5. Hamdi v. Rumsfeld, 124 S. Ct. 2633, 2650 (2004).
- 6. Home Building & Loan Ass'n v. Blaisdell, 290 U.S. 398,426 (1934).
- 7. See United States v. Harrell, 207 F. Supp. 2d 158, 162(S.D.N.Y. 2002) (Marrero, J.) ("[I]n performing their constitutional mandate, the courts will be called upon to exertparticular vigilance to safeguard against excess committed in thename of expediency, to ensure that Americans do not succeed wherethe terrorists failed, inflicting by their own hand the deeperwrongs to the nation's essence that the September 11 externalattacks upon physical structures and innocent people were unableto realize. . . . In short, the September 11 cases will challenge the judiciary to do September 11 justice, to rise to the momentwith wisdom equal to the task, its judgments worthy of the largedimensions that define the best September 11 brought out of therest of American society.").

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- 8. Kennedy v. Mendoza-Martinez, 372 U.S. 144, 165 (1963).
- 9. Only a brief recitation of the most basic facts is providedhere, but these details are sufficient alone to resolve thepresent motions.
- 10. Compl. Attach. A.
- 11. Id.
- 12. Id. (emphasis added).
- 13. Id. (emphasis in original). As the Court explains below,under the seal order that will remain in place, the details of any further names, times and places identified in the NSL willremain confidential.
- 14. See 18 U.S.C. § 2709.
- 15. Id.
- 16. See id.
- 17. See 12 U.S.C. § 3414 (financial records);15 U.S.C. §§ 1681u, 1681v (credit records); 50 U.S.C. § 436 (governmentemployee records).
- 18. See 12 U.S.C. § 3414 (a) (5) (D); 15 U.S.C. §§ 1681u(d),1681v(c); 50 U.S.C. § 436(b).
- 19. See Pub.L. No. 99-508, § 201, 100 Stat. 1848, 1867(1986).
- 20. S. Rep. No. 99-541, at 3 (1986), reprinted in 1986U.S.C.C.A.N. 3555, 3557.
- 21. Pub.L. No. 95-630, Title XI, 92 Stat. 3641, 3697 (1978).
- 22. See H.R. Rep. 95-1383, at 28, reprinted in 1978U.S.C.C.A.N. 9273, 9305.
- 23. Id.
- 24. Id. at 28, 1978 U.S.C.C.A.N. at 9306 (citing UnitedStates v. Miller, 425 U.S. 435 (1976)).
- 25. See S. Rep. No. 99-541, at 3 (1986), reprinted in 1986 U.S.C.C.A.N. 3555, 3558.
- 26. See 18 U.S.C. § 2703.

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27. See 18 U.S.C. § 2709.

28. 18 U.S.C. § 2709 (1988).

29. See S. Rep. No. 99-307, at 18-19 (1986). This SenateIntelligence Committee report pertains to the IntelligenceAuthorization Act for Fiscal Year 1987 ("IAA"), not the ECPA,which originated in the Senate Judiciary Committee and whichultimately produced § 2709. However, the legislative history of the IAA is, in most respects, more detailed and instructiveregarding the meaning of the language that would eventually become enacted as § 2709. The Senate report on the ECPA directs the reader to the legislative history of the IAA for backgroundon other aspects of the statute. See S. Rep. No. 99-541, at 44(1986), reprinted in 1986 U.S.C.C.A.N. 3555, 3598. Section2709 was not enacted as part of the IAA at least partly because the conference committee recognized that it would be enacted aspart of the ECPA. See H.R. Conf. Rep. No. 99-952, at 30 (1986),reprinted in 1986 U.S.C.C.A.N. 5379, 5390 ("The confereessupport such legislation, but decided not to include it in the conference report since it is expected to become law as part of the Electronic Communications Privacy Act.").

30. See S. Rep. No. 99-307, at 19.

31. See id. at 19-20.

32. See id. The version passed under the ECPA deletes thethree words "or may be." See 18 U.S.C. § 2709 (1988). The ECPASenate Report notes, but does not explain, the deletion. See S.Rep. No. 99-541, at 44 (1986), reprinted in 1986 U.S.C.C.A.N.3555, 3598.

33. See S. Rep. No. 99-307, at 20 (citing Reporter's Comm.for Freedom of the Press v. AT&T, 593 F.2d 1030 (D.C. Cir.1978)).

34. The Senate report accompanying the ECPA made particularnote of this addition: while the version of § 2709 contained in the IAA merely allowed the FBI to obtain telephone subscriber and toll billing information, the version enacted as part of the ECPA added a provision authorizing use of NSLs to gather "electronic communication transactional records." See S. Rep. No. 99-541, at 43-44 (1986), reprinted in 1986 U.S.C.C.A.N. 3555,3597-98. The stated purpose of the addition is frankly inscrutable; the report states that the addition "ensures that the FBI has the necessary authority with regard to subscriber information and toll billing information with respect to electronic communication services other than ordinary telephoneservice." Id. at 44, 1986 U.S.C.C.A.N. at 3598.

35. See 18 U.S.C. § 2709 (1994).

36. H.R. Rep. No. 103-46, at 3 (1993), reprinted in 1993U.S.C.C.A.N. 1913, 1915; see 18 U.S.C. § 2709 (1994). Theamended statute permitted the FBI to: (1) request the name, address, length of service, and toll billing records of a person or entity if the Director (or his designee in a position not lower than Deputy Assistant Director) certifies in writing to the wire or electronic communication service provider to which the request is made that — (A) the name, address, length of service, and toll billing records sought are relevant to an authorized foreign counterintelligence investigation; and (B) there are specific and articulable facts giving reason to believe that the person or entity to whom the information sought pertains is

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a foreign power or an agent of a foreign power as defined in section 101 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act of 1978 (50 U.S.C. 1801); and (2) request the name, address, and length of service of a person or entity if the Director (or his designee in a position not lower than Deputy Assistant Director) certifies in writing to the wire or electronic communication service provider to which the request is made that — (A) the information sought is relevant to an authorized foreign counterintelligence investigation; and (B) there are specific and articulable facts giving reason to believe that communication facilities registered in the name of the person or entity have been used, through the services of such provider, in communication with — (i) an individual who is engaging or has engaged in international terrorism as defined in section 101(c) of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act or clandestine intelligence activities that involve or may involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States; or (ii) a foreign power or an agent of a foreign power under circumstances giving reason to believe that the communication concerned international terrorism as defined in section 101(c) of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act or clandestine intelligence activities that involve or may involve a violation of the criminal statutes of the United States.18 U.S.C. § 2709(b) (1994).

37. H.R. Rep. No. 103-46, at 2, 1993 U.S.C.C.A.N. at 1914. Insupport of the change, the FBI cited to the House JudiciaryCommittee an occasion in which it intercepted a phone call from unidentified former U.S. Government employee who offered toprovide sensitive intelligence to a foreign nation. See id.According to the FBI, the original version of § 2709 did notprovide it with authority to trace the employee's call (andthereby identify him) because the employee was a possible volunteer as a foreign agent, and not himself a foreign agent. See id.

38. Id. at 2-3, 1993 U.S.C.C.A.N. at 1914-15.

39. See Pub.L. 107-56, § 505, 115 Stat. 272, 365 (2001). In1996, Congress clarified that § 2709 requests included both localand long-distance telephone records. See 18 U.S.C. § 2709(2000); see also S. Rep. No. 104-258, at 22-23, reprinted in 1996 U.S.C.C.A.N. 3945, 3967-68 (explaining the change).

40. Compare 18 U.S.C. § 2709 (2000) with 18 U.S.C. § 2709(2000 & Supp. 2003).

41. Administration's Draft Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001:Hearing Before the House Comm. on the Judiciary, 107th Cong.57-58 (2001), available athttp://www.house.gov/judiciary/75288.pdf (section-by-sectionanalysis of the Anti-Terrorism Act of 2001).

42. H.R. Rep. 107-236, at 62 (2001). The only specificobjection to the § 2709 revision in the Patriot Act's legislativehistory came from the Center for Democracy and Technology("CDT"), which has filed an amicus brief in this case. The CDTstated in written materials to two Senate committees that thesection "would greatly increase access to the personalinformation of consumers or groups who are not agents of foreignpowers," and also noted that "the institutions granting access toconsumer information would be prohibited from disclosing thatinformation or records had been obtained." ProtectingConstitutional Freedoms in the Face of Terrorism: Hearing Beforethe Subcomm. on the Constitution, Federalism, and Property Rightsof the Senate Comm. on the Judiciary, 107th Cong., S. Hrg.107-610, at 34 (2001) (Statement of Jerry Berman, ExecutiveDirector, Center For Democracy and Technology); S. 1448, TheIntelligence to Prevent Terrorism Act Of 2001 and OtherLegislative Proposals in the Wake of the September 11, 2001Attacks: Hearing Before the Senate Select Comm. On Intelligence, 107th Cong., S. Hrg. 107-449, at 54 (2001) (same).

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- 43. See 26 U.S.C. § 7602(a).
- 44. See 15 U.S.C. § 78u(b).
- 45. See 7 U.S.C. § 4610a(b).
- 46. See 16 U.S.C. § 773i(f)(2).
- 47. See United States v. Powell, 379 U.S. 48, 57-58(1964); Gimbel v. Fed. Deposit Ins. Corp. (In re Gimbel),77 F.3d 593, 596 (2d Cir. 1996).
- 48. See United States v. White, 853 F.2d 107, 111 (2d Cir.1988); see also Endicott Johnson Corp. v. Perkins,317 U.S. 501, 509 (1943) (stating that courts must enforce administrative subpoenas unless the evidence sought is "plainly . . . irrelevantto any lawful purpose of the agency"); United States v. Construction Prods. Research, Inc., 73 F.3d 464, 471 (2d Cir.1996).
- 49. See Reisman v. Caplin, 375 U.S. 440, 449 (1964).
- 50. See 12 U.S.C. § 3409(b) (providing for a court-issuednon-disclosure order, in renewable 90-day increments, where anauthorized Government agency subpoenas financial records);15 U.S.C. § 78u(h)(4)(A) (providing for a court-issuednon-disclosure order, in renewable 90-day increments, in SECinvestigations); 18 U.S.C. § 2705(b) (providing for acourt-issued non-disclosure order, "for such period as the courtdeems appropriate," where an authorized Government agencysubpoenas stored electronic records); 18 U.S.C. § 3486(a) (6) (A)(providing for a court-issued non-disclosure order, in renewable90-day increments, in investigations of health care fraud orcrimes involving exploitation of children).
- 51. 18 U.S.C. § 1505; cf. United States v. Jeter,775 F.2d 670 (6th Cir. 1985), cert. denied, 475 U.S. 1142 (1986)(concluding that an individual could be convicted under ananalogous obstruction of justice statute, 18 U.S.C. § 1503, forrevealing the contents of secret grand jury transcripts totargets of the grand jury's investigation).
- 52. Fed.R. Crim. P. 17(a), (c)(1) (emphasis added).
- 53. In re Grand Jury Proceedings, 486 F.2d 85, 90 (3d Cir.1973); see also Fed R. Crim. P. 17(a) ("The clerk must issue ablank subpoena signed and sealed to the party requestingit. . . .").
- 54. Fed.R. Crim. P. 17(c)(2).
- 55. United States v. R. Enters., Inc., 498 U.S. 292, 299(1991) (citing United States v. Nixon, 418 U.S. 683, 700(1974)).
- 56. Id. at 301.
- 57. United States v. Cleary, 265 F.2d 459, 461 (2d Cir.1959).

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- 58. See U.S. Const. amend. VI.
- 59. See Fed.R. Crim. P. 6(e).
- 60. See id. at (e)(2)(A) ("No obligation of secrecy may beimposed on any person except in accordance with [Rule 6].").
- 61. See In re Subpoena to Testify before Grand Jury,864 F.2d 1559, 1563-64 (11th Cir. 1989); see also In re GrandJury Subpoena Duces Tecum, 797 F.2d 676, 681-82 (8th Cir. 1986)(permitting secrecy order pertaining to grand jury witness uponshowing of compelling necessity).
- 62. See 18 U.S.C. § 1510(b), (d).
- 63. See 18 U.S.C. §§ 1503 (punishing "[w]hoever corruptly... endeavors to ... impede any grand or petit juror...[or] the due administration of justice"); 1512(b) (imposing criminal sanctions upon an person who, among other things, "corruptly persuades another person, or attempts to do so, orengages in misleading conduct toward another person, with intentto ... hinder, delay, or prevent the communication to a lawenforcement officer or judge of the United States of information relating to the commission or possible commission of a Federal offense....").
- 64. See 21 U.S.C. § 876(a).
- 65. See 18 U.S.C. § 1968.
- 66. See 18 U.S.C. § 3486(a)(1)(A)(i)(I).
- 67. See id. § 3486(a)(1)(A)(i)(II).
- 68. See 21 U.S.C. § 876(c) (providing for judicialenforcement); 18 U.S.C. § 1968(g) (same); id. § 3486(c)(same).
- 69. Basic subscriber information includes: (1) a subscriber'sname and (2) address; (3) the subscriber's local and longdistance telephone connection records, or records of sessiontimes and durations; (4) the subscriber's length of service andtypes of service he has utilized; (5) any telephone or instrumentnumber or other subscriber number or identity, including anytemporarily assigned network address; and (6) the subscriber'smeans and source of payment for the service. See18 U.S.C. § 2703(c)(2).
- 70. See 18 U.S.C. § 2703(c)(2)-(3).
- 71. See 18 U.S.C. § 2705.
- 72. See id. § 2703(a) (b). This rough description of the complex statutory terrain derives from the Justice Department's thorough analysis of the ECPA. See United States Dep't of Justice, Searching and Seizing Computers and Obtaining Electronic Evidence in Criminal Investigations 94 (2002), available at

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http://www.cybercrime.gov/s&smanual2002.pdf.Courts are not uniform in interpreting the statute's confusingand overlapping definitions. Compare Theofel v. Farey-Jones,359 F.3d 1066, 1076-77 (9th Cir. 2004) (holding that copies of opened emails on ISP servers are in "electronic storage"), withIn re DoubleClick, Inc. Privacy Litig., 154 F. Supp. 2d 497,512 (S.D.N.Y. 2001) (stating that only unopened email on an ISP server would be considered in "electronic storage"); see alsoFraser v. Nationwide Mut. Ins. Co., 135 F. Supp. 2d 623, 633(E.D. Pa. 2001), rev'd in part on other grounds,352 F.3d 107 (3d Cir. 2003) ("The ECPA has been noted for its lack of clarity.").

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73. See id. § 2703 (a).
74. See Fed.R. Crim. P. 41.
75. 18 U.S.C. § 2703 (d).
76. Id. § 2705 (b).
77. See 39 C.F.R. § 233.3.
78. See id. § 233.3(e)(2).
79. See Ex parte Jackson, 96 U.S. 727, 733 (1877).
80. Id.
81. See 18 U.S.C. § 3127(3)-(4).
82. See id. § 3123 (c).
83. Id. § 3123 (a).
84. See 18 U.S.C. § 3123(d)(2).
85. See Katz v. United States, 389 U.S. 347 (1967).
86. See 18 U.S.C. §§ 2516-18.
87. Id. § 2518 (3).
88. Id. § 2518(5).
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89. Id. § 2511(2)(a)(ii).

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90. See 50 U.S.C. § 1801 et seq.
91. Id. § 1802(a) (1).
92. Id. § 1802(a) (4) (A).
93. See id. §§ 1804-1805.
94. See id. § 1804.
95. Id. § 1804(a) (7).
96. Id. § 1805(a).
97. Id. § 1805(e).
98. Id. § 1805(c) (2) (B).
99. 50 U.S.C. § 1861(a).
100. See id. §§ 1861(b), (c).
101. See id. § 1861(d).
102. 50 U.S.C. § 1842(a)(1).
103. See id. § 1842(c).
104. 50 U.S.C. § 1842(d) (2) (B) (ii) (I).
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106. See Halverson v. Slater, 129 F.3d 180, 186 (D.C. Cir.1997) ("legislative intent cannot fairly be inferred from different language in two sections of different enactments")(citing Pure Oil Co. v. Suarez, 384 U.S. 202, 206 (1966)); see also Fourco Glass Co. v. Transmirra Prods. Corp.,353 U.S. 222 (1957) (holding that the general venue provisions governing federal civil actions, even if reflecting some similarities in the actual usage of some terms, do not carry overinto or supplement previously enacted venue rules controlling patent infringement actions). In addition, and as noted above, the EPCA, in which § 2709 was enacted, has previously been "noted for its lack of clarity." Fraser v. Nationwide Mut. Ins. Co.,135 F. Supp. 2d 623, 633 (E.D. Pa. 2001), rev'd in part onother grounds, 352 F.3d 107 (3d Cir. 2003).

107. Compare 12 U.S.C. § 3414(a) (5) (D) (prohibiting disclosure to "any person") and 15 U.S.C. § 1681v(c) (same) and 18

105. Fed.R. Civ. P. 56(c).

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U.S.C. § 2709(c) (same) with 15 U.S.C. § 1681u(d)(exempting disclosure to "those officers, employees, or agents... necessary to fulfill the requirement to discloseinformation... under this section") and 50 U.S.C. § 436(b)(exempting disclosure to "those officers, employees, or agents of such entity necessary to satisfy a request made under this section").

108. Compare, e.g., 18 U.S.C. § 2709 with, e.g.,26 U.S.C. § 7604(b) (providing for judicial enforcement of IRS-issued administrative subpoenas) and 15 U.S.C. § 78u(c)(providing for judicial enforcement of SEC-issued administrative subpoenas) and Fed.R. Crim. P. 17(c) (2) (permitting motions to quash subpoenas in criminal cases).

109. Compare, e.g., 18 U.S.C. § 2709 with, e.g.,26 U.S.C. § 7604(b) (authorizing contempt sanctions for failure tocomply with IRS-issued administrative subpoenas) and 15 U.S.C. § 78u(c) (providing penalties of up to one year imprisonment and \$1,000 fine for failure to comply with SEC-issuedadministrative subpoenas).

110. See H.R. 3179, The "Anti-Terrorism Intelligence ToolsImprovement Act of 2003": Hearing Before the Subcomm. on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security of the House Comm. on the Judiciary, 108th Cong. (2004) ("H.R. 3179 Hg.") (openingstatement of Rep. Coble, Chairman, Subcomm. on Crime, Terrorism, and Homeland Security of the House Comm. on the Judiciary): The current law authorizes the Federal Government to use a National Security Letter, which is basically an administrative subpoena, to make a request for transactional records, such as billing records. These requests must be related to investigations of international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities. The current law, however, has no mechanism to enforce the requests. Furthermore, the current law provides no penalty for an individual who decides to tip off a target of a terrorism or an intelligence investigation that the Federal government has made a National Security letter request concerning the target.

111. It should also be noted that the Department of Justice'sposition in this litigation is inconsistent with the positiontaken by the FBI in hearings on H.R. 3179. In the May 18, 2004hearing on H.R. 3179, Thomas J. Harrington, Deputy AssistantDirector of the FBI's Counterterrorism Division, told the Housesubcommittee examining the bill that legislation was necessary toprovide the FBI with a means of seeking judicial enforcement of an NSL: H.R. 3179 also provides for a procedure for judicial enforcement if a recipient of a National Security Letter does not comply with the mandatory request for information. . . . An example of where this provision would have been helpful is a case where during an investigation into international terrorist activities, analysis revealed that several subjects were using a third party internet service as a potential means of communication. NSLs served on the third party service revealed that an associate of the subjects registered for the service using a free, web-based email service. NSLs were served on the web-based email service in order to obtain electronic transactional records. The web-based email service has not yet provided the records associated with the request. A judicial enforcement provision, such as the one included in H.R. 3179, would assist by providing a forum to quickly resolve this issue and allow the investigation to move forward more expeditiously.Id. (statement of Thomas J. Harrington, Deputy Assistant Dir., Counterterrorism Div., FBI).

- 112. See H.R. 3179, 108th Cong. § 2 (2003).
- 113. Antiterrorism Tools Enhancement Act of 2003, H.R. 3037,108th Cong. § 3 (2003) (proposed 18 U.S.C. § 2332g(a)).
- 114. Id. (proposed 18 U.S.C. § 2332g(c)).

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115. Id. proposed 18 U.S.C. § 2332g(a) (1)).

116. See S. 2555, 108th Cong. (2004).

117. See id. § 2 (proposed 18 U.S.C. § 2332g(d) clarifying the scope of the nondisclosure requirement; proposed 18 U.S.C. § 2332g(e) stating that judicial review is available to modify orset aside the summons or the nondisclosure requirement).

118. To be clear, the Fourth Amendment rights at issue herebelong to the person or entity receiving the NSL, not to theperson or entity to whom the subpoenaed records pertain. Individuals possess a limited Fourth Amendment interest inrecords which they voluntarily convey to a third party. SeeSmith, 442 U.S. at 742-46; Miller, 425 U.S. at 440-43. Nevertheless, as discussed below, many potential NSL recipientsmay have particular interests in resisting an NSL, e.g., because they have contractually obligated themselves to protectthe anonymity of their subscribers or because their own rightsare uniquely implicated by what they regard as an intrusive and secretive NSL regime. For example, since the definition of "wireor electronic communication service provider,"18 U.S.C. § 2709(a), is so vague, the statute could (and may currently) beused to seek subscriber lists or other information from an association that also provides electronic communication services(e.g., email addresses) to its members, or to seek records from libraries that many, including the amici appearing in thisproceeding, fear will chill speech and use of these invaluable public institutions. Fear that § 2709 may be used as a tool togain sensitive information from libraries has led both houses of Congress to introduce bills intended to exclude libraries from the ambit of § 2709. See S. 1709, Security and Freedom Assured("SAFE") Act of 2003, 108th Cong. § 5 (2003) (proposing to amend§ 2709(a) to state that a "library shall not be treated as a wireor electronic communication service provider for purposes of this section"); H.R. 3352, 108th Cong. § 5 (2003) (same).

119. See U.S. Const. amend. IV; United States v. Streifel, 665 F.2d 414 (2d Cir. 1981).

120. Streifel, 665 F.2d at 419-20.

121. See United States v. Morton Salt Co., 338 U.S. 632,651-52 (1950).

122. Id.

123. Gimbel v. Federal Deposit Ins. Corp. (In re Gimbel),77 F.3d 593, 596 (2d Cir. 1996) (internal quotation marks and citation omitted).

124. Morton Salt Co., 338 U.S. at 652; see alsoOklahoma Press Pub. Co. v. Walling, 327 U.S. 186, 208 (1946)("The gist of the protection is . . . that the disclosure soughtshall not be unreasonable.").

125. United States v. Bailey (In re Subpoena Duces Tecum), 228 F. 3d 341, 348 (4th Cir. 2000).

126. See v. City of Seattle, 387 U.S. 541, 544-45 (1967); see also Oklahoma Press, 327 U.S. at 217.

127. Oklahoma Press, 327 U.S. at 217.

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128. 18 U.S.C. §§ 2709(b)(1), (b) (2).

129. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(a). But see H.R. 3179 Hg.(containing statements by a senior FBI official and the Chairmanof the House Subcommittee on Crime, Terrorism, and HomelandSecurity arguing that the current NSL statutes are merelyhortatory); supra Part II.C (discussing other indications thatCongress did not intend § 2709 to have the meaning ascribed to itby the Government in this case).

130. United States v. Hill, 694 F.2d 258, 263 (D.C. Cir.1982) (emphasis in original) (collecting cases).

131. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(a).

132. United States v. Doe (In re Grand Jury Proceedings),219 F.3d 175, 183 (2d Cir. 2000).

133. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c) (emphasis added).

134. See Pub.L. No. 104-93, 109 Stat. 961 (1996) (codifiedas amended at 15 U.S.C. § 1681u(d)).

135. H.R. Conf. Rep. No. 104-427, at 39 (1995), reprintedin 1995 U.S.C.C.A.N. 993, 1001.

136. See Nix v. O'Malley, 160 F.3d 343 (6th Cir. 1998); McQuade v. Michael Gassner Mech. & Elec. Contractors, Inc., 587 F. Supp. 1183 (D. Conn. 1984).

137. Nix, 160 F.3d at 351.

138. McQuade, 587 F. Supp. at 1190.

139. INS v. St. Cyr., 533 U.S. 289, 299-300 (2001)(quotation marks and citation omitted); see also Edward J.DeBartolo Corp. v. Florida Gulf Coast Bldg. and Const. TradesCouncil, 485 U.S. 568, 575 (1988) (holding that "everyreasonable construction must be resorted to, in order to save astatute from unconstitutionality") (quotation marks and citationomitted).

140. United States v. Locke, 471 U.S. 84, 96 (1985) (quoting Moore Ice Cream Co. v. Rose, 289 U.S. 373, 379 (1933) (Cardozo, J.)).

141. Simon & Garfunkel, Sounds of Silence (Columbia 1966).

142. See, e.g., Marvel Characters, Inc. v. Simon,310 F.3d 280, 290 (2d Cir. 2002) ("In interpreting a statute, we lookfirst to the language of the statute itself.").

143. See Halverson, 129 F.3d at 186 n. 9 ("Caution must be exercised in applying the rule that one statute will be interpreted to correspond to analogous but unrelated statutes for the reason that by way of contrast an inclusion or exclusion may show an intent or convey a meaning exactly contrary to that expressed by analogous legislation.") (quoting 2B Norman

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J.Singer, Sutherland Stat. Const. § 53.05 (5th ed. 1992)).

144. Compl. Attach. A.

145. See Letter from Jamie E. Brown, Acting AssistantAttorney General, United States Dep't of Justice, to TheHonorable F. James Sensebrenner, Jr., Chairman, Committee on theJudiciary, U.S. House of Representatives 4 (May 13, 2003), available at http://www.lifeandliberty.gov/subs/congress/hjcpatriotactcombinedresponses3.pdf (answering ChairmanSensebrenner's question, "Has any litigation resulted from theissuance of these [National Security] letters (i.e. challengingthe propriety or legality of their use? If so, please describe, "as follows: "Answer: There has been no challenge to the proprietyor legality of National Security Letters.").

146. In fact, the evidence suggests that perhaps even the FBIdoes not actually believe that § 2709 contemplates judicialreview. First, as discussed above, a senior FBI officialtestified before Congress that was no judicial enforcementprovision in § 2709. See H.R. 3179 Hg. (statement of Thomas J.Harrington, Deputy Assistant Director, FBI). Second, Plaintiffshave obtained, via a FOIA request, two FBI memoranda concerningimplementing and serving NSLs, yet neither memorandum discussesor even mentions the possibility that an NSL recipient couldchallenge the NSL in court.

147. 372 U.S. 58 (1963).

148. See id. at 71-72.

149. See id. at 68-70.

150. Id. at 68.

151. Id. at 68-69.

152. The Court further notes that the coercive practices invalidated in Bantam Books may have never even been challenged the real parties in interest in the suit, the publishers whosebooks were taken off the shelves, were unable to learn of the existence of the coercive activities taking place in RhodeIsland In Bantam Books, the distributor who was the target of the challenged coercive letters actually complied with their "recommendations," see id. at 63, but the publishers whoseinterests were most directly harmed by the letters learned of theletters and promptly challenged them, see id. at 64(explaining that publishers gained standing to challenge thecensorship letters, even though they never directly received theletters, in part because "the publisher has the greater economicstake [in resisting the letters]. . . . Unless he is permitted tosue, infringements of freedom of the press may often gounremedied.") (citing N.A.A.C.P. v. State of Alabama ex rel.Patterson, 357 U.S. 449, 459 (1958)). Section 2709's secrecyprovisions, along with the clear terms of the NSL form used bythe FBI, affirmatively prohibit the party whose interests aremost affected by the NSL — the communications servicesubscriber(s) whose records are targeted by the NSL — from everlearning about or gaining the ability to challenge the NSL. Thesecrecy surrounding NSLs thus makes them even less subject tojudicial challenge than any non-secret form of coercivegovernment activity.

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153. See In re Grand Jury Proceedings, 814 F.2d 61 (1stCir. 1987).

154. Id. at 63-64.

155. See Fed.R. Crim. P. 6(e)(2).

156. In re Grand Jury Proceedings, 814 F.2d at 64, 70.

157. See Bantam Books, 372 U.S. at 71 ("The procedures of the Commission are radically deficient. . . . We hold that the system of informal censorship disclosed by this record violates the Fourteenth Amendment"); id. at 74-75 (Clark, J.,concurring) (emphasis added) (noting that the opinion of the Court did not invalidate the Rhode Island statute which appeared to authorize the coercive tactics undertaken by the commission).

158. St. Cyr, 533 U.S. at 299-300.

159. Id.

160. As discussed above, an ISP may be obligated by contractor other arrangement to assert its subscribers' rights, even ifthe subscriber herself is unaware of the existence of the NSL and is not able to personally assert her own rights. In addition, associations or other organizations that receive NSLs may have their own independent First Amendment or other interests inprotecting their subscribers' information from discovery.

161. 362 U.S. 60 (1960).

162. Id. at 64.

163. See McIntyre v. Ohio Elections Comm'n, 514 U.S. 334,341-57 (1995).

164. See Buckley v. American Constitutional Law Found.,525 U.S. 182, 199-200 (1999).

165. See Watchtower Bible & Tract Soc. of New York, Inc. v. Village of Stratton, 536 U.S. 150, 160-69 (2002).

166. NAACP v. State of Alabama ex rel. Patterson,357 U.S. 449, 462 (1958); see also Gibson v. Florida LegislativeInvestigation Comm., 372 U.S. 539, 546-558 (1963) (reversingcontempt sanctions against NAACP official who refused to producemembership list to state investigative committee); Bates v. Cityof Little Rock, 361 U.S. 516, 522-26 (1960) (reversingconvictions of NAACP officials who refused to disclose membershiplist to local tax officials, as required by municipalordinance).

167. Gibson, 372 U.S. at 546; Bates, 361 U.S. at 524.

168. The NSL itself asks the recipient to provide the Government with "[a]ny other information which you consider tobe

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an electronic communication transactional record," Compl.Attach. A (emphasis added), in addition to information that §2709 specifically authorizes the FBI to collect, including "thename, address, and length of service of a person or entity."18 U.S.C. § 2709(b)(2).

169. See Smith v. Maryland, 442 U.S. 735 (1978) (holdingthat installing a pen register does not violate the FourthAmendment rights of phone customers); United States v. Miller, 425 U.S. 435 (1976) (holding that a bank customer does not haveaux Fourth Amendment protection against the Government obtaining financial records maintained by a bank).

170. See, e.g., Doe v. 2TheMart.com Inc., 140 F. Supp. 2d 1088,1092 (W.D. Wash. 2001) ("The right to speak anonymouslyextends to speech via the Internet."); Columbia Ins. Co. v.Seescandy.com, 185 F.R.D. 573, 578 (N.D. Cal. 1999) (holdingthat there is a "legitimate and valuable right to participate inonline forums anonymously and pseudonymously"); see alsoid. at 78-79 (establishing circumstances under which aplaintiff may compel disclosure of anoymous internet users identities where users had allegedly committed tortious acts overthe internet); Sony Music Entm't v. Does 1-40,326 F. Supp. 2d 556 (S.D.N.Y. 2004) (holding that plaintiff could overcomeanonymous internet users' First Amendment right to anonymity, asserted in anonymous users' motion to quash plaintiff's subpoenaserved on users' ISP, where evidence suggested that users hadillegally downloaded plaintiff's music via the ISP's internetservice).

171. Courts have, however, extended the reasoning of Smithand Miller to conclude that internet users have no FourthAmendment right to prohibit disclosure of information they havevoluntarily turned over to ISPs. See, e.g., Guest v. Leis, 255 F.3d 325, 336 (6th Cir. 2001) (holding that "plaintiffs . . .lack a Fourth Amendment privacy interest in their subscriberinformation because they communicated it to the systemsoperators"); United States v. Kennedy, 81 F. Supp. 2d 1103,1110 (D. Kan. 2000) (holding that defendant could not "claim tohave a Fourth Amendment privacy interest in his subscriberinformation" because "[w]hen defendant entered into an agreementwith Road Runner for Internet service, he knowing[ly] revealed the information to his ISP).

172. Red Lion Broad. Co. v. Federal Communications Comm'n, 395 U.S. 367, 386 (1969).

173. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(a).

174. See id. § 2709(b).

175. NSLs can potentially reveal far more thanconstitutionally-protected associational activity or anonymousspeech. By revealing the websites one visits, the Government canlearn, among many other potential examples, what books the subscriber enjoys reading or where a subscriber shops. As one commentator has observed, the records compiled by ISPs can "enable the government to assemble a profile of an individual's finances, health, psychology, beliefs, politics, interests, and lifestyle." Daniel J. Solove, Digital Dossiers and the Dissipation of Fourth Amendment Privacy, 75 S. Cal. L. Rev. 1083, 1084 (2002).

176. Compl. Attach. A.

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177. Smith, 442 U.S. at 741 (quoting United States v. NewYork Tel. Co., 434 U.S. 159, 167 (1977)).

178. 389 U.S. 347 (1967).

179. See id. at 353.

180. Id.

181. Id. at 352.

182. Id.

183. Gov't Mem. of Law at 31.

184. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c).

185. United States v. Playboy Entm't Group, Inc.,529 U.S. 803, 813 (2000) (applying strict scrutiny to a content-basedrestriction); see also R.A.V. v. City of St. Paul,505 U.S. 377, 382 (1992) ("Content-based regulations are presumptivelyinvalid."); Bantam Books, 372 U.S. at 70 (holding that priorrestraints on speech bear a "heavy presumption" against constitutionality).

186. See Reno v. ACLU, 521 U.S. 844, 874 (1997).

187. Turner Broad. Sys., Inc. v. FCC, 520 U.S. 180, 189(1997).

188. For this reason, the Court does not address Plaintiffs' other grounds for asserting that § 2709(c) is subject to strictscrutiny.

189. Ward v. Rock Against Racism, 491 U.S. 781, 795 n. 5(1989) (emphasis omitted).

190. Gov't Br. at 50.

191. 44 F.3d 106 (2d Cir. 1994).

192. Id. at 109.

193. City of Renton v. Playtime Theatres, Inc., 475 U.S. 41,48-49 (1986) (quoting Police Dep't of Chicago v. Mosley,408 U.S. 92, 95-96 (1972)).

194. Ward, 491 U.S. at 791.

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195. Mosley, 408 U.S. at 96.

196. See Consolidated Edison Co. of New York, Inc. v. Public Serv. Comm'n, 447 U.S. 530, 537 (1980).

197. Id.

198. Id.

199. Playboy Entm't Group, 529 U.S. at 813.

200. Reno v. ACLU, 521 U.S. at 874.

201. See NAACP v. Button, 371 U.S. 415, 438 (1963).

202. Department of the Navy v. Egan, 484 U.S. 518, 527(1988).

203. See 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c).

204. 18 U.S.C. § 2709(c) (emphasis added).

205. See 18 U.S.C. § 3123(d) (2) (pertaining to criminalinvestigations); 50 U.S.C. § 1842 (d) (2) (B) (ii) (I)(pertaining to international terrorism and counterintelligenceinvestigations).

206. See 18 U.S.C. § 2511(2) (a) (ii).

207. 50 U.S.C. § 1861(d).

208. Certain FISA electronic surveillance orders may be obtained where the Attorney General merely certifies that the proposed surveillance meets the statutory requirements. See 50 U.S.C. § 1802(a) (1). In such cases, the blanket secrecy rulewould be triggered without any court involvement, much like §2709(c). By way of some perhaps justifying distinction, the FISA orders are specifically limited to electronic surveillance offoreign governments and their agents, thus arguably not raising the heightened constitutional concerns and protections implicated when investigations involve the activities of United States nationals.

209. See 18 U.S.C. § 2511 (wiretaps and electronic surveillance); 18 U.S.C. § 3123 (pen registers in criminal investigations); 50 U.S.C. § 1842 (pen registers in international terrorism and counterintelligence investigations); 50 U.S.C. § 1861 (FISA subpoenas).

210. In fact, the pen register and trap and trace devicestatutes appear to specifically contemplate that a court couldmodify the secrecy requirement. See 18 U.S.C. § 3123(d) (2)(stating that the communications firm shall "not disclose the existence of the pen register or trap and trace device or the existence of the investigation to the listed subscriber, or to any other

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person, unless or until otherwise orderedby the court") (emphasis added); 50 U.S.C. § 1842 (d) (2)(B) (ii) (I) (stating that the communications firm "shall not disclose the existence of the investigation or of the penregister or trap and trace device to any person unless or until ordered by the court") (emphasis added).

211. See supra Part II.D.7 (discussing the FISA's requirements that any surveillance sought under the chapter beclearly connected to foreign intelligence gathering activities).

212. See supra Part II.C (explaining the steady expansion of the scope of § 2709 NSL authority since the statute was passed in 1986, culminating in the removal of any required nexus between the information sought by a § 2709 NSL and a "foreign power."

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213. 467 U.S. 20 (1984).
214. Id. at 32.
215. Id. at 34.
216. 494 U.S. 624 (1990).
217. Id. at 626.
218. See id. at 632-34.
219. Id. at 635.
220. Id. (quotation marks omitted).
221. Id. at 636.
222. Id. at 632.
223. Id. at 633 (emphasis in original).
224. Id. at 636 (Scalia, J., concurring).
225. Id.
226. Id.
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227. See 44 F.3d at 110-11.

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228. Id. at 110 (emphasis in original).

229. See id. at 110-11.

230. Id. at 111. The District Court had found that thesecrecy rules advanced compelling state interests because they (1) allowed the [reviewing body] to dispose of frivolous or harassing complaints without lending them credibility; (2) enhanced Connecticut's ability to attract highly qualified judges who might otherwise be deterred from service by the prospect of numerous public complaints being lodged against them; (3) ensured the independence of Connecticut's judiciary by reducing the possibility that judges would be intimidated or influenced by belligerent complainants; (4) encouraged complaints, assistance in investigations, and complete and truthful testimony; (5) allowed the [reviewing body] to informally encourage infirm or incompetent judges to retire prior to a public hearing; and (6) increased the ability of attorneys to monitor the judicial system without engendering the hostility of the judiciary.Kamazinski, 44 F.3d at 108-09 (citing Kamazinski v. JudicialReview Council, 797 F. Supp. 1083, 1092-93 (D. Conn. 1992)).

231. See First Amendment Coalition v. Judicial Inquiry & Review Bd., 784 F.2d 467 (3d Cir. 1986) (en banc).

232. Id. at 479.

233. See 338 F.3d 1136 (10th Cir. 2003).

234. Id. at 1139.

235. Id. at 1140.

236. Butterworth, 494 U.S. at 636 (Scalia, J., concurring).

237. Rhinehart, 467 U.S. at 32.

238. In re Halkin, 598 F.2d 176, 206 (D.C. Cir. 1979)(Wilkey, J., dissenting) overruled by Rhinehart,467 U.S. at 32 (citing Halkin dissent with approval).

239. 338 F.3d at 1140.

240. See 44 F.3d at 112.

241. See, e.g., Freedom of Information Act ("FOIA"),5 U.S.C. § 552 (establishing a presumption of public access tofederal agency information subject to limited exceptions); Environmental Protection Agency v. Mink, 410 U.S. 73, 80 (1973) ("Without question, [FOIA] is broadly conceived. It seeks topermit access to official information long shielded unnecessarily from public view and attempts to create a judicially enforceable public right to secure such information from possibly unwilling official hands."); United States v. Aguilar, 515 U.S. 593, 604n. 3 (1995) (stating that the Court would read a temporal limitation into a statute punishing disclosure of secret wiretapsin order to avoid "absurd" results); Richmond

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Newspapers, Inc.v. Virginia, 448 U.S. 555, 572 (1980) ("People in an opensociety do not demand infallibility from their institutions, butit is difficult for them to accept what they are prohibited from observing.").

242. FOIA itself arose, and was expanded upon, as a result ofthe nation's distressing experiences with excessive governmentsecrecy. FOIA's 1974 amendments, for example, were adopted afterthe Watergate break-in, and the cover-up that was allowed toprevail for many months after it occurred, revealed the dangersof allowing any branch of government the unfettered ability toadopt a per se rule protecting information from the publiceye. See, e.g., Ray v. Turner, 587 F.2d 1187, 1206-09 (D.C.Cir. 1978) (Skelly Wright, J., concurring) (discussing thelegislative history of the 1974 amendments to FOIA, and notingthat the amendments, which were passed over Presidential veto, were borne out of the nation's experience with Watergate). Therecognition that excessive secrecy may damage democratic values is widespread. See, e.g., New York Times Co. v. UnitedStates, 403 U.S. 713, 719 (1971) (Black, J., concurring) ("Theword `security' is a broad, vague generality whose contours should not be invoked to abrogate the fundamental law embodied in the First Amendment. The guarding of military and diplomaticsecrets at the expense of informed representative government provides no real security for our Republic. The Framers of the First Amendment, fully aware of both the need to defend a newnation and the abuses of the English and Colonial Governments, sought to give this new society strength and security byproviding that freedom of speech, press, religion, and assemblyshould not be abridged."); Detroit Free Press v. Ashcroft,303 F.3d 681, 683 (6th Cir. 2002) ("Democracies die behind closeddoors."); National Wildlife Federation v. U.S. Forest Service,861 F.2d 1114, 1124 (9th Cir. 1988) (Pregerson, J., concurring) ("We should all bear in mind that secret government is abhorrentto democratic values.").

243. Reno v. ACLU, 521 at 874.

244. See H.R. 3037, 108th Cong. § 3 (1st Sess. 2003); S.2555 § 2 (2d Sess. 2004).

245. See H.R. 3037, 108th Cong. § 3 (1st Sess. 2003); S.2555 § 2 (2d Sess. 2004).

246. The Court does not intend to imply that the provisions of H.R. 3037 or S. 2555 establish any constitutional standard.Rather, the Court merely suggests that there are ways to confront problems in § 2709(c). To echo the Supreme Court: "How orwhether [the Government] is to incorporate the required procedural safeguards in the statutory scheme is, of course, for the [Government] to decide. But a model is not lacking. "Freedman v. State of Md., 380 U.S. 51, 60 (1965).

247. See Playboy Entm't Group, 529 U.S. at 816.

248. Id.

249. Cf. Button, 371 U.S. at 438 ("Broad prophylacticrules in the area of free expression are suspect."). TheGovernment also argues that the rule survives strict scrutinybecause individuals could mount as-applied challenges to thecategorical speech ban's constitutionality, but the Courtdeclines to view this theoretical possibility as a means of saving the statute's constitutionality when all sides agree thatCongress intended a permanent, prophylactic ban on speech, andwhere First Amendment doctrine governing prophylactic speech bansviews the bans themselves as suspect, regardless of their application to a theoretical case.

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250. See United States v. U.S. Dist. Court., 407 U.S. 297,322 (1972).

251. See H.R. Conf. Rep. 104-427, at 35-36 (1995),reprinted in 1995 U.S.C.C.A.N. 983, 997-98 ("Manycounterintelligence investigations never reach the criminal stagebut proceed for intelligence purposes or are handled indiplomatic channels.") (pertaining to NSL statute for creditrecords).

252. The Court observes here that the distinction invariably between international terrorism and counterintelligence operations on one hand, and criminal investigations on the other, is not always as sharp as the Government contends. Terrorism cases, for example, are sometimes prosecuted under federal criminal laws in federal courts. In those cases, the Government's investigations must take place with all the attendant openness rules governing the criminal process. Moreover, there are undoubtedly elaborate and long-term criminal conspiracies — espionage and international drug rings, for example — which do not necessarily carry out terrorism as such. Investigating those criminal conspiracies would likely involve highly-sensitive investigative methods, and would implicate secrecy concerns similar to those characteristic of an international terrorism investigation.

253. CIA v. Sims, 471 U.S. 159, 178 (1985) (quotation marks, citation, and alterations omitted).

254. See North Jersey Media Group, Inc. v. Ashcroft,308 F.3d 198, 219 (3d Cir. 2002) (agreeing with Government'scontention that, "given judges' relative lack of expertiseregarding national security and their inability to see themosaic, [judges] should not entrust to them[selves] the decisionwhether an isolated fact is sensitive enough to warrantclosure").

255. United States v. Yunis, 867 F.2d 617, 623 (D.C. Cir.1989).

256. Zadvydas v. Davis, 533 U.S. 678, 696 (2001); Egan,484 U.S. at 530 ("[C]ourts traditionally have been reluctant tointrude upon the authority of the Executive in military and national security affairs.") Of course, a court should notembrace these principles to the point of abdicating its constitutional duties. As the Sixth Circuit accurately observed, the Government's invocation of executive deference may have profound implications if adopted without reservation: The Government could use its 'mosaic intelligence' argument as a justification to close any public hearing completely and categorically, including criminal proceedings. The Government could operate in virtual secrecy in all matters dealing, even remotely with 'national security,' resulting in a wholesale suspension of First Amendment rights. Detroit Free Press v. Ashcroft, 303 F.3d 681, 709 (6th Cir.2002).

257. Members of the City Council v. Taxpayers for Vincent, 466 U.S. 789, 803 n. 22 (1984) (emphasis added).

258. Detroit Free Press, 303 F.3d at 692-93.

259. Id.

260. R.A.V., 505 U.S. at 382 (quoting Chaplinsky v. NewHampshire, 315 U.S. 568, 572 (1942)).

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261. Because the Court determines that § 2709(c) is invalidfor the reasons discussed above, the Court declines to address Plaintiffs' additional contention that § 2709(c) is unconstitutionally vague and overbroad.

262. See, e.g., Denver Area Educ. Telecomm. Consortium, Inc. v. F.C.C., 518 U.S. 727, 767 (1996) (engaging inseverability analysis after concluding that a provision of astatute violated the First Amendment).

263. Minnesota v. Mille Lacs Band of Chippewa Indians, 526 U.S. 172, 191 (1999).

264. "[A] court should refrain from invalidating more of the statute than is necessary. . . . `[W]henever an act of Congresscontains unobjectionable provisions separable from those found tobe unconstitutional, it is the duty of this court to so declare, and to maintain the act in so far as it is valid.'" Alaska Airlines, Inc. v. Brock, 480 U.S. 678, 684 (1987) (quoting Regan v. Time, Inc., 468 U.S. 641, 652 (1984) (pluralityopinion)).

265. Buckley v. Valeo, 424 U.S. 1, 108 (1976) (quoting Champlin Refining Co. v. Corporation Comm'n, 286 U.S. 210, 234(1932)).

266. Alaska Airlines, 480 U.S. at 684.

267. At a conference with the parties on September 10, 2004,in preparation for drafting this opinion, the Court advised theparties of the practical difficulties of maintaining the broadscope of the seal order in light of the Court's need to openlydiscuss all the relevant facts and its inability to elide vitalinformation in a coherent ruling. The Government, following internal consultations, subsequently informed the Court and Plaintiffs that it would express no objection to a modification of the seal order to take account of the Court's concerns. Alongrelated lines, Plaintiffs' motion to exclude the Government'sex parte affidavit, dated August 6, 2004, is rendered mootbecause the information presented in that affidavit has nobearing on the Court's judgment.

268. Because the Court has granted Plaintiffs' motion forsummary judgment on other grounds, the Court declines to address Plaintiffs' alternative argument that the statute violates the Fifth Amendment by failing to provide notice to persons to whom the records pertain.