## THE HIGH COURT COMMERCIAL

Case No. 2016/4809P

THE DATA PROTECTION COMMISSIONER

**PLAINTIFF** 

and

FACEBOOK IRELAND LTD.

AND DEFENDANTS

MAXIMILLIAN SCHREMS

## HEARING HEARD BEFORE BY MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO ON FRIDAY, 10th FEBRUARY 2017 - DAY 4

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## **APPEARANCES**

For the PLAINTIFF: MR. MICHAEL COLLINS SC

MR. BRIAN MURRAY SC MS. C. DONNELLY BL

Instructed by:

MR. DAMIEN YOUNG
PHILIP LEE SOLICITORS
7/8 WILTON TERRACE

DUBLIN 2

For the 1ST DEFENDANT: MR. PAUL GALLAGHER SC

MS. NIAMH HYLAND SC MR. FRANCIS KIERAN BL

Instructed by: MASON HAYES & CURRAN

**SOUTH BANK HOUSE** BARROW STREET DUBLIN 4

FOR THE 2ND DEFENDANT:

MR. EOIN MCCULLOUGH SC MR. JAMES DOHERTY SC MR. SEAN O'SULLIVAN BL

Instructed by: **AHERN RUDDEN QUIGLEY** 

5 CLARE STREET DUBLIN 2

MS. EILEEN BARRINGTON SC MS. SUZANNE KINGSTON BL FOR UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

McCANN FITZGERALD Instructed by:

RIVERSIDE ONE 37-42 SIR JOHN ROGERSON'S QUAY

**DUBLIN 2** 

FOR BSA The Software Alliance: MR. MAURICE COLLINS SC

MS. KELLEY SMITH BL

Instructed by: **WILLIAM FRY SOLICITORS** 

2 GRAND CANAL SQUARE DUBLIN 2

FOR DIGITAL EUROPE:

MR. MICHAEL CUSH SC MS. NESSA CAHILL BL

Instructed by:

A&L GOODBODY 28 NORTH WALL QUAY NORTH WALL DUBLIN 1

FOR ELECTRONIC PRIVACY INFORMATION CENTER:

MR. COLM O'DWYER SC MS. GRAINNE GILMORE BL

Instructed by:

MCGRATH MCGRANE SUITE 323 THE CAPEL BUILDING MARY'S ABBEY DUBLIN 7

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1		THE HEARING RESUMED AS FOLLOWS ON FRIDAY, 10TH FEBRUARY	-
2		<u>2017</u>	
3			
4		MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Good morning.	
5		REGISTRAR: In the matter of Data Protection	10:44
6		Commissioner -v- Facebook Ireland Ltd. and another.	
7		MR. DOHERTY: Yes, Judge. Ms. Gorski is already in the	
8		witness box.	
9		MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Thank you.	
10			10:44
11		MS. ASHLEY GORSKI, HAVING BEEN AFFIRMED, WAS EXAMINED	
12		BY MR. DOHERTY AS FOLLOWS	
13			
14	1 Q.	MR. DOHERTY: Ms. Gorski, if you could just be handed a	
15		booklet with your report in it, which I think is Book	10:44
16		6, if you have that (SAME HANDED TO THE WITNESS).	
17		Certainly in my book it's behind Tab 2 of Book 6 is	
18		your report itself appended to the affidavit you swore	
19		in these proceedings.	
20			10:45
21		If I can ask you, just before we touch on the report	
22		briefly, to turn to paragraph 24 which is the appendix	
23		to the report where you set out your background and	
24		your experience, and this has already been opened to	
25		the court by Mr. Collins yesterday, but could you	10:45
26		perhaps just, if you might, give some colour or	
27		background to your experience and your ability to give	
28		evidence before the court today.	
29	Α.	Of course. I graduated from Yale University and	

1			received my Juris Doctor degree from Harvard Law	
2			School. I am of the Bar of the State of New York and	
3			I am admitted to practice in several federal courts.	
4			After law school I worked at a New York law firm, Davis	
5			Polk & Wardwell, and, following my work with the firm,	10:45
6			I clerked for two federal judges, The Honourable Miriam	
7			Goldman Cedarbaum in the Southern District of New York	
8			and The Honourable Jon O. Newman in the Second Circuit	
9			Court of appeals. Following my clerkship I began	
10			employment with the American Civil Liberties Union, the	10:46
11			National Security Project within the ACLU. I have been	
12			working at the ACLU for the past three and a half years	
13			where I have focussed on US surveillance law.	
14	2	Q.	And if you could just direct any answers to the judge	
15			that would be helpful, Ms. Gorski.	10:46
16		Α.	Of course.	
17	3	Q.	And in the context of the report that you prepared,	
18			I think before coming here today you have had an	
19			opportunity to review the report?	
20		Α.	Yes. Before coming here today I have reviewed the	10:46
21			report.	
22	4	Q.	And we'll come on to it in a moment. I know that there	
23			have been some developments in US law that are touched	
24			on in the joint memo prepared by the experts, but is	
25			there anything in the context of the report that's	10:46
26			exhibited to your affidavit that you wish to clarify or	
27			correct?	

29

Α.

Yes. In paragraph 44 of the report on page 17 I refer

in passing to PPD-28's limitations on bulk collection.

1	5	Q.	Yes.
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2	Α.	PPD-28 does not limit bulk collection per se. It sets	
3		forth six limitations on the government's use of	
4		information that has been collected in bulk. That is a	
5		point that I have clarified in the expert chart that	10:47
6		was separately submitted and it's a point that is made	
7		elsewhere in the report, but I just wanted to clarify	
8		that in paragraph 48 I am speaking specifically about	
9		limitations on the use of information that has been	
10		collected in bulk.	10:47

- 11 6 Q. Okay. And apart from that correction and any other
  12 matter that we'll come to in a moment in terms of the
  13 memorandum prepared by the experts, is there anything
  14 else in the report, are you happy to adopt its contents
  15 as reflecting your views for the purposes of the
  16 evidence today?
- 17 A. Its contents reflect my views for the purposes of the evidence today.
- 19 7 Q. If I can ask you then just to be handed a copy of the
  20 memorandum prepared by the experts and I think, Judge, 10:48
  21 you had said that you would put it into your
  22 submissions booklet yesterday?
- 23 **MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:** Yes.
- 24 A. I was handed a copy earlier.
- 25 8 Q. MR. DOHERTY: Okay. Just in terms of this memorandum, 10:48
  26 I think it explains that the experts met by video
  27 conference on 3rd February last and I think that was
  28 quite a lengthy engagement, was it?
- 29 A. Yes. I believe we spoke for at least four and a

1	half	hours	or	four	hours	and	45	minutes.
<b>上</b>	II a I I	noun 3	O I	ı ouı	iioui 3	ana	$\tau$	minuccs.

- 9 Q. And, while this is a lengthy document I think running
  to some 38 pages, it necessarily reflects a somewhat
  distilled view of perhaps different views expressed by
  the parties to that conference call over that time?
  10:49
- 6 A. Yes, that's correct.

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- 7 I just want to ask you a few questions about it, if 10 0. 8 I may, dealing firstly at the bottom of this page 1 of the documents, "Developments in US law and practice 9 since filing of experts report". At the bottom of this 10:49 10 11 page we see reference to the "designation of the EU and Member States under the Judicial Redress Act" and over 12 the page the reference to 17th January designation of 13 14 the EU Member States as covered countries, I just to 15 ask you just a slightly different question: Are you 10:49 aware of any designation of designated agencies for the 16 17 purposes of this Act?
  - A. I do not have direct knowledge of which agencies have been designated for the purposes of the Judicial Redress Act at this stage. I would note, however, that 10:49 the Judicial Redress Act is in many respects a significantly flawed remedy for EU persons because it is designed to extend the remedies available in the *Privacy* Act. And the Privacy Act contains several significant exemptions, including an exemption for information in systems of records that has been classified pursuant to executive order. And when we're talking about foreign intelligence service and NSA surveillance, invariably intelligence files are

classified by the NSA and this is something that is
touched on in Prof. Vladeck's affidavit as well,

I believe paragraphs 64, in the 60s, he addresses this.

The NSA effectively has exempted itself from the most significant protections afforded to individuals in the 10:50

Privacy Act.

So because the NSA is exempt from the Privacy Act in the most important respects, the Judicial Redress Act doesn't, it doesn't have the force that it may, that the court may believe that it has based on some of the expert declarations. And I would separately note that the Judicial Redress Act doesn't extend all the causes of action that are available in the Privacy Act.

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Q.

- Okay. Within the same section on page 3 there's a reference to the decision of District Court decision I think in <u>Valdez -v- National Security Agency</u> at No. 6, and I think this touches on something that is dealt with in other parts of this expert report and we have heard about over the last number of days about the doctrine of standing in the context of challenges to surveillance, could you perhaps just explain your view in relation to that by reference to the <u>Valdez</u> decision or any other material in the memo?
- A. Yes, it's very important to understand that within the US system plaintiffs have the burden of establishing standing at various stages of the case. The two most recent decisions addressing standing in challenges to NSA surveillance, this <u>Valdez</u> decision and then the

Т			Schuchardt decision which I believe has been referred	
2			to already in those proceedings. Both of those	
3			decisions involve a court assessing whether a	
4			plaintiff's allegations at the outset of the case are	
5			plausible. At the beginning of the case a defendant	10:52
6			may bring a motion to dismiss and that motion to	
7			dismiss can proceed in one of two ways: It can be a	
8			facial challenge to the plausibility of the allegations	
9			in the complaint or it can be a factual challenge.	
LO				10:52
L1			These two cases dealt with facial challenges. So they	
L2			were considering whether, under an extraordinarily low	
L3			and permissive standard, plaintiffs had sufficiently	
L4			and plausibly alleged that they had standing to	
L5			proceed. Notably in a case that I have worked on	10:52
L6			directly <u>Wikimedia -v- NSA</u> , where we represent	
L7			Wikimedia which is owner and operator of one of the	
L8			most visited, ten most visited websites on earth, the	
L9			District Court in that opinion held that we had not	
20			plausibly alleged that our communications, that my	10:52
21			client's communications were subject to Upstream	
22			surveillance. So even with that very low standing	
23			threshold we were still unable to meet it in the	
24			District Court's view. That case is currently pending	
25			appeal.	10:53
26				
27			So in connection with <b>Valdez</b> I would also just note	
28			that on page	
29	12	Q.	Perhaps page 34 paragraph 8?	

1		Α.	Page 34 paragraph 8.	
2	13	Q.	You had some comment there?	
3		Α.	Yes. So in paragraph 8 the experts stated that the	
4			standing doctrine is to a large degree indeterminate.	
5			In the last sentence we explain that this phenomenon of	10:53
6			indeterminacy is reflected in lower court decisions, in	
7			post <u>Clapper</u> , post Snowden suits challenging US foreign	
8			intelligence surveillance programmes, some of which	
9			have found Article III standing and others of which	
10			have not.	10:53
11				
12			Insofar as this sentence is referring to <u>Schuchardt</u> and	
13			<u>Valdez</u> , the courts there did not technically find	
14			Article III standing. So assuming makes it past a	
15			motion to dismiss or past a facial challenge then the	10:54
16			plaintiff has to establish the elements of standing by	
17			a preponderance of the evidence which is a much higher	
18			burden. These two cases did not involve factual	
19			findings by the court that the plaintiff had	
20			established standing by a preponderance of the	10:54
21			evidence.	
22				
23			The one foreign intelligence case post <u>Clapper</u> , post	
24			Snowden is really the exception that proves the rule,	
25			the rule that standing is an extraordinarily difficult	10:54
26			hurdle in the foreign intelligence context, and that's	
27			the <u>ACLU -v- Clapper</u> decision. And that's the case in	
28			which the ACLU, based on a document that was leaked by	
29			Edward Snowden, learned that the Foreign Intelligence	

1			Surveillance Court was ordering Verizon business to	
2			turn over the telephony metadata of Verizon business	
3			customers. And, because we had that leaked order, we	
4			were able to go to the court and the Second Circuit	
5			found that we had standing.	10:55
6				
7			But in that case we had actually received notice of the	
8			fact that we were surveilled. A theme in my report and	
9			just generally is that without notice in the American	
10			system it's extraordinarily difficult to establish	10:55
11			standing. ACLU -v- Clapper is really an exception to	
12			the rule.	
13	14	Q.	Yes. Just turning back to the report, from page 5 the	
14			experts address the question of US government's	
15			surveillance authority and I just want to ask you a	10:55
16			couple of things in terms of areas of disagreement	
17			there.	
18				
19			At paragraphs 1 and 2 I think there's a discussion in	
20			terms of the scope of Section 702 targeting and the	10:55
21			effectiveness of protections contained in Section 702,	
22			the minimisation procedures. The reconciled position,	
23			I think as Mr. Collins noted yesterday, is not a	
24			reconciled position in fact because you disagree about	
25			how much constraint exists in practice for targeting	10:55
26			under Section 702 and you disagree, for minimisation	
27			under Section 702, how strong the protections and how	

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large the exceptions are in practice, and could you

perhaps just elaborate on the reasons for your

1 disagreement there?

Of course. With respect to the targeting procedures, Α. under Section 702 the government is permitted to target any non-US person who is located abroad who the government reasonably believes is a non-US person 10:56 located abroad and so long as the significant purpose of the acquisition is to obtain foreign intelligence information. Critically foreign intelligence information is defined extraordinarily broadly in FISA to include arguably any information bearing on the 10:56 foreign affairs of the United States. So, given that extraordinarily broad targeting standard, I think it's fair to say that the targeting standards are weak.

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In addition, the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight 10:56 Board had recommended that the government, that the executive branch implement some reforms to its targeting procedures. The procedures themselves have not been officially acknowledged by the government. There is a version, however, from 2009 that has been 10:57 publically released. And, based on the targeting procedures that have been publically released, the procedures themselves do not impose meaningful constraints on the government's targeting decisions and the Privacy and Civil Liberties Board recognised that 10:57 and specifically recommended that the government incorporate into its targeting procedures more specific criteria defining what constitutes a foreign intelligence purpose for the purposes of the

1			acquisition, and that recommendation was only partially	
2			implemented. The board was not satisfied with the	
3			government's implementation of that recommendation.	
4				
5			With respect to the minimisation procedures, I think	10:57
6			the most significant exception is that the government	
7			can retain communications indefinitely if they are	
8			found to contain foreign intelligence information.	
9			And, given the broad definition of foreign intelligence	
10			information, I don't believe that the minimisation	10:57
11			procedures impose meaningful constraints on the	
12			government's surveillance apparatus under Section 702.	
13	15	Q.	And I think, just in terms of Section 702, this goes on	
14			to deal with the two programmes that we know about	
15			under Section 702, PRISM and Upstream; isn't that	10:58
16			correct?	
17		Α.	Yes.	
18	16	Q.	At paragraphs 3 and 4 on page 7 I think we're dealing	
19			primarily with, well PRISM and Upstream in 3, but PRISM	
20			at paragraph 4 and the agreed position, I think there	10:58
21			was some debate between yourself and Prof. Swire about	
22			the concept of direct access to information held by	
23			service providers?	
24		Α.	Mm hmm.	
25	17	Q.	And the agreed position seems to record: "The precise	10:58
26			technological means by which the government transmits	
27			selectors to providers and providers send data to the	
28			government, to the best of the experts' knowledge, has	
29			not been made public". And do you have any comment	

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2 My impression from reading Prof. Swire's report is that Α. 3 he was describing the process by which directives are served as a highly legalistic one as if -- well 4 5 directives are served in a legalistic manner, but the 10:59 6 process by which the targeted selectors, the search 7 terms, the targeted accounts, the information that the 8 government wants to obtain from the internet companies, that information presumably is changing rapidly. 9 10 not as if the government says on January 1st 'we know 10:59 11 all the accounts that we want to target for all of 12 2017'. And, given that that information is changing rapidly and also given the volume of the information 13 14 that the government is obtaining under PRISM, which is, 15 as of 2011, more than 200 million communications a 10:59 year, it's clear that there is some kind of 16 17 technological means by which the government is providing the selectors to the internet companies and 18 19 the internet companies are in turn providing data back 20 to the government. Those precise technological means 10:59 21 are unknown, have not yet been made public. 22 18 Q.

Can I ask you then to turn to page 9 in paragraph 6 where the topic under discussion was the relevance of Executive Order 12333. Perhaps before we get to that, but keeping that tab open, if you could turn to page 12 11:00 and item 12. There was some discussion, I think, about the use of Executive Order 12333 for collection within the US and in the middle column Prof. Vladeck is recorded as stating that:

1 "Executive Order 12333 simply does not apply to EU 2 citizen data held by US companies within the United 3 States."

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And there is an agreed position referring to the 11:00 Transit Authority in the United States, that may be an exception to that, but could you just explain your view on Prof. Vladeck's statement.

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I'll just begin by talking about the relevance Α. of EO 12333 to the proceedings as I understand them. I interpreted the Court of Justice's decision in **Schrems** as asking Court of Justice's whether the US ensures or a third party country ensures an adequate level of protection for EU citizen data that is transferred to the third party country. And so the inquiry is not simply whether, once the communications hit US soil, whether the US ensures an adequate level of protection, but whether the US is in any way interfering with EU citizens' rights as those

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And EO 12333 is potentially relevant in two respects, One the government uses the EO 12333 to conduct bulk surveillance broad, including on the trans-Atlantic cables from the EU to the US, and this was something 11:01 that was acknowledged in the European Commission's adequacy decision around Privacy Shield. So given that the European Commission thought that this was a relevant fact, I think it is potentially relevant to

communications are in transit.

_			these proceedings as werr. If the government is	
2			collect EU citizens data in bulk as it is transiting	
3			the undersea cables but is just doing that right	
4			offshore, right off US soil, under EO 12333 that seems	
5			pertinent.	11:02
6				
7			Secondly, with respect to transit authority,	
8			Prof. Vladeck and Prof. Swire in their reports stated	
9			that EO 12333 has no application to surveillance in the	
10			US, and that is incorrect and they have, since we have	11:02
11			conversed, have acknowledged that EO 12333 does apply	
12			to surveillance, some surveillance conducted in the US	
13			in limited circumstances, including an authority known	
14			as Transit Authority. And under Transit Authority the	
15			US government is intercepting communications in transit	11:02
16			that are foreign to foreign, that are not designed to	
17			land in the US per se but as they are transiting across	
18			the US the government is intercepting them on US soil	
19			pursuant to Executive Order 12333.	
20	19	Q.	And then if I may just, going back to Section 702	11:02
21			targeting procedures, can I ask you to look at page 14	
22			at item 15. The experts were discussing the FISA court	
23			role in approving Section 702 targeting procedures	
24			there and an agreed position is reached that: "Under	
25			Section 702, the FISC does not approve agency analysts'	11:03
26			individual targeting decisions."	
27				
28			And could you just perhaps explain what the experts	
29			meant by that or what your understanding of the	

1		agreement is?
2	Α.	My impression w

vas that Prof. Swire's report suggested, implied, potentially overstated the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court's role in approving targeting decisions. Very importantly under 11:03 Section 702, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court bears no role to the court's involvement under traditional FISA, traditional FISA orders or like a judicial warrant procedure. There is no ex ante review Instead on an annual basis the 11:04 of targeting decisions. Director of National Intelligence and the Attorney General go to the FISC and they say 'we are seeking these certifications, we'd like to conduct acquisitions under Section 702, here are our targeting and minimisation procedures', which prescribe at a very 11:04 high level of generality how they intend to target and minimise the data and communications that are collected.

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The individual targeting decisions are made by the executive branch with no judicial input, no judicial review.

11:04

23 20 Q. Just touching on something that's perhaps in the same
24 vein on page 16, paragraph 19, there is reference to
25 the experts discussing Section 702 and the acquisition
26 of communications of *ordinary* citizens and if we could
27 start perhaps with Prof. Swire's view in the middle to
28 which you respond, he states that:

1		in 2015 there were 94,368 targets under Section 702	
2		programmes, many of whom were targeted due to evidence	
3		linking them to terrorism."	
4			
5		He says: "That's a tiny fraction of US, European or	11:05
6		global internet users and it demonstrates the low	
7		likelihood of the communications being acquired for	
8		ordinary citizens."	
9			
10		And you disagree, I think, with that and you have	11:05
11		explained in the first column in summary form why you	
12		disagree, could you perhaps just elaborate on that?	
13	Α.	Of course. So given the government's targeting	
14		criteria under Section 702, the target merely needs to	
15		be a non-US person located abroad, and the significant	11:05
16		purposes of the targeting is to obtain foreign	
17		intelligence information. The government is invariably	
18		targeting individuals who are "ordinary citizens". Its	
19		targets need not have any connection to criminal	
20		activity, any connection to terrorism and need not be	11:05
21		foreign powers or agents of a foreign power.	
22			
23		And, separately, targets, regardless of whether one	
24		would characterise them as ordinary citizens,	
25		invariably communicate with individuals who are	11:06
26		ordinary citizens; and, third, the government likely	
27		surveils several selectors or accounts for each of	
28		these targets and each of those accounts likely	
29		communicates with dozens or hundreds of people. So	

very quickly you have kind of a force multiplier in terms of how many communications of ordinary citizens happen to be acquired under Section 702.

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And again, as of 2011, under Section 702, as reported by an opinion of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court, the government had acquired more than 250 million internet communications.

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I would also note, and this is actually the most 11:06 important point with respect to 702 surveillance of ordinary citizens, that through Upstream surveillance in Section 702 the government engages in what could be characterised as bulk searching of communications. even though it's only acquiring, you know, the 11:06 communications to, from and about its targets, with some exception because some unrelated communications are often bundled with the targets communications in transit, but, setting aside those exceptions, in order to acquire the communications about its targets, the 11:07 government must first search through a far greater quantity of communications. And when it is conducting the searching, it's not just looking at the envelope, it's not just looking at the metadata, it's having to do with what's called a deep packet inspection because 11:07 it is interested in communications that are simply about the target as well, it's a much broader search. And so with that kind of bulk searching the government has access to and is searching through the contents of

1		vast quantities of internet communications that are	
2		entering and leaving the United States.	
3	21 Q.	Can I then ask you to turn to page 19 and item 25 where	
4		the experts discuss the scope of application of the	
5		Fourth Amendment and I think ultimately reach an agreed	11:07
6		position as set out in the final column. There's just	
7		one matter here which may or may not be an error but	
8		just to ask you to clarify the position: The	
9		reconciled position is:	
10			11:08
11		"Swire concurs with his previous conclusion of the	
12		Fourth Amendment applying for searches within the US	
13		where the non-citizen has substantial voluntary	
14		connections to the US such as physical presence in the	
15		country. By contrast, Swire agrees with Vladeck that	11:08
16		the Supreme Court has not addressed wither the Fourth	
17		Amendment apply to searches of non-citizens data where	
18		the data is located within the US but there has been no	
19		substantial voluntary connection to the US."	
20			11:08
21		And then it records: "To the extent Vladeck's earlier	
22		testimony stated the Fourth Amendment applies in such	
23		circumstances", I think you thought that may be a	
24		reference to Prof. Swire instead of Prof. Vladeck?	
25	Α.	I think that may be a reference to Prof. Swire.	11:08
26		Because my impression is that there was some evolution	
27		in Prof. Swire's position. In his report he stated	
28		that the Fourth Amendment applies to searches and	
29		seizures that take place within the US and in his	

1			reconciled position, he says he concurs, but really he	
2			is saying the Fourth Amendment applies to searches	
3			within the US where the non-citizen has substantial	
4			voluntary connections to the US. That's the caveat.	
5			So there was an evolution in Prof. Swire's position and	11:09
6			I can't say definitively to the extent Vladeck's	
7			earlier stated, should say Prof. Swire, but that would	
8			be my assumption.	
9	22	Q.	And then the final agreement on that is that the	
10			experts agree the Supreme Court just hasn't considered	11:09
11			that issue in the context of EU citizens data but data	
12			generally being transferred to the US?	
13		Α.	That is correct, that the Supreme Court has not	
14			considered that issue.	
15	23	Q.	Can I ask you then to turn to the second section of the	11:09
16			report dealing with causes of action. You are,	
17			I think, less involved in terms of discussions about	
18			remedies, but if I can ask you to turn to page 21 and	
19			item 3 discussing individual remedies. And I think,	
20			again this has been opened by Mr. Collins but your view	11:09
21			here in fact is that a response to Prof. Swire's view,	
22			and there may be not much in this, his view is	
23			expressed in, the penultimate column is:	
24				
25			"As discussed in chapter 8, I, therefore, believe that	11:10
26			individual remedies for foreign intelligence issues are	
27			often ill-advised. They create a vector of attack for	
28			hostile actors to learn the details of top secret	
29			information."	

- 1 And you disagree with that?
- 2 A. I do disagree with that. I think Prof. Swire's
- 3 statement sweeps quite broadly, to say that remedies
- 4 themselves create a vector of attack for hostile
- 5 actors. I do understand that Prof. Swire objects to
- 6 the provision of notice to individuals who have been
- 7 subject to surveillance by the government and under the

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- 8 American system, as it stands, without notice it is
- 9 extraordinarily difficult to establish standing to
- 10 bring a claim of redress.
- 11 24 Q. Yes.
- 12 A. However, that said, delayed notice is certainly an
- option as it is in the criminal wire tap context within
- the US. And, in any event, if delayed notice weren't
- feasible, the standing doctrine could shift to
- 16 accommodate individual remedies. But to say full stop
- 17 that the remedies themselves are ill-advised is a
- 18 statement that I disagree with quite strongly.
- 19 25 Q. Just if I can ask you, turning to page 22, item 4, you
- don't express a view in terms of the debate that then
- is engaged between Mr. Serwin and Prof. Swire, but
- I think you do concur in any event with the agreed
- position in respect of federal rule -- procedure 11
- 24 should I say?
- 25 A. I do concur with the agreed position. I think the
- inhibition is, in my personal experience, not a
- 27 significant one, but I agree with the concurred
- position.
- 29 26 Q. Over the page on paragraph page 23 item 5 reference

1			to the Totten bar which Mr. Gallagher helpfully	
2			explained for us yesterday. The experts agreed	
3			position I think is that the government may invoke the	
4			Totten bar which is, I think it's a, is it a state	
5			secret exclusion in respect of the entire subject	11:12
6			matter of the proceedings, is that what it refers to?	
7		Α.	Yes. The government may invoke the state secrets	
8			privilege in one of two ways. It can contend that the	
9			subject matter of the proceedings is itself a state	
LO			secret and that is the Totten bar, or, under the	11:12
L1			Reynolds doctrine, the government can say that evidence	
L2			that is essential to the proceeding is secret and	
L3			accordingly the proceeding must be dismissed.	
L4				
L5			Vladeck makes a point about the Totten bar. We	11:12
L6			ultimately agree that if a litigant were to litigate a	
L7			surveillance programme that had not yet been disclosed,	
L8			so a surveillance programme that's not PRISM or not	
L9			Upstream, it would be very unlikely that the government	
20			would invoke the Totten bar and say the subject matter	11:12
21			of the proceeding is itself a secret. However, the	
22			government could still invoke the Reynolds privilege	
23			and the government has invoked the state secret	
24			privilege in the <u>Jewel</u> case in California, a case	
25			challenging Section 702 surveillance.	11:13
26	27	Q.	Can I ask you then to turn to page 28 of the report and	
27			item 15 where there is a record of a discussion or	

views being expressed by yourself and Prof. Swire about

FISA as a remedy. Prof. Swire is recorded as stating

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1 that: "FISA provides individual remedies for data 2 subjects against unlawful acts of individual government officers." 3 4 5 Your response is that more context is necessary and you 11:13 6 go on to explain that. Could you just elaborate then on the answer you have given and why you disagree with 7 8 Prof. Swire or take a slightly different view from Prof. Swire is I think more accurate? 9 Under FISA the vast majority of individuals who 10 Α. 11:13 11 are subject to the government's surveillance will not 12 receive notice of that fact. The exception is for a very small handful of criminal defendants and, without 13 14 notice, it's extraordinarily difficult for plaintiffs 15 to establish standing, especially by the preponderance 11:14 16 of the evidence at the summary judgment stage of the 17 proceedings which is necessary for a court to adjudicate the merits of the dispute. 18 19 Just whilst we are on this, if you could turn to 28 Q. 20 page 32 because you also express your view, sorry a 11:14 21 view at item 23 here in respect of the Administrative 22 Procedures Act and I think it touches on the same issue of notice: is that correct? 23 Yes, that's correct. The same issue is present under 24 Α. the Administrative Procedure Act. An individual may 25 11:14 26 bring a claim but the individual still has to 27 establish, if he or she or the organisation is 28 challenging foreign intelligence surveillance, that

they have standing to do so and for the vast majority

			or people who are subject to the survermance they	
2			won't have notice and without notice it would be	
3			extremely difficult to establish standing.	
4	29	Q.	Can I ask you to turn to page 36, and this is at the	
5			end of the section dealing with the standing doctrine,	11:15
6			and towards the top of the page at item 3 there's a	
7			reference to a disagreement here:	
8				
9			"So finally, and perhaps most significantly, we	
10			disagree over the implications of our analysis for the	11:15
11			DPC's conclusion that standing doctrine represents a	
12			general obstacle to data protection claims brought by	
13			EU citizens."	
14				
15			And you, I think, have already touched on that briefly,	11:15
16			but perhaps if you could elaborate on the nature of	
17			your view as part of that disagreement?	
18		Α.	Of course. The standing doctrine represents a general	
19			obstacle to data protection claims in the foreign	
20			intelligence context brought by EU citizens, American	11:15
21			citizens, brought by anyone. It's an extraordinarily	
22			significant obstacle speaking from personal experience	
23			litigating surveillance cases.	
24	30	Q.	Yes. In fact, if you turn to the previous page,	
25			I think you have expressed a view at item 2 on page 35	11:16
26			by reference to the <u>Wikimedia</u> case that you have	
27			already touched on?	
28		Α.	Yes.	
29	31	Q.	And you have already made your observations in relation	

1 to that. Then just turning finally then, in the 2 context of this report, to Privacy Shield, can I ask 3 you to turn to page 37. You have expressed some views, which I don't think are the subject of any major 4 5 disagreement, about the Privacy Shield Ombudsperson, 11:16 6 the reporting capabilities and the authority of the 7 Privacy Shield Ombudsperson at items 2, 3 and 5 over on 8 page 38, could you perhaps just elaborate on your views in relation to that? 9 Importantly the Ombudsperson cannot provide the 10 Α. 11:16 11 kind of remedy that, it cannot provide the equivalent 12 of a judicial remedy. The Ombudsperson can neither

A. Yes. Importantly the Ombudsperson cannot provide the kind of remedy that, it cannot provide the equivalent of a judicial remedy. The Ombudsperson can neither confirm nor deny that a complainant was subject to the surveillance or even let the individual know the specific remedial action that was taken. Critically the Ombudsperson cannot bind an executive branch agency to implement a remedy.

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It is true that Privacy Shield is silent on whether investigations may go beyond compliance with the relevant regulations, for example if a Privacy Shield Ombudsperson could investigate a claim that the surveillance violated the Fourth Amendment. That said theirs no indication in the regulation that the Ombudsperson has the authority to investigate whether a form of surveillance violates the Fourth Amendment.

11:17

Q. Can I ask you then, just to touch briefly on one final matter, if I may, and unfortunately it requires a different book, if you could be handed Trial Booklet

1			12, I'm not sure if that is up there.	
2		Α.	I don't believe that is there, no.	
3	33	Q.	I just wanted you to look very briefly at just one	
4			paragraph of written legal submissions filed on behalf	
5			of Facebook in these proceedings where some	11:18
6			observations are made about the US régime in terms of	
7			surveillance.	
8		Α.	Could you perhaps direct me to the tab.	
9	34	Q.	Of course. It's behind Tab 2 of that booklet and it	
10			starts at page 35 paragraph 139. So it's the paragraph	11:18
11			that starts "to date the DPC has failed to explain	
12			why", do you have that paragraph?	
13		Α.	Yes.	
14	35	Q.	And it goes on, obviously it is addressed to the DPC:	
15				11:18
16			"Her experts did not consider substantive US national	
17			security law being instructed to consider the question	
18			of remedies only. However, as ably demonstrated by the	
19			evidence of Swire, Vladeck, DeLong and Robertson and as	
20			emerges from and will be demonstrated by the detailed	11:19
21			original of the position in the US which follows, US	
22			national security law does not violate Article 7 and 8	
23			of the Charter. Indeed, the US provides more privacy	
24			protections than Europe."	
25				11:19
26			I'm not asking you to comment on any of that, but the	
27			following provisions, just to see if you have any	
28			observation in relation to it. It says:	

"In short, in using the language of Article 52, the US régime is 1 - and I take that to be a reference to the US national security law régime - provided for by law. It is set out in the publically available statutes."

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Do you have any observation about that?

targeting procedures.

Not all of the régime is set forth in statutory law. Α. For example, Executive Order 12333 is an order issued by the executive branch that can be amended or revoked at will. Likewise Presidential Policy Directive 28 is 11:20 a directive set forth by the executive branch that can be amended or revoked at will. Both of those authorities are public, however critical pieces of the surveillance régime are not. For example, as I noted earlier, the targeting procedures under Section 702 of 11:20 FISA have not been made public by the government, there is a version that is publically available, but the government has not officially acknowledged those

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I would also note that, just because a law is on the books, the government may have an extraordinary interpretation of the breadth of that law that is not publically available. The prime example of this is the bulk telephony metadata programme that the government was conducting under section 215 that it is no longer and that we challenged in <u>ACLU -v- Clapper</u>, the case I referred to earlier in which the Snowden had disclosed this order concerning the metadata of Verizon

1 There the government was relying business customers. 2 on a statute that allowed the government to acquire 3 records relevant to, I believe the language is "of national security investigation", and the government 4 construe this somewhat narrow and pedestrian authority 5 6 as allowing it to amass a database of telephony 7 metadata for all calls, or virtually all calls, 8 incoming and placed or received in the United States.

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So just because the law is set forth in a publically available statute, the government may have an untenable and extraordinarily broad interpretation of it.

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- 13 36 Q. At item No. 2 it is suggested that the US régime is

  "required to meet objectives of genuine interest or the

  rights and freedoms of others" and it goes on to

  provide: "The surveillance is designed to stop

  terrorism and protect national security, arguably the

  foremost duty of the state"?
  - A. Certainly stopping terrorism and protecting national security are objectives that the government pursues through its foreign intelligence surveillance, but the foreign intelligence surveillance is much broader given the definition of foreign intelligence in FISA and also given the even broader definition of foreign intelligence in Executive Order 12333. Under the executive order, foreign intelligence is defined in such a way that virtually any communication made by a foreigner abroad could be deemed foreign intelligence.
- 29 37 Q. Item No. 3: "Respects the essence of the rights to

- privacy and data protection. The expert reports of DeLong, Swire and Vladeck place this matter beyond doubt"?
- I disagree firmly that the US foreign intelligence 4 Α. surveillance régime respects the essence of the rights 5 11:22 6 to privacy and data protection. As discussed very 7 briefly, Executive Order 12333 permits bulk surveillance, bulk acquisitions. Under Section 702 the 8 government lacks objective criteria to limit its access 9 10 to communications given the looseness of the targeting 11:23 11 standard. We also know that under Upstream 12 surveillance conducted under Section 702 the government engages in what might be termed a form of bulk 13 14 searching of communications. It accesses and searches 15 through vast quantities of communications. And, given 11:23 16 that kind of access, given the scope of that 17 surveillance. I don't think it's accurate to say that it respects the essence of the rights to privacy and 18 19 data protection.
- 20 38 Q. In respect of item No. 4, the contention that it's necessary, you have already touched I think on the question of the national security purposes by reference to the definition of foreign intelligence?
- A. Yes. Certainly some of the surveillance is intended to obtain information related to national security but the surveillance sweeps much broader than national security purposes as made clear on the face of the, by the face of the text of Section 702.
- 29 39 Q. And then item 5 suggests that: "It is proportionate

1			that there are numerous safeguards and oversight	
2			measures in place to limit the privacy infringements	
3			that may result from online surveillance"?	
4		Α.	I would note here that the oversight measures are	
5			inadequate. First of all, under Executive Order 12333	11:24
6			the significant bulk surveillance programmes that are	
7			conducted under Executive Order 12333 have not been,	
8			their legality has not been reviewed by any court and	
9			Congress has made clear or at least the former head of	
LO			the Senate Intelligence Committee has made clear that	11:24
L1			Congress is unable to sufficiently oversee EO 12333	
L2			surveillance in part because it is so sweeping and	
L3			there are so many programmes.	
L4				
L5			And then separately with respect to Section 702, as	11:24
L6			discussed previously, there are significant limitations	
L7			on litigating Section 702, significant hurdles and	
L8			barriers to litigating Section 702 in an adversarial	
L9			proceeding for civil plaintiffs.	
20	40	Q.	Just whilst we are on the question of proportionality,	11:25
21			it's something I didn't bring you to, but in the	
22			experts memo, if I may, and I don't think there is any	
23			need to open this, but at item 22 on page 17	
24			Prof. Swire expresses a view about language in PPD-28	
25			that: "Signals intelligence activities shall be as	11:25
26			tailored as feasible. "	
27				
28			And his comment is that: "Although this language does	

not refer to necessity or proportionality, it is an

1		example of a safeguard that addresses those concerns",	
2		what's your view that opinion?	
3	Α.	I don't believe that that language imposes a meaningful	
4		constraint on the government. Feasibility is in no way	
5		defined, we don't know whether that's technological	11:25
6		feasibility, operational feasibility, just says "as	
7		feasible" and, without any kind of more direct	
8		constraint on government surveillance, it's hard to see	
9		that as a significant limitation. It is true that	
10		PPD-28 says that the government should prioritise	11:26
11		public sources of information over signals	
12		intelligence, but that's a very general statement. In	
13		any event we know that under Executive Order 12333 the	
14		government is engaged in bulk surveillance and we know	
15		that under Section 702 its surveillance is	11:26
16		extraordinarily broad.	
17		MR. DOHERTY: Thank you very much. If you would answer	
18		any questions from my colleagues.	
19			
20		END OF DIRECT EXAMINATION OF MS. GORSKI BY MR. DOHERTY	11:26
21			
22		MR. MICHAEL COLLINS: I have no questions.	
23		MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Thank you. Mr. Gallagher?	
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25			11:26
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1			MS. GORSKI WAS CROSS-EXAMINED BY MR. GALLAGHER AS	
2			<u>FOLLOWS</u>	
3				
4			MR. GALLAGHER: Good morning, Ms. Gorski.	
5		Α.	Good morning.	11:26
6	41	Q.	I have a few questions for you. Just in relation to	
7			your report, if you would just be kind enough to go to	
8			that. And in paragraph 3 of that report on page 3 you	
9			identify	
10			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Just a moment, I think	11:26
11			MR. GALLAGHER: Sorry, Judge.	
12			THE WITNESS: Thank you.	
13			MR. GALLAGHER: In fact it's paragraph 2 I want to ask	
14			you about.	
15			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: On page?	11:27
16			MR. GALLAGHER: On page 3, sorry.	
17			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Thank you.	
18			MR. GALLAGHER: Where you set out your qualifications	
19			and duty as an expert. You refer to being asked in	
20			paragraph 2 to provide an expert opinion on certain	11:27
21			matters regarding the laws of the United States, and	
22			what were those matters, Ms. Gorski?	
23		Α.	Those matters were the scope of US surveillance law, US	
24			surveillance practice, obstacles to redress and	
25			identifying particular remedies or remedies that were	11:27
26			characterised as remedies by other parties in the case.	
27	42	Q.	And it was in those general terms; is that right?	
28		Α.	Yes.	
29	43	Q.	Now so far as practice, US surveillance practice is	

T			concerned, you have no background in relation to US	
2			surveillance practice; isn't that correct?	
3		Α.	In the course of litigating cases challenging the	
4			government's surveillance, I have read and developed	
5			expertise in surveillance practice as discussed by	11:28
6			official government acknowledgments and as disclosed by	
7			media reports, the Snowden disclosures and other	
8			sources. I have not worked for the executive branch of	
9			the United States government.	
10	44	Q.	So your knowledge with regard to practice is based,	11:28
11			I think as you identify in your reports, on US	
12			government information; isn't that correct?	
13		Α.	That is one source of my knowledge of the practice.	
14	45	Q.	And the other is media reports?	
15		Α.	Yes.	11:28
16	46	Q.	And you have no way of identifying or verifying whether	
17			the media reports are accurate; isn't that correct?	
18		Α.	I have cited to sources and I put some faith in media	
19			reports by significant outlets with good reputations.	
20	47	Q.	Okay. Now you are also conscious of your duties as an	11:29
21			expert, you tell us in paragraph 3, what's your	
22			understanding of the extent of your duty as an expert,	
23			Ms. Gorski?	
24		Α.	My understanding of the duty is that I am to, I am here	
25			to assist the court in understanding US law and my duty	11:29
26			is to answer all questions truthfully and to assist the	
27			court.	
28	48	Q.	Mm hmm. And you identify in paragraph 4 that you have	
29			no financial or economic interest in any business or	

1			economic activity of the second Defendant; isn't that	
2			correct?	
3		Α.	Yes.	
4	49	Q.	Yes. I think you are, in your position with the ACLU,	
5			an advocate in relation to reform of the law in this	11:30
6			area; isn't that correct?	
7		Α.	Yes.	
8	50	Q.	And you write publically on the type of changes that	
9			you think are appropriate; isn't that correct?	
10		Α.	Yes.	11:30
11	51	Q.	And you advocate positions and communicate positions	
12			with regard to your understanding of how the law	
13			operates and how the practice operates; isn't that	
14			correct?	
15		Α.	Yes.	11:30
16	52	Q.	And you've been an advocate since you joined the ACLU,	
17			if not before; is that correct?	
18		Α.	Yes.	
19	53	Q.	And I take it you understand the importance of	
20			differentiating between your role as an advocate and	11:30
21			your role as an expert witness?	
22		Α.	I do understand the importance of differentiating	
23			between those roles. I would note that the ACLU takes	
24			these matters very seriously. We are not a direct	
25			services organisation, we develop and we have a theory	11:30
26			of the law that we believe quite firmly and we are	
27			interested in bringing cases that will help to advance	
28			our understanding of the law. I would also say that	
29			nothing in my report would be different if I were	

1			writing this report on behalf of any of the other	
2			parties in the case.	
3	54	Q.	Okay. You have a theory of the law or the ACLU has an	
4			a theory of the law and they also have a theory of the	
5			practice; isn't that correct?	11:31
6		Α.	I think that's accurate, yes.	
7	55	Q.	Yes. And I take it you have shared many platforms with	
8			Mr. Schrems on this issue; isn't that correct?	
9		Α.	I actually have not shared many platforms with	
10			Mr. Schrems on this issue. Mr. Schrems came to the	11:31
11			ACLU's offices in person once and other than that we	
12			have never been on a panel together.	
13	56	Q.	I see. Now in relation to your descriptions in your	
14			report, you identify US surveillance law and practice	
15			in paragraphs, I think, 7 to 9; isn't that correct?	11:32
16		Α.	Yes.	
17	57	Q.	And you say in paragraph 9 that: "The United States	
18			government under Section 702 and EO 12333 claims	
19			extraordinary access to private communications" and	
20			then you give a description of how they operate; isn't	11:32
21			that correct?	
22		Α.	Yes.	
23	58	Q.	And you also give a more detailed description of	
24			Section 702 in the next section of your report, pages	
25			13 to - sorry, paragraphs 13, excuse me, to paragraph	11:32
26			18; isn't that correct?	
27		Α.	Yes.	
28	59	Q.	And that description in those paragraphs to which	

I have referred is based on what you say is government

Τ			information and on media reports; isn't that correct?	
2		Α.	I don't believe that any of the information in those	
3			paragraphs - oh, hmm, yes, there's a reference to media	
4			reports at the end of paragraph 18, yes.	
5	60	Q.	Yes. Well, apart from that reference, do you think	11:33
6			that what you say about the operation of Section 702 is	
7			based on government statements?	
8		Α.	I would say some of it is based on the text of the law	
9			itself and not necessarily a government gloss on that	
10			text, but certainly the citations to the Privacy and	11:34
11			Civil Liberties Oversight Board, the PCLOB, those are	
12			government statements. The statement of a former	
13			Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court judge is a	
14			government statement, yes of.	
15	61	Q.	Well the PCLOB is an independent body; isn't that	11:34
16			correct?	
17		Α.	Yes. It is part of the government, it is an	
18			independent body.	
19	62	Q.	But it is an independent body, Ms. Gorski; isn't that	
20			right?	11:34
21		Α.	Yes.	
22	63	Q.	Yes. And it was set up to review the system of	
23			operation of Section 702, and indeed other provisions	
24			but Section 702 so far as we are concerned, and make	
25			recommendations?	11:34
26		Α.	It was set up to review much more than Section 702,	
27			but, yes.	

29

64 Q.

Α.

Yes.

Yes.

- 1 65 Q. So if we're looking for an explanation of how PRISM and
  Upstream operates, the first source that we would go to
  is the PCLOB report; isn't that correct?
- The PCLOB report is certainly a very significant 4 Α. source. There are other sources that are also 5 11:35 6 significant, other government sources, including the text of the statute itself, which is extremely 7 8 permissive, and Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court opinions and an array of documents that have been 9 released by the Office of the Director of National 10 11:35
- 12 66 Q. Okay. So the primary sources, so far as the court is
  13 concerned, with regard to the operation of Section 702
  14 is to be found in the documents that you have just
  15 identified there; is that correct?

11:35

Intelligence and other documents.

- A. I would hesitate to characterise that as primary only
  because I would not want to discount media reports and
  also information that has been released through the
  Snowden disclosures and reported on extensively.
- I think that that information is significant to understand the operation of Section 702.
- 22 67 Q. Well, what I'm asking you is do you agree that the 23 documents you have identified are the primary source or 24 do you put media reports at the same level as those?
- A. For the purposes of these proceedings I'm not sure there is a hierarchy.
- 27 68 Q. There is not a hierarchy?
- 28 A. I --

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29 69 Q. So far as you were concerned -- I am terribly sorry.

1		Α.	I'm not sure if there's a hierarchy, if this court	
2			values official government acknowledgements differently	
3			than it would value media reports about the operation	
4			of Section 702.	
5	70	Q.	I see.	11:36
6		Α.	I don't have that information.	
7	71	Q.	Well, PCLOB had access to classified material; isn't	
8			that correct?	
9		Α.	Yes.	
10	72	Q.	About how these programmes worked?	11:36
11		Α.	Yes.	
12	73	Q.	And the FISC court has access to classified material	
13			about how the programmes worked?	
14		Α.	Yes.	
15	74	Q.	And therefore in describing how the programmes worked	11:36
16			I take it you would agree that the primary source or	
17			explanation is to be found in PCLOB, the FISC court and	
18			the various other sources that you identified a few	
19			moments ago?	
20		Α.	Again I just hesitate to use the word "primary".	11:37
21	75	Q.	Okay.	
22		Α.	Certainly those are the most comprehensive sources and	
23			for just generally understanding the operation of the	
24			law those are perhaps the most significant sources.	
25	76	Q.	Mm hmm.	11:37
26		Α.	But I do think that there are also other very, other	
27			significant sources that are not reflected in those	
28			documents including various NSA PowerPoint	
29			presentations slides that have been released by Edward	

1	Snowden	and	reported	on	extensively	by	the	media.
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2 77 Q. well, these are the slides that you say were published 3 in the Washington report which the government hasn't acknowledged is a correct description of the operation; 4

11:37

11:38

11:38

isn't that correct? 5

6 Those are not the only slides I am referring to. Α. also referring to slides that were published in Glenn 7 Greenwald's book No Place to Hide concerning the scope 8 of Upstream surveillance. I am also referring to 9

slides that have been published in the New York Times 10 11 and reported on by Charlie Savage, Julia Angwin and others.

12

- 13 And those were published initially in 2013; is that 78 Q. 14 correct?
- I can't offhand that all the slides I'm referring to 15 Α. 11:38 have been published initially in 2013. The initial 16 17 Snowden disclosures took place in the summer of 2013, but there have been other disclosures subsequent to 18 19 that date.
- 20 And, subsequent to those initial disclosures, the PCLOB 11:38 79 Q. 21 investigated the matter and had access classified 22 material; isn't that correct?
- I think actually the, some of the slides that I'm 23 Α. referring to that have been published in the New York 24 Times postdated the PCLOB's report in 2014. 25

26 MR. GALLAGHER: Yes.

- 27 80 MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Might I just ask, what exactly Q. is a slide? 28
- 29 Yes, of course. I am referring to, with PowerPoint Α.

1 presentations each page that is displayed. 2 MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: That's why I want to be sure. 3 So these are - well you tell me rather than I guess. They are portions of PowerPoint presentations 4 Α. typically, or they may be pages of a report, but 5 11:39 I refer to them collective as slides. 6 7 MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: But from whom? 81 Q. From the National Security Agency, mostly from the NSA. 8 Α. There may be slides from other agencies that are 9 10 relevant, but the slides I'm thinking of right now are 11:39 11 slides from the National Security Agency. 12 MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: From, that's what I was --82 Q. 13 Α. Yes. 14 83 Q. MR. GALLAGHER: I think to be precise about it, 15 Ms. Gorski, there are slides alleged to be from the 11:39 NSA: isn't that correct? 16 They are slides that have not been officially 17 Α. 18 acknowledged by the government. 19 And subsequent to the initial publication of slides, 84 Q. 20 perhaps not all the slides, the question I asked you 11:39 21 was the PCLOB investigated the matter and had access to classified materials with regard to the practice and 22 23 operation of Section 702; isn't that correct? 24 Yes. Α.

PCLOB report; isn't that correct?

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Q.

In your description or the description which you give

for the moment, of the operation of Section 702, you

don't describe the operation as it is set out in the

in your report, and I am only speaking in general terms

- I would disagree with that statement. I think that 1 Α. 2 much of my discussion of Section 702 is broadly 3 consistent with the discussion of the operation of
- surveillance --4

Okay.

5

86

Q.

- 6
- -- in the PCLOB report. Α.
- 7 well, we'll look at whether it is broadly consistent or 87 0. 8 not. You don't use the description that is set out in the PCLOB report; isn't that correct? 9

- My report certainly cites to the PCLOB report. 10 Α. It's a 11:40 11 quite lengthy report and I don't include block 12 quotations from the report. If there is a point of difference, I'm happy to discuss that, but speaking 13 14 offhand I do rely on the PCLOB report in my report.
- 15 Yes. You footnote it with media reports, but it 88 Q. 11:40 actually contains a very clear description as to how, 16 17 for example, PRISM operates; isn't that correct?
- Yes, it is a clear description. I think it may also be 18 Α. 19 an incomplete description. The PCLOB report is a 20 public report and, accordingly, it does not contain 11:41 21 information that the government would deem classified. 22 There is, however, information in the slides or documents that have been released by Edward Snowden and 23
- 24 that the government still does deem classified that 25 I think also bears on the operation of Section 702 in 11:41 26 practice.
- 27 89 And it contains a description of the Upstream Q. 28 programme; isn't that correct?
- 29 The PCLOB report also contains a description of the Α.

1			Upstream programme, yes. Again I think there may be	
2			ways in which that description of the programme is	
3			incomplete given the fact that this is a public report.	
4	90	Q.	Well, what you give is you give a different description	
5			of both Upstream in particular and PRISM; isn't that	11:41
6			correct, than what's in the PCLOB?	
7		Α.	I would hesitate to characterise it as different,	
8			I think it is broadly consistent.	
9	91	Q.	Okay.	
10		Α.	The fundamentals of my description are based on the	11:42
11			PCLOB report. I think I have additional details that	
12			are not present in the PCLOB report.	
13	92	Q.	And you are also aware, I take it, because what you	
14			have said indicates you have read it, the Commission	
15			adequacy decision in relation to the operation of these	11:42
16			programmes; isn't that correct?	
17		Α.	I am aware of the decision.	
18	93	Q.	Yes. And that decision was a decision arrived at by	
19			the Commission after interaction with the US government	
20			over a period of in excess of two years; isn't that	11:42
21			correct?	
22		Α.	I can't speak to the precise timeframe.	
23	94	Q.	A significant timeframe, it's quite obvious from the	
24			decision; isn't that correct, and recorded in it?	
25		Α.	I can't speak to a specific timeframe.	11:42
26	95	Q.	Okay. And it gives a description of PRISM and	
27			Upstream; isn't that correct?	
28		Α.	I believe so. It has been some time since I have	
29			reviewed the decision, so I can't say so definitively.	

- 1 96 Q. And that was available to you when you were doing your
- 2 report?
- 3 A. Yes. It may have been a draft decision at that point
- 4 but a version of the decision was available to me.
- 5 97 Q. Well, the decision was in July of 2016, I think your

11:43

11:43

11:44

- 6 report postdated that; is that correct?
- 7 A. Yes.
- 8 98 Q. And indeed you purport to rely on the report in respect
- 9 of other matters; isn't that correct?
- 10 A. The Commission's report?
- 11 99 Q. Yes.
- 12 A. I would not say that I purport to rely on it, I do cite
- it for the proposition that Executive Order 12333 may
- 14 be relevant to these proceedings.
- 15 100 Q. Yes. You refer to paragraph 75, I think, of the
- report; isn't that correct, of the decision; isn't that
- 17 correct? That's your footnote, paragraph 75?
- 18 A. I'm sorry, could you please point me to the paragraph
- in my report that you're referring to?
- 20 101 Q. It's the paragraph dealing with EO 12333 and it's
- 21 paragraph 36 and it is footnote 32 and you refer to
- paragraph 75.
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 102 Q. Yes. So you did look and read that decision, I take
- it, before you did your report?
- 26 A. I did.
- 27 103 Q. Yes. And you choose to rely on it for some aspects;
- isn't that correct?
- 29 A. I hesitate to say aspects plural because I believe this

- is the only citation to the report.
- 2 104 Q. Okay.
- 3 A. But I did cite the report for this proposition.
- 4 105 Q. For an aspect. But you also looked at it in the
- 5 context of the Ombudsperson; isn't that correct?
- 6 A. Hmm, I know I looked at the Privacy Shield agreement in

11:45

11:45

11:45

- 7 the context of the Ombudsperson and let me just confirm
- 8 whether I also looked at the Commission decision.
- 9 I don't see where I cited to the Commission decision
- again, it's possible. But I certainly cited to the
- 11 Privacy Shield agreement itself.
- 12 106 Q. Okay. Now, if you go to paragraph 10 of your report,
- you refer to the FISC court in paragraph 10; isn't that
- 14 correct?
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 107 O. And you describe it as a secret court?
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 108 Q. Yes. And I take it you would expect that examination
- of classified materials which the FISC court does would
- 20 be done in secret?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 109 Q. And do you know of any other country whose classified
- 23 materials are vetted by a court in public?
- 24 A. I would note that there are aspects of the FISC
- 25 proceeding that could be public or made more
- adversarial than they are, notwithstanding the fact
- 27 that the FISC's focus is on classified information.
- I do not have knowledge about the practices of other
- countries.

- 1 110 Q. Yes. And it is the case that the FISC decisions are now, not in all cases, but increasingly made available with redactions; isn't that correct?
- Increasingly, yes. I would note that the US government 4 Α. is currently contesting an argument made by a US civil 5 6 society organisation that -- there's a statutory obligation in the USA Freedom Act to declassify to the 7 8 extent possible and release significant FISC opinions and the US government is contending that that 9 10 obligation does not apply retroactively, it doesn't 11:47 11 apply to historical opinions, only from the date of the 12 USA Freedom Act. But, yes, more significant. FISC opinions have been released lately. 13
- 14 111 Q. And FISC court decisions on significant points of
  15 principle, points of law, are now required to be made 11:47
  16 available; isn't that correct?
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 112 Q. And is that a matter you address in your report?
- 19 A. It's a matter addressed in the memorandum that the
  20 experts put together collectively. I don't believe 11:47
  21 that my report directly addresses FISC transparency at
  22 length.

- 23 113 Q. Is it fair to describe it as a secret court without 24 explaining the aspects of it that are not secret?
- 25 A. The court's proceedings are in secret, accordingly
  26 I think it's fair to describe it as a secret court.
  27 Also, the definition of significant interpretations of
  28 law is something that the FISC has discretion around
  29 and I do think it's fair to characterise the court as a

1			secret court.	
2	114	Q.	One of the FISC decisions, that of Judge Bates on 3rd	
3			October 2011, held part of the government's	
4			certification unconstitutional; isn't that correct?	
5		Α.	It was a proposed certification.	11:48
6	115	Q.	Yes, proposed certification.	
7		Α.	Yes.	
8	116	Q.	And what happens then when the FISC court, the	
9			certification is put to the court, the court examines	
10			that and forms a view as to its legality; isn't that	11:48
11			correct?	
12		Α.	Yes. The court also expressed frustration with the NSA	
13			for failing to disclose information that the court	
14			deemed pertinent to its assessment of the legality of	
15			the programme.	11:49
16	117	Q.	Yes. That information was disclosed, was reviewed by	
17			the court and the court held that it was not prepared	
18			to approve that certification?	
19		Α.	Yes, the court was concerned primarily with the NSA's	
20			collection of wholly domestic communications.	11:49
21	118	Q.	Yes.	
22		Α.	And specifically what are known as multi-communication	
23			transactions. So the NSA has targets and in the course	
24			of surveilling those targets and acquiring those	
25			communications it sometimes acquires for long-term use	11:49
26			the communications that happen to be bundled with the	
27			targets communications in transit but don't bear any	
28			connection at all to the target. And with those	
29			bundles of communications the NSA was overcollecting,	

1 it was acquiring wholly domestic communications and the 2 court was concerned that the minimisation procedures 3 did not do enough to protect wholly domestic communications. 4 5 And the secret court, as you call it, is staffed by 119 Q. 11:50 6 federal judges; isn't that correct? 7 Yes. Α. 8 Chosen by the chief justice? 120 0. 9 Yes. Α. You then go on to describe the old Section 702 and the 10 121 Q. 11 changes that were made; isn't that correct, to it which 12 you take issue with? I wouldn't characterise it as the old Section 702. 13 Α. 14 Section 702 was --Or, sorry, traditional FISA. 15 122 Q. 11:50 16 Α. Yes. 17 I am terribly sorry, Ms. Gorski, you are absolutely 123 Q. 18 right. 19 Traditional -- yes, I discuss traditional FISA, yes. Α. 20 Yes. And traditional FISA required warrants as you 124 0. 11:50 21 describe; isn't that correct? 22 They are a form of warrant. Rather than the government Α. 23 having to establish that there was probable cause of 24 some kind of criminal activity, the government had to establish that there was probable cause to believe that 11:51 25 26 its targets were foreign powers or agents of a foreign

began the targeting process; in contrast under

It had to go to the court to obtain a FISA

order with respect to that individual target before it

27

28

29

power.

1 Section 702 the executive branch decides the 2 individuals it is going to target without any court 3 supervision. Yes. 4 125 Q. 5 Ex ante. Α. 11:51 6 126 And the enactment of Section 702 in 2008 put the Q. 7 relevant legislative provisions in a modern context 8 relative to the volume of communications that now take place on a daily basis, isn't that correct? 9 Could you just repeat, did you say "modern context"? 10 Α. 11:52 11 Q. Yes, in a modern context, to deal with the volume of 127 12 communications that take place on a daily basis, electronic communications in particular? 13 14 Α. when pushing for this kind of reform, or what the 15 government characterise as reform, the executive branch 11:52 invoked various rationales, including modernisation. 16 17 don't recall offhand if there was a specific rationale related to the *volume* of communications - certainly 18 19 they said that having to go to the FISC and apply for 20 individualised orders was burdensome. Profs. Swire and 11:53 Vladeck both referred to the Government's concern about 21 22 acquiring foreign to foreign communications. 23 as noted, notwithstanding Section 702, the government 24 acquires certain foreign to foreign communications in transit wholly outside of Section 702. So insofar as 25 11:53 26 this was a rationale for the law is, to some degree, 27 questionable. 28 In paragraph 11 you give a definition in the footnote 128 Q. 29 of what you mean by US persons, isn't that correct?

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 129 Q. That's not the definition that's contained in FISA,
- isn't that correct?
- 4 A. The definition in FISA is lengthier. This is a
- 5 shorthand.
- 6 130 Q. Well, it's more than lengthier, Ms. Gorski. It is
- 7 broader, isn't that correct?
- 8 A. I would need to refer back to the statute. This is how

11:54

- 9 I think of the definition in FISA. It is possible that
- the statute contains some provisions that broaden this
- definition.
- 12 131 Q. And the extent of the definition of US persons is, of
- course, relevant in the context in particular of the
- 14 minimisation and targeting procedures, isn't that
- 15 correct?
- 16 A. Yes.
- 17 132 Q. Now, if you go to paragraph 15 of your report, you
- 18 refer to the traditional FISA being -- and then the
- 19 Section 02 now being broader than that and the FISC's
- 20 role being narrowly circumscribed to the statute -- or
- 21 by the statute, is that correct?
- 22 A. Yes, quoting language from a FISC opinion.
- 23 133 Q. Yes. And it "consists principally of reviewing the
- 24 general procedures the government proposes to use in
- 25 carrying out the surveillance of tens of thousands of
- targets".
- 27 A. Yes.
- 28 134 Q. And the PCLOB report, as I think you acknowledged,
- 29 *describes* the targeting procedures, isn't that correct?

1		Α.	It does describe the targeting procedures. I can't	
2			recall offhand the level of detail with which that	
3			particular document describes the targeting procedures,	
4			but it did refer to them and describe them.	
5	135	Q.	And describes the minimisation procedures as well.	11:55
6		Α.	Yes.	
7	136	Q.	If you go to paragraph 16, again you make the point	
8			that the surveillance is not predicated on probable	
9			cause and you say that Section 702 permits the	
10			government to target any non-US person located outside	11:56
11			the US to obtain foreign intelligence information and	
12			Section 02 does not require the government to identify	
13			to the FISC the specific facilities, places, premises	
14			or properties at which its surveillance will be	
15			directed. And you conclude that paragraph by saying	11:56
16			neither particularity nor probable cause, the	
17			government sorry, "Section 702 requires neither	
18			particularity nor probable cause" and "the government	
19			can rely on a single FISC order to intercept the	
20			communications of countless individuals for up to a	11:56
21			year at a time." I take it what you mean by a FISC	
22			order is the certification, is that correct?	
23		Α.	The order approving the certification.	
24	137	Q.	Approving the certification. And then after the	
25			certification is approved, which sets out the	11:57
26			framework, individual decisions are made with regard to	
27			targets, isn't that correct?	
28		Α.	Individual decisions are made by executive branch	
29	138	Q.	Yes.	

- 1 A. -- analysts, agency analysts.
- 2 139 Q. But the order that you refer to there is just a
- 3 framework order?
- 4 A. Yes, a framework order approving the certification.
- 5 140 Q. In paragraph 17 you say: "The statute itself contains
- 6 no protection for privacy of non-US persons located
- 7 abroad." And you say that communications of US persons
- 8 may be intercepted incidentally or inadvertently.
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 141 Q. Now, I suggest to you that your description,
- 11 particularly in paragraph 15, of the operation of
- 12 Section 702 does not accord with the publicly available

11:58

- information that the government have produced and
- that's contained in the PCLOB report; isn't that
- 15 correct?
- 16 A. No, I think that it does accord with the text of
- 17 Section 702 and I don't see a way in which it is in
- tension with information in the PCLOB report.
- 19 142 Q. Well, it doesn't make clear or identify the multiple
- 20 constraints that are contained in Section 702, does it? 11:58
- 21 A. This paragraph does not -- it speaks in the text of the
- 22 Section 702 -- I think I would need to understand what
- 23 specific constraints you are referring to.
- 24 143 Q. Okay. And it gives the impression that Section 702
- surveillance is bulk surveillance, isn't that correct,
- or involves bulk collection?
- 27 A. This paragraph does not use the word "bulk collection".
- 28 144 Q. No.
- 29 A. The report as a whole certainly describes Section 702

- surveillance as encompassing bulk searching, yes. 1 2 that is accurate.
- 3 145 well now, bulk searching or bulk collection? Q.
- The report does not describe Section 702 collection as 4 Α. bulk collection per se, because the government does use 11:59 5 6 what are known as selectors, which, for the context of 7 Section 702, the government has described as e-mail 8 addresses or phone numbers, to -- it uses these selectors and under Prism it uses account identifiers 9 in acquiring information. However, I do think it's 10 11:59 11 accurate to characterise surveillance under Section 702 as lacking objective criteria and also a form of mass 12 surveillance given the volume of targets and the 13 14 extraordinarily low targeting surveillance -- targeting 15 standards, excuse me. However, I do not, in the 12:00 report, characterise surveillance under Section 702 as
- 18 Okay. 146 Q.

17

23

19 There is bulk searching under Upstream. Α.

bulk collection.

20 well, when you say bulk searching, just to understand 147 Q. 21 what you mean, there's a body of data which, by definition, is bulk that is searched using targeted 22 selectors, isn't that correct?

12:00

- Through Upstream surveillance, yes, the buggy of data 24 Α. is quite vast and the government is searching the 25
- contents of that data for its selectors. 26
- 27 148 And when a direction is given under the Prism, the Q. direction is in the form of targeted selectors 28 29 identifying the material that's required, isn't that

Τ			correct?	
2		Α.	Yes.	
3	149	Q.	So it is always going to be searching bulk, because the	
4			whole purpose of having targeted selectors is that they	
5			are used to extract from what you call the bulk or the	12:01
6			relevant data body the information that is required?	
7		Α.	I would note that Prism and Upstream operate very	
8			differently, in that Upstream involves bulk searching	
9			by the NSA and the telecommunication companies that are	
10			compelled to assist the NSA of realtime surveillance on	12:01
11			the internet backbone wire surveillance, so internet	
12			communications as they are flowing, for example, from	
13			the EU to the US in and out of the country. And the	
14			surveillance is conducted on US soil and involves bulk	
15			searching.	12:01
16				
17			Prism surveillance, by contrast, does <i>not</i> involve bulk	
18			searching, it involves the government providing the	
19			companies with the relevant accounts and then the	
20			companies, in turn, provide the information back.	12:01
21			However, both programmes, under Section 702, lack	
22			objective criteria to limit the surveillance given the	
23			low targeting standards.	
24	150	Q.	Okay. Could I just ask you to go back and look at	
25			paragraph nine of your report? And paragraph nine, in	12:02
26			the first sentence, refers to 702 and EO12333, isn't	
27			that correct?	
28		Α.	Yes.	
29	151	Q.	And it says, as I've drawn your attention, that the	

1			government claims extraordinary access to the private	
2			communications and data of US and non-US persons around	
3			the world. Then you say:	
4				
5			"Although there are guidelines governing the	12:02
6			collection, retention and use of the information, the	
7			US Government maintains that it is authorised to engage	
8			in what is known as 'bulk collection' when it is	
9			operating abroad".	
10		Α.	Yes. And that sentence specifically refers to	12:02
11			surveillance under Executive Order 12333. So	
12	152	Q.	I see.	
13		Α.	in contrast, in 702, with Upstream there's a form of	
14			bulk searching at the outset, and that's conducted on	
15			US soil. Under Executive Order 12333, the government	12:02
16			need not even employ selectors to acquire	
17			communications, it can just harvest communication in	
18			bulk. And this practice is ratified in fact by	
19			Presidential Policy Directive 28, which explicitly	
20			defines bulk collection and acknowledges that, under	12:03
21			Executive Order 12333, the government is engaged in	
22			this practice abroad. So "bulk collection" in	
23			quotation marks there is entirely appropriate.	
24	153	Q.	It's entirely appropriate, you say. But it follows a	
25			sentence that doesn't distinguish between 12333 and	12:03
26			Section 702, isn't that correct?	
27		Α.	The first sentence refers to both	
28	154	Q.	Yes.	
29		Α.	Section 702 and EO12333 and the second sentence	

- 1 155 Q. And there's nothing in -- I'm terribly sorry, excuse me
  2 Ms. Gorski.
- A. And the second sentence refers to bulk collection. And that reference to bulk collection pertains solely to

  Executive Order 12333. I do think again, however, it's 12:03

  fair to characterise the surveillance under Section 702

  as mass surveillance.
- 8 156 Q. Okay. Well, the second sentence doesn't identify that it's referring *only* to 12333, sure it doesn't?
- No, it's in general, it's a summation, it's a general 10 Α. 12:04 11 sentence, it does not specify that it's ref -- it does 12 cite to paragraph 31 infra, and that paragraph explains the difference between bulk collection -- or the 13 paragraph explains the bulk collection and bulk 14 15 searching, both of which are permitted under EO 12333. 12:04 So I do think that the sense makes clear that the "bulk 16 17 collection" is referring to EO 12333 because of the 18 citation.
- 19 157 Q. Okay. And in paragraph 18, to move to that, you
  20 describe Section 02 as effectively exposing every
  21 international communication, that is every
  22 communication between the individual -- between an
  23 individual in the US and non-US persons to potential
  24 surveillance.
- 25 A. Yes.
- 26 158 Q. Can I ask you just to shift for a moment to paragraph 27 22? And in paragraph 22 you say:
- 29 "Official government disclosures show the government

1			uses Section 702 to conduct at least two types of	
2			surveillance, Prism and Upstream surveillance."	
3				
4			And what I want to ask you about is the phrase "at	
5			<i>least</i> two types".	12:05
6		Α.	Yes, I use the phrase "at least two types" for two	
7			reasons. One, the parameters of Section 702 are very	
8			broad and, as evidenced by the example that I cited	
9			earlier with respect to the bulk telephone meta-data	
10			programme under Section 215 that the government	12:05
11			historically had, the government this statute, on	
12			its face, is quite broad; it's possible that the	
13			government is doing something under the statute that	
14			the public is unaware of.	
15				12:06
16			And I would also note that the PCLOB report discusses	
17			two programmes under Section 702, Prism and Upstream,	
18			but that report was issued in, I think, July 2014, so	
19			it's quite possible that there's another form of	
20			surveillance that's being conducted under Section 702	12:06
21			about which we don't know.	
22	159	Q.	The PCLOB report, and indeed the Commission Adequacy	
23			Decision in July 2016, refers to two programmes.	
24		Α.	I can't speak to the Commission Adequacy Decision, but	
25			I would note that the Commission Adequacy Decision	12:06
26			would not disclose classified information and if	
27			there's a third or fourth or other classified programme	
28			under Section 702, that would not have been discussed	
29			in the Commission Adequacy Decision.	

- Well, are you suggesting that the Commission would have 1 160 Q. 2 ignored that when assessing the adequacy of US law?
- 3 I can't speak to what the Commission would or would not Α.
- But if the programme is perhaps similar, I 4 have done.

12:07

- don't know that it would've been addressed in the 5
- opinion. And I also don't know whether there's an 6
- additional programme under Section 702 that would've 7
- 8 been discussed with the Commission. I just don't have
- that knowledge. 9
- Well, so far as you're concerned, you're aware of only 10 161 Q.
- 11 two programmes, Prism and Upstream, isn't that correct?
- 12 Yes. Α.
- 13 Can I ask you, are you aware of the case, the decision 162 Ο.
- 14 in <u>USA -v- Agron</u> - I won't get the second name -
- Hasbajrami? 15
- 12:07
- 16 Yes, I am aware of that decision. The ACLU filed an Α. 17 amicus brief in that case.
- MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Sorry, who filed? 18 163 Q.
- 19 Oh, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Α.
- 20 organisation I'm employed by.
- 21 MR. GALLAGHER: And were you personally involved 164 Q.
- 22 in it?
- 23 I was not personally involved with that particular Α.
- 24 amicus brief, no.
- But you're aware of it? 25 165 Q.
- 26 Α. Yes.
- 27 166 And you've seen the brief in it? Q.
- 28 Α. Yes.
- Can I ask you just to look at the decision for a 29 167 0.

- 1 moment? I'll hand in a copy of it to you (Same Handed).
- This involves -- the ACLU is identified in (vii), which

12:08

12:09

12:09

- is about seven pages in, as having an interest, isn't
- 4 that correct?
- 5 A. Yes. In the US, when you file an amicus brief it's
- 6 standard to have a statement at the beginning
- 7 explaining your interest in the case.
- 8 168 Q. Yeah. And this involved a criminal prosecution?
- 9 A. Yes.
- 10 169 Q. And it related to a government intention to introduce
- 11 evidence obtained from surveillance under FISA?
- 12 A. Obtained or derived --
- 13 170 Q. Or derived, yeah.
- 14 A. -- I don't recall which.
- 15 171 Q. And that obligation arises under Section 1806, isn't
- that correct?
- 17 A. Yes.

20

- 18 172 Q. If you go to page seven, the submissions are recorded
- by the court. And it says in the middle paragraph:
- 21 "Public disclosure indicates that the government
- 22 conducts two types of surveillance under the FAA, Prism
- and Upstream".
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 173 Q. And no suggestion there that was put forward by ACLU or 12:09
- anybody else that there are at *least* two forms, isn't
- 27 that correct?
- 28 A. I would note that this amicus brief was filed in
- December of 2014, much closer to the PCLOB's report in

1			July of 2014 explaining that there are two programmes.	
2			I think given the lapse of time between the PCLOB	
3			report and today, it's fair to say there are at least	
4			two programmes under Section 702.	
5	174	Q.	Well, why do you say it's fair to say there are at	12:10
6			<i>least</i> two programmes? You're not <i>aware</i> of any other	
7			programme.	
8		Α.	I am not aware of any other programmes.	
9	175	Q.	And the basis for these statements in this is the PCLOB	
10			report, isn't that correct?	12:10
11		Α.	The amicus brief cites to the PCLOB report and the FISC	
12			opinion for the proposition that there are two methods	
13			of surveillance under Section 702.	
14	176	Q.	I just want to ask you if you'd be kind enough to just	
15			look at a few more paragraphs in this report. If you	12:10
16			go back to page five you will see that the first	
17			paragraph says:	
18				
19			"The FAA does not require the government to identify	
20			its surveillance targets to the FISC at all or even to	12:11
21			identify specific facilities, places, premises or	
22			property at which the surveillance will be directed.	
23			This means the government can direct surveillance at	
24			various facilities without obtaining a separate	
25			authorisation for each one."	12:11
26				
27			Do you see that?	
28		Α.	Yes.	
29	177	Q.	That's part of a submission to the court, isn't that	

1			correct?	
2		Α.	Yes.	
3	178	Q.	And if you look at paragraph 16 of your report, the	
4			same point that is made in this submission is	
5			essentially made, with slightly different language, but	12:11
6			you say six lines down: "Section 702 permits the United	
7			States to target any US person located outside the	
8			US"	
9			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: "Non-US person".	
10	179	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: "Non-US person", sorry, Judge.	12:11
11			"Further, Section 702 does not require the government	
12			to identify to the FISC the specific facilities, places	
13			and premises."	
14				
15			Do you see that?	12:12
16		Α.	Yes.	
17	180	Q.	Then the submission on page five in that paragraph	
18			refers to information being obtained at a gateway. And	
19			this section of your report refers to it being obtained	
20			at junctions, isn't that correct?	12:12
21		Α.	Yes.	
22	181	Q.	If you go to, skip a paragraph, and the paragraph	
23			beginning on page five of the submissions: "To the	
24			extent the statute provides safeguards for US persons,	
25			these safeguards take the form of 'minimisation	12:12
26			procedures'." And you refer to information being	
27			intercepted incidentally or inadvertently. And that is	
28			what's replicated in substance in paragraph 17 of your	
29			expert opinion, isn't that correct?	

- 1 A. Yes.
- 2 182 Q. If you go to the last paragraph in that page: "The
- 3 FISC's oversight role in authorising and supervising
- 4 [FAA surveillance] is 'narrowly circumscribed'." And

12:13

12:13

- 5 you refer to vague parameters. And that is the
- 6 substance of what you say in paragraph 15 of your
- 7 report.
- 8 A. I certainly cite to the same opinion. And I refer to
- 9 the language quoted from that opinion, the "narrowly
- 10 circumscribed" language. I don't refer to the
- parameters. But it's consistent with what I say in
- paragraph 15, yes.
- 13 183 Q. In the next paragraph of the report, under "The
- 14 Government's Implementation", that corresponds largely
- 15 with what's in paragraph 19 of your report. (Short
- 16 Pause) Is that correct?
- 17 A. Yes. The paragraph on page six cites different
- statistics because this was written in 2014. But yes,
- it includes some of the same information.
- 20 184 Q. Yes. Well, even in terms of statistics, it's referring 12:14
- 21 to the 250 million communications, isn't that correct,
- referred to in your report, isn't that correct?
- A. Yes, that is the same data point, yes.
- 24 185 Q. And if you go to, over the page, at the top of the page
- 25 you talk about "By design, the targeting and
- 26 minimisation roles that supposedly protect the privacy
- 27 are weak and riddled with exceptions." And in
- paragraph 20 you make the point in the last sentence:
- "By design, they give the government broad latitude to

1			analyse and disseminate both US and non-US	
2			communications." Do you see that?	
3		Α.	Yes.	
4	186	Q.	Then if you go to paragraph 23 of your report, that	
5			corresponds with the next paragraph, under "Prism	12:15
6			Surveillance":	
7				
8			"In what is known at Prism surveillance, the government	
9			obtains stored and realtime communications directly	
10			from on-line service providers like Google, Yahoo,	12:15
11			Facebook and Microsoft."	
12				
13			Do you see that?	
14		Α.	Yes. There is actually a difference in the brief that	
15			we submitted - and this is a point that I should have	12:15
16			made in my report. In the brief that we submitted, we	
17			noted that Prism surveillance also includes realtime	
18			surveillance, it's not just surveillance of stored	
19			communications. The Snowden disclosures make clear	
20			that Prism surveillance is primarily surveillance of	12:15
21			stored communications, but that the NSA also receives	
22			some information in realtime from the companies, which	
23			again suggests that there's some kind of technological	
24			means by which the NSA receives access to the	
25			companies provides the companies with selectors and	12:15
26			in turn receives access to the companies'	
27			communications.	
28	187	Q.	And that was a submission being made to the court in	
29			that particular case?	

- 1 A. This, the document that you handed me was a submission to the court, yes.
- Now, you've also, as you say, have spoken publicly on this matter and I just want to ask you about a few
- 5 documents that you have authored in this connection.

12:17

- 6 And I'll hand those in to you now (Same Handed).
- 7 Firstly, as that's being handed in, it *is* the case that
- 8 Section 702 comes up for review by Congress in the end
- 9 of July 2017, or in July 2017, isn't that correct?
- 10 A. Well, the timing is somewhat unclear when Congress will 12:16
- 11 actually review it. The loss is scheduled to sunset in
- 12 December 2017 and it's uncertain when Congress will
- address it directly. There have already been some
- 14 hearings related to re-authorisation.
- 15 189 Q. And the ACLU is engaged in a campaign to oppose its 12:17
- renewal, isn't that correct?
- 17 A. I don't know that I would characterise it as a campaign
- per se. But certainly advocating against its renewal,
- 19 yes.
- 20 190 Q. Yes, but it's a public complain advocating against its
- renewal?
- 22 A. There are public advocacy AFERTS, yes, to advocate
- 23 against its renewal.
- 24 191 O. I think you describe it in the first document which
- I've handed in as "How the NSA's Mass Internet Spying
- 26 Poisons Society".
- 27 A. This document refers specifically to Upstream
- 28 surveillance under Section 702.
- 29 192 Q. And that's -- it contains a description of Upstream,

isn't that correct? 1 2 Α. Yes. 3 193 And it is a description that is similar to the Q. 4 description that is contained in general terms in your report to the court. 5 12:18 6 Yes. Α. 7 The next document I want to hand in to you is 194 0. 8 "Everyone's a Target to the NSA. Here's How the Courts 9 Can Stop It" (Same Handed). And this refers to, in 10 page two, of the Fourth Circuit of Appeal's hearing 12:18 11 oral arguments in Wikimedia a few days hence, isn't 12 that correct? 13 Yes. Α. 14 195 Q. And your case challenging Upstream surveillance? 15 Α. Yes. 12:19 16 And there's a particular ACLU position on this, isn't 196 Q. 17 that correct? 18 Α. Yes. 19 And there's a particular description which ACLU uses of 197 Q. 20 Upstream surveillance, isn't that correct? 12:19 21 I wouldn't say there's a single particular description. Α. 22 We refer to Upstream surveillance in various documents. In public facing documents such as this that are more 23 advocacy oriented, we sometimes simplify the 24 surveillance that it's more understandable to a lay 25 12:19 26 So I would say the descriptions occasionally reader. 27 vary slightly, but the underlying substance is the

If you go to page three of that, you say one of the

28

29

198

Q.

same.

1			most glaring problems with Upstream surveillance is	
2			that it's not targeted at all. Do you see that?	
3		Α.	Yes.	
4	199	Q.	But I think we've agreed it is targeted, isn't that	
5			correct?	12:20
6		Α.	Upstream surveillance involves a bulk searching. And	
7			the process of that searching is indiscriminate. And	
8			that's what I refer to in the next sentence, the	
9			systematic examination of on-line communications in	
10			bulk, scanning their full contents. That scanning	12:20
11			itself, that is I think it's fair to say that it's	
12			not a targeted scan, it's a very broad and	
13			indiscriminate scan. The end result of Upstream	
14			surveillance is targeted. But when the government	
15			calls a surveillance targeted, it's referring only to	12:20
16			the end result and it's skipping over and obscuring	
17			what must precede that end result, which is bulk	
18			searching, or what the government says must precede the	
19			end result.	
20	200	Q.	Well, the targeting is used to extract from the data	12:20
21			the communications that are then available for	
22			querying, as the technical term goes, I think, or for	
23			examination by content, isn't that correct?	
24		Α.	The targeting is designed to acquire for longer term	
25			retention and use the communications that are to, from	12:21
26			or about a selector.	
27	201	Q.	But when you talk about the scanning, documents are	
28			scanned by computers and what's obtained are those	
29			documents that respond to the target identifiers, isn't	

1			that correct?	
2		Α.	Yes. But, I mean, I wouldn't say documents. Internet	
3			communications	
4	202	Q.	Communications. Excuse me, I'm terribly sorry.	
5		Α.	are scanned by devices that are known as Narus	12:21
6			devices or analogous devices that are incredibly	
7			powerful and can examine in bulk the communications	
8			flowing past these choke points on the major cables	
9			carrying the internet communications into and out of	
10			the United States. So a computer or some kind of	12:22
11			computerised device is conducting this scan. But as I	
12			noted earlier, it's not just looking at the meta-data	
13			or what could be thought of as the envelope, it's	
14			actually looking at the contents of the communication	
15			and searching through the contents of all of the	12:22
16			communications, or substantially all of the	
17			communications flowing past that are based, that are	
18			text based.	
19	203	Q.	I think the distinction is this, Ms. Gorski: A computer	
20			searches through the body of documents and it	12:22
21			searches - or documents, excuse me - communications and	
22			it searches for communications that respond to the	
23			targeted identifiers, isn't that correct?	
24		Α.	Yes.	
25	204	Q.	And it's only the documents - sorry, communications -	12:22
26			that respond to the target identifiers that are then	
27			provided to the NSA and are potentially the subject of	
28			examination by the NSA, isn't that correct?	
29		Α.	I would say that's not correct in at least two	

1			respects. One, I think that it is fair to say that the	
2			NSA examines the far broader body of communications,	
3			the vast quantity of communications that it is	
4			scanning. And two, the communications that it	
5			ultimately ingests or acquires for long-term retention	12:23
6			or use do not include solely the communications to,	
7			from or about the selectors, there are also, as I	
8			mentioned earlier, the communications sometimes that	
9			happen to be bundled with those selected communications	
10			in transit, these multi communication transactions,	12:23
11			because of the way they traverse the internet. The	
12			NSA's reach actually sweeps a little bit broader in	
13			terms of what it ingests for long term use.	
14	205	Q.	well, let's just break that down. When you say	
15			"examined by the NSA", what we're talking about, so	12:23
16			there's no misunderstanding, is examined or searched by	
17			a computer, isn't that correct?	
18		Α.	Yes.	
19	206	Q.	Yeah. What it then extracts is what I'll call the	
20			targeted communications?	12:24
21		Α.	I would not it extracts communications that are to,	
22			from or about	
23	207	Q.	Yeah.	
24		Α.	merely about the targets. And in addition to that,	
25			it extracts some communications that are unrelated but	12:24
26			happen to be bundled with those communications in	
27			transit.	
28	208	Q.	Well, okay. Those are the MCTs. But it's a limited	
29			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: What's MCT?	

1			MR. GALLAGHER:	The multi communication	
2			transactions.		
3			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	Thank you, yes.	
4			MR. GALLAGHER:	So I think you'll remember,	
5			Judge, Mr. Collins expl	ained it	12:24
6			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	Yes, I can't remember acronyms.	
7			You're just going to ha	ve to live with that.	
8			MR. GALLAGHER:	Yeah. The multi communications	
9			is a where a particular	document in what's called a	
10			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	No, I understand what the	12:24
11			context is. It's just	the acronym.	
12			MR. GALLAGHER:	I'm terribly sorry.	
13			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	I just can't live with acronyms.	
14	209	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER:	So what is obtained then by the	
15			NSA are those that resp	ond to the identified selectors,	12:24
16			which may include an "a	bout" selector, isn't that	
17			correct?		
18		Α.	Yes, those are obtained	. But the NSA accesses at	
19			first, in the first ins	tance, the bulk set, the far	
20			greater quantity.		12:25
21	210	Q.	Then what is available	for examination by the NSA is	
22			the <i>product</i> of that sea	rching of the data?	
23		Α.	I hesitate to say yes,	only because what is available	
24			for examination by the	NSA in the first instance is the	
25			vast body of communicat	ions that are flowing past these	12:25
26			devices on the internet	backbone. And that's what the	
27			NSA is examining with i	ts computers. After the	
28			computers conduct the s	earch of the contents of all	
29			these communications, t	he NSA then retains for longer	

1			term use, querying and further examination the
2			communications that are to, from or about a selector
3			and the multi communication transactions.
4	211	Q.	Well, I think we just need to be careful in what we
5			mean by "examination". I think we're agreed that if
6			you're using targeted collection, it is a targeted

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A. The NSA is acquiring communications that are to, from and about the targets from the body of data. But because it has such broad access to so much data in the 12:26 course of this collection, I still hesitate to refer to any part of this process as targeted collection.

collection from a body of data, isn't that correct?

12:25

- 13 212 Q. Well, I thought we were agreed that it *is* targeted
  14 non-bulk collection. And indeed in your report you do
  15 use the definition of bulk collection that's used in 12:26
  16 PPD-28.
- A. I note that the government employs a particular
  definition of bulk collection. And I do think it's
  fair to say that Upstream surveillance is not bulk
  collection, because the government is not ingesting
  communications in bulk. However, Upstream surveillance
  does involve bulk searching.
- 23 And when -- you're using "examination" in two different 213 Q. senses; you're saying the body of documents are being 24 examined or searched for communications that are 25 26 responsive to the request, if I can call it that, that 27 is targeted - that's examination in that sense; but what is examined in the sense in which we would 28 29 normally understand it, i.e. available for review, is

1 the product of that search.

2 I disagree with that characterisation. I think that Α. 3 the far greater body of communications is available for review - the NSA's computers actually review those 4 5 communications, they search through and examine those 12:27 6 communications to locate those that mention its targets. And I also think it's very important to 7 8 underscore that when we're talking about so-called targeted surveillance under Section 702, again we're 9 10 talking about surveillance where the only standard 12:27 11 constraining the government is that it can target 12 non-US persons who it reasonably believes are located abroad and a significant purpose of the collection is 13 14 foreign -- is to obtain foreign intelligence. And so I 15 think given that very low standard, and also the vast 12:27 number of targets, there are real questions about the 16 17 extent to which this should be considered targeted collection. 18

19 And I think you understand that following the search 214 Q. 20 for data that responds to the target, the 12:28 21 communications that are filtered to the NSA and given 22 to the NSA are those communications only that respond to the targeted search, isn't that correct?

I hesitate to say "the communications given to the Α. NSA", only because the NSA, in conjunction with the telecommunication providers, is using these devices in the first instance.

12:28

28 215 Q. Okay.

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29 And I'm sorry, could you please repeat the second part Α.

1	of	vour	question?

- 2 216 Q. Yeah. You do see the distinction between *searching* a body of data, which you describe as *examining* the data for responses to the targeted selection, and actually getting data which is then available for examination in 12:28 the sense in which we would normally use it, namely for review? You see that distinction?
- 8 There are two stages in Upstream surveillance. Α. object to, respectfully object to counsel's 9 characterisation of examination at the second stage as 10 12:29 11 examination in the way we would normally understand it. 12 when the NSA has access, has generalised access to these communications as they're flowing past in order 13 14 to find the communications of interest and its 15 computers are looking at the contents of those 12:29 communications, I consider that examination. But there 16 17 are two stages: At the first stage the NSA is conducting bulk searching; after its bulk searches, it 18 19 acquires, for long-term use, a subset of those 20 communications that it can further query or use as it 12:29
- 22 217 Q. If you go back to your description, you say the 23 government, in this document on page three, is 24 "systematically examining on-line communications in 25 bulk, scanning their full contents to see which ones 26 merely mention its targets".

27 A. Yes.

21

sees fit.

28 218 Q. And you go on, you say at the bottom of that page, you give an example:

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"To use a non digital analogy, it is as if the NSA sent agents to the US Postal Service's major processing centres to conduct continuous searches of everyone's mail. The agents would open, copy and read each letter 12:30 and would keep a copy of any letter that mentioned specific items of interest, despite the fact that the government had no reason to suspect the letter sender or recipient beforehand."

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12:30

12:30

12:31

12:31

That's not an accurate analogy, is it, Ms. Gorski?

- 12 A. I think it *is* an apt analogy.
- 13 219 Q. I see. That suggests that everything that is being 14 searched is actually being read by somebody in the NSA, 15 isn't that correct?

I'm happy to use the non-digital analogy and to say --16 Α. 17 rather than "agents", we could say scanning devices open, copy and read each letter. At least for the 18 19 purposes of US law, I don't think that -- the 20 government argues, or has recently argued to the 21 But whether the search is being conducted by contrary. 22 a computer or a human is not significant, the Fourth

23 Amendment intrusion is the same.

24 220 Q. Well, that may or may not be the legal consequence,
25 Ms. Gorski - I'm not accepting for one moment that it
26 is - but you are well aware of the difference between a
27 description of an agent examining the documents and
28 what you have described as a computer examining the
29 documents to see what responds to a targeted search.

1	You're	well	aware	٥f	that	distin	ction
	iou ic	W C I I	awaic	O I	LIIUL	$\alpha$	C C I OII .

- 2 There is a distinction. This is an analogy and I think Α. 3 that the analogy was designed to capture -- the focus was not on human or computer and I certainly wasn't 4 intending to obscure the fact that the searches are 5 12:31 6 conducted by computers. The purpose of the analogy was 7 to emphasise the fact that the government is scanning 8 the contents. So it's not as if the government is camped out at the postal centre just reviewing the 9 envelopes that are flowing through, the government is 10 12:32 11 actually opening the envelopes and reading the letters. 12 That was the animating principle behind the analogy.
- 13 221 Q. And I suggest to you that the description or position
  14 of the ACLU that is identified in those documents is in
  15 essence the position that you put to this court in the 12:32
  16 form of your expert opinion as a description of these
  17 programmes.
- A. Yes, substantively the descriptions are similar. As I mentioned earlier, these are advocacy pieces designed to inform a lay audience, so there is some simplification of the nature of the surveillance.

- 22 222 Q. If you go to the PCLOB report that is in book seven of your exhibits and divide 11.
- MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: I'm sorry, is it *tab* seven did you say?
- 26 223 Q. MR. GALLAGHER: No, I'm terribly sorry, book
  27 seven. The exhibits go on to book seven and eight,
  28 Judge, sorry. (To Witness) And if you go to divide 11
  29 you'll see the PCLOB report. And the executive summary

1			contains a description of the operation of these	
2			programmes, Prism and Upstream, isn't that correct?	
3		Α.	The report certainly contains a description. And I	
4			would assume that the executive summary does. But I	
5			would need to be pointed to the particular page in the	12:34
6			executive summary.	
7	224	Q.	Well, if you go to the description and history of the	
8			Section 702 programme in page five.	
9		Α.	Unfortunately, my copy of the report is missing some	
10			pages, including page five.	12:34
11	225	Q.	Okay. I'm sure we can get you another book.	
12		Α.	It looks like I'm missing every other page. Perhaps	
13			this should've been double-sided but was not.	
14	226	Q.	Okay. Well, we'll get you another book.	
15		Α.	I've been handed a tablet. I would also appreciate the	12:35
16			paper copy though, thank you (Same Handed).	
17	227	Q.	And if you go to page seven in particular.	
18		Α.	Yes.	
19	228	Q.	In the first full paragraph on page seven it refers to	
20			the government sending directives to electronic	12:35
21			communications service providers compelling their	
22			assistance in the acquisition of communications. Isn't	
23			that correct?	
24		Α.	Yes.	
25	229	0.	And the communications service providers, their	12:36

And the government identifies or tasks certain

assistance is *compelled* by this process?

Under the statute, it is compelled assistance.

selectors - and it identifies examples of those - which

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Α.

Q.

- it sends to the providers to begin acquisition. And
  then it describes how Prism operates in the next
  paragraph.

  A. I would just note that the report does not specify that
- the government sends the selectors to the providers 5 12:36 6 under Upstream specifically. Clearly, the government 7 conducts Upstream surveillance with the compelled 8 assistance of telecommunications providers, but the precise means by which the telecommunications providers 9 10 or the governments are applying the selectors is 12:36 11 somewhat -- it's not clear in this particular 12 paragraph.
- 13 231 Q. Well, if you go to the description of the Prism, you see how that operates, isn't that correct?
- 15 A. Yes.
- 16 232 Q. And then it gives a description of Upstream.
- 17 A. Yes.
- 18 233 Q. It then goes on to describe, at the bottom of the page,
  19 that each agencies that receive communications under
  20 Section 702 has its own minimisation procedures; that's 12:37
  21 any agency that might get the information, isn't that
  22 correct?
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 234 Q. Then over the page: "Among other things, these
  25 procedures include rules on how the agencies may query 12:37
  26 the collected data".
- 27 A. Yes.
- 28 235 Q. So it describes the process and the stages of 29 collecting the data and then there's a separate stage

- of querying or examining the data.
- 2 A. There's a separate stage at which the government may
- 3 conduct gueries of data that has been collected or
- 4 acquired. I again would not say that at the second

12:38

12:38

- 5 stage this is the only time that the government
- 6 examines the data. I think the examination with
- 7 Upstream surveillance begins earlier with the bulk
- 8 searching of communications.
- 9 236 Q. Well, examination by computer earlier and then there's
- a procedure for review of the contents of the data.
- 11 A. Yes.
- 12 237 Q. Two separate stages.
- 13 A. Yes.
- 14 238 Q. Then it goes on in the next paragraph to describe the
- minimisation procedures, and the paragraph beyond that, 12:38
- to each agencies add adherence to its targeting and
- 17 minimisation procedures, subject to extensive
- 18 oversight.
- 19 A. It says, I would note that the PCLOB says extensive
- 20 oversight within the *executive* branch, without asking
- 21 judicial or congressional oversight in this paragraph.
- 22 239 Q. Yeah. Then if you go to page 33, there's a description
- of the Prism collection and it's given in more detail.
- 24 A. Yes.
- 25 240 Q. And on page 35, the Upstream collection.
- 26 A. Yes.
- 27 241 Q. And if you go on to page 111, it describes the
- 28 programmatic surveillance carried out under Section
- 29 702.

_		Α.	165.	
2	242	Q.	And gives a further description of the nature of the	
3			collection under Section 702.	
4		Α.	Yes.	
5	243	Q.	And you agree that that is the most authoritative	12:39
6			description of which we're aware of the operation of	
7			the Section 702 programmes, isn't that correct?	
8		Α.	Could you please repeat the adjective before	
9			"description".	
10	244	Q.	Authoritative.	12:40
11		Α.	Authoritative. I would say that it is a very	
12			significant source of information about the programmes	
13			conducted under Section 702 and it is the official	
14			government acknowledgment that discusses these	
15			programmes at the greatest length.	12:40
16	245	Q.	And given the lack of any direct experience with the	
17			practice of how these programmes operate, I suggest it	
18			would've been helpful to the court to provide the	
19			description that's contained in this report and if you	
20			disagreed with the description, to identify the point	12:40
21			of disagreement and explain the basis for it.	
22		Α.	I'm not sure if that's a question.	
23	246	Q.	It <i>is</i> a question.	
24			MR. DOHERTY: It's not. It's a statement.	
25		Α.	Could you please repeat the question?	12:41
26	247	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: Okay. I suggest that given your	
27			lack of any experience in relation to the practice of	
28			these programmes, that the appropriate course in	
29			describing them would've been to adopt and provide to	

1			the court or to provide to the court, I should say,	
2			this authoritative description of the programmes and if	
3			you disagreed with any aspect of them, to identify the	
4			point of disagreement and explain the basis for the	
5			disagreement.	12:4
6		Α.	The description in my report is broadly consistent with	
7			the description in this report. I did not think it	
8			would be useful to the court to simply replicate the	
9			exact language that was used in this report. I do	
10			think that my report contains some additional details	12:4
11			about the operation of the surveillance under Section	
12			702 and it also may contain more information about the	
13			breadth of the statute and the breadth of the legal	
14			authority broadly.	
15				12:42
16			Offhand - and I say this offhand because I don't, I	
17			haven't right now reviewed every paragraph of this	
18			report and don't have it internalised and don't have	
19			encyclopedic knowledge of it - but offhand I'm not sure	
20			of any place in which my report actually is	12:42
21			inconsistent with this report. I think my report has	
22			additional information, but I'm not sure about	
23			inconsistencies. There may be some, and I would be	
24			happy to address any that are pointed out to me.	
25	248	Q.	Okay. Well, if you go to paragraph 21 of your report	12:42
26			sorry, paragraph 23, excuse me. You say:	
27				
28			"Government disclosures and media reports indicate that	
29			Prism surveillance involves the acquisition of	

1			communications content and meta-data directly from US	
2			companies."	
3				
4			Do you see that? Paragraph 23.	
5		Α.	Yes. I do use the adjective "directly". I don't think	12:43
6			that much rises or falls or that. And I do cite a	
7			Washington Post article that still, in the first	
8			sentence, refers to direct access. And after	
9			consultation with the other experts on this issue,	
10			including Prof. Swire, whose description of this	12:43
11			process made it sound as if the NSA handed the	
12			selectors to the companies on a piece of paper and	
13			perhaps received back in some non-technological form	
14			the information it was seeking, after discussing this	
15			we came to a consensus statement that the precise	12:43
16			technological means by which Prism surveillance is	
17			accomplished are unknown. And that is consistent with	
18			the statement in my report and I don't think that is	
19			inconsistent with what the PCLOB has said.	
20	249	Q.	Well now, Ms. Gorski, you're very much aware of the	12:44
21			significance of the use of "directly" here, because you	
22			refer and have just referred to the original Snowden	
23			disclosures in April or July 2013, isn't that correct?	
24		Α.	I'm referring to a Washington Post article from, I	
25			think, the summer of 2013.	12:44
26	250	Q.	Yeah. A Washington Post article reporting, or	
27			containing the Snowden disclosures, isn't that correct?	
28		Α.	Yes.	
29	251	Q.	And at that stage the allegation was that the	

1			government had direct access to the servers of the	
2			various entities, isn't that correct?	
3		Α.	I don't recall offhand if the article said "direct	
4			access to the servers". I know that the first sentence	
5			says "direct access". And that is the language that I	12:4
6			was referring to in my report.	
7	252	Q.	Ms. Gorski, you're well aware that the description of	
8			how the government obtained the material that was	
9			contained in the Washington Post article that suggested	
10			some form of direct access to the communications	12:4
11			network or computer networks of the various providers	
12			was publicly rejected by them and was criticised and	
13			the Washington Post altered its position subsequently,	
14			while never formally retracting it, isn't that correct?	
15		Α.	I don't know about the extent to which the Washington	12:4
16			Post subsequently altered its position. I will say	
17			that the article itself that I cite I believe might	
18			have been modified. But even though it was modified,	
19			the first sentence, subsequent to the modification,	
20			still says "direct access". I think there's an	12:4
21			additional caveat of the fact, the fact that the direct	
22			access refers to or is based on the documents	
23			themselves. And so, as modified, the article still	
24			says there is direct access.	
25				12:4
26			And I would also note that of the documents cited, one	
27			of the documents or slides refers to the fact that	

2829

Prism surveillance encompasses not just the acquisition

of stored communications, but there is also realtime

1			surveillance. And if there's realtime surveillance	
2			then presumably there's some kind of technological	
3			means by which the NSA or other agencies are obtaining	
4			that information. The precise technological means are	
5			unknown.	12:46
6	253	Q.	You relied a moment ago in your explanation of	
7			"directly" on that particular report in the Washington	
8			Post. You were aware that the description in that	
9			report was subsequently refuted by all of the companies	
10			involved, isn't that correct?	12:46
11		Α.	I don't know that it was refuted by all the companies	
12			involved. I do remember some press around some of the	
13			companies contesting whether they directly refuted	
14			the topic sentence of the article that I'm citing, I	
15			don't know, I think some of them may have danced around	12:47
16			the issues. But others the gist of the objection	
17			was that the NSA did not have what they characterised	
18			as direct access	
19	254	Q.	Yeah.	
20		Α.	to their servers.	12:47
21	255	Q.	And you mention Facebook there. And it rejected that,	
22			isn't that correct?	
23		Α.	From my recollection, yes.	
24	256	Q.	Yes. And the description that is given in the PCLOB	
25			report is not one of direct access, but one of issuing	12:47
26			directives to the companies, isn't that correct?	
27		Α.	well, the PCLOB report talks about directives being	
28			issued to the companies	
29	257	Q.	Yeah.	

- 1 -- under both Prism and Upstream, which is accurate. Α.
- 2 But after the -- the Directive is like the order.
- 3 after that is served on the companies, there's a
- subsequent question about how the data is transferred 4
- from the companies to the NSA. So the company may be 5

12:48

12:48

12:48

12:49

- 6 served with the order, but there's still an open
- 7 question and it is uncertain how the data is actually
- 8 transferred from the companies to the NSA and how the
- NSA transmits its selectors to the companies. 9
- 10 If it's an open question and it's uncertain, I suggest 258 Q.
- 11 that what you should've used to convey to the court is
- 12 the description that PCLOB provided as to how these
- 13 programmes operated. As an expert, that's what he
- 14 should've done.

- The PCLOB did not opine specifically on the nature --15 Α.
- well, I would be happy to, if someone could point me to 16
- 17 a paragraph in which the PCLOB says that -- let me
- restate please. The PCLOB nowhere states that the 18
- 19 government provides selectors under Prism surveillance
- 20 to the companies in hard copy and the company then
- prints out all the relevant material and gives it back
- 22 to the government. The PCLOB doesn't say that.
- 23 doesn't, with the requisite level of detail, opine on
- 24 the precise technological means by which the transfer
- is effectuated. Given that it is unknown, but it is 25
- 26 known that Prism encompasses some realtime
- 27 surveillance, I think direct access is an accurate way
- 28 of describing it. But it is important to underscore,
- 29 as I did in the consensus document, that the precise

1	means	are	unknown.
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- 2 259 Q. Sorry, you say you underscored in the consensus 3 document the precise means are unknown; it follows that 4 you do not *know* the precise means, isn't that correct?
- 5 A. Yes.
- And when you don't know the precise means, as an expert, that should've been stated, rather than using a description that conveys a particular meaning that you know not only to be controversial, but to have been actually refuted at the time?

- 11 It was refuted by companies. But the Washington Post, Α. 12 which is a very significant, within the United States, news outlet stood by the first sentence of this 13 14 article. And the first sentence of this article refers 15 to direct access. And that is the source that I cited. 12:50 16 And although I do not have personal knowledge of the 17 precise technological means by which this is accomplished, I think that one can infer from the 18 19 circumstances surrounding the surveillance and the slide that was disclosed that refers to realtime Prism 20 12:50 surveillance and also the slide that refers to the 21 22 on-boarding of companies, that one can infer that there is some means of direct access. I think that that's a 23 24 reasonable inference.
- 25 261 Q. Well, the only authority you cite is a newspaper 12:50 report. You were aware that that newspaper report had been refuted, isn't that correct?
- A. I was aware that companies had objected to the original version of that report and that the report was

1			subsequently modified, but that the first sentence of	
2			that report that refers to direct access was not	
3			modified.	
4	262	Q.	And that other news agencies did modify the position	
5			and did accept the correction, isn't that correct?	12:51
6		Α.	I can't speak to that. I don't know.	
7	263	Q.	And you are not in a position, either by virtue of any	
8			technical expertise or by any knowledge yourself of the	
9			practice, to describe the process, isn't that correct?	
10		Α.	I think, given my experience and familiarity with the	12:51
11			materials described in the report, the Snowden	
12			materials and the government disclosures, I am in a	
13			position to opine on reasonable inferences about the	
14			nature of the surveillance and I have done so.	
15	264	Q.	Do you have technical expertise, Ms. Gorski, that you	12:51
16			haven't disclosed to us?	
17		Α.	I do not have technical expertise.	
18	265	Q.	I suggest to you, as an expert, knowing your duty as an	
19			expert, you should not have put forward a description	
20			of the process that you yourself are not able to stand	12:51
21			over.	
22		Α.	I, in the text of the report, say "government	
23			disclosures and media reports" and I cite my sources.	
24			And I stand by my report.	
25	266	Q.	Okay. Well, what government disclosure supports your	12:52
26			contention of direct access?	
27			MR. DOHERTY: I think it's just very important	
28			that that question be put in proper context. The	
29			statement that Mr. Gallagher has been asking about is	

1			at paragraph 23 of Ms. Gorski's report:	
2				
3			"Government disclosures and media reports indicate that	
4			Prism surveillance involves the acquisition of	
5			communications contents and meta-data directly from US	12:52
6			companies."	
7				
8			Now, various formulations have been put by	
9			Mr. Gallagher as to what that means, but he has changed	
10			from time to time in the questions. And I think it's	12:52
11			only fair to the witness that the specific question	
12			should be put by reference to what she's actually said	
13			in the report.	
14	267	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: Judge, I'm responding to her own	
15			statement just a moment ago to the court that was based	12:52
16			on government disclosures and media reports and I am	
17			asking the witness what government disclosures are you	
18			relying on?	
19		Α.	In referring to the acquisition of communications	
20			content and meta-data, I cite to a FISC opinion. I	12:53
21			don't know offhand whether the FISC opinion uses the	
22			term "directly". I don't think much rises or falls on	
23			that. At the end of the day, what's significant is	
24			that I think there is a reasonable inference to be	
25			drawn based on the Snowden disclosures and based on	12:53
26			what must practically happen with surveillance in a	
27			rapidly changing environment in which the government is	
28			tasking new selectors, you know, not on an annual basis	
29			but much more frequently and needs to relay that	

Т			information to the companies, there is some	
2			technological means of transmission. It's almost	
3			certainly not done all on paper and I don't know what	
4			the precise technological means of transmission is.	
5	268	Q.	I'll ask you again. What government disclosure do you	12:54
6			rely on?	
7		Α.	In support of this sentence, which refers to the	
8			acquisition of communications content and meta-data, I	
9			cite to a FISC opinion	
10	269	Q.	Are you missing something there?	12:54
11		Α.	and I cite to the PCLOB report.	
12	270	Q.	Are you missing something there? The sentence	
13			continues: "Directly from US companies".	
14		Α.	"From US companies." And I cite to the PCLOB report	
15			and the FISC opinion and NSA programme Prism slides.	12:54
16	271	Q.	And we've established that <i>nowhere</i> in the PCLOB report	
17			does it suggest that it's obtained directly from the	
18			company, isn't that correct?	
19		Α.	I don't think that we've established that. And I would	
20			need to review the PCLOB report with a search function	12:54
21			in order to ensure that that word is not used. Again,	
22			I don't think that much rises or falls on this.	
23	272	Q.	Well, whether much rises or falls on it, Ms. Gorski, if	
24			you'd permit me to just ask you. You cite the PCLOB	
25			report; I assume, as you've done everywhere else, if	12:54
26			you had authority in the PCLOB report for what you	
27			said, you'd have cited the page. That's what you do	
28			when you cite page 111, pages 33 to or, sorry, 35 to	
29			41 as a description of the system in other footnotes.	

- 1 A. Yes, and I did cite the page. I cited to pages 33 and 2 34.
- 3 273 Q. Yeah.
- 4 A. Which --
- 5 274 Q. And nowhere in pages 33 or 34 does it provide support 12:55 for that contention.
- 7 A. It provides support for the contention that Prism
  8 surveillance involves the acquisition of communications
  9 content and meta-data from US companies. And again the
  10 adverb "directly", I don't think that the word
  11 "directly" appears --
- 12 275 Q. No.
- 13 A. -- in these two pages.
- 14 276 Q. And you know the distinction that I am drawing. 15 all agreed they acquire it from the companies through the compelled procedure, but I'm focusing on the word 16 17 "directly" that you sought to support by reference to government disclosures and then you identified the 18 19 PCLOB report and, as you acknowledge, it doesn't 20 actually support the contention of direct acquisition.

- A. I think it depends on what you mean by "direct". It certainly doesn't, it doesn't contest the proposition that there's some technological means by which the data is transferred.
- 25 277 Q. But what *you* meant by "direct", because you *told* us, 12:56
  26 was the description of "direct" contained in the
  27 Washington Post article. That's what *you* meant.
  28 You've just told us that.
- 29 A. And the description of "direct" in the Washington Post

_				
2			which I don't think says "direct access to servers".	
3			And I was saying that I agreed, or I thought that that	
4			was a plausible source to cite, in part because of	
5			Snowden disclosures that were also cited, in	12:57
6			conjunction with the article, which referred to the	
7			fact that Prism includes realtime surveillance.	
8	278	Q.	So you're now saying the first sentence that you say	
9			survived in the Washington Post account doesn't	
10			actually say anything about direct access to servers,	12:57
11			is that correct?	
12		Α.	I would need to look back at the Washington Post	
13			account. I think it uses the word "direct access". I	
14			don't know whether it uses the word "servers".	
15	279	Q.	Okay. So it uses "direct access". And that now is	12:57
16			exactly what you meant when you described earlier to	
17			the court what you intended to convey by the use of the	
18			term "directly"?	
19		Α.	What I intended to convey by the first sentence of	
20			paragraph 23 was that there is some technological	12:57
21			means. My understanding, based on government	
22			disclosures about how selectors are tasked and based on	
23			government disclosures about how Prism surveillance	
24			operates and based on media reports that use the word	
25			"direct access" and the media reports that accompany	12:58
26			the Snowden disclosures, my understanding is that Prism	
27			surveillance involves the acquisition of	
28			communications, content and meta-data through some	
29			technological means directly from US companies.	

article is -- I was referring to the first sentence,

- 1 280 Q. But you didn't describe it in those terms in this
  2 report, you didn't say your understanding, that you
  3 were drawing inferences and you certainly didn't make
  4 clear that there is no government disclosure that
  5 supports the evidence contained in your report and put 12:58
  6 forward by you in court.
- 7 A. I did use the word "indicate", not "state".
- 8 281 Q. I see.
- 9 A. I do think that there is some ambiguity around the
  10 precise technological means by which this is accomplished.
- 12 282 Q. Okay. So you think that the use of the word "indicate"
  13 instead of "state" there is of significance, is that
  14 right?
- 15 A. I think it is of some significance. I think it was 12:58

  16 appropriate, given what this sentence covers, to cite

  17 to both government disclosures and media reports.
- 18 283 Q. Well, if you use the word "indicate" in that context,

  19 you are saying to the court that there is something in

  20 government disclosures that indicate that. And we've 12:59

  21 established there is *nothing* that indicates it.
- 22 I don't think that we've established that. Α. government disclosures talk about the tasking of 23 24 selectors and government disclosures talk about the scope of the surveillance under Section 702 and 25 26 government disclosures talk about the fact that in the 27 last year there were more than 94,000 targets, and we 28 know that those targets may have multiple selectors 29 associated with them. And given the government

1			disclosures explain the breadth of this surveillance,	
2			it's clear that it would not be practical for the	
3			government to give to the companies in hard copy	
4			requests for various accounts and then to get back the	
5			more than 200 million communications that it acquired	12:59
6			in 2011 under Prism surveillance, to get all of that in	
7			hard copy. I do think the government's disclosures and	
8			media reports indicate that Prism surveillance involves	
9			the acquisition of communications, content and	
10			meta-data directly from US companies.	13:00
11	284	Q.	Okay. So, Ms. Gorski, you're engaged in speculation on	
12			this and you don't know is the answer, isn't that	
13			correct?	
14		Α.	I would not characterise my opinion as speculative.	
15	285	Q.	I see. And you're aware that neither the review group	13:00
16			or PCLOB found any basis for suggesting there was	
17			direct access in the sense which you have described,	
18			isn't that correct?	
19		Α.	I can't say that the review group I can't opine on	
20			the scope of the review group's analysis, because I	13:00
21			don't recall it as to the precise point offhand and I	
22			don't remember the PCLOB addressing the technological	
23			means by which the data is transferred. And	
24			Prof. Swire, who was a member of the review group,	
25			concurred in my assessment that the precise	13:01
26			technological means, he agreed with me that there would	
27			be a technological means by which this happens. The	

286 Q. So the position is it is unknown, but you gave a

precise means are unknown.

28

Т			description for which, in truth, you had no basis?	
2		Α.	My use of "direct" was intended to correspond to some	
3			technological means. I think if the selectors were	
4			provided to the companies on paper and the companies,	
5			in turn, provided the communications on paperback to	13:01
6			the agencies, that arguably would not constitute	
7			obtaining that information directly from the companies.	
8			My use of "directly" was intended to encompass some	
9			technological means.	
10	287	Q.	Well, in fact you've already told us, and I'm going to	13:01
11			move from this now, but you've already told us your use	
12			of "direct" was <i>not</i> to convey that, but your use of	
13			"direct" was to convey the description that was	
14			contained in the Washington Post article of direct	
15			access.	13:02
16		Α.	I intended to refer to the first sentence of the	
17			Washington Post article or The Washington Post	
18			article, in the first sentence, refers to direct	
19			access. And it supports that contention with slides	
20			that were disclosed by Edward Snowden that referred to	13:02
21			realtime surveillance.	
22			MR. GALLAGHER: I might leave it there, Judge.	
23			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: We'll take it up at two o'clock.	
24			Thank you.	
25				13:02
26				
27			(LUNCHEON ADJOURNMENT)	
28				

1			THE HEARING RESUMED AFTER THE LUNCHEON ADJOURNMENT AS	
2			<u>FOLLOWS</u>	
3				
4			CONTINUATION OF CROSS-EXAMINATION OF MS. GORSKI BY	
5			MR. GALLAGHER	14:04
6				
7			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Good afternoon.	
8			MR. MICHAEL COLLINS: Good afternoon, Judge.	
9			REGISTRAR: Matter of Data Protection Commissioner -v-	
10			Facebook Ireland Ltd. and another.	14:04
11	288	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: Good afternoon, Ms. Gorski, if I can	
12			ask you to stay with page 10 of your report, if it's	
13			convenient for you.	
14		Α.	Yes.	
15	289	Q.	And if you go to paragraph 25: "Government disclosure	14:04
16			and media reports indicate that Upstream surveillance,	
17			which the government claims is authorised by	
18			Section 702, involves the mass copying and searching of	
19			internet connections flowing into out of the United	
20			States."	14:05
21				
22			That's a very general statement, isn't it?	
23		Α.	I don't know that I would characterise the statement as	
24			general.	
25	290	Q.	I see. Doesn't it suggest there that everything is	14:05
26			being copied?	
27		Α.	I don't think that the word "mass" suggests that	
28			everything is copying, it does suggest that vast	
29			quantities of information are being copied and	

1	searched.
<b>上</b>	seai ciieu.

- 2 291 Q. Yes. You know that all the authorities, government
  3 authorities, that have spoken on this have made it
  4 clear that Upstream does not involve mass surveillance,
  5 it involves discriminate, the use of discriminators; 14:05
  6 isn't that correct?
- The PCLOB, the Privacy and Civil Liberties Oversight 7 Α. 8 Board, have said that Upstream surveillance does not involve bulk selection and that is consistent with my 9 opinion. What the PCLOB is referring to are the 10 14:05 11 results of the Upstream searching process. What I'm 12 referring to here is that first stage, that initial searching. And my statement here is certainly 13 consistent with how this surveillance has been 14 described by, for example, the Foreign Intelligence 15 14:06 16 Surveillance Court which has said that - with the NSA's surveillance devices, communications, any 17 communications that transits the device that has a 18 19 targeted selector anywhere within it will be ingested 20 for further analysis. That itself indicates that these 14:06 21 surveillance devices are incredibly powerful and that 22 they search through vast quantities of communications.
- 23 292 Q. Ms. Gorski, you say you are talking here about that 24 first stage of examination that you described this 25 morning, that does not involve mass copying?

- 26 A. The first stage does involve mass copying.
- 27 293 Q. The purpose of the first stage is, as we have,
  28 I thought, agreed, to examine a body of data through
  29 the use of the targeted inquiry or targeted directive

that	is	issued	bν	the	NSA?
ciiac		issaca	$\sim$	CIIC	113/1.

A. In the first stage there is a mass examination of the data flowing through the NSA's surveillance devices which are located at strategic points along the internet backbone which is the network of the high capacity cables and routers and switches that carry international internet communications into and out of the United States.

14:07

14:07

14:07

14:08

The copying comes in in that it's incidental to the search. So in effect there are two ways I think theoretically - I'm not a technologist but based on my conversations with technologists there are theoretically two ways in which the NSA could be conducting this search for its selectors. It could be scanning the information inline - and by inline I mean as it is actually flowing across the cable - or it could create a temporary copy of that information and then scan and search through the temporary copy of the information.

My understanding is that the NSA is in fact creating the temporary copy of the information in order to search for its selectors, and that is because it is less disruptive to interpret traffic than actually running the scans on the internet traffic as it is flowing past. That copy is a temporary copy. After it opens and examines the contents of these vast quantities of communications flowing past, the NSA then

1			deletes the temporary copy and retains for long-term	
2			use and analysis the communications to, from and about	
3			its targeted selectors and any multi-communication	
4			transactions.	
5	294	Q.	There is a lot in that, Ms. Gorski. Firstly, you have	14:08
6			now explained to us that these sources have explained,	
7			you are not a person with technical expertise, have	
8			explained to you that there are two possibilities, one	
9			which does not involve any copying; isn't that correct?	
10		Α.	Yes, that's correct.	14:09
11	295	Q.	Yes. And why did you describe for the court as an	
12			expert the operation of Upstream as involving mass	
13			copying when you can give no evidence as an expert on	
14			that issue?	
15		Α.	I believe that, I am providing evidence as an expert on	14:09
16			that issue in saying that in my work, which involves	
17			working very closely with technologists, there is a	
18			discussion about the effectiveness of these searches	
19			and how they must be conducted. And in that	
20			conversation it's very clear that there is a creation	14:09
21			of a temporary copy of the communications because it's	
22			less disruptive to the traffic, the traffic flows.	
23				
24			I believe this copying point is also corroborated by	
25			the leading treatise on national security law in the	14:10
26			United States by David Kris, it's written by an	
27			assistant attorney general, former assistant attorney	

28

29

general for national security. So it's not a concept

that I'm coming up with out of thin air. The New York

1	Times	I believ	e has	also	described	this	as	a	copying
2	and se	arching	proce	SS.					

- 3 296 Q. I will ask you again, Ms. Gorski, but I'll put the
  4 question a little differently: I think your rules with
  5 regard to expert evidence in the United States, as 14:10
  6 here, involve you giving evidence on matters on which
  7 you are an expert; isn't that correct?
- 8 A. Yes.
- 9 297 Q. You have no expertise or no direct knowledge of any
  10 sort as to how Upstream extracts the information; isn't 14:10
  11 that correct?
- 12 A. I have not been employed by the executive branch, but
  13 based on official government disclosures and media
  14 reports it's very clear that the information is
  15 extracted through Upstream after a bulk searching
  16 process. I also think it is clear that the bulk
  17 searching process takes place on a copy of the
  18 communications as opposed to the communications inline.

- 19 298 Q. I'll ask you again: You have no direct knowledge
  20 yourself and you're not in a position to give any
  21 expert evidence to this court to the effect that the
  22 extraction of the Upstream information is done by a
  23 process of copying?
- A. I would be similarly situated to any individual
  testifying before this court in that individuals with
  direct knowledge of the Upstream copying process would
  presumably not be able to opine on that information
  because it is classified but, based on the information
  that has been made public about the nature of the bulk

1			searches and also based on media reports, I am quite	
2			confident in saying that Upstream surveillance involves	
3			the creation of a temporary copy and a searching of	
4			internet communications.	
5				14:11
6			I would also note that there was an affidavit submitted	
7			in the <u>Jewel</u> case in California, which was a challenge	
8			to Section 702 surveillance. That affidavit was filed	
9			by a former AT&T technician who worked at AT&T offices	
10			in San Francisco and he described in great detail	14:12
11			what's known as a splitter, which is what creates the	
12			copy, he described the mechanism by which the	
13			government creates a copy of these communications and	
14			then searches them.	
15	299	Q.	Okay. Just maybe breaking it down then, I'm going to	14:12
16			just spend a little time on this, Ms. Gorski. Firstly	
17			I think you have confirmed that the process by which	
18			Upstream operates on the backbone is classified?	
19		Α.	There are details of this that are not classified and	
20			are discussed by the PCLOB.	14:12
21	300	Q.	But this aspect is <i>not</i> based on the PCLOB; isn't that	
22			correct?	
23		Α.	When you say this aspect what are you referring?	
24	301	Q.	The mass copying.	
25		Α.	The mass copying is drawn from the PCLOB's broader	14:12
26			description about how Upstream must operate and the	
27			PCLOB makes clear that for Upstream to operate the	
28			government must have access to a far greater body of	
29			communications than those that simply contain the	

- selectors, it has to search through communications to locate those that contain the selectors.
- 3 302 Q. Ms. Gorski, you know well there's a big difference
  4 between saying the government must have access to a
  5 much larger body of information, that's one thing, and 14:13
  6 the other saying that it *copies* that information, you understand that distinction, I take it?
- 8 A. Yes, I do understand that distinction.
- 9 303 Q. Yes. And indeed that distinction was recognised in
  10 your earlier answer, that there were two possibilities, 14:13
  11 that it accesses this large body of information but
  12 doesn't copy it or, the second possibility, it accesses
  13 the body of information and does copy it?
- 14 Α. When I referred to the two possibilities I was 15 referring to it in a theoretical sense. I believe very 14:13 16 firmly that it does in fact involve copying and this is 17 corroborated by the declaration that was filed in the **Jewel** case by an AT&T technician who worked directly 18 19 with this equipment. He went on at length about the 20 splitter and how the stream of communications was split 14:14 21 so that a copy was created.
- Okay. So may the court take it, although my question was the distinction, not what your belief is, I think you are not here to give evidence as to your belief; isn't that correct, you know that?

- 26 A. I appreciate that I am --
- 27 305 Q. Yes.
- 28 A. Yes.
- 29 306 Q. But you now say that the basis for this assertion is

1			the evidence of this AT&T engineer in the <b>Jewel</b> case?	
2		Α.	That's one of the bases for the assertion.	
3	307	Q.	We have agreed it's not in the PCLOB report?	
4		Α.	I don't believe that the PCLOB report uses the word	
5			"copy".	14:14
6	308	Q.	Yes. And could you now in this instance identify the	
7			government source on which you rely?	
8		Α.	I do know that an opinion of the Foreign Intelligence	
9			Surveillance Court refers again to the very broad	
10			access that the NSA surveillance devices have to the	14:15
11			communications transiting those devices. I do not know	
12			whether that opinion uses the word "copy", and a New	
13			York Times article by Charlie Savage I do believe uses	
14			the word "copy" and he cites, within that article,	
15			government sources.	14:15
16	309	Q.	Ms. Gorski	
17		Α.	But I don't have the article at hand so this is based	
18			on recollection.	
19	310	Q.	Ms. Gorski, you are well aware, as distinguished a	
20			newspaper as the New York Times is, it's not a	14:15
21			government source; isn't that correct?	
22		Α.	Yes.	
23	311	Q.	You are unable to point to any FISC decision which uses	
24			the word "mass copying" as opposed to having access to	
25			a large body of information; isn't that correct?	14:15
26		Α.	Offhand, yes.	
27	312	Q.	Yes. And I take it, if this was stated on the basis of	
28			a FISC decision, you would have identified it, as you	
29			have done with other FISC decisions?	

1		Α.	I do, I do cite a FISC decision at the end of this	
2			paragraph. In the interests of streamlining the	
3			footnotes I tried to include them at the end of the	
4			paragraph.	
5	313	Q.	Yes, the paragraph deals with	14:16
6		Α.	I would need to look at that citation to assess whether	
7			it contains the word "copy".	
8	314	Q.	Well I suggest to you that the affidavit evidence filed	
9			in the <u>Jewel</u> case by the AT&T engineer is no basis for	
10			the expert evidence that you have given to this court,	14:16
11			would you agree with that?	
12		Α.	I would not say that it's not a basis for that as I'm,	
13			I think I	
14	315	Q.	Okay, all right. Well then I'll put the <u>Jewel</u> decision	
15			to you, it's not the one that you have actually	14:16
16			referred to, you have referred to another <u>Jewel</u>	
17			decision, but I'm going to put the <u>Jewel</u> decision that	
18			you now have sought to rely on to you (SAME HANDED TO	
19			THE WITNESS). This was a decision where the court	
20			rejected, rejected the description of the Upstream	14:16
21			process put forward by the plaintiff; isn't that	
22			correct?	
23		Α.	This is a decision in which the court held at the	
24			summary judgment stage, due to a combination of	
25			standing and state secrets doctrines, that the	14:17
26			plaintiffs could not proceed with the case.	
27	316	Q.	I'll ask you again: This is a decision in which the	
28			court rejected, having looked at the evidence, the	
29			description of Upstream put forward in the case; isn't	

Т		that correct?	
2	Α.	Here it says "the technical details of the Upstream	
3		collection process remain classified". I am looking	
4		for a passage in which the court is passing on the	
5		plaintiff's characterisation of that process. I'm	14:17
6		looking for the passage that you are attempting to	
7		point me to.	
8		MR. GALLAGHER: Okay. Well	
9		MR. DOHERTY: I think in fairness to Ms. Gorski, if	
10		Mr. Gallagher is going to put a particular proposition	14:17
11		that one of many thousands of documents in this case	
12		contains a particular statement, he should bring that	
13		to her attention. It's not fair.	
14		MR. GALLAGHER: I'm putting on the reliance excuse	
15		me, I wonder would Mr. Doherty allow me to continue	14:18
16		with the questions. I am relying on this decision.	
17		MR. DOHERTY: I haven't stopped Mr. Gallagher.	
18		MR. GALLAGHER: And I said that the court rejected, and	
19		I'll point to the paragraph in a moment, the version of	
20		Upstream put forward by the plaintiff. That's not	14:18
21		relying on thousands of documents, that's relying on	
22		the decision.	
23		MR. DOHERTY: Well I'm glad to see that Mr. Gallagher	
24		is going to do what I asked him to do because I think	
25		that's the fair way to proceed in the circumstances.	14:18
26		MR. GALLAGHER: Sorry, I'm asking	
27		MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: I don't think we need to carry	
28		on, I think Mr. Gallagher was going to do that. Of	
29		course the witness will be shown the precise passage,	

1			but as you well know Mr. Doherty it's quite common to	
2			put questions generally the specific passage is drawn	
3			to the attention of a witness.	
4	317	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: You see you refer to this decision that	
5			you make no reference to in your report; isn't that	14:18
6			correct?	
7		Α.	I think I do refer to this decision in the report in my	
8			discussion of the state secrets doctrine, and I have	
9			found the passage that I believe you are referring to.	
10	318	Q.	Yes. And the court rejected the version of Upstream	14:19
11			put forward; isn't that correct?	
12		Α.	It said that the "plaintiff's version of the	
13			significant operational details is substantially	
14			inaccurate". I would note, however, that plaintiffs	
15			included many operational details in their explanation	14:19
16			of Upstream and, because of the vagueness of the	
17			court's statement, it's impossible to know which	
18			details are accurate or inaccurate.	
19	319	Q.	I see. Well I put it to you, not only did the court	
20			say that, but it said that the AT&T witness who swore	14:19
21			an affidavit had no direct knowledge and no reliance	
22			could be placed on the affidavit; isn't that correct,	
23			Ms. Gorski?	
24		Α.	I don't think that the court said that the witness had	
25			no direct knowledge. He said "the limited knowledge	14:19
26			that Klein does possess firsthand", so he does refer to	
27			some knowledge that Klein possess firsthand.	
28	320	Q.	Okay. Well, will we look at what it says at the	

beginning of that paragraph:

1			"Plaintiffs principally rely on the declaration of	
2			Klein, a former AT&T technician who executed a	
3			declaration in 2006 about his knowledge and perceptions	
4			about the creation of a secure room at the AT&T	
5			facility. However, the Court finds Klein establish the	14:20
6			content, function or purpose of the secure room at the	
7			AT&T site based on his own knowledge. The limited	
8			knowledge that Klein does possess firsthand does not	
9			support the Plaintiffs' contention about the actual	
10			operation of the Upstream data collection process."	14:20
11				
12			Do you see that?	
13		Α.	Yes. In saying that "Klein cannot establish the	
14			content, function or purpose of the secure room at the	
15			AT&T site based on his own independent knowledge", that	14:20
16			phrase is not necessarily referring specifically to	
17			Klein's very specific averment related to the splitter.	
18			Klein, given his level within the organisation, perhaps	
19			did not have firsthand knowledge of the government's	
20			purpose behind the secure room at the AT&T site, all of	14:21
21			the functions of that secure room. But I would note	
22			that the court's opinion, because it is written in such	
23			an abstract way, does not speak specifically to the	
24			question of the splitter.	
25	321	Q.	Well, doesn't the court go on, Ms. Klein [sic], in the	14:21
26			next sentence that I have just read out to you:	
27				
28			"However, the court finds that Klein cannot establish	

the content, function or purpose of the secure room at

1			the AT&T site" and says: "The limited knowledge that	
2			Klein possesses firsthand does not support the	
3			Plaintiffs' contention about the actual operation of	
4			the Upstream process."	
5				14:21
6			Isn't that correct?	
7		Α.	That is what the opinion states. I would note again	
8			that plaintiffs made many contentions about the actual	
9			operation of the Upstream data collection process and	
10			I do not know which contentions the court is referring	14:21
11			to.	
12	322	Q.	Okay. Well, I have put it to you a number of times	
13			that the court had rejected the explanation put forward	
14			by the plaintiff with regard to the actual operation of	
15			the Upstream data process; isn't that correct? I put	14:21
16			that a number of times to you?	
17		Α.	The court said that it confirms: "That the Plaintiffs'	
18			version of the significant operational details -	
19			details plural - of the Upstream collection process is	
20			substantially inaccurate."	14:22
21	323	Q.	I will go back to the person that you rely on, this	
22			affidavit that you just referred to for the first time	
23			in your evidence. The court goes on: "Klein can only	
24			speculate about what data were actually processed and	
25			by whom in the secure room and how and for what	14:22
26			purpose, as he never was involved in the operation."	
27				
28			Could the court make it any clearer that Klein's	
29			evidence as a description of the Upstream process was	

1			rejected, could it, Ms. Gorski?	
2		Α.	It does recognise that Klein did possess some firsthand	
3			knowledge and the court said that that firsthand	
4			knowledge did not support plaintiff's contention about	
5			the actual Upstream data collection process.	14:23
6	324	Q.	I will ask the question again: Could the court make it	
7			any clearer that it rejected the version put forward by	
8			Klein of how the Upstream process operated?	
9		Α.	I think the court could have made it clearer by	
10			specifying which of Klein's contentions it was	14:23
11			specifically rejecting and which of Klein's contentions	
12			did not support plaintiffs' version of events. Because	
13			Klein made many assertions and because plaintiffs made	
14			many assertions it's very difficult to assess which	
15			contentions are being rejected by this paragraph.	14:23
16	325	Q.	I'll just suggest to you that it made it very clear:	
17			"Klein can only speculate about how and for what	
18			purpose the data was actually processed", that's what	
19			that sentence says?	
20		Α.	The sentence does say that Klein can only speculate	14:23
21			about what data were	
22	326	Q.	Yes.	
23		Α.	"Klein can only speculate about what data specifically	
24			were actually processed and by whom and how and for	
25			what purpose."	14:24
26	327	Q.	Yes. So it actually rejected his version of how the	
27			data was processed; isn't that correct?	
28		Α.	I don't think that this necessarily constitutes a	
29			complete rejection.	

Т	328	Q.	1 see.	
2		Α.	I think it is recognising that Klein did not have	
3			sufficient classified clearances to have complete	
4			knowledge of how the data collection was operating in	
5			this instance.	14:2
6	329	Q.	Well, you say you refer to this in your report and	
7			there's a mention of it in one of the footnotes, but	
8			it's not the <u>Jewel</u> decision that you appendix to your	
9			report, so you must have considered it when you were	
10			doing your report; is that correct? Is that correct?	14:2
11		Α.	I believe that this decision is appended to my report.	
12			Are you referring to the Klein declaration?	
13	330	Q.	No, there's another Klein [sic] decision, it's a later	
14			decision in your report?	
15		Α.	Klein or Jewel?	14:2
16	331	Q.	Sorry, excuse me, <u>Jewel</u> . Klein is the AT&T technician.	

21 332 Q. You do mention it, but it's not in one of the
22 appendices so far as I can identify, I couldn't find it
23 in any of the appendices?

I do think I cite, I do believe that I cite to this

opinion in the discussion of the state secrets doctrine

and I will pull that up momentarily, if you would just

14:25

14:25

A. That must have been an administrative error and I apologise to the court for that.

give me a moment

26 333 Q. I see.

Α.

17

18

19

- A. But I do refer to the opinion. Yes, it's in paragraph 55.
- 29 334 Q. Exactly. That's why I said, having referred to it in

1			one context, you must have read the case?	
2		Α.	Yes, I had read the case.	
3	335	Q.	And in preparing, therefore, your report and in now	
4			relying on this as being the basis for your description	
5			of mass copying, you must have relied realised it	14:2
6			doesn't support that description?	
7		Α.	The court's assessment of Klein's evidence in the	
8			description is very unclear. There is no discussion of	
9			mass copying in particular in this context and I do	
10			think that the evidence that Klein put forward was	14:20
11			persuasive.	
12	336	Q.	I see.	
13		Α.	This is again not the only source of my assertion that	
14			Upstream involves mass copying.	
15	337	Q.	Okay.	14:20
16		Α.	But I also want to underscore for the court that at	
17			bottom what matters it that it's undisputed well,	
18			I can't speak as to what's in dispute in the context of	
19			the case. But it is very clear that Upstream	
20			surveillance involves mass searching and bulk searching	14:2
21			and there are several government disclosures to that	
22			effect.	
23	338	Q.	Ms. Gorski, I'm going to keep with this for a moment,	
24			but leave aside the question of mass searching, that's	

27 A. They are distinct, but the copying is attendant to the 28 search, how the search is effectuated.

that correct?

25

26

different, as you well know, from mass copying; isn't

14:26

29 339 Q. Yes. And you relied on an affidavit from a technician

Т			of Al&I to support your contention that there was mass	
2			copying, that's what you said was one of the bases for	
3			that contention; isn't that correct?	
4		Α.	Yes.	
5	340	Q.	And the only record we have is the court rejects the	14:27
6			description of that technician as to how the process	
7			works; isn't that correct?	
8		Α.	The court is rejecting aspects of the technician's	
9			description. The court found that Klein: "Could not	
10			establish the content, function or purpose of the	14:27
11			secure room at the AT&T site based on his own	
12			independent knowledge".	
13	341	Q.	Yes. So Klein had no knowledge of how the process	
14			worked?	
15		Α.	I think that that is an overstatement. The court	14:27
16			recognises that Klein did have firsthand knowledge	
17			about some facts and the court went on to say that the	
18			firsthand knowledge did not support plaintiffs'	
19			contention about the actual Upstream data collection	
20			process. However, again the court was not specific	14:28
21			about which contentions were unsupported.	
22	342	Q.	Okay. Ms. Gorski, you're here as an expert to help the	
23			case, a very intelligent expert and you know the	
24			significance of a court saying somebody can only	
25			speculate as to how the process is conducted, you know	14:28
26			the significance of that, don't you?	
27		Α.	I don't know the precise significance	
28	343	Q.	I see.	

A. -- in the context of these proceedings, but as a

Τ			general matters it means that the individual who is	
2			simply speculating, the assertions put forth may be	
3			given less credence.	
4	344	Q.	Given less credence. Somebody speculates, are you	
5			suggesting credence should be given to speculation?	14:28
6		Α.	I did not mean to suggest that credence could be given	
7			to speculation. I didn't mean to imply that.	
8	345	Q.	Okay. So somebody who speculates as to how the process	
9			works, his evidence cannot be given any credence with	
10			regard to the operation of the process; isn't that	14:29
11			correct?	
12		Α.	His evidence about what data were actually possessed	
13			and by whom and for how and for what purpose could not	
14			be given credence in the context of this case. The	
15			court deemed that that was the case	14:29
16	346	Q.	Yes.	
17		Α.	based on the court's review of classified	
18			information.	
19	347	Q.	Yes. Of how the processing, you don't want to lose the	
20			connection between the 'how' and the 'processing', that	14:29
21			he didn't have any evidence as to the processing; isn't	
22			that correct, other than speculation, which we have	
23			agreed is not evidence?	
24		Α.	"Actually processed and by whom and how and for what	
25			purpose". Yes, because he was never involved in its	14:29
26			operation.	
27	348	Q.	So this technician that you have informed the court of	
28			about 15 minutes ago is somebody who you know, because	

you know the laws of evidence, doesn't actually provide

Τ			any support for the proposition you have put to the	
2			court with regard to copying?	
3		Α.	This is based on one court's assessment of Klein's	
4			personal knowledge. I don't know that that means that	
5			Klein is not a basis for forming my belief about mass	14:30
6			copying which is informed by other data points as well.	
7	349	Q.	Okay. Well, is there another court that took a	
8			different view on Klein's knowledge, Ms. Gorski, that	
9			we are aware of that you should inform the judge?	
10		Α.	Not to my knowledge.	14:30
11	350	Q.	Yes. So when you put forward Klein as an authority for	
12			the proposition that there is mass copying, you knew	
13			that he didn't provide any evidence for that because he	
14			was somebody who just was speculating on this; isn't	
15			that correct?	14:30
16		Α.	It's not clear to me from the court's opinion that the	
17			court was saying that Klein could only speculate about	
18			the existence of the splitter, it is just such a	
19			specific proposition and the court's assessment of	
20			Klein does not go into that level of detail.	14:31
21	351	Q.	Well the court says he knows nothing about the process	
22			at all, it doesn't need to go into the level of detail.	
23			It says he doesn't know about the process, splitter or	
24			anything else about the process?	
25		Α.	The court says that he was never involved in its	14:31
26			operation, but I think that there may be a distinction	
27			between directly involved in a highly classified	
28			operation and working in a facility and having	
29			knowledge of the technology that is being used in that	

1			facility.	
2	352	Q.	Yes. In paragraph 25 you go on to refer to Upstream	
3			applying to the internet communications, I think it's	
4			called the internet backbone; isn't that correct?	
5		Α.	Yes.	14:31
6	353	Q.	And you identify the entities that that relates to,	
7			being Verizon, AT&T isn't that correct?	
8		Α.	Verizon and AT&T are two of the example companies.	
9	354	Q.	Yes. And there is no evidence whatsoever that Facebook	
10			is involved in Upstream; isn't that correct?	14:32
11		Α.	That's correct. However, I would note that individuals	
12			who communicate through Facebook and if those	
13			communications are international, their communications	
14			may very well be swept up in the bulk searching process	
15			of Upstream. But there is no evidence that Facebook is	14:32
16			compelled to assist the government with respect to	
17			collection under Upstream surveillance under	
18			Section 702.	
19	355	Q.	At the end of that paragraph: "Thus, though through	
20			Upstream surveillance the NSA has generalised access to	14:32
21			the content of communications as it indiscriminately	
22			copies and searches through vast quantities of personal	
23			metadata and content."	
24				
25			Well, firstly, we have dealt with the copies and we	14:33
26			have also dealt with the fact that it is not	
27			indiscriminate, it does use discriminants; isn't that	
28			correct?	
29		Α.	Upstream surveillance involves discriminants but the	

Т			Tirst stage of upstream surveillance involves searching	
2			and opening through vast quantities of communication	
3			and that opening of the communications and that	
4			searching is itself an indiscriminate search because	
5			the government is touching communications	14:33
6			indiscriminately, the government is accessing	
7			communications indiscriminately.	
8	356	Q.	How would you carry out a search, could you explain to	
9			the court, without access to the communications, the	
10			body of data you intend to search, how would that be	14:33
11			done?	
12		Α.	One way that Upstream could be done that would be more	
13			privacy protective is, rather than search the contents	
14			of the communications, for the government to scan just	
15			the metadata and to see if the metadata is to or from	14:33
16			its targeted selectors as opposed to looking at the	
17			body of the communications to see if the communications	
18			even reference a targeted selector. It's a much more	
19			intrusive search.	
20	357	Q.	That's for the 'about', if the about is a target; isn't	14:34
21			that correct, which it may not be?	
22		Α.	I don't understand.	
23	358	Q.	The 'about' collection involves searching through the	
24			document - sorry, the communication - to see if there's	
25			any reference in the body of the communication to the	14:34
26			particular target; isn't that correct?	
27		Α.	As the government conducts Upstream surveillance, about	
28			surveillance is in the government's view inextricably	
29			intertwined, it is part and parcel of Upstream	

1			surveillance. Upstream involves searching for targeted	
2			selectors that appear anywhere within the contents or	
3			the headers of the communications. So about	
4			surveillance is part and parcel of Upstream.	
5	359	Q.	And to carry out that targeted search using an 'about'	14:34
6			communication, you have to examine the documents; isn't	
7			that right, or search the documents, I should say;	
8			isn't that correct?	
9		Α.	If the	
10	360	Q.	Sorry, I keep saying 'documents', I do apologise,	14:34
11			search the body of data, I'll be more precise.	
12		Α.	Because the government is collecting communications	
13			that are about the target, yes, it is searching through	
14			the body of those communications to locate	
15			communications that are about the target.	14:35
16	361	Q.	And that's the only way that can be done; isn't that	
17			correct?	
18		Α.	Practically speaking the government would have to	
19			search through the body of communications to locate	
20			communications that are merely about its targets. But	14:35
21			this	
22	362	Q.	And your objection, Ms. Gorski, is that you don't think	
23			that the government should be searching for 'about'	
24			communications; isn't that correct?	
25		Α.	That is one of the objections, yes.	14:35
26	363	Q.	Yes. And Upstream only constitutes I think less than,	
27			is it 10% of the 702 programme?	
28		Α.	It is either 10% or describes it slightly less as 10%,	

but I believe ten.

- 1 364 Q. I think it is 8-10%, I think?
- 2 A. One of the FISC opinions I think uses 10%. I would
- 3 note, however, that that statistic refers to the number
- 4 of communications that are ultimately ingested. So the
- 5 2011 figure for communications collected under 702 was
- 6 more than 250 million, 90% of which were PRISM
- 7 communications and 10% of which were Upstream
- 8 communications. That said, that's the end result of
- 9 the government searches. That in no way reflects the
- much greater body of text based internet communications 14:36
- that the government is accessing and searching through,
- 12 through Upstream collection.
- 13 365 Q. Well, if you go back to paragraph 19 of your opinion,
- 14 you refer to the figures, and we have already touched

- on this, that in 2015 the government targeted the
- 16 communications of 94,000 odd individuals; isn't that
- 17 correct?
- 18 A. Yes.
- 19 366 Q. And you say under a single FISC order, and we have
- 20 established that's the annual certificate?
- 21 A. Yes.
- 22 367 Q. So that's in a year?
- 23 A. Yes.
- 24 368 Q. You yourself in your report identified that Wikimedia,
- whom you represented or were involved with in the case. 14:37
- they have three trillion communications a year; isn't
- 27 that correct?
- 28 A. They certainly, they have more than a trillion internet
- 29 communications, international text based internet

communications a year, yes. 2 Three trillion is what you say in your report? 369 Q. 3 Then that is the accurate number, yes. Α. And I take it from your interest in this area you're 4 370 Q. 5 aware of the magnitude of daily internet transactions? 14:37 6 I don't know if those have been quantified in terms of Α. 7 number of communications. But, yes, daily internet 8 transactions, there are many. 9 And they are estimated at about 450 billion a day; 371 Q. isn't that correct? 10 14:37 11 I don't know. 450 billion internet transactions a day? Α. 12 A day, yes. 372 Q. I'm not familiar with that particular estimate. 13 Α. 14 MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Are you talking about globally 15 or in the US? 14:38 16 MR. GALLAGHER: Globally, yes, Judge. I should have 373 Q. 17 clarified that, sorry, globally. We're talking about, and I take it you agree that less than 2% of the 18 19 information in the world at the moment is non-digital, 20 are you aware of that? 14:38 21 2% of the information? Α. 22 374 Is non-digital. Q. 23 I was not aware of that particular statistic. Α. 24 375 But, irrespective of the precise numbers, on any version the vast body of communications are now done 25 14:38 26 digitally; isn't that correct? 27 Hmm, that would be my assumption. Α.

1

28

29

376

Q.

whether judged by day or by year, is enormous?

Yes. And that the universe of digital communications,

1		Α.	Certainly.	
2	377	Q.	Yes. And any intelligence agency that wanted to	
3			acquire information would have to have some means of	
4			accessing communications that would provide relevant	
5			information to discharge its obligations; isn't that	14:39
6			correct?	
7		Α.	Could you please repeat the question.	
8	378	Q.	Any intelligence agency that was discharging its	
9			obligations would need to search this body of	
10			communications in order to obtain information to enable	14:39
11			it to discharge those functions?	
12		Α.	I fear that the statement may be a bit too general.	
13			I don't think that any intelligence agency would need	
14			to search every single digital communication in the	
15			world every single day in order to discharge its	14:39
16			functions. I think there are ways of restraining and	
17			cabining that search.	
18	379	Q.	Well, firstly, nobody is suggesting every communication	
19			is searched every day, but it would have to have some	
20			means of searching the large body of communications	14:39
21			data; isn't that correct?	
22		Α.	Again in order to?	
23	380	Q.	Discharge its functions, its obligations?	
24		Α.	Would an intelligence agency need to have some means of	
25			searching a body of communications?	14:40
26	381	Q.	Yes.	
27		Α.	I think it depends on how the intelligence agency's	
28			functions are defined. Again, as I noted earlier, if	

realtime wire-based surveillance is going to be a form

Т			of surveillance conducted by the intelligence agencies,	
2			there are ways to theoretically conduct, they are ways	
3			to conduct it that would be more targeted than what the	
4			NSA is doing with Upstream surveillance and it is	
5			certainly more targeted than what the NSA is doing	14:40
6			under Executive Order 12333.	
7	382	Q.	You say it would certainly be more targeted than NSA is	
8			doing, but your report says you don't know the	
9			targeting procedures used by NSA, they are classified,	
10			that's what your report says?	14:40
11		Α.	The targeting procedures used by the NSA have been	
12			published in conjunction with the media account, so we	
13			do have access to the targeting procedures. In	
14			addition the PCLOB has described the privacy procedures	
15			in its recommendation or, I am sorry, the PCLOB has	14:41
16			described the targeting procedures in its	
17			recommendation that the targeting procedures be	
18			strengthened. Separately, we have the face of the	
19			statute which prescribes at a general level the	
20			standard for targeting and that standard is extremely	14:41
21			permissive.	
22	383	Q.	Just to direct you, if I may, to paragraph 21 of your	
23			report: "Although the government has not made public	
24			its Section 702 targeting procedures", that's what you	
25			say in your report?	14:41
26		Α.	The government has not officially acknowledged	
27			Section 702 targeting procedures. They have been made	
28			public through a leak of some sort. I should have	
29			clarified that well it is completely accurate that	

1			the government has not made public its Section 702	
2			targeting procedures, however the government has	
3			described those procedures	
4	384	Q.	Yes.	
5		Α.	in part in the PCLOB reports.	14:41
6	385	Q.	Exactly. And in fact the PCLOB report goes into great	
7			detail in targeting, in describing those targeting	
8			procedures; isn't that correct? Page, I think, 45	
9			onwards; isn't that correct?	
10		Α.	Let me	14:42
11	386	Q.	Sorry, page 41 onwards, excuse me.	
12		Α.	It describes the targeting procedures in some detail	
13			and it also says: "While some information has been	
14			released by the government."	
15	387	Q.	Yes.	14:42
16		Α.	"Neither the NSA nor the FBI targeting procedures have	
17			been declassified in full", which is entirely	
18			consistent with the assertion in my report.	
19	388	Q.	Well if they have not been declassified you're not in a	
20			position to say that there are other and better	14:42
21			targeting procedures that could be used?	
22		Α.	Again the 2009 targeting procedures have been made	
23			publically available and I think what is also relevant	
24			here is the face of the statute which permits the	
25			targeting of any non-US person who was reasonably	14:42
26			believed to be located abroad, and the significant	
27			purpose of the collection is to gather foreign	
28			intelligence information which is broadly defined.	
29			Given that that's the lodestar for targeting I think	

- I am in a position to say that the targeting could be more constrained as the PCLOB found itself.
- 3 389 Q. Okay. Well just taking each of those points. Firstly,
  4 what you describe as the targeting procedures made
  5 public in 2009, those have never been acknowledged by
  6 the government; isn't that correct?
- 7 A. That is correct.
- 8 390 Q. Yes. Secondly, as you well know, there have been
  9 significant changes to the targeting procedures since
  10 2009; isn't that correct?
- 11 A. I know that there have been changes. I can't opine on 12 how significant they have been.
- 13 391 Q. But you have opined on the targeting procedures and
  14 they should be changed, and you told us you can do that
  15 because of the 2009 publication and now you're telling 14:43
  16 us you don't know the significance of the changes that
  17 have been made since?

14:44

I do know the changes that have been described by the 18 Α. 19 PCLOB and the PCLOB made it clear that its 20 recommendations for stronger targeting procedures had 21 not been fully implemented. And, separate from the 22 targeting procedures, my comment about how Upstream 23 surveillance could be conducted in a more targeted 24 fashion relates to how it could be accomplished. 25 targeting procedures provide very general guidelines 26 about the ways in which NSA analysts must document 27 their targeting, for example. I mean it provides very broad criteria for examples of what constitutes foreign 28 29 intelligence information.

Т			MR. GALLAGHER: Okay. I'm going to then refer you to	
2			the statute which you have relied on, if you go to	
3			divide 3. Judge, the statute is in book, you might	
4			find it easier. It's in divide 3 of this book.	
5			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: This book?	14:44
6			MR. GALLAGHER: Yes. Mr. Collins referred to the	
7			version in the first book of US authorities, 14.	
8			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Yes.	
9			MR. GALLAGHER: But I think, I have only a few sections	
10			and it's probably as easy to refer to here.	14:44
11			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Yes.	
12	392	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: And if you go to page 4, firstly these	
13			powers are used to acquire foreign intelligence	
14			information; isn't that correct? That's what you have	
15			told us already?	14:45
16		Α.	The statute authorises the collection of information	
17	393	Q.	Yes.	
18		Α.	related to foreign intelligence.	
19	394	Q.	Yes. And you told us that there is sort of a general	
20			reference to foreign affairs which makes it very broad,	14:45
21			isn't that what you told us?	
22		Α.	Yes, the definition of foreign intelligence when the	
23			information is not concerning a United States person is	
24			extremely broad.	
25	395	Q.	Okay. Well let's just look at it then in 4: "Firstly,	14:45
26			foreign intelligence information means information that	
27			relates to, and, if concerning a US person, is	
28			necessary to the ability of the US to protect itself	
29			against (a) actual or potential attack or grave hostile	

1			acts of a foreign power". That, I take it, you would	
2			agree is a necessary protection? Would you?	
3		Α.	I'm not sure exactly what you mean by "necessary".	
4			This is a definition that relates to an extremely broad	
5			surveillance authority and the breadth of the	14:46
6			surveillance authority I don't think is necessary. If	
7			you are asking me as a general principle is it	
8			important to protect against attacks and great hostile	
9			acts, yes it is important to protect against attacks	
10			and great hostile acts, but there is not a clear nexus	14:46
11			between that protection and the surveillance that's	
12			currently conducted under Section 702.	
13	396	Q.	Just sticking with the definition then, do you think	
14			that definition should be further narrowed or further	
15			expressed, expressed differently?	14:46
16		Α.	My concern with the definition of foreign intelligence	
17			information is specifically with respect to Part 2.	
18	397	Q.	Okay. So you have no issue with the first part, (a),	
19			(b) and (c) in 1?	
20		Α.	"Information that" again the definition of vacuum,	14:46
21			no, but the "authority as implemented" I do have	
22			concerns with.	
23	398	Q.	Okay. Well you did refer to the statute and we're just	
24			dealing with the statute now and we will see the	
25			implementation.	14:47
26		Α.	Mm hmm.	
27	399	Q.	Then in 2 you refer to the conduct of the foreign	
28			affairs, but if you read 2 you will see that it is	
29			actually circumscribed: "Information with respect to a	

Τ			foreign power or foreign territory". So it's a foreign	
2			power or foreign territory that relates to the conduct	
3			of the foreign affairs?	
4		Α.	"That relates to" is an extremely broad term and	
5			"information with respect to a foreign power or a	14:47
6			foreign territory", I don't see that as a significant	
7			constraint on the foreign affairs prong under 2.	
8	400	Q.	Okay. What sort of connector do you think should be	
9			used instead of "relates to", do you think it would be	
10			appropriate to have a narrower connector there?	14:47
11		Α.	I think it would be appropriate to narrow the	
12			definition of foreign intelligence information more	
13			broadly to a more concrete set of objectives that are	
14			more analogous to what's set forth under 1 at the very	
15			least.	14:48
16	401	Q.	Firstly, I suggest to you that while it's described in	
17			those terms, it is in and of itself a restraint on the	
18			use of these powers; isn't that correct? That's	
19			something that is a curtailment or restraint on the use	
20			of the powers?	14:48
21		Α.	The powers don't exist outside of the statute because	
22			the Fourth Amendment would be the fundamental	
23			constraint on government actions. So the government is	
24			constrained and then the government under this statute	
25			is authorised to collect foreign intelligence	14:48
26			information in certain circumstances and under Section	
27			702 those circumstances are extraordinarily broad and	
28			the standard is very permissive.	
29	402	Q.	Just as we're on this, are you aware of the statutory	

1			basis for any other country and how it defines what its	
2			national security services can do?	
3		Α.	I am not.	
4	403	Q.	No. Are you aware whether any other country, with the	
5			recent exception of the United Kingdom, make available	14:49
6			the statutory basis for its foreign intelligence	
7			gathering?	
8		Α.	I am not.	
9	404	Q.	No. And here the United States sets out the basis on	
10			which these powers can be exercised in a statute in	14:49
11			relation to Section 702; isn't that correct?	
12		Α.	Section 702 is a statutory authority, it's a very broad	
13			grant of authority and in some ways the devil is in the	
14			details because the statute contemplates minimisation	
15			procedures and targeting procedures and, as we have	14:49
16			established, the government has not officially	
17			acknowledged the precise targeting procedures in full,	
18			although there have been some official government	
19			acknowledgments about aspects of those targeting	
20			procedures.	14:49
21				
22			I would also note that, even more than 702, Executive	
23			Order 12333 is an extremely broad grant of authority	
24			that conducts surveillance and that executive order is	
25			not a statutory law, it was not passed by Congress and	14:50
26			it can be revoked or amended by the executive at will	
27			at any time.	
28	405	Q.	I'll come, don't worry, Ms. Gorski, to 12333, we'll	
29			look at that, but if you don't mind it might just	

1	assist if we look at Section 702 at the moment which is
2	what my questions are directed to. And you did say
3	that the targeting procedures in the statute were very
4	broad; isn't that correct?

6

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A. The targeting procedures that I have seen from 2009 and 14:50 my understanding of the targeting procedures as described by the PCLOB, yes, the targeting procedures are very broad and the overall standard for targeting, which is articulated in the statute, is a very broad standard.

- 11 406 Q. But you do acknowledge a distinction and your answers
  12 do acknowledge a distinction between the broad
  13 targeting basis provided for in the statute and the
  14 targeting procedures that are actually used, details of
  15 which you're not aware of?
- The targeting procedures that are actually used conform 16 Α. to the standard set forth in the statute. They do not 17 significantly restrain. They don't in any way 18 19 substantively change the underlining standard which is 20 the government reasonably believes that a non-US person 14:51 21 located broad is the target of the communication and a 22 significant purpose is to acquire for intelligence information. That substantive standard is unchanged by 23 24 the targeting procedures. What the targeting 25 procedures do is provide some examples of the types of 26 appropriate targeting and set forth some specific 27 documentation requirements.
- 28 407 Q. Yes. And if you go to page 41 of the report there is a description of the targeting procedures, that's the

1			PCLOB report divide 11 of book 7. And I'm not going to	
2			waste time on this	
3			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Sorry, what's the page again?	
4			MR. GALLAGHER: It's page 41, Judge, but there's just a	
5			few passages I want to draw your attention to. And it	14:52
6			says how they go about targeting and if you go to page	
7			42, the last paragraph:	
8				
9			"Section 702 targeting begins when an NSA analyst	
10			discovers or is informed of a foreign intelligence	14:52
11			lead, specifically information indicating that a	
12			particular person may possess or receive the types of	
13			foreign intelligence information described within one	
14			of the Section 702 certifications."	
15		Α.	Yes.	14:52
16	408	Q.	And then it goes over the page to explain that:	
17				
18			"Having identified a potential person to target through	
19			the tasking of a selector, the NSA analyst must then	
20			apply the targeting procedures. These procedures	14:52
21			require the NSA analyst to make a determination	
22			regarding the assessed location and non-US person	
23			status of the potential target, whether the target	
24			possesses or is likely to communicate or receive	
25			foreign intelligence information authorised and	14:53
26			approved."	
27				
28			You see that?	
29		Α.	Mm hmm. I don't see oh, "authorised under and	

- 1 approved".
- 2 409 Q. Yes. "Authorised under and approved, excuse me,
- 3 certification"?
- 4 A. Yes.
- 5 410 Q. Then if you go to the next paragraph, it talks about an 14:53
- 6 initial review. It describes, I don't want to take the
- 7 court's time, that the initial review then is reviewed
- 8 again; isn't that correct, by a superior? You are
- familiar with all of this, Ms. Gorski, aren't you?
- 10 A. I am familiar with this. I am just wondering about the 14:53
- second review (witness reading the document). Could
- 12 you please point me to the specific sentence concerning
- the second review of the foreignness determination.
- 14 411 Q. Would you go to "approvals" on page 46: "Once analysts
- 15 have documented their determination in a NSA database

14:54

- the tasking request undergoes two layers of review
- 17 before Section 702 acquisition is initiated", do you
- 18 see that?
- 19 A. Yes.
- 20 412 Q. "Two different senior NSA analysts must review the
- 21 documentation"?
- 22 A. Yes.
- 23 413 Q. So that's a very detailed description of the targeting
- 24 procedure, isn't it?
- 25 A. It's a somewhat detailed description of the targeting
- 26 procedures and it makes clear that the ultimate
- 27 standard articulated on the face of the statute is
- unchanged by the targeting procedures.
- 29 414 Q. Nobody is suggesting, I don't think anybody thought,

2			statute?	
3		Α.	Hmm.	
4	415	Q.	But it identifies that, notwithstanding the statutory	
5			power, there is a very detailed procedure that is	14:54
6			actually documented in respect of each targeting	
7			exercise?	
8		Α.	Respectfully I do feel that your questions previously	
9			suggested that the targeting procedures themselves	
10			substantially constrain the actual targeting decisions.	14:54
11	416	Q.	I see.	
12		Α.	And I just wanted to point out that here it's very	
13			clear that the standard articulated on the face of the	
14			statute is the standard that applies to the targeting	
15			decisions.	14:54
16	417	Q.	Well, do you think it's entirely accurate then to say	
17			as you do in that paragraph of your report,	
18			paragraph 21, that the government has not made public	
19			its Section 702 targeting procedures?	
20		Α.	It is accurate that the targeting procedures	14:55
21			themselves, the actual targeting procedures have not	
22			been officially acknowledged. The document that I cite	
23			is the targeting procedures that the government has	
24			published and it has full redacted the content of those	
25			procedures. However, as I have explained in my	14:55
26			testimony here, and as I think is reflected in the	
27			memorandum that the experts collectively put together,	
28			official government documents have described portions	
29			of those targeting procedures and the 2009 version of	

1			the targeting procedures is publically available,	
2			although not officially acknowledged.	
3	418	Q.	Well, that's a description of the targeting procedures	
4			that you yourself said was quite detailed; isn't that	
5			correct?	14:55
6		Α.	Which description of the targeting procedures?	
7	419	Q.	The one that I opened, pages 41 to 45.	
8		Α.	I don't know that I agree that it was quite detailed.	
9			It provides some detail about portions of the targeting	
10			procedures, yes.	14:56
11	420	Q.	And when you talk about the other detail, you're	
12			talking about perhaps operational details with regard	
13			to the particular selectors used; is that correct?	
14		Α.	No, I'm talking about specific, more specific	
15			instructions in the 2009 targeting procedures. I'm not	14:56
16			referring to the selection of, I'm not talking about	
17			particular selectors.	
18	421	Q.	Yes. And you wouldn't expect that to be published, but	
19			what you would expect or, sorry, not expect, but what	
20			is published here is a description of the process that	14:56
21			is involved, a very careful process before a directive	
22			is issued; isn't that correct?	
23		Α.	I would not characterise the process as necessarily	
24			very careful. I do appreciate that there are levels of	
25			executive branch review but this is surveillance that	14:56
26			is not, there are no individualised determinations made	
27			by a judge ex ante and these are targeting decisions	
28			that are made entirely within the discretion of the	
29			executive branch. And yes, that's all.	

1	422	Q.	And of course those targeting procedures describe not
2			only PRISM but Upstream; isn't that correct?

- 3 Yes, the targeting procedures are also not specific to Α. 4 either programme. And they are not, based on my 5 understanding from, not the PCLOB report but a 14:57 6 different one. There are not different targeting procedures for different certifications, which again 7 8 I think speaks to the ways in which the targeting procedures wouldn't operate as a meaningful constraint 9 10 on the surveillance given that they are not tailored to 14:57 11 the type of surveillance conducted.
- 12 423 Q. And you are aware that within the NSA there are
  13 dedicated legal divisions who have responsibility in
  14 relation to reviewing and guiding in relation to these
  15 processes; isn't that correct?

- 16 A. The NSA does have in-house lawyers.
- 17 424 Q. And it has a very substantial compliance section; isn't that correct?
- 19 A. I don't know that I would characterise it as
  20 substantial, but it does have a compliance section, or 14:58
  21 it has an inspector -- it has an office of the
  22 inspector general.
- MR. GALLAGHER: Yes. Can I now ask you to look at the document it's more easily found, Judge, in Book 13, Book 1 of 13, there's a more complete version.

  Ms. Gorski has included the main body of the adequacy decision but not the annexes in her book, so I would ask that the witness be given Book 13-1, if I may, if she has it already.

1			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: My books only go up to 12,	
2			I think.	
3			MR. GALLAGHER: No, Book 13. Sorry, it's called Irish	
4			and EU authorities, Book 1, sorry, I do apologise.	
5		Α.	I have core US law materials.	14:58
6			MR. GALLAGHER: No. Ms. Gorski, there's one on	
7			European materials, I am sure somebody can provide you	
8			with a copy of that, if you don't mind. (SAME HANDED	
9			TO THE WITNESS)	
10		Α.	Thank you.	14:59
11			MR. GALLAGHER: And if you'd be kind enough to go to	
12			divide 13 and you have a copy of the adequacy decision	
13			that you certainly consulted because, as we have	
14			established, you refer to paragraph 75 of the recitals,	
15			and I want to draw your attention to paragraph 81.	14:59
16			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Mr. Gallagher, is this the one	
17			that is implementing decision 12th July 2016?	
18			MR. GALLAGHER: That's correct. Thank you, Judge. And	
19			in paragraph 81, it refers in the second sentence:	
20				14:59
21			"As for Section 702 FISA, which provides the basis for	
22			two important intelligence programs run by the US	
23			intelligence, PRISM and Upstream, searches are carried	
24			out in a targeted manner through the use of individual	
25			selectors that identify specific communication	15:00
26			facilities."	
27				
28	425	Q.	And it gives examples. Do you see that?	
29		Α.	Yes.	

1	426	Q.	Then it is overseen by the sorry, excuse me. It	
2			says: "Therefore, as noted by the PCLOB, surveillance	
3			'consists entirely of targeting specific non-US person	
4			about whom an individualised determination has been	
5			made'", do you see that?	15:00
6		Α.	Yes.	
7	427	Q.	And in 82 it says: "Moreover, in its representations	
8			the US government has given the European Commission	
9			explicit assurance that the US Intelligence Community	
10			'does not engage in indiscriminate surveillance of	15:00
11			anyone, including ordinary European citizens'. As	
12			regards personal data collected within the US, this	
13			statement is supported by empirical evidence which	
14			shows that access through NSL and under FISA, both	
15			individually and together, only concern a relatively	15:00
16			small number of targets when compared to the overall	
17			flow of data."	
18				
19			You saw those paragraphs when you looked at the	
20			decision, I take it?	15:01
21		Α.	Yes, and I have some concerns about particular	
22			formulations in those paragraphs.	
23	428	Q.	I see. You don't accept what the US government told	
24			the European Commission then?	
25		Α.	Well, I would like to begin first with paragraph 81.	15:01
26			There's a reference to the "targeting of specific	
27			non-US persons about whom an individualised	
28			determination has been made". An important context	
29			there is that the individualised determination is made	

- entirely by the executive branch, it's not an individualised determination by a court.
- 3 429 Q. I think --
- A. Separately, in connection with paragraph 82, I disagree
  with the US government's representation that it does
  not engage in indiscriminate surveillance of anyone,
  including ordinary European citizens.
- 8 430 Q. I see.
- 9 As noted previously I -- Upstream surveillance clearly Α. involves bulk searching and that bulk searching is a 10 15:01 11 form of indiscriminate surveillance. In addition, under Executive Order 12333, as we know from the 12 definitions in Presidential Policy Directive 28, the 13 14 government even acknowledges that it engages in bulk 15 collection. And more generally because the targeting 15:02 16 standard is so low, I think that that is of real 17 concern and certainly ordinary European citizens' communications are swept up by the vast US surveillance 18 19 apparatus.
- 20 431 Q. I take it from that, Ms. Gorski, you might think that 15:02

  the Commission must not have understood the reference

  to individual determinations and must have thought

  there was a court involved, is that what you -- are you

  suggesting that?

25 A. I'm not suggesting that the Commission misunderstood 26 individualised determination. I was just clarifying 27 for the court here to provide additional context for 28 that statement. And then, with respect to paragraph 29 82, this also, it's access request through NSL and

1			under FISA individually and together. I'm not sure	
2			exactly what the court means by "access requests". Oh	
3			here it cites the statistical transparency report.	
4			Okay, so these are requests for information that has	
5			been stored, not surveillance in realtime. And so	15:03
6			empirical evidence about surveillance of stored	
7			communications, it doesn't, it's not enough, it's not	
8			the proper comparator when you are looking at	
9			collection under Section 702 as a whole which	
10			incorporates both surveillance of stored communications	15:03
11			and surveillance in realtime of communications as they	
12			are transiting cables.	
13	432	Q.	Ms. Gorski, could I ask you to perhaps continue on in	
14			that document. The pagination is perhaps sometimes	
15			difficult to detect, but it's visible on the top left	15:04
16			or right-hand side. And if you went to paragraph	
17			page 98, sorry. You can see it's L207. And if it's on	
18			the left-hand page, it's on the left-hand side at the	
19			top and if it's on the right-hand page, it's on the	
20			right-hand side. L207/98. And it's part of the letter	15:04
21			of Robert Litt. Have you got it? The heading is	
22			Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act?	
23		Α.	Yes. I don't see could I just, I just want to make	
24			sure that this <i>is</i> the letter of Robert Litt, that	
25			that's the header for the letter.	15:05
26	433	Q.	Yes, if you go back to 91.	
27		Α.	Great. Thank you very much.	

434 Q. And if you look at the first paragraph:

28

1			"Collection under Section 702 of the FISA is not mass	
2			and indiscriminate, but is narrowly focused."	
3				
4			Do you see that?	
5		Α.	Yes.	15:05
6	435	Q.	Then the next:	
7				
8			"Collection under Section 702 is one of the most	
9			valuable sources of intelligence both for the United	
10			States protecting both the United States and our	15:05
11			European partners."	
12				
13			And:	
14				
15			"Extensive information of the operational oversight of	15:05
16			Section 702 is publicly available."	
17				
18			Do you see that?	
19		Α.	I do see that.	
20	436	Q.	Then just at the last paragraph of the page:	15:05
21				
22			"Once the court approves the targeting and minimisation	
23			procedures, collection under Section 702 is not bulk or	
24			indiscriminate, but consists entirely of targeting	
25			specific persons about whom an individualised	15:06
26			determination has been made."	
27				
28			And it's making clear what the process is, isn't that	
29			correct?	

1		Α.	That is what the text says. I would want to respond to	
2			the text.	
3	437	Q.	Okay. Well, I'll give you an opportunity in a moment.	
4			If you go over the page, at the very top, the first	
5			sentence:	15:06
6				
7			"The basis for the selection of the target must be	
8			documented. The documentation for every selector is	
9			subsequently reviewed by the Department of Justice."	
10				15:06
11			You see that?	
12		Α.	I do see that. My concern at the outset with the fact	
13			that collection under 702 is not mass and	
14			indiscriminate is the following: The information that	
15			is ultimately collected under 702 is collected through	15:06
16			the use of targeted selectors; however, because the	
17			targeting standard is so low and because there is such	
18			a vast number of targets, I think it is still fair to	
19			say that collection under Section 702 is mass	
20			surveillance.	15:07
21				
22			Now, because the collection uses discriminants, the	
23			selectors discriminants, it may be correct that	
24			collection under 702 is not indiscriminate, that that's	
25			pertaining solely to the end product, to the collection	15:07
26			itself. But the process by which the collection	
27			occurs, which involves bulk searching under Upstream	
28			surveillance, that searching is a kind of	
29			indiscriminate searching.	

1				
2			So I think collection should be understood more broadly	
3			to refer to the entire collection process, which does	
4			include indiscriminate searching under Upstream	
5			surveillance under Section 702. However, even applying	15:07
6			a narrower definition of "collection" where you're only	
7			referring to the communications that are acquired for	
8			long-term use, I would still characterise "collection"	
9			under Section 702 as mass collection.	
10	438	Q.	I think that's how you've characterised it in the	15:07
11			various publications that I drew your attention to this	
12			morning, isn't that correct?	
13		Α.	That's how I've characterised it in my report and	
14	439	Q.	Yeah.	
15		Α.	I would need to refer back to the specific language.	15:08
16	440	Q.	Okay. Well, we won't delay on that. And I think	
17			you're giving a lecture this evening on mass	
18			surveillance, isn't that correct?	
19		Α.	Yes.	
20	441	Q.	And your view of this process, for the reasons that you	15:08
21			have said, is that it involves mass surveillance?	
22		Α.	Yes.	
23	442	Q.	But irrespective of your description or	
24			characterisation of it, if you wanted to get, as an	
25			expert, an up to date description of the process as of	15:08
26			July 2016, shortly before you were doing your	
27			affidavit, you could have taken the description that	
28			the United States government has formally and solemnly	
29			given to the European Commission to explain to the	

L court	how 1	that	system	operates,	isn't	that	correct?
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- A. I realise that this is a source that I *could* have cited. However, I do think that this is not the most
- direct source, because it is filtered through the
- 5 European Commission's understanding of what the
- 6 surveillance practices are. I would also note that the

15:09

15:09

- 7 paragraph we were discussing earlier had an inapposite
- 8 example related to access requests and that's under
- 9 NSL and FISA and as I noted, that wasn't the proper
- 10 comparator. So I think that it would not have been
- appropriate for my expert report to just quote the
- 12 European Commission's interpretation of US law at
- length.
- 14 443 Q. Well, we were talking there about Robert Litt, who I
- think is the General Counsel of the NSA, is that right? 15:09
- 16 A. Oh, I'm sorry, here we're back at --
- 17 444 Q. Well, that's what we were on, I think, Ms. Gorski. I'm
- sorry if I didn't make that clear.
- 19 A. Excuse me, we're back in the letter, not in the
- 20 European Commission's decision.
- 21 445 Q. No, we hadn't gone back to it. I will just stick with
- the letter, which is what you were commenting on.
- 23 A. Yes. And I do, I appreciate Robert Litt is under a
- 24 solemn obligation to describe this surveillance in a
- way that he believes is accurate. I disagree with his
- 26 characterisation of surveillance conducted under
- 27 Section 702.
- 28 446 Q. So you could've offered to the court, as an expert,
- 29 that description as being the correct description and

		then you could've explained to the court, while it does	
		not say that the collection is indiscriminate and mass,	
		you disagree with that for the following reasons. You	
		could've offered your evidence on that basis, isn't	
		that correct?	15:10
	Α.	I could have began with Robert Litt's description, but	
		because I disagree with it, I did not see this as the	
		appropriate frame for presenting this evidence. And	
		the US Government certainly has an interest in	
		characterising its surveillance in a particular way in	15:10
		the context of the privacy shield.	
447	Q.	But as an expert, nobody is stopping you identifying	
		your disagreement. What I suggested is you could've	
		said 'This is the description of it and I disagree with	
		it in the following respects'. Isn't that correct?	15:10
	Α.	I would be reluctant to characterise this as the	
		definitive description of US Government surveillance.	
		It is one description put forth by one government	
		official of US Government surveillance. It includes	
		characterisations that I disagree with.	15:11
448	Q.	Well, you're describing Mr. Litt now as <i>one</i> government	
		official?	
	Α.	He is one government official.	
449	Q.	I see. But you did say that he is somebody, General	
		Counsel of the NSA, who might be taken to understand	15:11
		the system and that he was under a solemn obligation to	
		identify how it operated, isn't that correct?	
	Α.	I think he was a General Counsel of the Office of the	
		Director of National Intelligence.	
	448	447 Q.  448 Q.  449 Q.	not say that the collection is indiscriminate and mass, you disagree with that for the following reasons. You could've offered your evidence on that basis, isn't that correct?  A. I could have began with Robert Litt's description, but because I disagree with it, I did not see this as the appropriate frame for presenting this evidence. And the US Government certainly has an interest in characterising its surveillance in a particular way in the context of the privacy shield.  447 Q. But as an expert, nobody is stopping you identifying your disagreement. What I suggested is you could've said 'This is the description of it and I disagree with it in the following respects'. Isn't that correct?  A. I would be reluctant to characterise this as the definitive description of US Government surveillance. It is one description put forth by one government official of US Government surveillance. It includes characterisations that I disagree with.  448 Q. Well, you're describing Mr. Litt now as one government official?  A. He is one government official.  449 Q. I see. But you did say that he is somebody, General Counsel of the NSA, who might be taken to understand the system and that he was under a solemn obligation to identify how it operated, isn't that correct?  A. I think he was a General Counsel of the Office of the

1	450	Q.	Sorry, of the Director of National Intelligence,	
2			exactly.	
3		Α.	I assume that he was under a solemn obligation to	
4			describe the surveillance accurately. But this also	
5			includes his characterisations of the surveillance with	15:1
6			which I disagree.	
7	451	Q.	And instead you choose to base your description in	
8			significant part on descriptions in the media, isn't	
9			that correct?	
10		Α.	I don't believe it's accurate to say that my	15:1
11			description of the surveillance is based in significant	
12			part on descriptions in the media. Certainly those	
13			descriptions played a role in the creation of my expert	
14			report. But my opinion is also based in large part on	
15			government disclosures concerning the surveillance.	15:1
16	452	Q.	Well, if not significant, material part on media	
17			publications, isn't that correct?	
18		Α.	The Snowden disclosures and accompanying press accounts	
19			and other press accounts were a material part of my	
20			expert report, yes.	15:1
21	453	Q.	And if you're basing it on a government explanation,	
22			this is the most up to date government explanation by	
23			the person who is General Counsel of the Office of	
24			Director of National Intelligence, responsible for all	
25			these agencies, isn't that correct?	15:1
26		Α.	There are other government documents that have been	
27			released subsequent to this concerning Section 702	
28			surveillance, but your question was framed as to	

whether this is the most up to date statement by Robert

1			Litt. I know that Robert Litt gives many talks and	
2			speeches and it's possible that a transcript of those	
3			speeches exists and there's a more recent statement on	
4			surveillance.	
5	454	Q.	All right. Well, you're not aware of any more recent	15:13
6			statements that contradict the explanation he's given	
7			here, are you?	
8		Α.	No.	
9	455	Q.	So the most recent readily available statement is that	
10			provided by Robert Litt, the General Counsel of the	15:13
11			ODNI?	
12		Α.	If your question is: Is the most recent statement of	
13			the General Counsel of the ODNI this statement, then I	
14			would say I believe so, barring other significant	
15			statements in other contexts.	15:13
16	456	Q.	And as an expert, as you say, owing a duty to the	
17			court, do you agree it would at least have been	
18			appropriate, in your report, to draw the court's	
19			attention to this description, disagreeing with it if	
20			you want, contradicting it, qualifying it, but that	15:13
21			that's the way your evidence should have been presented	
22			on this issue of practice?	
23		Α.	I don't have any particular regrets about how my	
24			evidence was presented. I think I presented it in a	
25			way that was fair and intended to help the court. And	15:14

27

28

29

sources.

this was not an intentional omission, I just did not

to the court, given my reliance on other government

see this as a source that was worth raising in context

1	457	Q.	I'm sorry, a source not worth raising to the court,	
2			what you said was the most up to date statement? Just	
3			to understand that?	
4		Α.	Up to date statement of Robert Litt.	
5	458	Q.	Yes. And that wasn't worth mentioning to the court?	15:14
6		Α.	I did not see this as an essential aspect of I did	
7			not see this particular representation as an essential	
8			aspect of my expert report. I'm also I'm not I	
9			would want to be 100% sure I didn't cite it at all. I	
10			may have cited it at the end of the report when I was	15:14
11			discussing the privacy shield Ombudsperson. But that	
12			may have just been to the Kerry letter describing the	
13			Ombudsperson.	
14	459	Q.	Well, you told us earlier that was just the separate	
15			agreement in the letter. But you did go to the trouble	15:15
16			of citing one passage in your report, and that's	
17			paragraph 75. And I want to ask you to look at 36.	
18			Paragraph 36 of <i>your</i> report, sorry. And keep open the	
19			Adequacy Decision that we're dealing with. And you	
20			purport to quote from the report in paragraph 36. You	15:15
21			say:	
22				
23			"Indeed, as observed by the European Commission in its	
24			Privacy Shield Adequacy Decision, the US Government may	
25			access EU citizens' personal data 'outside the United	15:15
26			States, including during their transit on the	
27			transatlantic cables from Union to the United States'."	
28				
29			Do you see that?	

1		Α.	Yes.	
2	460	Q.	So that's paragraph 75. 81 is on the opposite page.	
3			And if you go back to paragraph 75 you'll see what the	
4			Commission actually say:	
5				15:16
6			"These limitations are particularly relevant to	
7			personal data transferred under the EU-US Privacy	
8			Shield. In particular, in case collection of personal	
9			data were to take place outside the United States,	
10			including during their transit on the transatlantic	15:16
11			cable from the Union to the United States, as is	
12			confirmed by US authorities in the representation of	
13			the ODNI, the limitations and safeguards set out	
14			therein, including those PPD28, apply to such	
15			collection."	15:16
16				
17			There's no	
18			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Mr. Gallagher, I'm sorry, where	
19			were you quoting from?	
20			MR. GALLAGHER: Oh, 75 of the Adequacy Decision.	15:16
21			I do apologise.	
22			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Now, hang on. I've got	
23			Mr. Litt's letter, and that's page 98.	
24			MR. GALLAGHER: I'm terribly sorry, this is on	
25			page 16.	15:16
26			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Oh, right back at the beginning?	
27			MR. GALLAGHER: Way back. Sorry.	
28			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Thank you. I beg your pardon.	
29	461	0.	MR. GALLAGHER: That is not confirming that it	

1	takes place, but it says in case it takes place, isn't
2	that correct?

- A. In particular, in case of -- yes. And that's correct in part, because the government's official acknowledgments about surveillance under Executive Order 12333 have been somewhat limited, so I'm assuming that the government perceived this, the US Government perceived this to be --
- 9 462 Q. Classified.
- -- an operational detail and so the European 10 Α. 15:17 11 Commission was not permitted to confirm or deny the 12 nature of that surveillance. But it has been documented extensively in numerous media accounts. And 13 14 surveillance under 12333 includes not only this kind of 15 wire surveillance on transatlantic cables from the EU 15:17 to the US, but also includes the collection of billions 16 17 of cellphone location records, address lists, buddy lists, contents of communications, financial 18 19 transactions, the list goes on and on. Basically, any 20 kind of data that you can imagine collecting in bulk, 15:18 21 the US Government is collecting under EO 12333, as 22 described in numerous media accounts.
- 23 463 Q. But I think you know the question I'm asking, and you
  24 have acknowledged it; the Commission doesn't provide
  25 for confirmation that that takes place in terms of the 15:18
  26 undersea cable, isn't that correct?
- A. It does say "In case collection of personal data were to take place." But it contemplates a very specific hypothetical that I'm imagining was not drawn up out of

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1	thin	aıı.

2 464 Q. Yeah. But you said the Commission was unable to
3 confirm that, is what you said in your answer a few
4 moments ago. But that's not how it's expressed in the
5 report, isn't that correct?

15:18

15:19

- I'm not sure whether the European Commission was unable 6 Α. 7 to confirm that. That would be my supposition based on 8 this phrasing. But my report says the US Government may access EU citizens' personal data. And I think the 9 Commission's statement is entirely consistent with 10 11 that; it recognises that the US Government may, in 12 certain cases, collect personal data outside of the United States. If the US Government did not have this 13 14 capacity and if it were not using this capacity, this 15 sentence wouldn't exist.
- 16 465 Q. Well, what you're saying is the US Government could
  17 access data outside the United States *wherever* it is,
  18 is that what you're saying?
- A. I can't speak to the full breadth of the US
  Government's data access capabilities outside of the
  US, but they are significant, including on
  transatlantic cables from the EU to the US.
- 23 466 Q. And that involves a situation where there's *no* transfer of data to the US, isn't that correct?
- A. No, this specific hypothetical concerns the transfer of 15:19

  data from the EU to the US and the US Government is

  intercepting it *off* US soil but as the data is being

  transferred from the EU to the US. So again, if the

  question put forth by the Court of Justice in <u>Schrems</u>

- 1 for operative issue is whether the US ensures an 2 adequate level of protection for data that is 3 transferred to the US then this kind of surveillance is pertinent to the inquiry. 4 5 What I'm suggesting to you is that this capacity under 467 Q. 6 Executive Order 12333 applies to data *outside* the US, as opposed to data *transferred* to the US. 7 Isn't that 8 correct? This capacity applies to data that is being transferred 9 Α. to the US. This capacity also applies to surveillance 10 15:20 11 that takes place wholly outside of the US and doesn't 12 involve data being transferred to the US at all. what is contemplated by this paragraph is data 13 14 transferred from the EU to US. The collection does not 15 take place on US soil, if that's the relevant 15:20 16 distinction that you're getting at. However, under 17 E012333, as noted earlier, there is an exception for some kinds of foreign to foreign communications that 18 19 transit US soil - the government can, under E012333, 20 intercept those communications on US soil as well. 15:20 468 If you look at paragraph 27 of your report, you say: Q. "E012333 is the primary authority under which the NSA
- 21 22 23 gathers foreign intelligence".

- 24 Yes. Α.
- How can you say it's the primary authority? 25 469 Q.
- 26 That's based on an NSA document that we obtained Α. 27 through the Freedom of Information Act.
- characterised it in those terms. 28
- 29 Is that the basis on which it acquires territory 470 Q.

1			outside the USA?	
2		Α.	Could you please repeat the question? I believe you	
3			said "acquires territory"?	
4	471	Q.	The reference to primary territory, is that a reference	
5			to acquiring intelligence outside of the USA?	15:21
6		Α.	That is a reference to acquiring intelligence, the	
7			acquisition taking place off US soil. I did not intend	
8			to suggest that transit authority on US soil is the	
9			primary means of gathering foreign intelligence.	
10	472	Q.	In relation to the operation of 12333, again you're	15:22
11			aware of the explanation that's provided of that in the	
12			Adequacy Decision and the annexes that are attached to	
13			the Adequacy Decision, is that correct?	
14		Α.	I know there's a discussion of I know Litt	
15			discusses, Mr. Litt discusses PPD-28. And PPD-28	15:22
16			applies most directly to 12333, so I'm assuming there's	
17			a discussion of 12333 there. But I can't offhand point	
18			to the particular paragraph in which 12333 is	
19			discussed. I would need a citation.	
20	473	Q.	Just in relation to PPD-28, did you consider what was	15:22
21			said in that context in the Adequacy Decision?	
22		Α.	What was said by the European Commission or what was	
23			said by Mr. Litt?	
24	474	Q.	Either.	
25		Α.	I reviewed those materials. My analysis in the report	15:23
26			is based primarily on the text of PPD-28 itself, which	
27			is fairly straightforward.	
28	475	Q.	Well, just in relation to the text that you quote in	
29			your report, you don't actually quote the full	

1			provisions that you cite of PPD-28, isn't that correct?	
2		Α.	In the interests of	
3	476	Q.	If you have PPD-28? It's in divide eight or five,	
4			sorry.	
5		Α.	In the interests of brevity, I did not use block	15:23
6			quotations in discussing, for example, the principles	
7			under PPD-28. I accurately summarise, however, the	
8			constraints on the use of information acquired in bulk.	
9	477	Q.	Okay.	
10		Α.	The tab number for PPD-28?	15:24
11	478	Q.	Is divide five.	
12		Α.	Five. Thank you.	
13	479	Q.	And you, in paragraph 40 of your report, cite the broad	
14			principles. And the first principle you cite is:	
15				15:24
16			"The US shall not collect signals intelligence for the	
17			purpose of suppressing or burdening criticism or	
18			dissent or for disadvantaging persons based on their	
19			ethnicity, race, gender, sexual orientation or	
20			religion."	15:24
21				
22			You see that?	
23		Α.	Yes, that is a principle I cite.	
24	480	Q.	Well, when you go to page three of divide five, you'll	
25			see that there's an important sentence that's not	15:24
26			referred to by you. And that is the sentence:	
27				
28			"Privacy and civil liberties shall be integral	
29			considerations in the planning of US signals	

intelligence.	"
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24

1

3 I take it you agree that's an important sentence? Frankly, I disagree. That was not an intentional 4 Α. omission, but looking at this now, the principles are 5 15:25 6 very broad and the principles themselves, without -because they don't contain implementing regulations and 7 8 specific strictures, it's very difficult to know how the principles will be implemented. In this first 9 sentence, "Privacy and civil liberties shall be 10 15:25 11 integral considerations in the planning of US signals intelligence activities", it's extremely difficult to 12 understand what "integral considerations" means when 13 14 the same document acknowledges and effectively ratifies 15 the US Government's engagement in bulk collection of 15:25 16 communications. Those two things seem to me 17 dramatically inconsistent.

18 481 Q. I think it's a historic reference to the integral
19 nature of privacy and civil liberties in the context of
20 foreign intelligence, isn't it, and was so recognised? 15:25
21 A. I don't know whether this is some kind of historical

- A. I don't know whether this is some kind of historical reference. But it does not function as a meaningful constraint on the US Government's foreign intelligence gathering exercise.
- 25 482 Q. Sorry, my question was badly phrased. Its *inclusion* in 15:26
  26 the procedures *governing* the collection of foreign
  27 intelligence is a *historical* matter there is no
  28 precedent for it that you're aware anywhere else, is
  29 that correct?

1		Α.	I think that there for this, this particular
2			proposition, no. I think there is some precedent for
3			the proposition that signals intelligence should not be
4			conducted solely for the purposes of burdening First
5			Amendment rights - now, this is a slightly different 15:26
6			proposition.
7	483	Q.	It is, yeah.
8		Α.	And the first statement that privacy and civil

- A. And the first statement that privacy and civil
  liberties shall be integral considerations in the
  planning of it doesn't even say "in the execution",
  but in the planning of signals intelligence
  activities, I am not aware of that statement existing
  in other government documents, no.
- If you go to the next item on your 40: "The collection 14 484 Q. 15 of foreign private commercial information or trade 16 secrets is authorised only to protect the national 17 security of the US." You omit the second sentence in (c): "It is not an authorised foreign intelligence or 18 19 counterintelligence purpose to collect such information to afford a competitive advantage." Do you see that? 20

15:27

15:27

21 A. Yes.

22 485 Q. And in the next one, where you say: "Signals
23 intelligence activities." And if you go to (d), you
24 omit the last sentence: "Such appropriate and feasible
25 alternatives to signals intelligence should be
26 prioritised." Do you see that?

27 A. Yes. Frankly, I don't think, given the breadth of the 28 US Government's signals intelligence activities, that 29 diplomatic and public sources constitute a significant

Τ			proportion of the information acquired, given that	
2			again, as acknowledged in PPD-28 itself, the government	
3			engages in bulk surveillance. So I agree, I think my	
4			statement oh, I do know "the US shall consider the	
5			availability of other information, including from	15:28
6			diplomatic and public sources." And I think that	
7			captures the critical part of principle (d).	
8	486	Q.	Yeah. "Should be prioritised" I think is what (d)	
9			said, isn't that correct?	
10		Α.	"Should be" yes, it uses the words "should be	15:28
11			prioritised".	
12	487	Q.	" <i>Prioritised</i> ", yeah.	
13		Α.	Yes.	
14	488	Q.	And if you go to the bottom of the page of PPD-28:	
15				15:28
16			"3. In particular, when the United States collects	
17			non-publicly available signals intelligence in bulk, it	
18			shall use the data only for the purposes of detecting	
19			and countering the espionage and other threats and	
20			activities directed by foreign powers or their	15:29
21			intelligence services against the US and its	
22			interests."	
23				
24			And those matters are referred to in paragraph 42 of	
25			your report, isn't that correct?	15:29
26		Α.	Yes, they're referred to in paragraph 42.	
27	489	Q.	And I take it that you agree that all of those purposes	
28			are important purposes, do you?	
29		Α.	Again, these purposes in a vacuum are arguably	

1			important purposes. But it's important to consider	
2			these purposes in context. Here, the government is	
3			saying it can use information collected in bulk - a	
4			violation of the essence of the right to privacy - it	
5			can use that information to advance these purposes,	15:29
6			which, while important, are also collectively broadly	
7			defined.	
8	490	Q.	Then if you go on, on the PPD at page five it sets out	
9			safeguarding personal information collected through	
10			signals intelligence.	15:30
11		Α.	Yes.	
12	491	Q.	And sets out procedures. Now, can I ask you to go then	
13			to the Litt letter at page 91 in that same divide, in	
14			book one of the European authorities, divide 13?	
15			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: I'm sorry, Mr. Gallagher, what	15:30
16			was that again?	
17			MR. GALLAGHER: It's the Adequacy Decision and	
18			the Litt letter, but this time it's at page 91 of that	
19			document, Judge.	
20			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Oh, yes.	15:30
21	492	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: And that gives an explanation	
22			and more detail with regard to PPD-28, isn't that	
23			correct?	
24		Α.	I don't know that it gives more detail, but it gives an	
25			explanation of PPD-28.	15:31
26	493	Q.	And I suggest to you that those principles are,	
27			contrary to what you say in your report, certainly a	
28			material limitation on the powers under EO12333.	
29		Α.	Some of the principles are technically limitations. I	

1			don't think that these are <i>significant</i> limitations,	
2			again given the fact that PPD-28 itself ratifies the	
3			practice of bulk surveillance. And I do think that	
4			there are other parts of PPD-28 that are more	
5			significant limitations than these principles.	15:32
6	494	Q.	And you made the point that that is a Presidential	
7			Directive. But (A) it's in existence and (B) it's part	
8			of the arrangement that was reached with the European	
9			Union, isn't that correct?	
10		Α.	Yes.	15:32
11	495	Q.	And if there were any change in the situation, the	
12			European Union, in its annual review procedure,	
13			scheduled to take place before the end of July 2017,	
14			can address that in whatever way it thinks is	
15			appropriate, isn't that correct?	15:32
16		Α.	Frankly, I'm not sure about the extent of the European	
17			Commission's review procedure, I have no personal	
18			knowledge of that. And separately, I would note that,	
19			unlike Executive Orders, which must be published in the	
20			Federal Register and made public in the United States	15:32
21			if they're going to have legal force, Presidential	
22			Policy Directives are often classified; for example, up	
23			until very recently one of the presidential policy	
24			directives surrounding targeting killing was entirely	
25			classified.	15:33
26				
27			So I would assume, given general principles of law,	
28			that if PPD-28 were revoked or modified, that that fact	
29			would be made public and as a normative matter, it	

- 1 certainly should be made public. But I can't entirely 2 discount the possibility that the administration would 3 take some kind of unilateral action to modify PPD-28 in a way that was unknown to the public. 4
- 5 Okay. Well, assuming the administration doesn't act in 15:33 496 Q. 6 a way that's covert, unknown and misleading, I take it 7 you agree that the European Commission will be able to 8 make a judgment as to the significance of any changes that might occur in relation to PPD-28 as part of its 9 review and you can offer an opinion on that without 10 11 knowing the details of that review or its methodology?

15:34

- 12 I know no details about that review or its methodology, Α. so I can offer no opinion. 13
- 14 497 Q. You can offer no opinion at all? And would you agree 15 that, from your reading of the documents, that PPD-28 15:34 was regarded by the Commission as having importance? 16
- 17 Α. Yes.
- And the Commission attached considerable significance 18 498 Q. 19 to it.
- 20 Certainly PPD-28 had importance, yes. Α.
- 21 And it attached, I suggest, considerably more 499 Q. 22 significance to it than you did in your report.
- 23 I think that my report explained why certainly the Α. general principles in PPD-28 did not operate as 24 significant constraints on the government's privacy 25 26 violations in the course of its foreign intelligence 27 surveillance. I explained that some of the other 28 constraints in PPD-28 were *more* significant. 29 they are still extremely weak. For example, the limits

1			on the retention and dissemination of non-US person	
2			communications are defined with respect to Section 2.3	
3			of Executive Order 12333. And under Section 2.3, there	
4			are many exceptions for scenarios in which	
5			communications involving US persons can be retained or	15:35
6			disseminated. First and foremost is if those	
7			communications contain foreign intelligence	
8			information. And critically, under Executive Order	
9			12333, foreign intelligence information is defined even	
10			more broadly than it is under FISA - I believe it's any	15:35
11			information that relates to the activities of a foreign	
12			person, that's the definition in part.	
13				
14			So given that very broad definition, the restraints in	
15			Section 2.3 are, I think, little comfort to Europeans;	15:35
16			even if it does put them on a more equal footing with	
17			Americans, it's cold comfort.	
18	500	Q.	Just with regard to the retention of data, PPD-28	
19			requires that NSA destroy collected data within five	
20			years, isn't that correct, unless NSA personnel that	15:35
21			data satisfied PPD-28 determinations standards. Isn't	
22			that correct?	
23		Α.	Yes, there is a five-year default age-off for	
24			unevaluated data. But if data has been evaluated and	
25			analysts determine that it contains foreign	15:36
26			intelligence information, there's the latitude to	
27			retain that communication indefinitely.	
28	501	Q.	Well, I suggest that's <i>not</i> the standard. The standard	
29			is fourfold:	

Т				
2			"These standards only permit retention if NSA personnel	
3			determine that data (1) is publicly available (2) is	
4			related to an authorised foreign intelligence	
5			requirement (3) is related to past, ongoing or about to	15:36
6			be committed crimes or (4) indicates a possible threat	
7			to the safety of any person or organisation."	
8				
9			Those are fairly specific standards, not just a general	
10			position as identified by you.	15:36
11		Α.	So, I'm sorry, are you citing the Litt letter still?	
12	502	Q.	Yes.	
13		Α.	So Litt here is referring to implementing procedures	
14			which impose these more stringent requirements. I was	
15			referring to the text of Executive Order 12333 itself.	15:37
16			Section 2.3 refers to the ability to retain	
17			communications that contain foreign intelligence	
18			information in the abstract. The implementing	
19			procedures issued by the NSA are a little bit	
20			different. Could you please point me to the page	15:37
21			number please?	
22	503	Q.	I just don't have it at my finger tips and I'll come	
23			back to it in a moment. But we were talking about	
24			PPD-28. You say you were talking about 12333, that's	
25			what you were talking about in terms of retention.	15:37
26		Α.	So PPD-28 defines the retention and dissemination	
27			obligations - and this is also in the expert	
28			memorandum, the consensus document. Those are defined	
29			with respect to Section 2.3 of Executive Order 12333.	

1			On its face, Section 2.3 is incredibly broad -	
2			Executive Order 1233 is incredibly broad. However, the	
3			NSA has issued implementing procedures for PPD-28 that	
4			are arguably somewhat narrower, but still again	
5			extremely broad. And I think that the specific	15:38
6			provisions that counsel was referring to were those	
7			implementing procedures for PPD-28, known as the	
8			Section 4 procedures.	
9	504	Q.	Exactly.	
10		Α.	And the Section 4 procedures permit retention of	15:38
11			communications about concerning non-US persons if	
12			those communications are related to a foreign	
13			intelligence requirement. Again, foreign intelligence	
14			is defined very broadly. "Related to" is a very broad	
15			term.	15:38
16	505	Q.	Okay. Well, of course, we know and you have accepted	
17			that PPD-28 now governs the procedures under 12333,	
18			isn't that correct?	
19		Α.	PPD-28 applies to collection under 12333, yes.	
20	506	Q.	So if we're looking at what is the position with	15:38
21			respect to retention, it's appropriate to look at	
22			PPD-28 in that regard, isn't that correct?	
23		Α.	Yes.	
24	507	Q.	And if I could ask you to go to 12333, which is in	
25			divide four of your book, the book we've been on with	15:39
26			your statement. And I think you said a number of times	
27			that foreign intelligence is very broad.	
28		Α.	Excuse me just one moment, I have many binders here.	
29			Yes.	

1	508	Q.	And the definition of foreign intelligence the court	
2			will find in the last page, Judge. Not the very last	
3			page, but the last physical page on the right-hand	
4			side, if that makes sense? 3.5 contains the definition.	
5			So the second last page of text.	15:39
6			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Yes.	
7	509	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER: At (e):	
8				
9			"'Foreign intelligence information' means information	
10			relating to the capabilities, intention or activities	15:39
11			of foreign government or elements thereof, foreign	
12			organisations, foreign persons or international	
13			terrorists".	
14		Α.	Yes. And I think that that is about as broad a	
15			definition of foreign intelligence as one can devise.	15:40
16	510	Q.	Well, given the significance of the intelligence	
17			gathering capability, that is the sort of definition	
18			that you would expect in the context of foreign	
19			intelligence, isn't that correct? By its nature, it has	
20			to be broad enough to capture the relevant threats.	15:40
21		Α.	Again, assessing a definition in a vacuum, I think, is	
22			a relatively it's not a particularly productive	
23			exercise. What's critical is how the definition is	
24			then employed in the context of the law. And because	
25			the law permits the retention of communications that	15:40
26			contain foreign intelligence information, the	
27			definition is problematically broad.	
28	511	Q.	In relation to I'm going to move on to, excuse me,	
29			the section of your report which deal with government	

Т			detences, standing and state secrets doctrine. That s	
2			on page 18. In relation to the <u>Clapper -v- ACLU</u>	
3			decision, that was a decision which held to be	
4			unconstitutional the bulk collection under the former	
5			Section 215, isn't that correct, before it was amended	15:41
6			by the Freedom Act?	
7		Α.	That's incorrect. It held that the bulk collection	
8			under Section 215 was not authorised by the statute.	
9			And it did not reach the constitutional question.	
10	512	Q.	I'm sorry, it was held that it was unlawful because it	15:42
11			wasn't authorised by reference to, I think, an	
12			interpretation that involved the Constitution, is that	
13			correct?	
14		Α.	It held that it was unlawful because the statute could	
15			not be permitted to authorise such expansive collection	15:42
16			because of the terms of the statute were just quite	
17			pedestrian. I think the court used the metaphor "You	
18			can't hide elephants in mouse holes." And that was	
19			precisely what the bulk collection was under Section	
20			215.	15:42
21	513	Q.	In that particular case, I think the evidence was that	
22			Verizon had handed over bulk data, is that correct?	
23		Α.	Yes. Through the Snowden disclosures, it became	
24			apparent that Verizon was ordered to produce the	
25			telephony meta-data of its customers.	15:42
26	514	Q.	And the fact that the government now possessed that	
27			data was regarded as an injury in fact, is that	
28			correct?	
29		Δ	It wasn't solely the government's possession of that	

1			data, it was the fact that the plaintiffs in that case	
2			could show that the government possessed their data	
3			because of	
4	515	Q.	Yes.	
5		Α.	the Snowden disclosure.	15:43
6	516	Q.	But possession of the plaintiffs' data, the mere	
7			possession of that data amounts to an injury in fact,	
8			isn't that correct?	
9		Α.	In the context of that case, yes. Because the	
10			plaintiffs had effectively received notice of the	15:43
11			surveillance. But in the ordinary course and excepting	
12			exceptional circumstances and except for an	
13			extraordinarily small number of criminal defendants -	
14			only, I believe, eight to date - the vast majority of	
15			individuals who are subject to the surveillance do not	15:43
16			receive notice.	
17	517	Q.	But just taking it and separating out the concepts, if,	
18			as happened in <u>ACLU -v- Clapper</u> , the plaintiffs could	
19			say 'The government are in possession of my data', that	
20			amounted in US law to meeting the criterion of standing	15:44
21			which requires that there be established an injury in	
22			fact, isn't that correct?	
23		Α.	The plaintiffs were able to establish, by virtue of	
24			this order, they had received notice that the	
25			government did in fact possess their data under this	15:44
26			particular provision. And the court held that there	
27			was injury in fact.	
28	518	Q.	And that was sufficient to give them standing?	

A. Standing has three elements: Injury, causation and

29

Т			redressability. The causation element was also	
2			satisfied here, because it was clear that the data was	
3			acquired pursuant to the particular statutory authority	
4			that was being challenged, because again the plaintiffs	
5			had specific notice of that fact due to the exceptional	15:44
6			circumstances of the case.	
7	519	Q.	All I'm trying to establish, and just a very simple	
8			proposition, Ms. Gorski: All of that was sufficient to	
9			give them standing in this particular case?	
10		Α.	Yes.	15:44
11	520	Q.	And those cases where standing has not been successful	
12			is where it has not been possible to establish to the	
13			satisfaction of the court that the government has data	
14			belonging to the particular person or persons, isn't	
15			that correct?	15:45
16		Α.	So in US law, "establish" is a term that suggests again	
17			a factual showing. Some of the cases have involved	
18			dismissals at the outset of the pleading stage based on	
19			facial challenges to the complaint - so the government	
20			argues that the complaint itself does not plausibly	15:45
21			plead an injury in fact, you haven't plausibly alleged	
22			that the government has either seized your data or	
23			searched through it. And accordingly, in certain cases	
24			the plaintiffs are dismissed on that ground.	
25	521	Q.	Okay. Well, if you wish, we'll break it down. In a	15:45
26			facial challenge, on a motion to dismiss, the court	
27			looks to see if it's pleaded as a fact, which the court	
28			then assumes, that the government has your data, isn't	
29			that correct?	

1		Α.	The court assesses whether the pleadings are plausible.	
2			So it's not simply whether it was pleaded as a fact,	
3			it's not enough just to say 'The government has my	
4			data' or 'The government is searching for my data', but	
5			your allegations have to be plausible. In addition, 15:	: 46
6			the plausibility test applies only to allegations that	
7			are well pled. And the government, in litigation - and	
8			speaking again from personal experience - has been very	
9			aggressive about arguing that certain allegations are	
10			not sufficiently detailed to be well pled and certain 15:	: 46
11			allegations are speculative. And as a result, in the	
12			government's view, certain allegations shouldn't be	
13			even subject to the plausibility standard, they should	
14			just be even more	
15	522	Q.	But in essence, Ms. Gorski, it's an assessment of the 15:	: 46

15 522 Q. But in essence, Ms. Gorski, it's an assessment of the facts as pleaded. It's an assessment of the facts as pleaded, which are assumed to be true for the purposes of that assessment?

15:46

15:47

- 19 A. Only the well pled facts are assumed to be true.
- 20 523 Q. Okay.

21 A. And it's an assessment of whether the well pled facts

- plausibly establish injury in fact, causation and
- 23 redressability.
- 24 524 Q. Then the second stage, if you get over that, is the
- 25 motion for summary judgment, isn't that correct?
- 26 A. Yes, with one caveat; a second way to bring a motion to
- 27 dismiss is through what's known as a factual challenge.
- 28 And in the context of a factual challenge, the
- 29 government would be arguing, in effect, 'This is

1	sufficiently well pled, but your underlying facts are
2	wrong and we want to dispute those'. And the
3	government can bring a factual challenge even at this
4	early motion to dismiss stage, but then the court
5	engages in a kind of factual finding that would be
6	similar to a factual assessment on the merits of the
7	summary judgment stage. But yes, then the case would
8	proceed to summary judgment, assuming that a plaintiff
9	survived a facial challenge on a motion to dismiss.

- 10 525 Q. And if they survive a facial challenge and it proceeds 15:47

  11 to summary judgment, they get discovery and there are

  12 depositions, isn't that correct?
- 13 A. The plaintiff is theoretically entitled to discovery.
  14 The court has significant discretion in the scope of
  15 discovery. I would note, however, that there is a risk 15:48
  16 in the discovery process of asking for information that
  17 prompts the government to invoke the state secrets
  18 privilege.
- 19 526 Q. And I think you agree with Prof. Vladeck that the state
  20 secrets privilege *cannot* be successfully invoked by the 15:48
  21 government in the context of Section 702, isn't that
  22 correct?
- 23 No, that is not accurate. I agree with Prof. Vladeck Α. that in the context of challenges to two specific 24 25 programmes under Section 702, Prism and Upstream, the 15:48 26 government could not invoke the **Totten** bar, which is 27 one form of the state secrets privilege. However, both 28 Prof. Vladeck and I agree that even in cases 29 challenging those programmes under Section 702, the

1			government could, as it did in <u>Jewel</u> invoke the
_			government court, as it and in <u>Jewer</u> invoke the
2			Reynolds privilege, which is also the state secrets
3			privilege. And in the context of the Reynolds
4			privilege, the government argues not that the entire
5			subject matter of the case is a secret, but it argues 15:40
6			that evidence that the critical to adjudication of the
7			dispute is secret and accordingly the proceeding cannot
8			go forward.
9	527	Q.	Okay. So it can't rely on the <b>Totten</b> privilege,

- 9 527 Q. Okay. So it can't rely on the <u>Totten</u> privilege,
  10 because that's regarded as being waived by, implicitly 15:49
  11 waived by Section 702, but it *is* entitled, if it can
  12 establish in respect of the <u>Reynolds</u> privilege, to
  13 plead state secret privilege in respect of a particular
  14 matter, isn't that correct?
  - A. I wouldn't say that the <u>Totten</u> privilege has been waived by Section 702. Again, if there were another programme under Section 702, the government may invoke the <u>Totten</u> privilege. And frankly, the government may even invoke, it's conceivable that the government would invoke the <u>Totten</u> privilege in a challenge to Upstream or Prism. I think it is very unlikely that the government would succeed in invoking the <u>Totten</u> privilege in particular in that context.

And it's not that Section 702 waived the privilege, but 15:50 that the government's official acknowledgments about these two particular programmes are sufficiently extensive that the government cannot, with a straight face, say that the very subject matter of the

1	proceeding	ic	2	cacrat
<u>L</u>	proceduring	13	а	300100.

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- 2 Well, I think you've two elements; you have the right 528 Q. 3 of action and you have all of the information that's out in public. And as you know, Prof. Vladeck is of 4 the opinion that, given the existence of the 5 15:50 6 information that is now publicly available, it is much 7 more difficult for the government to raise state secret 8 privilege, certainly the **Totten** bar and, even in the 9 context of the **Reynolds** state secret privilege, that it's going to be more confined, isn't that correct? 10 15:50
  - A. I don't believe that Vladeck, Prof. Vladeck, in his report, suggests that the <u>Reynolds</u> privilege would be more confined in the context of litigation around Prism and Upstream, particularly given the ruling, the recent ruling in the <u>Jewel</u> case that was based both on standing and state secrets. But Prof. Vladeck does take the position, as do I, that it is unlikely the government would successfully raise the <u>Totten</u> bar in a challenge to Prism or Upstream.

15:50

- 20 529 Q. And if <u>Reynolds</u> privilege is waived, the court looks at 15:51

  21 the plea and *it* makes the decision, isn't that correct?

  22 The court says that it's not *bound* by any plea that's

  23 raised by the government, *it* has to assess whether the

  24 privilege properly applies?
- 25 A. The beginning of your question asked whether the
  26 Reynolds privilege was waived and I'm not sure what you
  27 meant by that. But just setting that aside and
  28 focusing on the court's ability to adjudicate this
  29 issue; in both the context of the Totten bar and the

1			<u>Reynolds</u> privilege, the court cannot, would not simply	
2			just accept the government's invocation of the state	
3			secrets privilege, there's some adjudication of that	
4			issue. With the Reynolds privilege in particular, the	
5			court is assessing whether the evidence that is at	15:51
6			issue is sufficiently central to the case to warrant	
7			dismissal of the case on the grounds of the state	
8			secrets privilege.	
9	530	Q.	But it also assesses the claim for state secrets	
10			privilege as well, isn't that correct?	15:52
11		Α.	Yes.	
12	531	Q.	And the courts have made that very clearly in <b>Reynolds</b> .	
13		Α.	Yes.	
14	532	Q.	In relation to the standing argument, it's not just a	
15			question of relying on Article 4 of the Constitution in	15:52
16			some of these cases, reliance is also placed on	
17			Article 1, is that correct?	
18		Α.	I'm sorry, there <i>is</i> no Article 4 to the Constitution.	
19	533	Q.	I'm sorry, the Fourth Amendment and the First	
20			Amendment. Excuse me, I'm using European I do	15:52
21			apologise. The First Amendment as well as the Fourth	
22			Amendment.	
23		Α.	In certain cases plaintiffs have raised claims under	
24			the First Amendment and the Fourth Amendment. In	
25			Wikimedia, for example, we have First Amendment and	15:52
26			Fourth Amendment claims. And our case was dismissed on	
27			standing grounds.	
28	534	Q.	Yes, but you're appealing that at the moment and	
29			central to the appeal is that there is standing on	

1			First Amendment grounds, isn't that correct?	
2		Α.	That is one of the arguments on appeal, yes.	
3	535	Q.	And the point being made is that there is a distinction	
4			between the First and Fourth Amendment with regard to	
5			standing and that the standing rules for the First	15:53
6			Amendment are more favourable, isn't that correct?	
7		Α.	The standing rules for the First Amendment, I think	
8			that there is an argument that in certain contexts they	
9			can be more favourable. But in our experience, raising	
10			First Amendment claims has, in the context of foreign	15:53
11			intelligence surveillance, has not materially affected	
12			the courts' analysis, standing analysis. So for	
13			example, we also represented ten plaintiffs in a	
14			challenge to Section 702 - we brought the challenge the	
15			day after the statute went into law. In that case - it	15:54
16			was decided by the Supreme Court - Amnesty	
17			International -v- Clapper and there there was also a	
18			First Amendment claim and a Fourth Amendment claim.	
19	536	Q.	The point I'm making to you is that it is being	
20			there is a basis for and it is a significant part of	15:54
21			the submissions of the amici, which you, ACLU is	
22			involved in Wikimedia, that the First Amendment	
23			standing provisions are more favourable to a plaintiff.	
24			Isn't that correct?	
25		Α.	Some of the amici in the case have argued that the	15:54
26			First Amendment standards for standing are more	
27			favourable to a plaintiff than the Fourth Amendment	
28			standards.	
29	537	Q.	And they have contended in this context that there are	

Τ			three well recognised First Amendment privacy rights	
2			engaged: The right to speak anonymously, the right to	
3			associational privacy and the right to information,	
4			including the right to receive information in private,	
5			isn't that correct?	15:55
6		Α.	Yes.	
7	538	Q.	And it is alleged that the First Amendment injuries can	
8			be triggered by this chilling effect on First Amendment	
9			rights, the chilling effect exercised by the statutory	
LO			powers on First Amendment rights, isn't that correct?	15:55
L1		Α.	Yes, although there are some limitations in the context	
L2			of surveillance in attempting to base standing solely	
L3			on a chilling effect under Supreme Court precedent.	
L4			And again I think the two key examples on point here	
L5			are <b>Amnesty International -v- Clapper</b> , in which we	15:55
L6			brought both a First Amendment claim and a Fourth	
L7			Amendment claim and our claims were dismissed,	
L8			notwithstanding the fact that we were representing	
L9			organisations like Amnesty, like Human Rights Watch and	
20			lawyers who represented detainees at Guantanamo Bay and	15:56
21			had to place international calls to those detainees'	
22			families and associates abroad in the course of their	
23			investigations representing those detainees.	
24				
25			So our constellation of plaintiffs in this case that	15:56
26			went to the Supreme Court included the individuals and	
27			organisations most likely to be subject to the	
28			surveillance realistically. And we lost in a five to	

four decision and the court said our allegations were

			merery specurative. And there we raised First and	
2			Fourth Amendment claims.	
3	539	Q.	Well, taking just <u>Clapper -v- Amnesty</u> first, your brief	
4			in Wikimedia explains that <b>Clapper -v- Amnesty</b> failed	
5			because that was an action brought, I think, the day	15:56
6			following the enactment of the revised version of	
7			Section 702, is that correct?	
8		Α.	There was no revised version of Section 702. But it	
9			was the day	
10	540	Q.	I'm sorry, I keep making that mistake. The	15:56
11			introduction of Section 702, I do apologise.	
12		Α.	Yes, the suit was brought, it was brought as what's	
13			different from a facial motion to dismiss, it was	
14			brought as what's known as a facial challenge to the	
15			statute. So the action was brought the day after the	15:57
16			statute went into effect. We believe our case in	
17			Wikimedia is different; in Wikimedia we're challenging	
18			the operation of the statute in effect, we're	
19			challenging Upstream surveillance and much more is	
20			known about the surveillance than it was at the time of	15:57
21			<u>Clapper</u> .	
22				
23			Notwithstanding those facts and notwithstanding the	
24			fact that we're representing Wikimedia, who engages in	
25			a volume of communications that outstrips the volume of	15:57
26			communications by any of the other plaintiffs in	
27			Amnesty, the District Court still dismissed our suit	
28			for lack of standing.	
29	541	Q.	Well, you've made that point and we're just dealing	

1			with the appeal at the moment and the basis of	
2			distinction. And I think you make the point that in	
3			that case that <b>Clapper -v- Amnesty</b> plaintiffs were not	
4			able to point to any evidence at all of a surveillance	
5			programme established by the government under Section	15:57
6			702, isn't that correct?	
7		Α.	It is correct. At the time there were at the time	
8			of the case there were not official acknowledgments	
9			about the programmes that were being operated under	
10			Section 702. The language of the statute though made	15:57
11			it clear that the government had a very broad	
12			surveillance authority when it came to targeting non-US	
13			persons located abroad.	
14	542	Q.	Yes. And the court said that the respondents had	
15			failed to offer any evidence and the respondents have	15:58
16			no actual knowledge and thus can only speculate as to	
17			how the Attorney General and the Director of	
18			Intelligence would exercise their discretion in	
19			determining which targets to which communications to	
20			target, isn't that correct?	15:58
21		Α.	Yes.	
22	543	Q.	And the brief in Wikimedia says that the court	
23			expressed reluctance, under those highly speculative	
24			circumstances, to find standing. The court did not	
25			know at the time what surveillance programmes existed	15:58
26			under Section 702 and the extent to which the FISCR -	
27			that is the appeal court from the FISC - has authorised	
28			or restricted the programmes, isn't that correct?	
29		Α.	Yes.	

- 1 544 Q. And the distinction made is now the public knows.
- 2 A. The distinction made is that now the public is aware of programmes that are being implemented under Section

15:59

16:00

- 4 702, it is aware of certifications that have issued
- from the FISC under Section 702 and much more in
- 6 general is known about how the surveillance is
- 7 conducted. In addition, one of the operative
- 8 distinctions between the two cases is that again we're
- 9 representing Wikimedia, which engages in a tremendous
- volume of communications with users in every country on 15:59
- 11 earth.
- 12 545 Q. And Prof. Vladeck has said in his report, as you have
- seen, that given the Snowden revelations, one cannot
- say that <u>Clapper -v- Amnesty</u> creates a particular block
- to standing in these cases.
- 16 A. I think it's accurate to say that the standing
- 17 assessment is not -- I think what Prof. Vladeck was
- getting at was the idea that there's not a foreign
- intelligence exception to the standing doctrine. As a
- general matter, however, when plaintiffs are
- challenging executive branch action whether that's
- foreign intelligence surveillance or some other kind of
- 23 executive branch action the courts tend to look with
- greater scrutiny at standing issues. So there is a
- greater scrutiny, it's not specific or unique to
- foreign intelligence surveillance, it applies more
- 27 broadly to executive branch actions.
- 28 546 Q. I think he makes another point. He says the existence
- of this information, the knowledge of the programmes,

- which were not known at the time of <u>Clapper</u>, means that there is a very important and material distinction that now exists in terms of standing which distinguishes the situation from the facts of <u>Clapper</u>.
- 5 If -- I concur that there are material distinctions in Α. 16:00 the situation of plaintiffs now, as opposed to the 6 7 situation of plaintiffs before the Snowden disclosures. 8 However, as we did see in the Jewel decision, notwithstanding those material distinctions, courts 9 still dismiss claims brought by plaintiffs challenging 10 16:00 11 Section 702 surveillance for lack of standing.
- 12 547 Q. And there have also been various cases where the standing has been accepted, isn't that correct?
- 14 Α. There has to be some limiting principle. If you're 15 saying foreign intelligence surveillance cases, the 16:01 16 exception to the rule where standing has been 17 established by a preponderance of the evidence is the ACLU -v- Clapper case challenging the 215 telephony 18 19 meta-data programme because we had notice through 20 exceptional circumstances. But as a general rule, no 16:01 21 notice is provided. And under the American system, without notice it is extraordinarily difficult to 22 establish standing. 23
- 24 548 Q. Can I just understand how do you conceive of a system
  25 of notice working in foreign intelligence of people who 16:01
  26 might be regarded as threats to security? Do you think
  27 they should be notified of the fact that they're under
  28 surveillance?
- 29 A. In the context of criminal wire taps in the US, there

1			is a notice obligation. It's delayed notice. So when	
2			the wire tap ceases, within 90 days the targets have to	
3			be notified. And the court also has discretion to	
4			notify individuals who are affected by the	
5			surveillance, even if they weren't the targets of the	16:02
6			surveillance. And I think that in the foreign	
7			intelligence surveillance context, delayed notice is an	
8			option. And if the government were to say that delayed	
9			notice is impossible then the standing requirements	
10			have to be adjusted to reflect the reality that	16:02
11			individuals don't receive notice. And without notice	
12			there's really it's exceptionally difficult to	
13			obtain meaningful judicial redress.	
14	549	Q.	But, Ms. Gorski, you're well aware of the difference	
15			between a foreign or a national security situation	16:02
16			on the one hand and law enforcement on the other hand	
17			in terms of the ability and practicability of giving	
18			notice, isn't that correct? There's a huge difference?	
19		Α.	Well, foreign intelligence investigations overlap	
20			significantly with criminal investigations. But	16:03
21			notwithstanding that overlap, it is true, the	
22			government has asserted that, you know, foreign	
23			intelligence investigations are particularly long	
24			running. But eventually they reach a terminus. And I	
25			would still think that a delayed notice requirement	16:03
26			could be feasible, even if it's delayed significantly.	
27	550	Q.	And I take it that while you may not agree with	
28			everything Prof. Swire says in this regard, it's	
29			obvious as a matter of first principle that if people	

Τ		were entitled to notice and could obtain notice and	
2		information in relation to the foreign intelligence to	
3		which they were sorry, the surveillance that they	
4		were subjected to, it would be a considerable advantage	
5		to potential terrorists, to people involved in cyber	16:03
6		security, or in breaching cyber security, to people,	
7		hostile foreign governments, because they would be able	
8		to work out significant, or obtain significant	
9		information with regard to the operation of that	
10		foreign intelligence system, isn't that correct?	16:04
11	Α.	Prof. Swire goes even farther in arguing that	
12		individual remedies in the context of these privacy	
13		violations are not appropriate. He does also note	
14		specifically that notice poses certain threats. And I	
15		don't disagree that notice could, in certain contexts,	16:04
16		pose a threat, which is why I am suggesting a kind of	
17		delayed notice requirement, which is an option that	
18		Prof. Swire doesn't grapple with.	
19		MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Mr. Gallagher, I'm just	
20		wondering, I was going to ask how much longer do you	16:04
21		think? Now, I don't want to cut you short. I'm just	
22		looking at the logistics of running this.	
23		MR. GALLAGHER: I think it's only the reply from	
24			
25		MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: No, I'm just wondering how much	16:04
26		longer you feel	
27		MR. GALLAGHER: I would be done in five minutes.	
28		I'm sorry, I should've told you that, Judge. I'm going	
29		to be done very shortly.	

1			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	And I know that Mr. Murray said	
2			that he wasn't asking a	ny questions. I'm assuming that	
3			covers Mr. Collins.		
4			MR. GALLAGHER:	I don't know whether there's any	
5			re-examination.		16:05
6			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	Then it's a question of whether	
7					
8			MR. DOHERTY:	It'll be very short.	
9			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	Very good.	
10			MR. GALLAGHER:	Sorry, Judge, I'm	16:05
11			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO:	No, no, I just needed to know	
12			where we were going.		
13	551	Q.	MR. GALLAGHER:	Ms. Gorski, you make various	
14			comments in relation to	the operation of the Ombudsman	
15			system, isn't that corre	ect?	16:05
16		Α.	Yes.		
17	552	Q.	And you have criticisms	to make of that system - you	
18			don't think it's very s	ignificant, is that fair to say?	
19		Α.	I don't think it's very	significant, certainly when	
20			considered in light of a	a judicial redress option, which	16:05
21			this is not.		
22	553	Q.	And again you say that	the fact that the Ombudsman	
23			cannot confirm or deny	that a complaint was made is of	
24			significance, isn't tha	t correct?	
25		Α.	Yes.		16:05
26	554	Q.	And I suggest to you that	at again in the sphere that	
27			we're talking about, tha	at if people could obtain	
28			information as to wheth	er they were being surveyed and	

the subject of security surveillance by submitting

1	questions and finding whether or not they're being
2	or whether or not they were the subject of that
3	surveillance, that that would make the efficient and
4	effective conduct of foreign surveillance extremely
5	difficult, if not impossible.

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I appreciate that that would be a challenge to the Α. Ombudsperson providing more substantive and meaningful responses to the individuals reaching out to the Ombudsperson. But I think what that really underscores is the importance of having a legitimate full judicial remedy available to individuals and that that could be obtained, as noted, through a delayed notice requirement or through some kind of relaxation of the standing standards.

And I take it that you're aware that the Ombudsman, 555 Q. while he cannot bind the executive agency, his recommendations would have significant effect? I think they're published, or to be published in the Federal Register, isn't that correct?

It may be correct that the recommendations are supposed 16:07 Α. to be published. I'm not certain about that. Offhand. I would object to a "significant effect" for the recommendations. There's no basis for concluding that the agencies will respond in significant ways to the recommendations and there's no basis for concluding that the Ombudsperson's authority to investigate violations extends to violations that go beyond the regulations at issue and the framework at issue. for example, there's nothing in the text of Privacy

Т			Shield that indicates that the ombudsperson has the	
2			authority to investigate Fourth Amendment violations in	
3			the same way that a court could assess whether the	
4			Fourth Amendment had been violated.	
5	556	Q.	Well, you see, once the Ombudsman's, or Ombudsperson's	16:08
6			findings are published in the Federal Register,	
7			firstly, a failure to respond and for the agency to	
8			address the issue is going to create public pressure,	
9			isn't that correct?	
10		Α.	I think that if the agency failed to respond to the	16:08
11			Ombudsperson, depending on the nature of the	
12			recommendation, people might not be aware of the	
13			agency's response or non response. In certain	
14			situations in which the agency's response or non	
15			response was made public, that could theoretically be a	16:08
16			vector for political pressure. But again that's really	
17			a series of contingencies that I don't think	
18			constitutes an adequate remedy for significant privacy	
19			violation.	
20	557	Q.	And in terms of the continuance of the Privacy Shield,	16:08
21			it's something that would be of very material	
22			significance presumably to somebody reviewing its	
23			operation, isn't that correct?	
24		Α.	Could you please repeat the question?	
25	558	Q.	Failure to respond to the Ombudsperson or publication	16:09
26			by the Ombudsperson of significant findings would be a	
27			very important factor to anybody assessing sorry,	
28			reviewing the continuation of the Privacy Shield, isn't	
29			that correct?	

- 1 I would think that that would be a factor if the person Α. 2 reviewing the Privacy Shield were aware of agency 3 compliance or noncompliance. But again, there's no option for the Ombudsperson to signal to the public 4 5 that noncompliance exists and has not been remedied. 16:09 6 The only options are to say that the laws have been, or 7 the regulations - we're not even talking about the laws 8 writ large - the regulations have been complied with, or, in the event of noncompliance, such noncompliance 9 has been remedied. Those are the only two things the 10 16:09 11 Ombudsperson can say. So it doesn't even contemplate 12 the possibility of noncompliance, which, given the realities of executive privilege practice, I'm not sure 13 14 that's appropriate.
- 15 559 Q. Well, if there's noncompliance, the Ombudsman says that 16:10 16 the recommendation has not been complied with, isn't 17 that correct?
- 18 A. I don't know where the Ombudsperson would say the
  19 recommendation has not been complied with. Because in
  20 a response to a proper complaint, the Ombudsperson can
  21 only say one of two things: The Ombudsperson can say
  22 there was compliance, or there was noncompliance but
  23 such noncompliance has been remedied.

- 24 560 Q. Exactly. So he says the noncompliance *hasn't* been remedied.
- 26 A. That's not an option for the Ombudsperson under --
- 27 561 Q. Okay.
- 28 A. -- the --
- 29 562 Q. So what the Ombudsperson says is there's been

2			remedied?	
3		Α.	That's not an option under the way that the	
4		,	Ombudsperson is conceptualised within the Privacy	
5			Shield agreement. There are only two options for the	16:10
6			Ombudsperson's response - it's almost Kafkaesque. The	10.10
7			Ombudsperson can say the laws have been complied with,	
8			or there was noncompliance but it has been remedied.	
9			There is no possibility for saying there's been	
10			noncompliance that is ongoing.	16:11
11	563	Q.	Well, I suggest to you that's <i>not</i> the position and if	10.11
12	303	Q.	there was noncompliance, that would be apparent and	
13			that would have very serious consequences.	
14		Α.	When we're talking about foreign intelligence	
15		۸.	surveillance activities that are classified, it's not	16:11
16			clear to me that noncompliance would be apparent. I	10:11
17			don't know what the consequences of noncompliance would	
18			be. Again, I also don't know what the full breadth of	
19			the Ombudsperson's investigatory authority would be,	
20			given that these provisions don't contemplate that the	40.44
21			Ombudsperson can conduct investigations about the	16:11
22			surveillance's legality writ large.	
23			MR. GALLAGHER: Thank you, Ms. Gorski	
24			MR. GALLAGHER. IIIalik you, MS. Golski	
25			MS. GORSKI WAS RE-EXAMINED AS FOLLOWS BY MR. DOHERTY	40.44
26			MS. GORSKI WAS RE-EXAMINED AS FOLLOWS BY MR. DONERTY	16:11
27	564	Q.	MR. DOHERTY: Just very briefly, Ms. Gorski.	
28	J 0 4	ų.	Mr. Gallagher put a number of questions to you in the	
29			course of cross-examination in relation to foreign	
23			Course of Cross-examination in relation to rollery	

1			intelligence activities of the US Government and gave	
2			examples of threats to security, terrorism, breaches of	
3			cyber security and hostile foreign government action.	
4			It may be trite, we've seen two different definitions	
5			of foreign intelligence, one in Section 702 or for the	16:12
6			purposes of Section 702 in the FISA Act and one in	
7			Executive Order 12333. Are the definitions limited to	
8			those examples that Mr. Gallagher gave of foreign	
9			intelligence in those Acts?	
10		Α.	Neither definition is limited to those examples.	16:12
11	565	Q.	We spent quite some time earlier today with	
12			cross-examination from Mr. Gallagher on paragraph 23 of	
13			your report on page ten. And in particular	
14			Mr. Gallagher took you through, I think, a series of	
15			questions relating to or about the use of the word	16:12
16			"direct" in the sense of the acquisition of	
17			communications in content directly from service	
18			providers.	
19		Α.	Yes.	
20	566	Q.	And he, I think, spent some time bringing you to the	16:13
21			footnote reference, the Washington Post article that	
22			was, I think, subsequently amended he referred to. Do	
23			you recall that earlier today?	
24		Α.	Yes.	
25	567	Q.	And the issue I think it's clear from Prof. Swire's	16:13
26			report, we see that he takes a view that there was some	
27			misreporting about what was actually involved. The	
28			initial Snowden files and as reported in The Guardian	
29			referred to government having direct access to the	

Т			servers of these service providers, isn't that right?	
2		Α.	Yes. And Prof. Swire explains that the Washington Post	
3			article was amended. What is less clear from	
4			Prof. Swire's explanation is that the Washington Post	
5			article's first sentence that refers to tapping	16:13
6			directly, that remained unchanged and still contains	
7			the words "tapping directly".	
8	568	Q.	I think what you're addressing in the first sentence of	
9			paragraph 23 is government acquisition of	
10			communications content and meta-data directly from US	16:14
11			companies?	
12		Α.	Yes.	
13	569	Q.	Can I ask you, in that context, to turn, it's in a	
14			different book, I'm afraid, book seven, tab 17, it's	
15			the extracts from the PCLOB report that you footnote.	16:14
16			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Page seven, what was the tab	
17			again please?	
18			MR. DOHERTY: It's page two, tab sorry, I	
19			beg your pardon, Judge, it's book seven, tab 17. And	
20			certainly in my booklet it starts on page 33 of the	16:14
21			PCLOB report.	
22			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Yes, thank you.	
23	570	Q.	MR. DOHERTY: Do you have that?	
24		Α.	Yes.	
25	571	Q.	Here PCLOB are discussing Prism, as indeed you were at	16:14
26			paragraph 23 of your report. And it says:	
27				
28			"In Prism collection, the government (specifically the	

FBI on behalf of the NSA) sends selectors such as an

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1			e-mail address to a United States based electron	
2			communications service provider that has been served a	
3			Directive. Under the Directive, the server provider is	
4			compelled to give the communications sent to or from	
5			that selector to the government."	16:15
6				
7			So it's describing a process of the service providers	
8			giving the information to the government.	
9		Α.	Yes.	
10	572	Q.	And is that what you had in mind when you described	16:15
11			government disclosures and media reports indicating	
12			MR. GALLAGHER: Judge, that's (A) a leading	
13			question and she explained what she had in mind - she	
14			had in mind something different.	
15			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Well, it's certainly a leading	16:15
16			question. Certainly you've got the transcripts there,	
17			you can put what she said in evidence to Mr. Gallagher	
18			and ask her to comment on it if you wish.	
19	573	Q.	MR. DOHERTY: Well, I don't think that would	
20			be constructive, given that so many different versions	16:15
21			of the question were put by Mr. Gallagher, both before	
22			and after lunch. (To Witness) But in paragraph 23,	
23			just reading the first sentence of paragraph 23 there,	
24			do you see any correlation between that and what's said	
25			at page 33 of the PCLOB report?	16:15
26		Α.	What is in the first sentence of paragraph 23 is	
27			entirely consistent with what is in this paragraph of	
28			the PCLOB report. I also had in mind, in addition to	
29			this description of Prism surveillance, the media	

1			reports cited below. But what I was really referring	
2			to was the fact that there has to be some technological	
3			means by which this information is exchange, as opposed	
4			to being exchanged in hard copy paper form. And those	
5			technological means are a function of, or could be, I	16:16
6			think, appropriately described as a form of direct	
7			access. I did not mean to suggest more than that.	
8				
9			And the fact that there are some kind of technological	
10			means for the government to send selectors to the	16:16
11			companies and for the companies to, in turn, provide	
12			information to the government is effectively agreed to	
13			by the other experts, as noted in the memorandum.	
14	574	Q.	Is there any other party, to your knowledge, or does	
15			the PCLOB report refer to any other party to whom	16:16
16			information is given by the service providers before	
17			it's given to the government?	
18		Α.	No.	
19	575	Q.	Can I ask you, just in the same tab, to turn to page 34	
20			of the PCLOB report? You see in the first full	16:17
21			paragraph there the reference to the government not	
22			having to declassify the specific ISPs that have been	
23			served directives to undertake Prism collection, but	
24			they give an example using a fake United States	
25			company. And that concludes with a sentence: "The	16:17
26			acquisition continues until the government detasks	
27			johntarget@usa.isp.com.	
28		Α.	Yes.	

29 576 Q. And does that have any bearing on the sentence that you

1	had	aiven	in	paragraph	23	of	vour	report?
<u>.</u>	Huu	917611		paragraph		01	your	i Cpoi c.

- 2 Again this indicates that the tasking and detasking is Α. 3 something that happens on an ongoing basis, these are not decisions that are made annually along with the 4 5 directives that are served on the providers. The 16:17 6 tasking and detasking of selectors will change over the 7 course of the year. And accordingly, that again 8 suggests that there is some kind of technological means by which those selectors are shared with the companies 9 10 so that the government can detask as appropriate when 16:17 11 necessary or task other selectors as appropriate when 12 necessary as soon as possible.
- 577 we'd also spent some time in the afternoon on paragraph 13 Q. 14 25 of your report and questioning around the issue of 15 copying and searching internet communications both in 16 the second sentence and, I think, in the penultimate 17 sentence of that paragraph. Can I ask you in that context to look at the middle paragraph of page 34 of 18 19 the PCLOB report in terms of the role of the NSA?

16:18

16:18

20 A. Page 34?

21 578 Q. Yes.

- A. Page 34 of the PCLOB report refers solely to Prism
  collection. And the discussion about copying was with
  respect to Upstream collection.
- 25 579 Q. I think you're quite right. Page 35 then deals with 16:18

  Upstream collection.
- 27 A. Yes.
- 28 580 Q. And the middle paragraph there talks about:

29

Т			unlike Prism collection, raw upstream collection is	
2			not routed to the CIA or FBI and therefore it reside	
3			only in NSA systems, where it is subject to NSA	
4			minimisation procedures."	
5				16:19
6			So the information is collected and routed to the NSA	
7			system, that's what PCLOB have said, is that correct?	
8		Α.	Yes.	
9	581	Q.	And do you believe that's consistent with what you've	
10			said in your report?	16:19
11		Α.	Yes, that's absolutely consistent with what I've said	
12			in my report about the nature of the information that	
13			is ultimately acquired at the end of the Upstream	
14			surveillance process.	
15	582	Q.	Then just on that issue, I think we've seen and I	16:19
16			mean by that the issue of the raw data being collected	
17			and kept on NSA collected by the NSA, then being	
18			subject to minimisation procedures. I think in the	
19			joint memorandum there's a reference to an Executive	
20			Order passed by the Obama administration in relation to	16:20
21			the sharing of raw data?	
22		Α.	Yes. I don't think it's an Executive Order, but there	
23			are no Obama administration procedures. But that	
24			concerns the sharing of raw data under Executive Order	
25			12333. Historically, the NSA first supplied	16:20
26			minimisation procedures to that raw data, vast volumes	
27			of raw data collected under that authority, before	
28			sharing the information with other agencies. Due to	
29			the Obama administration order, under certain	

Т			circumstances now the agencies themselves can access	
2			the raw data and themselves apply the minimisation	
3			procedures. But there are real concerns about the	
4			extent to which agencies that don't have experience	
5			applying minimisation procedures or don't have	16:20
6			sufficient oversight mechanisms in place will operate	
7			under the new Obama administration rules.	
8	583	Q.	Okay. Just then perhaps lastly, there are two perhaps	
9			related issues here. One relates to something you said	
10			at page, or paragraph 22 of your report about the two	16:20
11			known programmes under Section 702 - and we heard	
12			earlier your reasons for making that statement about	
13			the two known programmes; one related to the breadth of	
14			Section 702 and one related to the fact that the PCLOB	
15			report is 2014, so we don't know what might've happened	16:21
16			in the intervening, as I understood your answer	
17			earlier. Then separately you were asked some questions	
18			about, certainly Mr. Gallagher put it to you, I think,	
19			that on the assumption that the government won't act in	
20			a covert, secret and misleading way in terms of its	16:21
21			dealings with the Commission in relation to PPD-28 and	
22			the things that have been said about that.	
23				
24			Can I just ask you generally, what is the US	
25			Government's record like in accurately describing to	16:21
26			other entities or authorities how it conducts	
27			surveillance?	
28			MR. GALLAGHER: I object to that. I didn't go	
29			into that issue. I asked her a question and she agreed	

1			it wouldn't. This is some form of cross-examination of	
2			the witness. It's totally improper.	
3			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: I'm not too sure that that at	
4			all arises out of her, first of all, her report, and	
5			secondly, Mr. Gallagher's cross-examination.	16:22
6			MR. DOHERTY: Well, with respect, I think it	
7			does.	
8			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: Well, I know he had it	
9			predicated by that, but I don't know that the answer	
10			specifically agreed with his predication of the	16:22
11			question.	
12	584	Q.	MR. DOHERTY: May please the court. I'll ask	
13			a slightly different question then. Ms. Gorski	
14			MS. JUSTICE COSTELLO: I will read the transcript, I	
15			hasten to add.	16:22
16	585	Q.	MR. DOHERTY: May it please the court. Has	
17			the FISC court had cause to consider the accuracy or	
18			otherwise of government representations about its	
19			activities in the past?	
20		Α.	Yes, on multiple occasions. And I think the October	16:22
21			2011 opinion by Judge John Bates that addressed the	
22			multi communications transactions recognised that the	
23			FISC had misrepresented the scope of the surveillance	
24			and had not been forthcoming about the scope of	
25			surveillance as a historical matter.	16:22
26			MR. DOHERTY: Just in ease of the court, the	
27			court will find that decision at B25 in the books.	
28			Thank you very much, Ms. Gorski.	
29			MS JUSTICE COSTELLO: Thank you very much Ms Gorski	

1	You can step down. I'll take the matter up on
2	Wednesday at eleven o'clock.
3	MR. GALLAGHER: Yes. And thank you for the
4	extra time, Judge. I'm sorry we went over. Thank you
5	very much.
6	
7	THE HEARING WAS THEN ADJOURNED UNTIL WEDNESDAY, 15TH
8	FEBRUARY AT 11:00
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